

The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times: A Historiographical Survey of Recent Publications

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Abstract: Writing on the history of the Arabian Peninsula has grown considerably in recent years and this survey — an updating of an earlier examination — cites and describes the publications in Western languages since 1990 that deal with the Peninsula's history, historiography, and related subjects. It loosely categorizes the literature according to subject and assesses the state of the art during this time period. It also includes some personal observations of the author on the progress and direction of writing on the Arabian Peninsula.

Keywords: Arabian Peninsula, Gulf, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, history, historiography, country studies, biography, boundaries, military, economic history, social history, cultural history, diplomatic history, foreign policy, Britain, USA, Islam, Wahhabism, Islamic sects, Indian Ocean studies, Hadramawt, Jews in Yemen

1 Introduction

In an article published in 1991, I wrote that “The outlines of Arabia’s modern history are well known. It is the underlying firmament that remains *terra incognita*.”¹ To be sure, much of the territory still remains unknown or unexplored, but, on the positive side, significant inroads have been made over the two decades since then.

This survey is an update of that earlier article. The review of recent literature not only reflects an augmentation of publications but a (seemingly paradoxical) broadening and narrowing of focus. I remarked in the earlier essay that much of the literature was descriptive or narrative. An increasing proportion is more rigorously analytical and methodological, building on the foundations provided by earlier “classical” or seminal works.

The directions of recent literature seem to be determined by two independent variables. One is the unfolding of events that alter the canvas. If British withdrawal from the Gulf, the quickening of American interest, the Iranian revolution, and the Iran-Iraq War shaped key regional and domestic developments in the 1970s and 1980s, the landscape of the subsequent decades has been equally forcefully shaped — or scarred — by such events as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Yemeni civil war, 9/11, the Palestinian *intifadas*, the American-led invasion of Iraq, and the popular ferment in a number of Arab countries in 2011, culminating in the changes of regime

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Author's note: Due to this article's extensive citations, the standard bibliography at the end has been omitted and full bibliographic information included in the footnotes instead.

¹ “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times: A Historiographical Survey”, *American Historical Review* 96.5 (1991), pp. 1435–49. The quotation is from p. 1449.

in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, as well as a civil war in Syria. Inevitably this has had enormous impact on both the selection of subjects and the approaches taken to studying them. As a prominent example, the Iranian Revolution and subsequent events focused more attention on the political role of Islam and virtually dealt a death knell to the emphasis on the role of the military and secular ideologies. Surprisingly, discussion of the topic of a “new middle class”, although perhaps more pertinent than ever, has disappeared as well. More recently, the attacks of 11 September 2001 and the emergence of the global threat of al-Qa’idah and its allies have more tightly focused attention on militant and extremist Islamists. Much of this writing has been policy-oriented and geared to impressing policy-makers and/or the general public. Nevertheless, solid scholarly work has begun to distinguish this field.

My earlier article also remarked on the recent emergence of fragile and seemingly transitory states, given the fact that only two of the seven present states of the Peninsula existed in 1935. From the vantage point of the beginning of the twenty-first century, it appears that the process of state formation has taken deep root. Now the question is how will these states evolve given the pressures of socioeconomic development, political liberalization, globalization and erratic oil prices, socialization and Islamism, and vulnerability to external developments.

Second, another conclusion from my earlier article was that “historical scholarship [on the Arabian Peninsula] has yet to move beyond the comfortable horizons of country studies and political analysis” (p. 1436). Fortunately, there has been a deepening in the specificity of topics examined, the analytical and methodological tools used, and the quality of scholarship brought to bear on the region. Yemen has long been a popular subject and specialized centers cater to the relevant scholars. In the late 1980s, an attempt to create a Society for Gulf Arab Studies within the Middle East Studies Association eventually foundered due to the lack of interest. Perhaps now with the emergence of a critical mass concerned with the Gulf side of the Peninsula, the newer Association for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies will be more successful.

It only seems prudent to begin with a few caveats — or explanations. My interpretation of what is “historical” will be rather broad for some tastes. It does seem important, though, to bring in a broader perspective on scholarly studies in the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, works that fall within the disciplines of political science, anthropology, and economics will find themselves cited in the following pages. All the references I will cite are in Western languages, since works in Arabic and Persian are ably covered by in essays by Fahad Ahmad Bishara and Gholam Reza Vatandoust.² Most of these works are in English, undoubtedly reflecting the long and deep relations between Britain and the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, as well as English being the nexus for academic writing today. But that should not obscure the recognition that there is an expanding body of literature in other Western languages, particularly French and German.

