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**The Role of the Ikhwan under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud
1916-1934**

Talal Sha'yfan Muslat Al-Azma'

Thesis Sumbmitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In

Middle Eastern Politics

Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

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The Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Durham

July, 1999



10 APR 2000

In the Name of Allah

**O mankind! We have created from a male and a female,
and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know
one another. Verily, the most honoured of you in the
sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you.
Quran XLIX:13.**

Abstract

The study of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd is an important study which will help us to understand the historical and political development of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia during the period of King 'Abdu-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. This study will investigate the *Ikhwan* movement comprehensively from its creation in the Summer of 1916 until their participation in the Yemeni War of 1934.

King 'Abdul-'Aziz was the founder of the *Ikhwan* movement although he did have a conflict with a minority of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. This conflict has negatively affected the history of the *Ikhwan* in most academic studies to date. These studies have forgotten the positive role of the *Ikhwan* in unifying the new Saudi State and they have ignored the major role of the overwhelming majority of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the dissidents and rebels of the *Ikhwan*.

This study will be the first one which will deal with *Ikhwan* movement as a general movement and the major role which it played in the unification the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and it will investigate the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the minority of the *Ikhwan*. The study will also show how by the time of the war of Yemen in 1934, the *Ikhwan* was once again a unified organisation.

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English Transliteration System

The English transliteration system used in this thesis is based on that found in the book of John Habib (1978) "Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The *Ikhwan* of Najd and Their role in the Creation of the Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930". It works clearly either from English to Arabic or from Arabic to English.

Arabic Letter

English Equivalent

أ	a
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	dh
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	L
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

Dedication

To His Royal Highness Prince Talal ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz Al Sa'ud, the President of the Arab Gulf Programme for the United Nations Development Organizations, who has taken care of me since the death of my father, Sha'yfan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' Abu Thinayn, when I was four years old, until this moment.

Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotations from it should be published without Talal Al-Azma's prior consent in writing and information from it should be acknowledged.

Declaration

This thesis results from my own work and has not been previously offered in candidature for any other degree or diploma.

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I would also like to thank my interviewees for their help and generosity. I pray God that paradise will reward to those who have passed away and that long life be given to those who are still alive.

I would like to record my deep gratitude to my late parents Sha'yfan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' Abu Thinayn and Munirah bint Munawakh Abu Thinayn.

A brotherhood thanks is due to my oldest and highly respected brother Muslat and my youngest brother Nawaf for their support and encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction will be divided into seven subdivisions: Background to the study, the significance of the study, the purpose of the study, the literature review, the plan of the research, the research methods, and the tribal structure.

1. Background to the Study

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud (the founder of Third Saudi State, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) was aware that he came from a family (the Al Sa'ud family) who had defended and raised the banner of Islam during the First and the Second Saudi states. *Jihad* (holy war) against anyone who stood against the *da'wah* (call) of Al Sa'ud was the main characteristic of the struggle of the Al Sa'ud family during the three Saudi states. 'Abdul-'Aziz was proud of the struggle of his ancestors in expanding their authority within the Arabian Peninsula and he knew that the legitimacy of Al Sa'ud came from their link and commitment to the defence of Islam.(1)

It was clear that the legitimacy of the Al Sa'ud family came from their link to Islam as protectors and defenders of the religion. There was no doubt that without the help of *Allah* even the inspired character of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud could not have revived Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. 'Abdul-'Aziz was a religious person and he was faithful to his religion and nation. That required him to make many sacrifices to unify the Third Saudi State 1902-1932.(2)

The link between religion and state throughout the history of the Al Sa'ud family during the three Saudi states requires us to give a historical background to the development of the First and the Second Saudi States.

1.1. The First Saudi State

Derek Hopwood described the situation in Najd before the religious movement of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab and he related that situation to two aspects:

The better-known aspect is the low state to which religion had sunk in the Arabian peninsula by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Religious observance was slack and much weight was given to the power of 'holy' trees and the tombs of saints and to various other superstitions and talismans. Orthodox Islam regards such practices as *shirk* (polytheism) or *bid'a* (heresy), and it is clear that the precepts of the *shari'a* were in many respects ignored. The period is condemned as that of *jahiliya* (ignorance), that is a state equivalent to the lack of religion before the preaching of Muhammad.

The other aspect concerns the continuation of the tradition of religious learning in the towns of the peninsula. The political system in Arabia in the eighteenth century was not conducive to a strong religious supervision. A number of petty rulers controlled various towns and their surroundings and there was continuous inter-urban and inter-tribal feuding. The Ottoman writ ran mainly in the Hijaz, in Yemen and on the eastern coast. Central Najd was outside such control.(3)

The inhabitants of Najd did not practise the pure Islam of early Islam and some of the *hadhar* of Najd (the villagers of Najd) worshipped trees and prayed to graves.(4) That situation meant that Najd needed reform, and a movement in Najd started which would expand the knowledge of Islam among the tribes and the emirates of the area in order to unify them under one state and achieve security and power for the nation.(5) Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab was born in Al-'Uyaynah in 1703 and he was given his knowledge of Islam from his father. In order to get more knowledge of his religion, Shaykh Muhammad visited Al-Hijaz, Al-Hasa, and Al-Basrah and he returned to Najd.(6) Shaykh Muhammad got his religious ideas directly or indirectly from Ibn Hanbal as explained by later scholars, especially Ibn Qudamah and Ibn Taimiyah.(7)

During the absence of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab when he was residing in Al-Basrah, there was a conflict between his father ('Abdul-Wahhab) and the Amir of Al-Dar'iyah ('Uthman ibn Mu'amar) which led 'Abdul-Wahhab to move to Huraymila. Shaykh Muhammad joined his father in Huraymila and he started his *da'wah* in Najd. As with any new movement, there were few supporters and many were reluctant, and Shaykh Muhammad's father disagreed with the way which his son followed in his *da'wah*. The brother of Shaykh Muhammad (Sulayman) was very reluctant to follow the movement which stood against his brother Shaykh Muhammad.(8)

The *da'wah* of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab was reformist and its aim required Muslims to return to the pure Islam. The *da'wah* of Shaykh Muhammad would be achieved by declaring the *jihad* against anyone who stood against Shaykh Muhammad's call. The *da'wah* was directed at each Muslim inside or outside Najd and

it became expanded from that area.(9) Shaykh Muhammad explained the demands on the true Muslim and he defined the difference between *tawhid* and *shirk*:

Four things are necessary: a knowledge and understanding of God, the Prophet and faith; action thereon; the profession of faith; patience in affliction in carrying out the faith. The greatest thing that God has commanded is the assertion of His oneness (*tawhid*); the greatest thing He has forbidden is idolatry (*shirk*).⁽¹⁰⁾

The ruler of Al-Hasa and the Shaykh of Bani Khalid tribe stood against the *da'wah* of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab and he had his reason for that because he thought that the *da'wah* would affect his position in the region. Al-Hasa was under the control of the Bani Khalid tribe who used to be the largest tribe in Al-Hasa area. The tribe of Bani Khalid controlled Al-Hasa since the time of the Ottomans in 1666 and the Al-Himayd part of the Bani Khalid tribe, who used to be the smallest part, took charge of the power in Al-Hasa. The Al-Himayd part of the tribe of the Bani Khalid expanded their power over Najd and they came involved in Najd more heavily. The amirs of the villages of Najd came under the authority of the Bani Khalid tribe and they could not refuse their authority over them.⁽¹¹⁾

After the death of the father of Shaykh Muhammad in 1740, he became more critical of the situation in Najd than before and his supporters increased. The Amir of Al-'Uayaynah was one of his supporters who was convinced by the *da'wah* of Shaykh Muhammad. Shaykh Muhammad moved from Huraymila to Al-'Uayaynah and he got the support from 'Uthman ibn Mu'amar which allowed Shaykh Muhammad to continue his *da'wah*.⁽¹²⁾

The ruler of Al-Hasa and the Shaykh of Bani Khalid tribe (Sulayman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ara'ir) had authority over the Amir of Al-'Uayaynah ('Uthman ibn Mu'amar) and he ordered the Amir of Al-'Uayaynah to kill Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab. The Amir of Al-'Uayaynah was afraid of the punishment of Sulayman ibn 'Ara'ir which made him ask Shaykh Muhammad to leave Al-'Uayaynah. Shaykh Muhammad was forty years old and he was aware of the strong pressure that the Shaykh of the Bani Khalid tribe had put upon the 'Amir of Al-'Uayaynah.⁽¹³⁾

The start of the appearance of the First Saudi State was during the movement of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab from Al-'Uayaynah to Al-Dar'iyah in 1744. Shaykh Muhammad called to the Salafi *da'wah* (the Salafi call) and he made an

agreement with the Amir of Al-Dar'iyah (Muhammad ibn Sa'ud) that Muhammad ibn Sa'ud would raise and defend Islam.(14)

The Islamic alliance that was formed at that time between Amir Muhammad ibn Sa'ud and Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab, was the beginning of the Saudi expansion of control over most of the Arabian Peninsula.(15) The attacks between the tribes of Najd would involve the rulers of Arabian Peninsula and they would interfere with what happened between the tribes of the Subay' of Najd (the Subay' of *Al-'Aridh*) and the Al-'Ajman. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Al-'Ajman tribe attacked the Subay' of Najd tribe near Al-Hair. The Subay' of Najd tribe had an alliance with Al-Dar'iyah which made Al-Dar'iyah decide to attack the Al-'Ajman tribe. The Amir of Al-Dar'iyah ('Abdul-'Aziz ibn Muhammad) and his allies, who contained the Subay' of Najd tribe, attacked the Al-'Ajman tribe in Qidhlah and they defeated them. The Al-'Ajman tribe asked the ruler of Najran (Hasan ibn Hibat Allah Al-Makrami) to help them against Al-Dar'iyah and its ally of the Subay' of Najd tribe. In 1764, the ruler of Najran attacked Najd and he defeated the fighters of Al-Dar'iyah. The Amir of Al-Dar'iyah was reconciled with the ruler of Najran and they exchanged captives and the ruler of Najran left Najd and returned to Najran.(16)

Imam (leader) Muhammad ibn Sa'ud died in 1765 and his oldest son 'Abdul-'Aziz became the new ruler of Al-Dar'iyah in the same year. *Imam* Muhammad was seventy years old when he died and he had ruled for forty years. During his rule, the Saudis extended their control over Najd and other parts of the Arabian Peninsula.(17)

The long conflict between the Al Sa'ud and the Bani Khalid tribes led to a weakening of Al-Hasa and almost all of Al-Hasa came under the control of the Al-Dar'iyah which made the Ashraf of Al-Hijaz interfere because they were afraid that the power of the Al-Dar'iyah would expand into their territory. The Ashraf of Al-Hijaz attacked Najd in 1790 and they failed in their attack.(18)

The expansion outside Najd continued during the periods of *Imam* 'Abdul-'Aziz and his son Sa'ud after him. Amir 'Abdul-'Aziz died in 1803 and his son Sa'ud became the new ruler of Al-Dar'iyah.(19) Amir Sa'ud attacked Makkah and the Ashraf of Al-Hijaz

failed to defend Al-Hijaz against the attack because of the support of the tribes of 'Asir to Al-Dar'iyah and in 1804-1805 Al-Hijaz became a part of the First Saudi State.(20)

The conquest of Makkah made the Ottoman Sultan take action against the Saudi expansion because Makkah was the holy place for all the Muslims, which forced the Ottomans to face the ruler of Al-Dar'iyah. At the request of the Ottoman Sultan, the Governor of Egypt (Muhammad 'Ali Pasha) launched a large military land and naval expedition in order to stem the expansion of the First Saudi State.(21) *Imam* Sa'ud died in 1814 and his son 'Abdullah became the new ruler of Al-Dar'iyah. Muhammad Pasha continued his attack to Najd and he had a strong desire to end the rule of Al Sa'ud in Najd(22) The military expedition of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1818 ended the control of Al Sa'ud in Najd and it destroyed the first experience of unity in the modern history of the Arabian Peninsula.(23)

It was clear that the movement of Shaykh Muhammad covered most of the *hadhar* of Najd and some of the tribes of Najd, but it did not cover most of the tribes of Najd, who supported the aggression of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha against Al-Dar'iyah. Most of the leaders of the tribes of Najd followed the financial rewards of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and it was the main reason for the end of the First Saudi State.(24)

1.2. The Second Saudi State

The Egyptian expedition did not eliminate the influence of the Saudis and their allies, but it did weaken it. So, the Al Sa'uds were able to recover their role in Najd within a few years and created their second state which was called the Second Saudi State.(25) The founder of the Second Saudi State was *Imam* Turki ibn 'Abdullah Al Sa'ud who came to defend Islam as his ancestors had done.(26)

Imam Turki ibn 'Abdullah started his attack from Al-Hair and took Al-Dar'iyah from the control of Muhammad ibn Mishari ibn Mu'amar in 1920.(27) *Imam* Turki mainly received support from the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and he started his attack from Al-Hair with the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(28) Muhammad 'Ali Pasha ordered his commander in Najd ('Abush Agha) to attack Al-Riyadh and he moved to Al-Riyadh.(29)

Some of the tribes of Najd supported the invaders against Al Sa'ud because they were following their own self-interests. 'Abush Pasha got support from the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe (Faysal Al-Dawish) and they attacked and defeated Turki and his allies in Al-Riyadh.(30) *Imam* Turki left Al-Riyadh and 'Abush Pasha and his allies continued their attack upon the Subay' of Najd tribe near Al-Hair.(31) The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe (the Subay' of Najd tribe) defeated 'Abush Pasha and his soldiers and forced them to return to Al-Riyadh.(32)

Later on, 'Abush Pasha left Al-Riyadh for Egypt and he left one hundred and fifty Moroccan soldiers to defend Al-Riyadh against any attack from Amir Turki. Three months later, *Imam* Turki and his fighters attacked Al-Riyadh and they defeated the fighters of 'Abush Pasha.(33) The fighters of *Imam* Turki were from the Suaby' *Al-'Aridh* tribe who continued their strong support to Al Sa'ud until the end of the Second Saudi State.(34)

Imam Turki ibn 'Abdullah ruled Najd from 1824 to 1833 and he expanded his authority to cover most of Najd(35) The most important battle during that time was the battle of Al-Sibayah between *Imam* Turki and the ruler of Al-Hasa and the Shaykh of Bani Khalid tribe. The leader of the Saudi fighters was the son of *Imam* Turki (Faysal) and his fighters were mainly from the tribes of the Subay' of Najd, the Al-Suhul, and Al-Qirayniyah(36) The Shaykh of the Subay' of Najd (the Suaby' of *Al-'Aridh*) was 'Asaf ibn Mutlaq Abu Thinayn and he was the one who encouraged *Imam* Turki to stand against the Shaykh of the Bani Khalid tribe. The Saudi fighters defeated the fighters of the Bani Khalid tribe and they ended the rule of the Bani Khalid tribe in Al-Hasa. The Suaby' of Najd lost one of their leader who was Mutlaq Al-Masikh. Mutlaq was the Shaykh of the Al-'Arynat clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(37)

The conflict which started among the Al Sa'ud family was the main reason for the end of the Second Saudi State. *Imam* Turki was assassinated by his nephew Mishari ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud in 1833 and his nephew became the new ruler of Al-Riyadh.(38) *Imam* Faysal ibn Turki and his fighters attacked Al-Riyadh in 1834 and they conquered Al-Riyadh and killed Mishari.(39) Muhammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt sent a force, led by Khurshiyd Pasha, to attack Al-Riyadh. Khurshiyd conquered Al-Riyadh

and he caught *Imam* Faysal and sent him to Egypt. *Imam* Faysal stayed for almost four years in Egypt until he escaped from the prison and returned to Najd.(40)

In 1843, *Imam* Faysal conquered Al-Riyadh and he ruled Najd for twenty four years. *Imam* Faysal implemented justice and achieved security in Najd.(41) *Imam* Turki died in 1865 and his oldest son 'Abdullah became the new *Imam* of Najd.(42) The conflict between *Imam* 'Abdullah and his brother Sa'ud divided the tribes of Najd between the two brothers.(43)

The loyalties of the tribes of Najd were divided between *Imam* 'Abdullah and his brother Sa'ud. *Imam* 'Abdullah got his support mainly from the tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* area (the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribe) and the Qahtan of Najd tribe. Sa'ud got his support mainly from the Al-'Ajman tribe, the Al-Murrah tribe, the Bani Khalid tribe, and the Al-Dawasir tribe.(44) Sa'ud ibn Faysal and his allies from the tribes of Al-'Ajman and the Al-Dawasir attacked *Imam* 'Abdullah and his allies and they defeated them in 1873. Sa'ud became the Amir of Al-Riyadh until the year of 1875. 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal (Sa'ud's brother) became the Amir of Al-Riyadh and he stayed for two years. The oldest brother 'Abdullah returned to Al-Riyadh and his brother 'Abdul-Rahman asked him to be the Amir of Al-Riyadh. The sons of Sa'ud attacked their uncle 'Abdullah in Al-Riyadh and they put their uncle in prison. The oldest one of them (Muhammad) became the Amir of Al-Riyadh which made *Imam* 'Abdullah ask the help from the Amir of Hail. Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Rashiyyd was the Amir of Hail and his father 'Abdullah ibn 'Ali ibn Rashiyyd was appointed as the Amir of Hail by *Imam* Faysal ibn Turki in 1835.(45)

The conflict between Al Sa'ud gave the Amir of Hail an opportunity to interfere heavily in that conflict and obtain an advantage from it. In 1884, Muhammad ibn Rashiyyd attacked Al-Riyadh and he released *Imam* 'Abdullah from prison and he appointed an amir belonging to him in Al-Riyadh. The Amir of Hail took *Imam* 'Abdullah and his brother 'Abdul-Rahman to Hail. In 1888 *Imam* 'Abdullah became ill and the Amir of Hail allowed him and his brother 'Abdul-Rahman to return to Al-Riyadh. One year later, *Imam* 'Abdullah died and 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal tried to release Al-Riyadh from the control of Muhammad ibn Rashiyyd by attacking his ruler in

Al-Riyadh. The Amir of Hail moved to Al-Riyadh and he forced 'Abdul-Rahman to leave Najd to go into exile in Kuwait in 1891 which was the end of the Second Saudi State.(46)

During the Second Saudi State, the conflict between Al Sa'ud hindered them from fulfilling their real role which was spreading the *da'wah* among the inhabitants of Najd and continuing the *jihad* throughout the Arabian Peninsula. The First and the Second Saudi states controlled most of the hadhar of Najd, but they failed to continue their control over the bedouin of Najd (the tribes of Najd). The control of the tribes of Najd was only achieved by the founder of the Third Saudi State 1902-1932 ('Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud) who was considered as the Shaykh of the Shaykhs of the tribes of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was a great leader and the control of the tribes of Najd was his greatest achievement.(47)

2. The Significance of the Study

The study of the *Ikhwan* of Najd (the tribes of Najd or the bedouin of Najd) is very important because it throws light on the historical, social, and political development of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is a real record of the creation of the new Saudi state. Without defining the components behind the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia it is difficult to understand the dynamics of the country. If we know the relation between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the bedouin of Najd (the tribes of Najd) it will help us to clarify the historical and political development of the new Saudi state. This is necessary in order to understand the present and the future of the country .

Most of the studies which have written about 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Ikhwan* of Najd have given a prejudicial image of the *Ikhwan*. The studies have misguided and mislead students about the *Ikhwan*. This study will, I hope, play a role in changing the mistaken concepts about the *Ikhwan* and it will explain the real role of the tribes of Najd in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is they who were behind the great achievement in unifying the Saudi state.

Most studies of the creation or unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have related the role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd. They have considered that the bedouin of Najd were against the unification of the Saudi state. The reality was that the *Ikhwan* of Najd played the major role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The role of the *hadhar* of Najd was a minor role when compared with the major role of the tribes of Najd.

I have my own reasons to research this study because my grandfather and my great grandfather were both shaykhs and famous warriors of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. The *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were the two tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' of Najd) and the Al-Suhul. My family (the Abu Thinayn family) used to be the leading family of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. My clan (the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Al-Sa'abah of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe), and my tribe (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe) were a main part of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* between 1902 and 1916, and later on became a part of the *Ikhwan* between 1916 and 1934 and were under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz.

This concern made me insist on writing a research paper about 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Ikhwan* of Najd in the last year of my study (on Research Methodology) in the Department of Political Science, King Sa'ud University. My supervisor rejected the idea of writing about the *Ikhwan* of Najd but I insisted on writing on this subject. The supervisor forced me to not mention the name of the *Ikhwan* in the title, which surprised me. I changed only the title and conducted many interviews with the tribal figures of Najd in their *hijar* (settlements). I found there was nothing to be ashamed of in writing about the *Ikhwan* of Najd because they answered all the questions without any reservations. The interviewees were courageous and they were not afraid of answering any questions even those about King 'Abdu-'Aziz himself.

King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not achieve his desire in unifying the country without a painful struggle and saying the opposite is absurd. Moreover, most of the tribes of Najd used to have changeable loyalties to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud before the creation of the *Ikhwan* and the tribal interviewees had no reservations when talking about the history of their ancestors whether they were descended from those loyal or disloyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz because it was a historical matter which happened a long time ago. I completed

my Bachelor in the Political Science in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and my Master's in Development Administration in the U.S.A. I have strong emotional reasons to research 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* and I decided after my Bachelor degree to continue on to a Ph.D. in Middle Eastern Politics in Britain because the subject deserved Ph.D. level research.

I am familiar with most of the tribes of Najd (who used to be the *Ikhwan*) and I have had more opportunity to recognise their movement than others. The bedouin of Najd represented the *Ikhwan* of Najd who had played the main role under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This fact is very well known among the tribes of Najd who are not aware of the forgery concerning the great achievement of their fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers in unifying the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, this study will describe the historical and political record of the bedouin of Najd. Today, all the tribes of Najd serve their country equally and they play an effective role in all aspects of the life of their country. They should learn from their history in order to achieve their will in their present and their future.

3. Purpose of the Study

This study will highlight the period before the creation of the *Ikhwan* which was the Summer of 1916. The creation of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd was a result of the long relationship between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the bedouin tribes of Najd who played the main role in unifying the central area of Najd during the period of 1902-1916. The relationship between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the bedouin of Najd was not only one of allies but also competition. 'Abdul-'Aziz eventually convinced these bedouin of Najd to share the bonds of brotherhood between them and to be under his command. The tribes agreed and they played the dominant role in 'Abdul-'Aziz's conquests from 1918 until 1934.

This study will look also to the *Ikhwan* movement as a general movement which contained loyal *Ikhwan* and disloyal *Ikhwan* (the dissidents and the rebels of the *Ikhwan*). The *Ikhwan* of Najd played the major role in the conquest of the Surat 'Asir,

Hail, Al-Jawf, Al-Hijaz, and the Tuhamat 'Asir and they were the warriors who were behind the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The successes of the *Ikhwan* led the dissident minority of the *Ikhwan* to put pressures on 'Abdul-'Aziz to continue the *jihad* (the holy war) in order to free all of the Arabian Peninsula and neighbouring areas from the foreign powers mainly in the form of the British and French mandates in the region.

King 'Abdul-'Aziz was the commander of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and he was the only one who had the right to order or to stop the *Ikhwan* attacks. 'Abdul-'Aziz warned the dissident minority of the *Ikhwan* not to attack without his permission but they ignored his warning and they attacked the neighbouring countries who were under British mandates. Those raids created a conflict between them and King 'Abdul-'Aziz who was supported by the loyal *Ikhwan*. The loyal *Ikhwan* represented the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* who stood against the disloyal *Ikhwan* who represented the extremes minority of the total of the *Ikhwan*.

Most of the studies have concentrated on the role of the disloyal *Ikhwan* and ignored the role of the loyal *Ikhwan* who played the first and major role in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Most of these studies also related the main role in standing against the disloyal *Ikhwan* to the *hadhar* of Najd (the villagers of Najd) and they generalised the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the disloyal *Ikhwan* as a conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* as a whole (loyal and disloyal). This study will focus on the *Ikhwan* movement as a general movement and its development until it reached a point in which a conflict was created within itself and between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and a dissident minority.

Not only were there internal influences in the creation of the state, there were also external influences which were significant. These external influences will be explored in order to differentiate between the internal and external influences. King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* were affected by external influences and these influences came mainly from the two governments of the Ottomans and the British.

4. The Literature Review

I will divide the literature review to three sections which are the following:

1. Arab writers, divided into "national Arab writers" (writers from the Arab countries), "villager writers" (writers from the *hadhar* of Najd), and other Arab writers.
2. Foreign writers, mainly English writers.
3. Doctoral theses which have written about King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd.

4.1. The Arab Writers

There are many Arabic sources which have written or mentioned the *Ikhwan* in their studies. In general, all of these studies concentrate on the disloyal *Ikhwan* and they ignore the role of the loyal *Ikhwan* who played the major role in standing against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Those writers also forgot the role which the disloyal *Ikhwan* had earlier played as a part of the loyal *Ikhwan*. The national Arab writers and the writers of the *hadhar* of Najd have related the role of the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd and they have neglected the main role of the bedouin of the *Ikhwan*. Those writers have made the tribes of the *Ikhwan* seem the main obstacle to the achievements of the country in order to transfer the credit of that role to the *hadhar* of Najd. This is not the truth. A few other Arab writers did describe the major role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia of the bedouin of the *Ikhwan*.

4.1.1. The National Arab Writers

The national Arab writers escaped from the foreign mandates in their countries in order to seek the protection of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. These national Arabs were educated and 'Abdul-'Aziz used most of them in his diwan. King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not allow them to deal with the *Ikhwan* of Najd which made it difficult for these national Arabs to take in the *Ikhwan* movement. These national Arabs did not have a clear

picture about the tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia because they did not have a close relation with the *Ikhwan* who considered them as strangers.

The most famous of the national Arab writers is Amin Al-Rihani who was granted special permission in writing about 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud by 'Abdul-'Aziz himself. Al-Rihani published his book (*Tarikh Najd Al-Hadith*) in 1927 and it was the first book about the historical and political development of Najd. King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not give Al-Rihani details about the *Ikhwan* of Najd and I believe that King 'Abdul-'Aziz had his reservations about giving details about the *Ikhwan* because he considered them as top secret. Al-Rihani related the dominant role of the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd instead of the bedouin of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. He also related their major role in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan* and ignored the role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Al-Rihani stated that the first *hijrah* (settlement) was Al-Artawiyah and it was built in 1912. The correct date for the building of the first *hijrah* was in fact the Summer of 1916, which I have confirmed in interviews. He also mentioned that King 'Abdul-'Aziz was the founder of the *Ikhwan*.

The second national Arab writer is Fuad Hamzah who published his book (*Qalb Jazirat Al-'Arab*) in 1933. Hamzah also gave the main role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd instead of the bedouin of the *Ikhwan*. He gave them the major role in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan* and he ignored the role of the loyal *Ikhwan*. Hamzah also stated (as Al-Rihani had done) that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he considered that the foundation of the first *hijrah* was not connected to the foundation of the *Ikhwan* of Najd by 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.

The third national Arab writer is Hafiz Wahbah who published his book (*Jazirat Al-'Arab Fi Al-Qarin Al-'Ashrin*) in 1935. He also copied the ideas of Al-Rihani and Hamzah and he said that the main role in the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was played by the *hadhar* of Najd instead of the tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. He also mentioned that the *hadhar* of Najd played the major role in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan* and he ignored the dominant role of the loyal *Ikhwan*. He generally followed Al-Rihani and Hamzah, but said that the building of the first *hijrah* was in

1911 and he related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz as Al-Rihani mentioned before him.

The fourth writer is Khir-Aldin Al-Zarkali who published his book (*Shibih Al-Jazirah Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*) in 1950. He followed Al-Rihani and Hamzah and mentioned the year of 1912 as the date of the first *hijrah*. He related the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd and ignored the major role of the bedouin of the *Ikhwan*. Al-Zarkali also gave the main role in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan* to the *hadhar* of Najd and he ignored the major role of the loyal *Ikhwan*. He connected the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he followed Al-Rihani and Wahbah in that .

4.1.2. The Writers of the *Hadhar* of Najd

Most of the writers of the *hadhar* of Najd have found difficulties in understanding the *Ikhwan* movement because it was not a movement in which they participated greatly. Moreover, those writers of the *hadhar* of Najd have their own interests to promote by removing credit from the bedouin of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and taking it for themselves. There has been a historical conflict between the tribes of Najd and the *hadhar* of Najd because the bedouin of Najd held the power and prestige in Najd and so the *hadhar* of Najd were looked down upon by those bedouin of Najd. That historical conflict affected the *hadhar* writers and they have sought to steal the achievements of the tribes of Najd and claim that they were behind the unification of the new Saudi state. That they were able to do so successfully is due to the absence of tribal Najdi writers and researchers. Most of the writers, researchers and postgraduate students are from the *hadhar* of Najd which gives them a great opportunity to fashion the history of the political development of the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The most famous writer of the *hadhar* of Najd is Muhammad Al-Mani' (Mohammed Almanan) who published his book in English (*Arabia Unified*) in 1980. He was the English translator of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. He gave the main role in the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd and he ignored the role of the bedouin

of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. He had his own agenda in linking his forbears to the central role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Al-Mani' gave the major role in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan* to the *hadhar* of Najd and he ignored the major role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He also followed the national Arab writers in stating that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* of Najd to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud as Al-Rihani and Wahbah had done before.

Another writer of the *hadhar* of Najd, 'Abdullah Al-'Uthaymin, translated Al-Mani"'s book into Arabic in 1982. They are both from the *hadhar* of Najd (specifically, the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim region) and they both shared the same beliefs about the bedouin of Najd and their history. Al-'Uthaymin is a lecturer in the Department of History, College of Arts, King Sa'ud University and he is the one who is in charge of rewriting the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia until this moment. Al-'Uthaymin wrote many books about the three Saudi states and specifically he wrote two books about King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the history of the new Saudi state (the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). Both books *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-'Arabyah Al-Sa'udyah* and *Ma'arik Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Mashurah Li Tawhid Al-Bilad* were published in 1995. He has eliminated the main role of the tribes of Najd in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and he related that dominant role to the *hadhar* of Najd. Al-'Uthaymin stated, as most of the national and foreign writers do, that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he did not use much effort in searching for the right date for the beginning of the *Ikhwan*. Al-'Uthaymin did not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz because he would like to cut the strong link between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the bedouin of the *Ikhwan*.

The third writer of the *hadhar* of Najd (specifically, the *hadhar* of the Al-Qasim region) is 'Abdullah Al-Zamil who published his book *Asdaq Al-Bunud Fi Tarikh 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud* in 1972. Al-Zamil was the first one who was allowed to look at the records of the official newspaper of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Umm Al-Qura) and he based most of his book on reports from the official Saudi newspaper. However, he did not reveal in his book all the reports available from Umm Al-Qura. Al-Zamil

exposed the general details about the *Ikhwan* of Najd and their *hijar* (settlements) and concentrated on the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the disloyal *Ikhwan* without highlighting the main role of the loyal *Ikhwan*. I went to the headquarters of Umm Al-Qura in Makkah and it was a useful source because it gave me general details about the bedouin tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and it helped me to define the tribes of the *Ikhwan*.

However, a fair and honest writer of the *hadhar* of Najd (specifically, the *hadhar* of Sudayr region) called 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Tuwaijri did give the main role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the bedouin of Najd. Al-Tuwaijri published his book (*Li Surat Al-Layl Hataf Al-Sabah*) in 1997 and the book talks mainly about King 'Abdul-'Aziz. He gives us a general idea about the bedouin tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and he has a positive conception about their dominant role under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Al-Tuwaijri is the Deputy Assistant of the President of the National Guard. His career with the sons and grandsons of the *Ikhwan* of Najd who are mainly represented in the National Guard has affected him and he acknowledges the tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd as the warriors who played the major role in unifying the new Saudi state.

4.1.3. Other Arab Writers

Sa'ud ibn Hadhlul is from the Al Sa'ud family and published his book (*Tarikh Muluk Al Sa'ud*) in 1961. Sa'ud credited the main role in the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd and he ignored the main role of the bedouin of Najd. He concentrated on the disloyal *Ikhwan* and did not mention the dominant role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Sa'ud stated that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he followed most of the writers before him in relating the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.

Muhammad Kushik is an Egyptian writer who published his book (*Al Sa'udaywn Wa Al-Hall Al-Islami*) in 1982. Kushik related the major role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *Ikhwan* of Najd. He concentrated on the disloyal *Ikhwan* and he spent a major part of his work explaining the reasons behind the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Kushik did not mention the main role of the loyal

Ikhwan in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He stressed that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.

Mudhi bint Mansur ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud (Mudhi 'Abdul-'Aziz) is also from the Al Sa'ud family and she is the granddaughter of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Mudhi published her book (*Al-Hijrah Wa Natayjiha Fi 'Asir Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*) in 1993 and it is more a social study about the development of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan* during the period of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. She concentrated on the *hijrah* of the Eastern Province of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and she credited the main role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the tribes of the *Ikhwan*. Mudhi considered the disloyal *Ikhwan* as a minority of the total *Ikhwan* but she did not give details about the role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. She stated, as do most writers, that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and she related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Mudhi did not add much on this sensitive point which mixes up the order of events. We must clarify the chronology in order to define the elements of each period of time.

4.2. The Foreign Writers

The most famous foreign writers are John Philby, Harold Dickson, and John Glubb and they were all British representatives in the Arabian Peninsula. None of them came up with anything different from the national Arab writers as they based their work on those writers. Philby was an explorer and scholar of the Arabian Peninsula during the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the minority of the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He published his book (*Saudi Arabia*) in 1955 and related the dominant role in unifying the new Saudi state to the *hadhar* of Najd. Philby concentrated on the disloyal *Ikhwan* and their conflict with King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he did not mention the major role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He stated, along with most other writers that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 but he did not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. It is clear that he got this idea from Faud Hamzah who published his book in 1933.

The second famous foreign writer is Harold Dickson who was the Political Agent in Kuwait during the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the loyal *Ikhwan* against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He published his book (Kuwait and her Neighbours) in 1956. Dickson concentrated on the conflict because his position required him to deal with the disloyal *Ikhwan* who had left Najd for Kuwait and he ignored the role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He stressed that the foundation of the *Ikhwan* was in 1899 and he did not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. It is obvious that Dickson was influenced by Fuad Hamzah and John Philby who gave us wrong dates and judgements.

The last famous foreign writer is John Glubb who was the Administrative Inspector for the Iraq government during the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz (supported by the loyal *Ikhwan*) and the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He published his book (War in the Desert) in 1960. Glubb hated the *Ikhwan* of Najd for their attacks in Southern Iraq and he wrote prejudiciously about the *Ikhwan*. He concentrated on the disloyal *Ikhwan* and he ignored the main role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Glubb stated that the first *hijrah* was built in 1912 and he did not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. It is obvious that he followed Fuad Hamzah, Harold Dickson, and John Philby. It is also obvious that each of them used the Arabic books as sources.

4.3. The Doctoral Theses

There are two doctoral theses about the *Ikhwan* movement which have been written both in the U.S.A. The first thesis was written by John Habib at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1970. It is called "The *Ikhwan* Movement of Najd: Its Rise, Development, and Decline. Habib published his thesis in a book in 1978. It is called "Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The *Ikhwan* of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of the Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930". He is a Lebanese (Arab Christian) and he is fair in his judgement about the *Ikhwan* of Najd (more so than most Arab Muslim writers).

Habib credited the main role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *Ikhwan* of Najd and he stated that the *Ikhwan* still play a major role in the Saudi state because the sons of the old *Ikhwan* are represented in the White Army (the National Guard). Habib concentrated on the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the disloyal *Ikhwan* but he did not give details about the main role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in the stand against the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He stated that the appearance of the *Ikhwan* movement was after 1912 and this was the idea that most of the writers before him had proposed. He related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* movement to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.

The second thesis was written by 'Abdullah ibn Sa'ad Al-Zaid (Abdulla Zaid) at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois in 1989. It is called "The *Ikhwan* Movement of Najd, Saudi Arabia 1908-1930". Al-Zaid is one of the *hadhar* of Najd (specifically he is from the *hadhar* of the village of Al-Hariq). He is a lecturer in King Khalid Military Academy which belongs to the National Guard. Nineteen years after the thesis of John Habib, 'Abdullah Al-Zaid decided to start his thesis with opposing the conclusions of Habib. Al-Zaid credited the major role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the *hadhar* of Najd (his own forbears). His judgement would appear to be biased in the same way as that of other writers from the *hadhar* of Najd.

Al-Zaid's work contains many contradictions. In the conclusion, he mentions that the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the disloyal *Ikhwan* was a result of the halting of the *jihād* (the holy war) and yet in the same conclusion he relates the conflict to economic circumstances and political ambitions on the side of the leaders of the disloyal *Ikhwan*. He associated all of the *Ikhwan* with the disloyal *Ikhwan* and he ignored the major role of the loyal *Ikhwan* in punishing the disloyal *Ikhwan*. Al-Zaid states in his conclusion that the *Ikhwan* did not play a distinct military or political role in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia after their defeat in the battlefield. Nonetheless, he also states in the conclusion that the *Ikhwan* movement played a significant role in unifying the new Saudi state as it is today.

Al-Zaid states that the foundation of the *Ikhwan* was in 1908 and he does not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Most of the writers of the *hadhar* of Najd have tried to ignore the role of King 'Abdul-'Aziz in the foundation of the *Ikhwan*.

It is impossible to give the year 1908 as the date of the foundation of the *Ikhwan* movement because 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud ended his conflict with the Al-Qasim region at that time and 'Abdul-'Aziz was reliant upon his coalition with the bedouin tribes of Najd who later on became the *Ikhwan*. Fuad Hamzah, John Philby, Harold Dickson, and John Glubb did not recognise the major role of King 'Abdul-'Aziz in the foundation of the *Ikhwan*, so Al-Zaid follows in this line of thinking.

5. Plan of the Research

The plan of the research is to organise the thesis into four chapters. Each chapter will cover a specific period of time. In chapter one, I will cover the period before the creation of the *Ikhwan* movement, which was the period of 1902-1916. During this time 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies amongst the tribes of Najd (mainly the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* tribes) conquered central Najd and he decided to gather all the tribes of Najd under his command which led him to create the *Ikhwan* movement. The chapter will also look at the external influences during that time.

Chapter two will focus in the efforts which 'Abdul-'Aziz went to during the creation of the *Ikhwan* movement and it will look at the development of the *hijar* (the settlements) of the *Ikhwan* as a result of 'Abdul-'Aziz's efforts. The chapter will highlight the earliest participation of the *Ikhwan* in the battlefields 1918-1920 and it will discuss the external influences during that time.

In chapter three, I will concentrate on the main role of the *Ikhwan* in 'Abdul-'Aziz's conquests 1920-1926. The chapter will highlight the conquests of the *Ikhwan* in the Surat 'Asir, Hail, Al-Jawf, Al-Hijaz, and the Tuhamat 'Asir. The chapter will look to the external influences during that period of time.

The last chapter will focus on the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies within the *Ikhwan* against the dissidents and rebels of the *Ikhwan* in the period, 1926-1934. The chapter will look to the unity of the *Ikhwan* after the end of the conflict and it will highlight the external influences during that time.

6. The Research Method

The main aim of this study is to clarify the role of the *Ikhwan* of Najd under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I have used different methods in approving this idea and they are the following:

6.1. Secondary Sources

I have used secondary sources in the form of Arabic books, English books, and doctoral theses. I have found difficulties with all of these sources because they do not recognise the role played by the tribes of Najd who later became the *Ikhwan* in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These sources mostly credit the major role in the unification of the Saudi state to the *hadhar* of Najd who stood against the *Ikhwan*. However, I have found these sources full of so many contradictions that they can not be relied on.

6.2. The Documents

I spent a period of time in the Public Record Office of the United Kingdom at Kew in Richmond in Surrey. I became familiar with the documents of the Foreign Office (FO) Records. I obtained from there most of the documents which I have used in my study. These documents were of limited value due to the obscurity of the *Ikhwan* from a British point of view.

6.3. Newspapers

The newspaper Umm Al-Qura is considered the official newspaper of the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and it represents the views of the Saudi government. The headquarters of the newspaper is in Makkah, and I spent a period of time researching there. I found that there were helpful records for me in obtaining

general details about 'Abdul-'Aziz and the Ikhwan. Nonetheless, the paper did not go deeply into in the relationship between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan*. I obtained the latter information during the interviews which I conducted, together with information the components of the *Ikhwan*.

6.4. The Interviews

Interviews constituted a crucial method for me in understanding the *Ikhwan* and their role in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

6.4.1. The Limitations of the Interviews

I did not find difficulties in conducting the interviews with the bedouin tribesmen of Najd who are descended from the tribes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and they considered me to be one of them. The interviewees clearly trusted me and they treated me with great respect and generosity. Most of the interviewees recognised the family which I come from and they became confident to respond freely to all of my questions.

6.4.2. The Sample

Most of my interviews were with bedouin tribesmen who had personal knowledge of the *Ikhwan* and their movement. Eight of the interviewees used to be a part of the *Ikhwan* movement and they participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* in the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The rest of the interviewees were the sons and grandsons of the *Ikhwan* and they were all descended from the Najdi tribes of the *Ikhwan*.

6.4.3. The Constraints

I did not face many difficulties in this study because I was welcomed by the interviewees who considered me to be one of them. The only difficulty which I faced was that I and my companions had to travel by car (GMC Superban 4X4) to the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan* and in some cases I travelled for almost 1200 Km). The *hijar* of the tribes of Najd are located in different areas through the Arabian Peninsula and each tribe has its traditional area and their *hijar* would be within the area. Most of these *hijar* are in the middle of the desert and some of them had no modern roads.

6.4.4. Procedures of the Interview

In general, most of the interviews were tape recorded and the interviewees had no reservations because they clearly felt that they were saying the truth. They believed that they had nothing to hide and they said the truth because its only purpose was to record history. They also believed that all the bedouin tribes of Najd today share brotherhood between them (whether they used to be loyal or disloyal) and that under the stability of their Saudi government they have to learn the lessons of their history. They believe they will achieve that when they have a true record of their history.

7. The Tribal Structure

The tribes of Najd were subdivided into:

1. Parts
2. Clans
3. Sections
4. Families

The average size of a Najdi tribes were varied from two thousand to six thousand. The average size of a clan in a Najdi tribe varied between two hundred to four hundred. These divisions still exist, but the number of the Najdi tribes and clans has increased.(48)

Notes:

1. Interview with Muhammad ibn Fahad ibn Munaykhir in Hiyt, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 3.7.1994.
2. Interview with Sultan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 11.4.1994.
3. Niblock, Tim (1982), *State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia*, Croom Helm London and Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, University of Exeter, Exeter, U.K, p 25.
4. Al-Rihani, Amin (1988), *Tarikh Najd Al-Hadith* (The History of Modern Najd), Dar Al-Jil, Beirut, Lebanon, p 35.
5. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah (1990), *Buhuth Wa Ta'liqat Fi Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-'Arabyah Al Sa'udiyah* (Researches and Comments in the History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), Maktabat Al-Tawbah, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p 19.
6. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, pp 37-38.
7. Niblock, Tim, op. cit, p 32.
8. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, op. cit, p 21.
9. Ibrahim, 'Abdul-'Aziz (1992), *Sira' Al-Umaraa* (The conflict of Princes), Dar Al-Saqi, London, U.K.
10. Niblock, Tim, op. cit, p 32.
11. Ibrahim, 'Abdul-'Aziz, op. cit, pp 16-17.
12. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, op. cit, p 21.
13. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, pp 39-40.
14. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah (1993), *Muhadharat Fi Tarikh Al-Dawlah Al Sa'udiyah Al-Aulaa* (Lectures in the History of the First Saudi State), Dar Al-Marikh Li Al-Nashir, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
15. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, pp 39-40.
16. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah, op. cit, pp 37-38.
17. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin (1991), *Shibih Al-Jazirah Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz* (Arabian Peninsula in King 'Abdul-'Aziz Era), Dar Al-'Alam Li Al-Malain, Beirut, Lebanon, pp 36-37.

18. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, op. cit, p 27.
19. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, pp 37-38.
20. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, op. cit, pp 27-28.
21. Ibid, p 28.
22. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, pp 39-40.
23. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, p 28.
24. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah, op. cit, pp 75-76.
25. Al-'Uthaymin, 'Abdullah, op. cit, p 28.
26. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah in Shawyah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 9.4.1994.
27. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah (1991), *Tarikh Al-Dawlah Al Sa'udiyah Al-Thanyah* (The History of the Second Saudi State), Dar Al-Marikh Li Al-Nashir, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 38-39.
28. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
29. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah, *Tarikh Al-Dawlah Al Sa'udiyah Al-Thanyah*, op. cit, p 39.
30. Hadhlul, Sa'ud (1961), *Tarikh Muluk Al Sa'ud* (The History of the Kings of Al Sa'ud), Al-Mahad Al-'Ami, Buraydah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 18-19.
31. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 44.
32. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
33. Hadhlul, Sa'ud, op. cit, p 19.
34. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
35. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 44.
36. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
37. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
38. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 44.
39. Abu 'Alayah, 'Abdul-Fatah, *Tarikh Al-Dawlah Al Sa'udiyah Al-Thanyah*, op. cit, p 47.
40. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, pp 45-46.
41. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, p 95.

42. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, pp 46-47.
43. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, pp 97-98.
44. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
45. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, pp 50-52.
46. Al-Rihani, Amin, op. cit, pp 103-106.
47. Interview with Muhammad ibn Munaykhir, op. cit.
48. Interviews with Humud ibn Zayd ibn Luaysh in Turbah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 6.4.1994 and Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.

CHAPTER ONE

'ABDUL-'AZIZ AL SA'UD AND THE TRIBES OF THE *AL-'ARIDH* AREA (THE *AHL AL-'ARIDH*) WHICH WERE LATER TO BECOME THE *IKHWAN* 1902-1916

1. INTRODUCTION

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe were the most important components of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the people of the *Al-'Aridh* area). The background role of these tribes shall therefore be explained in detail, as also will their participation in 'Abdul-'Aziz's conquests during the period 1902-1916. An understanding of this early period should therefore help us to understand the origins from which the *Ikhwan* movement developed.

In most of the studies which have been written about 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, the nature of the tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* has not been explained in detail. The tribal composition of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* shall be defined in this chapter. The chapter also will deal with external influences during that time.

2. THE TRIBES OF THE *AL-'ARIDH* AREA

Previous writing about the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has mentioned the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* and their role supporting 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud without giving enough explanation of the background and role of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. The *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul and that was explained in the poem of Badi ibn Dbayan Al-Suba'i who was a headman of the Al-'Ajman Al-Rakham clan of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. He was a well-known warrior and poet. I have translated it freely:

It is known that the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* for long time

When saying who they are, said they were Suba'an and Suhul

Suba'an and Suhul meant the two tribes of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*, the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul.(1)

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud was dependent on the support of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. They were loyal followers and his most fearless fighters. They had the reputation of never complaining and always being constant in the face of his opponents. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud relied on them completely. During any battle, it was easy to know the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* because they were covered with the most dust and saw more action than the others. They used their muskets for a short period, but relied on their swords to end any event.(2)

Thus, the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were 'Abdul-'Aziz's strongest and most patient allies. They were proud and confident and they did not take orders from anyone other than 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Consequently, 'Abdul-'Aziz achieved success with his faith in God and through the loyalty of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*.(3)

Although the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were small in number, they could overcome huge numbers of opposing tribesmen. Even the ancestors of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud could not have established their states on the Arabian Peninsula without the help of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* and their strength.(4)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes were the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* and they made up the military strength of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. They made a strong alliance with 'Abdul-'Aziz against his opponents. Moreover these two tribes played a major role in the development of 'Abdul-'Aziz's Kingdom. From the first invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1901 until the creation of Saudi Arabia in 1932 and they were the hand of 'Abdul-'Aziz with which he hit his opponents.(5)

To ignore the role that these tribes played under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud would be to twist the facts. These tribes were ready to support 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud at any time and in any way. Other tribes apart from the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes were

less loyal to Abdul Aziz Al Sa'ud before the creation of the *Ikhwan* movement. They supported him at that period of time only when it was in their own self interest.(6)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* was the most important component of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. Evidence of the location of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* is found in the poem of Lil Al-Mitlaqim (the Shaykh of the Al-Hadi clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe). He was a well-known shaykh and poet. I have translated it freely:

Crazy who thinks taking Wabdan's land
(Wabdan was the nickname of Majid ibn Milfi Abu Thinayn)
The land which we protect from his enemies
From the border of Khashim Al-'An to the surrounding area of Saqan
A place where the camels graze safely
A home for a strong tribemen who protect their neighbours
The Bani 'Umar who stand against their enemies
They are very nice tribemen when they like you
Their neighbours feel safe under their protection
From Al-Turybi till Al-Barabik to Saqan
A beautiful land when it becomes green
I did not say anything which is not right
It is shameful to say something which is not right.(7)

Most of the writers who wrote about the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia ignored the role of the tribes of Najd and they tried to make the role of the *hadhar* (the villagers) much stronger than that of the tribes of Najd in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These writers led readers to make false assumptions about the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and jump to conclusions without dealing with the events which showed the real roles of the tribes of Najd.(8)

Sa'ud ibn Hadhlul, for example, mentions the fighters of the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh who were killed in the battle of Jirab in 1915. He included Shaykh Muslat ibn 'Ali Al-Azma' as one of the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh who was killed at that battle.(9) Sultan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' was from the Abu Thinayn family who were the shaykhs of the

Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Al-Azma' was his second great grandfather and Abu Thinayn was his sixth great grandfather. When Sultan gives examples of the participation of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, he speaks from direct testimony from his family. His grandfather, 'Ali ibn Dhaydan (Al-Azma') Abu Thinayn, died in the battle of Rudhat Muhanna in 1906 between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd. His father, Muslat ibn 'Ali Al-Azma' Abu Thinayn died also in the battle of Jirab in 1915 between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd. His father and grandfather were two shaykhs from the Abu Thinayn family. Therefore, they were two shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and they were not *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh as ibn Hadhlul stated.(10)

3. THE SUBAY AL-'ARIDH TRIBE

The folk history of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* explains how the tribe came to be divided into four parts. This history is very important in establishing the identity of the part. The Subay' of Najd, the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* was a medium sized tribe in number and they were descendants of 'Amir ibn Sa'sah ibn Bakir ibn Hawazin. They came from Al-Khrumah and Ranyah and the surrounding areas and they settled in the *Al-'Aridh* area at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The tribe in general, which included the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' of Najd) and the Subay' Al-'Ala (the Subay' of Al-Hijaz), came to be divided into the Bani 'Amir, the Bani 'Umar, the Bani 'Umair and the Al-Zukur (See Appendix Figure 1).(11)

There was a war between the Bani 'Amir part and the Al-Qirayshat clan, which was a clan of the Al-Zukur part. The Al-Qirayshat and their allies asked for help from the Sharif of Makkah who supported them against the Bani 'Amir part and some of the Bani 'Umar part. They had many battles and eventually the Bani 'Amir part and their allies among the Bani 'Umar part left Al-Hijaz and migrated to the middle of Najd. The two parts of the Bani 'Amir and the Bani 'Umar stayed as neighbours of the Bani Khalid tribe in the middle of Najd. They spent many years as close neighbours until one of

Subay' tribe of Najd took the camels from one man of the Bani Khalid tribe. As a result, the two tribes had a war which ended when the Bani Khalid were forced to leave their land and settle in the Al-Hasa area in 1830. Consequently, the Bani 'Amir part and the Bani 'Umar part took over the area previously occupied by the Bani Khalid tribe. Thus, the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, the Subay' of Najd, surrounded Al Riyadh area.(12)

I will divide the history of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe into sections explaining the leading families, the overall leadership of the tribe, and the support for 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.

3.1. THE LEADING FAMILIES

One part of the Subay' tribe lived in Najd and another part of them lived in Al-Khrumah and Ranyah. The Subay' of Najd, the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* , were the Bani 'Umar and the Bani 'Amir. The Bani 'Umar part was divided into two subdivisions which were the Al-Sa'abah and the Al-Khidhran. The Al-Sa'abah subdivision was subdivided into many clans. One of them, the Al-Jimaliyn clan took their shaykhs from the Abu Thinayn family. The Al-'Iziah clan took their shaykhs from the Al-Jifran family. The Al-'Ali clan took their shaykhs from the Al-Shurrufi family. The Al-Midaryah clan took their shaykhs from the Al-Nafil family. The second subdivision was the Al-Khidhran. They were subdivided into the Al-Nibtah and took their shaykhs from the Al-Sayafa family; the Al-Smalah who took their shaykhs from the Al-Mijfil family; the Al-Jibur who took their shaykhs from the Al-Jifayran family; the Al-'Arynat who took their shaykhs from the Al-Shawyah family,(13) and the Miliyh clan who took their shaykhs from the Al-Jarrd family.(14)

The Bani 'Amir part was divided into many clans. They were the clans of the Al-Dh'afah, the Al-'Yadiyn, the Al-Quawdah, and the Al-'Adhuwqah and their chief shaykhs were the Al-'Amani family who were also the shaykhs of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. The Al-'Ajman Al-Rakham and their shaykhs from the Al-

Hadayhid family, the Al-Qida'ah and their shaykhs from the Al-Jiway'd family, and the Bani Himayd and their shaykhs from the Al-Zibar family.(15)

3.2. THE OVERALL LEADERSHIP OF THE TRIBE

The tribes of Najd had leading families which represented and led their tribes. The Abu Thinayn family performed this role for the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, acting in the same capacity as the Al-Himayd family (the Al-Himidah family) in the 'Utaybah tribe, the Al-Dawish family in the Mutayr tribe, the Al-Hithlayn family in the Al-'Ajman tribe, and so on. When 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud asked to meet the shaykhs of the tribes, the Abu Thinayn family were the shaykhs of the clans of Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and they were the shaykhs of all the shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* clans. Their decisions affected the tribe as a whole; as a result, they talked and decided in the name of their tribe. 'Abdul-'Aziz could discuss matters with any member of the Abu Thinayn family or any member of other leading families and he would accept their ideas as being representative of his family and his whole tribe all the same time. (16)

4. THE AL-SUHUL TRIBE

Most of the Al-Suhul tribe were descended from the Subay' tribe, with a few clans were descended from other tribes. (See Appendix Figure 1). The tribe was divided into the following:

1. The Al-Mihaymiyd clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Jil'ud family.
2. The Al-Dhuran clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Mi'dil family.
3. The Al-Barazat clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Lihayan Family.

4. The Al-Mahalaf clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Rihan family.
5. The Al-Mahanyah clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Fadhil family.
6. The Al-Minjal clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Rihan family.
7. The Al-Zaqa'in clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Rawaydhan family.
8. The Al-Qibabnah clan, under the leadership of their shaykh who was from the Al-Shikhaytil family. They had lived in the south and the north of the *Al-'Aridh* area.(17)

The *hijar* (settlements) of the Al-Suhul tribe were Umm Al-Shutun, Al-Dubayjah, Al-Ruaydah, Ruaydhat Al-'Iridh, Silih, Ruayghib, and Mishash Al-Suhul.(18) The Al-Jil'ud family were the shaykhs of the Al-Mihaymiyd clan and they were also the shaykhs of the Al-Suhul tribe. The Al-Jil'ud family were in charge of their tribe and responsible to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and they represented the Al-Suhul tribe.(19)

As noted above, most of the clans of the Al-Suhul tribe are descended from the Subay' tribe, for instance the Al-Mihaymiyd, the Al-Dhuran, the Al-Qibabnah, the Al-Fitamiyn, and the Al-Shimaysat clans. On other hand, there were a few clans who were descended from other tribes, for instance the Al-Barazat which was from the Al-Birzan clan from the Mutayr tribe and the Al-Mahanyah which was from the Bani Hajir tribe who were descended from the Qahtan tribe. Moreover, those clans had an alliance between them and they made an alliance with the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(20)

5. THE TRIBES OF THE *AL-'ARIDH* AREA AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR 'ABDUL-'AZIZ AL SA'UD 1902-1916

I shall divide that period into three smaller sections of time because each period shows us the development of the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the rulers

of Hail as well as showing us the expansion of the regional control of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud over Najd. The battles during those times would help us to know who were the allies of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and, who were not, in order to clarify the role of each tribe. Those three periods of time are the following:

1. From 1902 to 1906.
2. From 1906 to 1910.
3. From 1910 to 1916.

5.1. FROM 1902 TO 1906:

This period of time covers the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud and 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd over control of the main villages of Najd. The tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul played the major role of that conflict under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and these tribes encouraged other tribes to participate with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(21) The tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul were led by 'Abdul-'Aziz and he became their leader; so, they followed his orders and respected his decisions. By comparison, when other tribes fought with 'Abdul-'Aziz, they had their own banners and fought under them and under their shaykhs. But the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe fought under the banner of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* which was the banner of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(22)

I shall describe the following events: the first and the second invasion of Al-Riyadh; the push South and Southwest; the expansion to the North and Northwest; the conquest of Al-Qasim; and the battle of Rudhat Muhanna.

