This updated edition analyses the challenges, both internal and external, facing Saudi Arabia in the twenty-first century. Two new chapters discuss the political, economic and social developments in the aftermath of 9/11, painting a vivid picture of a country shocked by terrorism and condemned by the international community. Madawi Al-Rasheed reveals that fragmentation of royal politics, a failing economy and fermenting Islamist dissent posed serious threats to state and society in 2001. She assesses the consequent state reforms introduced under pressure of terrorism, international scrutiny and a social mobilisation of men, women and minorities struggling to shape their future against the background of repression and authoritarian rule. While Saudi Arabia is still far from establishing a fourth state, there are signs that the people are ready for a serious change that will lead them to a state of institutions rather than princes.

Madawi Al-Rasheed is Professor of Anthropology of Religion at King’s College, London. She specialises in Saudi history, politics, religion and society. Her recent publications include Contesting the Saudi State (2007) and Kingdom without Borders (2008).
In memory of ‘Abta and her daughters Juwahir and Watfa
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</tbody>
</table>
The impact of 9/11 on Saudi Arabia was immense. It focused the attention of the international community on a regime regarded as an important economic, religious and political force in the Arab world. Throughout the twentieth century Saudi Arabia had enjoyed a friendly alliance with the USA and other European countries, in addition to amicable relations with the Muslim world. Its economic wealth and oil reserves protected it from international scrutiny and the calls for democratisation that swept the world after the end of the Cold War. The regime was able to conduct its internal affairs freely, knowing that there would be no international pressure to change its political, religious or social policies. The international community was content to accept Saudi Arabia as it was, provided that the flow of oil, investment opportunities and arms contracts were not disrupted. International calls for democratisation, the emancipation of women, religious freedom and respect for minority rights were often heard, but no serious attempts to pressurise Saudi Arabia in those directions were on the agenda of those who supported the Sa’udi regime and guaranteed its security—mainly the USA and its major European partners. Saudi Arabia invoked Islam and tradition to block any serious political change. The Sa’udi leadership used oil wealth and development projects to protect itself from internal criticism. Sa’udis were brought up to appreciate security, prosperity, employment and welfare services, which they accepted as a substitute for political participation and democratisation. In return for loyalty and acquiescence, they received handouts, economic opportunities, education, shelter and other services. On a few occasions dissent, such as that of the Islamists in the 1980s and 1990s, erupted over the ideological orientation of the state and its foreign policies. Dissidents demanded greater Islamisation of the state and criticised the leadership for its intimate relations with the West. Such dissent was expressed violently in the case of the seizure of the Mecca mosque by Juhayman al-‘Utaybi in 1979, and in two major terrorist attacks in the 1990s, mainly targeting...
the American presence. The state contained the dissents by deploying two strategies: first, it responded to calls for Islamisation in the public sphere; and second, it increased its security and surveillance measures. None of the dissenters, with the exception of Juhayman’s movement, questioned the foundation of the Saʿudi state or the legitimacy of its leadership, or threatened its continuity.

The confrontation between the regime and a violent jihadi Islamist trend began early in the twenty-first century. It proved different from previous instances of Islamist dissent, as it questioned both the legitimacy of the house of Saʿud and its right to rule. Although the dissidents’ slogans called for the removal of infidels from the Arabian Peninsula, clear statements from Usama Bin Laden and the leaders of al-Qa’idah in the Arabian Peninsula directly attacked the leadership, and dubbed it blasphemous. This was followed by a wave of terror in Saʿudi cities that killed hundreds of Saʿudis, Westerners and Arabs. This coincided with serious economic problems, political stagnation and social unrest. The last years of the reign of the ailing King Fahd brought to the surface the changing nature of the Saʿudi state, which thenceforth began to consist of multiple actors, each competing to carve out a political space on the map of Saudi Arabia. National debt and economic slowdown plagued the country and slowed its ability to absorb the growing population. The educational infrastructure and the welfare services deteriorated, and failed to respond to the new demographic realities of the country. Oil revenues were either plundered or channelled into unproductive but prestigious construction projects. Saʿudis were desperately awaiting serious improvement of their economic situation when they came face to face with terrorism.

The participation of fifteen Saʿudis in the attack on the World Trade Center in New York forced the international community to see Saudi Arabia through a new lens. The previous silence over its internal political affairs, religious tradition and social norms was lifted, subjecting its leadership and society to outside scrutiny. The Saʿudi leadership felt compelled to address international scrutiny and respond to an unprecedented internal mobilisation. It had no choice but to appropriate the rhetoric of reform before it was either imposed from outside or hijacked by active Saʿudi constituencies. Serious political reform remained unattainable, while the leadership engaged in economic liberalisation and timid social and religious change. Opening up the economy proved easier than anticipated, as the country started benefiting from the rise in oil prices that began in 2003. Taming the religious sphere and curbing the influence of radical preachers and texts also proved easier than formulating a political reform.
agenda. The state remained resistant to civil society’s calls for greater political participation in anticipation of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.