Reflecting my own interests, the restricted space for this survey, and logical continuation of the terms of my article mentioned earlier, the selection of works for citation is limited to the modern period and geographically to the Arabian Peninsula. Undoubtedly I have missed many pertinent and valuable publications. I beg the reader’s indulgence and welcome comments and suggestions.

Who are these authors? In my earlier article, I made reference to the many books and articles written by a combination of foreign (heavily British) officials posted to the region and a cadre of intrepid travelers. These are the foundation stones upon which later work and subsequent generations of scholars and other observers have been able to build. We shall not see their like again.

² “Narrative and the Historian’s Craft in the Arabic Historiography of the Gulf” and “The Historiography of the Persian Gulf: A Survey of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Persian Sources”, respectively in *The Persian Gulf in Modern Times: People, Ports, and History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

For at least some, questions may remain about their politics and their attitudes toward the peoples and culture of the region, but there can be little doubt about their dedication to accurate and often minute description, analysis, and translation. The sympathy and close identification of others is beyond doubt, among them Miles, Thesiger, Ingrams, Wilson, Lorimer, Cox, and Philby.

To be sure, there are diplomats today who publish on the region — and not always on policy-oriented matters. Many find it more convenient to write after their retirement. These may include subjects in which they have had personal interests, as well as memoirs and *mea culpas*, for example, Bernard Burrows and Glen Balfour-Paul.

Of course, a very significant and welcome development has been the growing emergence of scholars from the region. Many have done very competent doctoral work, some of which has been published in book or article form. Unfortunately, the majority seem subsequently to either pursue non-scholarly occupations or get caught in a social environment that deadens the scholarly impulse. There are disadvantages as well as advantages to being from the region or country on which one researches and writes.

There is also the curious phenomenon of scholars who have published on the Arabian Peninsula but then have disappeared from the literature. Some have pursued similar or other interests in a different geographic region, some maintained a scholarly interest in the subject only during and perhaps immediately after their doctoral dissertation/thesis work, and some have abandoned scholarly pursuits altogether. This was perhaps understandable in earlier times when access was extremely difficult. But it is surprising to see this phenomenon continuing into the last two decades.

There has always been a problem of access to the countries of the Peninsula in order to carry out scholarly research and fieldwork. Notably, this has eased in recent years. For example, access to Saudi Arabia was almost impossible and those who gained it tended either to work in the kingdom or have a personal connection with someone who did. In the last decade or so, however, the number of young scholars who have spent time in Saudi Arabia has burgeoned. Their ability to research and write intimately on their areas of specialization owes much to the liberalization of attitudes in the Peninsula to scholars. Many problems remain — for indigenous scholars as well as foreign ones — but progress has been made. In the meantime, scholars such as Assem Dessouki, Paul Dresch, Alexander Knysh, Madawi al-Rasheed, Jane Bristol-Rhys, and Jörg Matthias Determann have contemplated the writing of history in and about the Arabian Peninsula and published their conclusions in recent years.³

Prior to the 1990s, historical study of the region often and necessarily relied upon archives — principally (although not exclusively) those found in London. The passage of time has altered this necessity. The multiplicity of secondary sources and their extensiveness has enabled many new

³ Paul Dresch, “Imams and Tribes: The Writing and Acting of History in Upper Yemen”, in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edited by Phillip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 252–87; Assem Dessouki, “Social and Political Dimensions of the Historiography of the Arab Gulf”, in *Statecraft in the Middle East: Oil, Historical Memory, and Popular Culture*, edited by Eric Davis and Nicolas Gavrielides (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991), pp. 92–115; Madawi al-Rasheed, “Political Legitimacy and the Production of History: The Case of Saudi Arabia”, in *New Frontiers in Middle East Security*, edited by Lenore G. Martin (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1998), pp. 25–46; idem, “The Capture of Riyadh Revisited: Shaping Historical Imagination in Saudi Arabia”, in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 183–200; Alexander Knysh, “The Sada in History: A Critical Essay on Hadrami Historiography”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 9.2 (1999), pp. 215–22; Jane Bristol-Rhys, “Emirati Historical Narratives”, *History and Anthropology* 20.2 (2009), pp. 107–21; Jörg Matthias Determann, *Historiography in Saudi Arabia: Globalization and the State in the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); idem, “Dynastic Periodization and Its Limits: Historiography in Contemporary Arab Monarchies”, *Der Islam* 91.1 (2014), pp. 94–113.

directions to be pursued. External archives still dominate but these now include a growing number of state archives, such as Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, and especially Ottoman collections. The missing dimension is the difficulty in gaining access to the archival collections of regional states.⁴

While archives in the Peninsula remain closed or non-existent, there is more written material available in the Peninsula. Many government departments provide data on the Web. Newspapers are freely accessible. Some oral history collections do exist. A few commercial firms have allowed researchers to examine their archives. Above all, access to people is easier and often more productive.