5.1.1. THE FIRST INVASION OF AL-RIYADH

The second invasion of Al-Riyadh was a development of certain events which had happened about two years before the invasion (See Appendix Figure 3). The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe joined 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud before his invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1902 and

they gave him their full support. When 'Abdul-'Aziz was in exile in Kuwait, Al-Rashiyd stood against the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. The rulers of the Al-Rashiyd family expelled the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe from their area, which made the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe go to Al-Hasa in 1900. 'Abdul-'Aziz knew that the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe was in Al-Hasa and he asked his father to allow him to join and lead that tribe. His father agreed and 'Abdul-'Aziz joined the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. To prove his skill as a leader he led the tribe on a raid on the Qahtan Najd in Birk (near Hutat Bani Tamim) (see Figure 3). They took many camels and he sent one hundred camels to the Amir of Kuwait as a gift. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe also attacked the Al-'Asim clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe in 'Ashirah and they defeated them in that attack. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was becoming a more confident and a more accomplished leader from that time.(23)

The tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul participated heavily in the first invasion of Al-Riyadh which was a part of the battle of Al-Sarif. The battle of Al-Sarif was in 1901 and it was between Mubarak Al-Sabah (the Amir of Kuwait) and 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyd (the Amir of Hail). 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud and his son 'Abdul-'Aziz supported the Amir of Kuwait against the Amir of Hail and 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman led the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul to attack Al-Riyadh. 'Abdul-'Aziz had surrounded Al-Riyadh but then he heard of the defeat of the Amir of Kuwait and his father in that battle. 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to go back to Kuwait and wait with his father for a better chance in the future to regain Al-Riyadh. This chance came in the second invasion of Al-Riyadh.(24)

Foreign writers, the national Arab writers, and the writers from the *hadhar* of Najd have tended to understate the role of the tribes in the creation of Saudi Arabia and increase the importance of the part played by the *hadhar* (the villagers). In an interview between Al-Sahabi (Muhammad Al-Shaykh) and Fahad Al-Marik (a historical Saudi writer), Al-Sahabi tried to decrease the role of the tribes of the Subay' of Najd (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh*) and the Al-Suhul in the first invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1901. The first invasion of Al-Riyadh was a part of the battle of Al-Sarif between the Amir of Kuwait

(Mubarak Al-Sabah) and the Amir of Hail ('Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd). Al-Sahabi stated that when 'Abdul-'Aziz attacked Al-Riyadh, he faced a group of warriors led the Amir of Al-Riyadh ('Ajlan ibn 'Ajlan) who was supported by the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh. Al-Sahabi mentioned that 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's allies who were the tribes of the Subay' of Najd and the Al-Suhul who were only involved because of the opportunity to loot and kill. Al-Sahabi tried to find an excuse for the support of the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh for their Amir of Al-Riyadh in the first invasion of Al-Riyadh against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul) by attacking the credibility of the support that these two tribes gave to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(25)

When they surrounded Al-Riyadh, Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah Al-Shaykh (the leader of the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh) showed great bravery against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies. As a result, Amir Ajlan gave him a horse as a gift for his courage. Al-Sahabi also stated that when 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyd defeated Mubarak Al-Sabah and his allies in the battle of Al-Sarif; it was impossible for 'Abdul-'Aziz to continue his siege of Al-Riyadh as one of the Amir of Kuwait's allies. Therefore, his father 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud sent one of the Subay' of Najd (who was called Khad'an ibn Shabiyb from the clan of the Al-'Iziah) to his son with instructions to leave Al-Riyadh as soon as possible.(26)

It was not surprising that the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh stood against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud because all the *hadhar* of Najd were under 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd's control. Abdul-Malik ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdul-Latif Al-Shaykh who led the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh in the battle of Al-Sarif, organising the *hadhar* to fight with the Amir of Hail against the Amir of Kuwait and his allies.(27)

Al-Sahabi reduced the importance of the support that the tribes of the Subay' of Najd and the Al-Suhul gave to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud by saying that they were only involved because it gave them the opportunity to loot and kill. It is unfair to judge those tribes in that way because they supported the Al Sa'ud family in the first, second, and third Saudi States and they played a major role as loyal allies who could be relied on. Al-Sahabi

does, however, show the support of the *hadhar* of Al-Riyadh for the Al-Rashiyy family and their disloyalty to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud at that time.(28)

5.1.2. THE SECOND INVASION OF AL-RIYADH

The tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul played the major role in the conquest of the Centre of Najd Province which included the *Al-'Aridh* area (the main village of the area, Al-Riyadh), the Al-Kharj area (the main village of the area, Al-Saih), the Al-Aflaj (the main village, Laila), the Al-Salail area (the main village of the area, Al-Salail), the Wadi Al-Dawasir (the main village of the area, Al-Khamasin), the Hutat Bani Tamim (the main village of the area, Al-Hutah), the Al-Sha'iyb area (the main village, Huraymala), the Al-Mihmal area (the main village, Thadiq), the Al-Washim area (the main village, Shaqra), the Sudayr area (the main village Al-Majma'ah), and other areas (See Appendix Figures 2&3). The two tribes also heavily participated in the conquest of the Al-Qasim Province and its main towns Buraydah and 'Unayzah (See Appendix Figure 4).(29)

In the Spring of 1901, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud decided to raid the loyal tribes of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyy and he moved from Kuwait to Najd with sixty fighters. Those sixty fighters were from the Al Sa'ud family, followers from different tribes, servants, and slaves. That number increased and it became around two hundred fighters from the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul. 'Abdul-'Aziz was joined by some fighters of the tribes of the Al-'Ajman and the Al-Murrah in his raids. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his fighters succeeded in his raids and they captured many camels from the tribes of the Qahtan, the 'Utaybah, and the Al-Dawasir. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his two hundred fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were subsequently deserted by the other fighters who had had enough of raids.(30)

The real target of 'Abdul-'Aziz in making those raids was to attack Al-Riyadh and to snatch it from the control of the Al-Rashiyy family. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters arrived in Al-Hair, which was belonged to the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, and 'Abdul-'Aziz

settled there for a moment because it was the safe area to him to take a break. Abdul-'Aziz informed his fighters (who were most of them from the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*) that he would attack Al-Riyadh and he would allow sixty fighters from them to join him in that attack. Then 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters moved from Al-Hair to Al-Riyadh (See Appendix Figure 2). 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud could mobilise all the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul, but he preferred to mobilise that smaller number of fighters in order to surprise the ruler of Ibn Rashiyyd in Al-Riyadh.(31)

When 'Abdul-'Aziz started his second invasion of Al-Riyadh he made sure that 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyyd was far away in Hail and that he had his own conflict with the Amir of Kuwait (See Appendix Figure 3).(32) On 15 January 1902, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud attacked Al-Riyadh and freed it from the control of Ibn Rashiyyd.(33). When 'Ajlan (the ruler of Al-Riyadh) was killed, the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul were near Al-Riyadh and awaiting 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's orders. 'Abdul-'Aziz decided not to involve the two tribes of *Al-'Aridh* because it was not needed. The involvement of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe would gain the attention of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyyd and 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud did not want that at this stage.(34) 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his fighters conquered Al-Riyadh, regaining the authority which his forefathers had as rulers of Najd. He sent to his father in Kuwait to come to Al-Riyadh because he respected his father and followed his orders.(35).

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud rebuilt the walls of Al-Riyadh and protected Al-Riyadh against the invasion of Ibn Rashiyyd. When 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyyd heard of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's attack, he commented that 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was like a rabbit which was in its hole and that he could get it at any time. Ibn Rashiyyd was mistaken and he did not pay attention to Al-Riyadh until about ten months later because he was busy with his conflict with the Amir of Kuwait.(36)

Most of the writers have tried to describe the second invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1902 as an almost impossible event and they also have tried to make it the most important event in the history of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. It is clear that the second invasion of Al-Riyadh was important as the first step for 'Abdul-'Aziz to expand his area of control.

However, it was not a difficult target to achieve compared to 'Abdul-'Aziz's later achievements. In the second invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1902, there were seven fighters of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* who participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. There was also one fighter of the Al-Suhul tribe who participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz. Those fighters were the following:

1. Talal ibn 'Ajarash Abu Thinayn who was from the Abu Thinayn family, the shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. The Abu Thinayn family were from the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
2. Misalam ibn Mijfil Al-Suba'i who was the Shaykh of Al-Smalah clan and he was from the Al-Mijfil family, the shaykhs of the Al-Smalah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
3. 'Abdullah Abu Dirayb Al-Suba'i who was from the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
4. Majid ibn Mar'iyd Al-Suba'i who was from the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
5. 'Abdullah ibn Mar'iyd Al-Suba'i who was from the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
6. Mutlaq ibn Jaffal Al-Suba'i who was from the Al-'Izah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
7. Falih ibn Al-Fuayjih Al-Suba'i who was from the Al-Smalah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.
8. Shai' ibn Shadad Al-Sahali who was from the Al-Zaq'in clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(37)

When the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe heard that 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had conquered Al-Riyadh in 1902 with some of their men, they came to Al-Riyadh and gave 'Abdul-'Aziz full support. The Al-Suhul tribe also came to 'Abdul-'Aziz and showed their support for him as a loyal ally.(38)

The main target for 'Abdul-'Aziz in his struggle in Najd was to enforce Islam among the Najdi tribes and to forge a brotherhood between them. This, he failed to achieve.

'Abdul-'Aziz dreamed of encouraging the Najdi tribes to stop their raids on each other and he also dreamed of directing them towards his target which was the unification of Najd. This target would be in their own interest as well as that of 'Abdul-'Aziz.(39)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe represented the main allies of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud but he had other allies from other tribes, such as a part of the Al-'Ajman tribe, the Al-Shamir clan, and a part of the Al-Dawasir tribe. The Al-Dawasir tribe, from the area to the South of Al-Riyadh to Al-Aflaj, paid the Zakat (the Islamic tax) to 'Abdul-'Aziz while those from Al-Aflaj to Al-Khamasin, paid the Zakat to the rulers of the Surat 'Asir.(See Appendix Figure 3) When any clan or tribe paid the Zakat to any ruler, it meant that they accepted the ruler's authority over them. The *hadhar* of the area to the South of Al-Riyadh wanted to get rid of the authority of Al-Rashiyd over them but this would be impossible dream without the support of 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*.(40)

5.1.3. THE PUSH TO THE SOUTH AND THE SOUTHWEST OF AL-RIYADH

'Abdul-'Aziz kept most of his allies (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe) under his command. He sent many small groups of fighters from those two tribes to conquer the main villages in the South and Southwest of Al-Riyadh and the main villages to the North and Northwest of Al-Riyadh (See Appendix Figure 3). The *hadhar* of Najd were more in need of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud than the tribes of Najd because they hoped he would free them from the unappreciated control of Ibn Rashiyd. Those *hadhar* of Najd knew that 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud would be their saviour and free them from the control of the tribes of Najd and he would help them to be secure in their villages from the Najdi tribes which included the Shammari tribe. Therefore, the *hadhar* of Najd helped 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud within their local area when they could be sure of success over Ibn Rashiyd, knowing that Ibn Rashiyd's revenge would be bloody.(41)

The main opponent of 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Rashid at that time was Mubarak Al-Sabah (the Amir of Kuwait) and Ibn Rashid was not afraid of 'Abdul-'Aziz and was not overly concerned by his success in conquering Al-Riyadh in 1902.(42) 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashid was a loyal ally of the Ottoman government and he was encouraged by Sultan 'Abdul-Hamid to attack the Amir of Kuwait (Mubarak Al-Sabah). However, the Amir of Kuwait relied on Britain for protection, so Ibn Rashid reconsidered his plans and decided to leave Kuwait for the time being. It would be difficult to conquer Kuwait while at the same time dealing with the threat of 'Abdul-'Aziz. Most of the tribes of Najd and the *hadhar* of Southern Al-Riyadh welcomed 'Abdul-'Aziz and so Ibn Rashid decided to move to Hafar Al-Batin and cut 'Abdul-'Aziz's supply route from Kuwait in 1902. Ibn Rashid then left Hafar Al-Batin to attack Al-Riyadh. When he was close to Al-Riyadh, he heard that 'Abdul-'Aziz had left Al-Riyadh for Al-Hair which belonged to the Subay' of Najd tribe (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe) and that Al-Riyadh was protected against him. 'Abdul-'Aziz sent 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi to the 'Alayah mountain which was between Al-Harriq and Al-Hutah to gather support.(43) On the 'Alayah mountain lived the Al-Shamir clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe and they were a loyal allies of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(44)

'Abdul-'Aziz also sent his brother Sa'ad to Al-Harriq to gather further support. Moreover, 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* went to Al-Hutah to encourage the *hadhar* there to stand against the rulers of Ibn Rashid in their area. Ibn Rashid knew about the connection between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *hadhar* of that area. Ibn Rashid decided to attack Al-Dilam which had provided 'Abdul-'Aziz with more fighters and which was led by 'Ahmad Al-Sudayri. 'Abdul-'Aziz and Ibn Rashid faced each other at Al-Dilam and 'Abdul-'Aziz and his warriors defeated Ibn Rashid, who then moved to Al-Silimayah. 'Abdul-'Aziz followed him and forced Ibn Rashid to leave Al-Silimayah for Hafar Al-Batin.(45)

5.1.4. THE EXPANSION TO THE NORTH AND THE NORTHWEST OF AL-RIYADH

In 1903 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Rashid attacked the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe in Al-Dahana because of the support they had given 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. He also attacked the 'Utaybah tribe near Al-Artawiyah in order to frighten the other tribes of Najd. Ibn Rashid declared war against the Amir of Kuwait (Mubarak Al-Sabah) and the Amir of Kuwait asked 'Abdul-'Aziz for help. 'Abdul-'Aziz went to Kuwait with his fighters and he joined the Amir of Kuwait's fighters. Ibn Rashid decided to wait for a better chance to attack Kuwait and he went back to Hail. *Imam* 'Abdul-'Aziz attacked a part of the Mutayr tribe in Al-Suman for their continuing disobedience.(46)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashid did not enter Hail and he decided to attack Al-Riyadh. On his way he attacked a part of the Al-Suhul tribe, the loyal ally of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and he forced them to join him. When he came close to Al-Riyadh, one of the Al-Suhul tribe, called Mutlaq ibn Shikhaytil from the Al-Shikhaytil family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Qibabnah clan, escaped from Ibn Rashid and warned *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud. Consequently *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman was able to protect Al-Riyadh against Ibn Rashid's invasion because he was ready for such an attack. Ibn Rashid heard that 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters were moving towards Al-Qasim, and consequently they moved to Al-Washim. Meanwhile *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman sent out a force of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. That force conquered Al-Mimal and Al-Sha'iyb and then moved on to Shaqra (See Appendix Figure 3). Shaqra was controlled by Al-Sawaygh who was one of Ibn Rashid's amirs of the main villages of Najd. Al-Sawaygh escaped to Tharmida and the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* force conquered Shaqra without opposition from its *hadhar*. That force went to Tharmida and they killed Al-Sawaygh and arrested Mishari Al-'Unqiri who was sent to Al-Riyadh.(47) Ibn Rashid followed the force of 'Abdul-'Aziz and he expelled them from Tharmida to Shaqra. Ibn Rashid pursued the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* force in Shaqra and besieged them. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud returned from Kuwait to Al-Riyadh and he moved with his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* to Huraymila. When

Ibn Rashiyd heard about 'Abdul-'Aziz's movements he left Shaqra and went to Al-Qat.(48)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's movement was joined by the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul and they represented the majority of his fighters.(49) Ibn Rashiyd's forces in Tharmida were led by Hamad Al-'Askar, the Amir of Al-Majma'ah. 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a force of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* which was led by 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi to attack Tharmida in 1903. Ibn Jiluwi and his fighters fought Ibn Rashiyd's fighters, killing some and routing the others. When Ibn Rashiyd heard of the defeat of his fighters, he moved to Al-Qat and then left one force of fighters in Al-Majma'ah and another force in Al-Rudhah (See Appendix Figure 3). 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a force of his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* to conquer Sudayr and that force conquered most of the villages of Sudayr except the main village of Al-Majma'ah which had remained under the sovereignty of Ibn Rashiyd and had defended itself from any outside attack. 'Abdul-'Aziz put two forces of fighters in Al-Rudhah and Jilajil and appointed Ahmad Al-Sudayri as an amir in Shaqra (See Appendix Figure 3). 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud left Sudayr and returned to Al-Riyadh.(50)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud stayed one month in Al-Riyadh and he then heard that Ibn Rashiyd had gone to Al-Qasim to attack the 'Utaybah and a part of the Qahtan of Najd tribes who had supported 'Abdul-'Aziz. News came that Ibn Rashiyd had surrounded Al-Tawim which was one of the Sudayr villages.(51) 'Abdul-'Aziz moved with his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* very fast from Al-Riyadh. He ordered the *hadhar* of Al-Washim to join their amir in Shaqra (Ahmad Al-Sudayri) to protect Sudayr. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters arrived in Thadiq and heard that Ibn Rashiyd had not achieved his goal. Ibn Rashiyd went to Al-Artawiyah while leaving a force of fighters in Al-Majma'ah which was under his control. 'Abdul-'Aziz was then impelled to move from Thadiq to Jilajil after twenty days. He spent that time arranging himself and his fighters against Ibn Rashiyd. 'Abdul-'Aziz heard that Ibn Rashiyd had returned from Al-Zilfi. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* moved toward Al-Majma'ah and he had an agreement with the *hadhar* of Al-Majma'ah that they would surrender if he could

conquer Al-Qasim. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* approached Al-Qat which was one of the Sudayr villages, and he went to the main village of Al-Zilfi. At about this time 'Abdul-'Aziz wrote from Al-Zilfi to the Amir of Kuwait to send the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim who were refugees in Kuwait. The families concerned were the Aba Al-Khayl and the Al-Silaym families. As a result, Mubarak sent back those Najdi of the *hadhar* who had left the Ibn Rashiyd towns after the battle of Al-Milayda .(52)

5.1.5. THE CONQUEST OF AL-QASIM

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe played an important role under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the conquest of Al-Qasim and they constituted the overwhelming majority of his fighters. The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe participated in the battle of Al-Bukayriah and the battles of Al-Shinanah in 1904 and they represented the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* who were under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud (See Appendix Figure 4).(53) Al-Qasim was an important region in Najd because it was a commercial area. The Al-Qasim region was controlled by Ibn Al-Rashiyd. 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to expel Ibn Rashiyd and the Ottoman soldiers in Al-Qasim. Describing Al-Qasim in detail will help us to understand the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz on one side and Ibn Rashiyd and the Ottoman government on the other.(54)

The Al-Rashiyd family had controlled Al-Qasim from the end of the Second Saudi State until 1904 and they had appointed a loyal ruler in each main town of the Al-Qasim area. The Second Saudi State ended after the battle of Al-Milayda in December 1890. It was between the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim and Ibn Rashiyd and it ended with the defeat of the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim. As a result, *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman and his family left Al-Riyadh.(55) The *hadhar* of Najd including the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim suffered from unfair treatment from the Al-Rashiyd family and yet they were still bound by strong bonds of authority to the rulers of that family. The Al-Rashiyd family did not protect the *hadhar* of Najd from the authority of the Najdi tribes. The return of the Al Sa'ud family to Najd, led by 'Abdul-'Aziz brought freedom from all those bonds to the *hadhar* of Najd.(56)

In addition, after the battle of Al-Milayda, the *hadhar* Al-Qasim did not appreciate their treatment by the Al-Rashiyd family because it was against their own interests. The Al-Rashiyd family transferred all the commercial dealings that they had from Al-Qasim to Hail which made the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim (the *Al-'Uqaylat*) feel that they had been treated unfairly. Moreover, the Al-Rashiyd family controlled Al-Qasim and they sent the Al-Muhanna family (who were the most important traders of the *Al-'Uqaylat*) to Hail prison. Members of the Al-Muhanna family later escaped from that prison and went to Kuwait to join the Al Sa'ud family in exile. In April 1903, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud started to clash with the rulers of Ibn Rashiyd in Al-Qasim and in July 1903 he moved from Al-Riyadh to Shaqra. He settled near Al-Zilfi and he received the Amirs of Al-Qasim with their relatives.(57)

Meanwhile, Ibn Rashiyd sent messages to the Ottoman Sultan and he asked the Sultan to help against 'Abdul-'Aziz. Ibn Rashiyd then sent four hundred of his fighters, led by Majid Al-Humud to encamp at 'Unayzah and three hundred of his fighters led by Husayn ibn Jarrad, to Al-Sir. He himself moved to Iraq to muster support from the Shammar tribe of Iraq. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* faced Ibn Jarrad in the oasis of Al-Sir. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters killed Ibn Jarrad and his fighters and took one hundred and fifty camels and one thousand Riyals as booty. In addition, the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim conquered 'Unayzah at night with 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi who came to help the *Hadhar* of Al-Qasim with one hundred of his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. 'Abdul-'Aziz went to 'Unayzah and Buraydah. With him he had Al-Silaym family (the rulers of 'Unayzah) and the Al-Muhanna family (the rulers of Buraydah) who had escaped from Ibn Rashiyd's force.(58)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the battle of Al-Bukayriah. Some of the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim participated in that battle, motivated by their desire to free their land from the authority of the Al-Rashiyd family. They could not achieve that without the help of 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*.(59) In July 1904, 'Abdul-'Aziz defeated Ibn Rashiyd's garrisons in the battle of Al-Bukayriah and he went back to Al-Rass. In August 1904,

'Abdul-'Aziz was in Al-Rass and he surrounded Al-Shinanah which was garrisoned by seven hundred Ottoman soldiers. Ibn Rashiyyd and his troops bivouacked to the south of the Ottoman soldiers. 'Abdul-'Aziz had a huge force comprising ten thousand five hundred infantry fighters and one thousand eight hundred cavalry. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* bivouacked to the west of Al-Shinanah because he wanted to close the road to 'Unayzah and Buraydah which would make it difficult for Ibn Rashiyyd and his fighters to attack those two main villages of Al-Qasim. The way to the North was closed by the *hadhar* of Al-'Uqaylat (the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim) with five hundred infantry. Thus, Ibn Rashiyyd could not withdraw to Hail. Consequently, 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters blocked all the routes of escape for Ibn Rashiyyd and his forces except for the South and the West. However these two ways were impossible for him to travel on because the tribes in those two directions were not loyal to him, especially the tribe in the west.(60)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe represented the majority of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's fighters in (61) the battles of Al-Shinanah and Qasir ibn 'Uqayl which were in September 1904. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters vanquished Ibn Rashiyyd and the Ottoman soldiers. After these battles, the Ottoman government made official representations to 'Abdul-'Aziz and he was in a much stronger position than before. It was the beginning of the end for 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyyd who died in the battle of Rudhat Muhanna.(62) It was also the end of Turkish power in Al-Qasim as 'Abdul-'Aziz forced them to leave Al-Qasim for good in 1908.(63) The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe lost one of their shaykhs during the conquest of Al-Qasim and that Shaykh was Faliy ibn Jiway'd who was the Shaykh of the Al-Qda'a clan of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(64)

In June 1904, the Ottoman government sent (from Al-Basrah in the South of Iraq) four thousand Ottoman soldiers to support Ibn Rashiyyd against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. They had twelve cannons and they bivouacked in Al-Samawah which was a few hours from Ibn Rashiyyd's camp. The Ottoman soldiers moved from Al-Samawah to Najd. In addition, Ibn Rashiyyd forced the merchants of Al-'Uqaylat (who used to travel between

Al-Qasim and Al-Shaam) to use their camels for his purposes. He had seven thousand fighters who had faced the heat of the Summer time. The conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Ibn Rashiyyd continued until the death of Ibn Rashiyyd in the battle of Rudhat Muhanna.(65)

5.1.6. THE BATTLE OF RUDHAT MUHANNA

The battle of Rudhat Muhanna was between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, the Al-Suhul tribe, and the Mutayr tribe) and 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyyd and his allies (the Shammar tribe, the Qahtan of Najd tribe, and the Harb of Najd tribe).(66) The battle of Rudhat Muhanna took place in the Al-Qasim area and it was the beginning of the end for the Al-Rashiyyd family (See Appendix Figure 4). There was a conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the Mutayr tribe which made Faysal Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) go to Iraq. Ibn Rashiyyd attacked a part of the Mutayr tribe who were the Al-Hawamil and he defeated them. Meanwhile, Al-Dawish came from the North of Najd and he met 'Abdul-'Aziz who had with him fighters from the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and their Shaykh Al-Lmay' Abu Thinayn, and the Al-Suhul tribe and their Shaykh Humud ibn Jil'ud. 'Abdul-'Aziz was looking for Ibn Rashiyyd and he was following his movements. Musaymiyr Al-Muraykhi who was from the Al-Muraykhat family who were the shaykhs of the Wasil of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe saw 'Abdul-'Aziz and Al-Dawish coming from a long distance. He rode his horse towards them and he went to them and he told them about Ibn Rashiyyd's attack on his people. Al-Dawish convinced 'Abdul-'Aziz that it was a good time to attack Ibn Rashiyyd because Al-Dawish and his tribe were ready with their weapons, camels, and horses and Ibn Rashiyyd would not expect an invasion at that time. He insisted that he received 'Abdul-'Aziz's support in this action.(67) 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies agreed to attack Ibn Rashiyyd and they sent 'Utayb ibn Misnid (a notable man of the Al-Hawamil clan) to obtain information about Ibn Rashiyyd's location. Ibn Rashiyyd allotted the camels which he had won from the Mutayr tribe to his followers and he was careless of

any danger because he was a very proud warrior. Barghash ibn Tawalah who was a Shaykh of the Shammar tribe warned Ibn Rashiyd that they had to move from their place because he was afraid that the Mutayr tribe might retaliate. Ibn Rashiyd said that he wanted to see them at any time because he was not afraid of any tribe. For his part, Ibn Tawalah insisted that they had to leave as soon as possible or they would be attacked by the Mutayr tribe. When Ibn Tawalah left Ibn Rashiyd's presence, another advisor Dahaym ibn Busais who was a Shaykh of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe and was loyal to Ibn Rashiyd gave him more advice. Ibn Busais advised Ibn Rashiyd that they should take Ibn Tawalah's advice and leave. If he did not, he would hear the voices of Falih ibn Al-Suba'i and Watban Al-Dawish (two famous warriors of the Mutayr tribe) when they attacked him. Ibn Rashiyd did not listen to the advice and he stayed put until 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies attacked him at night. Ibn Rashiyd and most of his fighters were killed. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud lost a few warriors at that battle, the most famous being the Shaykh 'Ali Al-Azma' Abu Thinayn. On the morning of the battle, the fighters of 'Abdul-'Aziz found 'Ali Al-Azma' and Ibn Rashiyd dead. The body of Al-Azma' was over Ibn Rashiyd's body which meant that Al-Azma' killed Ibn Rashiyd first and then he was killed during the night attack. Ibn Rashiyd had a bullet in his stomach and Al-Azma' had many bullets over all his body.(68)

Ibn Rashiyd was killed in the battle of Rudhat Muhanna in April 1906 along with four hundred of his fighters. 'Abdul-'Aziz lost nineteen of his fighters. After the death of Ibn Rashiyd, most of the tribes believed that luck was on 'Abdul-'Aziz's side and against the rulers of Al-Rashiyd such as the Qahtan of Najd tribe, the Harb of Najd tribe, and the 'Utaybah tribe.(69)

5.2. FROM 1906 TO 1910:

After the death of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyd who was from the Al-'Abdallah section of the Al-Rashiyd family, a conflict started between two sections of the Al-Rashiyd family who were the Al-'Abdallah and the Al-'Ibayd. Sultan ibn Humud Al-Rashiyd

who was from the Al-'Ibayd section killed Mit'ib ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyyd who was from the Al-'Abdullah section and he and his brothers became the rulers of Hail until the end of that period of time.(70) I shall divide that period of time into: the battle of Al-Majma'ah, the Al-Trifayah battle, and the battle of Al-Sibakh.

5.2.1. THE BATTLE OF AL-MAJMA'H

The battle of Al-Majma'ah was in 1907 and it took place near the main village of Al-Majma'ah (See Appendix Figure 3). The battle was between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe led by their Shaykh Al-Lmay' Abu Thinayn, the Al-Suhul tribe led by their Shaykh Humud ibn Jil'ud, and the 'Utaybah tribe led by their Shaykh Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd) Sultan ibn Humud Al-Rashiyyd and his allies who were the Mutayr tribe led by their Shaykh Faysal Al-Dawish and the *hadhar* of Buraydah led by their Amir Muhammad Aba Al-Khayl.(71) The Al-Rashiyyd family had undergone a bloody conflict between them as they competed with each other in order to rule Hail. Sultan ibn Humud Al-Rashiyyd killed the three sons of 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyyd and became the ruler of Hail in 1907. Sultan Al-Rashiyyd started his rule by sending a messenger to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to achieve a conciliation between them. 'Abdul-'Aziz agreed to recognise Sultan Al-Rashiyyd under the same conditions that he had recognised Mit'ib Al-Rashiyyd, which Sultan Al-Rashiyyd accepted.(72)

Sultan ibn Rashiyyd broke that agreement with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and he started to gather allies around him. Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish and Naif ibn Hadhal ibn Busais, who were two shaykhs from the Mutayr tribe, had an alliance with Sultan ibn Rashiyyd and the Amir of Buraydah against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Al-Dawish was the Shaykh of the overall tribe and Ibn Busais was the Shaykh of the Al-Si'ran of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe. Al-Dawish was a strong leader who defended effectively his own interests and those of his tribe. Thus he could have supported 'Abdul-'Aziz or he could have been against him which ever his self-interest dictated.(73) Al-Dawish did, nonetheless,

recognise 'Abdul-'Aziz's characteristics of patience and forgiveness and he understood 'Abdul-'Aziz's sincerity. The revolt spread in all Al-Qasim. 'Abdul-'Aziz knew that the revolt would threaten his present and his future and it could destroy his rule.(74)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* had an alliance with the 'Utaybah tribe and its Shaykh Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd. Ibn Himayd used to be the opponent of the Shammar and the Mutayr tribes. 'Abdul-'Aziz, the two tribes of the *Al-'Aridh*, and the 'Utaybah tribe attacked Al-Dawish and his tribe in Sudayr which forced them to escape to Al-Majma'ah where the settlers were loyal to Ibn Rashid. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies attacked the Mutayr tribe near Al-Majma'ah (See Appendix Figure 3). and they defeated them. Al-Dawish and his tribe asked 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive them and he forgave them.(75)

5.2.2. THE AL-TRIFAYAH BATTLE

The battle of Al-Trifayah was in 1907 and it took place in the Al-Qasim area (See Appendix Figure 4). The battle was between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, the Al-Suhul tribe, the Qahtan of Najd tribe, and the 'Utaybah tribe) and Sultan ibn Humud Al-Rashid and his allies (Faysal Al-Dawish, the Shaykh of Mutayr tribe who had been forgiven by 'Abdul-'Aziz before and Muhammad Aba Al-Khayl, the Amir of Buraydah).(76) After the battle of Al-Majma'ah, 'Abdul-'Aziz went back to Al-Riyadh and he stayed one month and he then moved to Al-Qasim with his allies of the Najdi tribes to stand against Ibn Rashid and his supporter Aba Al-Khayl who was continuing his treason against 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Silaym (the Amir of 'Unayzah) interceded between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Aba Al-Khayl and 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave Aba Al-Khayl. Aba Al-Khayl however, decided to continue his support of Ibn Rashid. 'Abdul-'Aziz moved with his allies to 'Unayzah. He knew that Al-Dawish and his tribe were coming to support Ibn Rashid and Aba Al-Khayl. Al-Dawish settled in Al-Trifayah and he moved with his tribe to Buraydah where he met 'Abdul-'Aziz's allies who defeated him and followed him to Al-Trifayah. 'Abdul-'Aziz's allies of the Najdi

tribes attacked him and his tribe again and they killed most of the fighters. In the middle of night, a man came from Buraydah and told 'Abdul-'Aziz that Ibn Rashiyyd and Aba Al-Khayl had moved from Buraydah and they would attack 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his allies of the Najdi tribes an order to get ready for their opponents. They met in battle and 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies defeated the forces of Ibn Rashiyyd, the Mutayr tribe and the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim at that battle.(77)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe lost one of their shaykhs at that battle and that Shaykh was Misalam ibn Mijfil (the Shaykh of the Al-Smalah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe). The Amir of 'Unayzah ('Abdul-'Aziz Al-Silaym) was not involved with Sultan Al-Rashiyyd and his allies against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies and remained loyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz. Al-Silaym disagreed with the rulers of Buraydah and the other villages of Al-Qasim who supported Sultan Al-Rashiyyd against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. The Al-Silaym family was a very well known family among the families of the *hadhar* in Najd and they were a family of the *hadhar* who had a tribal roots which related them to the Bani Thur clan of the Al-Zukur part of the Subay' tribe. Each village of Najd had a mixture of the *hadhar* who had such roots. Some *hadhar* had tribal roots but from tribes outside the region. The *hadhar* had no connection with their tribes because they considered themselves related to their villages more than the tribes from which they were descended.(78)

5.2.3. THE BATTLE OF AI-SIBAKH

In 1907, the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe fought alongside 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the battle of Al-Sibakh and it also took place in the Al-Qasim area (See Appendix Figure 4). 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* fought the Amir of Hail (Sultan ibn Humud Al-Rashiyyd) and the Amir of Buraydah (Muhammad Aba Al-Khayl). The *hadhar* of Buraydah had several choices. They could choose to be allied to 'Abdul-'Aziz or to be allied to Ibn Rashiyyd or they could fight for their independence. They could not make up their minds. Sometimes they wanted to be under

'Abdul-'Aziz, sometimes they pledged loyalty to Ibn Rashid, and some times they dreamt of independence under their rulers from the Aba Al-Khayl family. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies met the two Amirs of Hail and Buraydah near Buraydah and they had an indecisive battle from morning until noon.(79) It was clear that 'Abdul-'Aziz would not allow any ruler from the *hadhar* of Buraydah to be independent from him. After all, he had freed all the *hadhar* of Najd from the threat of the rulers of the Al-Rashid family.(80)

'Abdul-'Aziz deposed Aba Al-Khayl as ruler of Buraydah and appointed his own cousin 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi as the ruler of Al-Qasim. Ibn Jiluwi was a very strong character. All the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim feared him and so the Al-Qasim area became much more secure. No one of the *hadhar* of Al-Qasim thought of making trouble because they knew that Ibn Jiluwi would repress all such treason.(81)

After the battle of Al-Sibakh, Sultan Al-Rashid did not stay in power for long as he was killed by his brother Sa'ud. Sa'ud was killed in turn by the Al-Sibhan family who were led by Humud Al-Sibhan. Humud Al-Sibhan was the guardian of his nephew Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashid (the rightful ruler of Hail). Sa'ud had escaped to Al-Madinah after the killing of his three brothers. Sa'ud was still only ten years old and he was not able to rule Hail. Thus, the shaykhs of the Shammar tribe decided to make Sa'ud the ruler of Hail but who would be helped by the Al-Sibhan family. After the death of Humud Al-Sibhan, Salim Al-Sibhan (another of Sa'ud's uncles) became the guardian of Sa'ud.(82)

5.3. FROM 1910 TO 1916:

The support of the shaykhs of the Shammar tribe and the Al-Sibhan family had helped Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashid to become the new ruler of Hail in 1910. Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashid was from the Al-'Abdallah section of the Al-Rashid family while the previous ruler of Hail (Sa'ud ibn Humud Al-Rashid) was from the Al-'Ibayd section of the Al-Rashid family.(83) 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud decided to leave his

conflict with Hail for a period of time and to concentrate on Al-Hasa. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had conflicts with the Al-AI-'Ajman tribe and he decided to conquer Al-Hasa in order to remove the Al-AI-'Ajman's authority over Al-Hasa and remove its Turkish soldiers. The tribes of the Bani Hajir and Bani Khalid had shared authority over Al-Qatif and 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud decided to gain possession of Al-Hasa and Al-Qatif to end the control of those tribes over those regions. 'Abdul-'Aziz had to face Sa'ud in order to settle his conflict with Hail for good.(84)

I shall divide the period into sections covering the Hadyah battle, the battle of Al-Hariq, the Qidam battle, the battle of Al-Mijasah, the Abu Dakhan battle, the captive of Sa'ad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud, the battle of Al-Tamtayn battle, the invasion of Al-Hasa, the Jirab battle, and the battle of Kanzan.

5.3.1. THE HADYAH BATTLE

The Hadyah battle was in 1910 and it took place in the North of Kuwait (See Appendix Figure 2). The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the battle of Hadyah against Sa'dun Al-Mintifiq (the Shaykh of the Al-Mintifiq tribe of Iraq).(85) When Sultan 'Abdul-Hamid (the Ottoman Sultan) was deposed the new government stood against the Amir of Kuwait (Mubarak Al-Sabah) who was under the British mandate; thus, the young Turks, aided and abetted by Sa'dun decided to attack Mubarak. Sa'dun Pasha prepared for the attack. This made the Amir of Kuwait ask 'Abdul-'Aziz to help him against Sa'dun. So 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*, the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul moved to Kuwait. Jabir Al-Sabah (the son of Mubarak) moved to meet Sa'dun. 'Abdul-'Aziz knew that the forces of Mubarak were not equal to the forces of Sa'dun and he asked Mubarak to lead his forces instead of his son, but Mubarak disagreed. The two forces met each other and Al-Sa'dun defeated them at the battle of Hadyah and he killed many fighters.(86)

While 'Abdul-'Aziz was in Kuwait, Faysal Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) attacked the Subay' and the Qahtan tribes in Najd to punish them for their loyalty to 'Abdul-'Aziz. He gained their camels which was the main target of his raid. In response 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies left Kuwait to attack the Mutayr tribe near Kuwait and they attacked and defeated them. (87)

5.3.2. THE BATTLE OF AL-HARIQ

In addition to his concerns with the Al-Rashiyd family, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud also needed to deal with problems within his own family. The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes participated in the battle of Al-Hariq against the grandsons of Sa'ud ibn Faysal ibn Turki Al Sa'ud and the Al-Hazaznah family who were the rulers of Al-Hariq (See Appendix Figure 3).(88) 'Abdul-'Aziz had to deal with internal problems in Najd. The grandsons of Sa'ud were released by their cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud from Ibn Rashiyd's captivity. The grandsons of Sa'ud lived in Al-Kharj and they wanted to be the rulers of Al-Kharj or of an even larger area than that. However, the Amir of that area (Fahad ibn Mu'amar) forced them to leave Al-Kharj. Grandsons of Sa'ud made an alliance with Al-Hazaznah against their cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz and they moved to Al-Hutah and Al-Hariq which were to the South of Al-Riyadh and they settled there. The Al-Hazaznah family were the Amirs of Al-Hariq and they competed with each other in order to rule Al-Hariq. This made 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* move to Al-Hariq at the end of 1910. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters surrounded Al-Hariq and caught their leaders and sent them to Al-Riyadh prison. Qasm ibn Thani, the ruler of Qatar interceded with 'Abdul-'Aziz for their release. Consequently 'Abdul-'Aziz allowed them to return to Al-Hariq.(89)

The *hadhar* of Al-Hutah were courageous and tough and they helped the grandsons of Sa'ud ibn Faysal ibn Turki against 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies. They made a strong coalition against 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies. In 1910 Abdul-'Aziz moved to Al-Hariq with one thousand two hundred fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* to attack them. 'Abdul-

'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* conquered Al-Hariq. The grandsons of Sa'ud escaped except for one of them who was Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud ibn Faysal. He was caught but soon released after having been forgiven by 'Abdul-'Aziz. He became one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's loyal followers. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave an order to kill any member of the Al-Hazaznah family except for Rashid Al-Hazani who also became one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's followers. 'Abdul-'Aziz moved to Al-Hutah and he met the *hadhar* of Al-Hutah who expressed their loyalty to 'Abdul-'Aziz. He stayed for a while in Al-Hutah and then returned to Al-Riyadh.(90)

5.3.3. THE QIDAM BATTLE

The battle of Qidam was in 1911 and it took place in the territory of the Al-Al-'Ajman tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes fought alongside 'Abdul-'Aziz in the battle of Qidam against the Al-Sufran clan of the Al-Al-'Ajman tribe and their Shaykh Khumis ibn Munaykhir. The Al-Sufran clan was the strongest clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe and was very tight knit. It was very well known that although the Al-Hithlayn family were the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe they had no authority over the clan. It could be said that that situation was not normal in Najd. However, it was not unknown the Al-Sufran clan were independent from the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe. The Al-Sufran clan only accepted their Shaykh from the Al-Munaykhir family. Moreover, there had been bitter rivalry between Al-Hithlayn family (the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe) and the Al-Munaykhir family (the shaykh of the Al-Sufran clan) which had resulted in many decisive battles.(91)

At the battle of Qidam 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* defeated the Al-Sufran clan and took their camels. The purpose of that raid and the other raids of 'Abdul-'Aziz on the strongest clan of the Al-Sufran was to show his power to the Al-'Ajman tribe as a whole.(92)

5.3.4. THE BATTLE OF AL-MIJASAH

The conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the Al-Sufran clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe did not end at the battle of Qidam and it started again. The battle of Al-Mijasah was between 'Abdul-'Aziz who were led the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe against the Al-Sufran clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe and their allies the grandsons of Sa'ud ibn Faysal ibn Turki Al Sa'ud. The Al-Sufran clan was led by their Shaykh (Khumis ibn Munaykhir) in 1912. The battle took place in the territory of the Al-'Ajman tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). The Al-Sufran clan moved to attack them in the afternoon and they met each other and they fought for almost five hours.(93)

It was a tough battle which ended with the defeat of the Al-Sufran clan and the death of many of them including Turki ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud ibn Faysal who stood against his cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz. Fudghush ibn Faris ibn Shawyah, the Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Hisi and the Shaykh of the Al-'Arynat clan of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, composed a poem which represented the role of his tribe at the battle. It also talks about the killing of Turki ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud ibn Faysal Al-Sa'ud (a very famous warrior of the Al-Sa'ud family) in the battle of Al-Mijasah. Fudghush composed the poem to show the importance of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* in the battle. It could be translated as :

The husband of Al-Hiwayla fell in the battle

(the husband of Al-Hiwayla, Turki Al Sa'ud)

Thank God who made 'Atruz hug him

('Atruz was a workman of the Al-'Ajman tribe)

Salim and Ibn Sarhan escaped and they left him in the battle

(Salim ibn Al-'Ibayd and Nasir ibn Sarhan, two famous warriors of that clan)

They had no excuse to leave him because they had very strong horses

That was a part of our custom from our forefathers

(they were as strong as their forefathers, the ancestors of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe)

When we overthrew someone he had to be very famous

5.3.5. THE ABU DAKHAN BATTLE

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe participated with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the battle of Abu Dakhan in 1912. The battle took place in the territory of the 'Utaybah tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). They attacked the 'Utaybah tribe and their Shaykh Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd because Ibn Himayd (who had been 'Abdul-'Aziz's ally in the battle against the Bani 'Abdullah part of the Mutayr tribe) had not paid the fifth of the booty to 'Abdul-'Aziz as was the Islamic leader's legal right. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* met the 'Utaybah tribe near Al-Sha'ra and they were defeated by the 'Utaybah tribe.(95)

The horse of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was injured at that battle and the warriors of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe returned on their horses (the *Al-'Ibayat*) to 'Abdul-'Aziz. The warriors of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe surrounded 'Abdul-'Aziz and saved him from the 'Utaybi fighters. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* left the battle and returned to Al-Riyadh. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* did not give up when they were defeated by their enemies and they just looked for another opportunity to show that they were more powerful than before.(96)

5.3.6. THE CAPTIVITY OF SA'AD IBN 'ABDUL-RAHMAN AL SA'UD

The most difficult time for 'Abdul-'Aziz was during the captivity of his brother Sa'ad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud in 1912. The captivity of Sa'ad took place in the territory of the 'Utaybah tribe (See Appendix Figure 1) When Sharif Husayn came to Nifi, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent his brother to him in the hope of building a good relationship. When Sa'ad reached the Al-'Iridh area, he was attacked by the Al-Shiyabiyn clan of the 'Utaybah tribe. He was arrested and his partner Faraj ibn Lihif (who was a warrior from the Al-Smalah clan of the Al-Khidran of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe) was killed.(97)

There was no conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and Sharif Husayn of Makkah during the captivity of Sa'ad. The young Turks knew that the Al-Rashiyd family had lost control in Najd; therefore, the Ottoman government wanted to achieve a balance in Najd. The new Ottoman government ordered the Sharif of Makkah to stand against 'Abdul-'Aziz expansion. In 1908, the Ottoman government appointed Sharif Husayn in Makkah as a new ruler and ordered him to make an alliance with the tribes which were East of Al-Hijaz. Sharif Husayn decided to have a balance in the Arabian Peninsula and he got advantages from this because he showed the tribes that he had the full support of the Ottoman government. On the other hand, he also showed the Ottoman government that he controlled the tribes as a threat to the Ottoman government. In 1912, Sharif Husayn and his forces visited the 'Utaybah tribe and he camped with them. Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) welcomed the Sharif of Makkah and joined him. Sharif Husayn knew that Sa'ad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman was close to his camp and so he ordered the 'Utaybah tribe to arrest Sa'ad and to bring him to his camp. They arrested Sa'ad and they brought him to Sharif Husayn who kept Sa'ad so that he could bargain with his brother ('Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud). Sharif Husayn moved to Nifi in the middle of Najd and he settled there. 'Abdul-'Aziz was disturbed when he knew that his brother had been arrested and he moved to Dhurma in order to attack Sharif Husayn and the 'Utaybah tribe. Sharif Husayn sent a letter to 'Abdul-'Aziz which warned him not to take any aggressive action.(98)

In turn 'Abdul-'Aziz wrote to the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe to warn them about their support for Sharif Husayn and that he would punish them if any harm came to his brother Sa'ad. The shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe came to Sharif Husayn and they showed him the letters and they asked him to fight 'Abdul-'Aziz with them or to release his brother Sa'ad. Sharif Husayn sent Khalid ibn Luai (the Amir of Al-Khurmah) to 'Abdul-'Aziz to ask 'Abdul-'Aziz to accept the sovereignty of the Ottoman government in Najd and Al-Qasim and to pay an annual sum of money to the Ottoman government. Ibn Luai asked 'Abdul-'Aziz to sign a paper agreeing to the conditions of Sharif Husayn. 'Abdul-'Aziz did so but he did not consider it important at that time because he wanted

to release his brother from captivity. Ibn Luai took the paper and he returned with it to Sharif Husayn who then released Sa'ad. Sa'ad returned to his brother with many gifts from Sharif Husayn to 'Abdul-'Aziz.(99)

5.3.7. THE BATTLE OF AL-TAMTAYN

Before the invasion of Al-Hasa in 1913, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe) attacked the Al-Murrah tribe in Al-Tamtayn. 'Abdul-'Aziz's reasoning was that he wanted the Al-'Ajman tribe and the Turks in Al-Hasa to believe that he was on a punitive raid and had no interest in Al-Hasa.(100)

The battle took place in the territory of the Al-Murrah tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). The Al-Murrah were disloyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and they rejected any authority over them. 'Abdul-'Aziz raided the disloyal tribes in order to establish his authority over all the tribes of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz was faced with the changeable loyalties of some of the other tribes also, and felt forced to confront them from time to time. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies defeated the Al-Murrah and took their camels. (101)

5.3.8. THE INVASION OF AL-HASA

In 1913, the Al-'Ajman tribe shared authority with Turkish soldiers in Al-Hasa and they had the biggest share of the authority. Moreover, the Al-'Ajman tribe considered Al-Hasa as belonging to them and they would reject any external authority over Al-Hasa. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the Najdi tribes moved from Al-Riyadh and they camped in Al-Khafs. 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a message to the most of the Al-'Ajman tribe to meet him at Al-Barah because he wanted to get them far away from Al-Hasa which they controlled. 'Abdul-'Aziz met the Al-'Ajman and asked them to attack their opponent which were the Mutayr tribe and he asked them to meet him in Al-Khafs in order to

attack the Mutayr tribe. 'Abdul-'Aziz succeeded to move the Al-'Ajman tribe from the Al-Hasa area and he decided to attack the Al-Hasa (See Appendix Figure 5).(102)

In the invasion of Al-Hasa, 'Abdul-'Aziz came with the Subay' *Al-'Aridh*, the Al-Suhul, and the Qahtan of Najd tribes and they camped in Al-Fruq so that they could attack Al-Hasa at night. 'Abdul-'Aziz had a meeting with the shaykhs of those tribes and he told them that they did not have enough dates to eat in the middle of Najd; thus, they had to conquer Al-Hasa from the Turks and the Al-Ajman tribe to get benefits from that region. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the Najdi tribes attacked Al-Hufuf and they conquered it from the Turks which made 'Abdul-'Aziz give the horses taken from the Turks to the Subay' *Al-'Aridh*, the Al-Suhul tribe, and the Qahtan tribes as gifts for their participation in the conquest of Al-Hasa.(103)

Muslat ibn 'Ali Al-'Azma Abu Thinayn was the only shaykh of the loyal shaykhs of the tribes who led a force of ten fighters and mounted the wall of Al-Hufuf (Al-Hasa). He had two servants belonging to 'Abdul-'Aziz who mounted the wall before him while 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies waited for them to open the gate of Al-Hufuf. Muslat and his fighters killed the Ottoman soldiers who tried to stop them and they opened the gate of Al-Hufuf for 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the Najdi tribes conquered Al-Hufuf and he sent the Ottoman soldiers to Al-'Uqair and from Al-'Uqair to Al-Bahrain.(104)

5.3.9. THE JIRAB BATTLE

The battle of Jirab was in the Spring of 1915 and it took place in the Al-Qasim area (See Appendix Figure 4). The battle was between 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud and Saud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd. The main allies of 'Abdul-'Aziz were the two tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* area which were the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul. 'Abdul-'Aziz was also supported by the the Qahtan of Najd tribe, the Mutayr tribe and the Al-'Ajman tribe. Ibn Rashiyd had the support of his tribe (the Shammar tribe) and the Northern tribes. The two opponents met each other at Jirab.(105)

The rulers of Hail (the Al-Rashiyd family) depended on the Al-Sayh clan of the Shammar tribe and the *Ahl Libdah* (the people of Hail) as 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud relied on the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* in his battles . The Al-Sayh clan of the Shammar tribe and the *Ahl Libdah* were the most powerful allies of the rulers of Hail. The Al-Rashiyd family had other allies; the *Ahl Mighidah* (the people of *Mighidah*) who were also in Hail and the 'Abdah clans of the Shammar tribe. At the battle Ibn Rashiyd deployed his allies but kept his slaves near him under his banner which was in the centre. The *Ahl Libdah* were deployed to the left of his banner, and the Al-Sayh clan were deployed to the left of the *Ahl Libdah*. Sa'ud Al-Rashiyd put the *Ahl Mighidah* to the right of the banner and he put the Al-Sayh to the right of the *Ahl Mighidah* .(106)

The Mutayr tribe joined 'Abdul-'Aziz in the battle and they did not play an effective role in the battle. One day before the battle of Jirab the Mutayr tribe rallied to 'Abdul-'Aziz. Faysal Al-Dawish and the other shaykhs of the clans of the Mutayr tribe asked 'Abdul-'Aziz for permission to display their power in the customary way. This involved the tribe in riding their horses and camels and showing their weapons. 'Abdul-'Aziz asked them to do it the following day. The Mutayr tribe had one thousand five hundred horses. The next morning 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh*, the Al-Suhul, and the Al-'Ajman decided to leave his encampment before the display of power by the Mutayr tribe. There were not enough wells to provide water for every one. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his advisors of his allies decided to take the area in Jirab which had many wells. When 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the Najdi tribes came to the place called Jirab, they found Ibn Rashiyd and his fighters had got there before him. Ibn Rashiyd put his army between the wells and 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz was in a critical situation because of his shortage of water.(107)

The battle was against 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies and they faced a hard time from their opponent. The 'Abdah clan, the *Ahl Mighidah*, and the *Ahl Libdah* under Ibn Rashiyd, defeated 'Abdul-'Aziz and looted his camp. Al-Dawish did not participate in the main battle. He satisfied himself by attacking the Al-Sayh clan from the rear. He managed to capture the camels of the Shammar tribe which were carrying the supplies

of Ibn Rashiyd. The Al-Sayh clan chased Al-Dawish, but they did not catch him and he escaped with his booty. The Mutayr tribe did not seriously participate in the battle. They simply came to obtain booty.(108)

The Al-'Ajman tribe did not participate in the battle bravely and they left the battle not long after it began. The Al-'Ajman tribe wanted 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies to be defeated by the Shammari fighters, so they left them to their fate. The Al-'Ajman tribe were not loyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz at that time because they used to have control of the Al-Hasa which had been conquered by 'Abdul-'Aziz in 1913. When 'Abdul-'Aziz conquered Al-Hasa, he established his loyal cousin 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi as the ruler of Al-Hasa. Ibn Jiluwi had brought stability to Al-Hasa as he had done in Al-Qasim during the period 1908-1913. The authority of the Al-'Ajman tribe was declining in Al-Hasa because of the strong government of Ibn Jiluwi in Al-Hasa. Therefore, the Al-'Ajman tribe were not loyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz and they had their own agenda in leaving the battle.(109)

'Abdul-'Aziz had a cannon at the battle of Jirab but it was not a seriously effective in the battle. The person in charge of the cannon was Al-Bahuth. It was not, as has frequently been reported, the British officer Captain Shakespeare. He had been a diplomatic officer and had come to Najd to establish relations with 'Abdul-'Aziz. Captain Shakespeare was at the battle to take photographs of it and during the battle he was killed. During the battle, 'Abdul-'Aziz tried to encourage his warriors to attack Ibn Rashiyd and his fighters. He asked Faysal ibn Hashar and Habas ibn Hirshan to face their opponent. Ibn Hashar was the Shaykh of the Al-'Asim clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and Ibn Hirshan was a warrior of the Shammar tribe. Ibn Hirshan had previously been a warrior of Ibn Rashiyd warriors but after a conflict with Ibn Rashiyd he pledged loyalty to 'Abdul-'Aziz. Ibn Hashar and Ibn Hirshan advised 'Abdul-'Aziz of the seriousness of the situation and they further recommended immediate withdrawal.(110)

'Abdul-'Aziz had to leave the battle, otherwise his life would not have been secured. Faysal ibn Hashar and Habas ibn Hirshan advised 'Abdul-'Aziz to leave that battlefield because they could not defeat Ibn Rashiyd. 'Abdul-'Aziz asked his warriors to hold the

fighters of Ibn Rashiyd in order to find a way to leave the battlefield without a risk. Muslat ibn 'Ali Al-Azma' Abu Thinayn came to 'Abdul-'Aziz and told him that he would try to hold off the Shammari fighters which would give 'Abdul-'Aziz the opportunity to leave that battle safely. 'Abdul-'Aziz argued that Muslat should find another volunteer because 'Abdul-'Aziz would not risk losing him, but Muslat insisted strongly on doing so. Muslat led thirty five to forty five fighters from the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe) and he attacked his opponent. Muslat Al-Azma' died with his fighters but they had delayed the fighters of Ibn Rashiyd for long enough for 'Abdul-'Aziz to leave the battlefield in safety.(111)

'Abdul-'Aziz had to leave the battle and he left with his warrior Habas ibn Hirshan. Mutni ibn Shraym (the Shaykh of the Al-Yahaya clan of the 'Abdah part of the Shammar tribe) chased 'Abdul-'Aziz and Ibn Hirshan. However, he could not capture anybody and 'Abdul-'Aziz and Ibn Hirshan went to Al-Majma'ah. Faysal ibn Hashar followed them to Al-Majma'ah. (112) The Mutayr tribe took the camels of the Shammar tribe and they escaped from the battle. The Al-'Ajman tribe left the battle when it started and 'Abdul-'Aziz faced his strong opponent with the tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* and the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(113)

5.3.10. THE BATTLE OF KANZAN

There were no *Ikhwan* before the battle of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave Faysal Al-Dawish permission to settle in the *hijrah* (settlement) of Al-Artawiyah after the battle of Kanzan. Al-Artawiyah had many wells which made it a very attractive place to settle in. It was controlled by Faysal Al-Dawish and his tribe, the Mutayr tribe. Faysal Al-Dawish officially settled in Al-Artawiyah one year after the battle of Kanzan. Al-Artawiyah became famous after the settlement of Faysal Al-Dawish. One year later, in the Summer of 1917, Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd, the Shaykh of the shaykhs of the clans of the 'Utaybah tribe, the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe as a whole, built the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat. Therefore, as the facts about the battle

of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915 become clearer the events concerning the establishment of the first *hijrah* and the beginning of the *Ikhwan* movement will also be clarified.(114)

In the Summer of 1915, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud decided to attack the Al-'Ajman tribe after his defeat at the battle of Jirab. The Al-'Ajman tribe attacked the shepherds of Kuwait (the *'Iraybdar*) which made the Amir of Kuwait (Mubarak Al-Sabah) complain to 'Abdul-'Aziz about the raids of the Al-'Ajman tribe on his shepherds. 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to attack the Al-'Ajman for their raids on the *'Iraybdar* and to punish them for their leaving the battle of Jirab early. The battle took place in the territory of the Al-'Ajman tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and Al-Suhul tribe) attacked the Al-'Ajman tribe at the battle of Kanzan. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies were defeated by the Al-'Ajman tribe. The Al-'Ajman tribe killed Sa'ad (the youngest brother of 'Abdul-'Aziz) and they wounded 'Abdul-'Aziz in his stomach. The warriors of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe surrounded 'Abdul-'Aziz to protect him. They asked Mutar ibn Faraj Abu Thinayn who was from the Abu Thinayn family who were the shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, to allow 'Abdul-'Aziz to leave the battlefield to safety. Mutar was chosen because he was a famous warrior of the Abu Thinayn family and had the strongest and fastest horse. Mutar picked 'Abdul-'Aziz and put him on his horse. Mutar left the battle with 'Abdul-'Aziz and was followed by the warriors of the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul and went to Al-Hasa. Directly after the battle the Al-'Ajman tribe surrounded them in Al-Hasa for almost six months. 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* received more fighters from the *Al-'Aridh* area. They were led by 'Abdul-'Aziz's brother Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman and his cousin Sa'ud Al-Kabir (Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud ibn Faysal ibn Turki Al Sa'ud). Sa'ud Al-Kabir had been against his cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz. However, he became one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's leaders and he came to help 'Abdul-'Aziz against the Al-'Ajman tribe. When the fighters of Muhammad and Sa'ud relieved 'Abdul-'Aziz at the long siege, the Al-'Ajman tribe decided to leave the area of Al-Hasa. 'Abdul-'Aziz would not give up but he would take a break and then he would start all over again. (115)

6. THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud dealt with the external influences so that they served his interests more than the interests of the others. The British government were not interested in becoming involved in Najd prior to the First World War. They were interested in maintaining cordial relations with the Ottomans. When the Ottomans sided with Germany, the British government built an official relationship with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. 'Abdul-'Aziz thought that after his conquest of Al-Hasa, he would have had an official relationship with the British like the Amirs of Trucial Coast States but in fact the opposite happened. The British and Turkish governments signed the Anglo-Turkish Convention in July 1913 which settled all issues between the two countries. The Anglo-Turkish Convention agreed that in the case of the Arabian Peninsula, a line was drawn from the base of the Qatar Peninsula to the border between Aden and Yemen, and every thing North of that line (including Najd and Al-Hasa) was recognised as falling under Turkish sovereignty.(116)

The British government had a conflict of policies in dealing with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud as a result of the disagreement between the heads of the India Office and the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office had no interest in dealing with 'Abdul-'Aziz and this was declared by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey.(117)

The First World War forced the British government to change its policies toward 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the other Arab rulers in the Arabian Peninsula in order to stand against the Ottoman Empire.(118) The British government decided to build a relationship with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. The First World War started in October 1914 and Sir Percy Cox sent Shakespear to represent Britain in Al-Riyadh because Shakespear was an ideal envoy with a military background and a political flair for dealing with the Arabs.(119)

It was clear that the British government changed its policy toward 'Abdul-'Aziz during the war when they began to have an official relations with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud which was a result of the deterioration of the relationship between the British and

Ottoman governments. The First World War began in October 1914. The British government took an interest in establishing relations with 'Abdul-'Aziz; therefore, Shakespear was sent to 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz made a treaty of friendship with the British government at the end of 1915 which gave 'Abdul-'Aziz his independence and guaranteed his protection against any aggression. 'Abdul-'Aziz promised not to attack the British protected principalities of the Persian Gulf nor would he allow the alienation of territory to any foreign power nor would he conduct diplomatic relations with any other power.(120)

7. CONCLUSION

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe had played an important role in the conquest of Najd during the period of 1902-1916. They had shared 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud victories as his loyal fighters who were kept and led by him. They represented the overwhelming majority of the fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* which 'Abdul-'Aziz would rely on. They were 'Abdul-'Aziz's most loyal allies and unlike the changeable allies from the other tribes and they always took a central position in each battle.