The leadership was active on two fronts. First, it increased its security measures to contain terrorism, and launched a campaign to restrict the propagation of radical religious ideas, believed to be the mobilising ideological weapon of al-Qa’idah. Second, it set a social and religious reform agenda, promising to increase consultation and respond to the demands of the constituency. In most cases, however, these demands were contradictory: Sa’udi society was polarised along ideological lines, with Islamists and liberals imagining reform in different ways. Islamists envisaged greater respect for the country’s Islamic heritage and tradition. They remained resistant to the idea of social liberalisation and moderation. Liberals identified the causes of terrorism as emanating from strict religious interpretations and restrictions on freedoms. Their reform agenda envisaged less religious indoctrination and preaching. The task of the leadership was to reconcile the two opposed views and extract loyalty from both. By 2008 the state had managed to contain terrorism and project itself as the champion of reform.

This second edition captures in two additional chapters the challenges, both internal and external, facing Saudi Arabia in the twenty-first century. Chapter 8 deals with the political, economic, security and international pressures that coincided with 9/11. This was a time when neither the leadership nor society was prepared for the outcomes of global terrorism, which turned into a serious local problem. The Sa’udi leadership suddenly found itself in an advantageous position after its oil revenues more than doubled as a result of the dramatic increase in oil prices. Part of this new wealth, dubbed ‘the second period of affluence’, was invested in projects designed to improve the Sa’udi economy, increase employment opportunities and contain dissent.

Chapter 9 discusses how modernising authoritarian rule became a substitute for serious political reforms. This modernisation involved reforming the royal house, establishing National Dialogue Forums, instituting municipal elections in Sa’udi cities and engaging with human rights. The chapter also highlights the internal social and political mobilisation of Sa’udis themselves, whose voices, petitions, literary productions and activism reached new frontiers and stretched the boundaries of official tolerance. A newly formed political trend calling for constitutional monarchy drew on the participation of academics, intellectuals and professionals from both sides of the ideological divide, both Islamists and liberals. Minorities
Preface

aspired towards greater inclusion under new slogans calling for respect of religious freedom, human rights and greater political participation in government and civil society. Slogans promoting the idea of of *wataniiyya* (citizenship) replaced ambiguous global solidarities such as the Muslim *umma*. Women began to be more visible and articulate in pressing for equality and recognition. Novelists, writers and bloggers benefited from globalisation and new communication technologies, using them to open up Saʿudi society and challenge its political, religious and social authoritarian tradition and history of secrecy. Reform and repression progressed hand in hand. The rhetoric of reform succeeded in enlisting society in formulating a vision of its future, under the patronage of the state. Repression deterred those who aspired towards real political change. With the advent of the twenty-first century, Saʿudis seem to be heading towards a fourth state, as authoritarianism undergoes serious cosmetic changes. It remains to be seen whether this change will eventually lead to a new polity, founded on solid representative institutions. Such drastic change is unlikely to materialise in the short term, yet it cannot be ruled out in the future.
Chronology

1517
Ottoman authority established in Hijaz

1550
Ottoman authority established in Hasa

1670
Banu Khalid rebel against the Ottomans in Hasa

1744
Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab arrives in Dir‘iyyah