Also in the farther realm of caveat, some classes of publication seem to be routinely overlooked. Let us not forget new editions. Some may be recent publications of works written a considerable time ago (as the dissertation of George Rentz), while others may be updates or reworkings of earlier books (Frauke Heard-Bey's survey of UAE history). Some "coffee table" books are just that, pretty objects to decorate the room. But the value of many other "coffee table" books should be recognized, both for the original work that has gone into the writing and for the value of the illustrations they contain. Furthermore, there has been a burgeoning of conferences on the region, organized both by outside groups (such as Gulf/2000) and by institutions within the region. This represents a far cry from such lonely beacons as the 1969 Oxford conference published as *The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics*⁵ and the earlier annual conferences of the Center for Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter.

2 Political history

2.1 Country studies

One segment of literature that remains popular is the steady stream of country studies of various sorts. Some of these are reinterpretations, updates, or broader overarching studies of the Peninsula's constituent countries, often building upon or extending "classic" works published before 1990. Other studies concentrate on a particular period or slice of a country's history, most frequently on the twentieth century and especially since roughly 1970. In addition, a few view the country's history through the prism of a particular theory or aspect. Somewhat surprisingly, regional and comparative studies on a countrywide level remain a persistent lacuna.⁶

Not surprisingly for monarchies, a frequent focus has been on the leadership role of monarchs and ruling families as a frame for the political direction and evolution of the country. Such studies can be either contemporary (i.e. starting in the early or mid-twentieth century and running up to the present or reasonably so), or focusing on particular reigns or historical periods. There are

⁴ I am self-consciously pleased that my work in researching and writing the official history of the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF) in Oman resulted in my creation of the SAF Archives, carefully preserved within the office of the Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs even though it will be many years before anyone is allowed to use them.

⁵ Derek Hopwood (ed.), *The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972).

⁶ One of the few works, albeit a short one, to tackle the job is Frauke Heard-Bey's centenary lecture for the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, "The Gulf in the Twentieth Century", *Asian Affairs* 33.1 (2002), pp. 3–17. One could also include Hala Fattah's examination of trade in Iraq and the Gulf, *The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq, Arabia, and the Gulf, 1745–1900* (Ithaca, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997). Sheila Carapico has written a sweeping introduction to the study of the region in "Arabia Incognita: An Invitation to Arabian Peninsula Studies", in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 11–34. Of course there are a number of survey and introductory works that cover the region, especially with chapters by various authors. As these are secondary in nature, they are not discussed here.

numerous examples of the former. As one might expect, the strongest focus has been on Saudi Arabia and Oman.

The formation of the Saudi state, in its three distinct phases, continues to provide fertile ground for analysis, as the works by Abdulaziz al-Fahad, Alexei Vassiliev, Pascal Ménoret, and Madawi al-Rasheed demonstrate.⁷ Another approach has been to choose a particular formative period in a country's history, as Joseph Kostiner has done.⁸ In the meantime, changes in Saudi society, politics, and socioeconomic development have been explored by Tim Niblock, Michel Nehme, and Mordechai Abir.⁹ Saudi Arabia continues to grapple with the succession process. The glacial pace of change in the kingdom quickened a little when 'Abdullah finally became king on the death of Fahd in 2005. But the aging line of sons of King 'Abd al-'Aziz will not last much longer and there still is no established mechanism to moving beyond another generation, as Joseph Kéchichian relates.¹⁰

Oman's leadership problem is the opposite of Saudi Arabia — there are not many choices. The reign of the enigmatic and reclusive Sa'īd b. Taymur has drawn increasing attention in recent years with studies by Uzi Rabi, Francis Owtram, and Abdullah al-Wuhaibi.¹¹ The transition to a modernizing régime under Sultan Qabus has been analyzed by Calvin Allen and Lynn Rigsbee, as well as myself.¹²

The smaller Gulf States have been the subject of relatively less attention. The enduring experiment of the UAE, contrary to many expectations at its inception, has had to cope with the necessity of balancing the interests and quirks of seven different but simultaneous rulers, as Andrea

⁷ Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (London: Saqi Books, 2000; originally published in 1998 as *The History of Saudi Arabia, 1745–1994*); Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; 2010); Abdulaziz H. al-Fahad, "The Imamah vs. the Iqal: Hadari-Bedouin Conflict and the Formation of the Saudi State", in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 35–76; and Pascal Ménoret, *L'énigme Saoudienne: Les Saoudiens et le monde, 1744–2003* (Paris: Éditions de la Découverte, 2003; trans. and published as *The Saudi Enigma: A History* (London: Zed Books, 2005).