'Abdul-'Aziz led those two tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* area and they became his constant fighters. They did not have their own banner, as other tribes did, and they flew 'Abdul-'Aziz's banner. These two tribes helped 'Abdul-'Aziz to keep a balance between the tribes in Najd and to make an alliances with other tribes. It was clear that 'Abdul-'Aziz had become successful because he knew how to deal with the tribes. Thus, when he defeated any shaykh of a clan or tribe, he became very forgiving and generous with him because he knew that the shaykhs of the clans and the tribes of Najd had no political interests.

On the other hand, 'Abdul-'Aziz was very tough with unfaithful rulers of the *hadhar* who had a political interests in ruling their *hadhar* areas, such as the rulers of Tharmida, Buraydah, Al-Hariq, and so on. 'Abdul-'Aziz was aware that he had helped the *hadhar* of Najd and freed them from the unfair treatment of the Al-Rashiyd family and the

tribes of Najd. Therefore, the *hadhar* had to appreciate what 'Abdul-'Aziz had done to protect them against their traditional opponents.

The *Ikhwan* movement did not exist at that time and 'Abdul-'Aziz tried to implement the principles of Islam and encourage brotherhood among the Najdi tribes from the beginning, but he could not. The changeable loyalties of the shaykhs of the Najdi tribes made 'Abdul-'Aziz decide to put more concentration on teaching the Najdi tribes their religion in order to form a brotherhood between them. 'Abdul-'Aziz made the Najdi tribes pay the fifth of all booty as a basic principle of Islam. That also emphasised their loyalty to him. However, he did not start to achieve it until his later efforts in the Summer of 1916.

External influences began to affect 'Abdul-'Aziz in Najd and 'Abdul-'Aziz had to deal with them. 'Abdul-'Aziz dealt with the external influences in rational manner and he had achieved a balance in his relationship with the Ottoman government. He tried to exist a relationship with the British government but the British had no interest in existing a relationship with him. 'Abdul-'Aziz had never trusted the Ottoman government which had been the opponent of the Al Sa'ud family and the supporter of the opponents of the Al Sa'ud's (the Al-Rashiyd family). The First World War helped 'Abdul-'Aziz to establish a relationship with the British government because of the Turkish decision to support Germany in that war. It was clear that this decision had convinced the British government of the need to persuade 'Abdul-'Aziz to either be on their side or at least to be neutral during the war. This led directly to a treaty of friendship between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British government at the end of 1915 (the treaty of Darin).

NOTES:

1. Interview with Sultan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 11.4.1994.
2. Umm Al-Qura, June 6, 1930.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Interview with Wilayd ibn Fihayd ibn Shawyah in Shawyah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 9.4.1994.
6. Interviews with Muhammad ibn Fahad ibn Munaykhir in Hiyt, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 3.7.1994, and Muhammad ibn Thifnan Al-Mughani in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2.7.1994.
7. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
8. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit, see also Hadhlul, Sa'ud (1961), *Tarikh Muluk Al Sa'ud* (The History of the Kings of Al Sa'ud), Al-Mahad Al-'Ami, Buraydah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 78-79, and see also AL Riyadh, January 26, 1999.
9. Hadhlul, Sa'ud, op. cit, p 105, and see also AL Riyadh, January 27, 1999.
10. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
11. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit, and see also Al-Biladi, Atiq (1983), *Mu'jam Qabail Al-Al-Hijaz* (The Dictionary of the Hijazi Tribes), Dar Makkah Li Al-Nashir Wa Al-Tawzi', Makkah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p 211.
12. Ibid, p 211.
13. Al-Huqail, Hamad (1993), *Kanz Al-Ansab Wa Mujama Al-Adab* (The Treasure of Descents and the Collection of Arts), Matb'at Safir, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 130-131.
14. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op . cit.
15. Ibid, and see also Al-Huqail, Hamad, op. cit, p 131.
16. Interview with Kumaykh ibn Hanydhil Al-Muraykhi in Jirab, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 8.4.1994.

17. Interview with Nasir ibn Muhammad ibn Sha'af in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 22.1.1996, and see also and see also Al-Khamis, 'Abdullah (1987), *Tarikh Al-Yamamah* (The History of Al-Yamamah), Matabi' Al-Farazdaq Al-Tijariah, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, volume four, pp 64-65.
18. Al-Jasir, Hamad (1980), *Mu'jama' Qabail Al-Mamlakah Al-'Arabyah Al Sa'udiyah* (The Tribes Dictionary of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), Manshurat Dar Al-Yamamah Li Al-Bahith Wa Al-Nashir, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, volume one, pp 327-328.
19. Interview with Kumaykh Al-Muraykhi , op. cit.
20. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
21. Interview with Nasir ibn Sha'af, op. cit.
22. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
23. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
24. Al-Ghulami, 'Abdul-Mun'im (1980), *Al-Malik Al-Rashid* (The Rational King), Dar Al-Liwa, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p 22.
25. Al-Marik, Fahad (1978), *Min Shaym Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz* (From 'Abdul-'Aziz Manners), Wuzarat Al-A'lam, Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, volume two, pp 159-161.
26. Ibid, pp 161-162.
27. Ibid, pp 162-163.
28. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
29. Interview with Nasir ibn Sha'af, op. cit.
30. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
31. Ibid.
32. Darwish, Madihah (1992), *Tarikh Al-Dawlah Al Sa'udiyah Hata Al-Rubu Al-Awal Min Al-Qarn Al-'Ishrin* (The History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Until the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century), Dar Al-Shuruq, Jiddah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 79-80.

33. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin (1991), *Shibih Al-Jazirah Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz* (Arabian Peninsula in King 'Abdul-'Aziz Era), Dar Al-'Alam Li Al-Malain, Beirut, Lebanon, volume 1-2, p 94.
34. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
35. Darwish, Madihah, op. cit, p 80.
36. Interview with Nasir ibn Sha'af, op. cit.
37. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
38. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
39. Ibid.
40. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
41. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
42. Interview with Nasir ibn Sha'af, op. cit.
43. Al-Mukhtar, Salah-Aldin (1960), *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-'Arabyah Al Sa'udiyah* (The History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), Dar Maktabat Al-Hayah, Beirut, Lebanon, volume two, pp 47-50, and interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
44. Interview with Muhammad ibn Munaykhir, op. cit.
45. Al-Mukhtar, Salah-Aldin, op. cit, pp 50-51.
46. Ibid, pp 51-52.
47. Ibid, pp 52-53.
48. Ibid, pp 54-55.
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CHAPTER TWO

'ABDUL-'AZIZ AL SA'UD AND THE FORMATION OF THE *IKHWAN* MOVEMENT 1916-1920

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the foundation and the origin of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd. It will also explain the way in which 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud managed to mobilise the tribes of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz implemented two strategies to achieve this. First, he ordered the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd to join him in Al-Riyadh during the Summer time and learn the principles of their religion (Islam) from the famous *'ulama* (the scholars). Moreover, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent the *'ulama* and their assistants (the *mutaw'ah*) who were from the *hadhar* of Najd to proselytise the bedouin of Najd (the tribes of Najd).

Second, 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the leaders of the tribes of Najd to build their *hijar* (settlements) in Najd. This bound the tribes of Najd to their historical territories and differentiated the *hijar*, which belonged to the bedouin of Najd from the villages of Najd, which belonged to the *hadhar* of Najd (the villagers of Najd). It is important to focus on the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan* in detail in order to understand the elements of that movement.

This chapter will also deal with the beginning of the *Ikhwan's* support for 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and will go into the external influences on 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* at that time.

2. THE FOUNDATION OF THE *IKHWAN* MOVEMENT IN NAJD

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud knew that he would not have a stable situation in Najd unless he could control the tribes of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz tried to control them by force and

power but he could not. Therefore, he had to find a suitable way in which he could influence those tribes. From the second invasion of Al-Riyadh in 1902 until 1916, 'Abdul-'Aziz could rely on the *Al-'Aridh* tribes and with those tribes in support he could encourage other tribes to join him against disloyal tribes. At that time, 'Abdul-'Aziz was successful in gaining control of the centre of Najd(See Appendix Figure 3). However, his biggest desire was to regain control of the regions ruled by his ancestors from the Al Sa'ud in the Arabian Peninsula during the first and the second Saudi states. In order to achieve that, 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to put more effort into controlling the tribes of Najd by convincing them to settle in their *hijar* and to establish a brotherhood between them by recognising this as a major principle of Islam.(1)

The first objective of 'Abdul-'Aziz was to increase Al Sa'ud legitimacy by defending and raising the banner of Islam as his ancestors had done during the First and the Second Saudi states. 'Abdul-'Aziz had support from the *'ulama* of Najd. Those *'ulama* were from the *hadhar* of Najd, rather than from the tribes, but they taught the tribes of Najd to become brothers and to obey the religion of Islam in which it is prohibited to raid or kill each other.(2)

The *'ulama* of Najd explained to the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd how to be brothers as is explained in the Qur'an. In the Qur'an there is a verse which encourages Muslims to be brothers:

Cling all of you to the rope of God
and do not separate and
Remember God's blessing, for you were opponents
and he joined your hearts together,
And you became, by the grace of god, brothers.(3)

The foundation of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd was instigated by 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Previously, the tribes of Najd would frequently raid and kill each other and they would also reject any controls imposed on them from the Ottoman government or any ruler in the Arabian Peninsula. It had been possible to achieve control of the main villages and the villages of Najd because the rulers of Al-Rashid (who used to rule Hail) had controlled all of the villages of Najd and they had a ruler in each of the main villages of Najd. It was impossible and very difficult to control the tribes of Najd who

were used to being free from any exercise of power on them, but 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud ultimately achieved this because he knew how to deal with the Najdi tribes.(4)

The role of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was a positive one in the creation of the *Ikhwan* movement. Without his encouragement and help there would have been no *Ikhwan* movement. In the Summer of 1916, 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd to build their *hijar* . He ordered each tribe to build their *hijar* in their traditional land. Each tribe of Najd had their land which they could move within. They could not cross the border of another tribe with out permission. 'Abdul-'Aziz respected these traditions of the tribes of Najd.(5)

3. TEACHING THE IKHWAN THEIR RELIGION BY SENDING THE 'ULAMA AND THE MUTAW'AH OF NAJD TO THEM

The centre of the religious framework was constituted by the '*ulama* and the *mutaw'ah*. The '*ulama* concentrated on proselytising the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd. The *mutaw'ah* proselytised the tribesmen. In the Summer of 1916, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud started to request the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd to visit him in Al-Riyadh and learn their religion from the famous '*ulama*. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud also sent the *mutaw'ah* to the tribesmen to teach them a basic knowledge of Islam.(6)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud sent a *qadhi* (a judge) picked from the ranks of the '*ulama*, and an *imam* (a prayerful leader) chosen from the '*ulama* or the *mutaw'ah* as well as several members of the *mutaw'ah* to each *hijrah*. The *qadhi* had to judge in routine conflicts and he had to teach religion. The *imam* had to guide and teach in each *masjid* (mosque).(7)

The role of the '*ulama* with the tribes of Najd was carefully controlled and managed by 'Abdul-'Aziz. He was aware of the conflicts between the tribes of Najd more than the '*ulama* were, as the latter came from the *hadhar* of Najd and used to be almost isolated in their villages from the life of the tribes of Najd who roamed in the desert and

followed their camels. As a result, the politically sensitive problems or conflicts in any *hijrah* had to be sent to 'Abdul-'Aziz who was the only one who could solve these problems of the tribes and the clans of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz was the only person who could deal effectively with those Najdi tribes. 'Abdul-'Aziz influenced the tribes and they respected and trusted him as their leader because he respected their prestige and inheritance. 'Abdul-'Aziz trusted the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd and he could join them without any fear that he would be harmed. 'Abdul-'Aziz had the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans around him with their weapons and they became his faithful fighters whom he could rely on.(8)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud would send one of the *'ulama* to the Shaykh of the tribes and the clans of Najd because he understood that the position and power of those shaykhs required the attentions of the highly-respected and valued *'ulama*. The following is a list of the famous Najdi *'ulama* who played a major role in teaching and guiding the leaders of the *Ikhwan* were:

1. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh: Shaykh 'Abdullah was the most important *'alim* (scholar) of the *'ulama* (scholars) of Najd. He claimed descent from Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab Al-Shaykh and he played a major role in the support of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Shaykh 'Abdullah had the most important position of the *'ulama* of Najd and he was a close ally of 'Abdul-'Aziz.(9)
2. Shaykh Sa'ad ibn Hamad ibn 'Atiq: Shaykh Sa'ad was the second most important one of the *'ulama* of Najd after Shaykh 'Abdullah. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud sent him towards the southern region to guide the people there.(10) Shaykh Sa'ad became the *qadhi* of Al-Riyadh in the late twenties.(11)
3. Shaykh 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Siliym: Shaykh 'Umar was another famous *'ulama* of Najd and was from Buraydah. He was a first member of the *'ulama* to be sent to the *hijrah*, Al-Artawiyah. 'Abdul-'Aziz sent him to Faysal Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe). In the late twenties, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent him to 'Asir.(12)
4. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Sulayman ibn Bulayhid: Shaykh 'Abdullah influenced the *Ikhwan* tribes and convinced them to support 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. He became the

qadhi (judge) of the *qudah* (judges) of the Al-Hijaz 1924-1926 and he earned the respect of the *Ikhwan* tribes of Najd. (13) In the late twenties Shaykh 'Umar became the *qadhi* of Hail.(14)

5. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Hasan Al-Shaykh: Shaykh 'Abdullah was the *imam* (the leader of the prayers) of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's military forces. He went to the tribes in their *hijrah* and he tried to guide them to follow and to respect their religion. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud sent him to Faysal Al-Dawish after the departure of the Shaykh 'Umar ibn Siliym to 'Asir. Shaykh 'Abdullah stayed in the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah between 1918-1920.(15)

6. Shaykh Sulayman ibn Jimhur: Shaykh Sulayman was one of the '*ulama* of Najd and was sent to the 'Ajman tribe in the late twenties. He influenced the leaders of Al-'Ajman tribe to follow and to support 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Shaykh Sulayman used to be a *qadhi* in some *hijrah* of the 'Ajman tribe and he became a religious adviser under Amir Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud who used to be the deputy of his father in Al-Hijaz.(16)

7. Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh: Shaykh Muhammad was the brother of the Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh (the head of the '*ulama* of Najd) during 'Abdul-'Aziz era. He spent time in 'Asir and he encouraged the people of that region to follow and to support 'Abdul-'Aziz.(17)

8. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Jil'ud: Shaykh 'Abdullah was one of the '*ulama* of Najd and was sent by 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to 'Asir in the late twenties. He was recommended for the position by Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh who was the head of the '*ulama* of Najd at that time. Shaykh 'Abdullah served 'Abdul-'Aziz in the region and he convinced some of the people of that region to support 'Abdul-'Aziz.(18)

9. Shaykh 'Abdullah Al-'Inqiri: Shaykh 'Abdullah had a great influence in the *Ikhwan* from their creation until 1930. He was one of the '*ulama* of Najd who issued many legal opinions during the *Ikhwan* period and he taught a lot of *mutaw'ah* in order to send them to the *Ikhwan*. Shaykh 'Abdullah was trusted and respected by the *Ikhwan*; therefore, he represented 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the negotiations with some of the

Ikhwan who were in conflict with 'Abdul-'Aziz in 1929.(19) Shaykh 'Abdullah became the *qadhi* of Sudayr in the late twenties.(20)

10. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Zahim: Shaykh 'Abdullah was a famous '*ulama* and was sent to the Shaykh 'Umar ibn Rubya'n (the Shaykh of the Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe and the Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah) in the late twenties. He participated in the agreement between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the Yemen in 1932.(21)

11. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Hamad ibn 'Atiq: Shaykh 'Abdullah was sent to the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat to Sultan ibn Bijad (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe). He stayed in the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat and he taught and guided the people of that *hijrah* which was the second most famous *hijrah* of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan*.(22)

12. Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh: Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman was one of the '*ulama* of Najd and was sent by 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to the *hijrah* of Sajir. In the late twenties he was sent to Shaykh Jihjah ibn Sultan ibn Himayd (the Amir of the *hijrah* of 'Urwa).(23)

13. Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Hamad ibn 'Atiq: Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz used to be a *qadhi* and participated in all of 'Abdul-'Aziz's conferences in the late twenties and in the thirties.(24) The Shaykh became the *qadhi* of Al-Aflaj in the late twenties.(25)

14. Shaykh Hamad ibn Sulayman ibn Bulayhid: Shaykh Hamad was one of the '*ulama* in Najd.(26)

15. Shaykh 'Abdullatif ibn Hamad ibn 'Atiq: Shaykh 'Abdullatif refused any position and he spent his life guiding the tribes of Najd to worship their God and to obey the orders of the Qur'an and the *hadith* (the compilations of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings).(27)

16. Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-'Inqiri: Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz was one of the '*ulama* of Najd was involved with the *Ikhwan* and he taught them to form a brotherhood between them. He taught the *mutaw'ah* and worked with the *Ikhwan* from the beginning until 1930.(28)

17. Shaykh Sa'ud ibn Marshad: Shaykh Sa'ud was one of the *'ulama* of Najd and was sent to 'Asir in the late twenties. He guided the people of that region and was a *qadhi* in many villages at that region.(29)
18. Shaykh Ibrahim ibn Salih ibn 'Isa: Shaykh Ibrahim was one of the *'ulama* of Najd and was died at the beginning of the twenties.(30)
19. Shaykh Ishaq ibn Hamad ibn 'Atiq: Shaykh Ishaq was the *imam* (the leader in the prayers) of Balad Al-'Amar in Al-Aflaj in the late twenties.(31)
20. Shaykh Sulayman ibn Sihman: Shaykh Sulayman was one of the *'ulama* of Al-Riyadh and possessed the most influence over 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud during the period of the *Ikhwan* movement.(32)
21. Shaykh Salih ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz: Shaykh Salih was the second *qadhi* in Al-Riyadh in the late twenties.(33)
22. Shaykh Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Abdullatif: Shaykh Muhammad was one of the *'ulama* of Najd in the late twenties.(34)
23. Shaykh 'Umar ibn 'Abdullatif: Shaykh 'Umar was one of the *'ulama* of Najd in the late twenties.(35)
24. Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdullatif: Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz was one of the *'ulama* of Najd in the late twenties.(36)
25. Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullatif: Shaykh Muhammad was the son of Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullatif Al-Shaykh (the head of the *'ulama* of Najd) and was one of the *'ulama* of Najd in the late twenties.(37)
26. Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdullatif: Shaykh Muhammad was the *qadhi* of Al-Washim in the late twenties.(38)
27. Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Salim: Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman was the *qadhi* of Al-Kharj in the late twenties.(39)
28. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Faysal: Shaykh 'Abdullah was the *qadhi* of Al-Sha'iyb and Al-Mihmal in the late twenties.(40)
29. Shaykh 'Abdullah Al-Sayari: Shaykh 'Abdullah was the *qadhi* of Al-'Irdh in the late twenties.(41)

30. Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Shithri: Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz was the *qadhi* of Al-Rayn in the late twenties.(42) The Al-Rayn area belonged to the Qahtan of Najd tribe. The head of that tribe in the late twenties was Khalil ibn Nasir ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah who was from Al-Shamah clan. His father Nasir ibn 'Umar ibn Hadi ibn Qarmalah was the head of the Qahtan of Najd when they invaded Al-Hasa in 1913 with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his allies which were the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes.(43)

31. Shaykh Mubarak ibn Baz: Shaykh Mubarak was the *qadhi* of Al-Harriq and Al-Hulwah in the late twenties.(44)

32. Shaykh Muhammad Al-Shawi: Shaykh Muhammad was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah in the late twenties. The Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah was 'Umar ibn Ruby'an (the Shaykh of Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe).(45) The 'Utaybah tribe was divided to the Barqa and the Al-Ruqah. The head of the tribe as a whole was Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd. Shaykh Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd became the head of the tribe after the death of Muhammad ibn Hindi and before the creation of the *Ikhwan*. Both leaders were from the Barqa part. Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd was one of the leaders of the *Ikhwan* and one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's loyal allies. 'Umar ibn Ruby'an was only the Shaykh of the Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was a loyal ally to Sharif Husayn until the conquest of Al-Hijaz in 1925.(46)

33. Shaykh Falih ibn 'Uthman: Shaykh Falih was the *qadhi* of Al-Zilfi in the late twenties.(47)

34. Shaykh Sa'ad ibn Sa'ud Al-Miflih: Shaykh Sa'ad was the *qadhi* of Wadi Al-Dawasir in the late twenties.(48) Wadi Al-Dawasir was settled by the Al-Dawasir tribe and the leaders of that tribe were the Al-Quayd family. They did not settle in a *hijrah* as the leaders of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe (the Abu Thinayn family) had done because they preferred to be a bedouin and a part of the *Ikhwan* movement at the same time.(49)

35. Shaykh Hamad ibn Mazyad: Shaykh Hamad was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Qibah in the late twenties.(50) 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm was the Amir of the *hijrah* of Qibah and was the Shaykh of the Harb of Najd tribe.(51)

36. Shaykh 'Umar ibn Khalifah: Shaykh 'Umar was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Al-Thamriyah in the late twenties. The Amir of the *hijrah* was Ya'qub Al-Himaydani and 'Umar was a Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe.(52)

37. Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman ibn 'Udan: Shaykh 'Abdul-Rahman was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of 'Isaylah in the late twenties. The Amir of the *hijrah* of 'Isaylah was Ghazi Al-Tum and he was a Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe.(53)

38. Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Hasan: Shaykh 'Abdullah was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Al-Sarrar in the late twenties.(54) Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn was the Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Sarrar and the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(55)

39. Shaykh 'Ali ibn Zaydan Al-Ghilan: Shaykh 'Ali was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Al-Furuthi in the late twenties. The Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Furuthi was Mishari ibn Busais and he was a Shaykh of the Harb of Najd tribe.(56)

40. Shaykh Faysal ibn Mubarak: Shaykh Faysal was the *qadhi* of the *hijrah* of Qaryah in the late twenties. The Amir of the *hijrah* of Qaryah was Tirayhib ibn Shiqayr and he was a shaykh of the Mutayr tribe.(57)

The *'ulama* of Najd sent hundreds of the *mutaw'ah* to the tribesmen. The *'ulama* had taught the *mutaw'ah* and they ordered them to spread through the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan*. Most of those *mutaw'ah* had less knowledge than the *'ulama* and they sometimes misguided and misled the tribesmen of Najd.(58)

4. THE HIJAR OF THE IKHWAN

The singular of *hijar* (settlements) is *hijrah* (settlement) which means migration and it refers to the move in September A.D. 622 of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) with a small group of early Muslims from hostile Makkah to Yathrib (Al-Madinah) where they were invited to settle.(59) The *badu* of Najd (the tribes of Najd) settled in the *hijar* with the perspective that they wanted to follow the migration of their

Prophet from Makkah to Al-Madinah as they had been taught by the *'ulama* and the *mutaw'ah*. The *'ulama* and the *mutaw'ah* of Najd compared the *hijar* of the badu of Najd to the *hijrah* (the migration) of their Prophet from *shirk* (polytheism) in Makkah to Islam in Al-Madinah. That meant the tribes of Najd leaving their old life of *shirk* for their new life of Islam which ordered them to recognise the brotherhood between them and to unite under the command of their *Imam* ('Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud).(60)

The *'ulama* and the *mutaw'ah* convinced the tribes of Najd to settle in the *hijar* in order to establish a framework which would supply 'Abdul-'Aziz with more tribal fighters. The *hijar* enabled 'Abdul-'Aziz to mobilise the *Ikhwan* and the *Ikhwan* became the hand of 'Abdul-'Aziz which could be used against his opponents.(61)

I will describe two aspects of the Najdi tribes of the *Ikhwan*. Firstly, I will explain the tribal subdivision, and secondly I will give details of all of the *hijar* in order to provide a clear picture of the *hijar* of the Najdi tribes of the *Ikhwan* and the *hijar* of each Najdi tribe of the *Ikhwan*.

4.1. THE MUTAYR TRIBE

4.1.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Mutayr tribe was divided into three parts: the Bani 'Abdillah, the 'Ulwa, and the Birayh. The Shaykh of the tribe as a whole was Faysal Al-Dawish. Al-Dawish was from the 'Ulwa and he was the Amir of the first *hijrah*, that at Al-Artawiyah.(62)

Each part of the tribe was subdivided into clans. The Bani 'Abdillah part was subdivided into five clans: the Dhawi 'Un, the Maymun, the Al-Sa'bah, the Al-Shalalhah, and the Al-Hiwaymlat.(63)

The 'Ulwa part was subdivided into seven: the Al-Muhahah, the Al-Jiblan, the Al-'Awanah, the Al-Rukhman, the Al-Mala'bah, the Al-Sahabah, and the Al-Bara'sah.(64) The Birayh part was also subdivided into twelve clans: the Al-'Ibayat, the Al-Dayahiyn, the Al-Birzan, the Al-Tha'lah, the Al-Si'ran, the Al-Muraykhat, the Al-Bidana, the Al-

'Awaridh, the Al-Hawamil, the Al-'Afisah, the Bani 'Abdillah, and the Al-Wasama clans.(65)

4.1.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE MUTAYR TRIBE

Most of the famous authors who connected the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, give us the wrong dates. It is clear that the main reason for this fact is that they all used one original source, which is the book of Amin Al-Rihani (the first edition, 1927). Al-Rihani was the oldest and most famous author writing about 'Abdul-'Aziz and was granted special permission by 'Abdul-'Aziz himself. It was also directed by 'Abdul-'Aziz. Because of this opportunity, Al-Rihani became the most important source of the history of 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz did not give all the details about his main force (the *Ikhwan*) to Al-Rihani for his own reasons. It is obvious that 'Abdul-'Aziz did not want to give much information about his main power and so he revealed only general information about the *Ikhwan*. Al-Rihani stated that the first *hijrah* was Al-Artawiyah and that it was built in 1912. Al-Rihani also stated that 'Abdul-'Aziz was the founder of the *Ikhwan* movement.(66) Hafiz Wahbah almost follows Al-Rihani whose book was published in 1935. Wahbah mentioned that the first *hijrah* was built in 1911 and it was the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah. Hafiz connected the foundation of the *Ikhwan* movement to 'Abdul-'Aziz.(67) Khir-Aldin Al-Zarkali followed Al-Rihani and Wahbah in his book (the first edition, 1950). Al-Zarkali mentioned the year of 1912 as the date of the first *hijrah* and he connected the foundation of the *Ikhwan* movement to 'Abdul-'Aziz.(68)

On the other hand, a few authors did not relate the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to 'Abdul-'Aziz. The most famous one of them was Fuad Hamzah who published his book in 1933. Hamzah stressed that the first *hijrah* was the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah which was built in 1912 and he related the foundation of the movement to a group of the Harb tribe who settled in Al-Artawiyah 'Abdul-'Aziz gave that *hijrah* to Faysal Al-Dawish, the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe.(69)

John Philby published his book in 1955 and mentioned that the foundation of the *Ikhwan* was in 1912. Philby related the foundation of the *Ikhwan* to a group of the tribes of the Harb and Mutayr. That group gathered in Harmah and settled in Al-Artawiyah. It is obvious that Philby got this idea from Fuad Hamzah.(70) It is also clear that Harold Dickson got this idea from Hamzah and Philby. Dickson claimed in his book of 1956 that 'Abdul-Karim Al-Maghrabi (a religious leader) was the founder of Al-Artawiyah in 1899.(71) It is apparent that John Glubb in his book of 1960 also got this idea from the writers before he published his book. Glubb stressed that the first *hijrah* was Al-Artawiyah and that it was built in 1912. Glubb also mentioned that 'Abdul-'Aziz was not the founder of the *Ikhwan* movement.(72)

According to the interviewees however, there were no *Ikhwan* in the last battle before the creation of the *Ikhwan* which was the battle of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915. There were no *Ikhwan* in the battle of Kanzan as the researcher mentioned in Chapter One.(73) The *Ikhwan* movement started one year after the battle of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915. The Summer of 1916 is considered to be the date when the *Ikhwan* movement was started.(74)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud ordered Faysal Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) to settle in the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah after the battle of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915. Al-Artawiyah was a place in the desert which had many wells and those wells belonged to Faysal Al-Dawish and the Mutayr tribe (See Appendix Figure 2). Al-Dawish officially settled in Al-Artawiyah one year after the battle of Kanzan. It was during the Summer because the tribes of Najd settled near wells in Summer and they followed their camels during other seasons. Therefore, it would be around one year from the battle of Kanzan. As a result the first *hijrah* was built in the Summer of 1916: the *hijrah* were built near wells and the tribes settled near their wells during the Summer time. Al-Artawiyah became famous and an important name second only to the settlement of Al-Dawish. To try and give it an importance before that date is to fly in the face of the evidences and the events.(75)

The total number of the *hijrah* achieved by the end of 1928 was around one hundred and twenty. The number increased because 'Abdul-'Aziz supported the tribes in Najd and Al-Hijaz as they built the *hijrah* and he encouraged them to develop more *hijrah*. In 1928, the smallest *hijrah* had a population of two thousands people; on the other hand, the biggest *hijrah* had a population of thirty thousand people and it was the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah.(76) The second largest *hijrah* according to the number of the population was the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat. This was half the size of the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah and it was around fifteen thousand people.(77)

The Mutayr tribe founded thirteen *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish and the headmen of that *hijrah* were Naif ibn Mazyad, Faysal ibn Shiblān, Muhammad ibn Badir, Haza' ibn Badir, and Masyar ibn Mazyad.(78) Faysal Al-Dawish was the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe and Faysal ibn Shiblān was a headman of the Al-Jiblān clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe. Muhammad ibn Badir, Haza' ibn Badir, Naif ibn Mazyad, and Masyar ibn Mazyad were from the Al-Dushan family which were the shaykhs of the Mutayr tribe.(79)
2. The *hijrah* of Qaryah Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Haif Al-Fughum and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Sa'ud ibn Kuraydi Al-Fughum and Bandar ibn Dhaydan Al-Fughum.(80) Haif was the Shaykh of the Al-Sahabah clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(81)
3. The *hijrah* of Qaryah Al-'Ilya: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Tirayhiyb ibn Shiqayr and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Falah ibn Shiqayr, Faysal ibn Naif ibn Shiqayr, Hizam ibn Ziriban, and Ghassab ibn Mandiyl.(82) Tirayhiyb was from the Al-Muhahah clan and he was from the Al-Dawish family who were the shaykhs of the Mutayr tribe. Hizam ibn Ziriban was a residence of the *hijrah* at that time even though he was from the Al-Ziriban family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Rukhman clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe. Ghassab ibn Mandiyl was from the Bani Khalid tribe and he was also a resident of that *hijrah* at that time.(83)

4. The *hijrah* of Al-Furuthi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mishari ibn Busais and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Muhammad ibn Busais, Majid ibn Khashman, Turki ibn Buasis, and Khalid ibn Busais.(84) Mishari was the Shaykh of the Al-Si'ran of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(85)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Thamriyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ya'qub Al-Himaydani and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Muhammad ibn Mulayh Al-Himaydani, Bijad ibn Kan'an Al-Himaydani, and Tha'ar ibn Ya'qub Al-Himaydani.(86) Ya'qub was the Shaykh of the Al-Hamadiyn section of the Al-Si'ran clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe. Muhammad and Bijad were from the Al-Hamadiyn family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Hamadiyn section of the Al-Si'ran clan.(87)
6. The *hijrah* of Al-Husu: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jimay'an ibn Dhawi.(88) Jimay'an was from the Al-Si'ran clan.(89)
7. The *hijrah* of Budha: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mutlaq Al-Hafta.(90) Mutlaq was the Shaykh of the Al-Mahalsah clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(91)
8. The *hijrah* of Umm Hazim: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Awadh Al-Muqahwi.(92) 'Awadh was a headman of the Al-Si'ran clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(93)
9. The *hijrah* of Allisafah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jasir ibn Lami.(94) Jasir was the Shaykh of the Al-Jiblan clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(95)
10. The *hijrah* of Mulayh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Alush ibn Suqayyan and a headman of the *hijrah* was Ghazi ibn Suqayyan.(96) 'Alush was the Shaykh of the Al-'Awanah clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(97)
11. The *hijrah* of Al-Athlah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Huayl ibn Samhan and a headman of the *hijrah* was Madhkar ibn Samhan.(98) Huayl was a Shaykh of the Al-Rukhman clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(99)
12. The *hijrah* of Wadhakh: the Amir of the *hijrah* was Maniyf ibn Qutaym.(100) Maniyf was the Shaykh of the Sikkan of the Bani 'Abdillah part of the Mutayr tribe.(101)

13. The *hijrah* of Imba'idh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Tami Al-Qurayfah.(102)
Tami was the Shaykh of the Al-Bidana clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(103)

4.2. THE 'UTAYBAH TRIBE

4.2.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The 'Utaybah tribe was divided to two parts: the Barqa and the Al-Ruqah. Shaykh Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd was the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe as a whole and was from the Al-Mugtah clan of the Barqa part. Shaykh 'Umar ibn Ruby'an was the Shaykh of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was from the Al-Thibtah clan and was the most famous Shaykh of that time after Shaykh Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd.(104)

There were ten clans in the Barqa part of the tribe: the Al-'Usumah, the Al-Qithimah, the Al-Shiyabiyn, the Al-Naf'ah, the Al-Da'ajiy, the Al-Daghalbah, the Al-Rusan, the Al-Muqtah, the Al-Thibitah, and the Al-Dahasah.(105)

There were also twenty seven clans in the Al-Ruqah part: the Al-Samrrah, the Al-'Adhyan, the Al-Ghubayat, the Al-Marashdah, the Al-Dhaybah, the Dhawi 'Atyah, the Al-Maghayrah, the Al-Ghananiym, the Al-Qasamah, the Al-Farahdah, the Al-Dalabhah, the Al-Hizman, the Al-'Awali, the Al-Damasiyn, the Dhawi Mahaya, the Al-Zirqan, the Al-'Awazim, the Dhawi Zaraq, the Al-Hifah, the Al-'Asa'dah, the Al-Barariq, the Al-Karashmah, the Al-Jidh'an, the Al-Humran, the Al-Habradiyah, the Hanatiysh, and the Al-Taluh.(106)

4.2.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE 'UTAYBAH TRIBE

The tribe achieved sixteen *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat: one year after the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah was founded; the Summer of 1917, Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) built the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat (See Appendix Figure 2).(107) Shaykh Sultan had overwhelming support and encouragement from 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to build his *hijrah*. Shaykh Sultan was called Sultan Al-Diyn (the Sultan of the religion) because he was a very religious shaykh and he was a very respectful person. He lead 'Abdul-'Aziz and the '*ulama* of Najd in the prayers during the *Ikhwan* movement.(108)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Umar ibn Ruby'an and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Nayif and Khalid Al-Hallaj, Majid Al-Barraq, Badir ibn 'Alush, and Al-Shiqayri ibn Al-Zahhaf.(109) 'Umar ibn Ruby'an was the Shaykh of Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was from the Al-Thibtah clan. Nayif and Khalid Al-Hallaj were from the Al-Thibtah clan and Badir ibn 'Alush was from the Al-Ruba'iyn family. Al-Shiqayri ibn Al-Zahhaf was the Shaykh of the Al-Asa'dah clan of the Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe.(110)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-Hufairah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Minahi Al-Haydhil and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Sultan ibn Hashar and Salal ibn Minahi Al-Haydhil.(111) Minahi was the Shaykh of the Al-Da'ajiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Sultan and Salal were from the Al-Haydhil family were the shaykhs of the Al-Da'ajiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(112)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Labib: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Badir Al-Haydhil and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Salal ibn Badir, and 'Umar Abu Ruqubah.(113) 'Abdul-Mihsin was from the Al-Haydhil family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Da'ajiyn clan of the Barqa of the 'Utaybah tribe. Salal was also from the Al-Haydhil family and 'Umar was a Shaykh of the Al-Naf'ah clan of the Barqa of the 'Utaybah tribe.(114)
5. The *hijrah* of Misidah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalid ibn Jami' and the headman of the *hijrah* was Mitrik ibn Jami'.(115) Khalid was the Shaykh of the Al-Rusan clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe and Mitrik was his brother and he became the Amir of that *hijrah* after the death of his brother Khalid.(116)

6. The *hijrah* of Sanam: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Aba Al-'Ala' and a headman of the *hijrah* was Hazza' ibn Mighayriq.(117) Sultan was the Shaykh of the Al-'Usumah clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe and Hazza' was a headman of the Al-'Uaumah clan.(118)

7. The *hijrah* of Al-Ruaydah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jimal Al-Mahari.(119) Jimal was the Shaykh of the Al-Daghalbah clan of the Barqa of the 'Utaybah tribe.(120)

8. The *hijrah* of 'Isaylah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ghazi Al-Tum and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Dhayfallah Al-Tum, and Dakhilallah ibn Wasmi.(121) Ghazi was the Shaykh of the Al-Hifah of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Dhayfallah was from the Al-Tum family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Hifah clan and Dakhilallah was from the Al-Hifah clan.(122)

9. The *hijrah* of Sajir: the Amir of that *hijrah* was was Dha'ar ibn Ruby'an and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Naif ibn Turki, Dhayfallah ibn Turki, and Turki ibn Fayhan. Dha'ar was the cousin of the Shaykh of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe and the three headmen were from the Al-Ruba'iyn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Ruqah part.(123) They all were from the Al-Ruba'iyn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. However, the rightful Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Aqab ibn Dhayfallah ibn Mihaya and the rightful headmen of the *hijrah* were Nasir ibn Jirman ibn Mihaya and Turki ibn Sadah ibn Mihaya and it belonged to the Al-Mihaya family. 'Aqab was the Shaykh of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Nasir and Turki were from the Al-Mihaya family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe.(124)

10. The *hijrah* of 'Arwa: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hashar ibn Miqid ibn Himayd.(125) Hashar was the cousin of the Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd, the Shaykh of 'Utaybah tribe, and Hashar was from the Al-Himayd family who were the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe as a whole. Jihjah ibn Bijad ibn Himayd who was the brother of the Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd became the Amir of that *hijrah* after the death of

Hashar and after the destruction of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat in the late twenties.(126)

11. The *hijrah* of Al-Rudhah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Majid ibn Dhawi ibn Fihayd and a headman of the *hijrah* was Fayhan ibn Fihayd.(127) Majid was the Shaykh of the Al-Shiyabiyn clan of the Barqa of the 'Utaybah tribe. Fayhan was from the Al-Fihayd family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Shiyabiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(128)

12. The *hijrah* of Himyan: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Badir ibn 'Akayl and a headman of the *hijrah* was Minahi ibn 'Akayl.(129) Badir was a Shaykh of the Al-Da'ajiyin clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe and Minahi was the brother of Badir.(130)

13. The *hijrah* of Kabshan: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Abu Khishaym and a headman of the *hijrah* was Ja'id ibn Bijad Abu Khishaym.(131) Sultan was the Shaykh of the Al-Marashdah clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Ja'id was the cousin of Sultan.(132)

14. The *hijrah* of Al-Makallat: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Majid Abu Khishaym.(133) Majid was from the Abu Khishaym family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Marashdah clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was the cousin of the Amir of the *hijrah* of Kabshan.(134)

15. The *hijrah* of Al-Sauh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Al-Gharbi.(135) Sultan was the Shaykh of the Al-Gharbyah section of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(136)

16. The *hijrah* of 'Arja: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Qitaym Al-Hibayl and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Talaq ibn Jazi' and 'Abdullah Al-Witayr.(137) Qitaym was the Shaykh of the Al-Hamamiyd clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Talaq and 'Abdullah were two headmen of the Al-Hamamiyd clan.(138)

4.3. THE QAHTAN TRIBE

4.3.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Qahtan tribe was divided into three areas: the Qahtan of Najd, the Qahtan of Tathlith, and the Qahtan of the South and they were related to each other.(see Figure 1) The Qahtan of Najd tribe was a part of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd and they played a role in that movement as did other tribes of the Najd. Therefore, when talking about the Qahtan tribe being a member of the *Ikhwan* movement at that time, it was the part of the Qahtan tribe in Najd and not the other parts that were being referred to.(139)

The Qahtan tribe of Najd was divided into two parts: the Al-Jahadir and the Janb. The first part (the Al-Jahadir) was subdivided into the Al-Jimal and the Al-Sulayman. The Al-Jimal was subdivided into the Al-Mas'ud, the Al-Suydan, the Al-'Ulayn, the Murayti' the Al-Shabuah, and the Al-'Ajarshah. The Al-Sulayman was subdivided into the Al-Muhammad and the Al-'Asim. The Al-Muhammad was subdivided into the Al-Duhaym and the Al-Batin. The Al-Duhaym was subdivided into the Al-Muhammad, the Al-Khanafir, the Al-Misha'lah, and the Al-'Atif. The Al-Batin was subdivided into the Al-Ruq and the Al-Sa'ad. The Al-'Asim was subdivided into the Al-Tirayf and the Al-Rizq. The second part of the Qahtan of Najd was the Janb which was divided into the 'Abidah and the Shirayf.(140) The 'Abidah was further subdivided into the Al-Fihar, the Al-Jurf, the Al-Misawdah, the Al-Mihadi and the Al-Hurqan clans.(141) The Shirayf was further subdivided into the Bani Hajir, the Al-Daud, the Al-Huran, and the Al-Sary' clans.(142)

4.3.2. THE HIJAR OF THE QAHTAN OF NAJD TRIBE

The Qahtan of Najd founded eight *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the followings (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Rayn Al-'Ilya: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hadhal ibn Su'aydan and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Hizam ibn Misfir, 'Ashaq ibn Misfir, Qublan ibn Hiwayzi, 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Libdah, and Faysal ibn Libdah.(143) Hadhal was the Shaykh of the Al-'Atif clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and 'Abdul-'Aziz and Faysal ibn Libdah were from the Al-Libdah family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Sa'ad clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe. Hizam and 'Ashaq were from the Al-Su'aydan family who were the shaykhs of the Al-'Atif clan. Qublan was the Shaykh of the Al-Suydan clan of the Qahtan of Tathlith.(144)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Rayn Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan ibn Sifran and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Khalil ibn 'Umar, Sa'ad ibn Jilyghim, Turki ibn Jilyghim, and Bidah Al-'Amaj.(145) Sultan ibn Sifran was the Shaykh of the Al-Khanafir clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe. Khalil ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah was the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and he did not settle in a separate *hijrah* at that time because he and his tribe used to be *badyah* (bedouin). Sa'ad and Turki were from the Al-Jalaghmah family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Jalaghmah clan. Bidah was a Shaykh of the Al-Sihamah clan.(146)

3. The *hijrah* of Al-Hayathim: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Faysal ibn Hashar and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Khalid ibn Faysal, and Fahid ibn Mirayhah.(147) Faysal ibn Hashar was the Shaykh of the Al-'Asim clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and Khalid was his son. Fahid ibn Mirayhah was the Shaykh of the Al-Ruq clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(148)

4. The *hijrah* of Al-Hasah Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Finays ibn Huayl.(149) Finays was the Shaykh of the Al-Hiwayl section of the Al-Ruq clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(150)

5. The *hijrah* of Al-Hasah Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'ad ibn Jilban.(151) Sa'ad was the Shaykh of the 'Ulayan clan of the Al-Jahadir of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(152)

6. The *hijrah* of Al-Jifayr: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Sadhan.(153) Nasir was the Shaykh of the Al-Himayran section of the Al-'Atif clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(154)

7. The *hijrah* of Al-Minaysif: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hilal ibn 'Abbud.(155) Hilal was the Shaykh of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Qahtan of Tathlith tribe.(156)

8. The *hijrah* of Liban: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Rija ibn Nasir.(157) Rija was the Shaykh of the Al-Khamsah section of the Al-'Atif clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(158)

4.4. THE SUBAY' OF NAJD TRIBE

4.4.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The tribal divisions of the Subay' of Najd tribe (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe) were mentioned in much detail in Chapter One.(159)

4.4.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE SUBAY' OF NAJD TRIBE

The tribal divisions of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe were explained in Chapter One.(160) The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* founded only three *hijar* before the end of 1928 and the main reason for that was that the Shaykh of the tribe (Dharman ibn Faysal Abu Thinayn) and the shaykhs of the clans were 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's trusted leaders and he did not encourage them to build more *hijar* for that reason.(161)

The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* founded three *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijar* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Hisi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Fudghush ibn Shawyah and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Wilayd ibn Shawyah, Ghunaym ibn Fahhad, and Mutlaq Al-Siyayfi.(162) Fudghuwsh ibn Shawyah was the Shaykh of Al-'Arynat clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Ghunaym ibn Fahhad was from the Al-

Shawyah family and Mutlaq Al-Sayayfi was from the Al-Sayayfa family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Nibtah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(163)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Dhubay'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ali ibn Hadayhid and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Thinayan ibn Hadayhid and Falih ibn Ghayda.(164) 'Ali was the Shaykh of the 'Ajman Al-Rakham clan of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Falih was a headman of the 'Ajman Al-Rakham clan.(165)

3. The *hijrah* of Al-Khadhar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Al-Dhawayri ibn Jifran and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Dharman Abu Thinayn and Dhaydan Abu Thinayn.(166) Al-Dhawayri was the Shaykh of the Al-'Izah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Dharman was the Shaykh of the Al-Jimaliyn clan of the Al-Sa'abah of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Shaykh of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe as a whole. It was a mistake to mention Dharman under that *hijrah* because the Abu Thinayn family settled there in their farms for a time during the Summer time. Dhaydan was from the Abu Thinayn family who were the shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and he was the uncle of Dharman. The Abu Thinayn family and the rest of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe settled in Rumah in the late forties.(167)

4.5. THE AL-SUHUL TRIBE

4.5.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The tribal divisions of the Al-Suhul tribe were mentioned in much detail in Chapter One.(168)

4.5.2. THE HIJAR OF THE AL-SUHUL TRIBE

The Al-Suhul tribe established three *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the followings (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Mashash: and the Amir of that *hijrah* was Minahi ibn Jil'ud.(169) Minahi was the Shaykh of the Al-Mihaymiyd clan and he was the Shaykh of the Al-Suhul tribe as a whole. The Shaykh of the tribe and the shaykhs of the clans were under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz did not encourage them to build more *hijrah* as the Subay' Al-'Aridh tribe.(170)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Ruaydah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdullah ibn Mazhur.(171) 'Abdullah was the Shaykh of the Al-Mahalaf clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(172)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-Bida': the Amir of that *hijrah* was Suar ibn Mi'dil.(173) Suar was the Shaykh of Al-Dhuran clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(174)

4.6. THE HARB TRIBE

4.6.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Harb tribe was considered as one of the the biggest tribes of the whole Najdi and Hijazi areas. The Harb tribe was divided into two areas: the Harb of Najd and the Harb of Al-Hijaz tribes and they were related to each other. The Harb of Najd were involved more heavily in the *Ikhwan* movement than the Harb of Al-Hijaz. 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm was the head of the Harb of Najd tribe and the other tribes of Najd looked to him. The Harb of Najd tribe were represented most of the *hijrah* of the Harb tribe at that time.(175)

The Harb tribe in general was divided into two main parts: the Bani Salim and the Masruh. The Bani Salim was subdivided into the Maymun and Muruah. The Maymun was subdivided into two clans: the Al-'Ahamdah and the Walid Muhammad.(176) The

Muruah was subdivided into six clans: the Al-Hawazim, the Al-Dhawahir, the Al-Hujalah, the Al-Hananyah, the Al-Hunytat, and the Muzaynah.(177)

The Masruh was subdivided into the Bani 'Amru, the Zubayd, the 'Auf, the Bani 'Ali, and the Bani Al-Saffar. The Bani 'Amru was subdivided into the Walid 'Abdallah and the Walid Mahmud. The Walid 'Abdallah was subdivided into five clans: the Bishir, the Mu'bad, the Bani Muhammad, the Al-Biladyah, and the Bani Jabir. The Walid Mahmud was also subdivided into two clans: the Jahram and the Al-'Utur.(178)

The Zubayd was subdivided into four clans: the Al-Hizarah, the Zubayd Al-Sham, the Al-Sihaf, and the Zubayd Al-Shaykh.(179) The 'Auf was subdivided into the Al-Sawa'id and the Al-Nawasifah. The Al-Sawa'id was subdivided into two clans: the Al-Bitanah and the 'Alaq. The Al-Nawasifah was subdivided into three clans: the Al-Habah, the Al-Qamiym, and the Al-Sahliah.(180)

The Bani Ali was subdivided into the Walid Murayr and the Al-Jubur. The Walid Murayr was subdivided into four clans: the Al-Duhaym, the Al-Turafa, the Al-Juhush, and the 'Ubadah. The Al-Jubur was subdivided into six clans: the Al-Karashiyf, the Al-Dawa'rah, the Al-Hamqah, the Al-Fuqu', the Al-Kutamah, and the Al-Mishartah.(181) The Bani Al-Saffar was also subdivided into seven clans: the Al-Furadah, the Al-Fahadah, the Al-Wuhub, the Al-Sharayzah, the Al-Ruajahah, the Al-Mahalbah, and the Al-Tamih.(182)

4.6.2. THE HIJAR OF THE HARB TRIBE

The Harb of Najd established twenty two *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Iqbah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm and the headman of the *hijrah* was Nafi' ibn Fadhlyah.(183) 'Abdul-Mihsin was the Shaykh of the Bani 'Ali clan of Masruh part of the Harb tribe and he was the Shaykh of the Harb of Najd tribe.(184)

2. The *hijrah* of Dukhnah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Aiyd Al-Bahaymah and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Dha'ar ibn Batla, Badir Al-Mushaddaq, and 'Aiyd ibn 'Afra.(185) 'Aiyd was a Shaykh of the Muzaynah shaykhs of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe. Dha'ar was the Shaykh of the Al-Ghaydiyn of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe and Badir was a head of the Al-Bidhan clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(186)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-Qawarah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ali ibn Hidayb and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Falih ibn Hidayb and 'Abayd ibn Mikhlif.(187) 'Ali was a Shaykh of the shaykhs of Al-Furadah clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(188)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Khushaybi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ubayd Al-Zughaybi and the headmen of the *hijrah* were 'Abdullah Al-Zughaybi and Ghanim Al-Zughaybi.(189) 'Ubayd was one of the shaykhs of Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(190)
5. The *hijrah* of Dhaidah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Huthul ibn Hidayb.(191) Huthul was a Shaykh of the Al-Furadah clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(192)
6. The *hijrah* of Khasibah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dha'ar ibn Hammad and the headman of the *hijrah* was Sultan ibn Hammad.(193) Dha'ar was a Shaykh of the Al-Furadah clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(194)
7. The *hijrah* of Kahaylah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nayif ibn Nahil and the headman of the *hijrah* was Shakir ibn Salaf.(195) Nayif was a Shaykh of the Al-'Ahamdah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe and Shakir was a cousin of Naif.(196)
8. The *hijrah* of Abu Mughiy: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'ad ibn Rubayq.(197) Sa'ad was a Shaykh of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(198)
9. The *hijrah* of Al-Nahitayah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dibayan ibn Ghadin.(199) Dibayan was a Shaykh of the Bani Salim part of the Harb of Najd tribe.(200)

10. The *hijrah* of Thadiq: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Bijad ibn Ghumayd and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Mit'ib ibn Ghumayd and Bijad ibn Huyan.(201) Bijad ibn Ghumayd was the Shaykh of the Al-Bidhan clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(202)

11. The *hijrah* of Al-Qurayn: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mun'im ibn Naqi and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Salah ibn Naqi and 'Abdullah ibn Naqi.(203) 'Abdul-Mun'im was the Shaykh of the Walid Silaym clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(204)

12. The *hijrah* of Al-Burud: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Naif ibn Mudhayyan and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Fayhan ibn Mudhayyan and Thalab ibn Sumay'ar.(205) Naif was the Shaykh of the Al-Dhawahir clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe and Thalab was the Shaykh of the Al-Wisidah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(206)

13. The *hijrah* of Al-Ba'ayth: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ribah ibn Mutlaq and the headman of the *hijrah* was Mikhaymar ibn Mutlaq.(207) Ribah was a Shaykh of the Walid Siliym clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe and Mikhaymar was a brother of Ribah.(208)

14. The *hijrah* of Al-Mahalani: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Rishayd ibn Rishayd.(209) Rishayd was a Shaykh of the Walid Silaym clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(210)

15. The *hijrah* of Al-Fawarrah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hijab ibn Nahiyt and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Dhayfallah ibn Nahiyt, Zayd ibn Nahiyt, Humud Abu Al-'Aun, and Simayh Al-Bishiri.(211) Hijab was the Shaykh of the Muzaynah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb of Najd tribe and Zayd from the Al-Nahiyt family. Humud was from the Muzaynah clan and Simayh was from the Al-Bisharyah section of the Muzaynah clan.(212)

16. The *hijrah* of Qutun: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Shidayd Al-Dayri.(213) Shidayd was the Shaykh of the Al-Qisayrayn section of the Muzaynah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(214)

17. The *hijrah* of Al-Dilaymiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Zabin ibn Juday' and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Du'ayj ibn Juday' and Dhawi ibn Juday'.(215) Zabin was the Shaykh of the Al-Hananyah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(216)

18. The *hijrah* of Buqya'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Masha'an Al-Bishiri.(217) Masha'an was a Shaykh of the Al-Bisharyah section of the Muzaynah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(218)

19. The *hijrah* of Al-Shibaykiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hindi ibn Dhuaybi and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Fayhan Al-Dhuaybi, Muhammad ibn Nahis Al-Dhuaybi, and Nayif ibn Nahis Al-Dhuaybi.(219) Hindi was the Shaykh of the Bani 'Amru of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(220)

20. The *hijrah* of Al-Dhibiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Tu'aymiys ibn Muraykhan and the headman of the *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Muraykhan.(221) Tu'aymiys was a Shaykh of the Al-Jimalah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(222)

21. The *hijrah* of Al-Faydah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Aqil Al-Zihayri and the headman of the *hijrah* was Humud ibn Al-Zihayri.(223) 'Aqil was a Shaykh of the Al-Bidariyn clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(224)

22. The *hijrah* of Al-Bida': the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hilwan Al-Balhi.(225) Hilwan was a Shaykh of the Walid Silaym clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(226)

4.7. THE 'ANIZAH TRIBE

4.7.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The 'Anizah tribe was divided into three parts: the Dhana Musalam, the Dhana Wail, and Dhana 'Ubayd. The Dhana Musalam was subdivided in turn into three clans: the Al-Rawalah, the Al-Mahalaf, and Walid 'Ali. The Dhana Wail was subdivided into three

clans: the Al-'Amarat and the Al-Dahamshah. The Dhana 'Ubayd was subdivided into four clans: the Al-Fida'an, the Walid Sulayman, the Al-Saba'ah, and the Al-Salqa.(227)

4.7.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE 'ANIZAH TRIBE

The 'Anizah tribe established seven *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Khaybar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Farhan Al-Ayda and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Hazza' ibn Hays Al-Ayda and Hazza' ibn Muhammad Al-Ayda.(228) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Walid 'Ali clan of the Dhana Musalam part of the 'Anizah tribe.(229)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Faydhah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jiraybay' ibn Sawaylim and the headman of the *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Sawaylim.(230) Jiraybay' was the Shaykh of Al-Ghadhawrah section of the Walid Sulayman clan of the Dhana 'Ubayd part of the 'Anizah tribe.(231)
3. The *hijrah* of Baydha Nathiy: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalaf Al-'Awaji.(232) Khalaf was the Shaykh of the Al-Ja'afrah section of the Walid Sulayman clan of the Dhana 'Ubayd part of the 'Anizah tribe.(233)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Sha'ybah (1): the Amir of that *hijrah* was Shari' ibn Mijlad.(234) Shari' was from the Al-Mijlad family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Dahamshah clan of the Dhana Wail part of the 'Anizah tribe.(235)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Sha'ybah (2): the Amir of that *hijrah* was Farhan ibn Mashur.(236) Farhan was from Al-Shi'lan family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Rawalah clan of the Dhana Musalam part of the 'Anizah tribe and he was the Shaykh of the *Ikhwan* of the Al-Rawalah because the Shaykh of the Al-Rawalah was Al-Nuri Al-Shi'lan.(237)
6. The *hijrah* of Al-Shamli: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Shaman.(238) 'Abdul-Mihsin was the Shaykh of the Al-Bijaydah section of the Al-Salqa clan of the Dhana 'Ubayd part of the 'Anizah tribe.(239)

7. The *hijrah* of Al-Bilaziyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Mi'aytiq.(240) 'Abdul-Rahman was a Shaykh of the Al-Shamlan section of the Al-Salqa clan of the Dhana 'Ubayd part of the 'Anizah tribe.(241)

4.8. THE SHAMMAR TRIBE

4.8.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Shammar tribe was divided into four parts: the Sinjarah, the Al-Tuman, the Al-Aslam, and the 'Abdah. The Sinjarah was in turn subdivided into four clans: the Al-Zumayl, the Al-Hufayl, the Al-Sawid, and the Al-Fadaghah. The Al-Tuman was subdivided into four clans: the Al-Tumayat, the Al-Rubu', the Al-Hidibah, and the Al-Zumayl. The Al-Aslam was subdivided into eleven clans: the Al-Tualah, the Al-Firidah, the Al-Sihaym, the Al-Hirar, the Al-Sukut, the Al-Jahaysh, the Al-Wahab, the Al-Haydh, the Al-Kitifah, the Al-Salayt, and the Al-Waja'an.(242) The 'Abdah was subdivided into six clans: the Al-Yahaya, the Al-Rubai'yah, the Al-Dughayrat, the Al-Jadi, the Al-Mafdhadh, and the Al-Fudhayl.(243)

4.8.2. THE HIJAR OF THE SHAMMAR TRIBE

The Shammar tribe founded sixteen *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Ajfar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nida ibn Nihayrr who was the Shaykh of the Al-Siwayan section of the Al-Wibar clan of the 'Abdah part of the Shammar tribe.(244) The headmen of the *hijrah* were Hamdan ibn Jadi and Sultan ibn 'Aish.(245) Hamdan and Sultan were two headmen of the Al-Siwayan section of the Al-Wibar clan.(246)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Safra: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mighaylith ibn Jarallah.(247) Mighaylith was a Shaykh of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe.(248)
3. The *hijrah* of Umm Al-Qulban: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ghadhban ibn Rimal.(249) Ghadhban was the Shaykh of the Al-Rimal clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(250)
4. The *hijrah* of Jubih: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Adwan ibn Rimal and the headman of the *hijrah* was Mir'ayd ibn Rimal.(251) 'Adwan was the cousin of the Amir of the *hijrah* of Umm Al-Qulban and he was from the Al-Rimal family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Rimal clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(252)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Hifayr: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Katib Al-Namasi.(253) Katib was the Shaykh of the Al-Nimsan section of the Al-Zumayl clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(254)
6. The *hijrah* of Al-Taim: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Firayh Al-Hamzi.(255) Firayh was a Shaykh of the Al-Sawid clan shaykhs of the Sinjarah of the Shammar tribe.(256)
7. The *hijrah* of Al-Khibah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Firayh Al-Hirbiyd.(257) Firayh was a Shaykh of the Al-Sawid clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(258)
8. The *hijrah* of Al-Sinayna: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'dun ibn 'Abass.(259) Sa'dun was a Shaykh of the Al-Sawid clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(260)
9. The *hijrah* of Al-Na'ay: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Karim Al-Zabin.(261) 'Abdul-Karim was the Shaykh of the Al-Ghirayr clan of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe.(262)
10. The *hijrah* of Al-'Azaym: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jizayl ibn Lighaysim and the headmen of the *hijrah* were 'Adhayb ibn Lighaysim and Shabiyb ibn

Lighaysim.(263) Jizayl was the Shaykh of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe.(264)

11. The *hijrah* of Al-Makkahul: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Marzuq Al-'Adiym.(265) Marzuq was a Shaykh of the Al-'Idimah clan the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe.(266)

12. The *hijrah* of Al-Sahwah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Minzal ibn Sail.(267) Minzal was the Shaykh of the Al-Hisaynah clan of the Al-Khurusah part of the Shammar tribe.(268)

13. The *hijrah* of Al-Shiqayq: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Zafi ibn Ma'rif.(269) Zafi was a Shaykh of the Al-'Amud clan of the Shammar tribe.(270)

14. The *hijrah* of Al-Qisayr: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hawas ibn Ghamsan and the headman of the *hijrah* was Miqbil ibn Khamsan.(271) Hawas was the Shaykh of the Al-Khumsan section of the Al-Zumayl clan of the Sinjarah part of the Shammar tribe.(272)

15. The *hijrah* of Al-Faydhah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Qadi ibn Finaydil and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Khatlan ibn Qinaydl and Sultan ibn Qinaydl.(273) Qadi was the Shaykh of the Al-'Amud clan of the 'Abdah part of the Shammar tribe.(274)

16. The *hijrah* of Al-'Uqlah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hawas ibn Tawalah and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Muhammad ibn Dhari ibn Tawalah and Mishal ibn Salim ibn Tawalah.(275) Hawas was the Shaykh of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe. Muhammad and Mishal were from the Al-Tawalah family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe.(276)

4.9. THE AL-'AJMAN TRIBE

4.9.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Al-'Ajman tribe was divided into two parts: the Al-Marzuq and the Al-Wubayr.(277) The Al-Marzuq was in turn subdivided into seventeen clans: the Al-

Naj'ah, the Al-Sufran, the Al-Hadi, the Al-Salih, the Al-Shamir, the Al-Dha'in, the Al-Hidijah, the Al-Nashawan, the Al-Mahfuz, the Al-Khuytir, the Al-Musawi, the Al-Hitlan, the Al-'Ali, the Al-Silayman, the Al-Mi'aydh, the Al-Rashid, and the Al-Lizayz.(278)

The Al-Wubayr was also subdivided into fourteen clans: the Al-'Arja, the Al-Rayshayd, the Al-Misra, the Al-Miflih, the Al-Hayan, the Al-Khuytir, the Al-Dha'in, the Al-Hamad, the Al-Silayfi, the Al-Salum, the Al-Sirayh, the Al-Shawawlah, the Al-Fitayh, and the Al-Mutlaq.(279)

4.9.2. THE HIJAR OF THE AL-'AJMAN TRIBE

The Al-'Ajman tribe founded fourteen *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Sarrar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dhaydan ibn Khalid ibn Hizam ibn Hithlayn and he was the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(280)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Khafah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Fahhad ibn Hithlayn.(281) Fahhad was from the Al-Hithlayn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(282)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-'Ayaynah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Naif ibn Hithlayn.(283) Naif was from the Al-Hithlayn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(284)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Qarradi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalid ibn Hithlayn.(285) Khalid was from the Al-Hithlayn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(286)
5. The *hijrah* of Haniydh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mansur ibn Shafi.(287) Mansur ibn Shafi ibn Munaykhir was the Shaykh of the Al-Sufran clan at the beginning of the twenties, after the death of the Shaykh of the Al-Sufran clan (Khumis ibn Biti ibn Munaykhir).(288) The Al-Sufran clan was an historically independent clan from the Al-'Ajman tribe and they relied on themselves more than

others from their tribe. Mansur ibn Shafī was a loyal alliance of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and he fought against the rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe in the late twenties. Moreover, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud gave the order to his allies from the Al-'Ajman tribe to follow the orders of Mansur ibn Shafī ibn Munaykhir.(289)

6. The *hijrah* of Al-Wannan: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Salim ibn Widhayn.(290) Salim was the Shaykh of the Al-Misra clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(291)

7. The *hijrah* of Bakha: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Husah.(292) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Al-Shawawlah clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(293)

8. The *hijrah* of Al-Zughayn: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalid Al-Mitlaqim.(294) Khalid was the Shaykh of the Al-Hadi clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(295)

9. The *hijrah* of 'Iray'rah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mani' ibn Jim'ah.(296) Mani' was the Shaykh of the Al-Dha'in clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(297)

10. The *hijrah* of Ghunwah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn 'Isaydan.(298) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Al-Silayman clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(299)

11. The *hijrah* of Al-Sahaf: the Amir of the *hijrah* was Fahad ibn Bijjash.(300) Fahad ibn Bajjash ibn Tiflan was the Shaykh of the Al-Salih clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(301)

12. The *hijrah* of Umm Rabay'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Milahi ibn Qadh'an.(302) Milahi was the Shaykh of the Al-'Arja clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(303)

13. The *hijrah* of Al-Barrah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mutlaq ibn Zinayfir.(304) Mutlaq was the Shaykh of the Al-Makhliis section of the Al-Shamir clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(305)

14. The *hijrah* of Qitnanah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Zabyah.(306) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Al-Qinaybir section of the Al-'Arja clan of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(307).