1780
The Sa‘udi–Wahhabi emirate expands in Qasim

1792
The Sa‘udi–Wahhabi emirate expands in southern Najd

1797
Qatar and Bahrain acknowledge Sa‘udi authority

1801
Sa‘udi–Wahhabi forces raid Karbala’ in Iraq

1802
Sa‘udi–Wahhabi emirate expands in Hijaz

1804
Madina acknowledges Sa‘udi authority

1811
Egyptian troops land in Yanbu’

1818
Egyptian troops sack Dir‘iyyah

1824
Turki ibn ‘Abdullah re-establishes Sa‘udi authority in Riyadh

1830
Sa‘udi rule expands into Hasa

1834
Turki ibn ‘Abdullah assassinated by his cousin, Mishari

1836
The Rashidis establish their rule in Ha’il

1837
Sa‘udi ruler Faysal captured by Egyptian troops and sent to Cairo

1843
Faysal returns to Riyadh

1865
Faysal dies

1871
The Ottomans occupy Hasa

1891
Sa‘udi rule in Riyadh terminated by the Rashidis

1893
The Sa‘udis take refuge in Kuwait

1902
Ibn Sa‘ud captures Riyadh

1903
Ibn Sa‘ud adopts the title ‘Sultan of Najd’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Abha in ‘Asir falls under Ibn Sa’ud’s authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud conquers Qasim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud challenged by his cousins, the ‘Ara’if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ottomans appoint Ḥusayn ibn ‘Ali Sharif of Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud establishes the first <em>ikhwan</em> settlement, ‘Arṭawiyyah, for the Muṭayr tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud establishes the <em>ikhwan</em> settlement al-Ghaṭghaṭ for the ‘Uṭayba tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud conquers Hasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Britain acknowledges Ibn Sa’ud as ruler of Najd and Hasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Sharif Ḥusayn declares himself King of the Arabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Ta’if in Hijaz falls under Ibn Sa’ud’s authority</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharīf ‘Alī replaces his father, Sharīf Ḥusayn, in Hijaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Jeddah surrenders to Ibn Sa’ud</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud declares himself ‘King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>The <em>ikhwan</em> rebel against Ibn Sa’ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud meets the Riyadh ‘ulama to solve the <em>ikhwan</em> crisis</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud defeats the <em>ikhwan</em> rebels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud declares his realm the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud signs the oil concession</td>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>The first oil tanker with Sa’udi oil leaves Ra’s Tannura</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud meets American President Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud meets British Prime Minister Winston Churchill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud visits Cairo</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>The Council of Ministers established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibn Sa’ud dies; his son Sa’ud becomes King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa’udi ARAMCO workers organise the first demonstration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>A plot for a coup by Sa’udi army officers discovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Sa’udi ARAMCO workers riot in the eastern province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>The movement of the Free Princes established by Prince Ṭalal ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>King Sa’ud abdicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Faysal becomes King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa’ud dies in Greece</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>As a result of the oil embargo, oil prices increase</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>King Faysal assassinated by his nephew, Prince Faysal ibn Musa’id</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khalid becomes King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The siege of Mecca mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>The Shi’a riot in the eastern province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>The Gulf Cooperation Council established</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>King Khalid dies; Fahd becomes King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Oil prices decrease to their lowest level since the 1970s; King Fahd adopts the title 'Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Saddam Husayn invades Kuwait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Sa’udi women defy the ban on women driving in Riyadh; The Gulf War starts; The liberal petition sent to King Fahd; The Islamist petition sent to King Fahd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>A sixty-member Consultative Council established; Sa’udi Islamists publish the Memorandum of Advice; King Fahd announces a series of reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>The Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights in Saudi Arabia (CDLR) established in Riyadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Terrorist explosions at Khobar Towers; Terrorist explosions at al-‘Ulaiyya American military mission, Riyadh; The number of members appointed to the Consultative Council increased to ninety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia starts the centennial celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Oil prices rise above $30 per barrel; Two Sa’udis hijack Saudi Arabian Airline flight from Jeddah to London; they surrender in Baghdad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Fifteen Sa’udis participate in the attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Sa’udi Foreign Minister Sa’ud al-Faysal says his country will not take part in the invasion of Iraq; Saddam’s regime is toppled by the US-led invasion of Iraq; Sa’udi suicide bombers kill thirty-five people at an expatriate housing compound in Riyadh; First National Dialogue Forum is held in Riyadh; Sa’udi intellectuals and professionals sign the first petition calling for political reform; A small demonstration in Riyadh calls for respect for human rights and the release of political prisoners; Another major suicide attack on a residential housing compound kills seventeen people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2004 | Suicide bombers kill four members of the security forces at their headquarters in Riyadh  
Several constitutional reformers are arrested  
Suicide bombers kill five foreign workers at Yanbu  
BBC security correspondent Frank Gardner is seriously injured and his cameraman killed in Riyadh  
Security forces kill ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Muqrin, leader of al-Qa’idah in the Arabian Peninsula  
The American consulate in Jeddah is attacked; five members of staff and security personnel are killed |
| 2005 | Suicide bombers kill more than twenty people at an oil company compound in al-Khobar  
Crown Prince ‘Abdullah visits the USA  
Municipal elections held in Sa’udi cities  
King Fahd dies and ‘Abdullah becomes King  
Three security officers killed in clashes with jihadis  
Saudi Arabia officially joins the World Trade Organisation |
| 2006 | Sa’udi security forces kill six al-Qa’idah activists |
| 2007 | Ministry of the Interior spokesman announces the arrest of 172 suspected terrorists  
Terrorists kill four French nationals  
King ‘Abdullah announces the establishment of the Committee of Allegiance, consisting of thirty-five princes  
Intelligence services arrest fifteen intellectuals and professionals in Jeddah  
Saudi Arabia announces the biggest budget in its history  
King ‘Abdullah visits the Vatican |
| 2008 | Ministry of the Interior spokesman announces the arrest of more than 500 suspected terrorists  
Oil prices reach $143 per barrel  
First interfaith dialogue is held in Mecca |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahl al-bayt</td>
<td>the Prophet’s household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahl al-ḥal wa al-ʿaqd</td>
<td>Sa’udi society (‘the people who tie and loose’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿalmaniyyun</td>
<td>secularists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amin sīr</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amīr</td>
<td>ruler, prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿamm</td>
<td>public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ʿammīyya</td>
<td>vernacular Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿarda</td>
<td>sword dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿasabiyya madḥabiyya</td>
<td>sectarian solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿasabiyya najdiyya</td>
<td>Najdi solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿasabiyya qabaliyya</td>
<td>tribal solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿashura</td>
<td>anniversary of al-Ḥusayn’s death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badū</td>
<td>bedouins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baghī</td>
<td>usurper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayʿa</td>
<td>oath of allegiance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidʿa</td>
<td>innovation, heresy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daʿwa</td>
<td>religious call, mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dira</td>
<td>tribal territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diwan</td>
<td>royal court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duʿat al-islah al-dusturi</td>
<td>advocates of constitutional reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatwā (pl. fatawā)</td>
<td>religious opinion issued by shariʿa experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiqh</td>
<td>Islamic jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitna</td>
<td>strife, dissent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghulat</td>
<td>religious extremists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥadār</td>
<td>sedentary population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaqq</td>
<td>pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hizb siyasi</td>
<td>political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hujjar</td>
<td>village settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿhuqūq</td>
<td>rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husayniyat</td>
<td>Shiʿi mourning houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary

‘ibada  Islamic rituals
‘id al-adha  festival marking the pilgrimage season
‘id al-fitr  festival marking the end of Ramadān
ihtilal  occupation
ikhwan (sing. khawi)  Muslim brothers/companions, tribal force
‘ilm  knowledge
imam  prayer leader/leader of Muslim community
imara  emirate
infitah  openness
islāh  reform
al-jabiliyya  the age of ignorance
al-jazira al-‘arabiyya  the Arabian Peninsula
jihād  holy war
kafir  blasphemous
khadirī  non-tribal people
khilwa  intimate encounter between an unrelated man and woman, unaccompanied by a chaperon
al-khuluq  morality
khuṣuṣiya  the uniqueness of the Islamic tradition of Saudi Arabia
khuwwa  tribute
kufr  unbelief
mahdi  one who guides
majlis (pl. majalis)  council
majlis ʿamm  public council
majlis al-dars  study session
majlis al-shura  consultative council
multazim  young Muslim fighters
muṭawwaḍa (sing. muṭawwaḍa)  Najdi religious specialist/volunteer
nahḍa  renaissance, awakening
al-naksa  the June 1967 humiliation
naṣība  advice
al-nawasib  pejorative Shiʿi name for hostile Sunnis
niʿma  divine abundance
qādi  judge
rafida  rejectionists, those who distort Islam
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ramaḍan</td>
<td>Ramadhan, the fasting month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shari‘a</td>
<td>Islamic legal code and rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaykh</td>
<td>tribal leader/religious scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirk</td>
<td>polytheism, associationism</td>
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<tr>
<td>shura</td>
<td>consultation</td>
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<tr>
<td>sura</td>
<td>Qur’anic verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-shu‘ba al-siyasiyya</td>
<td>political committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta‘ṣub</td>
<td>fanaticism</td>
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<tr>
<td>taghrib</td>
<td>Westernisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takfir</td>
<td>the labelling of non-Wahhabi Muslims as unbelievers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawḥid</td>
<td>doctrine of the oneness of God/ unification</td>
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<tr>
<td>thaqafat al-hiwar</td>
<td>public dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaqafat al-irhab</td>
<td>the ideology of terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ulama (sing. ‘alim)</td>
<td>religious scholars</td>
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<tr>
<td>umma</td>
<td>Muslim community</td>
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<tr>
<td>wali</td>
<td>Ottoman governor</td>
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<tr>
<td>waqf (pl. awqaf)</td>
<td>religious endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-waṣatiyya</td>
<td>the middle path of Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waṭan</td>
<td>country, fatherland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waṭaniyya</td>
<td>citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zakat</td>
<td>Islamic tax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>