⁸ Joseph Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia, 1916–1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); idem, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edited by Phillip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 226–51.

⁹ Mordechai Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crises* (London: Routledge, 1993); Michel G. Nehme, "Saudi Arabia 1950–80: Between Nationalism and Religion", *Middle Eastern Studies* 30.4 (1994), pp. 931–43; idem, "Political Development in Saudi Arabia: Empty Reforms from Above", *International Sociology* 10.2 (1995), pp. 155–71; Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival* (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁰ Joseph A. Kéchichian, *Succession in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

¹¹ Abdullah M.F. al-Wuhaibi, "Oman Under Sultans Taimur and Sa'īd, 1913–1970", PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1995); Francis Owtram, *A Modern History of Oman: Formation of the State Since 1920* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); idem, "L'Oman et l'Occident: la formation de l'État omanais depuis 1920", in *L'Oman contemporain: État, territoire, identité*, edited by Marc Laverne and Brigitte Dumortier (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2002), pp. 55–73; Uzi Rabi, *The Emergence of States in a Tribal Society: Oman under Sa'īd bin Taymur, 1932–1970* (Eastbourne, East Sussex, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2006). Rabi also examines the "alternative" and older form of government in Oman through its last *imam* in "The Ibadhi Imamate of Muhammad bin 'Abdallah al-Khalili (1920–54): The Last Chapter of a Lost and Forgotten Legacy", *Middle Eastern Studies* 44.2 (2008), pp. 169–88.

¹² Calvin H. Allen and W. Lynn Rigsbee, II, *Oman Under Qaboos: From Coup to Constitution, 1970–1996* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); J.E. Peterson, *The Emergence of Post-Traditional Oman* (Durham, UK: Institute of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 2004); idem, "Oman: Three and a Half Decades of Change and Development", *Middle East Policy* 6.2 (2004), pp. 125–37. Another work is Miriam Joyce, *The Sultanate of Oman: A Twentieth Century History* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995).

Rugh and Henrik Van Der Meulen show.¹³ Kuwait's experience has also been unique in another direction, beginning with the consolidation of power in the hands of the al-Sabah and Kuwait's willingness to contemplate political participation, along with being the leader in the Gulf in the learning experience of development. These themes are explored in Kamal Osman Salih's articles, Abdullah Alhajeri's thesis, B.J. Slot's books, and the studies by Jacqueline Ismael and Mary Ann Tétreault. Kuwait was also the first country in the Peninsula to create the outlines of a welfare state, as Sulayman Khalaf and Hassan Hammoud detail.¹⁴ The broad scope of Qatari history, including the emergence of the ruling Al Thani in the mid-nineteenth century, is the subject of the works of Habibur Rahman and Allen Fromherz.¹⁵ Pithy but comprehensive portraits of all five countries are to be found in Rosemarie Said Zahlan's *The Making of the Modern Gulf*.¹⁶

Prior to 1990, authors tended to concentrate on one or the other Yemen. Since 1990, Yemen has achieved a long ambition for unification, marred by the expulsion of Yemeni workers from Saudi Arabia and the loss of nearly all aid in 1990–1991. It suffered through a civil war provoked by the South's attempt to secede in 1994, and an unresolved state of hostilities in the far north in the 2000s. The following decade brought more destabilization with the emergence of the Huthi forces in the north, agitation for autonomy if not independence in the south, heightened activities by al-Qa'idah in the Arabian Peninsula, and popular protests that eventually brought down long-time president 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih. The country continues to face almost unsurmountable problems of poverty, alienation, Islamist extremism, corruption, and a growing lack of water. Paul Dresch's survey of Yemeni history brings the story of Yemen up to date through the post-unification era, thus supplementing and extending earlier country studies. His book complements Sheila Carapico's study of civil society in both separate and unified Yemen.¹⁷

¹³ Hendrik Van Der Meulen, "The Role of Tribal and Kinship Ties in the Politics of the United Arab Emirates", PhD dissertation (Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1997); and Andrea B. Rugh, *The Political Culture of Leadership in the United Arab Emirates* (New York: PalgraveMacMillan, 2007).