4.10. THE BANI KHALID TRIBE

4.10.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Bani Khalid tribe was divided into seven clans: the Al-'Amayr, the Al-Subay'h, the Bani Fahd, the Al-Miqdam, the Al-Mahashiyr, the Al-Jubur, and the Al-Himayd.(308)

4.10.2. THE HIJAR OF THE BANI KHALID TRIBE

The Bani Khalid tribe established two *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Difi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Faris Al-Hasan and the headman of the *hijrah* was Shabiyb Al-Hasan.(309) Faris was the Shaykh of Al-'Amayr clan of the Bani Khalid tribe and Shabiyb was his cousin and he was from the Al-Hasan family which were the shaykhs of the Al-'Amayr clan of the Bani Khalid tribe.(310)
2. The *hijrah* of Jilmudah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Qarran ibn 'Ajrān and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Khalid ibn Harbi ibn 'Aqil, Hizam ibn thinayan, and Falah ibn Kilayb.(311) Qarran was the Shaykh of the Al-Subay'h clan of the Bani Khalid tribe and Khalid was from Al-'Aqil family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Khalid section of the Al-'Amayr clan of the Bani Khalid tribe. Hizam and Falah were the shaykhs of the Al-Mahashiyr clan of the Bani Khalid tribe.(312)

4.11. THE BANI HAJIR TRIBE

4.11.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Bani Hajir tribe was divided into two parts: the Al-Makhadhabah and the Al-Muhammad parts. The Al-Makhadhabah was further subdivided into seventeen clans: the Al-Dubaysah, the Al-Fihayd, the Al-Hamrra, the Al-Sultan, the Al-Husayn, the Al-Jararrah, the Al-Khayriyn, the Al-Madhafrah, the Al-Muna', the Al-Mizahmah, the Al-Qumuzah, the Al-Zayd, the Al-Zahaniyt, the Al-Shaba'iyn, the Al-Shahwan, the Al-Shar'an, and the Al-Sharahiyn. The Al-Muhammad part was also subdivided into ten clans: the Al-'Amirah, the Al-Falahah, the Al-Kadadat, the Al-Kilbah, the Al-Misariyr, the Al-Quruf, the Al-Sha'amil, the Al-Samahiyn, the Al-Taya', and the Al-Jadi.(313)

4.11.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE BANI HAJIR TRIBE

The Bani Hajir tribe founded four *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of 'Ayndar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Nasir ibn Khalifah and the headmen of the *hijrah* were 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Khalifah and Muhammad ibn Mubarak ibn Khalifah.(314) Muhammad was not from the Bani Hajir tribe because he was originally from Al-Bahrain. Muhammad was the cousin of the Al-Khalifah who were the rulers of Al-Bahrain and 'Abdul-'Aziz appointed him the Amir of that *hijrah* (315)
2. The *hijrah* of Yakrib: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Shafi ibn Shafi and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Madhkar ibn Shafi and Humud ibn Shafi.(316) Shafi was from the Al-Mukhadhabah part and he was the Shaykh of the Bani Hajir tribe.(317)
3. The *hijrah* of Fudah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Tizah and the headman of the *hijrah* was Shai' ibn Sudah.(318) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the

Al-Muhammad part of the Bani Hajir tribe and Shai' was a warrior of the Al-Kadadat clan of the Al-Muhammad part of the Bani Hajir tribe.(319)

4. The *hijrah* of Salasil: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ali ibn 'Aid and the headman of the *hijrah* was Hamad ibn 'Aid.(320) 'Ali was a Shaykh of the Al-Muhammad part of the Bani Hajir tribe and Hamad was his cousin.(321)

4.12. THE AL-DAWASIR TRIBE

4.12.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Al-Dawasir tribe was divided into two parts: the Tuglub and the Zayd. The Tuglub part was subdivided into five clans: the Al-Misariyr, the Al-Huqban, the Al-Khayaylat, the Al-'Umur, and the Al-Mishawayah. The Zayd part was also subdivided into the Suhayb and the Salim. The Suhayb was subdivided into the Al-Hasan and the Al-Misa'rah.(322)

The Al-Hasan was subdivided into twenty three clans: the Al-Furjan, the Al-Shakarah, the Al-'Amar, the Al-Muhammad, the Al-Wabariyn, the Al-'Ajaliyn, the Al-Haji, the Al-Hamdan, the Al-Bawaris, the Al-Hawamlah, the Al-Sakhabrah, the Al-Hawashlah, the Al-Khudhran, the Al-Dibaliyn, the Al-Shayniyah, the Al-Bu'ali, the Al-Thaqib, the Al-Mizman, the Al-Qaynan, the Al-Nishayr, the Al-Mubarak, the Al-Wasit, and the Al-Mani'. The Al-Misa'rah was also subdivided into ten clans: the Al-Busiba' the Al-Buhasan, the Al-Khurman, the Al-Bu'aqiyl, the Al-Ramdhah, the Al-Qudah, the Al-Jifariyn, the Al-Dumukh, the Al-Habashah, and the Al-Hanatiysh. Finally, the Salim was subdivided into three clans: the Al-Makhariym, the Al-Rujban, and the Al-Wada'iyn.(323)

4.12.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE AL-DAWASIR TRIBE

The Al-Dawasir tribe founded four *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Himar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hathal ibn Wiqayan.(324) Hathal was the Shaykh of the Al-Shakarah clan of the Al-Hasan of the Suhayb of the Zayd part of the Al-Dawasir tribe. Umm Al-Qura mentioned that 'Abdullah ibn Nadir was the Amir of Al-Salail and he was from the *hadhar* of Najd which was a big mistake. 'Abdullah was the Shaykh of the Al-Wada'iyn clan of the Salim of Zayd part of the Al-Dawasir tribe (325)

2. The *hijrah* of Mishayrfah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Minahi ibn Hifayz.(326) Minahi was a Shaykh of the Al-Shakarah clan of the Al-Dawasir tribe.(327)

3. The *hijrah* of Al-Wasita: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Wiqayan and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Shayban ibn Quayd, Saqir ibn Dir'an, and Mihmas ibn Sawaylmah.(328) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Al-Ghaythat clan of the Al-Dawasir tribe.(329) Shayban was the Shaykh of the Al-Misa'rah clan and he was from the Al-Quayd family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Dawasir tribe. The Al-Qiwdah family did not settle in a *hijrah* as they were bedouin at that time.(330) Saqir was the Shaykh of the Al-Walamiyn section of the Al-Wada'iyn clan of the Salim of the Zayd part of the Al-Dawasir tribe and Mihmas was the Shaykh of the Al-Birayk clan of the Al-Dawasir tribe.(331)

4. The *hijrah* of Al-Khurmah: Umm Al-Qura mentioned the village of Al-Kurmah as a *hijrah* of the *hijrah* of the Al-Dawasir tribe which was a mistake because it belonged to the Subay' 'Ala tribe and it did not belong to the Al-Dawasir tribe. Al-Kurmah was a long established village and it became a *hijrah* because it had a large *Ikhwan* contingent. Al-Khurmah and Ranyah were two villages which belonged to the Subay' 'Ala tribe (the Subay' of Al-Hijaz tribe) who became *Ikhwan* and these two villages became known later as the *hijrah* of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan*. The two small villages of Al-Khurmah and Ranyah were surrounded by small walls and they had many forts to

protect them from their opponents. The Subay' 'Ala tribe were governed by their shaykhs. Although the Sharif of Makkah appointed the rulers of Al-Khurmah and Ranyah and he could only exercise his power inside those two villages. The villagers were comprised of people from the Al-Ashraf tribe, the Al-*hadhar*, and the slaves. The power of the Sharif Makkah did not extend beyond the walls of those two villages and he did not have any authority over the bedouin of the Subay' 'Ala tribe.(332)

The amirs of the *hijar* of the tribes had been from the same tribe, but in the case of the two *hijar* of Al-Khurmah and Ranyah it was different. Khalid ibn Mansur ibn Luai who was from the Al-'Abadlah clan of the Al-Ashraf tribe was appointed by 'Abdul-'Aziz as the Amir of Al-Khurmah as a sign of the appreciation for his attitude against his cousin the Sharif of Makkah (King Husayn). 'Abdul-'Aziz also gave Khalid the right to appoint the amir of Ranyah. Khalid appointed Fayhan ibn Samil as the Amir of Ranyah and Fayhan was from the Al-Fi'ur clan of the Al-Ashraf tribe.(333)

The headmen of Al-Kurmah were Al-Sharif 'Abdullah ibn Nasir, Majid ibn Jirwah, Naif ibn Hamlan, and Salal ibn Hamlan. Sharif 'Abdullah was a cousin of the Khalid ibn Luai and Majid ibn Jirwah was the Shaykh of the Al-Smalah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' 'Ala tribe. Naif and Salal were two warriors of the Al-Qirayshat clan of the Subay' 'Ala tribe.(334)

4.13. THE AL-MURRAH TRIBE

4.13.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Al-Murrah tribe was divided into two parts: the Al-'Ali and the Al-Shabiyb. The Al-'Ali part was further subdivided into the Al-Ghaythiyn and Al-Jarabi'ah. The Al-Shabiyb was also subdivided into the Al-Sa'iyyd and the Al-Ghifran. The Al-Sa'iyyd was subdivided into the Al-Bishir and the Al-Jabir. The Bishir was subdivided into the Al-

Fadhil, the Al-Yahya, and the Al-Birayd. Finally, the Al-Fadhil was subdivided into two clans: the Al-Fihaydah and the Al-'Adhbah.(335)

4.13.2. THE *HIJAR* OF THE AL-MURRAH TRIBE

The Al-Murrah tribe founded four *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Yabriyn: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hamad Al-Maradhaf and the headman of the *hijrah* was Salih Al-Maradhaf.(336) Hamad was the Shaykh of the Al-Murrah tribe. Salih was a cousin of Hamad and he was from the Al-Maradhaf family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Murrah tribe.(337)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Sikak: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hamad ibn Hinzab and the headman of the *hijrah* was Fadhil ibn Fadhil.(338) Hamad was a headman of the Al-Jifaysh section of the Al-'Adhbah clan and Fadhil was the Shaykh of the Al-Jifaysh section of the Al-'Adhbah clan of the Al-Murrah tribe.(339)
3. The *hijrah* of Nibak: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'ud ibn Naqadan.(340) Sa'ud was the Shaykh of the Al-'Adhbah clan of the Al-Murrah tribe.(341)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Budu': the Amir of that *hijrah* was Rashid ibn Nidaylah and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Lahum ibn Shiraym, Salih Abu Laylah, and Mit'ib Al-Sa'aq.(342) Rashid was the Shaykh of the Al-Hasna section of the Al-Bihayh clan of the Al-Murrah tribe.(343) Lahum was the Shaykh of the Al-Fihaydah clan of the Al-Murrah tribe.(344) Salih was the Shaykh of the Al-Hadi ibn Zayid section of the Al-Ghifran clan of the Al-Murrah tribe and Mit'ib was the Shaykh of the Al-Bihayh clan of the Al-Murrah tribe.(345)

4.14. THE AL-ZAFIYR TRIBE

4.14.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Al-Zafiyir tribe was divided into two parts: the Al-Butun and the Al-Sumadah.(346) The Al-Butun was further subdivided into fifteen clans: the Al-Buayt, the Bani Hasan, the Al-Sa'ayd, the Bani Khalid, the Al-Khathiyir, the Al-Tuluh, the Al-Suayt, the Al-Maniyir, the Al-Hawla, the Al-Batah, the Al-Ma'aliyb, the Al-'Aftan, the Al-Dhawihi, the Al-Rasmi, and the Al-'Adwan.(347) The Al-Sumadah was also subdivided into seven clans: the Al-'Urayf, the Al-Qawasim, the Al-Nifaysan, the Al-Ma'lim, the Al-Misamiyr, the Al-Dhira'an, and the Al-'Askar.(348)

4.14.2. THE *HIJRAH* OF THE AL-ZAFIYR TRIBE

The Al-Zafiyir tribe established one *hijrah* before the end of 1928. This *hijrah* was the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Sha'ibi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ajimi ibn Suayt and the headmen of the *hijrah* were Hazza' ibn 'Aqab ibn Suayt, 'Abdullah ibn 'Aqub ibn Suayt, Hamdan ibn Dhuayhi, and many of the chiefs of the Al-Zafiyir tribe.(349) 'Ajimi was the Shaykh of the Al-Zafiyir tribe. The other headmen of the *hijrah* were from the Al-Suayt family and they were cousins of 'Ajimi.(350)

4.15. THE HITAYM TRIBE

4.15.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Hitaym tribe was not connected to any phratry; so, it was looked down on almost as much as the Al-Sulubah tribe. The tribe was divided into six clans: the Al-Dhibah, the Al-Khuluah, the Al-Jalidah, the Al-Dawamish, the Al-Barak, and the Al-

Fajawayn.(351) The tribes of the Al-'Awazim and the Al-Rashaydah descended from the Hitaym tribe and the two tribes were considered to be part of the Hitaym tribe.(352)

4.15.2. THE HIJAR OF THE HITAYM TRIBE

The Hitaym tribe founded three *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of Inbuan: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dilaym ibn Barraq and the headman of the *hijrah* was Dha'ar ibn 'Umayr.(353) Sa'dan ibn Qu'bub mentioned that all of the Amirs of those *hijrah* were from the Al-Rashaydah tribe; so, it was obvious that when Umm Al-Qura referred to the Hitaym tribe it actually was referring to the Al-Rashaydah tribe. Dilaym was the Shaykh of the Bani Rishayd clan.(354) He was also the Shaykh of the Al-Rashaydah tribe as a whole.(355)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Rudh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ghazi ibn Hadi.(356) Ghazi was the Shaykh of the Al-Qilaydan clan of the Al-Rashaydah tribe.(357)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-'Amair: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Shakir ibn Qu'bub.(358) The name of Shakir was Sakir and he was the Shaykh of the Al-Qa'abiyb clan of the Al-Rashaydah tribe.(359)

4.16. THE AL-'AWAZIM TRIBE

4.16.1. TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The Al-'Awazim tribe was a large part of the Hutaym tribe.(360) Some clans of the Al-Rashaydah tribe were descended from the Al-'Awazim tribe such as the Al-'Awazim clan of the Al-Rashaydah tribe.(361) Therefore, the Al-Rashaydah tribe was also a large part of the Hutaym tribe. The Al-'Awazim tribe was not connected to any well known Arab roots; therefore, the Arab tribes which had prestigious antecedents did not relate or ally themselves to that tribe. The Al-'Awazim tribe was divided into two parts: the Al-

Qaw'ah and the Dhawi Ghaydh. The Al-Qaw'ah part was subdivided into three clans: the Al-Hadaliyn, the Al-Baraykat, and the Al-Masahimah. The Dhawi Ghaydh part was also subdivided into eleven clans: the Al-Mala'bah, the Al-Masa'dah, the Al-Jawasirah, the Al-'Urabah, the Al-Qarashah, the Al-Mahalbah, the Al-'Atarmah, the Al-Tumah, the Al-Mawayqiyah, the Al-'Ababiyd, and the Al-Sawawigh.(362)

4.16.2. THE HIJAR OF THE AL-'AWAZIM TRIBE

The Al-'Awazim tribe established two *hijrah* before the end of 1928. These two *hijrah* were the following (See Appendix Figure 2):

1. The *hijrah* of 'Itayq: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Falah ibn Jami'.(363) Falah was from the Al-Barykat clan of the Al-Qaw'ah and he was the Shaykh of the Al-'Awazim tribe.(364)
2. The *hijrah* of Thaj: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Misa'ad Al-Mal'abi.(365) Misa'ad was the Shaykh of the Al-Mala'bah clan of the Dhawi Ghaydh of the Al-'Awazim tribe.(366)

5. THE EARLIEST PARTICIPATIONS OF THE IKHWAN IN THE BATTLEFIELDS 1918-1920

When the *Ikhwan* was formed, they played a military role under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. The military role of the *Ikhwan* became obvious for the first time at the battle of Turubah. The *Ikhwan* was represented by the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe (Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd) and the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe (Humud ibn Nasir ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah). The second military participation of the *Ikhwan* was in the battle of Al-Jahara and it was represented by the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe (Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish).(367)

5.1. THE BATTLE OF TURUBAH

The Turubah battle was a result of the long rivalry between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and King Husayn ibn 'Ali over control of the Subay' 'Ala tribe (the Subay' of Al-Hijaz tribe). The conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the Sharif of Makkah became serious when 'Abdul-'Aziz started to be reconciled with the Subay' 'Ala tribe over the question of where that tribe belonged. The following Telegram from Wilson to the Arbur Cairo explains that conflict:

I do not uphold objection put forward by PHILBY to dividing SUBAI tribe between NEJD and HEDJAZ and King freely admits SUBAI of EL ASFALLEN (see my despatch No. 20 of 24th November) belong to NEJD whereas other sections of tribe near KHURMA have for years been under EMIRATE of MECCA.(368)

What was meant by the Subai of El Asfalen was the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, the Subay' of Najd tribe, and what meant by the other sections of the tribe near Al-Khurmah was the Subay' 'Ala tribe (See Appendix Figure 1).(369)

The battle of Turubah took place near Al-Hijaz in 1919 and was a result of the coalition between Khalid ibn Mansur ibn Luai and the Subay' 'Ala tribe. Khalid was a cousin of the Sharif Husayn and had a conflict with the Sharif of Makkah. They were both from the Al-'Abadlah clan of the Al-Asraf tribe. Khalid had been in Yemen for two years before the battle of Turubah as a representative of the Sharif of Makkah. Understanding that conflict could explain the close relations between Khalid and the Subay' 'Ala tribe.(370)

The original conflict was between Sultan ibn Khalid ibn Luai (the oldest son of the Khalid ibn Luai) and 'Abdullah ibn Al-Husayn (the son and deputy of the Sharif Husayn of Makkah). Sharif Husayn and his son 'Abdullah and Khalid and his son Sultan were together and they would pray at the Al-Zuhur time in the mosque. Sharif Husayn and Khalid went together and 'Abdullah and Sultan would follow them. The reason for that conflict was that 'Abdullah slapped Sultan on the face when Sultan insisted that he went with him to pray in the mosque. Sultan was a very religious and was insulted when 'Abdullah told him after he had slapped him, that only monkeys prayed as Sultan and his father did; therefore, he would not pray with monkeys. Their slaves were frightened at

the prospect of the conflict and restrained Sultan from attacking 'Abdullah. When Sharif Husayn and Khalid came from the mosque, Sharif Husayn told Khalid that 'Abdullah was his son and Sultan was his and so he was free to do what he liked to solve the problem. Khalid had a discussion with Sharif Husayn and they decided to put both of them in jail. After Al-'Asir prayers, Khalid asked Sharif Husayn to release 'Abdullah and Sultan from the jail and to ask them to renew the brotherhood between them. When 'Abdullah and Sultan came from the jail, Khalid asked his son Sultan to forgive 'Abdullah, but Sultan refused to do so. 'Abdullah apologised and he asked Sultan to forgive him, but Sultan refused angrily.(371)

The conflict became more intense and they left the gathering without resolving it. Khalid asked his son Sultan to ride his thoroughbred camel and go to Al-Khurmah (see Appendix Figure 2). He told Sultan that if Sharif Husayn asked to see Sultan, Khalid would say that Sultan had gone to Al-Khurmah. Sultan went to Al-Khurmah and he stayed with the Bani 'Umar of the Subay' 'Ala tribe as a guest. Khalid asked Sharif Husayn to allow him to have a vacation for a period of time. Sharif Husayn asked him if there were any reasons for his request such as the conflict between 'Abdullah and Sultan. Khalid explained to Sharif Husayn that there were not any special reasons. Therefore, Sharif Husayn allowed him to have fifty days since he had spent two years of his life in Yemen. However, the only reason for Khalid to seek that permission was to escape to Al-Khurmah to join his son Sultan. Khalid rode his thoroughbred camel and joined his son Sultan who was a refuge under the protection of Majid ibn Jirwah, the Shaykh of the Al-Smalah clan of the Subay' 'Ala tribe. Khalid went to Majid ibn Jirwah who welcomed him and he promised him that any harm that effected Khalid would effect him too.(372)

Khalid also obtained support from Jabir ibn 'Abaydan, the Shaykh of the Bani 'Umar clan of the Subay' 'Ala tribe. The Bani 'Umar was subdivided into the Al-Midaryah clan, Jabir was from that clan, and the Al-'Ali clan and the Shaykh of that clan was Faraj ibn Mihmas ibn Dir'an. Jabir promised Khalid that he would fight the Sharif of Makkah and even any part of the Subay' 'Ala tribe who might think of harming Khalid. Mifarih ibn

Hilaymah (the Shaykh of the Bani Thur clan) was the only one from the Bani Thur clan who supported Khalid against Sharif Husayn. Moreover, most of the Subay' 'Ala were bedouin and Sharif Husayn's authority only extended to the villages of Al-Khurmah and the Ranyah which became a part of the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan*. Those two small villages had two rulers. They were from the Al-Ashraf tribe and those two rulers had a little authority outside their walls. Khalid had strong allies from the Al-Kurmah area of the Subay' 'Ala tribe and could rely on them for support. He started to free Al-Khurmah village from the control of Sharif Husayn. Khalid and his allies attacked Al-Khurmah and he arrested his cousin Mansur (the ruler of Al-Khurmah) with his men and he put him into jail.(373)

In 1918, one year before the battle of the Turubah, Sharif Husayn had sent two forces to fight the Subay' 'Ala in Al-Kurmah and they had faced each other in two battles. Those battles were the Battle of Huqan and the Battle of Al-Qirayn. In the Battle of Huqan, the Bani 'Umar were led by Jabir ibn 'Abaydan. They came from the mountain of Al-Khurmah and Khalid ibn Luai and Majid ibn Jirwah came from the opposite side. They defeated the brigade of Sharif Husayn's fighters and they won the canons and the supplies of their opponent. Khalid and his allies put the booty in Al-Silimiyah and they also defeated another brigade of Sharif Husayn's in the battle of Al-Qirayn.(374)

In the battle of Turubah, Sharif Husayn sent his son 'Abdullah with eight thousand soldiers to attack Khalid and his allies from the Al-Khurmah area. The fighters of 'Abdullah were from the official army and also men from the tribes of Al-Hijaz such as the Al-Ruqah of the 'Utaybah tribe, the Harb tribe of Al-Hijaz, Bani Sa'ad tribe, Bani Sufayan tribe, Hudhayl tribe, Thaqif tribe, Quraysh tribe, and so on. 'Abdullah and his fighters entered Turubah without a fight and they got their supplies from Turubah. They camped outside Turubah on their way to the Al-Khurmah. Khalid and his allies from the Subay' 'Ala tribe, the Bani 'Umar, the Al-Samalah, and Mifarih ibn Hilaymah and his fighters, were ready to support 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud against the Sharif of Makkah and they were ready to take any action against Sharif Husayn.(375)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud sent the two shaykhs of the tribes of the *Ikhwan* of the 'Utaybah and the Qahtan of Najd to support Khalid and his allies in their stand against the aggression of the Sharif of Makkah. The *Ikhwan* came from the tribes of the 'Utaybah and the Qahtan of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz sent three brigades of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. They were the brigade of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) and his four hundred fighters from the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat; the brigade of Humud ibn Nasir ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah who was the brother of Khalil ibn Nasir ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah (the Shaykh of the Qahtan Najd tribe); and the brigade of Mi'dh ibn 'Abbud who was the Shaykh of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe. Khalid's allies were around two thousand fighters and all of those allies gathered around Khalid because they were involved in the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd. Khalid ibn Luai, Majid ibn Jirwah, Jabir ibn 'Abaydan, and Mifarih ibn Hilaymah met the new allies from Najd and they decided to attack 'Abdullah ibn Al-Husayn at night. Most of Khalid's allies were from the Al-Khurmah area of the Subay' 'Ala tribe and the rest were from Najd. Khalid and his allies attacked their opponents near Turubah at night and they killed most of them. During that battle the *Ikhwan* took turns in fighting and praying which showed their respect for their religion. 'Abdullah and a few of his men escaped from the battle to Al-Taif. The Bani 'Umar clan of the Subay' 'Ala lost seventy fighters with forty wounded and the Al-Samalah clan of the Subay' 'Ala lost only two fighters. That battle was a big victory for the *Ikhwan* and it showed the power of the *Ikhwan*. Khalid and his allies wanted to conquer Al-Hijaz at that time, but 'Abdul-'Aziz asked them to delay until a more appropriate time. After that battle Khalid ibn Luai and the Subay' 'Ala tribe became heavily involved in the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd and they became the loyal subjects of 'Abdul-'Aziz.(376)

5.2. THE AL-JAHARA BATTLE

The battle of Al-Jahara took place near the Najdi Kuwaiti frontiers and it was the second time that the *Ikhwan* participated in 'Abdul-'Aziz's force (see Appendix Figure

2). The battle was led by the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe (Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish) and he was a part of the *Ikhwan* movement who were against Salim ibn Mubarak Al-Sabah (the Amir of Kuwait). The main reason for the battle of Al-Jahara in 1920 was that 'Abdul-'Aziz allowed Haif ibn Shiqayr Al-Dawish (a cousin of Faysal Al-Dawish) to build the *hijrah* of Qaryah Al-'Ilya (See Appendix Figure 2). The Amir of Kuwait (Salim Al-Sabah) claimed that it was inside his borders. A few months before the battle of Al-Jahara, Salim sent one of his headmen to warn Haif to leave the wells of Qaryah Al-'Ilya but Haif did not heed the warning and he remained where he was. Salim sent a brigade, led by his cousin Da'ij Al-Sabah, to attack Haif. Haif asked help from his cousin Faysal Al-Dawish. Faysal came with his fighters of the *Ikhwan* from the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah and he defeated Da'ij in the battle of Himdh. Da'ij escaped from that battle with a few of his fighters but most of his fighters were killed.(377)

After the battle, Salim asked the Amir of Hail ('Abdullah ibn Mit'ib ibn Rashid) to help him fight against his opponent 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. 'Abdullah ibn Rashid sent a brigade, led by Dhari ibn Tawalah (the Shaykh of the Al-Aslam of the Shammar tribe) to support Salim against 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies. Dhari met Da'ij Al-Sabah who was sent by Salim Al-Sabah to meet Dhari in Al-Jahara and they camped there. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud gave an order to Faysal Al-Dawish and the *Ikhwan* of his *hijrah* to move from the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah to the *hijrah* of Qaryah Al-'Ilya. Faysal and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* moved very fast and he camped in Al-Sibayhayh. When Salim heard that Faysal Al-Dawish and the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe had camped in Al-Sibayhayh, he moved with more fighters from Kuwait to Al-Jahara to meet his allies. Faysal had around four thousand fighters of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe and Salim and his allies had around two thousands fighters. When Faysal heard that Salim was in Al-Jahara, he gave his order to his fighters of the *Ikhwan* to attack Al-Jahara. Faysal and the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe attacked Al-Jahara and he attacked Salim and his allies. Faysal lost two hundred fighters of the *Ikhwan* of his tribe. Faysal and the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe defeated Salim and his allies which made Salim hide himself in a fort in Al-Jahara. Dhari escaped with his fighters from the battle and he went to Iraq. Faysal and his

fighters of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe surrounded Salim and his allies in the fort, and Salim asked for help from the British authorities. The latter sent aeroplanes which dropped a lot of leaflets which warned Faysal and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* that unless they left Al-Sibayhayh they would be bombed by the aeroplanes. Kuwait was under the protection of Britain. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud did not want to come into direct conflict with Britain and to protect his fighters he gave orders to the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe to leave Al-Sibayhayh. The *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe left Al-Sibayhayh and they went back to their *hijrah*.(378)

6. THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

External influences played a role in the political developments of Najd. The British government encouraged 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to stand against Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Rashiyd after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. This had long been an ambition for 'Abdul-'Aziz and now he had a suitable time to succeed. The British government made a treaty with 'Abdul-'Aziz at the end of 1915.(379) In 1916, 'Abdul-'Aziz visited Al-Basrah and he received financial support from the British government to the sum of five thousand pounds a month.(380)

In 1917, the British government sent Philby to convince 'Abdul-'Aziz to invade Hail because the British government was afraid that Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mit'ib ibn Rashiyd would support the Turks in Palestine. That was before the fall of Jerusalem in 1918.(381) The British government encouraged the Arab revolution against the Turks at that time and so they supported the Sharif of Makkah so generously that Sharif Husayn called himself the King of the Arabs.(382)

Sharif Husayn and his sons received one hundred and twenty five thousand pounds a month and he asked the British government to increase that amount to two hundred thousand pounds.(383) Comparing that amount of money with the amount 'Abdul-'Aziz received from Britain showed that Sharif Husayn served the interests of the British government more than 'Abdul-'Aziz. In April 1918, the Britain conquered Jerusalem and

it became unnecessary to encourage the conflict between Najd and Hail. This explained why the British government changed its policy and now sought to achieve a balance of power in the Arabian Peninsula.(384)

The British officials in the Arabian Peninsula had their own opinions about the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sahrif Husayn. Philby and Colonel Wilson were pro-'Abdul-'Aziz while Sir Reginald Wingate and Colonel Lawrence were pro-Sharif Husayn.(385)

The British government followed a policy of supporting Sharif Husayn against 'Abdul-'Aziz.(386) At the battle of Turubah in 1919 the British government warned 'Abdul-'Aziz that it would stop the monthly subsidy unless his warriors left the area and returned to Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz did not pay attention to that warning and so British government took action against 'Abdul-'Aziz by sending a telegraph to Sir Arnold Wilson to cease the subsidy. However, Wilson did not take any action against 'Abdul-'Aziz.(387)

The support of the British government for the Sharif Husayn made the Amirs of the Arabs become dissatisfied with Britain's policy. 'Abdul-'Aziz was greatly concerned by the British support for Sharif Husayn.(388) In 1919, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent his son Faysal, to London to discuss the conflict between Sharif of Makkah and his father.(389)

In the battle of Al-Jahara in 1920, the British government stood against 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters again which made Britain send aeroplanes and ships to warn Faysal Al-Dawish and his fighters. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to Faysal to return to his *hijrah* and Faysal left that battle because he was forced by Britain's support for the Amir of Kuwait. (390) As a result of the support of the British government for 'Abdul-'Aziz's opponents, 'Abdul-'Aziz contacted the French government in order to get their support. In the early 1927, the British officials found out that 'Abdul-'Aziz had contacted the French in Damascus and the French had agreed to give a substantial subsidy and a considerable amounts of arms in order that he could continue his attacks against Sharif Husayn and his son 'Abdullah in Transjordan.(391) The British government decided not to involve itself further in the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the Sharif of Makkah

and henceforth Britain would consider the conflict as an internal matter between the two rulers. Moreover, the British government agreed to follow that new policy because 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies (the *Ikhwan*) were in a position which could make them to influence the interests of Britain in the region (392)

7. CONCLUSION

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was the founder of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd. Without the encouragement and the support of 'Abdul-'Aziz after the will of God there would have been no such movement at that time. Spending time to prove that the movement existed before 'Abdul-'Aziz is pointless. The first *hijrah* of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan* was the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah and it was built during the Summer of 1916. 'Abdul-'Aziz affected and mobilised the leaders of the tribes by building houses for them to settle in during the Summer time in Al-Riyadh and teaching them the principles of their religion (the principles of Islam). 'Abdul-'Aziz taught those Najdi leaders through the famous *'ulama* of Al-Riyadh. The *'ulama* taught thousand of the *mutaw'ah* and they were sent to the *hijrah* of Najd to teach the tribesmen the principles of their religion. Each *hijrah* of Najd had a *qadhi*, an *imam*, and several *mutaw'ah* to teach the tribesmen of the *hijrah*. The purpose of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan* was not to achieve an increase in agricultural production as most of the studies have mentioned. The *Ikhwan* were settled near wells which could only supply enough water for them and their camels and horses. There was not enough water for agriculture however the purpose of the *hijrah* was to supply 'Abdul-'Aziz with many fighters in each territory of the Najdi tribes. The *hijrah* were the "barracks" which supplied 'Abdul-'Aziz at any time with many fighters of the *Ikhwan*. The earliest participations of the *Ikhwan* were in the two battles of Turubah and Al-Jahara.

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had to deal with external influences and he quite obviously followed his own interests more than other interests. The British government followed contradictory policies with 'Abdul-'Aziz. Britain encouraged 'Abdul-'Aziz to stand

against Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Rashiyyd and later on Britain tried to achieve a balance between the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula after the defeat of the Turks in the end of the First World War. The British support for 'Abdul-'Aziz's opponents made him continue to complain to the British government and he convinced them that his conflict with the King Husayn was a religious conflict in which they should not interfere. 'Abdul-'Aziz also contacted the French as a warning to the British to reconsider their policy towards him. His policy was successful the British considered and the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Husayn an internal conflict between two rulers of the Arabian Peninsula.

Notes:

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3. Al-Qur'an, Surat Al-'Umran, line 103.
4. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
5. Interview with Muhammad ibn Fahad ibn Munaykhir in Hiyt, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 3. 7. 1994.
6. Interview with Muhammad ibn Thifnan Al-Mughani in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2. 7. 1994.
7. Interview with Muhammad ibn Munaykhir, op. cit.
8. Ibid.
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13. Ibid, volume two, p 545.
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17. Ibid, p 319.
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19. Ibid, volume two, p 545.
20. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.
21. Al-Basam, 'Abdullah, volume two, p 590, and see also Umm Al-Qura,

op. cit.

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23. Al-Shaykh, 'Abdul-Rahman, op. cit, p 223.

24. Al-Basam, 'Abdullah, op. cit, volume one, p 207.

25. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.

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36. Ibid.

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39. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Interview with Wilayd ibn Fihayd ibn Shawyah in Shawyah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 9.4.1994.

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45. Ibid.

46. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.

47. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.

48. Ibid.
49. Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
50. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.
51. Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
52. Umm Al-Qura, op. cit.
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75. Interview with Kumaykh Al-Muraykhi, op. cit.
76. Umm Al-Qura, No. 218, March 1, 1929.
77. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
78. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
79. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
80. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
81. Interview with Mishari ibn Haza' ibn Busais in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 4.7.1994.
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83. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
84. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
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114. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.
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117. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
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120. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.
121. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
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131. Umm Al-Qura, No. 208, op. cit.
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146. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
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148. Interview with Faysal ibn Mirihah, op. cit.
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202. Interview with Faiz Al-Badrani, op. cit.
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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF THE *IKHWAN* IN 'ABDUL-'AZIZ AL SA'UD'S CONQUESTS 1920-1926

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at the conquests that the *Ikhwan* of Najd achieved in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It will concentrate on the role of the *Ikhwan* in eliminating the opponents of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and how 'Abdul-'Aziz gained control of more regions as a result. This chapter will look at the conquest of 'Asir by the *Ikhwan* in two parts. The first part is the conquest of the Surat 'Asir and the second part is the conquest of the Tuhamat 'Asir. The chapter will also focus on the conquests of Hail and Al-Hijaz by the *Ikhwan*, and will discuss the external influences of that time.

2. CONQUERING 'ASIR

Historically, 'Asir was divided into two parts: The first part was the Surat 'Asir, the centre of which region was Abha. The second part was the Tuhamat 'Asir, the centre of which region was Jizan. (1)

2.1. THE SURAT 'ASIR

The external interference in the 'Asir area was represented by the *Ikhwan* of Najd and they played the major role in the conquest of the Surat 'Asir and the Tuhamat 'Asir. The internal interference in the 'Asir area was represented by the conflict between the two rulers of the Surat 'Asir and the Tuhamat 'Asir. After the Ottomans left the Surat 'Asir in 1918, a conflict started between the two domestic ruling families of 'Asir: the Al-'Aidh (the rulers of the Surat 'Asir) and the Al-'Adarisah (the rulers of the Tuhamat 'Asir). (2)

The ruler of the Surat 'Asir (See Appendix Figure 6) at that time was Hasan ibn 'Aidh and the ruler of the Tuhamat 'Asir (See Appendix Figure 7) was Muhammad Al-Adrisi.(3)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud gained advantage from the conflict between the two rulers of the Surat 'Asir and the Tuhamat 'Asir because the conflict weakened the 'Asiri rulers and strengthened 'Abdul-'Aziz. Hasan ibn 'Aidh initially accepted the authority of Muhammad Al-Adrisi. However, Hasan ibn 'Aidh's cousin (Muhammad ibn 'Aidh) rejected Muhammad Al-Adrisi's authority over his region. Furthermore, Muhammad ibn 'Aidh encouraged his cousin to be independent and to stand against Muhammad Al-Adrisi, which he ultimately agreed to do.(4) Hasan's rejection of Muhammad Al-Adrisi's authority led the two ruling families of the 'Asir area to meet each other in the battle of Al-Bataha in 1918, which ended in the defeat of Al-Adrisi. Ibn 'Aidh defeated Al-Adrisi because he had gained the support of Sharif Husayn. This made Al-Adrisi ask 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to help him against Ibn 'Aidh. Muhammad Al-Adrisi preferred the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz in the Tuhamat 'Asir to the authority of Sharif Husayn. (5)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud responded to Al-Adrisi's request to conquer the Surat 'Asir because it was a strategic region for him. Moreover, most of the tribes of that region, such as the Qahtan, the Shahran, the Ghamid, and the Zahran were already in conflict with the Al-'Aidh because of their treatment of those tribes. 'Abdul-'Aziz thus decided to take action against the Al-'Aidh.(6)

'Abdul-'Aziz also encouraged most of the leaders of the 'Asir tribe to stand against the rulers of the Surat 'Asir. The Al-'Aidh family was from the 'Asir tribe and there was a conflict within the tribe. The 'Asir tribe was divided into five subdivisions, the Bani Mughid, the 'Alkam, the Raby'ah and Rufaydah, the Bani Malik, and the Rijal 'Alma.(7) The Al-'Aidh family was from the Bani Mughid part of the 'Asir tribe and they had their support from their part. The other three parts of the 'Asir tribe were against the Al-'Aidh family and they stood against them because of the encouragement of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud for those three parts of the tribe.(8)

In May 1920, 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered his cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* of Najd to conquer the Surat 'Asir. Ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* moved to the Surat 'Asir and they settled in Hijlah.(9) Most of the fighters of the *Ikhwan* were from the Qahtan of Najd tribe and the rest of the *Ikhwan* were from the other Najdi tribes. The fighters of the Najdi *Ikhwan* could muster about two thousands fighters. However, most of the fighters who were involved with the *Ikhwan* in Surat 'Asir were from the bedouin of the tribe of the Qahtan of the South and the rest were from the bedouin of other 'Asiri tribes. The reason for having most of them from the Qahtan of Najd tribe was because that tribe was descended from the original tribe which was the Qahtan tribe of the South and they were an extension of that tribe.(10)

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* of Najd gained the most support from the bedouin of the 'Asir area. The bedouin of the 'Asir area represented no more than 20% of its population while 80% of its population were *hadhar* (villagers).(11) This was the opposite situation of the Najd, where the bedouin represented 90% of its population while the *hadhar* represented 10% of its population.(12) The bedouin of the 'Asir area who supported Ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* were the Qahtan tribe, the Shahran tribe, the 'Asir tribe, the Ghamid tribe, and the Zahran tribe.(13)

The *Ikhwan* fighters of Ibn Mus'ad moved to the Al-Rahwah and the fighters of Al-'Aidh moved to Hajla. Ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* started the invasion and their ferocity won that battle. Ibn Mus'ad and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* defeated the fighters of Al-'Aidh and they conquered Hijlah in May 1920. That battle was the most hard fought battle for fifty years in the 'Asir. Both sides lost eight hundred fighters at that battle which shows what a tough battle it was.(14)

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and the *Ikhwan* spread their control over the Surat 'Asir and they were able to make a deal with Al-'Aidh family. The Shaykh of the 'Alkam part of the 'Asir tribe asked 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad to forgive Hasan ibn 'Aidh and his cousin Muhammad ibn 'Aidh and to send them to Al-Riyadh. Ibn Mus'ad agreed to that and he appointed a new ruler in 'Abha. Ibn Mus'ad left the Surat 'Asir and he put the arms and munitions which he received from 'Abha in Bishah and went to Al-Riyadh. Hasan ibn

'Aidh and his cousin received kind treatment from 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and they stayed for a period of time in Al-Riyadh. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud allowed them to return to Hajla under his authority and to cooperate with his ruler in 'Abha. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud also rejected a suggestion from the shaykhs of the 'Asir tribe, who were the Shaykh of the Bani Mughid, the Shaykh of the Raby'ah and Rufaydah, the Shaykh of the Bani Malik, and the Shaykh of the 'Alkam, who rejected the return of the Al-'Aidh to the Surat 'Asir.(15)

The conflict in the Surat 'Asir was not settled for good and 'Abdul-'Aziz had to deal with the region again. There was a complaint from the Al-'Aidh family and some of the people of the Surat 'Asir against almost all the many rulers which 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had placed in 'Abha which made 'Abdul-'Aziz regularly change them. The Al-'Aidh family was behind the complaints and the complaints continued from the invasion of the Surat 'Asir in May 1920 until the end of the revolution of the Al-'Aidh family in April 1923. The Al-'Aidh attacked 'Abha and they forced the ruler who was supported by 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to leave 'Abha for Khamis Mushit. The Al-'Aidh attacked the Qahtan tribe of the South and the Shahran tribe for their support of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud which made those tribes to ask 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to save them from the anger of the Al-'Aidh.(16)

The Qahtan of Najd tribe played a major role in conquering the Surat 'Asir and forcing the Yam tribe to accept the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz. Hilal ibn 'Abbud, the Shaykh of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe, came with his fighters from the *Ikhwan* of his clan after the battle of Hijlah. This made Ibn 'Abbud ask 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad to allow him to attack the Yam tribe. Ibn 'Abbud attacked Al-Makrami (the religious leader of the Yam tribe) in Badir and he gained a commitment from him to obey and follow 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. In the same year, Khalil ibn 'Umar (the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe) led the *Ikhwan* of his tribe to attack the Yam tribe and he forced them to side with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(17)

King Husayn ibn 'Ali rejected the control of 'Abdul-'Aziz over the Surat 'Asir and he tried to struggle against it. In 1922, Sharif Husayn encouraged the Bani Shir tribe who

were his loyal ally, to support the Al-'Aidh against 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud ignored the issue of 'Asir for a moment because he had to deal with Hail and after he conquered Hail he sent his son Faysal to attack the Al-'Aidh in June 1922.(18) 'Abdul-'Aziz sent two leaders of the *Ikhwan* with his son Faysal, Khalid ibn Luai and Sultan ibn Bijad. They had between them around six thousands fighters.(19)

The *Ikhwan* of the Subay' 'Ala tribe and the 'Utaybah tribe represented most of the fighters of Amir Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz. The Subay' 'Ala tribe were under the command of their shaykhs who were in turn under Khalid ibn Luai's command. Ibn Luai became a part of the Subay' 'Ala tribe and he considered himself to be one of them.(20) Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd was the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe. He was from the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe. Usually, Sultan was followed by the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat and the shaykhs of the clans of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(21) Those *Ikhwan*, who were led by Khalid ibn Luai and Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd, attacked the Ghamid tribe and they defeated that tribe in 1922. The Shaykh of that tribe (Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Ghamidi) had to escape from the heat of the *Ikhwan*.(22)

The *Ikhwan* accomplished their mission in the Surat 'Asir and they decided to displace the roots of the aggression in the Surat 'Asir. Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz divided the fighters of the *Ikhwan* into two forces and he gave his permission for the first group of the *Ikhwan* to attack the Bani Shir tribe, who were the allies of the King of Al-Hijaz, and to attack also the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes, who were also loyal allies of the Sharif Husayn of Makkah.(23) The Rijal Al-Hajrr was a general name for a collection of tribes and knowing their role as rebels against the *Ikhwan* requires knowledge of their divisions. The Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes were divided into many smaller tribes which were the Ballahmar tribe, the Ballasmar tribe, the Balqarn tribe, the Shamran tribe, and Bani 'Amir tribe.(24) The second group of the *Ikhwan* was led by Faysal and they attacked the Khamis Mushayt.(25)

In 1922, the *Ikhwan* of Najd faced the 'Asiri and the Hijazi tribes who were behind the aggression in the Surat 'Asir. Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd led the first force of the

Ikhwan of the 'Utaybah tribe who attacked the Bani Shir tribe and the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes and they defeated them.(26) Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz led the *Ikhwan* of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and they attacked Khamis Mushayt which forced Hasan ibn 'Aidh to approach the town of 'Abha. Faysal and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* followed Hasan ibn 'Aidh and his fighters to 'Abha which made Hasan leave 'Abha and retire to his castle which was in Harmalah. Hasan ibn 'Aidh asked Faysal to forgive him for his treason and Faysal accepted his apology.(27) In 1922, Muhammad ibn 'Aidh left Harmalah to Al-Hijaz in order to get the support of Sharif Husayn. Sharif Husayn sent some of his fighters with Muhammad to attack the *Ikhwan* in the Surat 'Asir. The *Ikhwan* killed most of them.(28)

Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* decided to make more offers in order to settle the situation in the Surat 'Asir. The reason that they did not end the aggression was because the 'Asiri rebels hid in the mountains and those rebels had the support from the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes. The rebels had the support from the tribes of the North of the Tuhamat 'Asir and they had also the support from the Sharif of Makkah. The rebels in the 'Asir region were also fearful of the invasion of the *Ikhwan* in general and the raid of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd in the Tuhamat 'Asir after the invasion of 'Abha in particular.(29) Faysal forced the tribes of the Surat 'Asir to collect their weapons and he took and kept their weapons. Faysal appointed a new ruler in 'Abha and he left five hundred fighters with him. Faysal left the Surat 'Asir and he went to Al-Riyadh. Hasan ibn 'Aidh gained support from Sharif Husayn in order to free the Surat 'Asir from 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. Hasan ibn 'Aidh and Sharif Husayn co-operated in order to expel the ruler of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in 'Abha.(30)

Sharif Husayn was against the control of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud in the 'Asir region because that would expand the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz as it would threaten Sharif Husayn himself.(31) In 1923, Sharif Husayn gave his order for his fighters and the fighters of the tribes of the Tuhamat 'Asir to attack 'Abha. They gathered in the Bani Shir area and the fighters of Sharif Husayn also joined the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes in order to attack 'Abha.(32) The fighters of Sharif Husayn obtained a victory and they

conquered 'Abha and Mihayl in April 1923. Hasan ibn 'Aidh thanked Sharif Husayn for his efforts.(33)

Most of the support for the *Ikhwan* came from the Qahtan tribe and they were considered one of the biggest Najdi tribe which stretched from Najd to 'Asir. The *Ikhwan* of the Qahtan of Najd and the Qahtan of Tathlith supported 'Abdul-'Aziz and they attacked the opponents of 'Abdul-'Aziz in the Surat 'Asir. The *Ikhwan* of Sabha and Tathlith attacked and conquered 'Abha from Sharif Husayn fighters. Those fighters were from the Qahtan tribe and they were loyal to 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.(34) Sabha and Tathlith were two *hijrah* (settlements) of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. Sabha belonged to the Al-Hibab clan who were from the Al-Jahadir and the Al-Jahadir were from the 'Abidah of the Qahtan tribe. Tathlith belonged to the 'Abidah part of the Qahtan tribe and they were a part from the *Ikhwan* of Najd.(35) Mitrik ibn Shiflut was the Shaykh of the Al-Fahar clan of the 'Abidah part of the Qahtan tribe and he was known as the Shaykh of 'Abidah part of the Qahtan tribe. Mitrik was one of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and he was against Sharif Husayn and his allies.(36) Mitrik attacked the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes in Hadhwah and it was a hard fought battle. This made the Rijal Al-Hajrr tribes obey and accept 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's control of them later on.(37)

The *Ikhwan* of the Qahtan tribe ended the controll of the Al-'Aidh in the Surat 'Asir and the Al-'Aidh had to face that reality. Hasan ibn 'Aidh returned to Harmalah after the defeat of Sharif Husayn's assault in 'Abha. Hasan did not get any support from Sharif Husayn after that defeat and so he accepted the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud over his region. Hasan ibn 'Aidh had a deal with 'Abdul-'Aziz ruler in 'Abha which guaranteed the forgiveness of 'Abdul-'Aziz and to expel Hasan to Al-Riyadh. Hasan settled in Al-Riyadh and he lived there under 'Abdul-'Aziz's generosity.(38)

2.2. THE TUHAMAT 'ASIR

The successes of the *Ikhwan* of Najd in the Surat 'Asir made the ruler of the Tuhamat 'Asir avoid any confrontation with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Ikhwan*. The Tuhamat

'Asir or Al-Mikhlaḥ Al-Sulaymānī was under the control of the Al-'Adarīṣah family and the centre of that region was Jīzan. The Tuḥamāt 'Asir became independent from the Ottoman government before the start of the First World War in 1914 because Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Al-Adrīsī had formed an alliance with Italy against the Ottoman government.(39) Later on Al-Adrīsī formed an alliance with Britain and signed two treaties with Britain in 1915 and 1917.(40) Al-Adrīsī was surrounded by two opponents. *Imam* Yahyā (the *Imam* of Yemen) and the Sharīf of Makkah (Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī).(41)

Muḥammad Al-Adrīsī had had a long conflict with the King of Al-Hijaz and the *Imam* of Yemen and he was aware that both of them were interested in controlling the Tuḥamāt 'Asir. After the defeat of Muḥammad Al-Adrīsī by Ḥasan ibn 'Aīdh and his alliance the Sharīf of Makkah in the battle of Al-Bataḥa in 1918, Al-Adrīsī became aware of the danger that he was being surrounded by the *Imam* of Yemen in the South, the Sharīf of Makkah in the North, and the power of Al-'Aīdh in the Surat 'Asir. Al-Adrīsī asked for help from 'Abdul-'Azīz Al Sa'ud. Al-Adrīsī did not allow the merchants from Surat 'Asir to pass through his region which made the Sharīf of Makkah open the seaport of Al-Qunfudḥah to the merchants of the Surat 'Asir because they could no longer use the Tuḥamāt 'Asir seaports.(42) As a result, after the fall of the Surat 'Asir, 'Abdul-'Azīz ibn Muṣ'ad signed a secret treaty with Muḥammad Al-Adrīsī in September 1920 which put Al-Adrīsī under 'Abdul-'Azīz Al Sa'ud's protection .(43)

The ruler of the Tuḥamāt 'Asir accepted the protection of 'Abdul-'Azīz over his region in 1920. 'Abdul-'Azīz did not allow the *Ikhwan* to attack the Tuḥamāt 'Asir because of the alliance with Al-Adrīsī. Al-Adrīsī wanted to avoid facing the fighters of the *Ikhwan* and the tribes of the Surat 'Asir which would threaten his existence. The guardianship of 'Abdul-'Azīz over Muḥammad Al-Adrīsī can be considered to be tantamount to 'Abdul-'Azīz controlling the region of the Tuḥamāt 'Asir.(44) Muḥammad Al-Adrīsī died in 1923 and his oldest son 'Alī became the new ruler of the Tuḥamāt 'Asir under the guidance and the supervision of his uncle Ḥasan Al-Adrīsī.(45) 'Alī Al-Adrīsī did not have his father's characteristics and skills which made the Amirate fall into an anarchy.

That encouraged the *Imam* of Yemen to conquer the Al-Hudaydah and the *Imam* of Yemen moved North to Maydi. 'Ali's uncle Hasan overthrew him and Hasan became the new ruler of the Tuhamat 'Asir instead of 'Ali. Hasan was afraid of the *Imam* of Yemen and so he signed a guardianship treaty with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. That treaty was called the treaty of Makkah and it was signed in 1926.(46)

The treaty of Makkah of 1926 caused a serious problem in the already unstable relations between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and *Imam* Yahya. As a result, the treaty increased the military tensions between them along their borders.(47) The treaty of Makkah came as a result of the treaty between the *Imam* of Yemen and Italy earlier in the same year, because 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud considered that rapprochement as a threat to his authority in the Tuhamat 'Asir.(48) The conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Imam* of Yemen continued from 1926-1934 and it led them to outright war later on.(49)

3. THE FALL OF HAIL

The *Ikhwan* of Najd played a dominant role in the fall of Hail under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and most of the Najdi tribes of the *Ikhwan* participated in the conquest of Hail (See Appendix Figure 9).(50) 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* decided to conquer Hail although it was not in Britain's interests to do so at that time. Britain encouraged 'Abdul-'Aziz to attack Hail during the First World War but after the end of the war Britain changed its policy and wanted to achieve a balance between the rulers in the region. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* followed their interests and conquered Hail.(51)

In 1920, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud sent a force of the *Ikhwan* led by his son Sa'ud and ordered them to attack the Shammar tribe in order to discover the strength of the leader of Shammar tribe and who his allies were. Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* attacked the Shammar tribe in Al-Shuaybah and it was the first step in the attack Hail later on. The *Ikhwan* defeated the Shammar tribe and they did not invade Hail because

'Abdul-'Aziz ordered them to return to Najd. The *Ikhwan* returned to Najd and it was clear to them that they would conquer Hail at the next opportunity.(52)

The invasion of Hail occurred in 1921 and it ended the long conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the Al-Rashiyd family.(53) 'Abdul-'Aziz sent his brother Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman and his son Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz at the end of 1920 to besiege Hail. The siege of Hail took time which made Muhammad return to Al Riyadh while Sa'ud continued his siege of Hail.(54)

The fighters of Sa'ud were from the *Ikhwan* of Najd and most of them were from the Mutayr, the Utaybah, the Qahtan of Najd, and the Harb of Najd tribes. The Subay' of Al-'Aridh tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe did not participate at that siege and they were always under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's command in the Al-'Aridh area.(55) A part of the Shammar tribe also joined the *Ikhwan* such as Milbis ibn Jibriyn who was the Shaykh of the Al-Mifadhil clan of the 'Abdah part of the Shammar tribe. Milbis was a part of the *Ikhwan* movement and he left his tribe because he thought that they were far away from the doctrines of the religion of Islam.(56)

The conflict within the Al-Rashiyd family helped 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd to end the Al-Rashiyd family's rule of Hail. 'Abdullah ibn Mit'ib Al-Rashiyd became the new ruler of Hail in 1920 and he ruled Hail until its fall in 1921.(57)'Abdullah was around twenty and he was not a strong ruler which made him frightened of being murdered. 'Abdullah was not afraid of his opponents instead he was scared that he would be killed by Muhammad ibn Talal Al-Rashiyd.(58) Muhammad Al-Rashiyd was the ruler of Al-Jawf and he was the cousin of 'Abdullah. When Muhammad heard about the siege of Hail, he returned to Hail which made his cousin 'Abdullah surrender himself to Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz. Muhammad became the new ruler of Hail during the siege of Hail and he could not give any help because Hail was in its decline.(59)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud gave his order to Fayasl Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) to move to Al-Jithamiyah in the Northeast of Hail, and Al-Dawish and the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe headed towards Al-Jithamiyah where they settled. 'Abdul-'Aziz and

the *Ikhwan* of Najd moved from Buraydah to Al-Naysiyah in order to surround Hail. Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) was with 'Abdul-'Aziz in his movement as other shaykhs of the tribes of the *Ikhwan*.(60)

The *Ikhwan* of the Subay' Al-'Aridh tribe, the Al-Suhul tribe, the Harb of Najd tribe, and the Qahtan of Najd tribe joined 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud as he moved to Hail and they represented most of the participants of that journey. Dharman Abu Thinayn (the Shaykh of the Subay' Al-'Aridh tribe) was under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command as the most important ally from the Al-'Aridh area. Minahi ibn Jil'ud (the Shaykh of Al-Suhul tribe) was also under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command as an important ally from Al-'Aridh area. 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm (the Shaykh of the Harb of Najd tribe) was also with 'Abdul-'Aziz at the conquest of Hail and Khalil ibn 'Umar (the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe) participated in conquering Hail under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command. All the *Ikhwan* of Najd were under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command and he was the leader of the *Ikhwan* of Najd. The *Ikhwan* of Najd defeated Ibn Talal and his fighters in Al-Naysiyah and Ibn Talal lost most of his fighters at that battle and he was forced to escape to Hail.(61)

'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* moved from Al-Naysiyah and they settled between 'Iqdah and Hail in order to put Hail under their control. Hail was surrounded by a wall which had been built by Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah Al-Rashiyd. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* surrounded Hail for almost three months because Hail was surrounded by the mountains (Al-Sumur) from three sides and there was only one gate from one side. There were few towers around Hail and one tower of those towers was near the only gate of Hail which enabled Hail able to resist for such a long time.(62)

The siege of Hail took almost three months which made 'Abdul-'Aziz send a message to the notable men of Hail that if Hail would not surrender within three days, he would attack Hail.(63) That threat made Abraham ibn Salim Al- Sibhan (a notable man in Hail who was concerned about his tribe and the residents of Hail) write to 'Abdul-'Aziz. Abraham asked 'Abdul-'Aziz to save the residents of Hail from the Shammar tribe and the *hadhar* if they surrendered. Muhammad Al-Rashiyd did not know about that deal between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Abraham. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his peace for them and he

warned them to not touch the treasury of Hail because it would belong to him after the surrender.(64)

The Najdi fighters of the *Ikhwan* of Najd conquered all the *Manatir* (the towers) of Hail with the collusion of Abraham. Abraham opened the gate of Hail to 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters at night without the knowledge of Muhammad Al-Rashid and 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* entered Hail from its gate and waited until the morning. In the morning 'Abdul-'Aziz sent for Muhammad Al-Rashid and he gave him the choice between fighting or surrendering. Muhammad Al-Rashid chose to surrender to 'Abdul-'Aziz because he relied on his tribe and if they betrayed him, then he was as a son of 'Abdul-'Aziz instead of them. On the first of November 1921, 'Abdul-'Aziz conquered Hail and he returned to Al-Riyadh.(65) The most important characteristic of 'Abdul-'Aziz was his forgiving nature. He treated most of his opponents with generosity and tolerance. 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave the Al-Rashid family and he took them with him to Al-Riyadh.(66)

Al-Jawf and its area were considered the last area under the rule of the Al-Rashid family, so 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Ikhwan* decided to conquer it (See Appendix Figure 9). After the conquest of Hail, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* also conquered Al-Jawf which was controlled by the Nuri Al-Shi'lan who was the Shaykh of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe. Al-Jawf used to be controlled by the Al-Rashid family and during the rule of 'Abdullah ibn Mit'ib ibn Rashid, the Al-Shi'lan family had ruled Al-Jawf. 'Abdul-'Aziz became the ruler of Hail and Al-Jawf and he eliminated his opponents to the North of Najd.(67)

4. THE END OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN NAJD AND AL-HIJAZ

The *Ikhwan* of Najd played a major role in conquest of Al-Hijaz as a reaction to the anti-*Ikhwan* policy of the King of Al-Hijaz.(68) In the battle of Turbah in 1919, the *Ikhwan* of Najd proved that they were real warriors and a very strong opponents to face. After that battle Sharif Husayn recognised the danger of the *Ikhwan* and he started to

fear them. Sharif Husayn decided to not allow the *Ikhwan* of Najd to go on pilgrimage to Makkah. Instead he allowed the *hadhar* of Najd to go on pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Makkah because the *hadhar* of Najd were not a part of that aggression. The *Ikhwan* of Najd were angered and asked 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud insistently to allow them to conquer Al-Hijaz (See Appendix Figure 8).(69)

As a result of Sharif Husayn's refusal to allow the *Ikhwan* to participate in the *hajj*, the leaders of the *Ikhwan* of Najd insisted on attacking Al-Hijaz. The insistence of the *Ikhwan* of Najd that 'Abdul-'Aziz attack Al-Hijaz led 'Abul-Rahman ibn Faysal Al Sa'ud, the father of 'Abdul-'Aziz to ask for a general assembly in Al-Riyadh in 1924. That assembly contained the military leaders of the *Ikhwan*, the politicians leading the Al Sa'ud family, and the leading judiciary. That gathering represented the practise of the *Shura* (consultation) in Islam which 'Abdul-'Aziz used to follow when he wanted to reach agreement upon serious decisions and it was a national assembly in Najd, which represented the *Ahl Al-Hal Wa Al-'Aqid* in Islam (the representatives of the Islamic *ummah*). At that general assembly, two leaders of the *Ikhwan* talked with a lot of anger and encouraged 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* to conquer Al-Hijaz from Sharif Husayn. Those two leaders were Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd, who was the leader of the *Ikhwan* force of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat, and Sharif Khalid ibn Mansur ibn Luai, who was the leader of the *Ikhwan* force of the *hijrah* of the Khurmah. 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the *Ikhwan* of the two tribes of the 'Utaybah and the Subay' Al-'Ala to attack Al-Hijaz and he gave his order to Sultan ibn Bijad and Khalid ibn Luai to lead the *Ikhwan* and move to Al-Taif.(70)

4.1. THE INVASION OF AL-TAIF

The *Ikhwan* gathered in Turbah near Al-Taif in order to invade Al-Taif and they were led by Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd, Sharif Khalid ibn Mansur ibn Luai (the two heroes of the battle of Turbah), and other leaders of the *Ikhwan* (See Appendix Figure 8). The *Ikhwan* moved from Turbah to Al-Hawayah and they settled in Al-Hawayah in

1924. Most of the fighters of the *Ikhwan* were from the 'Utaybah tribe and the Subay' Al-'Ala tribe and the rest were from the Qahtan of Najd tribe, the Mutayr tribe, and the Harb of Najd tribe.(71) Highlighting the participation of the *Ikhwan* at that invasion will help us to clarify the participants of the *Ikhwan* movement. The *Ikhwan* of that invasion were the following:

1. The *Ahl* Turbah and Al-Khurmah (the fighters from the Turbah and the Al-Khurmah areas): the leader of those fighters was Khalid ibn Mansur ibn Luai and 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud appointed him to look at the public affairs of the *Ikhwan*'s achievements in Al-Hijaz.(72) Khalid ibn Luai led the *Ikhwan* of Al-Khurmah and Al-Ghariyf area and they were from the Subay' 'Ala tribes. The Subay' 'Ala clans of the Al-Khurmah and Al-Ghariyf area were under their shaykhs and their shaykhs were under Khalid ibn Luai 's command. The Al-Khurmah and Al-Ghariyf area belonged to the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' tribe. A minority of them were from the Al-Zukur part of the Subay' tribe such as the Al-Qirayshat clan and the Bani Thur clan. The clans of the Al-Biqum tribe were under their shaykhs and their shaykhs were also under Khalid's command and they were from the Turbah area.(73)

2. The *Ahl* Al-Ghatghat, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat: the leader of those fighters was Sultan ibn Himayd and he was also the general leader of the military campaign in that invasion.(74) Sultan was the Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat and he was the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe.(75)

3. The *Ahl* Al-Artawiyah, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah: the leader of those fighters was Qa'dan ibn Dirwaish.(76) The Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah was Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish and he was the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe. Faysal did not participate in the invasion of Al-Hijaz because he was under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud 's command in Najd, so instead of his participation he sent Qa'dan while Faysal himself was in charge of the stand against the aggression from the tribes of Al-Iraq and Transjordan.(77) Qa'dan was an Amir of the Al-Sa'bah clan's Amirs of the 'Abdillah part of the Mutayr tribe.(78)

4. The *Ahl Hilban*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Hilban: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Hadhal ibn Fihayd.(79) Hadhal was from the Al-Fihayd family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Shiyabiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(80)
5. The *Ahl Al-Rudhah*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Rudhah: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Majid ibn Fihayd.(81) Majid was the Shaykh of the Al-Shiyabiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(82)
6. The *Ahl Al-Rayn Al-'Ilya*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of the Al-Rayn Al-'Ilya: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Hizam ibn 'Umar.(83) Hizam ibn 'Umar ibn Qarmalah was the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe as a whole.(84)
7. The *Ahl Al-Rayn Al-Sifla*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of the Al-Rayn Al-Sifla: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Hadhal ibn Su'aydan.(85) Hadhal was the Shaykh of the Al-'Atif clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(86)
8. The *Ahl Ranyah*, the fighters of the Ranyah area: the Amir of the fighters of the Ranyah area was Fayhan ibn Samil.(87) Sharif Fayhan led the *Ikhwan* of the Ranyah area and they were from the Subay' 'Ala tribe. Ranyah used to belong to the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' tribe and they sold it to the clan of the Al-Suwadah of the Al-Zukur part of the Subay' tribe. The Subay' 'Ala clans of the Ranyah area were under their shaykhs and their shaykhs were under Fayhan commands. Most of those clans were from the Al-Zukur part of the Subay' tribe and they were also from the Bani 'Umair part of the Subay' tribe. Sharif Fayhan appointed by Sharif Khalid ibn Luai in Ranyah and he was under Khalid's command.(88)
9. The *Ahl Sajir*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Sajir: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was 'Aqab ibn Mihaya.(89) 'Aqab was the Shaykh of Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(90)
10. The *Ahl Sabha*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Sabha: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Hizam Al-Himaydani.(91) Hizam was a headman of the Al-Hibab clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(92)

11. The *Ahl 'Arwa*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of 'Arwa: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Jihjah ibn Bijad ibn Himayd.(93) Jihjah was the brother of the Sultan (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) and Jihjah was also from the Al-Himayd family who were the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe as a whole.(94)

12. The *Ahl 'Isaylah*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of 'Isaylah: the Amir of the fighters of that *hijrah* was Nafil ibn Tawayq.(95) Nafil was the Shaykh of the Al-Jihfan section of the Al-Hifah clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(96)

13. The *Ahl 'Arja*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of 'Arja: the Amir of those fighters was Dhi'ar ibn Zumay'.(97) The right name of that Amir was Dhi'ar ibn Zuqay' and he was the Shaykh of the Al-Ziqai'yn section of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(98)

14. The *Ahl Al-Nisaf*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Nisaf: the Amir of those fighters of that *hijrah* was Mi'aydh ibn 'Abbud.(99) The right name of that *hijrah* was the *hijrah* of Al-Minaysif and Mi'ydh who was from the Al-'Abbud family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Mas'ud clan of the Qahtan of Tathliyth tribe.(100)

15. The *Ahl Al-'Amar*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-'Amar: the Amir of those fighters of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Husayn.(101) The full name of that amir was 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Husayn ibn Jibriyn and he was the Shaykh of the Al-Sa'bah clan of the Bani 'Abdillah part of Al-Hijaz of the Mutayr tribe. (102)

16. The *Ahl Al-Ridayniah*, the fighters of the *hijrah* of Al-Ridayniah: the Amir of those fighters of that *hijrah* was 'Abdullah ibn Sam'ar.(103) The right name of that amir was 'Abdullah ibn Simay'ar and he was from the Al-Simay'ar family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Wisidah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(104)

In September 1924, the *Ikhwan* settled in Al-Hawyah and they were ready to attack Al-Taif. The official Hashemite army moved from Al-Taif to Al-Hawayah in order to stop the *Ikhwan*. That official Hashemite army was led by Sabri Pasha Al-'Azawi who was the deputy commander of the armed forces of King Husayn. The *Ikhwan* forced the fighters of King Husayn to retreat to the highlands of Al-Taif and they started to shoot at the *Ikhwan* with their cannons. The *Ikhwan* surrounded Al-Taif which made Sharif

Husayn send his oldest son 'Ali with more fighters to support his army two days later. 'Ali settled in Al-Hada which was in the west of Al-Taif and he tried to hold the *Ikhwan*, but the *Ikhwan* stormed Al-Taif.(105) The Amir and the people of Al-Taif withdrew from Al-Taif to Al-Hada in order to join Sharif 'Ali a few hours before the *Ikhwan* entered Al-Taif. The *Ikhwan* entered Al-Taif and they did not kill anyone unless he would stand against them. The tribes of the Al-Taif area who were not a part of the *Ikhwan* and used to be a part of the Sharif Husayn fighters joined the *Ikhwan* during the night of that the *Ikhwan* entered Al-Taif and they had looted and killed in Al-Taif without the knowledge of the *Ikhwan* leaders.(106)

The *Ikhwan* held to the principles of their heritage and religion which ordered them to not kill children, women, elderly men, and any one who had not taken any aggressive action against them. So, a historical accusation which blamed the *Ikhwan* for cruelty during their invasion of Al-Taif was a propaganda against the *Ikhwan* in order to mobilise the Hijazi people against them at that time. The propaganda about the power of the *Ikhwan* made their opponents fear them and they could defeat their opponents even if they had fewer warriors. The *Ikhwan* had around two thousands fighters when they invaded Al-Taif and they were controlled by their shaykhs. Those shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* knew that they had to behave as messengers of the true Islam as they had been encouraged to do by their leader 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and as they had taught by their *'ulama* in Najd.(107)

The desire of the leaders of the *Ikhwan* was to frighten the people of Al-Taif in to surrender because they did not want to confront them. Sultan ibn Himayd and Sharif Khalid ibn Luai, who were behind their fighters entered Al-Taif and they gave orders to stop their attack against Al-Taif.(108) Sultan gave his order also to collect the weapons and to move the people of Al-Taif to the garden of Shubra. Sultan released them and he allowed them to either stay in Al-Taif or to leave.(109)

After the fall of Al-Taif in September 1924, the *Ikhwan* decided to move to Makkah in order to conquer the rest of Al-Hijaz. Sharif 'Ali assembled his fighters in Al-Hada in order to stop the *Ikhwan* from moving on Makkah.(110) The fighters of Sharif 'Ali were

collected from different elements and they did not have the strong ties between them which the *Ikhwan* had. The fighters of Sharif 'Ali were five hundred from the official soldiers and from the bedouin of Al-Hijaz. Most of those bedouin were from the tribes of Hudhayl, Quraysh, and Bani Sufayan. There were also two hundred fighters from Makkah.(111) The Bani Sa'ad tribe also were a part of the Sharif Husayn's fighters in Al-Taif and they were a loyal allies to him.(112)

The *Ikhwan* attacked the Hijazi fighters of Sharif 'Ali in Al-Hada and that attack was led by Sultan Al-Diyn (Sultan ibn Himayd). The *Ikhwan* attack started at the midnight and continued until ten o'clock in the morning. During the Fajr prayer (the morning prayer) the *Ikhwan* stopped the fight in order to pray. After their prayers, the *Ikhwan* continued the fight and they defeated Sharif 'Ali and his fighters which made Sharif Husayn order his son to return to Makkah.(113)

4.2. THE ENTRY INTO MAKKAH

The *Ikhwan* did not face any resistance when they arrived in Makkah because Sharif 'Ali and his father Sharif Husayn had left Makkah without a force to protect itself. They had moved to Jiddah with their remaining forces. Sharif Husayn agreed to abandon his throne in favour of his son 'Ali in order to put pressure on 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to stop the attack of his fighters of the *Ikhwan*. In October 1924, Sharif 'Ali left Makkah to Jiddah and after his arrival, the notable men of Jiddah and the men who withdrew with him from Makkah sent a telegram to Sharif Husayn and they asked him to abandon his throne for his son 'Ali.(114) Sharif Husayn agreed and he gave his throne to his son 'Ali and the nation of Al-Hijaz proclaimed their loyalty to their new King (Sharif 'Ali). Sharif Husayn and his son 'Ali thought that the abdication would convince 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to withdraw the *Ikhwan* from Al-Hijaz.(115) On the next day, Sharif 'Ali went to Makkah and he met his father King Husayn. Sharif 'Ali went back to Jiddah and five days later, Sharif Husayn arrived in Jiddah and he did not meet any one. Sharif Husayn

stayed for six days in Jiddah and he sailed on his ship, Al-Raqmatayn to Al-'Aqabah.(116)

The leaders of the *Ikhwan* moved from Al-Taif to Makkah when they got the permission of their *Imam* ('Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud). Sultan ibn Himayd and Khalid ibn Luai sent a messenger (who rode a thoroughbred camel) to 'Abdul-'Aziz who was in Al-Riyadh to inform him of their victories in Al-Taif and Al-Hada. The two leaders of the *Ikhwan* asked 'Abdul-'Aziz for permission to continue their invasion to Makkah in order to free Makkah from Sharif Husayn. 'Abdul-'Aziz discussed the demand of the two leaders of the *Ikhwan* with the '*ulama* of Al-Riyadh and the '*ulama* allowed the *Ikhwan* to enter Makkah as civilians and not as fighters because it was forbidden to enter Makkah in order to kill (See Appendix Figure 8).(117)

The *Ikhwan* knew that Sharif Husayn had left Makkah with his remaining force and no-one could resist them. The *Ikhwan* arrived in Makkah and they wore only the garments of pilgrims to Makkah. The *Ikhwan* entered Makkah without fighting and they finished their '*umrah* (visit to Makkah). Khalid ibn Luai became the Amir of Makkah having established a temporary government in Al-Hijaz.(118) The *Ikhwan* continued their victories and they conquered Al-Qunfudah, Alayth, and Rabigh.(119) In November 1924, 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* of Najd moved from Al-Riyadh to Makkah.(120) 'Abdul-'Aziz made a speech in Al-Riyadh to the '*ulama* of Najd and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* and he clarified that the major reason for this move was to implement Islam in the region.(121)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the remaining *Ikhwan* moved from Najd to Al-Hijaz and 'Abdul-'Aziz was joined by different tribes of the *Ikhwan*. 'Abdul-'Aziz was joined on his way to Makkah by most of his fighters from the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribe) who were a part of the *Ikhwan*. The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe was led by their Shaykh Dharman Abu Thinayn and they were under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command. The Al-Suhul tribe led by Muhammad ibn Mi'dil who was the Shaykh of the Al-Dhuran clan of the Al-Suhul tribe. The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul tribes were under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud's command and they formed his own entourage.(122)

The other amirs of the *Ikhwan* who joined 'Abdul-'Aziz on his way to Makkah were the following:

1. 'Umar ibn Ruby'an: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah. He was also the Amir of the *hijrah* of Nifi.(123) 'Umar was the Shaykh of Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was from the Al-Thibtah clan.(124)
2. 'Ubayd Al-Zughaybi: 'Ubayd became the Amir of the *hijrah* of Al-Khushaybi after the conquest of Al-Hijaz six years later.(125) 'Ubayd was the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Dukhnah when he joined 'Abdul-'Aziz on his way to Makkah.(126) 'Ubayd Al-Zughaybi was one of the shaykhs of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(127)
3. Zabin ibn Juday': the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Al-Dilaymiyah.(128) Zabin was the Shaykh of the Al-Hananyah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(129)
4. Sa'iyd Al-Dhikri: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Miskah.(130) Sa'iyd was a Shaykh of the 'Auf shaykhs of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(131)
5. Muhammad ibn Mi'dil: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Al-Bida'.(132) Muhammad was the Shaykh of the Al-Dhuran clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(133)
6. Turki Al-Dhiyt: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Nifi which meant that he was under the command of 'Umar ibn Ruby'an.(134) Turki was the Shaykh of the Al-'Adhyan clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(135)
7. Hindi Al-Dhuaybi: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Al-Shibaykiyah.(136) Hindi was a Shaykh of the Bani 'Amru shaykhs of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(137)
8. 'Ajab ibn Hifayz: the Amir of the brigade of the *hijrah* of Sharifah.(138) The right name of that *hijrah* was the *hijrah* of Mishayrfah.(139) 'Ajab was a Shaykh of the Al-Shakarah clan of the Al-Dawasir tribe.(140)

'Abdul-'Aziz did not move to Makkah quickly because he wanted to know what surprises might occur in Al-Hijaz. 'Abdul-'Aziz had to examine the reactions of the internal and external influences in the region. Recognising that Al-Hijaz had

connections and relations with the external world and it was his desire to understand the internal leaders of the region made 'Abdul-'Aziz slow his movement to Al-Hijaz.(141) 'Abdul-'Aziz headed to Makkah and it took him twenty four days to reach Makkah. On his way to Makkah, 'Abdul-'Aziz stayed for one or two days near the wells in order to look at the situation of his people and solve issues as he had used to do. (142)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had given the leaders of the *Ikhwan* the freedom to deal with the issues which did not require his involvement and the leaders of the *Ikhwan* were aware of their limits. The foreign consuls of the countries of Britain, France, Holland, Italy, and Iran in Jiddah wrote to the leaders of the *Ikhwan* to inform them that they were neutral in the conflict between the *Ikhwan* and Sharif Husayn. The foreign consuls asked the leaders of the *Ikhwan* to respect the life and the wealth of their citizens and to warn the *Ikhwan* that they would be responsible for any aggression against those consuls of the foreign countries or their citizens. The two leaders of the *Ikhwan*, Khalid ibn Luai and Sultan ibn Himayd wrote to those five foreign consuls and informed them that they were concerned about their safety and they asked them to gather in a marked area in Jiddah and the *Ikhwan* were would know about them. In November 1924, the foreign consuls of those countries confirmed their neutrality in the war and informed the two leaders of the *Ikhwan* that they had received their letter and they recognised their concern for the safety and the safety of their residents.(143)

The leaders of the *Ikhwan* had contact with the foreign consuls in Jiddah. The leaders of the *Ikhwan* sent a messenger to 'Abdul-'Aziz (who was still on his way to Makkah) to inform him that the foreign countries in Jiddah had chosen to take a neutral position in the conflict between Najd and Al-Hijaz. 'Abdul-'Aziz also wrote to those foreign consuls to confirm the commitment of the leaders of the *Ikhwan* for the safety of the foreign consuls and he too would be responsible for the safety of the foreign consuls and their citizens.(144)

'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters from the *Ikhwan* rode their camels and arrived in Makkah after twenty four days. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *ikhwan* wore the garments of the

pilgrims to Makkah and they entered Makkah to make their *'umrah* . 'Abdul-'Aziz welcomed the people of Makkah and he reviewed his forces of the *Ikhwan*.(145)

'Abdul-'Aziz made a long speech to the *Ikhwan* in Makkah, explaining his aims in conquering Al-Hijaz. 'Abdul-'Aziz also wrote a letter to the five foreign consuls in Jiddah while he was still on his way to Makkah and he received their response on the day of his arrival. The five foreign consuls asked 'Abdul-'Aziz to guarantee the safety of their citizens and at the same time those foreign consuls had asked the two leaders of the *Ikhwan* before 'Abdul-'Aziz. The foreign consuls apologised to 'Abdul-'Aziz that they could not deliver his letter to the people of Jiddah because they were neutral in that conflict. The foreign consuls therefore, returned the letter to 'Abdul-'Aziz.(146)

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* decided to end their conflict in Al-Hijaz for good. Sharif 'Ali from Jiddah tried to achieve a reconciliation with 'Abdul-'Aziz, but he did not succeed. As a result, Sharif 'Ali tried to scare the *Ikhwan* in Makkah and he sent an aeroplane to drop leaflets which encouraged the people of Makkah to stand against them.(147) The two leaders of the *Ikhwan*, Sultan ibn Himayd and Khalid ibn Luai explained their complaints to 'Abdul-'Aziz and they asked him forcefully to surround Jiddah in order to end the conflict of the Hijaz.(148) 'Abdul-'Aziz respected the desire of the *Ikhwan* and he led them in his siege of Jiddah in January 1925.(149)

4.3. THE CONQUEST OF JIDDAH

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Ikhwan* decided to surround Jiddah in order to force it to surrender. They moved from Al-'Abtah to Bahrah and from Bahrah to Al-Raghamah near Jiddah (See Appendix Figure 8).(150)

Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz helped his father by organising more fighters from the *Ikhwan* of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the two tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul).(151) Faysal's force was the rest of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe who had remained in the *Al-'Aridh* area in order to defend the region during the absence of 'Abdul-'Aziz in Al-Hijaz.(152) The Amir of the fighters of the Subay' *Al-*

'Aridh tribe who joined Faysal was Fudghush ibn Shawyah. Fudghush led the remainder of the Subay *Al-'Aridh* tribe who had not already joined 'Abdul-'Aziz in Al-Hijaz.(153) Fudghush was the Shaykh of the Al-'Arynat clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and most of his fighters were from the Al-'Arynat clan.(154)

The Amir of the fighters of the Al-Suhul tribe who joined Faysal on his way to Jiddah was Dilaym ibn Jil'ud. These fighters were the rest of the Al-Suhul tribe who had already been involved with 'Abdul-'Aziz in Al-Hijaz.(155) Dilaym was the Shaykh of the Al-Suhul tribe and he joined by the rest of the clans of his tribe.(156)

Most of the *Ikhwan* during the siege of Jiddah were either the camel corps or horsemen.(157) The *Ikhwan* started with two thousands fighters when they invaded Al-Taif.(158) The number of the *Ikhwan* increased until there was around forty thousands at the siege of Jiddah.(159) That number of the *Ikhwan* did not create financial difficulties for 'Abdul-'Aziz. Each fighter from the *Ikhwan* came with his own thoroughbred camel or horse and he would also have his own weapons. A little drink and food would be enough for the *Ikhwan* and they would sacrifice their souls for their loyalty and faith.(160)

The fighters of Sharif 'Ali were around two thousands fighters.(161) Those fighters were from the tribes of Al-Hijaz and the rest of them from the *hadhar* of Najd and other Arab countries.(162) Most of those fighters fought because they believed that the Arab revival would not exist without the Hashemite house.(163)

Sharif Husayn was in Al-'Aqabah and he encouraged the Hijazi tribes to stand against 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan*.(164) Sharif 'Ali received financial support from his father of a thousand pounds.(165) This made 'Abdul-'Aziz complain to the British government about the presence of Sharif Husayn in Al-'Aqabah and he warned them that he would attack Al-'Aqabah if Sharif Husayn was not forced to leave.(166) 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a brigade of the *Ikhwan* from Hail to attack Sharif Husayn in Al-'Aqabah. Britain exiled him from Al-'Aqabah.(167) Most of the fighters of that brigade were from the *Ikhwan* of the tribes of the Shammar and Harb and they were led by their shaykhs.(168)

The British government had no interest in having a conflict with 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan*. The British authorities in Transjordan asked Sharif Husayn to leave Al-'Aqabah but initially he refused to go. His son 'Abdullah had to convince him that his throne in Transjordan and his brother Faysal's throne in Al-Iraq would be in danger.(169) The Hijazi government tried to persuade Sharif Husayn to leave Al-'Aqabah for Basrah.(170) Instead Sharif Husayn was exiled from Al-'Aqabah to Cyprus.(171) Al-'Aqabah and Ma'an became a part of Transjordan although they had been a part from Al-Hijaz.(172) After Sharif Husayn had left Al-'Aqabah, the assistance to King Ali declined, which forced Sharif Ali to mortgage his real estate in Egypt in order to raise an amount of fifteen thousands pounds.(173) Sharif 'Ali also got a support from his brother 'Abdullah (the king of Transjordan). He sent fighters and finances in order to force 'Abdul-'Aziz to leave Al-Hijaz.(174)

King 'Ali did not give up and his resistance to 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan*. Sharif 'Ali had twenty large cannons and one thousand five hundred rifles and he had also thirty two machine guns. He had enough bullets and he also had flash bombs. King 'Ali had also five Italian aeroplanes only one of those aeroplane was in a good condition, the rest were useless. On the other hand, King 'Ali had good German aeroplanes which were supplied with machine guns and with bombs. The aeroplanes could fly for a few hours if they could take enough fuel, but there was a shortage of the fuel which made it a difficult for the King to use them effectively. King 'Ali also had armoured cars and two of them were German which were supplied with machine guns and he also had four big trucks.(175) The pilots of Sharif 'Ali were German and Russian. They were foreigners and they were concerned for their own safety which decreased their importance.(176) Most of the weapons owned by the Najdi fighters were gained as booty in Al-Taif. Those weapons contained cannons, rifles, and a machine guns. The *Ikhwan* of Najd did not bring those weapons from Najd.(177)

The *Ikhwan* had a huge desire to conquer all of Al-Hijaz from King Husayn and his son 'Ali. Moreover, the *Ikhwan* also wanted to conquer Transjordan and Al-Iraq from the two sons of King Husayn.(178) 'Abdul-'Aziz appointed Khalid ibn Luai to assume

responsibility for *Ikhwan* issues and he appointed Sharif Haza' to assume responsibility for issues concerning the bedouin of Al-Hijaz.(179) The *Ikhwan* conquered Al-Nazlah Al-Yamanyah, Nazlat Bani Malik, and Al-Ruays which were important sites in order to lay a successful siege around Jiddah. The *Ikhwan* of Najd dug the trenches and appraised emplacements which they protected with sand sacks. The *Ikhwan* started to fight the Hijazi official soldiers and they had the rifles and the machine guns. The *Ikhwan* em increased their attacks during the night in order to scare the residents of Jiddah so that they would revolt against their government or leave Jiddah. Another reason for the *Ikhwan* to attack during the night was to encourage the official soldiers to waste their bullets shooting into the dark.(180)

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* surrounded Jiddah for almost one year because he wanted to avoid disasters and to conquer Al-Hijaz without large numbers of casualties to both sides.(181) Jiddah was also protected by wires and trenches which made it able to withstand the besieging forces for long time.(182) 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* hardened their siege around Jiddah and they pressed the town harder in order to force Jiddah to surrender.(183)

The government of Al-Hijaz used the aeroplanes against the *Ikhwan* in order to scare the *Ikhwan* into leaving Jiddah, but the *Ikhwan* became stronger.(184) The *Ikhwan* shot down one of the aeroplanes with their rifles as they had brought down one Hijazi aeroplane during the invasion of Al-Taif.(185) The Hijazi government ordered the armoured cars and one thousand official soldiers to attack the *Ikhwan*. The *Ikhwan* wrestled with the official soldiers and the armoured cars and treated them as a source of martyrdom. The *Ikhwan* of Al-Ghatghat and Al-'Aridh engaged with the armoured cars until the armoured cars lost their water and ammunition.(186) The *Ikhwan* of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat were led by the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe, Sultan ibn Himayd. Most of the *Ikhwan* of 'Al-'Aridh were from the Subay' Al-'Aridh tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe. The Subay' Al-'Aridh tribe was led by their Shaykh, Dharman Abu Thinayn and the Al-Suhul tribe was led by their Shaykh, Dilaym ibn Jil'ud.(187) The two groups lost over three hundred dead according to the Najdi and Hijazi reports. The government of Al-

Hijaz failed in that attack and it did not achieve its target which was to defeat the *Ikhwan* and to continue to Makkah.(188)

The *Ikhwan* lost some of their leaders during the siege of Jiddah. The *Ikhwan* lost a famous leader, Hizam ibn Qarmalah (the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe).(189) The *Ikhwan* also lost another of their leaders who was Ghunaym ibn Hadayhid (the Shaykh of the 'Ajman Al-Rakham clan of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' of *Al-'Aridh* tribe) and they also lost Faris ibn Shawyah (the oldest son of Fudghush ibn Shawyah, the Shaykh of Al-'Arynat clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe).(190)

There was a cease fire in Ramadhan, the holy month for Muslims, between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Ali.(191) It was accepted that the war would start again after Ramadhan and the war against Jiddah was delayed by 'Abdul-'Aziz.(192)

Instead of attacking Jiddah, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a force of the *Ikhwan* to Yanbu' in order to punish the Shaykh of the Juhaynah tribe, Ibrahim ibn Rufadah who attacked the caravans of the pilgrims to Makkah. Ibrahim swore to 'Abdul-'Aziz that he would be loyal to him; but, he did not keep that commitment. 'Abdul-'Aziz also sent a brigade of the *Ikhwan*, led by his cousin Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz and Khalid ibn Luai to the North of Al-Hijaz. That brigade conquered Rabigh and they defeated Amir Shakir. They also returned Ahmad ibn Salim to power again and they continued their movement to Yanbu' Al-Bahar. To conquer the rest of Al-Hijaz, 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a brigade of the *Ikhwan* led by Faysal Al-Dawish to the North of Al-Hijaz and they conquered Al-'Awali.(193) Most of those fighters of the *Ikhwan* were from the tribes of the Subay', the Al-Suhul, the Mutayr, and the other Najdi tribes.(194)

Two months latter, 'Abdul-'Aziz organised the *hajj* (the pilgrimage to Makkah) himself in order to prove to the Arab leaders and the Muslim nations that he would be the guardian of the Al-Haramayn (the two holy places in Makkah and Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah). The *Ikhwan* had waited to go on the *hajj* for many years since Sharif Husayn had prevented them from going to the *hajj* after the battle of Turbah.(195)

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* would be in charge of the security of the *hajj* that year and they had to make a stand against the trouble makers inside Al-Hijaz. Most of the

Hijazi tribes were not a part of the *Ikhwan* and they were loyal allies to Sharif Husayn and his sons.(196) Sharif Husayn allowed the Hijazi tribes to take *Al-Khawah* (the taxes) from the pilgrims of Makkah in order to satisfy the shaykhs of the Hijazi tribes and ensure their loyalty. Those Hijazi tribes did not appreciate the invasion of Al-Hijaz by the *Ikhwan* of Najd because the *Ikhwan* of Najd would effect their interests. Some of them, such as the Harb of Al-Hijaz tribe, asked Khalid ibn Luai to allow them to take *Al-Khawah* from the pilgrims of Makkah as they had done before the invasion of the *Ikhwan*.. Khalid rejected their suggestion and he threatened them that he would judge them by the Qur'an or by the sword. 'Abdul-'Aziz was more patient than Khalid and he appointed salaries for the shaykhs of the Hijazi tribes in order to stop their aggression against the pilgrims to Makkah and to protect the ways which passed through their territories.(197) 'Abdul-'Aziz declared that pilgrims could use the ports of Rabigh, Alayth, and Al-Qunfudah instead of Jiddah.(198) The *hajj* of 1925 was a successful *hajj* which gained a lot of support for the Najdi regime.(199)

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *ikhwan* considered themselves the guardians of Islam during the *hajj*. 'Abdul-'Aziz invited the Muslim consuls to Makkah and he hosted them elaborately. The Muslim consuls told 'Abdul-'Aziz that they were negotiating the issue of Al-Hijaz with him officially. 'Abdul-'Aziz explained to them that he would not stop his aggression until Sharif 'Ali left Jiddah. While the Muslim consuls were in Makkah, 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to the *Ikhwan* to attack Jiddah more forcefully. 'Abdul-'Aziz appeared to be a mystery of the mysteries.(200) The *Ikhwan* were in charge of protecting the Muslims during the *hajj* and watching Sharif 'Ali in Jiddah. In the last days of the *hajj* 'Abdul-'Aziz allowed most of the *Ikhwan* to make their *hajj* and he left a few of them to oversee Jiddah. After the end of the *hajj*, 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to the *Ikhwan* to return to Al-Raghamah (the battle field near Jiddah) and he decided to conclude his siege of Jiddah. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to the *Ikhwan* to put more pressure on Jiddah in order to coerce Sharif Ali to surrender.(201)

The Muslim governments sent mediators in order to reconcile 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif 'Ali. Those mediators delivered letters which they brought from their leaders such

as the King of Egypt, King Fuad, the *imam* of Yemen (*Imam Yahya*) and the Shah of Iran. Those Muslim leaders tried to achieve an agreement between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Ali in order to get credit for them amongst the Muslim nations. Sharif Ali appreciated the initiative because he was in a critical situation. He would accept any initiative of reconciliation between him and 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Abdul-'Aziz treated those mediators with respect. He explained to them that he would ask for a Muslim conference in Makkah. 'Abdul-'Aziz explained to those mediators that he would invite those Islamic countries and he would be happy if they could send their representatives. 'Abdul-'Aziz did not like to reject directly the initiative from those Islamic countries so he chose a polite rejection instead of a clear rejection.(202)

'Abdul-'Aziz started to become heavily involved internationally. 'Abdul-'Aziz met Sir Gilbert Clayton in Bahrah at the request of Sir Gilbert Clayton. 'Abdul-'Aziz guessed that Sir Gilbert Clayton would come to put a pressure on him in order to leave Al-Hijaz. Sir Gilbert Clayton did not come to discuss the issue of Al-Hijaz but he came to solve the border problems between Najd and Iraq and between Najd and Transjordan. The negotiation between the two parties took twenty five days and they confirmed to 'Abdul-'Aziz that the British did not want to discuss the issue of Al-Hijaz at all. Furthermore 'Abdul-'Aziz gained an official confirmation from Britain that the British government would not discuss the issue of Al-Hijaz and would take no interest in what 'Abdul-'Aziz accomplished in his conflict with Sharif Husayn and his son.(203)

'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to Faysal Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) and the *Ikhwan* of his tribe to surround Al-Madinah and they started his invasion and surrounded Al-Madinah.(204) That siege took ten months. The Amir and the garrison of Al-Madinah refused to surrender because they waited for reinforcements from Jiddah. Faysal exerted more pressure in Al-Madinah and finally the Amir and the garrison decided to surrender.(205) The Shaykh of Mutayr tribe led most of his tribe of the *Ikhwan* in that siege and it was possible to conquer Al-Madinah in a short time. Faysal followed 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud 's orders. 'Abdul-'Aziz had explained to him the importance of Al-Madinah as a holy place to Muslims around the world. Faysal was

aware of that and he did not harm the people of Al-Madinah which made him to choose the long siege.(206) The government of Jiddah made much propaganda against that siege and the government described it as a bloody siege which would destroy the holy place of Islam. The Arab and the foreign media accepted that Hijazi propaganda which made Muslims to very anxious about the news.(207)

The people of Al-Madinah decided to surrender and they wanted to surrender to one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's sons so 'Abdul-'Aziz sent his son Muhammad.(208) Muhammad was fourteen years old when he joined Faysal Al-Dawish and the *Ikhwan* of Mutayr in that siege.(209) Al-Madinah surrendered in December, 1925.(210) Muhammad and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe entered Al-Madinah and they prayed in the mosque of prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz welcomed the people and he allotted the supplies of foods which he had brought from his father to those people of Al-Madinah.(211)

The conquest of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe in Al-Madinah showed the situation in Al-Hijaz was changing and it was a sign that the siege of Jiddah would swiftly come to an end which it did within less than one month latter. 'Abdul-'Aziz stated many times to the Amirs of his military and the *'ulama* of Najd in his military assemblies that he delayed his attack of Jiddah for three reasons. 'Abdul-'Aziz was concerned about the reputation of his fighters, he was also concerned about the safety of the foreigners, and finally, he waited for an expected occasion.(212)

'Abdul-'Aziz assembled with his fighters of the *Ikhwan* and he informed them that he decided to attack Jiddah and he would conquer it coercively.(213) Sharif Ali recognised the danger to Jiddah if he stood up against that attack. He therefore contacted Jordan, (the British Agent in Jiddah) to intercede between him and 'Abdul-'Aziz and he laid out his conditions for surrender. Jordan got permission from his government to interfere in the surrender. Jordan sent a letter to 'Abdul-'Aziz. He wanted 'Abdul-'Aziz to meet him in Al-Raghamah the next day. 'Abdul-'Aziz agreed to meet to the British Agent in Jiddah. 'Abdul-'Aziz met Jordan in Al-Raghamah and Jordan outlined the Sharif 'Ali's conditions to him. Jordan also confirmed the neutrality of Britain and he explained the

desire of his government to get an agreement between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Ali.(214)

Sharif Ali outlined five conditions which were the following:

1. A general amnesty for all civil and military personnel, ashraf (members of the Sharifian family), and Hejaz Government supporters;
2. The evacuation of all officers and soldiers who had come from other Arab countries plus their travel expenses and 5,000 sovereigns to spread amongst them;
3. Government functionaries should retain their positions;
4. These conditions to apply to those holding out in Yanbu';
5. The preservation of Hashemite family possessions in Hijaz.(215)

'Abdul-'Aziz accepted most of those conditions but he made a few changes to them.

'Abdul-'Aziz would allow Sharif 'Ali to take only his own personal possessions such as automobiles, horses, and rugs and he would leave the weapons, the ammunition, and the aeroplanes to 'Abdul-'Aziz.(216) H. M. S. *Cornflower* arrived to take Sharif 'Ali to his exile and before he left, he made a short formal speech to his own army and people and he asked to respect the agreement between him and 'Abdul-'Aziz and to forgive him for his mistakes.(217) Sharif 'Ali signed the agreement and he left Jiddah for Aden. He then went from Aden to Iraq. The British Agent came to 'Abdul-'Aziz to inform him that Sharif 'Ali had left and to give him the agreement. 'Abdul-'Aziz moved from Al-Raghamah to Jiddah and the cannons fired one hundred shoots as a welcome to 'Abdul-'Aziz and to celebrate the departure of Sharif 'Ali. 'Abdul-'Aziz moved to Al-Kundarah and he met the delegations who welcomed him. 'Abdul-'Aziz moved from Al-Kundarah to Jiddah after a siege of one year. (218) The Hijazi people declared their homage to 'Abdul-'Aziz as the King of Al-Hijaz and 'Abdul-'Aziz became the King of Al-Hijaz and the sultan of Najd and its dependencies.(219)

5. THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* had dealt with external influences as well as the internal influences. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd felt threatened as they were surrounded by three opponents; Sharif Huasyn ibn Ali in Al-Hijaz, his son 'Abdullah in the Transjordan, and his son Faysal in the Iraq. The conflict between Najd and Iraq started when the *Ikhwan* of Mutayr led by their Shaykh (Faysal Al-Dawish) attacked the tribe

of Al-Mintifq between Al-Basrah and Al-Nasirayh in March 1922 where upon he killed most of them. Sir Percy Cox sent a force of aeroplanes in order to observe the *Ikhwan*. The Najdi *Ikhwan* shot those aeroplanes and so Sir Percy Cox gave orders to his pilots to shoot the *Ikhwan* back. Sir Percy Cox warned 'Abdul-'Aziz after that attack and 'Abdul-'Aziz confirmed that the attack of Faysal Al-Dawish was without his permission and he would punish Faysal for his attack.(220) 'Abdul-'Aziz wanted to convince the British and other leaders of the Arabian Peninsula that he did not have control over the *Ikhwan* which was not true because 'Abdul-'Aziz had full control over them. 'Abdul-'Aziz could direct and mobilise the shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* and he could threaten and punish any one of them if he did not follow 'Abdul-'Aziz's orders.(221)

'Abdul-'Aziz was the leader and the controller of the *Ikhwan* of Najd and the *Ikhwan* would not attack or stand against any aggression unless 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud allowed them. Therefore, Shaykh Faysal Al-Dawish or the other shaykhs of the Najdi tribes would always seek 'Abdul-'Aziz's permission before their attacks.(222) The British sent a letter to 'Abdul-'Aziz to ask for his opinion of having a conference between them in order to define the borders between Najd and Iraq. The British recommended Al-Muhamarah near Al-Basrah as the place for that conference because it was in a neutral area between them. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud accepted the invitation.(223) That conference took place in May 1922 and the result of it was the treaty of Al-Muhamarah.(224) One clause was that the treaty would not come into effect unless it was signed by the Sultan of Najd, the King of Iraq, and the British High Commissioner. 'Abdul-'Aziz refused to accept that treaty because his delegate had exceeded the authorities which he had given him and that the delegate had signed the treaty without 'Abdul-'Aziz's permission.(225)

The conflict between the *Ikhwan* of Najd and the tribes of Iraq required a settlement of the frontier problems between Najd and Iraq. The conference of Al-Muhamarah in 1922 did not succeed and so the conference of Al-'Uqir was called.(226) The 'Uqir Protocol was convened in December, 1922 and it was also between Najd and Iraq.(227) The conference of Al-'Uqir was between 'Abdul-'Aziz, the British delegate, and the Iraqi delegate. The agenda was to discuss the tribal and border conflicts between Najd and

Iraq. The High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox brought Fahad ibn Hadhal, the Shaykh of the Al-'Amarat clan of the 'Anizah tribe with him and this infuriated 'Abdul-'Aziz because Fahad had welcomed the Najdi Shammar tribe during 'Abdul-'Aziz siege of Hail. 'Abdul-'Aziz told Sir Percy Cox that he had come to Al-'Uqir to discuss the issue of Sharif Husayn and his sons and he would not discuss the subject of the clan of the Al-'Amarat of the 'Anizah tribe and the Al-Zafiyr tribe. 'Abdul-'Aziz explained to the British delegate that the Iraqi government was weak and it had no respect among its tribes. After discussion Sir Percy Cox and 'Abdul-'Aziz accepted agreement made in Al-Muhamarah which defined the borders between Najd and Iraq.(228)

The political Agent in Kuwait, Major More also came with Sir Percy Cox in order to discuss the frontier problems between Najd and Kuwait. Sir Percy Cox explained to 'Abdul-'Aziz that the 'Anizah tribe of Iraq, the Al-'Amarat clan of the 'Anizah tribe, preferred to be under the protection of the British government and the 'Anizah tribe of Syria (the Al-Rawalah clan of the 'Anizah tribe) preferred to be under 'Abdul-'Aziz's protection. Sir Percy Cox had no authority in the Al-Rawalah clan of 'Anizah and which was under the protection of France at that time. 'Abdul-'Aziz demanded that Sir Percy Cox redefine the borders of Al-Jawf in order that the Al-'Amarat clan of the 'Anizah tribe and the Al-Zafiyr become under 'Abdul-'Aziz's jurisdiction. The expansion of Al-Jawf would give 'Abdul-'Aziz Qrayat Al-Milh in the Al-Jawf area. The borders between Najd and Al-Iraq were defined and the clan of Al-'Amarat of 'Anizah tribe and Al-Zafiyr tribe considered to be Iraqi tribes. The Najdi and Iraqi delegates decided to have neutral land between Najd and Iraq which was called Al-'Aunayah. 'Abdul-'Aziz and Major More, the political Agent in Kuwait had their meeting and the borders between Najd and Kuwait were defined.(229)

The conference of Al-'Uqir did not bring peace between Najd and Iraq and it did not stop the attack of the *Ikhwan* of Najd on the Iraqi tribes.(230) The tribes of Iraq attacked Najdi tribes which made 'Abdul-'Aziz complain to the British government and King Faysal in order to stop their raids.(231) The British recommended that they hold a conference in Kuwait with delegates from Najd, Al-Hijaz, Iraq, and Transjordan in

order to solve the problems between them.(232) 'Abdul-'Aziz agreed to participate at that conference but on condition that he would meet each delegate separately in order to stop the coalitions between Sharif Husayn and his sons. That condition was accepted by Colonel Knox, the chairman of that conference and he informed 'Abdul-'Aziz that he would write to the delegates to inform them of 'Abdul-'Aziz's condition. Sharif Husayn refused to send his delegate unless 'Abdul-'Aziz left the land he had occupied in Al-Hijaz. That condition was an impossible condition and Colonel Knox tried to convince the British government and Sharif Husayn of the importance of the participation of Sharif Husayn in the conference. Colonel Knox was unsuccessful in convincing Sharif Husayn to send his delegate which was a bad omen for the success of the conference from the beginning.(233)

The conference in Kuwait took place in December, 1923 and all of the countries sent their delegates except for Sharif Husayn, who refused to send his delegate. In the first session of the conference, the Iraqi delegation presented its demands and in the second session, the Najdi delegation stated its demands. In the fifth session, the Iraqi's demanded that the agreement between Najd and Iraq should not be effective unless an agreement between Najd and Al-Hijaz had been reached. The Iraqi delegate went to Baghdad on a fast visit while the negotiations between Najd and Transjordan started.(234)

In the sixth and seventh session, the Transjordan delegate submitted his government's demands and in the eighth session, the Najdi delegation stated its demands. The delegate of Najd clarified that Al-Jawf and Wadi Al-Sirhan had been part of Najd since the first Saudi state and the delegate explained that the tribes of Al-Jawf and Wadi Al-Sirhan belonged to Najd and that they did not belong to Transjordan. The Najdi delegation demanded that Najd not accept any common borders between Iraq and Transjordan and that Najd must have borders which could be linked with Syria in order to secure its trade route. Colonel Knox sided with the demands of Transjordan and he supported the delegate of Transjordan in order to promote their demands.(235)

In the ninth session, the Jordanian delegate demanded that the Najdi government renounce Al-Jawf, Sakakah, Wadi Al-Sirhan and all the territories of Al-Hijaz which it had claimed along with Turbah, Al-Khurumah, Hait, Huayt, Wadi Bishah, Wadi Shahrhan, and parts of Bani Shir, Ballahmar, and Ballasmar area. The Transjordan delegate also stated that unless the border between Najd and Al-Hijaz was drawn with the desert as a decisive demarcation line, there would be no agreement between Najd and Transjordan. Knox rejected the interference from Jordan or Al-Iraq in talking about Al-Hijaz and he convinced King Faysal to promise that the agreement with Najd would not be linked with the agreement between Najd and Al-Hijaz.(236)

Knox mentioned that Sharif Husayn had strengthened the Najdi delegation because he did not send his delegation to that conference.(237) The representatives of Iraq had their instructions from King Faysal and the Kuwait conference began its second phase with the negotiations between Najd and Iraq at the tenth session. The Najdi and Iraqi delegations discussed the bases which had been laid down by King Faysal for his representative and which also referred to the report of the British High Commissioner in Baghdad. In the twelfth and thirteenth sessions, the conference reached a dead end and the Najdi and Iraqi delegations requested an adjournment in order to consult their government on the differences between them. Knox wrote to 'Abdul-'Aziz in order to convince him to change his instructions to his representatives to enable the Najdi and Iraqi delegates to reach an agreement. The agreement between Najd and Iraq was reached regarding all the issues except that which related to the return of the tribes which sought refuge in Iraq. Knox mentioned that it would cause a problem if the Iraqi government expelled those tribes because those tribes would not return to Najd. The refugee tribes would cross the border into Syria and Turkey and would use those two countries to launch attacks on both Najd and Iraq.(238)

The British reassessed its relations with 'Abdul-'Aziz as the future leader in the region. The British government also recognised him as a leader of great political ability who could astutely assess the variables and circumstances during his creation of a new state.(239) The British High Commissioner in Jerusalem convinced Sharif Husayn to

send his representative to the Kuwait conference. Sharif Husayn agreed to send his son Zayd on condition that 'Abdul-'Aziz sent one of his sons to that conference also to maintain a balance in the level of representation. Colonel Trevor, Britain's chief accredited Representative in the Gulf urged 'Abdul-'Aziz to send a higher ranking representative to the next phase of the conference. Colonel Trevor also mentioned in his letter to 'Abdul-'Aziz that the chairman of the conference of Kuwait was ill and the conference would be postponed.(240) 'Abdul-'Aziz responded that he had discussed that matter with the *'ulama* of Najd and the *'ulama* had disagreed with the idea of sending one of 'Abdul-'Aziz's sons to that conference because it might be too dangerous.(241)

The third phase of the conference started in an atmosphere which was not optimistic and the representatives of Al-Hijaz and Iraq did not participate in that phase. The representative of Iraq was recalled to Iraq in protest at a raid launched, according to claims by the Iraqi government, by the *Ikhwan* on the border of Iraq. The Iraqi representative was forced to return from Al-Basrah, where he had just arrived on his way to Kuwait to Baghdad. The delegations of Najd and Transjordan started to meet and the Transjordan delegate reiterated his demands for Al-Jawf, Sakakah, Wadi Al-Sirhan but with more insistence than during their original proposals. The delegate of Transjordan went much further than in his original demands and demanded the return of the Emirate of Hail and the reinstatement of the Al-'Aidh in 'Asir.(242)

In February 1924, Mustafa Kamal declared the abolition of the Caliphate which made King Husayn attack the Kuwait conference in order to announce himself as the new Caliph of the Muslim world. King Husayn used his tough stance against Britain to redeem himself for his past errors in the eyes of Islamic world and he declared that Faysal and 'Abdullah were his two deputies in Iraq and Transjordan. Britain decided to halt the Kuwait Conference and it ended in unsuccessfully.(243)

During the siege of Jiddah in 1925, Sir Gilbert Clayton came to 'Abdul-'Aziz as a representative from the British and Iraqi governments. Clayton made two agreements with 'Abdul-'Aziz which were the agreements of Bahrah and Hudda. The agreement of

Bahrah solved the problems of the tribes in the Najdi and Iraqi border areas and the Hudda agreement specified the borders between Najd and Transjordan.(244)

6. CONCLUSION

The *Ikhwan* of Najd played the dominant role in the conquest of 'Asir, Hail, and Al-Hijaz. From May 1920 until April 1923, the *Ikhwan* of the tribes of the Qahtan of Najd, the Qahtan of Tathlith, the Subay' 'Ala, and the 'Utaybah played the major role in the conquest of the Surat 'Asir. The *Ikhwan* of Najd got support from the bedouin of the 'Asiri tribes. Most of that support came from the bedouin of the Qahtan tribe of the South and the rest came from the bedouin of other 'Asiri tribes. During that time, the *Ikhwan* of Najd also defeated Al-Makrami of the Yam tribe (the religious leader of the Yam tribe) in Badir and the Yam tribe in Najran.