¹⁴ Sulayman Khalaf and Hassan Hammoud, "The Emergence of the Oil Welfare State: The Case of Kuwait", *Dialectical Anthropology* 12.3 (1987), pp. 343–57; Kamal Osman Salih, "Kuwait: Political Consequences of Modernization, 1750–1986", *Middle Eastern Studies* 27.1 (1991), pp. 46–66; idem, "The 1938 Kuwait Legislative Council", *Middle Eastern Studies* 28.1 (1992), pp. 66–100; Ben J. Slot, *The Origins of Kuwait* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991); idem, "Kuwait: The Growth of a Historic Identity", in *Kuwait: The Growth of a Historic Identity*, edited by Slot (London: Arabian Publishing, 2003), pp. 5–29; Jacqueline S. Ismael, *Kuwait: Dependency and Class in a Rentier State* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993); Mary Ann Tétreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Abdullah Alhajeri, "Citizenship and Political Participation in the State of Kuwait: The Case of the National Assembly (1963–1996)", PhD thesis (Durham University, 2004).

¹⁵ Habibur Rahman, *The Emergence of Qatar: The Turbulent Years, 1627–1916* (London: Kegan Paul, 2005); Allen J. Fromherz, *Qatar: A Modern History* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012).

¹⁶ Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989; rev. edn: Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Sheila Carapico, *Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Paul Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Relevant although sharply different articles include Robert D. Burrowes, "Prelude to Unification: The Yemen Arab Republic, 1962–1990", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23.4 (1991), pp. 483–506; Nahida Coussonnet, "Les assises du pouvoir zaydite au XIII^e siècle", *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 67 (1993), pp. 24–37; and Jacque Couland, "Genèse et étapes de l'unité yéménite: trois décennies pour conclure", *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 67 (1993), pp. 79–93. There is also the study of the National Liberation Front in South Yemen by a Russian scholar of the area, Vitaly V. Naumkin, *Red Wolves of Yemen: The Struggle for Independence* (Cambridge, UK: Oleander Press, 2004).

One approach in country studies has been to use specific rulers as prisms through which to filter political developments. Saudi Arabia has been a particularly popular choice for this — as in the works by Sarah Yizraeli, Uwe Pfullmann, Joseph Kéchichian, and Alexei Vassiliev¹⁸ — but the undeniable personal impact of individual rulers on the course of modern history has also been examined for other countries, particularly Kuwait as discussed by Salwa Alghanem and B.J. Slot.¹⁹ The anthropologist Gabriele vom Bruck has taken a slightly different view in elucidating the role of Yemen's *sadat*, the country's pre-revolution ruling class comprised of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁰

Most work by scholars from the region on country-study topics has yet to be published. A few exceptions are Hussein Ghubash's revised French doctoral thesis on Oman, the revised thesis by Aqil Kazim on the UAE, and Sulaiman al-Farsi's revised thesis on Oman. Several other theses done in Britain remain unpublished and difficult to access. These include two on Oman, Said al-Hashimy's thesis on the Ibadī Imamate in Oman and Abdulmalik al-Hinai's study of state formation in Oman.²¹

2.2 Sub-country studies

The broad country-wide emphasis only explains part of what has happened and why in these countries. Narrower or more focused studies on smaller geographic units have also been a feature of the recent literature. Much of this has been devoted to Saudi Arabia. But Saudi Arabia is a recent invention and its component parts have their own distinct pasts. The most prominent of them is of course Najd, the homeland of the Al Sa'ūd as well as the location of their capital at Riyadh. But Najd itself is divided into distinct components. So while Uwaidah

¹⁸ Sarah Yizraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia: The Struggle Between King Sa'ūd and Crown Prince Faysal, 1953–1962* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997); idem, *Politics and Society in Saudi Arabia: The Crucial Years of Development, 1960–1982* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Uwe Pfullmann, *Ibn Saud: König zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt* (Berlin: Edition Ost, 1999); idem, "Thronfolge in Saudi-Arabien: Vom Anfang der wahhabitischen Bewegung bis 1953; Der matrilinearere Background im 'Abd al-'Aziz-Zweig der Al Sa'ūd-Dynastie", *Archiv Oriental* 63.3 (1995), pp. 162–79; Joseph Kéchichian, *Succession in Saudi Arabia*; Alexei Vassiliev, *King Faisal of Saudi Arabia: Personality, Faith and Times* (London: Saqi Books, 2012).