In September 1920 and after the fall of Surat 'Asir, Muhammad ibn 'Ali Al-Adrisi signed a mandate treaty with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. In 1923, 'Ali ibn Muhammad Al-Adrisi became the ruler of the Tuhamat 'Asir after the death of his father (Muhammad). In 1926, Hasan ibn 'Ali Al-Adrisi overthrew his nephew from power and he became the new ruler of Tuhamat 'Asir. Al-Adrisi signed with 'Abdul-'Aziz a mandate treaty (the treaty of Makkah) which brought Tuhamat 'Asir again under the protection of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. The *imam* of Yemen stood against that treaty and conflict started to become serious between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *imam* of Yemen which led to a war between them later on.

In November 1921, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and most of the *Ikhwan* of Najd conquered Hail and they ended the conflict with the Al-Rashid family for good. After the fall of Hail, 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* conquered Al-Jawf from the control of Nuri Al-Shi'lan (the Shaykh of Al-Rawalah clan of 'Anizah tribe) which used to be under the control of the rulers of Hail.

In 1924, the *Ikhwan* of Najd attacked Al-Taif in order to free Al-Hijaz from the control of Sharif Husayn. Most of the fighters of the *Ikhwan* were from the 'Utaybah

tribe, the Subay' 'Ala tribe, the Qahtan of Najd tribe, and the Qahtan of Tathlith tribe and the rest of the *Ikhwan* were from the tribes of the Mutayr and the Harb of Najd. The fighters of the *Ikhwan* defeated the Hijazi fighters in Al-Taif and Al-Hada. The *Ikhwan* continued their movement to Makkah and they entered Makkah without violence. In November 1924, 'Abdul-'Aziz moved from Al-Riyadh to Makkah and he was joined by the *Ikhwan* of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe, the Al-Suhul tribe, the 'Utaybah tribe, and the Harb of Najd tribe. In January 1925, 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd moved from Makkah to Jiddah and besieged it. The *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe of Najd surrounded Al-Madinah and they forced it to surrender in December 1925. Two months later, 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* defeated Sharif 'Ali and his Hijazi fighters in the battle of Al-Raghamah. 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd ended his conflict with Al-Ashraf family for good.

The external influences had played a role in the conflicts between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* of Najd on the one hand and their opponents on the other. The 'Uqir Protocol took place in December 1922 between Najd and Iraq and 'Abdul-'Aziz accepted the agreement made in Al-Muhamarah in May 1922. The conference in Kuwait took place in December 1923 and of the main aims of that conference was to end the conflict between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Husayn and his two sons in Iraq and Transjordan. The conference was unsuccessful because of the absence of the King of Al-Hijaz (Sharif Husayn). 'Abdul-'Aziz made two agreements during the siege of Jiddah in 1925 which were the treaty of Bahrah and the treaty of Hudda. The treaty of Bahrah solved the problems of the tribes in the Najdi and the Iraqi frontiers and the treaty of Hudda specified the frontiers between Najd and Transjordan.

NOTES:

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3. Interview with Marzuq Al-Sinafi, op. cit.
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5. Al-'Uqayli, Muhammad (1992), '*Adhawa 'Ala Tarikh Al-Jazirah Al-'Arabyah Al-Hadith* (Highlights on the Modern History of the Arabian Peninsula), Tib'at Dar Al-'Alam Li Al-Tib'ah Wa Al-Nashir, Jiddah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 80-81
6. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam (1989), '*Asir Fi Al-'Alqat Al-Siyasiyah Al Sa'udyah 1919-1934* ('Asir in Saudi Political Relations 1919-1934), Dar Al-Zahra Li Al-Nashir, Cairo, Egypt, p 27.
7. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, *Dirasaat Min Tarikh 'Asir Al-Hadith*, op. cit, pp 150-151.
8. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 34.
9. Ibid. p 29, and see also Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, pp 46-48.
10. Interview with Marzuq Al-Sinafi, op. cit.
11. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, *Dirasaat Min Tarikh 'Asir Al-Hadith*, op. cit, p 152.
12. 'Ukadh, June 13, 1996.
13. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 29.
14. Ibid, p 36.
15. Ibid, pp 37-43.
16. Ibid, pp 44-46.

17. Interview with Marzuq Al-Sinfai, op. cit.
18. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, p 50.
19. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad. '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 48.
20. Interview with Husayn ibn Khalid ibn Laui in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 16.7.1995.
21. Interview with Sultan ibn Muslat Al-Azma' in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 11.4.1994.
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23. Ibid. p 51.
24. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, '*Dirasaat Min Tarikh 'Asir Al-Hadith*, op. cit, p 151.
25. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 51.
26. Ibid, p 52, and interview with Husayn ibn Luai, op. cit.
27. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, p 51, and interview with Husayn ibn Luai, op. cit.
28. Ibid, p 51.
29. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad, '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 55.
30. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, p 51.
31. Interview with Husayn ibn Luai, op. cit.
32. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad. '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 58.
33. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, pp 51-52.
34. Ibid, p 52-53, and interview with Husayn ibn Luai, op. cit.
35. Interview with Marzuq Al-Sinafi, op. cit.
36. Ibid.
37. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad. '*Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 59.
38. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, p 53.
39. 'Ukadh, July 18, 1996.
40. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, pp 93-94.
41. 'Ukadh, July 18, 1996.
42. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad. '*Dirasaat Min Tarikh 'Asir Al-Hadith*, op. cit,

pp 74-75.

43. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, pp 55-56.

44. Interview with Marzuq Al-Sinafi, op. cit.

45. Al-Saiyd, 'Isam, op. cit, pp 71-72.

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47. Ibid, p 176.

48. Al-Zilfah, Muhammad. *'Asir Fi 'Ahid Al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz*, op. cit, p 154.

49. Ibid, p 162, and interview with Marzuq Al-Sinafi, op. cit.

50. Interview with Humud ibn Zayd ibn Luaysh in Turbah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 9.4.1994.

51. 'Ukadh, July 18, 1996.

52. Interview with Wilayd ibn Fihayd ibn Shawyah in Shawyah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 9.4.1994.

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55. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.

56. Interview with Humud ibn Zayd ibn Luaysh in Turbah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 6.4.1994.

57. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 254, and interview with Humud ibn Luaysh, op. cit.

58. Al-Rasheed, Madawi, op. cit, p 56.

59. Interview with Humud ibn Luaysh, op. cit.

60. Ibid.

61. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
62. Interview with Humud ibn Luaysh, op. cit.
63. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
64. Interview with Humud ibn Luaysh, op. cit.
65. Ibid, and see also Al-Zarkali Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 255.
66. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
67. Ibid.
68. Interview with Husayn ibn Luai, op. cit.
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72. Ibid, p 330.
73. Interview with Husayn ibn Luai , op. cit.
74. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
75. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
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78. Interview with Mishari ibn Haza' ibn Busais in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 4.7.1994.
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80. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.
81. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
82. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.

83. Al-Himayl, Khalid, op. cit, p 203.
84. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
85. Al-Himayl, Khalid, op. cit, p 203.
86. Interview with Faysal ibn Muhammad ibn Mirihah in Al-Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 7.7.1994.
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88. Interview with Sultan Al-Azma', op. cit.
89. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
90. Interview with Dha'ar ibn Naif ibn Mihaya in Leeds, U.K, 2.10.1998.
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92. Interview with Faysal ibn Mirihah, op. cit.
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94. Interview with Wilayd ibn Shawyah, op. cit.
95. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
96. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.
97. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
98. Interview with Turki ibn Ruby'an, op. cit.
99. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330.
100. Interview with Faysal ibn Mirihah, op. cit.
101. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 330
102. Interview with Mishari ibn Busais, op. cit.
103. Al-Zarkali, Khir-Aldin, op. cit, p 331.
104. Interview with Rashid ibn Alghaythi Al-'Aluay in Qibah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 7.4.1994.
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CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN 'ABDUL-'AZIZ AL SA'UD AND HIS ALLIES IN THE *IKHWAN* AGAINST THE DISSIDENTS AND THE REBELS OF THE *IKHWAN* 1926-1934

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the dissidents and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* as it developed after 1926. I shall divide the development of that conflict into two stages. The first stage is the period before the battle of Al-'Ayaynah in 1929 and the second stage is the period after the battle of Al-'Ayaynah. During the first stage, the long debate between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* about continuing the *jihad* (the holy war) resulted in the emergence of dissidents among the *Ikhwan*. The conflict between Najd and its neighbours over frontiers will help us understand the causes of the aggression of the *Ikhwan* dissidents against the neighbouring countries. The study of the development of the conference of Al-Riyadh between King 'Abdul-'Aziz, the *'ulama* of Najd, and the tribal leaders (shaykhs) of the *Ikhwan* will reveal the efforts which King 'Abdul-'Aziz made in order to convince the *'ulama* and the overwhelming majority of the loyal *Ikhwan* to stand against the minority of the dissidents *Ikhwan*. The battle of Al-'Ayaynah led the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* openly into rebellion.

During the second stage, the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* had openly become rebels and refused to accept the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. They stood simply against King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the loyal *Ikhwan*. Highlighting the battles between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his allies of the loyal *Ikhwan* and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* will help us to discover the role that the loyal *Ikhwan* played in combating the rebel *Ikhwan*. After the end of the confrontation with the rebel *Ikhwan*, the *Ikhwan* were active again during the rebellion of Hamid ibn Rifadah and the Yemeni war. The chapter will look also at

external influences on the political situation, especially with regard to the relations between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British.

2. THE FIRST STAGE: BEFORE THE BATTLE OF AL-'AYAYNAH

The battle of Al-'Ayaynah between Fahad ibn Jiluwi and the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe (Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn) was at the end of March 1929.(1) From the conquest of Al-Hijaz until the battle of Al-'Ayaynah, the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the dissident leaders of the *Ikhwan* had concentrated on stopping the *jihad* against the infidels.(2) That *jihad* was against the two sons of Sharif Husayn who were kings of Iraq and Transjordan and who were under the protection of Britain.(3)

The 'ulama of Najd had mobilised the leaders of the *Ikhwan* (the shaykhs of the Najdi tribes) in such a way that it was difficult later on to convince them to discontinue the *jihad* against the infidels, and the 'ulama could not convince the leaders of the Najdi tribes to stop the *jihad* against the infidels after the conquest of Al-Hijaz.(4) On the other hand, some of the 'ulama such as Shaykh (Scholar) 'Abdullah Al-'Inqri encouraged the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to reject any idea of stopping the *jihad* against the infidels even if that idea came from King 'Abdul-'Aziz himself. Shaykh Al-'Inqri mobilised those dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to continue the *jihad* against the infidels or they would bring down the anger of their God.(5) Shaykh Al-'Inqri was the *qhadi* (the judge) of Al-Artawiyah and he was in charge of that *hijrah* (settlement).(6)

The leaders of the *Ikhwan* had believed and respected the guidance of their 'ulama because the latter were honest and faithful and they would sacrifice their souls for the sake of their religion. The leader of each *hijrah* was joined by one of the 'ulama in order to be guided and for the 'alim to be a judge at the same time of that *hijrah*. That 'alim would gain the prestige and the respect of the Amir and the tribesmen of the *hijrah*.(7) Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd clarified to Shaykh Al-'Inqri that the 'ulama had encouraged the leaders of the *Ikhwan* to defend their religion and continue the *jihad* against the infidels.(8)

Moreover, some of the *mutaw'ah* taught the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* in a way which encouraged them to insist on continuing the *jihad* against the infidels who were considered to be their opponents. Those *mutaw'ah*, acting in the same way as their *'ulama*, had not given enough explanations of the means and conditions of the *jihad*. The most important condition of the *jihad* was to get the permission for the *jihad* from the accepted *imam* of the *Ikhwan* (the leader of the *Ikhwan*). King 'Abdul-'Aziz was the leader of the *Ikhwan* and continuing the *jihad* without his permission would cause anarchy in Najd.(9) Poorly educated religious scholars who had inadequate religious knowledge spread through the *hijaz* of the *Ikhwan* and fanned the flames of dissent with their ignorant hyperbole.(10) King 'Abdul-'Aziz addressed that problem with some success by sending out educated scholars. However, it did not solve the whole problem.(11) As a result, It was difficult to convince the *Ikhwan* that the *jihad* against Al-Hijaz was lawful while that against Iraq was unlawful.(12)

2.1. THE FRONTIER TROUBLES

The frontier troubles were concentrated on the Najdi and the Transjordanian frontiers and the Najdi and the Iraqi frontiers. In 1921, the British called an assembly in Cairo and one of its results was that the throne of Iraq was entrusted to Amir Faysal ibn Al-Husayn, while Amir 'Abdullah ibn Al-Husayn later became the ruler of Transjordan.(13) King Husayn ibn Ali was the first opponent of the *Ikhwan* and his two sons would follow their father's lead and also become opponents of the *Ikhwan*. After the conquest of Al-Hijaz, the *Ikhwan* decided to fight the two sons of Husayn in order to conquer Transjordan and Iraq.(14)

2.1.1. THE NAJDI AND THE TRANSJORDANIAN FRONTIERS

The treaty of Huda between Najd and Transjordan was signed in November, 1925 during the siege of Jiddah. That treaty was agreed by King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and

Sir Glibert Clayton, a representative of the British and the Transjordanian governments. The target of the treaty was to set up a tribunal to look into past raids between Najd and Transjordan.(15) The treaty did not solve the frontier conflicts, and this made King 'Abdul-'Aziz write a letter in May 1926, to the Acting British Agent and Consul in Jiddah to complain about the raids of the Transjordanian tribes against his tribes.(16)

The conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the Al-Ashraf family continued even after the conquest of Hijaz in 1925. Sharif 'Abdullah encouraged the tribe of Al-Hawaytat to attack the Najdi and the Hijazi tribes during the period 1928-1930.(17) Shaykh Hamad ibn Jazi was the Shaykh of the Al-Hawaytat tribe and he encouraged his cousin 'Inad ibn Jazi to attack the Najdi and the Hijazi tribes.(18) Amir 'Abdullah and Shaykh 'Udah Abu Taih, the Shaykh of the Al-Tawayhah part of the Al-Hawaytat tribe, encouraged Daghish Abu Taih, the nephew of Shaykh 'Udah to attack the Najdi and the Hijazi tribes.(19) Shaykh Mithqal Al-Faiz (the Shaykh of the Bani Sakhar tribe) opposed the frequent raids of the Al-Hawaytat tribe, but Amir 'Abdullah ibn Husayn forced the Al-Zabin part of the Bani Sakhar tribe to stand against the Najdi and the Hijazi tribes. Sharif 'Abdullah had brought them closer to him and he was generous to them. (20) The *Ikhwan* of the Shammar of Najd and the 'Anizah of Najd tribes were under the command of 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad ibn Jiluwi (the Amir of Hail). They sought to deter the raids of the Transjordanian tribes.(21)

In the Winter of 1928, the *Ikhwan* of the tribes of the Shammar of Najd and the 'Anizah of Najd attacked Shaykh Hatmal ibn Zabin, the Shaykh of the Al-Zabin part of the Bani Sakhar tribe inside the frontiers of Transjordan and defeated him and his fighters.(22) In January 1929, the Bani 'Atiyah and the Hawaytat tribes made frequent raids into Najd and most of those raids were against the Al-Shararat tribe.(23) From March 1926 until January 1930, the Al-Hawaytat tribe and the Al-Zabin part of the Bani Sakhar tribe were conducting raids against the Al-Shararat tribe.(24)

2.1.2. THE NAJDI IRAQI FRONTIERS

Tribal conflicts on the frontier between Najd and Iraq had led the two sides to negotiate an agreement between them which was called the Treaty of Al-Muhamarah. The Treaty of Al-Muhamarah was signed in May 1922 and it was concluded between the representative of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sir Percy Cox. It discussed the frontiers between the tribes of the Al-Mintifiq, the Al-Zafiyar, and the Al-'Amarat clan of the 'Anizah tribe in Iraq and the Shammar tribe in Najd. King 'Abdul-'Aziz, however had his reservations about the treaty because he considered the tribe of the Al-Zafiyar as one of his tribes. Shaykh Humud ibn Suayt, the Shaykh of the Al-Zafiyar tribe came to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he expressed a desire for his tribe to be part of Najd because he had no interest in being part of Iraq.(25)

Sir Percy Cox suggested that it was necessary to agree the frontiers between Najd and Iraq and he agreed to meet King 'Abdul-'Aziz in order to solve the frontier problem between the two countries. In November 1922, King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Cox started the negotiations. These took six days and resulted in several Protocols. 'Abdul-'Aziz and Cox signed the treaty of Al-'Uqair in December 1922 and this was appended to the Treaty of Al-Muhamarah. The Treaty of 'Uqair in drawing the frontiers between Najd and Iraq, maintained a neutral area between them which allowed the tribes of each part to graze in this area. The treaty also allowed the tribes of Najd, who were accustomed to using the Iraqi wells to continue using those wells on condition that they did not use the wells for military purposes. The treaty also gave the right of certain tribes on both sides to choose between the authorities of Najd and Iraq.(26)

During the siege of Jiddah, the government of Najd and the British government concluded an agreement. King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sir Gilbert Clayton signed the treaty of Bahrah in December 1925 which organised the pastures between the Najdi and the Iraqi tribes.(27)

All of these treaties, however did not stop the raids between the Najdi tribes (the *Ikhwan* of Najd) and the Iraqi tribes. After the conquest of Hail in 1921, for example, a

part especially of the Shammar tribe (who immigrated from Najd to Iraq) moved from Iraq and attacked the Najdi tribes. This made the Najdi tribes counter attack.(28)

Shaykh Faysal ibn Sultan Al-Dawish (the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe) held a conference in his *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah after the return of the *Ikhwan* from Al-Hijaz to Najd in 1926. The Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe was joined by Shaykh Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd (the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe) and Shaykh Dhaydan ibn Khalid ibn Hithlayn (the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe). These three shaykhs declared their desire to continue the *jihad* against Iraq and Transjordan. As a result, they asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to declare *jihad* against the two sons of Sharif Husayn in Iraq and Transjordan. King 'Abdul-'Aziz warned them to stay in their *hijrah*.(29) The Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe (Faysal Al-Dawish) shared a kinship and a special relation with the other two shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe and the Al-'Ajman tribe. Faysal Al-Dawish was the brother-in-law of Sultan ibn Himayd and he was the husband of the sister of Sultan ibn Himayd. The mother of Faysal Al-Dawish was from the Al-Hithlayn family and she was the aunt of Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn. The kinship and relationship made the three leaders close allies, and Faysal Al-Dawish was the axis of that alliance.(30)

The new development and the alliance between the three dissident shaykhs made King 'Abdul-'Aziz call the *Ikhwan* for a conference which was held in Riyadh in May, 1927. Three thousand shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of Najd came to the conference of Al-Riyadh, and these were all the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe, all the shaykhs of the Mutayr tribe, all the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe, all the shaykhs of the Qahtan tribe, shaykhs of the Shammar tribe, shaykhs of Harb tribe, all the shaykhs of the Al-Murrah tribe, all the shaykhs of the 'Anizah tribe who lived in Najd under the protection of King 'Abdu-'Aziz, all the shaykhs of the Al-Dawasir tribe, shaykhs of the Bani Hajir tribe, shaykhs of the Bani Khalid tribe, and all the shaykhs of the Subay' and the Al-Suhul tribes (the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* tribes). Faysal Al-Dawish, Sultan ibn Himayd, and Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn were among the shaykhs of the Najdi tribes and clans who attended the conference. King 'Abdul-'Aziz confirmed that he had not changed. He would still serve his religion as well as he could and as the *Ikhwan* would expect him to

do. He reminded the *Ikhwan* that he was the *imam* (the leader) and he looked to solving the issues in a way which benefited all of them. The *Ikhwan* renewed the *bay'ah* (the homage) to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he affirmed his leadership over all the *Ikhwan*.(31)

Despite the conference, the tribal raids between Najd and Iraq increased. In order to solve this conflict, the Iraqi government decided to construct a police post near the Busayah wells. That construction was based on recommendations of Captain Glubb.(32) Captain John Glubb was the British Military Intelligence Officer in Iraq and he was the Administrative Inspector for the Iraqi government during the period 1926-1930. Captain Glubb was transferred from Iraq to Transjordan in 1930.(33) In September 1927, the Iraqi government started the construction of the police post of Busayah in order to prevent further raids between the Najdi and the Iraqi tribes.(34)

The construction of the police post of Busayah was the bomb which exploded the frontier conflict between Najd and Iraq. In September, Faysal Al-Dawish took advantage of the situation and sent out a brigade of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe led by his cousin Naif ibn Mazyd Al-Dawish. They invaded the police post and killed all of its soldiers and workmen. After that Faysal Al-Dawish declared *jihad* against Iraq, which made the British insist on continuing the construction of that police post. The British decided to add more police posts in order to prevent the attacks of the *Ikhwan*.(35)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz claimed that the police post of Busayah was a violation of the Treaty of 'Uqair which had declared that each government would not use the waters and the wells which were located near the frontiers for any military purposes. Captain Glubb declared that the police post of Busayah was eighty miles from the Najdi frontiers and it was not in its surrounding area.(36) The Royal Air Force had been used to expel the raiders of the *Ikhwan* since the first raids which had started in 1922. Britain now hoped that the Najdi tribes and Iraqi tribes would not raid each other and would respect the frontiers between Najd and Iraq. Britain ordered the Royal Air Force to bomb the *Ikhwan* who had attacked the police post of Busayah.(37) The Royal Air Force failed to

locate the raiders of the *Ikhwan*, who succeeded in returning over their Najdi frontier.(38)

The British 'Royal Air Force' bombed the *Ikhwan* raiders in Najd. King 'Abdul-'Aziz declared that the attacks on the raiders of the *Ikhwan* would be the same as an attack against his government.(39) The British air raid made the two shaykhs of the tribes of the 'Utaybah and the Al-'Ajman declare a *jihad* against the infidels in Iraq. King 'Abdul-'Aziz would not allow the three dissident leaders to ignore his commands because they would challenge his leadership over the *Ikhwan*.(40)

The three dissident shaykhs had concentrated their attacks on the Iraqi tribes of the Shammar, the 'Anizah, the Al-Zafiyar, and the Al-Mintifiq.(41) From November 1927 until February 1928 the *Ikhwan* raiders made nine major raids into Iraq which threatened the Iraqi Petroleum Company's scheme for a pipeline and a railway in the South of Iraq.(42)

In April 1928, King 'Abdul-'Aziz convinced the three dissident leaders not to raid Iraq until after his negotiation with the British representative which would take place in Jiddah in May 1928.(43) The conference of Jiddah took place in May 1928 between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sir Gilbert Clayton. The conference discussed the construction of the Iraqi police posts. Captain John Glubb joined Sir Gilbert Clayton at that conference and defended the case of the tribes of Iraq against the tribes of Najd.(44) The meeting failed because of the insistence of King 'Abdul-'Aziz that the British dismantle the posts, and the rejection of this policy by Clayton.(45) It might have been possible to solve the problem between Najd and Iraq before the attack of the *Ikhwan* on the post of Busayah. Now there was an impasse.(46) King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not return from Al-Hijaz to Najd until November 1928 when he informed the *Ikhwan* of the results of his discussions with the British representatives in Jiddah.(47)

2.2. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

King 'Abdul-'Aziz invited the *Ikhwan* to a conference which took place on 5 November 1928. That conference was called the *Al-Jam'iyah Al-'Umumiyah* (the General Assembly or the Al-Riyadh Conference). All the participants were from the Najdi tribes and most of the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans of the *Ikhwan* joined that conference. About 800 participated. King 'Abdul-'Aziz invited most of the 'ulama of Al-Riyadh, so that they could counter the confusion of the *Ikhwan*.(48)

Sultan ibn Himayd did not attend the conference of Al-Riyadh but he sent his uncle and several of his key supporters. Faysal Al-Dawish also did not participate but he sent his son 'Abdul-'Aziz. The two leaders stayed away from the conference because they felt isolated from the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan*, who were behind King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(49) Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn journeyed to Al-Riyadh but when he discovered that Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish would not participate in the conference, he returned.(50)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz began the conference with a long speech relating his successes to his God and he thanked his creator for his help of joining the tribes of Najd together in brotherhood.(51) King 'Abdul-'Aziz surprised the *Ikhwan* when he offered to abdicate his throne. This made the *Ikhwan* present sob and cry. King 'Abdul-'Aziz blamed the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* for his decision.(52) King 'Abdul-'Aziz was positive that most of the *Ikhwan* would not accept his abdication because he was sure of their loyalty to him. King 'Abdul-'Aziz showed by his gesture that he knew how to deal with the tribes of Najd in a way which gave them prestige and respect, and he received their support and loyalty as a result of his treatment to them. Those Najdi tribes who had not been controlled or united for a long time were made conscious of the importance of unity and security under King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(53)

The conference discussed the dangers of the British violations of the 'Uqair protocols and their violation of Najd sovereignty through the air raids on the Najdi tribes. King 'Abdul-'Aziz asked the *Ikhwan* to express their opinions and ask questions either to him

or to the *'ulama* and he asked the *'ulama* to express their opinions freely.(54) The *'ulama* confirmed that they had never found King 'Abdul-'Aziz acting against his religion or doubted his genuine concern for the progress of Islam. The *'ulama* declared that if King 'Abdul-'Aziz had made mistakes like other human beings it was because only the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) was infallible. As a result, the *Ikhwan* had no right to turn their backs on King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he had no right to turn his back on them. The *'ulama* confirmed that they spoke not out of fear of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and said that it was their duty to guide both King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan*. When the *'ulama* finished their speeches, the representatives of the *Ikhwan* spoke. The main speakers were Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish (the son of Shaykh Faysal Al-Dawish) from the Mutayr tribe and Shaykh 'Umar ibn Ruby'an from the 'Utaybah tribe. The representatives of the Qahtan of Najd tribe who spoke were Shaykh Khaliyl ibn 'Umar and Shaykh Faysal ibn Hashar and the representatives of the Harb tribe who spoke were shaykhs, 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm, 'Ayid Al-Bahaymah, Hindi Al-Dhuaybi, and Hijab ibn Nahiyt. The representatives of the loyal *Ikhwan* acknowledged King 'Abdul-'Aziz's help, his leadership, his respect for their weak and their aged. The representatives of the *Ikhwan* also acknowledged that he had given them from the *Bayt Al-Mal* (the national treasury) had built the mosques in their *hijar*, and sent the *'ulama* and the *mutaw'ah* to teach them the true religion. The representatives of the *Ikhwan* did not dispute all that he had done, and they only reminded King 'Abdul-'Aziz that they had abandoned their way of life in order to follow his call to the true religion. They also wanted him to remember that they had abandoned their way of life to fight *fi sabil Allah* (on behalf of God) and that they had brought him victory by their swords and blood.(55). King 'Abdul-'Aziz listened to those representatives of the *Ikhwan* and he continued his discussion with the *Ikhwan* grouping who he trusted and respected and they trusted and respected him back with more forbearance and patience.(56)

The representatives of the *Ikhwan* brought up the questions of the *Al-Atiyal* (telegraph) and the forts which had been constructed at the Iraqi and Najdi frontiers. The *'ulama* stated that nothing in the *Shari'ah* (the Islamic law) prohibits the telegraph

and King 'Abdul-'Aziz responded to the question of the police forts by saying that the Iraqi government had built their police forts because of their fear of the attacks of the *Ikhwan* who had started the raids. King 'Abdul-'Aziz confirmed that Faysal Al-Dawish did not have his authorisation to attack the Iraqi frontiers and that Faysal had insisted on continuing his attacks against Iraq. The representatives of the *Ikhwan* now raised the most important question of that gathering which was the question of stopping the *jihad*. The *'ulama* stood against the dissidents and blamed them for their raids. The *'ulama* confirmed that King 'Abdul-'Aziz was the only one who had the right to declare the *jihad* against opponents. Those who disagreed with the *'ulama* and the majority of the *Ikhwan* would lose their right to life and property. (57)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the majority of the *Ikhwan* agreed to the decisions on the basis of *Shura* (consultation in Islam). King 'Abdul-'Aziz said he had tried as far as he could to satisfy the *Ikhwan* by respecting and carrying out the ideas of the majority of them and he had never been against the ideas of the majority of them because he had believed in the *Shura* as the basis of his way of life. The majority of the *Ikhwan* agreed that King Abdul-'Aziz was their *imam* and they would support him against the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*.(58)

The shaykhs of the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and Al-Suhul had no comment to make. The two tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* considered themselves to be the supporters of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud from before the creation of the *Ikhwan* movement in late 1916 and they had joined and appreciated the movement because it had been created and led by their leader (King 'Abdul-'Aziz). In general it could be said that the loyalty and sacrifices of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* were towards 'Abdul-'Aziz and they were not towards those of the *Ikhwan* movement in general.(59)

The *'ulama* and the representatives of the *Ikhwan* insisted that King 'Abdul-'Aziz had to force Iraq to abandon the police forts and King 'Abdul-'Aziz promised that he would discuss them with their authorities. King 'Abdul-'Aziz asked to have a meeting with fifty of the *Ikhwan's* notable shaykhs after the end of the conference in order to explain the situation in more detail. At the end of the conference, the *'ulama* and the leaders of

the tribes renewed their oath of allegiance to their *imam* (King 'Abdul-'Aziz) to obey him and fight anyone who stood against him.(60)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz explained in his special meeting with the fifty notable shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* the problems associated with attacking the Iraqi frontiers because of the support of the British for Iraq. King 'Abdul-'Aziz warned the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* that the British Royal Air Force would bomb them and the British government would consider such air raids as being in defence of their territories. He also mentioned that he had an agreement with the British government which defined the frontiers between Najd and Iraq, and this agreement had also covered the issues of the role of tribes in the border area. King 'Abdul-'Aziz stressed that he had to respect his commitment as an Arab and as a Muslim, and he explained that his agreement with the British government would benefit them more than harm them. King 'Abdul-'Aziz explained that the Iraqi government and the tribes of Iraq were afraid of the attacks of the Najdi *Ikhwan*, that this made them build the police forts, and that those police forts were inside their frontiers. King 'Abdul-'Aziz stated to the notable shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* that the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* had no right to attack the Iraqi police fort in Busayah and confirmed that he would not allow any power to threaten or attack the Najdi frontiers. The meeting showed the role which the *Ikhwan* played in decision-making and it also showed their determination to defend their achievements. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had not invited the *'ulama* of Najd or the *hadhari* leaders to join that special meeting. He was able to convince the loyal elements among the *Ikhwan* to stand against the aggression of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* and he mobilised them to take action.(61)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz's father had not attended the conference as he had died in June 1928 in Al-Riyadh while King 'Abdul-'Aziz was in Makkah. King 'Abdul-'Aziz was very upset over the death of his father because he had loved and respected him.(62) *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal ibn Turki was old and sick before his death but during his life he had shown himself to be a wise and a rational man. *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman had an illuminative mind and a largeheartedness such that his attendance would have affected the conference in a positive way and might have brought the conflict between

his son and the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to an end. *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman had influence over his son and also had the respect of the *Ikhwan*, who considered him to be an ideal *imam* who had insisted on spreading Islam as the legacy of his family. *Imam* 'Abdul-Rahman had struggled also to regain the support of the whole Al Sa'ud.(63)

Thus, King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained the support of the *'ulama* and the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* against the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* which was the target he had sought to achieve at the conference. He was confident that the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* would support him and that he could mobilise them against the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*.

2.3. THE BATTLE OF AL-SIBALAH

The Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe (Sultan ibn Himayd), the Shaykh of the Mutayr (Faysal Al-Dawish) and the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman (Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn) all opposed the idea of stopping the *jihad* against the "infidel countries" of Iraq and Transjordan. The three shaykhs decided to continue the *jihad* without the permission of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and to raise the banner of Islam by declaring the *jihad*. That decision challenged the authority and the leadership of King 'Abdul-'Aziz which forced him to take action against the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had either had to convince the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to respect his leadership and order or he would have to stop them by force.(64)

Knowing the two tribal groupings of the *Ikhwan* who were with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and who were against him will help us to draw a clear picture of the role of each group of the *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the shaykhs of the Najdi tribes (the loyal *Ikhwan*) to meet him in Buraydah.(65) The gathering of Buraydah between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his fighters of the *Ikhwan* took place in March 1929.(66) He moved from Al-Riyadh to Buraydah and he was joined by his own fighters forces from the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* fighters, which mostly contained members of the tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and the Al-Suhul. The Shaykh of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe was Shaykh

Dharman Abu Thinayn and the Shaykh of the Al-Suhul tribe was Shaykh Minahi ibn Jil'ud. Both of these shaykhs, and their tribes, had consistently been under the banner, and the leadership of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and had not fought under their separate tribal banners. The banner of the *Ahl Al-Aridh* was the banner of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Other tribes joined him on his way to Buraydah or in Buraydah.(67) The Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe (Shaykh Khalil ibn 'Umar) and most of the shaykhs of the clans of his tribe supported King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(68)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not allow all of the loyal tribes of the *Ikhwan* to become involved in the conflict. Shaykh 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm (the Shaykh of the Harb of Najd tribe) and most of the shaykhs of the clans of his tribe joined King 'Abdul-'Aziz as loyal allies. 'Abdul-'Aziz wrote to Shaykh Hijab ibn Nahiyt, the Shaykh of the Muzaynah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb of Najd tribe, and his tribesmen and told them to stay in their *hijar* because there was no need to mobilise more fighters than was necessary. Shaykh Hindi Al-Dhaybi, the Shaykh of the Bani 'Amru of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe, supported the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*, and King 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to punish him after the battle of Al-Sibalah. The shaykhs of the Harb tribe asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive Al-Dhaybi. King 'Abdul-'Aziz accepted their initiative and Al-Dhaybi ultimately became a close ally. (69)

The tribes of the Shammar of Najd and the 'Anizah of Najd joined King 'Abdul-'Aziz in his movement against the dissident shaykhs of the *Ikhwan*. Most of the shaykhs of the clans of the Shammar of Najd tribe joined King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Milbis ibn Jibriyn, Nida ibn Nihayrr, Hawas ibn Tawalah, Ghadhban ibn Rimal, Katib Al-Namasi, Sa'dun ibn 'Abass, Hawas ibn Khamsan, Zafi ibn Ma'rif, Minzal ibn Sail, Firayh Al-Hamzi, and others. King 'Abdul-'Aziz also got support from the Al-Zafiyr tribe. Ajimi ibn Suayt was the Shaykh of the Al-Zafiyr tribe and had for long been loyal ally of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Part of his tribe lived in Najd and another part lived in Iraq and he had organised the two parts of the Al-Zafiyr in a way so that he was the leader of the two parts after the death of his cousin Shaykh Humud ibn Suayt who used to be also a loyal ally of King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(70) Most of the shaykhs of the 'Anizah of Najd tribe responded to

King 'Abdul-'Aziz's slogan and joined him. Those shaykhs were Khalaf Al-'Awaji, Shari' ibn Mijlad, Jiraybay' ibn Sawaylim, Muhammad Al-Ayda, 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Mi'aytiq, 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Shaman, and others.(71)

The loyalty of the 'Utaybah tribe was shared between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sultan ibn Himayd. King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained the biggest share of support when he convinced the Shaykh of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe and most of the shaykhs of the clans of the Al-Ruqah to stand against Sultan ibn Himayd.(72) Most of the shaykhs of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe (the part of Shaykh Sultan ibn Himayd) also supported King 'Abdul-'Aziz, who had convinced them to stand against their own overall Shaykh (Sultan ibn Himayd). Those shaykhs were Minahi Al-Haydhal, Khalid ibn Jami', Sultan Aba Al-'Ala, Majid ibn Fihayd, and Jimal Al-Mahari. Their defection to the King weakened the power of Sultan ibn Himayd who became isolated from his part and his tribe as a whole. The loyal shaykhs of the dissident tribes of the *Ikhwan* were strengthened as against the principal shaykhs of the tribes, becoming more popular than they used to be. King 'Abdul-'Aziz in general respected the authority of shaykhs over their tribes and had no interest in reducing their authority. However, King 'Abdul-'Aziz would challenge the leadership of any Shaykh who did not show loyalty to him.(73)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz divided the Mutayr tribe in order to counter the authority of the overall Shaykh of the Mutayr, Faysal Al-Dawish. He gained support from most of the shaykhs of the three parts of the Mutayr tribe.(74) King 'Abdul-'Aziz received support from several shaykhs of the clans of the 'Ulwa part, such as Jifran Al-Fughum, Tirayhiyb ibn Shiqayr, and Jasir ibn Lami. King 'Abdul-'Aziz also got support from the shaykhs of the Birayh part. Sinaytan Al-Muraykhi, Mishari ibn Busais, Ya'qub Al-Himaydani, Tami Al-Qurayfah Jimay'an ibn Dhawi, and Mutlaq Al-Hafta. King 'Abdul-'Aziz also gained support from the Bani 'Abdillah part of the Mutayr tribe. Shaykh 'Alush ibn Suqayyan was the Shaykh of the Bani 'Abdillah part, and he was also a loyal ally of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The other shaykhs of the Bani 'Abdillah supported King

'Abdul-'Aziz and they were 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Jibrin and Maniyf ibn Qutaym. Their support of 'Abdul-'Aziz the overall position of Shaykh, Faysal Al-Dawish.(75)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz also gained the loyalty of much of the Al-'Ajman tribe, thus lessening their loyalty to their Shaykh Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn and he also convinced most of the shaykhs of the clans of the Al-'Ajman tribe to stand against their Shaykh. Among these were: Shaykh Mansur ibn Shafi ibn Munaykhir, Shaykh Khalid Al-Mitlaqim, Shaykh Mani' ibn Jim'ah, Shaykh 'Amir ibn Khirsan, Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Isaydan, and Shaykh Milahi ibn Qadh'an. King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the loyal fighters of the Al-Ajman tribe who joined him to be put under the leadership of the Shaykh of the Al-Sufran clan, Mansur ibn Shafi ,who had proved a loyal ally.(76) He ordered his cousin 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi (the Amir of Al-Hasa) to stop the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe if he sought to join the two dissidents shaykhs of the 'Utaybah and the Mutayr. 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi received support to this effect from the tribes of the Eastern Province. The Bani Hajir, the Bani Khalid, the Al-Murrah, and a part of the Al-Ajman led by Naif ibn Hithlayn (Aba Al-Klaab) who was against his cousin the Shaykh of the Al-Ajman.(77)

The Shaykh of the Bani Hajir tribe, Shafi ibn Shafi, and the shaykhs of the clans of his tribe were loyal allies to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and formed a part of the fighting forces of 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi.(78) The shaykhs of the clans of the Bani Khalid tribe were also loyal allies to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and were also a part of the same fighting force.(79) The overall Shaykh of the Al-Murrah tribe, Hamad Al-Maradhaf, and the shaykhs of the clans who were Muhammad ibn Shiraym, Sa'ud ibn Naqadan, Hamad ibn Hinzab, and Rashid ibn Nidaylah supported King 'Abdul-'Aziz. They also played a part in the fighting forces.(80)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz told his cousin, 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi, to stay in Al-Hasa in order to search for, and defend the region against, the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* because he had more than enough loyal fighters to stand against any aggression. He decided to prepare his cousin and the *Ikhwan* fighting forces in the Eastern Province to threaten the Shaykh of the Al-Ajman tribe, so as to ensure that he did not participate with the two dissidents

shaykhs of the tribes of the 'Utaybah and the Mutayr. He succeeded in his plan and Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn did not participate with Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish in their debate with King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(81)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered Khalid ibn Luai to stay with the *Ikhwan* of Al-Khurmah and Ranyah to defend the region against any danger that might appear in Al-Hijaz. Most of those *Ikhwan* were from the Subay' 'Ala tribe (the Subay' of Al-Hijaz tribe) and they were close allies of King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(82)

In March 1929, King 'Abdul-'Aziz moved with his own fighters from Buraydah to Al-Nibiqayh and he met other fighters of the loyal tribes of the *Ikhwan*. Al-Nibiqayh was to the Northeast of Buraydah. He then moved from Al-Nibiqayh to Al-Zilfi and then to Al-Sibalah which was 25 kms to the Northeast of Al-Zilfi (See Appendix Figure 2). In late March 1929, he settled about one km away from the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*, so close that they could see each other.(83)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz tried to convince the two shaykhs of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* that he was the only one who had the right to declare the *jihad* and he had that right by virtue of his religion, and with support of the *'ulama* of Najd, and the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan*. He sent some of the *'ulama* to explain to those two shaykhs of the tribes of the 'Utaybah and the Mutayr that they had to respect his leadership and be guided by his leadership or he would consider them as mutineers who were challenging his leadership over the tribes of Najd. The two *'ulama* who were sent to the two dissident leaders were Shaykh 'Abdullah Al-'Anqiri and Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Shithri. The *'ulama* tried to convince the two shaykhs to follow and respect the commands of their *imam*, and to leave the declaration of the *jihad* in the hands of King 'Abdul-'Aziz because he was the *imam* (the leader) who knew the benefits of the *ummah* (the Muslims nation) more than them. The *'ulama* explained to the dissident shaykhs that if they would not obey the commands of their *imam*, they would anger their God, while following the *imam* of the *ummah* would satisfy their God. However, they failed to convince the dissidents.(84)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to give the two dissidents shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* another chance and he sent six shaykhs of the Shammar of Najd tribe to convince them to leave the issue of the *jihad* in his hands. The shaykhs of the Shammar of Najd tribe told Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish that the King would forgive them for their past raids on two conditions. The first condition was to accept that he was their *imam* who had to be obeyed and that he was the only one who had the right to declare *jihad* against their opponents. The second condition was that the two dissident shaykhs had to come to the King in his camp and in front of all of the *Ikhwan* declare their agreement to the first condition and renew their *bay'ah* (homage) to the King. The two dissident shaykhs refused to comply. Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish insisted that they would continue the *jihad* until they had gained the keys of Iraq and Al-Shaam(85)

Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish decided to give their opinions to King 'Abdul-'Aziz directly and they sent Majid ibn Khithaylah, who was one of Sultan ibn Himayd's notable followers, with a letter to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The King told Majid that Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish had to acknowledge that the right to declare the *jihad* belonged to him alone and no one else had the right to declare it, because he was the *imam* of the *ummah*. He pointed out that he had the *bay'ah* from his *ummah* and the two dissidents shaykhs had to come to his camp in order to renew their *bay'ah*. The dissidents refused this demand and insisted on continuing the *jihad*.(86)

Sultan ibn Himayd was among the most popular leaders of the *Ikhwan*, and was known to be very religious. This made him more difficult to convince. Sultan had played a major role in the military campaigns against the Hijaz in 1919 and 1924 and was commonly known as Sultan Al-Diyn (the Sultan of the Religion).(87) On the other hand, Faysal Al-Dawish had more flexibility. The oldest son of Faysal Al-Dawish (Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish), however, had a strong influence on him. He was very proud and preferred to continue the raids. He strongly encouraged his father to continue the *jihad*.(88)

Despite the tension between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the two dissidents shaykhs of the *Ikhwan*, Faysal Al-Dawish decided to meet King 'Abdul-'Aziz in his camp in order to

attempt to lessen the difference of opinions between them. Faysal came to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the King treated him as a famous leader of the *Ikhwan* and as an Arab guest who deserved to be respected. The King considered the visit as a sign that Faysal accepted his conditions and he tried to convince Faysal to stop his raids and his ally's raids, unless these were ordered them by the King. The meeting took place one day before the battle of Al-Sibalah and that afternoon Faysal returned to his camp before sunset. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had encouraged Faysal to convince Sultan ibn Himayd to respect the will of the majority of the *Ikhwan*. He told Faysal to convince Sultan ibn Himayd to accept that continuing the *jihad* could only be sanctioned by him and that Sultan should come to the King in his camp in order to declare his agreement in the front of the all of the *Ikhwan*. He also stressed that Sultan ibn Himayd had to renew his *bay'ah* and declare that he would not raid without the permission of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. He asked Faysal Al-Dawish to send a messenger to him in the early morning to inform him of any new developments. King 'Abdul-'Aziz told Faysal to leave Sultan ibn Himayd in his *hijrah* if he refused these conditions, because in that case war would be declared against Sultan ibn Himayd. Faysal Al-Dawish promised King 'Abdul-'Aziz that he would inform Sultan ibn Himayd of his orders and the King assured him that he would forgive any raids which he had carried out in the past.(89)

Faysal Al-Dawish informed Sultan ibn Himayd of the conditions of King 'Abdul-'Aziz, but Sultan convinced Faysal to continue the *jihad* and they declared that they had to continue the *jihad* in the sight of *Allah* even without 'Abdul-'Aziz's permission. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish agreed with Sultan ibn Himayd and he pushed his father (Faysal Al-Dawish) to support Sultan ibn Himayd in his stance. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish explained to his father that leaving Sultan ibn Himayd would be shameful because he had asked Faysal Al-Dawish to stand with him against the King.(90)

The King waited to hear from Faysal Al-Dawish the next morning which was the day of the battle of Al-Sibalah. When no message came, King 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a messenger with a letter to the two dissidents shaykhs. His messenger was Dihaym ibn Burman, who was a notable man from the Al-'Izah clan of the Bani 'Umar part of the

Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Dihaym went to the camp of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* and met the two dissident shaykhs. The caller sat on a big rug and each one of them had his slave standing behind him with his sword. They treated Dihaym with less respect than he deserved as a messenger. Dihaym handed the letter to the two shaykhs and Faysal took the letter. Faysal responded to Dihaym that he would not leave Sultan, and he wrote a letter to King 'Abdul-'Aziz which he gave to Dihaym. Dihaym took the letter and asked the two dissidents shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* to send one of their slaves with him to escort him through their camp because he was afraid of their fighters who were in their trenches. Faysal ordered his slave to escort Dihaym. When the slave left Dihaym, the fighters of the dissident *Ikhwan* started to shoot at Dihaym, but he managed to escape.(91)

Dihaym had established that the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* had decided to stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan*. That decision was suicidal. The dissident *Ikhwan* were small in number compared with the loyal *Ikhwan*. It seemed that the dissident *Ikhwan* considered themselves the true fighters of Islam and were thus obliged to fight King 'Abdul-'Aziz in the sight of *Allah*.(92)

Dihaym gave King 'Abdul-'Aziz the letter of Faysal Al-Dawish. After he had read the letter he decided to write another letter to the two dissidents in order to give them one last chance. Dihaym informed King 'Abdul-'Aziz that his own life would be in danger if he returned to the dissidents of the *Ikhwan*. Dihaym declared that he had come from the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* who were ready for war. Al-Mistifiq (Amir Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faysal) was King 'Abdul-'Aziz's youngest brother and he was standing near his brother. Al-Mistifiq swore that he would not give the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* any more chances and would declare war against them. King 'Abdul-'Aziz repeated three times *hasbi Allah 'alayhum* (*Allah will suffice me against you*). (93)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz wished to avoid a confrontation with the two dissident shaykhs, but they were determined to force a confrontation. The King could have attacked them at the beginning of his manoeuvres if he had wanted to fight them. However, he hoped that he could convince them to follow his commands. He considered the conflict

between them as a conflict between members of one family which could be solved within the family.(94)

The loyal *Ikhwan* who participated with King 'Abdul-'Aziz in the battle of Al-Sibalah were around twenty thousand fighters and the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* were around two thousand. The King could have doubled that number of loyal fighters to around forty thousand fighters (as he had done in the second stage) but he decided to mobilise only what the current situation required. The percentage of dissident fighters of the *Ikhwan* to the loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan* was 10%, which meant that each of the fighters of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* had to face ten of the loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan*.(95) Most of the fighters of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* were fanatics and most of them were from the Mutayr tribe. The Mutayri fighters were mainly from the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe and the rest were from the Birayh part. King 'Abdul-'Aziz received support from most of the shaykhs of the three parts of the Mutayr tribe. In this war, the power of Faysal Al-Dawish was diminished. The dissidents of the *Ikhwan* of the Mutayr tribe were around one thousand five hundred fighters and were under the command of Faysal Al-Dawish. Most of the fighters of Sultan ibn Himayd were from his part of the Barqa of the 'Utaybah tribe and the rest were from the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had convinced most of the shaykhs of the Barqa and the Al-Ruqah parts of the 'Utaybah tribe to stand against their Shaykh, Sultan ibn Himayd. The dissidents of the *Ikhwan* from the 'Utaybah tribe were around five hundred fighters.(96)

'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe) to attack the *Ikhwan* of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat who were led by Shaykh Sultan ibn Himayd. In the confrontation, the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* fighters would take the central position among the other allied tribes because they were under the banner of *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the banner of King 'Abdul-'Aziz). Shaykh Dharman Abu Thinayn led the two parts of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and he was under the command of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The banner of King 'Abdul-'Aziz was joined by the shaykhs of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe who were the shaykhs of the clans of the Bani 'Umar part. Al-Dhawayri ibn Jifran, Shanuf ibn Shawyah, Faysal ibn Mijfil, and Sa'ad Al-Siyayfi. It was also joined by the

shaykhs of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh*. Faraj Al-'Imani who was the Shaykh of the Bani 'Amir part and 'Ali ibn Hadayhid who was the Shaykh of the 'Ajman Al-Rakham clan.(97)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered his cousin Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz (Sa'ud Al-Kabiyr) to lead the *Ikhwan* of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and the 'Utaybah tribe and he ordered him to be on the right side of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*. He ordered his brother Muhammad to lead the rest of the other allied tribes and to be on the left of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*.(98)

On the morning of 31 of March 1929, the battle of Al-Sibalah started.(99) The battle did not take more than one hour because of the overwhelming number of the loyal *Ikhwan* against the dissident *Ikhwan*.(100) The *Ikhwan* of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe attacked the *Ikhwan* of the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat and defeated and killed most of them. Sultan ibn Himayd left the battlefield and returned to his *hijrah* Al-Ghatghat.(101) The other loyal *Ikhwan* attacked Faysal Al-Dawish and defeated and killed most of his dissident Mutayri fighters. Faysal Al-Dawish was injured in his stomach but was saved by his fighters who took him to his *hijrah* Al-Artawiyah.(102)

The battle of Al-Sibalah lasted only about one hour because of the imbalance between the huge number of the loyal *Ikhwan* and the small number of the dissident *Ikhwan*. The loyalists of the *Ikhwan* were much stronger and more powerful than the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* and it was clear from the beginning to King 'Abdul-'Aziz that he could defeat them easily in the battlefield, but he had preferred to attempt to bring them back to him as loyal *Ikhwan*.(103)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not permit the loyal *Ikhwan* to follow the defeated dissidents of the *Ikhwan* because he did not want to eliminate them.(104) The shaykhs of the loyal *Ikhwan* came to King 'Abdul-'Aziz in order to congratulate him on his victory but he refused to celebrate because he considered what had happened as a *Hushat Badah* (a conflict among relatives). He told the loyal *Ikhwan* that he had not wanted to defeat the dissidents and he that had wanted the two shaykhs of the dissidents to help him avoid a conflict.(105)

One shaykh of a clan of the Qahtan of Najd participated with the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* in the battle of Al-Sibalah. That Shaykh was Sultan ibn Sifran and he was the Shaykh of the Al-Khanafir clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe. After the battle of Al-Sibalah, the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd and other shaykhs of the clans asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive Sultan. King 'Abdul-'Aziz accepted their initiative and forgave the Shaykh of the Al-Khanafir clan. Shaykh Sultan ibn Sifran became a loyal ally.(106)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz followed Faysal Al-Dawish and camped in Zibdah which was located near the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah. Al-Artawiyah was in the Northeast of Al-Sibalah and was the closet *hijrah* to Al-Sibalah. The *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat was to the Southwest of Al-Riyadh, far away from Al-Sibalah. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish brought his father Faysal, who was being carried because he was injured in his stomach, to King 'Abdul-'Aziz's camp in Zibdah. The King was sympathetic to Faysal Al-Dawish because he used to be a loyal leader who had played a positive role in the earlier military campaign. He forgave Faysal Al-Dawish and ordered his own doctor to cure him.(107)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his *Ikhwan* fighters from the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* and Al-Suhul tribes moved to Buraydah, and Faysal Al-Dawish returned to the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah.(108) King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the loyal tribes to return to their *hijrah*, except for the *Ikhwan* of the Shammar of Najd tribe who moved with him to Buraydah. He then moved on from Buraydah to Al-Majam'ah, where Sultan ibn Himayd sent word to King 'Abdul-'Aziz that he would surrender to him. He ordered Sultan to meet him in Shaqra, and Sultan only surrendered to him there. Sultan was sent to prison in Al-Riyadh.(109)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz's decision to put Sultan ibn Himayd in prison for a period of time was aimed at preventing other shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* tribes who might consider organising raids in the future without his permission. Moreover, Sultan was more fanatical than Faysal Al-Dawish and he was the one who had forced the conflict to its conclusion. King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered his son Sa'ud to destroy the *hijrah* of Al-Ghatghat because that *hijrah* had contained the most fanatic dissidents of the *Ikhwan*. He decided to disperse these *Ikhwan* among other *hijrah* in order to decrease their

fanaticism. King 'Abdul-'Aziz wanted to punish Sultan ibn Himayd in prison for a period of time and then he would allow him to build a new *hijrah* in his tribe's territory. The King would forgive Sultan as he had forgiven Faysal Al-Dawish, but the later development of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* destroyed any possibility of that. Sultan had no sons so King 'Abdul-'Aziz made his brother Jihjah ibn Himayd and his cousin Hashar ibn Himayd heirs. Jihjah ibn Bijad ibn Himayd became the Amir of the *hijrah* of 'Arwa later on and participated in all of the subsequent battles of King 'Abdul-'Aziz, being impressed that King 'Abdul-'Aziz had treated him respectfully.(110) When King 'Abdul-'Aziz put Sultan ibn Himayd in prison he gathered together the Al-Himiddah family (the family of Sultan ibn Himayd) and advised them to ignore the "liars and the hypocrites who claimed that they had knowledge" because those kind of people would like to separate him from them as they had separated him from Sultan ibn Himayd.(111)

2.4. THE AL-'AYAYNAH BATTLE

After the battle of Al-Sibalah, King 'Abdul-'Aziz had to leave Najd for Al-Hijaz in order to follow the *hajj* (the pilgrimage) of that year had no spare time to punish the other shaykhs of the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* who were behind much of the trouble caused by the dissidents. The Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe was the first one on that list because he had encouraged the two dissidents shaykhs to insist on continuing the *jihad* against the infidels. Dhaydan had attacked Iraq and he had attacked and killed the Iraqi tribes and gained numerous camels. Therefore, 'Abdul-'Aziz had to warn the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe to return the camels and to stop his raids against Iraq.(112) Before he left for Al-Hijaz he ordered his two cousins 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi to punish the leaders of the tribes who had participated in the raids. That punishment required that their weapons, horses, and camels be collected in order to insure that they would not organise further raids against the neighbouring countries.(113)

The Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe was one of those leaders who had not participated with King 'Abdul-'Aziz in the battle of Al-Sibalah. In the battle, Dhaydan was supporting Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish but he had not actively implemented what he believed in as his two partners had done. Dhaydan had no interest in confronting King 'Abdul-'Aziz and was well aware of the inevitable result of the confrontation. He waited for the result of the conflict instead of joining the two dissident shaykhs. 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi sent his son Fahad to Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn in order to carry out the order of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Fahad ibn Jiluwi was joined by a small part of the Al-'Ajman tribe led Naif ibn Hithlayn (Naif Aba Al-Klaab) who was the cousin of Dhaydan but had a conflict with him. That conflict centred on the leadership of the tribe of the Al-'Ajman. Naif was encouraged by 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi so as to weaken the control of Dhaydan over his tribe. Most of the fighters of Fahad were from the tribes of the Al-Murrah, the Bani Hajir, the Bani Khalid, and the loyal elements of the Al-'Ajman tribe.(114)

Fahad ibn Jiluwi and his loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan* moved from Al-Hasa and settled in a place called Al-'Ayaynah near the *hijrah* of Al-Sarrar, the *hijrah* of the Shaykh of the Al-'Ajman tribe (See Appendix Figure 2). Fahad asked Dhaydan to meet him in his camp in order to discuss several issues concerning their future relationship.(115) Dhaydan decided to meet Fahad after he had been advised by Hizam ibn Hithlayn, Hizam Aba Al-Klaab.(116) Hizam ibn Hithlayn was the cousin of Naif ibn Hithlayn and was also a cousin of Dhaydan.(117)

The meeting between Fahad and Dhaydan took place in May 1929.(118) Dhaydan came with five of his followers in the afternoon and negotiated with Fahad ibn Jiluwi until sunset. Dhaydan asked Fahad to allow him to return to his *hijrah* and to continue their negotiations the next day. Fahad would not agree and insisted that they continue their negotiations. In order to avoid war, Dhaydan informed Fahad that if he was not allowed to return to his *hijrah* before the darkness, Fahad would be attacked by his followers. Fahad considered that as an insult and he ordered his guards to fetter

Dhaydan and his followers. Fahad ordered his guards to put them in a separate tent and guard their tent.(119)

Hizam ibn Hithlayn attacked Fahad's camp with his fighters of the Al-'Ajman tribe during the night in order to release Dhaydan.(120) When the attack took place, Fahad gave an order to kill Dhaydan and his followers. Naif ibn Hithlayn was against his cousin Dhaydan and so became involved with Fahad. After the death of Dhaydan, Naif had an opportunity to lead the loyal 'Ajmi fighters of his cousin and he stood against Fahad. Fahad and his supporters had not expected the attack and they could not withstand it. There were many deaths on both sides and Fahad ibn Jiluwi among them.(121) Naif ibn Hithlayn and the fighting forces of the Al-'Ajman tribe who were loyal to him moved to the North of Najd and settled in Al-Wafra because they were afraid of the revenge of 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi.(122)

3. THE SECOND STAGE: AFTER THE BATTLE OF AL-'AYAYNAH

The dissidents of the *Ikhwan* after the battle of Al-'Ayaynah still rejected the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and tried to search for an authority which would give them protection against King 'Abdul-'Aziz, such as the governments of Iraq, Kuwait, or Transjordan. Moreover, the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* were now openly rebels, leaving the territory of Najd for neighbouring territories in order to raid the Najdi tribes. Whereas, in the earlier stage the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* had attacked the neighbouring countries of Najd and challenged the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz over the Najdi tribes, now the dissidents attacked their leader (King 'Abdul-'Aziz) and the Najdi tribes loyal to him.(123)

Al-'Ayaynah battle was the spark to encourage the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to arise again, specifically among the tribes of Mutayr, 'Utaybah, and a big part of 'Anizah which was called the Al-Rawalah of Najd. The dissidents of the *Ikhwan* thought that all the clans of the Al-'Ajman tribe would stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz but this did not happen.(124)

3.1. THE AGGRESSION OF FAYSAL AL-DAWISH

Faysal Al-Dawish had recovered from his wounds when he heard of the death of Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn at the battle of Al-'Ayaynah. Dhaydan was his uncle and Faysal grieved for his uncle. Faysal found an opportunity to revenge the imprisonment of his brother in law (Sultan ibn Himayd) who was in the prison of Al-Riyadh, and the death of his uncle (Dhaydan ibn Hithlayn). He joined the rebels of the tribes of Mutayr and Al-'Ajman who were led by their new Shaykh Naif ibn Hithlayn in order to stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan*. Naif ibn Hithlayn had become the leader of the rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe after the death of his cousin Dhaydan and he was joined by another leader of the rebels of the *Ikhwan*, Farhan ibn Mashur. Farhan was from the Al-Shi'lan family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe. The alliance between Naif ibn Hithlayn and Farhan ibn Mashur encouraged Faysal Al-Dawish to join them.(125)

In May 1929, Farhan ibn Mashur came to the Southern part of Kuwait with a great number of camels which he had obtained from the northern part of Najd. Farhan was from the Al-Shi'lan family who were the rulers of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe and he was a famous leader of the *Ikhwan*.(126) Farhan was one of those who would be punished after the battle of Al-Sibalah due to his attacks on the area North of Najd. He feared an attack from 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad, the ruler of Hail, which made him join Naif ibn Hithlayn and his rebels. (127) Farhan and his part of the 'Anizah tribe had lived in Najd, while the largest section of that part of the 'Anizah tribe lived in Syria. The 'Anizah tribe becomes divided to main parts and each main part is larger in number than some of the Najdi tribes.(128)

The general Shaykh of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe was Fawaz Al-Shi'lan, who had lived in Syria to the East of Damascus.(129) In June 1929, Faysal Al-Dawish moved from his *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah to the northern frontiers in order to join the rebels of the *Ikhwan*.(130) The aggression of Faysal Al-Dawish prevented the

release of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd from his prison because they had been linked to each other.(131)

3.2. THE OTHER BATTLES

The battles which occurred after the battle of Al-'Ayaynah between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan* and the dissident *Ikhwan* reveals that the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* gave support to King 'Abdul-'Aziz against the rebels of the *Ikhwan*.

3.2.1. THE BATTLE OF RIDHA

The battle of Ridha was between the rebels of the *Ikhwan*, who were led by Naif ibn Hithlayn and Farhan ibn Mashur, and the Al-'Awazim tribe. The battle took place in the territory of the Al-'Awazim tribe (See Appendix Figure 1).(132) The Al-'Awazim tribe constituted an obstacle in the way of the Al-'Ajman tribe, occupying the area between Al-Wafrah to Al-Jubail. Naif Aba Al-Klaab ask them to join him, but the Al-'Awazim tribe did not respond to the initiative. They moved to the wells of Ridha which made the Al-'Ajman tribe decide to attack them.(133)

In June 1929, the rebels of the *Ikhwan* moved from Al-Wafrah in the South of Kuwait to Al-Jubail (See Appendix Figure 2) and they attacked the Al-'Awazim tribe who were joined by the fighters of the Amir of Al-Hasa in Ridha near Al-Jubail.(134) Most of the loyalist fighters of the *Ikhwan* were sent by 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi (the Amir of Al-Hasa) and were from the tribes of the Al-Murrah, the Bani Hajir, and the Bani Khalid. These loyalist fighters were more than enough to protect the Al-'Awazim tribe. The loyal *Ikhwan* defeated the rebels who were forced to return to Al-Wafrah in the Southern part of Kuwait.(135)

The new developments in Najd forced King 'Abdul-'Aziz to leave Al-Hijaz in July, 1929, in order to take control of the situation in Najd.(136) While he was in Al-Hijaz,

he obtained promises from the British that they would not allow the three countries of Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan which they governed to give aid, assistance, and refuge to the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. The British secured one condition from King 'Abdul-'Aziz, namely that the lives of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* would be spared.(137)

In general, King 'Abdul-'Aziz had treated the tribes of Najd with respect and forgiveness. He did not seek revenge. He forgave Faysal Al-Dawish on two occasions, after the two battles of Al-Majma'ah and Al-Sibalah. He also forgave the Al-'Ajman tribe for the injury to his stomach and for the killing of his youngest brother Sa'ad in the battle of Kanzan.(138) However, he was determined to ensure the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans did not hurt his achievements or threaten the security of his nation. He was prepared for this reason to face them in the battlefield. After the battle, he would forgive rebellious shaykhs or would put them in prison. Therefore, the British condition that King 'Abdul-'Aziz would spare the lives of the rebels did not trouble him. It was his nature to do so when dealing with the tribes of Najd.(139)

3.2.2. THE UMM URDHUMAH BATTLE

The battle of Umm Urdhumah (September 1929) was between 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Faysal Al-Dawish.(140) Umm Urdhumah is near Hail, to the Northeast (See Appendix Figure 2). Faysal Al-Dawish sent his son 'Azayz (the diminution of 'Abdul-'Aziz) with some rebel fighters who were from the tribes of the Mutayr and the Al-'Ajman. 'Azayz and his rebel fighters came from Al-Wafrah, to the South of Kuwait and they wanted to attack the tribes to the North of Hail (See Appendix Figure 2). 'Azayz had around eight hundred fighters. Some six hundred were from his tribe, and the rest of the fighters were from the rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe. Those rebels decided to raid the territories of the tribes of the Shammar of Najd and the 'Anizah of Najd in order to gain camels and the booty.(141)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish was joined by Faysal ibn Shiblani and they gained many camels and much booty from the Northern part of Najd.(142) Faysal ibn Shiblani was a

headman of the Al-Jiblan clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe and he was a loyal ally of Faysal Al-Dawish.(143) 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish and Faysal ibn Shiblian disagreed over the choice of their route to home. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish accused Faysal of being a coward and of being afraid.(144) Faysal left 'Azayz with one hundred and fifty fighters of the rebel *Ikhwan* and headed to the Northeast.(145) 'Abdul-'Aziz Al-Dawish and his fighters did not follow the advice of Faysal ibn Shiblian and they moved to Umm Urdhumah.(146)

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and his allies of the Shammar of Najd tribe were in the *hijrah* of Iqbah which was the *hijrah* of 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Firm. Al-Firm was in his *hijrah* and he was under the command of Ibn Mus'ad. Most of the fighters of 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad were from the Shammar of Najd tribe and the Harb of Najd tribe of whom Al-Firm was the Shaykh. They numbered around two thousand fighters. The Shammari fighters were from the two parts of Sinjarah and 'Abdah of the Shammar of Najd tribe and they were led by their shaykhs. The main Shammari shaykhs were Milbis ibn Jibriyn, Nida ibn Nihayrr, Ghadhban ibn Rimal, Hawas ibn Ghamsan, and Katib Al-Namasi. A man of the Al-Sulubah tribe came to Ibn Mus'ad and he informed him that 'Azayz had come with his fighters and they had drunk from the wells of Umm Urdhumah. Ibn Mus'ad ordered the Shammari fighters to head for Mitribah so that it would be impossible for 'Azayz to return to his base.(147)

'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and Al-Firm went to 'Iawij and the Shammari fighters went to Mitribah. The Shammari fighters saw 'Azayz and his followers the next day near Al-Masa'ri and sent one of their warriors to inform 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad. 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad joined the Shammari fighters without Al-Firm, as the latter had asked 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad to allow him to return to his *hijrah* because he was afraid that 'Azayz would attack his *hijrah*. 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and his Shammari fighters of the *Ikhwan* followed 'Azayz and met him in Tayrrat. 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and his fighters attacked 'Azayz and his fighters in the afternoon. It was a hot and sweltering day. The battle started before noon and ended in the afternoon. It was a bloody battle for both sides. In the afternoon, the Shammari fighters defeated and killed most of the

rebels of the *Ikhwan* including 'Azayz.(148) The Shammari tribe also lost many of their fighters, including one of their shaykhs, Nida ibn Nihayrr.(149)

3.2.3. THE BATTLE OF AL-QA'YAH

In August 1929, Faysal Al-Dawish moved to Hafar Al-Batin and persuaded most of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe to join him in his rebellion. There were around eight hundred tents. Al-Dawish and his new allies of the Birayh part moved from Hafar Al-Batin to Al-Hasa in order to join the rest of the rebels.(150) Faysal Al-Dawish heard of the death of his son 'Azayz in the battle of Umm Urdhumah and he fainted because he had relied heavily upon him. 'Azayz was the one who had encouraged his father to stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he had acted as the right hand of his father. Faysal Al-Dawish was very upset by the death of his son and decided to seek revenge on King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his *Ikhwan*.(151)

The battle of Al-Qa'yah was in September 1929 and it was in direct response to the battle of Umm Urdhumah.(152) Faysal Al-Dawish attacked the tribes of the Subay' and the Al-Suhul in Al-Qa'yah and the battle took place near Al-Majma'ah in the Northeast (See Appendix Figure 2).(153) Faysal Al-Dawish sought revenge for the death of his son from the fighters who were closest to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. These were the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* fighters (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the Al-Suhul tribe).(154)

The fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* left their women and children with a small force near the wells of Al-Qa'yah, which was not far away from the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah (See Appendix Figure 2). The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe was led by their Shaykh, Dharman Abu Thinayn, and the Al-Suhul tribe was led by their Shaykh Minahi ibn Jil'ud. The two shaykhs were under the command of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Faysal Al-Dawish knew that the fighters of the two tribes had left their families near the wells of Al-Qa'yah. He decided that he would take revenge for the death of his son 'Azayz on the families of his opponents. The Shaykh of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe (Dharman Abu Thinayn) led a

force of warriors from his tribe and he moved in the front of King 'Abdul-'Aziz in order to meet Faysal Al-Dawish and his followers.(155)

Faysal Al-Dawish avoided the fighters of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh* and headed for the wells of Al-Qa'yah. He attacked the small force of the *Subay' Al-'Aridh* in Al-Qa'yah and killed all the males. Those males were children, youths, and adults and he took their camels and all of the tents, which meant that the survivors had to stay without shelter. The rebels killed three of the ruling family of the *Subay' Al-'Aridh* tribe (the Abu Thinayn family) "Falah ibn Misalam Abu Thinayn, Mifarij ibn Shilash Abu Thinayn, and Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Abu Thinayn". Dharman Abu Thinayn and his fighters heard of the attack of Al-Dawish and returned to Al-Qa'yah. Dharman and his fighters searched the area in order to find the rebels, but they had by this time left Al-Qa'yah for Hafar Al-'Atish.(156)

3.2.4. THE AGGRESSION OF MIQ'ID AL-DIHINAH

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud decided to meet the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe in order to encourage them to stand against the rebels of their tribe. In July 1929, 'Abdul-'Aziz returned from Al-Hijaz to Najd and met the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe in Al-Dawadmi. Those shaykhs were from the two parts of the 'Utaybah tribe, the Barqa and the Al-Ruqah. They were Shaykh Jihjah ibn Himayd, Shaykh Minahi Al-Haydhal, Shaykh Sultan Aba Al-'Ala, Shaykh Khalid ibn Jami' and Shaykh 'Umar ibn Ruby'an. The King informed them that he would like them to attack the rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe and that he would join them.(157)

The rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe were led by two Shaykhs of the Al-Naf'ah clan who were related to the Barqa part of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd. Shaykh Miq'id Al-Dihaynah was the Shaykh of the Al-Masa'id section of the Al-Naf'ah clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was joined by the three Shaykh of the rebels who were Faysal Al-Dawish, Farhan ibn Mashur, and Naif ibn Hithlayn.(158) Mitrik ibn Hijnah was the Shaykh of the Al-Naf'ah clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was

against King 'Abdul-'Aziz. There was a connection between Miq'id and the refugees of his tribe in Iraq and Mitrik was one of them. The rebellion took place in the territory of the 'Utaybah tribe (See Appendix Figure 1).(159) Mitrik had moved to Iraq three years before and he joined the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe who were under the protection of King Faysal. (160)

There was a connection between the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe in Najd and their ex-Shaykh in Iraq which encouraged the rebels of Najd to stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Miq'id Al-Dihaynah sent a letter to Naif ibn Muhammad ibn Hindi ibn Himayd who had been the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe, asking to meet Naif in Kuwait. 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud supported Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd against his cousin and helped Sultan to overthrow Naif. Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd was able to assume the leadership of the 'Utaybah tribe after he had overcome his cousin Naif. Naif had gone to Iraq five years previously and King Faysal had given him political asylum. The King of Iraq advised Naif to delay his involvement with the rebels until the situation of Najd became clear, and ordered Naif and his followers to settle in Iraq. Naif sent his cousin 'Ibayd ibn Faysal ibn Himayd to Kuwait and 'Ibayd discovered that Farhan ibn Mashur had joined Miq'id in his revolt.(161)

There was a reason for the exile of Naif ibn Himayd in Iraq which was his rejection of King 'Abdul-'Aziz's invitation to join the *Ikhwan* movement. That decision made King 'Abdul-'Aziz support Sultan, who did join the *Ikhwan*. Sultan ibn Himayd became one of the most famous leaders of the *Ikhwan* and, due to his sincere religious commitment, he gained the nickname Sultan Al-Diyn (Sultan of the Religion).(162)

The rulers of Iraq, Jordan, and Kuwait had encouraged the rebels of the *Ikhwan* to stand against King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan*. Each of those rulers had his own interests to further. The rulers of Iraq and Jordan (King Faysal and King 'Abdullah) were both sons of Sharif Husayn who had been ejected from Al-Hijaz, and both of them had ambitions of regaining Al-Hijaz. The ruler of Kuwait (Ahmad Al-Sabah) had a desire to expand his authority over the tribes of the Mutayr and the Al-'Ajman, because both tribes had historical links and relations with Kuwait. The two tribes of the Mutayr

and the Al-'Ajman who had many relatives in Kuwait had put pressure on the ruler of Kuwait to indulge the rebels of their tribes. The rulers of Iraq, Jordan, and Kuwait could not express their sympathies for the rebels of the *Ikhwan* publicly because they did not want to provoke King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(163), but they did encourage secretly the rebels of the *Ikhwan* (Faysal Al-Dawish, Nuri Al-Shi'lan, Farhan ibn Mashur, and Shikhair ibn Tawalah) to increase their raids against Najd.(164)

Faysal Al-Dawish gained support from other tribal leaders who were Farhan ibn Mashur, Shikhair ibn Tawalah and 'Aqil Al-Yawir. Highlighting those tribal leaders will help us to identify the rebel tribes. Most of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe were in Syria and they were led by Shaykh Nuri Al-Shi'lan who was the Shaykh of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah. Nuri and his followers were in Syria and they were not a part of the *Ikhwan* movement. Farhan Al-Shi'lan was the cousin of Nuri and he was the Shaykh of the *Ikhwan* of the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah part who lived in Najd.(165) Shikhair ibn Tawalah was in Safwan and he was a conduit between King Faysal and the rebels. Shikhair was from the Al-Tawalah family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe and he was the cousin of Hawas ibn Tawalah. Hawas was the Shaykh of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar tribe and he was a loyal ally of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. 'Aqil Al-Yawir was the Shaykh of the Al-Jarba part of the Shammar of Iraq and he was against King 'Abdul-'Aziz. King Faysal supported 'Aqil to stand against Najd and he encouraged him to attack the tribes of Najd. (166)

The aggression of the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe took two months (September and October) for King 'Abdul-'Aziz to settle.(167) During those two months King 'Abdul-'Aziz sent several forces of the loyal *Ikhwan* in order to stop the aggression. The deputy of the King in Al-Riyadh (Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz) moved to Al-Hasa in order to be in charge of the situation there.(168) 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi became sick after the death of his son Fahad at the battle of the Al-'Ayaynah and Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz stayed there until 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi recovered.(169)

When Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz moved to Al-Hasa, Muhammad ibn Widhayn attacked him on the way.(170) Muhammad ibn Widhayn was the Shaykh of the Al-Misra clan of

the Al-'Ajman tribe.(171) Muhammad and his fighters waited to ambush Amir Sa'ud and his fighters at Al-Dhana, which was sixty miles to the east of Al-Riyadh. The Al-'Ajman rebels succeeded in surprising Sa'ud. They killed most of Amir Sa'ud's fighters and took the rest prisoners. Sa'ud and his personal guards rode in his father's automobile (which was a Mercedes) and his fighters of the loyal *Ikhwan* rode in the rest of the automobiles (which were Fords). The rebels captured and burned most of the automobiles in Sa'ud's entourage and he left the battlefield safely only because he had the fastest and strongest automobile. The rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe were not able to capture Sa'ud himself. He was able to proceed to Al-Hufuf. The rebels took the prisoners to Kuwait where they were later released.(172)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz had also to face the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe and he decided to punish them by sending different brigades of the loyal *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered his nephew Khalid ibn Muhammad to lead the *Ikhwan* of the Qahtan of Najd and he ordered them to punish the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe. King 'Abdul-'Aziz also ordered Khalid ibn Luai and the *Ahl Al-Widayan* to punish the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe.(173) The meaning of the name *Ahl Al-Widayan* was the Subay' 'Ala tribe who had played an important role in several conflicts between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and his opponents. They had played an important role in the conflict of Surat 'Asir, between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Al-'Aidh, the conflict of Al-Khurmah and Ranyah between 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali, the conflict of Al-Hijaz between 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali, the conflict of Tuhamat 'Asir between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the Al-Adarisah, and they would play an important role in the conflict of Najran between 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *imam* of Yemen later on. The shaykhs of the tribe of the Subay' 'Ala had shared the consultations and the opinions with Khalid ibn Luai and he was considered as being one of them.(174)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz also sent three forces of the loyal *Ikhwan* to punish the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe and those forces were the Harb of Najd tribe, the loyal majority of the 'Utaybah tribe, and a part of the Mutayr tribe. The loyal *Ikhwan* defeated the rebels of the 'Utaybah in three battles, which were the battles of Widhak, Ijbalah, and Shu'bah.

The forces of the loyal *Ikhwan* ended the aggression of the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe within two months.(175) Miq'id Al-Dihaynah escaped from the forces of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and went to Iraq.(176)

3.2.5. THE INQAYR BATTLE

The rebels of the *Ikhwan* continued their attacks against the Najdi tribes and King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the loyal *Ikhwan* stood against them. The battle of Inqayr was in October 1929 and it took place in the South of Kuwait. The battle was between the rebels of the *Ikhwan* and the Al-'Awazim tribe.(177) The battle took place in the territory of the Al-'Awazim tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). The rebels of the *Ikhwan* were from the Mutayr, the Al-'Ajman, and the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe. The Al-'Awazim tribe could not stand up to the rebels without the support of the other tribes, so that the real confrontation was between the rebels of the *Ikhwan* and Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz supported by the loyal *Ikhwan* of his region. The Al-'Awazim tribe would face difficulties because they were pastoralists who sought peace rather than war. The rebels of the Mutayr tribe were led by their Shaykh Faysal Al-Dawish, the rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe were led by their Shaykh Naif ibn Hithlayn, and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* of the Al-Rawalah tribe were led by their Shaykh Farhan ibn Mashur.(178)

Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz who was in Al-Hasa gave his order to the loyal *Ikhwan* of the tribes of that region (who were the tribes of the Bani Hajir, the Bani Khalid, the Al-Murrah, and the loyalists of the Al-Ajman) to protect the Al-'Awazim tribe and to stand against the rebels of the *Ikhwan*.(179) The loyal *Ikhwan* defeated the rebels of the *Ikhwan* in that battle.(180) The rebels of the *Ikhwan* lost one of their leaders at the battle, Hizam ibn Hithlayn.(181)

3.2.6. THE OTHER BATTLES DURING THE MOVEMENT TO AL-SHUKI

Before the movement to Al-Shuki, King 'Abdul-'Aziz met most of the loyal shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe in Al-Shi'ara which was between Al-Riyadh and Makkah. The meeting took place in October 1929 and it was called in order to decide the fate of the rebels who had participated in or aided the latest rebellion. The meeting discussed in particular the fate of the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe who had been defeated by the forces of King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(182)

The meeting took four hours and King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the loyal *Ikhwan* agreed upon the following resolutions:

1. All the financial and military resources, such as camels, horses, and rifles, of the participants in the rebellion would be confiscated, so that not one of them would have the power to rebel again.
2. All of those who participated in the rebellion and who were still alive would be judged according to the *shari'ah*.
3. Those who were accused of supporting the rebels and not fighting against them would be deprived of their instruments of warfare such as camels, horses, and rifles.
4. King 'Abdul-'Aziz would allow the loyal *Ikhwan* to keep what they had taken from the rebel *Ikhwan* so that they could strengthen themselves.
5. Each of the shaykhs of the tribes, accompanied by a force would be sent to every *hijrah* of the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan* where there were rebels, so that he could decide the affairs of the rebels in accordance with the Shari'ah and with whatever public welfare demanded.
6. Every *hijrah* of the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan* in which the rebels of the *Ikhwan* formed a majority would be disbanded, and the fighters from such *hijar* would not be allowed to congregate in one *hijrah*.
7. A force would be sent out to enforce those decisions while King 'Abdul-'Aziz was in Shi'ara, which would be within ten days.
8. After those decisions had been enforced, all the loyal *Ikhwan* would meet in the area of the border where the rebels of the *Ikhwan* had congregated.(183)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz returned from Al-Shi'ara to Al-Riyadh and moved to Al-Shuki in order to join the loyal *Ikhwan* there.(184) He ordered his son Sa'ud to return to Al-Riyadh to take charge there.(185) The King had a large number of camels and horses and he had twenty five automobiles. He used the camels and the horses in the rugged area and he used the automobiles in the flatter areas.(186)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered most of the loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan* to join him in his movement to Al-Shuki which was located in the territory of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe (See Appendix Figure 1), and he ordered his cousin 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad and the

loyal *Ikhwan* of the tribes of the Shammar of Najd and the 'Anizah of the Najd to search for and attack the rebel *Ikhwan* in their Northern area.(187) He also ordered his cousin 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi and his loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan* from the tribes of the Bani Hajir, the Bani Khalid, the Al-Murrah, and the Al-'Ajman to follow and attack the rebels of the *Ikhwan* in their Eastern area.(188)

The loyal tribes of the *Ikhwan* and the *hadhar* of Najd were involved with King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his movement until the time of Al-Shuki. The King gained overwhelming support from the loyal *Ikhwan* who had stood strongly against the *Ikhwan* rebels. The loyal *Ikhwan* who joined King 'Abdul-'Aziz and who were under the command of his two cousins numbered around forty thousand fighters. The rebels of the *Ikhwan* were only around four thousand fighters.(189) Each tribal or *hadhari* grouping had their own banner which they gathered around. King 'Abdul-'Aziz moved to Al-Shuki with one hundred and eighteen banners of the loyal fighters and the loyal *Ikhwan* had one hundred and twelve of those banners. The *hadhar* of Najd had only six banners and they represented the areas from which they came.(190) The fighters of the *hadhar* of Najd (the villagers of Najd) were small in number and each region had to send a fixed number of fighters which had been decided on by King 'Abdul-'Aziz or they had to pay a sum of money instead. The fighters of the *hadhar* did not play a major role either in the early events of the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia nor against the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. The participation of the *hadhar* was a sign of their acceptance of the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and they had to follow the orders of King 'Abdul-'Aziz because they had no choice. The fighters of the *hadhar* did not greatly increase the strength of the King's forces. It was the fighters of the *Ikhwan* who had consistently participated in the campaigns of King 'Abdul-'Aziz as it was shameful for any one of them to not respond to the order of King 'Abdul-'Aziz for the *jihād*. (191)

Umm Al-Qura mentioned the *hijar* of the Subay' tribe of Najd who participated in the movement of King 'Abdul-'Aziz to Al-Shuki. This referred specifically to the *hijar* (the settlements) of the Subay' A-'Aridh tribe who lived in Najd. It did not cover the *hijar* of the Subay' 'Ala tribe who lived in Al-Hijaz,(192) as King 'Abdul-'Aziz had

ordered Khalid ibn Luai and his allied shaykhs of the Subay' 'Ala tribe to be in their area in order to watch and protect Al-Hijaz from a new events which could occur.(193)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained support from the Amirs (shaykhs) of the *hijar* and the bedouin of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Each *hijrah* of the *hijar* of the *Ikhwan* had its Amir and banner and the Amirs and the *hijar* of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh Ikhwan* who joined King 'Abdul-'Aziz in his movement to Al-Shuki were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Hisi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Fudghush ibn Shawyah.(194)
2. The *hijrah* of Al-Dhubay'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Badi ibn Dibayan. 'Ali ibn Hadayhid used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and Badi had become the Amir.(195) after the death of 'Ali who was the Shaykh of the 'Ajman Al-Rakham of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(196)

The Amirs of the bedouin of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe who participated with King 'Abdul-'Aziz in his movement and the Amirs of the *hijar* were very closely associated to each other.(197) King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained strong support from the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe who had been his permanent fighters. The Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe were under the banner of *Ahl Al-'Aridh* (the people of the *Al-'Aridh* area) and unlike other Najdi tribes they did not have their own banner.(198)

After the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the *hijar* of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* increased from two *hijrah* to fourteen *hijrah* and that is a sign of the important role that tribe had in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.(199)

The Amirs of the bedouin of the Subay' of Najd tribe (the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe) were the following:

1. Dharman Abu Thinayn.(200) Dharman was the Shaykh of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe and the leader of his tribe. The Abu Thinayn family were from the Al-Jimaliyn clan and the Al-Jimaliyn clan were from the Al-Sa'abah of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. Dharman and his tribe were under the direct command of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and they were under the banner of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*.(201)
2. Faraj Al-'Imani.(202) Faraj was the Shaykh of the Bani 'Amir part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. King 'Abdul-'Aziz was joined by two shaykhs of the clans of the Bani

'Amir part who were Shaykh Falah ibn Sibar (the Shaykh of the Bani Himayd clan of the Bani 'Amir part) and he was also joined by Shaykh 'Alush ibn Jiway'd (the Shaykh of the Al-Qda'a clan of the Bani 'Amir part).(203)

3. Faysal ibn Mijfil.(204) Faysal was the Shaykh of the Al-Samlah clan of the Al-Khidran of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe.(205)

4. Sa'ad Al-Siyayfi.(206) Sa'ad was the Shaykh of the Al-Nibtah clan of the Al-Khidran of the Bani 'Umar part of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had also been joined by Barghash ibn Jifayran who was the Shaykh of the Al-Jibur clan of the Al-Khidran of the Bani 'Umar part.(207)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz also gained support from the Amirs of the *hijrah* and bedouin of the Al-Suhul tribe. The *hijrah* and the Amirs of the Al-Suhul tribe were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Mishash: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dilaym ibn Jil'ud. Minahi ibn Jil'ud used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and Dilaym became the Amir of the *hijrah*(208) after the death of his father Minahi.(209) Dilaym was the Shaykh of the Al-Suhul tribe and he was from the Al-Mihaymiyd clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(210)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Bida': the Amir of that *hijrah* was Suar ibn Mi'dil.(211)

3. The *hijrah* of Al-Ruaydah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdullah ibn Mazhur.(212)

The Amirs of the bedouin of the Al-Suhul tribe were the following:

1. Faysal ibn Lihayan.(213) Faysal was the Shaykh of the Al-Barazat clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(214)

2. Salih ibn Sha'mal.(215) Salih was the Shaykh of the Al-Mishash section of the Al-Mihaymiyd clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(216)

3. Mutlaq ibn Fadhil.(217) Mutlaq was the Shaykh of the Al-Mahanyah clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(218)

4. 'Abdullah ibn Rihan.(219) 'Abdullah was the Shaykh of the Al-Minjal clan of the Al-Suhul tribe and his nickname was Al-Danuq.(220)

5. Si'dun ibn Shikhaytil.(221) Si'dun was the Shaykh of the Al-Qibabnah clan of the Al-Suhul tribe.(222)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained support from the *hijrah* and the Amirs of the 'Utaybah tribe and those *hijrah* and Amirs were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Nifi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Umar ibn Ruby'an who was the Amir of the *hijrah* of the Al-Dahnah.(223)
2. The *hijrah* of 'Isaylah: the Amir of that *hijrah* Ghazi Al-Tum.(224)
3. The *hijrah* of 'Arja: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Qitiym Al-Hibayl.(225)
4. The *hijrah* of Sajir: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Mihaya and 'Aqab ibn Mihaya was the Amir of that *hijrah*.(226) Nasir was the Shaykh of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(227)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Hayd: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Iqab ibn Mihaya.(228) Iqab was the cousin of Nasir and he was from the Al-Mihaya family who were the shaykhs of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(229)
6. The *hijrah* of Misidah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalid ibn Jami'.(230)
7. The *hijrah* of Al-Ruaydah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jimal Al-Mahari.(231)
8. The *hijrah* of Al-Dahnah: the Amir of that *hijrah* Ghazi Al-Baraq and 'Umar ibn Ruby'an used to be the Amir of that *hijrah*.(232) Ghazi was the Shaykh of the Al-Barariq section of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(233)
9. The *hijrah* of Abu Jilal: the Amir of that *hijrah* Mihmas Al-Shaghar.(234) Mihmas was the Shaykh of the Al-'Idhayan section of the Al-Damasiyn clan of the 'Utaybah tribe.(235)
10. The *hijrah* of Al-Rudah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Majid ibn Fihayd.(236)
11. The *hijrah* of Al-Labib: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin Al-Haydhil.(237)
12. The *hijrah* of Al-Hufayyirah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sajdi Al-Haydhil and Minahi used to be the Amir of that *hijrah*.(238) Sajdi was from the Al-Haydhil family which were the shaykhs of the Al-Da'ajiyn clan of the Barqa part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(239)
13. The *hijrah* of Sanam: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Aba Al-'Ala.(240)

14. The *hijrah* of 'Arwa: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jihjah ibn Sultan ibn Himayd and he was the brother of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd who was in the prison of Al-Riyadh. The Amir of that *hijrah* used to be Hashar ibn Miqid ibn Himayd.(241)

Hashar was from the Al-Himayd family who were the shaykhs of the 'Utaybah tribe and he was the cousin of Sultan ibn Bijad ibn Himayd. Jihjah participated in the campaigns of King 'Abdul-'Aziz because King 'Abdul-'Aziz had convinced him, along with most of the 'Utaybah tribe, that their Shaykh had been mistaken to stand against his commands and orders and King 'Abdul-'Aziz had no choice but to put Sultan in prison. King 'Abdul-'Aziz would have released Sultan ibn Himayd from the prison of Al-Riyadh and he would have allowed him to build a new *hijrah* in his tribe's territory but the rebellion instigated by the leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* made it impossible for Sultan ibn Himayd to be released from his prison. Sultan ibn Himayd had no sons and King 'Abdul-'Aziz treated his brother Jihjah with great respect and paternalism. This made Jihjah ignore the past and to stand with King 'Abdul-'Aziz against the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. Although it was possible that Jihjah could have participated with the rebels of the 'Utaybah tribe and become the leader of the rebels of his tribe, King 'Abdul-'Aziz had built a strong bond of loyalty with Jihjah ibn Himayd so that he would reject such a role.(242)

15. The *hijrah* of Al-Qararah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Abu Sinun.(243)
Sultan was the Shaykh the Al-Marashdah clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(244)

16. The *hijrah* of Kabshan: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Abu Khashiym.(245)

17. The *hijrah* of Shibaymah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Razin.(246)
Nasir was the Shaykh of the Al-Hizman section of the Al-Hanatiysh clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(247)

18. The *hijrah* of Al-Qirayn: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khatam ibn Mas'ad.(248)
Khatam was a Shaykh of the Al-Dalabhah clan of the Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe.(249)

19. The *hijrah* of Al-Sauh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sultan Al-Gharbi.(250)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained support from the *hijrah* and the Amirs of the Harb tribe and those *hijrah* and Amirs were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Fawarrah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hijab ibn Nahiyat.(251)
2. The *hijrah* of Dukhnah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Aiyd Al-Bahaymah.(252)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-Qurayn: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mun'im ibn Naqi.(253)
4. The *hijrah* of Al-Khushaybi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ubayd Al-Zughaybi.(254)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Qawarah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ali ibn Hidayb.(255)
6. The *hijrah* of Al-Sam'urayh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'di Al-Dhikri.(256)
Sa'di was a Shaykh of the Bani 'Auf of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(257)
7. The *hijrah* of Al-Burud: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Naif ibn Mudhayyan.(258)
8. The *hijrah* of Khasibah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dha'ar ibn Hammad(259)
9. The *hijrah* of Al-Ba'ayth: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ribah ibn Mutlaq.(260)
10. The *hijrah* of Al-Dhibiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Shair ibn Muraykhan.
Tu'aymiys ibn Muraykhan used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and Shair became the Amir of the *hijrah*.(261) The sickness and the death of an Amir of the *hijrah* of the loyal *Ikhwan* would be the reason to replace him with one of his brothers, sons, or cousins. In some other cases an Amir could be replaced for political and social reasons.(262)
11. The *hijrah* of Al-Shibaykiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hindi Al-Dhuaybi.(263)
12. The *hijrah* of Al-Mahalani: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Rishayd ibn Rishayd.(264)
13. The *hijrah* of Al-Nahitiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dibayan ibn Ghadin.(265)
14. The *hijrah* of Buqya'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* Dhubakh Al-Bishiri. Masha'an Al-Bishiri used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and Dhubakh became the Amir of that *hijrah*.(266)

15. The *hijrah* of 'Uqlat Al-Suqur: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sinhat Al-Shitiyr.(267) Sinhat was the Shaykh of the Al-Sha'ib clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(268)

16. The *hijrah* of Qutun: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abayd Al-Dayri. Shidayd Al-Dayri used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and 'Abayd became the Amir of the *hijrah*.(269)

17. The *hijrah* of Al-Bsayri: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ghazi ibn Kalaab.(270) Ghazi was the Shaykh of the Al-Hawamdhah clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(271)

18. The *hijrah* of Al-Dath: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dir' ibn Tiraysin.(272) Dir' was a Shaykh of the Al-Tiraysin clan of the Musruh part of the Harb tribe.(273)

19. The *hijrah* of Al-Jirdhawayah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Aqab ibn Khirays.(274) 'Aqab was a Shaykh of the Bani 'Auf of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(275)

20. The *hijrah* of Ghisil: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Habis ibn Silayman.(245) Habis was the Shaykh of the Al-Hananyah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(276)

21. The *hijrah* of Al-Dilaymiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Zabin ibn Juday'.(278)

22. The *hijrah* of Thadiq: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Bijad ibn Ghumaydh.(279)

23. The *hijrah* of Al-Nimirayah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Muhammad ibn Thuab.(280) Muhammad was a Shaykh of the Al-Hananyah clan of the Bani Salim part of the Harb tribe.(281)

24. The *hijrah* of Al-Buqya'ah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'ad ibn Ghalayfiss.(282) Sa'ad was a Shaykh of the Al-Bidariyn clan of the Masruh part of the Harb tribe.(283)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz also gained support from the *hijar* and the Amirs of the Mutayr tribe and those *hijar* and Amirs were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Furuthi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mishari ibn Busais.(284)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Naif ibn Mazayd. Faysal Al-Dawish used to be the Amir of that *hijrah* and Naif became the Amir of the *hijrah*.(285) Naif ibn Mazayd was a cousin of Faysal Al-Dawish and he had stood against his cousin Faysal. Naif became the Amir of a biggest *hijrah* of the *hijrah* of the *Ikhwan* because of the recent revolt of Faysal Al-Dawish which helped Naif to be the Amir of the *hijrah*.(286)
3. The *hijrah* of Al-Thamriyah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Ya'qub Al-Himaydani.(287)
4. The *hijrah* of Umm Hazim: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Awadh Al-Muqahwi.(288)
5. The *hijrah* of Al-Husu: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Jimay'an ibn Dhawi.(289)
6. The *hijrah* of Imba'idh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Tami Al-Qurayfah.(290) Tami joined the rebels for a short time and he asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive him. King 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave Tami and he became a loyal ally.(291)
7. The *hijrah* of Qaryah Al-'Ilya: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Tirahiyb ibn Shiqayr.(292)
8. The *hijrah* of Al-Ja'lah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Ali Al-Kharaybit.(293) 'Ali was a Shaykh of the Al-Jiblan clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(294)
9. The *hijrah* of Daban: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Dighaym ibn Hadba.(295) Dighaym was a Shaykh of the Al-Hadabiyn clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(296)
10. The *hijrah* of Budha: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Mutlaq Al-Hafta.(297)
11. The *hijrah* of Al-Athlah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Huayl ibn Samhan.(298)
12. The *hijrah* of Al-'Irtawi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Siliym ibn Rijah.(299) Siliym was a Shaykh of the Al-Rukhman clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(300)
13. The *hijrah* of Mulayh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Alush ibn Suqayyan.(301)
14. The *hijrah* of Wadhakh: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Maniyf Al-Qutaym.(302)

15. The *hijrah* of Al-Mitaywi: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Salim ibn 'Arnan.(303) Salim was a Shaykh of the Al-Rukhman clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(304)

16. The *hijrah* of Al-Shaflihayah: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Qa'dan ibn Dirwaysh.(305) Qa'dan was a Shaykh of the Al-Sa'bah clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(306)

17. The *hijrah* of Al-'Amar: the Amir of that *hijrah* was 'Abdul-Mihsin ibn Jibrin.(307) 'Abdul-Mihsin was the Shaykh of the Al-Sa'bah clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(308)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gained support from the *hijrah* and the Amirs of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and those *hijrah* and Amirs were the following:

1. The *hijrah* of Al-Rayn Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Khalil ibn 'Umar. Sultan ibn Sifran used to be the Amir of that *hijrah*, but was replaced by Khalil. (309) There was a political reason behind that which was the participation of the Shaykh of the Al-Khanafir clan (Sultan ibn Sifran) with Sultan ibn Himayd and Faysal Al-Dawish in the battle of Al-Sibalah. Khalil was the Shaykh of the Qahtan of Najd tribe and he was a close ally of King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(310)

2. The *hijrah* of Al-Rayn Al-'Ilya: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Hadhal ibn Su'aydan.(311)

3. The *hijrah* of Al-Jifayr: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Nasir ibn Sadhan.(312)

4. The *hijrah* of Sabha: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Sa'iyd Al-Ruaybikh.(313) Sa'iyd was a Shaykh of the Al-Khanafir clan of the Qahtan of Najd tribe.(314)

5. The *hijrah* of Al-Hasah Al-Sifla: the Amir of that *hijrah* was Finays ibn Huayl.(315)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the loyal of the *Ikhwan* had faced several battles on their journey to Al-Shuki.

3.2.6.1. THE BATTLE OF HAFAR AL-BATIN

Mishal ibn Tawalah and 'Ajimi ibn Suayt joined Mihsin Al-Firm in December 1929 and they decided to attack Faysal Al-Dawish.(316) Those three leaders were the Shaykh of the Harb tribe, the Shaykh of the Al-Aslam part of the Shammar of Najd tribe, and the Shaykh of the Al-Zafiyr of Najd tribe. They were all loyal leaders of the *Ikhwan*. They were against the rebels and they followed them in order to punish them.(317)

In the early morning, the three leaders of the loyal *Ikhwan* attacked Faysal Al-Dawish near Hafar Al-Batin (See Appendix Figure 2) and defeated his forces. Faysal Al-Dawish and the rebels left their tents and camels and headed North. That battle was the beginning of the end of the rebellion. The morale of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* declined rapidly. The defeat of Faysal affected the rebels deeply; they had stood by him because they had considered him as their general leader. Moreover, the battle of the Hafar Al-Batin made the leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* understand that King 'Abdul-'Aziz would not forgive them. King 'Abdul-'Aziz was informed of the battle on his way to Al-Shuki and he decided to arrest the leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. (318)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz had an agreement with the British authorities in Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan which confirmed that the authorities would not allow aid to reach the rebels of the *Ikhwan* from their territories, nor would those authorities allow the rebels of the *Ikhwan* to use lands within their jurisdiction. That deal was made with the British authorities before the battle of Al-Sibalah.(319)

Faysal Al-Dawish had no chance to continue his aggression after his defeat at the battle of Hafar Al-Batin and he entreated King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive him. Faysal sent a letter to King 'Abdul-'Aziz with three of his followers who were Haif Al-Fughum, Sultan ibn Mihaylib, and Sultan Abu Al-Khayl.(320) Haif was the brother of Jifran Al-Fughum who was the Shaykh of the Al-Sahabah clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe, Sultan ibn Mihaylib was the Shaykh of the Al-Dayahiyn clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe, and Sultan Abu Al-Khayl was a headman of the Al-Jiblan clan of the

'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe who were led by Jasir ibn Lami.(321) King 'Abdul-'Aziz rejected their plea and he insisted on arresting the leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. Jifran Al-Fughum left Faysal Al-Dawish and returned to his *hijrah*, which caused King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive him.(322)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz sent a force of the loyal *Ikhwan* led by Dharman Abu Thinayn, and he ordered Dharman to search the sites of the rebels of the *Ikhwan*.(323) Dharman headed to Allisafah and King 'Abdul-'Aziz sent him the automobiles with a supply of water for him and his fighters of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe. King 'Abdul-'Aziz located the movement of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* who had left Najdi territory and had moved to Iraqi and Kuwaiti territories. King 'Abdul-'Aziz moved near the frontiers of Iraq and Kuwait in order to know the intentions of the British authorities.(324)

3.2.6.2. THE END OF 'ALI IBN 'ASHWAN

'Ali ibn 'Ashwan and his rebels of the Mutayr tribe were killed at the end of December 1929 in Al-Misanat.(325) 'Ali was the Shaykh of the Al-'Ibayat clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe. The battle took place in the territory of the Mutayr tribe (See Appendix Figure 1).(326) Dharman Abu Thinayn and the loyal *Ikhwan* of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* tribe followed him and his rebels of the Mutayr tribe and Dharman defeated and killed most of the rebels. They then followed the rest of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* who left the battlefield. 'Ali ibn 'Ashwan was joined by 'Ali Abu Shiwayrbat (a leader of the rebel *Ikhwan*) who left the battle after the death of 'Ali ibn 'Ashwan.(327) 'Ali Abu Shiwayrbat was the Shaykh of the Al-Birzan clan of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(328)

Hizam ibn Ziriban led a force of the loyal *Ikhwan* and followed 'Ali Abu Shiwayrbat and the rest of the rebels of the Mutayr tribe. They caught up with the rebels before sunset. The loyal *Ikhwan* killed most of them and then returned to their camp.(329) Hizam was the Shaykh of the Al-Rukhman clan of the 'Ulwa part of the Mutayr tribe.(330) 'Ali Abu Shiwayrbat came to King 'Abdul-'Aziz and he asked King 'Abdul-

'Aziz to forgive him. King 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave 'Ali and he also forgave his followers.(331)

3.2.6.3. THE DEATH OF AL-SIQHAN

In their way to Al-Ruq'i (See Appendix Figure 2), King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan* met a force of the rebel of the Al-'Ajman tribe. This happened at the beginning of January 1930, a few days after the death of 'Ali ibn 'Ashwan. The rebel force was led by members of the Al-Siqhan family and they were all killed by King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan*.(332) King 'Abdul-'Aziz met that force as he journeyed from Al-Misanat to Al-Ruq'i.(333) The battle took place in the territory of the Mutayr tribe (See Appendix Figure 1). The Al-Siqhan members were descended from the Al-Hithlayn family who were the shaykhs of the Al-'Ajman tribe. The force of King 'Abdul-'Aziz killed four of them, including the most famous member of the Al-Siqhan members who was Bidah Al-Asqah.(334) The rebels of the Al-'Ajman tribe faced a force of the loyal *Ikhwan* who had no sympathy for them. King 'Abdul-'Aziz went hunting in his automobile and he followed gazelles for two hours. King 'Abdul-'Aziz came close to a group of people and discovered that they were a group of rebels of the *Ikhwan*. The King sent one of the loyalists of the Mutayr tribe over and he recognised that the rebels were from the tribes of the Al-'Ajman and the Mutayr.(335)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz's messenger informed the rebels of the *Ikhwan* that they had come only to hunt, and he returned to the King. King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered his archers to ride in the automobiles and to attack the rebels. Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz insisted on participating in the attack and led the loyal *Ikhwan*. They killed most of the rebels, who were from the tribes of the Al-'Ajman and the Mutayr, and King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the women and the children of the rebels to ride in his automobiles.(336)

3.2.6.4. THE END OF THE AGGRESSION

King 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to put an end to the aggression of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* and he decided to lead his forces instead of sending them without him. At the beginning of January 1930, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud arrived in Al-Riqa'i and he camped there. The end of the rebellion took place in the territory of the Mutayr tribe (See Appendix Figure 1).(337) Sir John Bagot Glubb was at that time the Inspector of the Southern Desert in Iraq and he suggested that King 'Abdul-'Aziz should move to Khabari Wadhaha in order to continue discussions with the British representatives concerning the rebels and their leaders and other disputes between Najd and its neighbours. The King agreed with the suggestion and camped in Khabari Wadhaha.(338)

Glubb also informed King 'Abdul-'Aziz that he had met Faysal Al-Dawish and Naif ibn Hithlayn and he had asked them to leave Iraq. The leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* had in fact left Iraq for Kuwait and had settled in Al-Jihara.(339) Glubb had asked his government to bomb the rebels but the British government had refused because there were women and children with them.(340) Glubb told the King that policemen and armoured cars were not adequate in dealing with the rebels and he often had to request support from the Royal Air force.(341)

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the British Government shared fundamental interests in the region and they also had feared the territorial policies of the other during the 1930s.(342) The rebels of the *Ikhwan* could threaten the interests of Britain in the region more than King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(343) The rebels of the *Ikhwan* could force or encourage the non-Najdi tribes to join them which would bring instability to the whole region.(344) The British authorities had no interest in encouraging conflicts between tribes which were under their authority. The British authorities preferred to help solve any conflicts between the tribes because conflicts could cost the British government money which would adversely affect their interests in the region.(345)

However, King 'Abdul-'Aziz could influence most of the shaykhs of the Najdi or non-Najdi tribes because he well knew deeply how to deal with the tribes in a way

which would keep their prestige and dignity. He treated the shaykhs of the tribes in a prestigious and respectful way so that he could have their loyalty. This was the key to his success. He could contact and mobilise most of the shaykhs of the Najdi or non-Najdi tribes of the whole region or he could destabilise their rule and make trouble in their regions.(346)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz had struggled to control the tribes in Najd and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* had challenged that control. He had to prove that he was in control of his tribes. He convinced the British of the consequences which would follow if the rebels of the *Ikhwan* were allowed to use their territories and, so the British decided to stand up to the rebels. The British bombed the area around the rebels of the *Ikhwan* to warn them to leave their territories. The rebel leaders understood that the British authorities in Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan would not allow them to settle in their territories and would force them to return to Najd. The rebels of the *Ikhwan* thought of going to Syria as the British authorities had not allowed them to encroach on the Najdi frontiers. The leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* knew that King 'Abdul-'Aziz would not forgive them this time and would punish them. Those leaders chose to surrender to the British authorities instead of their King because they thought that the British authorities would not turn them over to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(347)

The British policy towards the rebels of the *Ikhwan* was full of contradictions because of the different ideas about the *Ikhwan* the different British offices had. The policy involved the British Foreign office, the Colonial Office, and the India Office and the British authorities adopted such incompatible policies that the British Cabinet had to intervene. As a result of the British involvement the British authorities ordered the creation of an Official Sub-Committee on the *Ikhwan* Situation in 1928. The Official Committee on the Middle East was created in 1930 and it was a natural outcome of the need to reduce the inter-departmental inefficiencies.(348) King 'Abdul-'Aziz suffered from the confused policy of the British government. After conquering Hijaz in 1925, the Foreign office became involved in relations with 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud instead of the India Office and the Consulate/ Agency at Jiddah became their newest domain. The

British government resolved the extraordinary duality of responsibility when it withdrew the Colonial Office deliberately in 1933. At the same time the Consulate/ Agency at Jiddah was upgraded to a legation and the first Ambassador was Sir Andrew Ryan 1930-1936.(349)

Early in January 1930, the leaders of the rebels began surrendering to the ground forces of the Royal Air Force on condition that they would not be handed back to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(350) On 9th of January 1930, Naif ibn Hithlayn surrendered in Al-Jihara to an armoured car and he was sent by air to the camp of Al-Sha'ybah. On the same day, the Royal Air Force was instructed to round up the rebels of the *Ikhwan* from Al-Jihara and shepherd them to a place near Jirayshan in order to negotiate their fate. On 10th of January, Faysal Al-Dawish and Jasir ibn Lami also gave themselves up and all the three leaders of the rebels were transferred to the Royal Indian Marine ship (Patrick Stewart) which was located in the Shatt Al-'Arab.(351)

On 20th January, Sir Hugh Biscoe (the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf since 1929), the Air Vice-Marshal Burent, and Dickson (the Political Agent in Kuwait) left Kuwait by air in order to discuss with King 'Abdul-'Aziz the surrender of the rebels leaders and their followers.(352) They landed at a special camp pitched by King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(353)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz's attitude during the discussions was one of conciliation, and he expressed regret for the tone of recent notes dispatched by his Minister for Foreign Affairs which showed that there had been considerable bargaining before that meeting to secure the cessation of raids between the tribes in the future.(354) The rebel leaders had been transferred to Kuwait in H.M.S. *Lupin* which was anchored in the Bay of Kuwait.(355) The Amir of Kuwait disagreed with the idea of handing over the rebels of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz because that would dishonour him in the eyes of all Arabs. The Political Resident (Colonel Hugh Biscoe) supported the Amir of Kuwait and insisted on passing all responsibility for the rebels to the British Government, to whom the rebels of the *Ikhwan* had surrendered.(356)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz moved near the Northeasten borders with his loyal fighters of the *Ikhwan* in order to put more pressure on the rebels of the *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz could put more pressure on the British government than any other ruler in the Arabian Peninsula. He was the most powerful ruler among the Arab rulers in the region. He was not interested in trouble and he would face up to any kind of trouble which affected his interests.(357)

On 26th January an agreement was reached between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British representatives and it was the following:

1. King 'Abdul-'Aziz would spare the lives of the leaders and their followers.
2. Any punishment he might award would be tempered with kindness and mercy, though he reserved the right to recover from the rebels any loot they might have taken from others.
3. He promised categorically to prevent raids in future on either Iraq or Kuwait by the 'Ajman, Mutayr and other Najd tribes. Should such occur, he would effect a settlement without delay, immediately restoring anything plundered; in the case of Iraq, under the terms of the Bahra agreement; in the case of Kuwait, in accordance with customs current between Shaykh Ahmad's country and his own. He was ready to negotiate a treaty with Kuwait on the lines of the Bahra agreement, should Shaykh Ahmad so desire.
4. He promised to settle in the same manner all past claims made by Iraq and Kuwait, provided that all 'Ajman and Mutayr now in the hand of the Royal Air Force were returned, with their followers and property, to Najd territory.
5. He agreed to pay 10,000 pounds, as compensation to tribes in Iraq and Kuwait, in anticipation of a final settlement of accounts.
6. He would appoint representatives at any time to a tribunal under the Bahra agreement, after receipt of a request to do so.(358)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz and Sir Hugh Biscoe signed the surrender agreement and the mission returned to Kuwait on 27th January .(359) On 28th January, Faysal Al-Dawish, Jasir ibn Lami, and Naif ibn Hithlayn were flown from Kuwait to the camp of King 'Abdul-'Aziz at Khabari Wadha and the leaders of the rebels were handed over.(360) The three leaders of the rebels were accompanied by Dickson (the Political Agent in Kuwait) who was in charge and he handled them to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The three leaders of the rebels kissed their King on the nose as is the bedouin fashion.(361). King 'Abdul-'Aziz asked to see the three leaders of the rebels alone. He did not insult the three leaders but informed them that they would join their friend Sultan ibn Himayd in Al-Riyadh's prison.(362)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz did not kill any of the those leaders of the rebels as he knew that the killing of the shaykhs of the tribes and the clans would effect the emotion of the tribes and he would lose their sympathy. He wanted to avoid this during his life.(363) As a result of that policy towards the Najdi tribes, King 'Abdul-'Aziz came to be regarded as the Shaykh of the shaykhs of the tribes of Najd.(364)

In October 1931, Faysal Al-Dawish died in his prison in Al-Riyadh after complaining for a month of pain due to a pronounced swelling in the lower part of his throat.(365) The other leaders of the rebels were kept imprisoned in Al-Riyadh until 1934 when they were transferred to the prison of Al-Hufuf.(366) The leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* thus spent the rest of their lives in the prison of Al-Hasa.(367)

The rest of the rebels such as Farhan ibn Mashur and his rebels refused to leave Iraq but they surrendered to the British authorities in Iraq on 23rd December, 1929. The British government decided that Farhan and his rebels did not belong to King 'Abdul-'Aziz. Farhan and his rebels were from the Al-Rawalah part of the 'Anizah tribe and the British government considered them to be Syrian subjects.(368)

The leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* had been powerful and respected when they had accepted the authority of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. However, they had lost their credibility and power when they rebelled against King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(369)

The British authority in Iraq played a role in the conclusion of the rebellion. British armoured cars and aeroplanes led the rest of the rebels of the tribes of the Mutayr and the Al-'Ajman to the Najdi frontiers and handed them over to a force sent by King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The King's force guided the rebels to his camp and King 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave them.(370) In January 1930, Faysal ibn Shiblani surrendered to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.(371) King 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave Faysal and he became a loyal ally.(372)

In late December 1929, the rest of the rebel shaykhs of the Mutayr tribe surrendered to King 'Abdul-'Aziz through the British authority in Iraq. They were 'Ali Abu Shiwayrbat and his cousin Midbaj, Sinaytan Al-Muraykhi, and Minahi ibn Mismar. King 'Abdul-'Aziz forgave them and he treated them well.(373) Those shaykhs were the shaykhs of the Birayh part of the Mutayr tribe.(374) Bandar ibn Faysal Al-Dawish

returned from Kuwait with his relatives and womenfolk and King 'Abdul-'Aziz treated them well and permitted them to live in Al-Riyadh.(375)

Later on, Bandar Al-Dawish founded a new *hijrah* called the *hijrah* of Jararah. He was appreciative of that treatment.(376) The King had stood firmly against the main leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* but had forgiven the lesser shaykhs of the rebels and the rebel tribesmen. He had gained control over all of the Najdi tribes and had settled that conflict for good.(377)

4. THE UNITY BETWEEN THE IKHWAN

All the *Ikhwan* had now come under the command of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and they were ready to receive orders from King 'Abdul-'Aziz. All the shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* were united under their leader, King 'Abdul-'Aziz, and welcomed his authority over them.(378) The King considered his conflict with the rebels of the *Ikhwan* as a conflict among relatives and he advised all the *Ikhwan* to forget what had happened between them in order to secure their solidarity.(379) The *Ikhwan* fought again when they faced the aggression of Hamid ibn Rifadah and the war with Yemen, and King 'Abdul-'Aziz was fully in control of them.(380)

4.1. THE REVOLUTION OF HAMID IBN RIFADAH

On 18th September 1932, King 'Abdul-'Aziz proclaimed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.(381) After the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King 'Abdul-'Aziz had to face a new aggressor in September 1932. This was the revolution of Hamid ibn Rifadah. The Amir of Transjordan ('Abdullah ibn Al-Husayn) had encouraged and supported Hamid ibn Rifadah and was behind this revolution. Hamid was the Shaykh of the Billi tribe (See Appendix Figure 1) and he thought that the tribes of Al-Hijaz would support him in his revolution. Hamid had around four hundred and fifty fighters and he moved from Al-'Aqabah to the Al-Hijaz area.(382)

The King ordered the *Ikhwan* of the tribes of the Shammar and the 'Anizah to stand against Hamid and his fighters. The fighters of the *Ikhwan* moved to the Shaar mountain and there faced Hamid and his followers. The *Ikhwan* killed Hamid and most of his followers and thus ended that threat.(383)

4.2. THE WAR OF YEMEN

The *Ikhwan* became powerful after the rebellion and they did not disappear and were not disbanded as others thought. The *Ikhwan* were again used in the Yemeni war of 1934 and played a major role at that war (See Appendix Figure 2). The war with Yemen was the end of a historical conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the rulers of the Tuhamat 'Asir. In October 1930, Hasan ibn 'Aidh (the ruler of the Tuhamat 'Asir) sent a telegram to King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and asking him to take complete control of the Tuhamat 'Asir. King 'Abdul-'Aziz agreed with that request and ordered his ruler and his representatives in the Tuhamat 'Asir to treat Hasan ibn 'Aidh with respect and kindness.(384) In September 1931, the *Imam* of Yemen (*Imam* Yahya) conquered the Al-'Aru mountain and threatened the Tuhamat 'Asir (See Appendix Figure 7). *Imam* Yahya claimed that he had responded to the request of the people of that region. That assault made King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud and the *Imam* of Yemen send their representatives to discuss the situation and to find a solution for it. The representatives did not achieve progress in their negotiation. *Imam* Yahya asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to solve the problem personally because he knew that the King would be more objective than the representatives of the two parties and the *Imam* of Yemen would agree to abide by any decision that would be made by King 'Abdul-'Aziz. That political finesse of *Imam* Yahya made King 'Abdul-'Aziz recognise that the mountain of Al-'Aru belonged to the *Imam* of Yemen. As a result, King 'Abdul-'Aziz and *Imam* Yahya signed a friendship treaty in December 1931.(385)

At the end of 1931, some tribes of the Najran region, with help from some Yemeni fighters, attacked Najran, and they killed, looted, and destroyed the houses of anyone

who they considered their opponent. King 'Abdul-'Aziz responded by sending Khalid ibn Luai with a huge army of the *Ikhwan* of Najd in the Summer of 1932.(386) Most of his fighters were from the *Ikhwan* of the Subay' 'Ala tribe and they were under their shaykhs. Other fighters were from other tribes from the Hijazi and 'Asiri tribes who joined them on their way to Najran.(387) The *Ikhwan* defeated the Yemeni fighters.(388)

In November 1932, Hasan Al-Adrisi arrested some of King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud 's representatives in the region and he allotted the arms and the ammunition captured between his followers in the Tuhamat 'Asir. Hasan attacked Jizan and he conquered it within one week. Hasan arrested King 'Abdul-'Aziz's ruler in the Tuhamat 'Asir Fahad ibn Zu'ayr and he sent him to Sabya.(389)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his orders to Khalid ibn Luai and his followers from the *Ikhwan* to attack the Tuhamat 'Asir. Khalid moved from the Al-Khurmah to the Tuhamat 'Asir. Most of the fighters of the *Ikhwan* were from the Subay' 'Ala tribe. Khalid died in Sabya and King 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered Khalid's son (Sa'ad ibn Khalid ibn Luai) to take charge.(390) King 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad to attack the Tuhamat 'Asir. King 'Abdul-'Aziz also gave his order to 'Umar ibn Ruby'an (the Shaykh of Al-Ruqah part of the 'Utaybah tribe) to move to the Tuhamat 'Asir. 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad led the *Ikhwan* of the 'Utaybah and the Qahtan of Najd tribes and he moved to crush the rebellions. The *Ikhwan* moved to the Tuhamat 'Asir very quickly and did not face any difficulty on their way from the tribes of 'Asir. The *Ikhwan* followed the rebels and forced them to escape to the Yemen. The rebels left their houses and animals because they were frightened by the stories of the power and the courage of the *Ikhwan* of Najd.(391)

Hasan Al-Adrisi escaped from Jizan to Sabya, then left Sabya for the Yemen. Hasan asked the *Imam* of Yemen to give him political asylum. *Imam* Yahya gave him political asylum and he treated him and his family with respect and generosity, which made it clear that he had given the rebellion encouragement and support.(392) To deal with the problem, King 'Abdul-'Aziz declared that the Tuhamat 'Asir was a part of the Kingdom

of Saudi Arabia. He asked the *Imam* of Yemen to return Hasan Al-Adrisi to him and to punish him according to the treaty of Al-'Aru in 1931. *Imam* Yahya asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to forgive Hasan Al-Adrisi and his followers and the King agreed to give them his forgiveness if *Imam* Yahya would return them to him. He believed that this would decrease the tension between him and the *Imam* of Yemen as well as stabilising his rule from inside. That was the end of the Al-'Adarisah family ruling the Tuhamat 'Asir and it began a new era between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Imam* of Yemen. *Imam* Yahya had created the unfriendly relationship with King 'Abdul-'Aziz but King 'Abdul-'Aziz had insisted an opening a dialogue and thus avoiding war between them. That led directly to the friendship treaty between them in January 1932.(393)

In June 1933, the fighters of *Imam* Yahya attacked Najran and conquered Najran (see Figure 10). This brought King 'Abdul-'Aziz and *Imam* Yahya into conflict again. King 'Abdul-'Aziz started the war after he had tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with the *imam*.(394) He gave his order to the *Ikhwan* of Najd tribes to move to the Yemeni borders in order to liberate the lands and villages which were controlled by the Yemenis. The *Ikhwan* of Najd tribes who participated were divided between five leaders. Some of the *Ikhwan* were led by Amir Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud who moved to the Surat 'Asir, others were led by Amir Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud who moved to the Tuhamat 'Asir, others were led by Amir Faysal ibn Sa'ad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud who had moved to Baqim and its area, others were led by Amir Khalid ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Rahman Al Sa'ud who had moved to Najran, and others were led by Amir Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud to back up the Amir Sa'ud. The Amir Sa'ud headed the leaders of the *Ikhwan* who had moved to the Surat 'Asir and the Amir Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz headed the *Ikhwan* who had moved to the Tuhamat 'Asir. There were also some other loyal participants from other Hijazi and 'Asiri tribes. Those tribes were not *Ikhwan* but they were considered loyal allies. The *Ikhwan* of Najd and the other Hijazi and 'Asiri tribes were around eighty thousand fighters. The *Ikhwan* of Najd were around sixty thousand fighters and the rest were around twenty thousand fighters.(395)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz gave his order to Amir Faysal ibn Sa'ad to move to the Surat 'Asir and to settle near the Yemeni borders. Amir Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz, Amir Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz, and Amir Khalid ibn Muhammad moved at the same time to achieve their targets at the same time.(396) Faysal ibn Sa'ad was the first leader to join 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn Mus'ad in the Surat 'Asir in the stand against the Yemeni threat. Faysal ibn Sa'ad moved to the Surat 'Asir with a group of the *Ikhwan* of Najd tribes and he moved from the Surat 'Asir to the Tuhamat 'Asir having achieved several military successes. Faysal ibn Sa'ad settled in the Tuhamat 'Asir for almost one year until the arrival of Faysal ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz in the Tuhamat 'Asir with more fighters from the *Ikhwan* tribes. He moved to the Surat 'Asir to join Sa'ud ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz.(397) The propaganda of the power and courage of the *Ikhwan* of Najd made the rebels of the 'Asiri and the Yemeni tribes leave Surat 'Asir and Tuhamat 'Asir and escape to the Yemeni mountains. The leaders of the *Ikhwan* of Najd had achieved victories in the Surat 'Asir, the Tuhamat 'Asir, and Najran. The *Ikhwan* of Najd returned to Najd with considerable amounts of money because the rebel 'Asiris had left their animals and families and the *Ikhwan* sold those animals to the other loyal tribes from 'Asir. These animals were cows, goats, mules, donkeys, and camels which were considered booty. The *Ikhwan* of Najd congratulated each other by kissing the noses of each other and thanking each other for their victories.(398)

The victory of the *Ikhwan* of Najd encouraged the leaders of the *Ikhwan* to ask King 'Abdul-'Aziz to continue the war to conquer all the Yemen. King 'Abdul-'Aziz rejected the suggestion.(399) *Imam* Yahya asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz to stop the war as he was ready to fulfil King 'Abdul-'Aziz's conditions. King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Imam* of Yemen signed a friendship treaty in June, 1934, creating peace between them. The *Imam* of Yemen returned Hasan Al-Adrisi and his family to King 'Abdul-'Aziz, who forgave them for their treason.(400)

After the Yemeni war, the *Ikhwan* did not participate in any further wars but they were ready to follow King 'Abdul-'Aziz's order. The *Ikhwan* represented the power of King 'Abdul-'Aziz. The *Ikhwan* were the hand of King 'Abdul-'Aziz who could punish his opponents and stand against any opponent of their King. The *Ikhwan* had brought

security and stability to their country and had protected their country against its opponents.(401)

King 'Abdul-'Aziz decided to reorganise the *Ikhwan* to be an official force with financial commitments.(402) In 1948, King 'Abdul-'Aziz was concerned with maintaining the status of his country and not destroying the record of the struggles of the *Ikhwan* in the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. King 'Abdul-'Aziz established *Maktab Al-Jihad Wa Al-Mujahidiyn* (the office of the struggle and the strugglers) in order to combine and gather the fighters of the *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz set a suitable monthly salary for the fighters of the *Ikhwan* in order to secure the future of their families and relatives. That office of the fighters of the *Ikhwan* was the basis of *Al-Haras Al-Watani* (the National Guard).(403)

Recently, the sons and grandsons of the *Ikhwan* have played a major role in securing the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and that was stated by Robert Lacey:

In the mid-1950s Sa'ud ibn Abdul Aziz- who, for all his love of Nasriyah's luxuries (King Sa'ud's palace in Al-Riyadh), also loved to sit out in the desert with his bedouin- hit upon the idea of revivifying the *Ikhwan* as a traditional force to defend the Al Sa'ud, and he gave one of his elder sons, Khalid ibn Sa'ud, the job of building up the White Army as a loyal tribal network. As a rabble-rousing townsman, Gamal Abdul Nasser might know how to subvert conventional army officers. He would have less luck with the bedouin.(404)

In the mid-1950s, *Maktab Al-jihad Wa Al-Mujahidiyn* developed and changed to *Al-Haras Al- Watani*. *Al-Haras Al-Watani* has developed and it has included the elites of the brigades of the *Mujahidiyn* (the brigades of the *Ikhwan*) who have been armed with rifles and light weapons.(405) Most of the sons and grandsons of the famous shaykhs of tribes of Najd (the *Ikhwan*) have become the Amirs of the brigades of the *Al-Haras Al-Watani*.(406)

Recently, the rest of the sons and grandsons of the shaykhs of the *Ikhwan* have settled in their *hijar* and become linked to the Internal Ministry. The Amirs of the *hijar* have played an important role in the security and protection of their own regions. The Amirs of the *hijar* could mobilise their tribesmen to stand with the government against internal or external aggression and that may be considered to be the hidden power of the government which allowed it to achieve stability within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Part of the *Ikhwan* are under the *Al-Mujahidiyn* of the Internal Ministry and they are in charge of the internal security and protection of their country. The *Al-Mujahidiyn* also are able to participate against any external aggression which will effect their country.(407)

5. THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

'Abdul-'Aziz and the *Ikhwan* became more involved with the issues relating to external influences during that time. After the conquest of Al-Hijaz, the British government agreed to discuss the Saudi treaty of 1915 in the spring of 1926.(408) The treaty of Darin or Al-Qatif, in 1915, was not an adequate basis for the relations between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British government. The British representatives were led by Sir Gilbert Clayton and arrived in Jiddah and the discussion laid down the treaty of Jiddah. The treaty of Jiddah was signed in May 1927, with the authorisation of King 'Abdul-'Aziz, by his son Amir Faysal who was the deputy of his father in Al-Hijaz. Sir Gilbert Clayton signed for Britain with the authorisation of the British government. King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British representatives signed a friendship treaty in September 1927, which placed the relations between the Saudi and British governments on a sound foundation of friendship and equality.(409) From 1926-1930, the British Government was interested in standing against the raids of the dissidents and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* in their territories and King 'Abdul-'Aziz had helped them in establishing stability in the region. This was in King 'Abdul-'Aziz's own interest-more so than the British.(410)

6. CONCLUSION

After the conquest of Al-Hijaz in December 1925 until the battle of Al-'Ayaynah in May 1929, the conflict between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* was a result of stopping the *jihad* against the infidels. After the battle of Al-'Ayaynah, the

dissidents of the *Ikhwan* became rebels and they totally rejected the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz over them. The frontier problems between Najd and its neighbours; of Iraq and Transjordan, had also forced King 'Abdul-'Aziz to face the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* to prove his power internally and thus his credibility externally.

King 'Abdul-'Aziz had stood against the leaders of the dissidents and the rebels of the *Ikhwan* after he convinced the '*ulama* of Najd and the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* that those leaders of the dissidents and the rebels had no right to take action without his permission as the *Imam* of the *ummah*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz had full support from the '*ulama* of Najd and the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the *Ikhwan* against the minority leaders of the dissidents and rebels. The loyal *Ikhwan* supported King 'Abdul-'Aziz and they encouraged the King to stand against the dissidents and rebels of the *Ikhwan*. The British authorities in Transjordan, Kuwait, and Iraq also played a role in the surrender and handed over the leaders of the rebels and their rebels to King 'Abdul-'Aziz when they surrendered to them.

Most of the studies have stated that the *Ikhwan* disappeared and were disbanded after the battle of Al-Sibalah in March 1929. Those studies have looked to the *Ikhwan* movement as it related only to the disloyal *Ikhwan* and the studies have ignored the main role of the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* (the loyal *Ikhwan*). The *Ikhwan* became more powerful after the rebellion and they became united than before. The *Ikhwan* had risen up against Hamid ibn Rifadah in Al-Hijaz and they had stood against the aggression of the *Imam* of Yemen.

Lately, most of the sons and grandsons of the leaders of the *Ikhwan* and the *Ikhwan* who used to be loyal or disloyal have played an important role in the security and protection of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The relationship between King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the British led to replacing of the British treaty of Darin in 1915 by the treaty of Jiddah in 1927 which based the relations between the Saudi and the British governments on a sound basis of friendship and equality. In January 1930, the British authorities in the region played a crucial role in the surrender of the three leaders of the rebels of the *Ikhwan* to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.

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CONCLUSION

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud came from a family which had been the guardian of Islam since the time of the First and Second Saudi states. This historical role as "defenders of Islam" gave the Al Sa'ud family a status worthy of great respect especially by the bedouin tribes of Najd. Since the time when 'Abdul-'Aziz took control of Al-Riyadh in 1902 he had always represented himself to the Najdi tribes as the *Imam* of the *ummah* i.e. the religious leader of the nation.

From the very beginning of his rule in Najd, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud tried to implement the principles of Islam amongst the bedouin tribes of Najd. 'Abdul-'Aziz insisted on the Islamic precepts that the tribes had to share a religious brotherhood amongst them, pay him the Zakat (the Islamic tax), and a fifth of their booty.

That period of time laid the infrastructure for the effective unification of the tribes of Najd, although did not occur until later. 'Abdul-'Aziz did great effort to unify the tribes of Najd under his command. That was by establishing the *Ikhwan* movement of Najd from 1916 to 1934. 'Abdul-'Aziz's attempts to implement those principles relied on both persuasion and force.

During the period 1902-1916 'Abdul-'Aziz mostly relied on the tribes of the *Ahl Al-'Aridh*, which consisted of the two tribes of the Subay' *Al-'Aridh* (the Subay' of Najd) and the Al-Suhul. These two tribes played a crucial role in helping 'Abdul-'Aziz encourage other tribes to join him in his campaign to unify the Centre of Najd under his control. The two tribes of the *Al-'Aridh* area were the most dependable and loyal fighters under 'Abdul-'Aziz's command and they played the crucial role in his conquests of the time.

During this period, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud succeeded in gathering some Najdi tribes under his command, but the tribal support was not always consistent and reliable. That led 'Abdul-'Aziz, after the battle of Kanzan in the Summer of 1915, to put more effort into convincing the Najdi tribes to share a religious brotherhood between them instead

of fighting and killing each other. To achieve this he sent the *'ulama* and the *mutaw'ah* of Najd to the Najdi tribes to convince them to become *Ikhwan* under his command.

Most of the studies have mentioned the year of 1912 as the beginning of the first *hijrah* (settlement). This is based mainly on the writings of Amin Al-Rihani. The historical and political events during the period of 1902-1916, however, suggest that there were no *Ikhwan* during that time. The formation of the religious brotherhood of the *Ikhwan* in the Summer of 1916 was part of 'Abdul-'Aziz's campaign to gain the loyalty and support of the bedouin tribes which he had tried to gain from 1902 until 1916.

'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was the founder of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd and he convinced the leaders of the Najdi tribes to build their *hijar* (settlements) in areas traditionally associated with them. He wanted these *hijar* to supply him with fighters in each region. The *hijar* could be considered to be the “barracks” of 'Abdul-'Aziz's army, the fighters of the *Ikhwan*.

The first *hijrah* (settlement), then, was the *hijrah* of Al-Artawiyah which was built in the Summer of 1916. 'Abdul-'Aziz ordered the Shaykh of the Mutayr tribe (Faysal Al-Dawish) to settle near the wells of Al-Artawiyah. 'Abdul-'Aziz gave an order to the Shaykh of the 'Utaybah tribe (Sultan ibn Himayd), who built the second *hijrah* in the Summer of 1917, at Al-Ghatghat.

The *hadhar* of Najd played the major role in supplying 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud with the *'ulama* (the scholars) and the *mutaw'ah* (the assistants to the scholars) to the *hijar*. They played a dominant role not only in educating the Najdi tribes but also in mobilising the *Ikhwan* of Najd on the basis of a brotherhood based on Islam. They came to be greatly respected and trusted by the bedouins of Najd.

The *Ikhwan* of Najd were behind the victories of 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud from 1918 to 1926 and, were under his direct command. They supported him in the battles of Turubah (1919) and Al-Jahara (1920). They played a major role under his command in the conquest of the regions of 'Asir, Hail, and Al-Hijaz. These campaigns lasted from 1920 to 1926.

The *Ikhwan* did not want to stop their campaigns after so many victories. They had conquered the regions of Hail, 'Asir, and Al-Hijaz. They asked King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud if they could continue the *jihad* (the holy war) against the infidels in the neighbouring countries that were under foreign mandates. This created the need for a long debate between King 'Abdul-'Aziz, the *'ulama*, and the *Ikhwan* as to the nature of *jihad*.

Finally King 'Abdul-'Aziz and the *'ulama* of Najd managed to convince the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* that the declaration of *jihad* could only be made by the *Imam* of the *ummah* (King 'Abdul-'Aziz). Islam gave the *Imam* and only the *Imam* the right to declare *jihad*. To ignore this fact would be to ignore a central tenet of their religion.

The overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan* accepted the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz and agreed that only he, as their *Imam*, had the power to declare a *jihad*. However, a minority of the *Ikhwan* refused to accept this ruling and defied the *'ulama*, King 'Abdul-'Aziz, and the overwhelming majority of the *Ikhwan*.

This minority element within the *Ikhwan* insisted on continuing the *jihad*. They became a dissident faction within the *Ikhwan*. King 'Abdul-'Aziz and his loyal *Ikhwan* faced the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* in the battle of Al-Sibalah in March 1929 and the King and his allies of the *Ikhwan* defeated the dissident *Ikhwan* within one hour. After the battle of Al-Ayaynah in May 1929 the dissidents of the *Ikhwan* became rebels and openly rejected the authority of King 'Abdul-'Aziz over them.

However, from 1926 until 1930 King 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was given overwhelming support from the majority of the *Ikhwan* in his conflict with the minority rebels. That encouraged him to confront against the dissidents. It was clear that after the battle of Al-Ayaynah in May 1929, the rebels were not able to make any headway in their rebellion and could not recruit further tribes to their cause.

In January 1930, the British authorities in Transjordan, Kuwait, and Iraq convinced the leaders of the rebel element of the *Ikhwan* to surrender to them. The British promised the leaders that they would not be handed over to King 'Abdul-'Aziz.

However, they did not keep their promise and the rebel leaders were handed over to King 'Abdul-'Aziz, who put them in prison.

After the rebellion by the rebel elements of the *Ikhwan* was concluded, the *Ikhwan* of Najd became more united than ever. The *Ikhwan* rose against Hamid ibn Rifadah in the Al-Hijaz area in 1932. In 1934 they withstood the aggression of *Imam* Yahya, the *Imam* of Yemen. The sons and grandsons of the leaders of both the loyal and disloyal *Ikhwan* have since played important roles in the security and protection of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The descendants of the *Ikhwan* now represent their country in all walks of life but mainly in the brigades of the National Guard. The rest of them are in their *hijar* and under the *Al-Mujahidiyn* (the strugglers), which are controlled by the Internal Ministry.

During the creation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1902-1932, 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud had to deal with external factors that were affecting his internal policies. These external factors were principally the Ottoman and the British governments. It was clear that 'Abdul-'Aziz had great ability to deal with both internal and the external forces, and this enabled him to protect his achievements against the challenges facing him.

These findings about the *Ikhwan* of Najd and their movement were not discovered by most of the students of this period because the *Ikhwan* movement is difficult for most writers to understand as they lack the necessary background information.

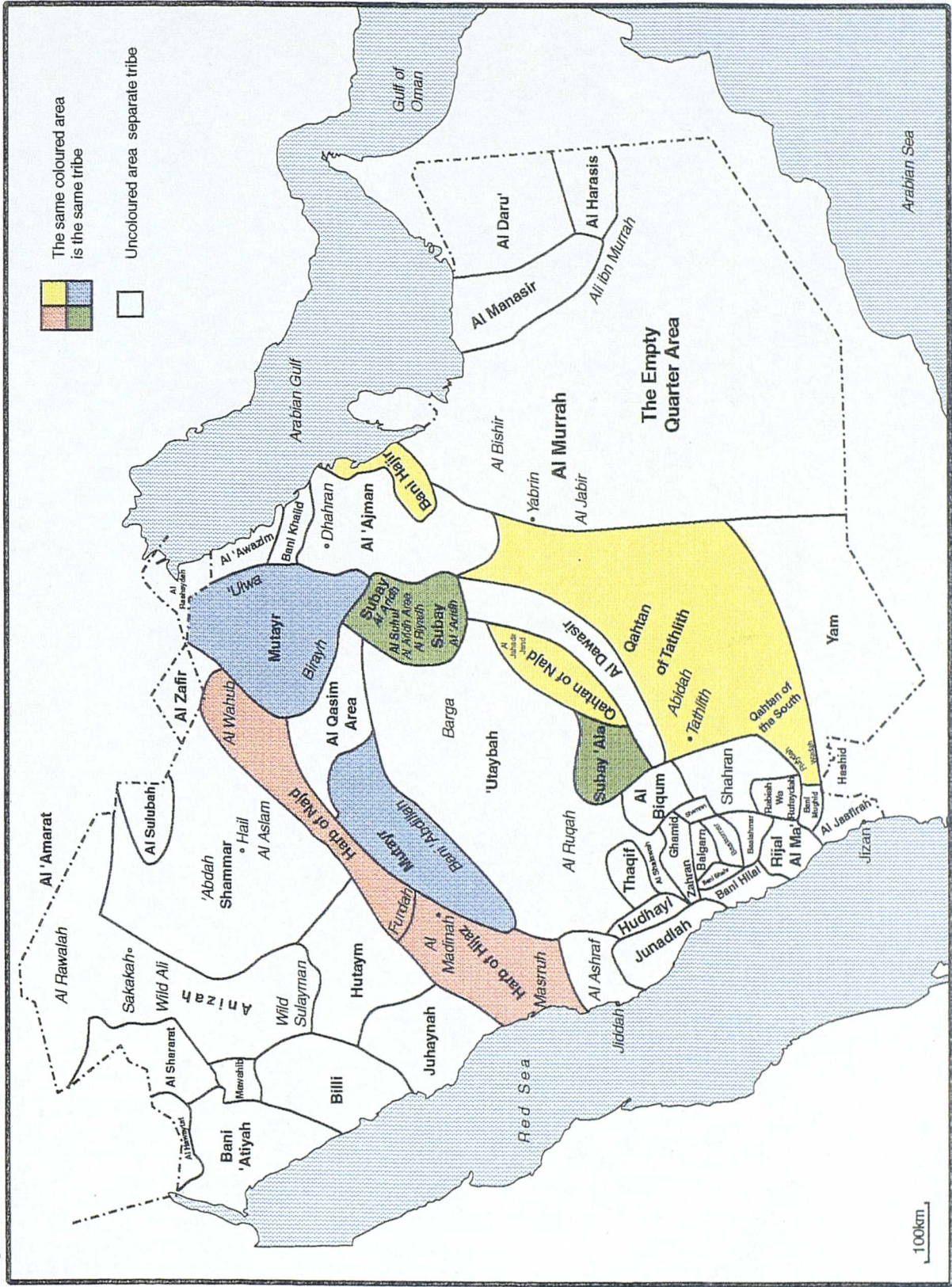
Most of the studies of the *Ikhwan* of Najd have given a prejudicial image of the reality of the *Ikhwan* and their movement and they do not help us to draw a clear picture of the *Ikhwan* movement in Najd. The major reason for that is that the study of the *Ikhwan* of Najd has been dealt with by non-Saudi Arab writers, writers from the *hadhar* of Najd, and foreign writers and it has not been dealt with by bedouin writers who have, of course, had less opportunity to express their views.

These writers referred to earlier have created a misleading view of the *Ikhwan* because they had insufficient direct contact with the *Ikhwan* and their movement. The bedouin of the *Ikhwan* were themselves reluctant to talk to such writers as they did not appreciate or trust them, considering them strangers who had no right to discuss bedouin matters. That right and trust would only be given to a bedouin writer, and

coming from a bedouin background thus researcher was able to benefit from the accounts given by the bedouin.

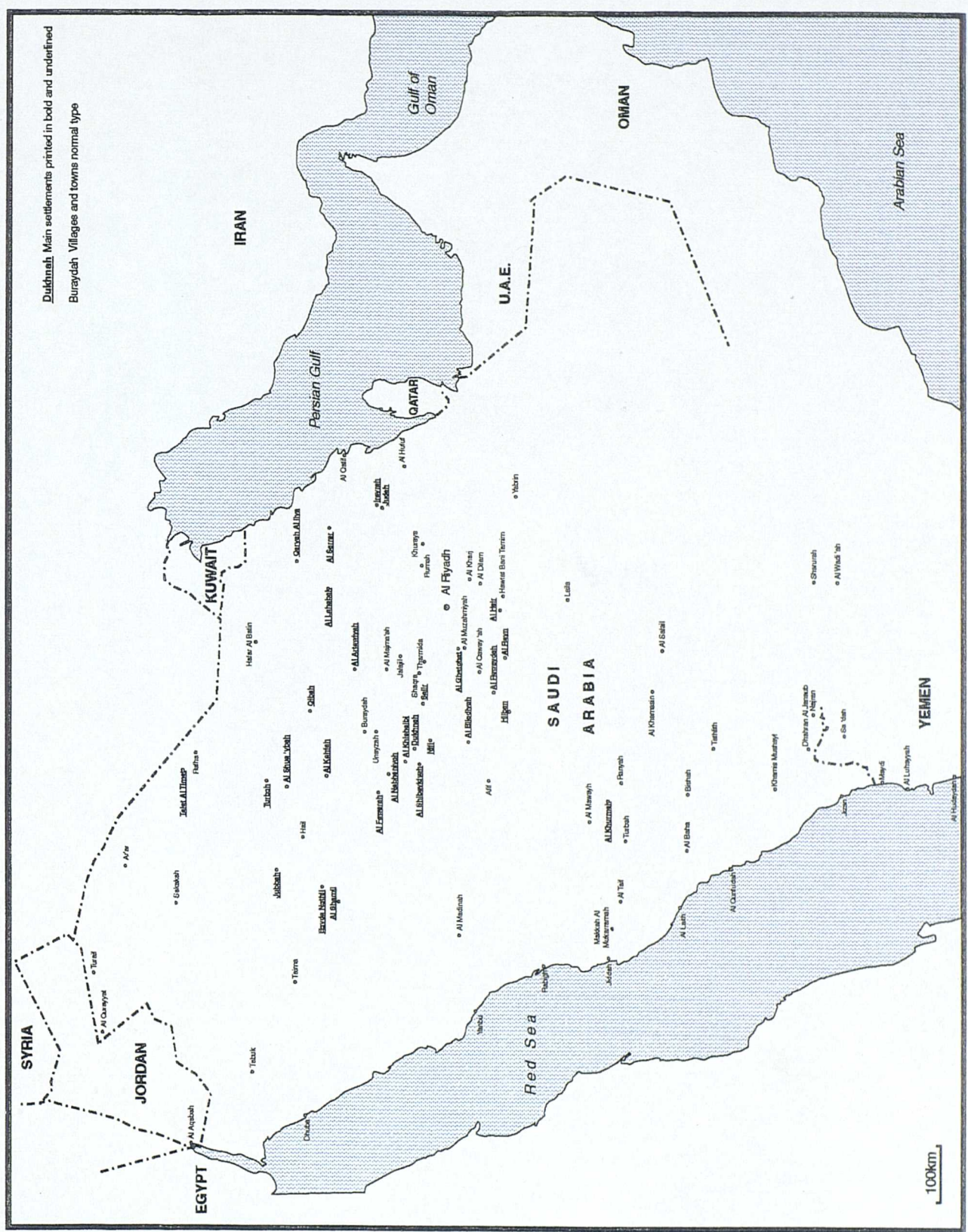
Appendix

Figure 1: Principal Tribes of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia



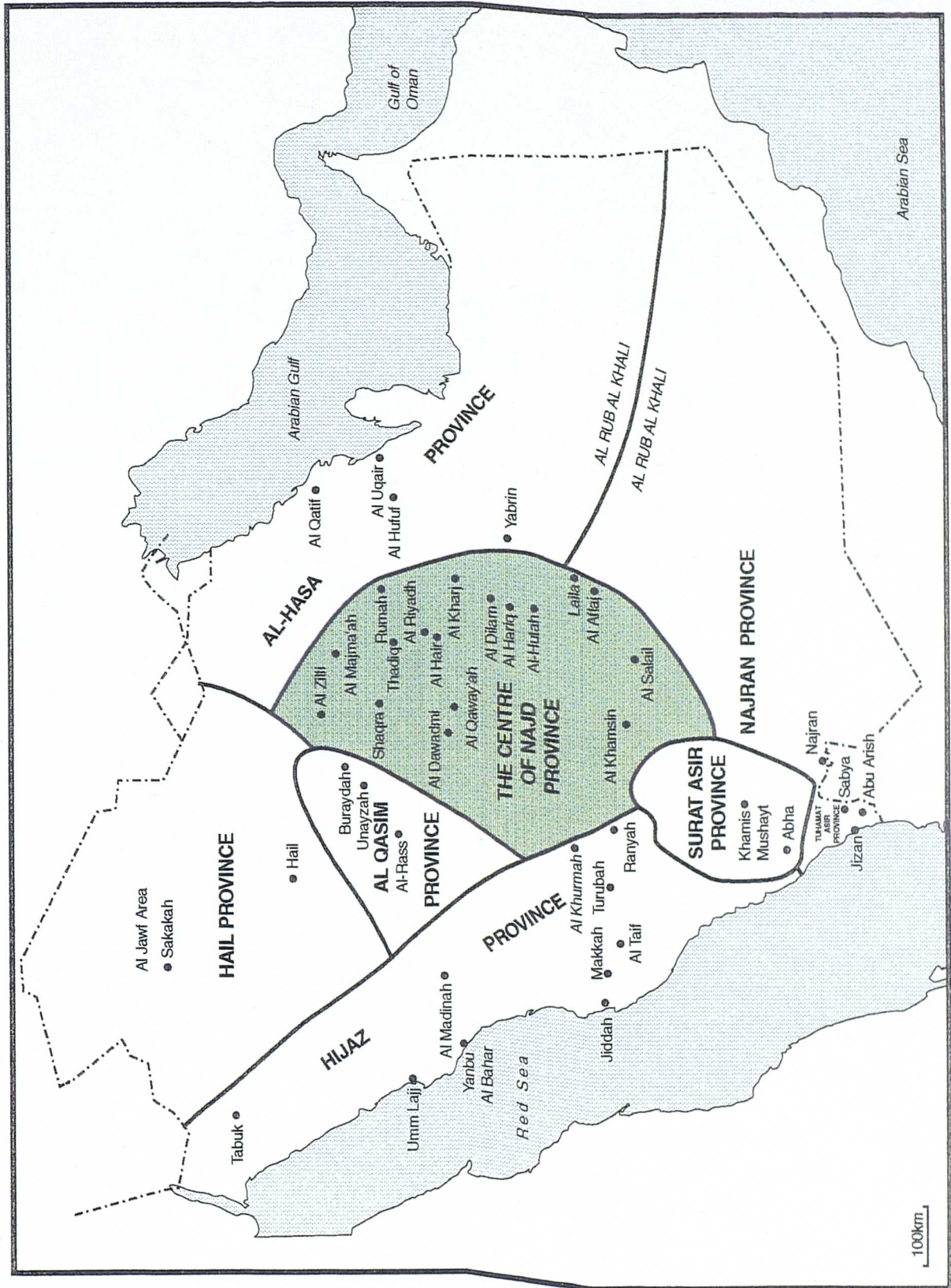
Source: Bundaqji Husayn, (1980), modified

Figure 2: The Main Settlements (Hijjar) of the Ikhwan



Source: Farsi. Zaki, (1990), modified.

Figure 3: The centre of Najd Province



Source: Bundaqi, Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 4: The Al-Qasim Province

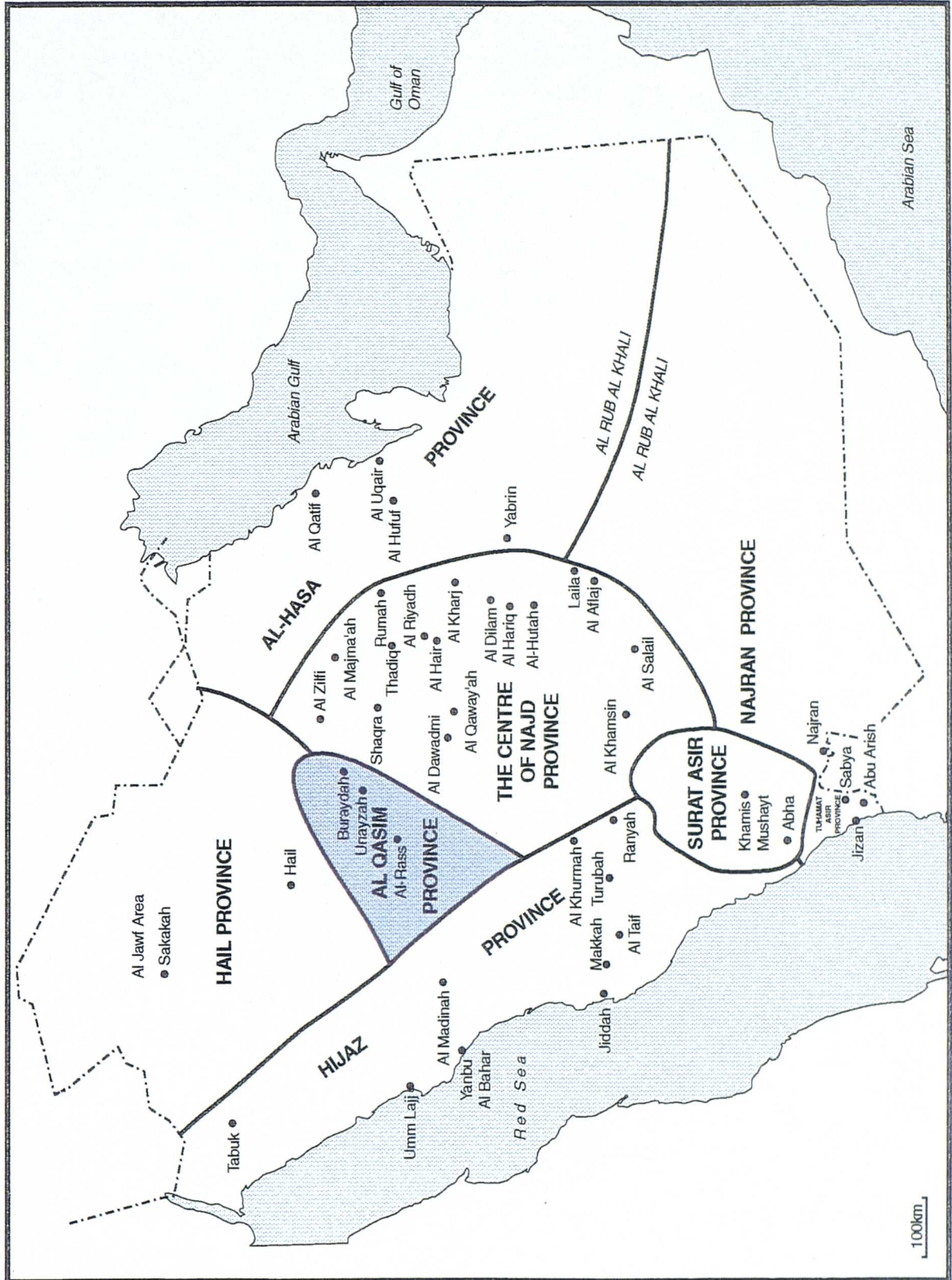
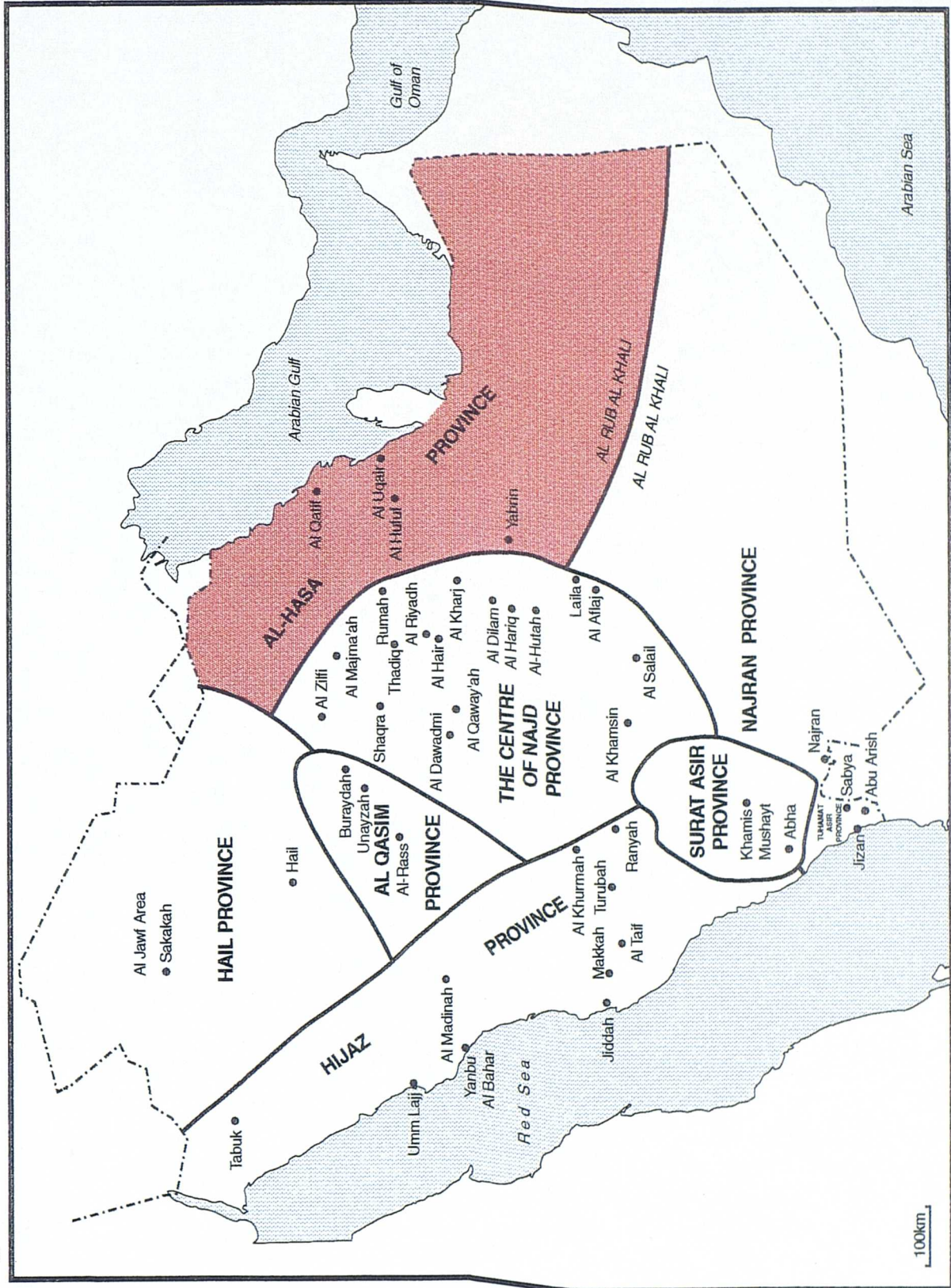
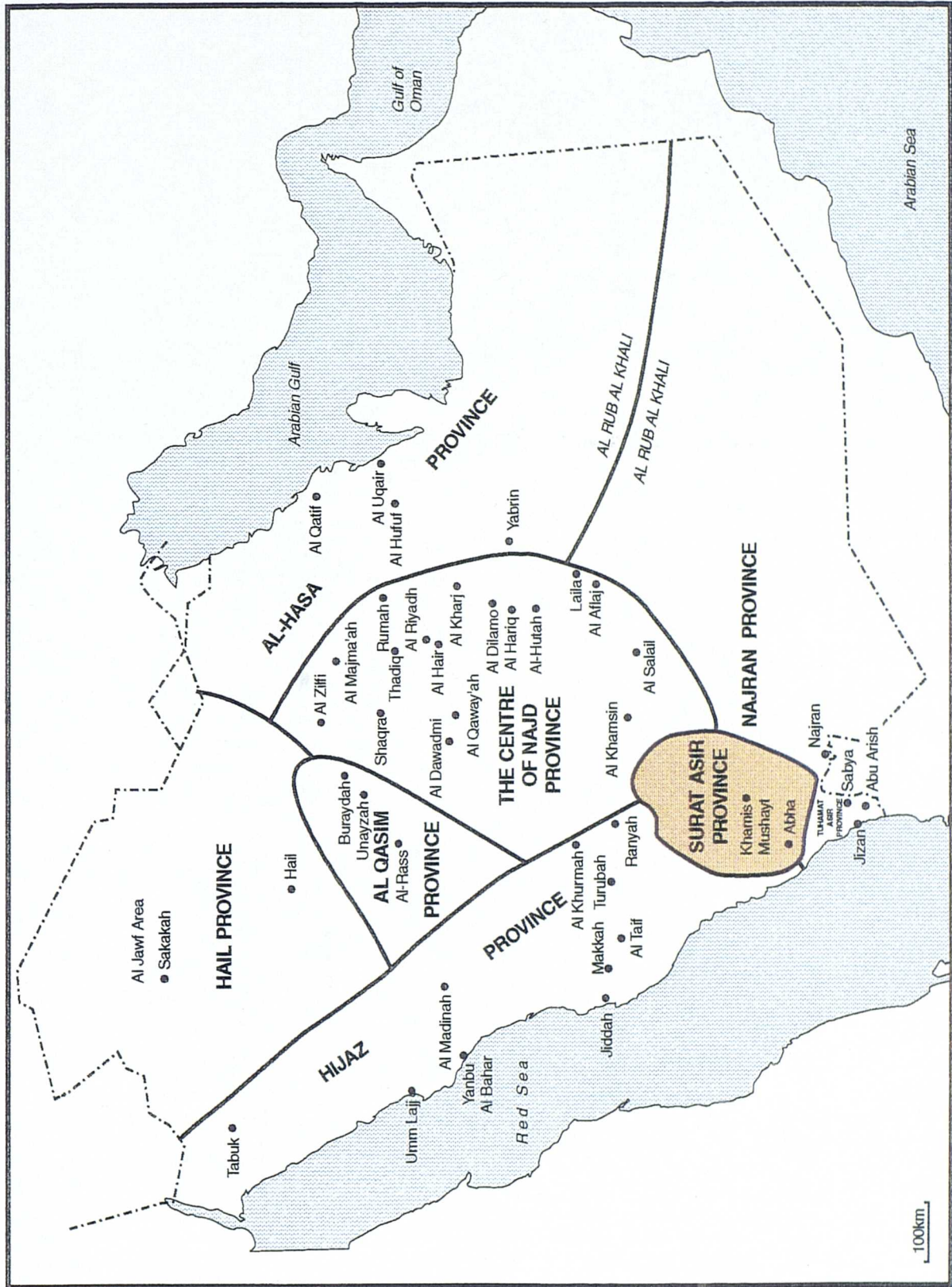


Figure 5: The Al Hasa Province



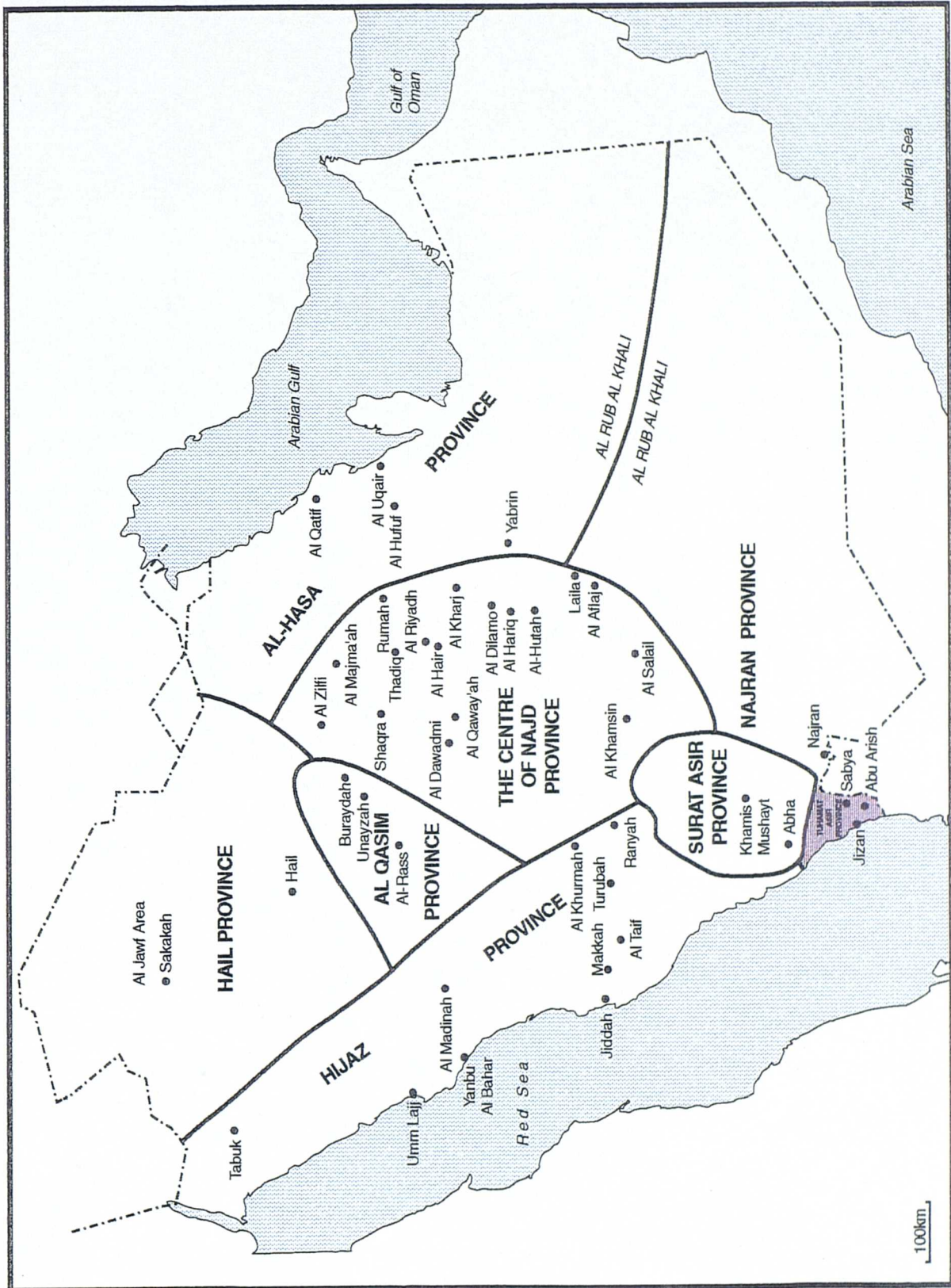
Source: Bundaqji, Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 6: The Surat Asir Province



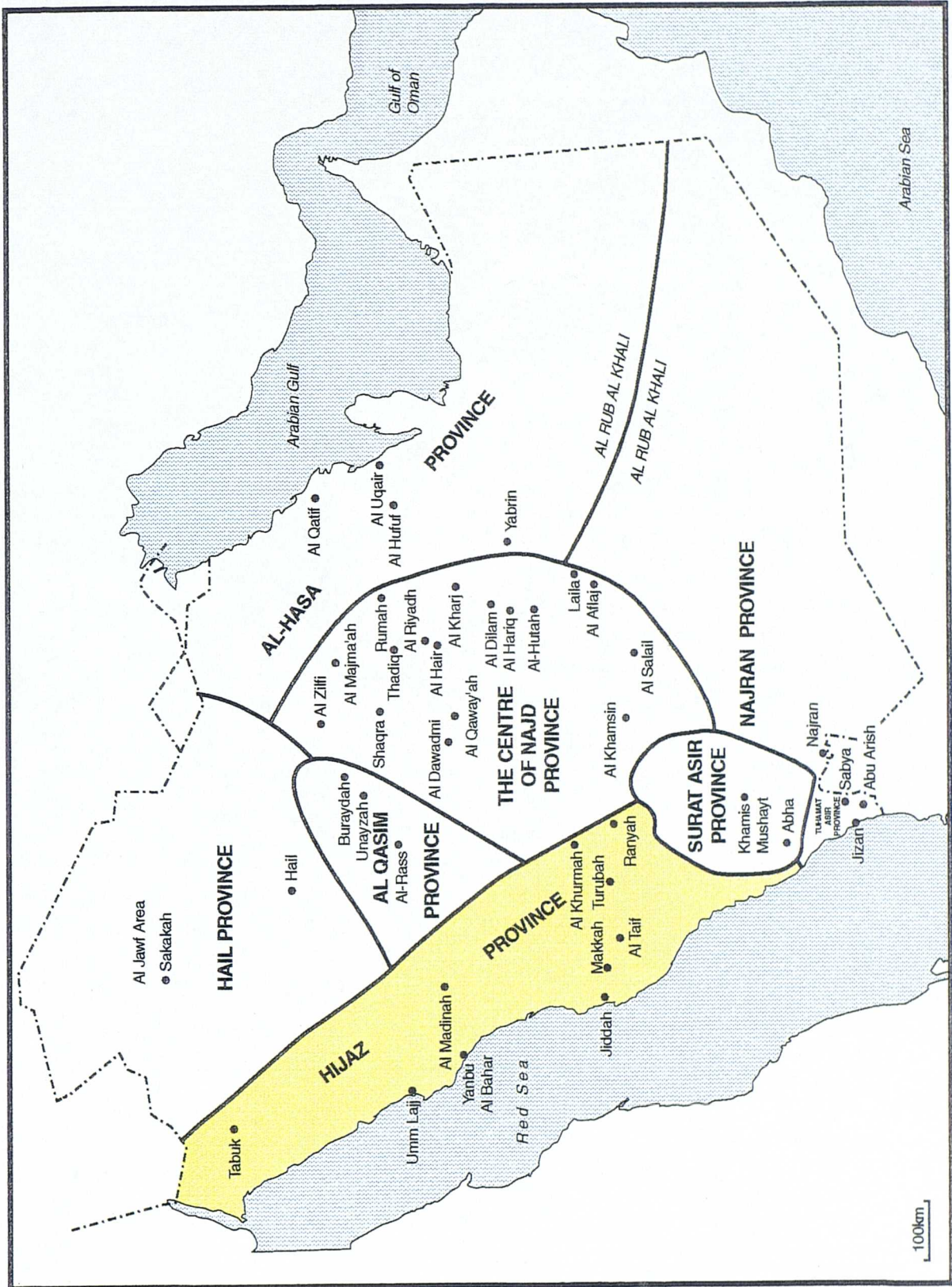
Source: Bundaqji, Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 7: The Tuhamat Asir Province



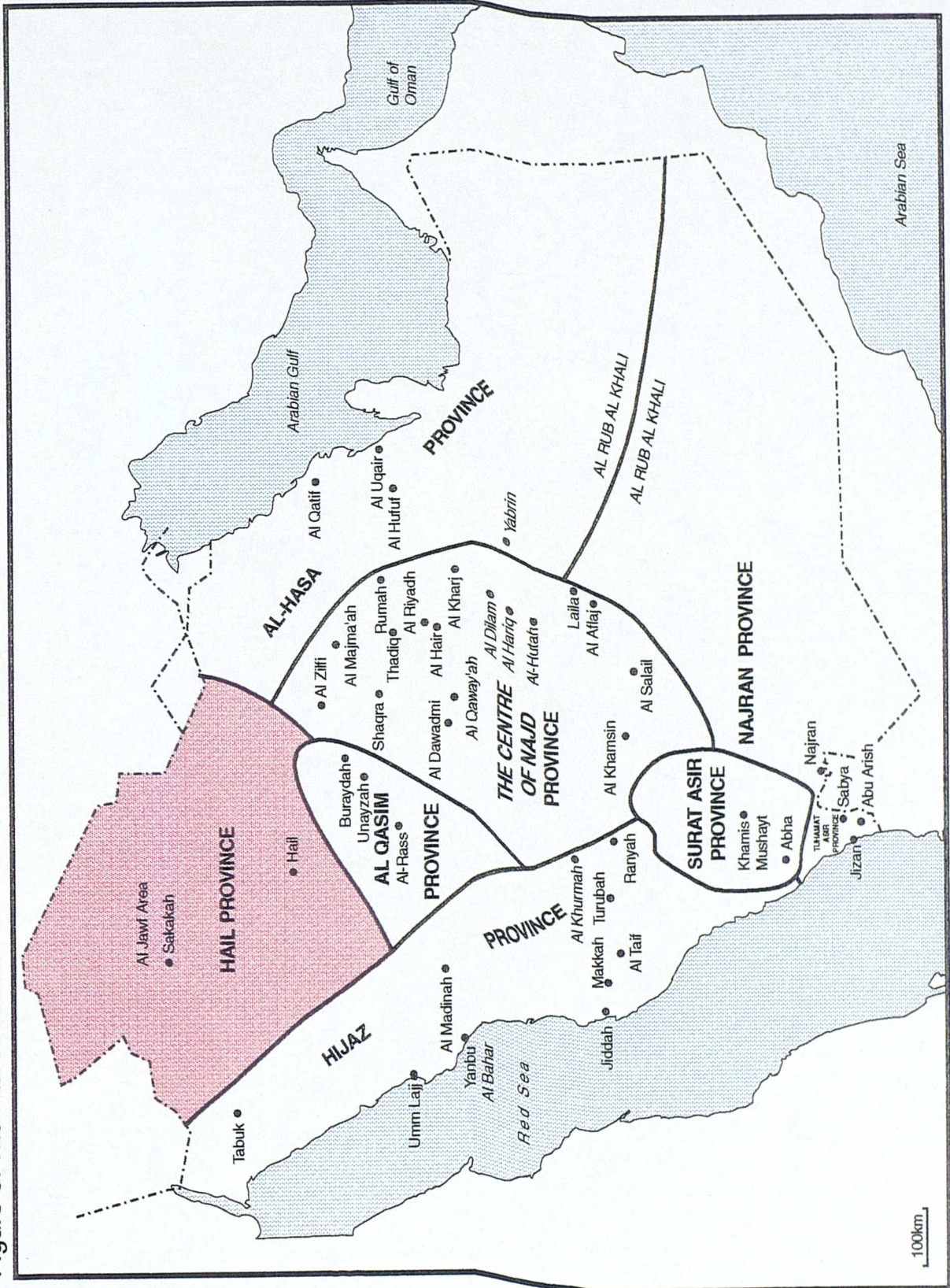
Source: Bundaqji, Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 8: The Hijaz Province



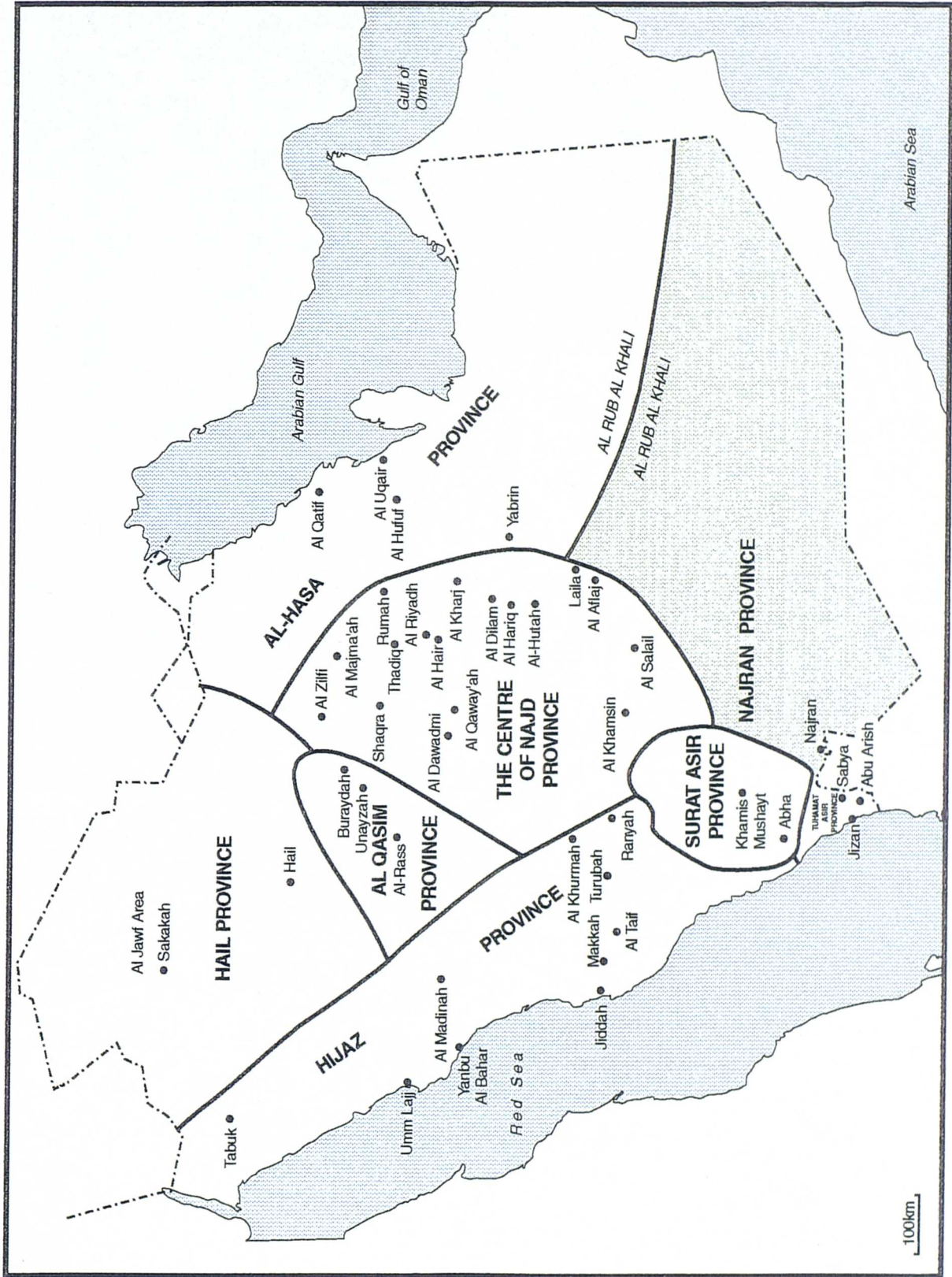
Source: Bundaqji. Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 9: The Hail Province



Source: Bundaqji, Husayn, (1980), modified.

Figure 10: The Najran Province



Source: Bundaqji, Husayn, (1980), modified.

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