¹⁹ Salwa Alghanem, *The Reign of Mubarak al-Sabah, Sheikh of Kuwait, 1896–1915* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); B.J. Slot, *Mubarak Al-Sabah: Founder of Modern Kuwait, 1896–1915* (London: Arabian Publishing, 2005). In this regard, Uzi Rabi, "Oil Politics and Tribal Rulers in Eastern Arabia: The Reign of Shakhbut (1928–1966)", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 33.1 (2006), pp. 37–50, contributes a short study of Sa'id b. Taymur's contemporary, Shaykh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi, an example of being perhaps the right man in the right place but at the wrong time.

²⁰ Gabriele vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen: Ruling Families in Transition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

²¹ Said bin Muhammed bin Said al-Hashimy, "Imam Salim b. Rashid and the Imamate Revival in Oman 1331/1913 — 1338/1920", PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 1994); Hussein Ghubash, *Oman: une démocratie islamique millénaire, la tradition de l'Imāma, l'histoire politique moderne (1500–1970)* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1998; translated into Arabic as *Uman: al-dimuqratiyah al-Islamiyah, taqalid al-imamah fi al-tarikh al-siyasi al-hadith (1500–1970)* [Beirut: Dar al-Jadid, 1997]; and translated into English as *Oman: The Islamic Democratic Tradition* [London: Routledge, 2006]); Aqil Kazim, *The United Arab Emirates, A. D. 600 to the Present: A Socio-Discursive Formation in the Arabian Gulf* (Dubai: Gulf Book Centre, 2000); Sulaiman H. al-Farsi, *Democracy and Youth in the Middle East: Islam, Tribalism and the Rentier State in Oman* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Abdulmalik Abdullah al-Hinai, "State Formation in Oman, 1861–1970", PhD thesis (London School of Economics, 2000); idem, "Aspects des antagonismes sociaux en Oman: marchands contre paysans (1861–1960)", in *L'Oman contemporain: État, territoire, identité*, edited by Marc Lavergne and Brigitte Dumortier (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2002), pp. 43–54.

al-Juhany explores the pre-Al Sa'ud past, Madawi al-Rasheed and Michael Baran illuminate the role of the Al Rashid of Ha'il in northern Najd, who a century ago briefly supplanted the Al Sa'ud as rulers of all Najd and Sebastian Maisel looks at 'Unayzah, one of the most important centers of al-Qasim region.²² The history of Riyadh has been laid out by William Facey.²³

On the other side of the Peninsula, al-Hijaz has an even more storied past, in part because the holiest sites of Islam are to be found there in Makkah and al-Madinah. The early twentieth century following the demise of the Ottoman Empire, saw the struggle for control of al-Hijaz between the Hawashim (or Hashimis, the family that had exercised responsibility for the holy cities over centuries) and the Al Sa'ud (the evangelizing expansionists from Najd) in favor of the latter. This conflict has been dissected in recent decades by Joshua Teitelbaum in his books and articles, as well as in the articles of William Ochsenwald, Joseph Kostiner, and Suleiman Mousa. In addition, Hijazi scholar Mai Yamani has examined the persistent lure of Hijazi nationalism. At the southern tip of the kingdom lies 'Asir, incorporated into Saudi Arabia in the early half of the twentieth century but previously an independent Idrisi state, as Anne Bang shows.²⁴

Oman has also received attention from Paolo Costa and myself because its capital, Muscat, was until 1970 one of the best preserved capitals in the world.²⁵ The history of its regions has

²² Madawi al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis: The Rashidi Tribal Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991); idem, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Sa'udis in Central Arabia", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19.2 (1992), pp. 144–58 (reprinted as "Dynasties durable et non durables: le Al Rachid et les Sa'ud en Arabie centrale", *Maghreb-Machrek* 147 [1995], pp. 13–25); idem, "The Rashidi Dynasty: Political Centralization Among the Shammar of North Arabia", edited by R.L. Bidwell, G. Rex Smith, and J.R. Smart, *New Arabian Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 140–52; idem, "Tribal Confederations and Emirates in Central Arabia", in *Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East*, edited by Faleh Abdul-Jabar and Hosham Dawod (London: Saqi, 2003), pp. 214–33; Michael Baran, "The Rashidi Amirate of Hayl: The Rise, Development and Decline of a Pre-Modern Arabian Principality, 1835–1921", PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1992); Uwaidah M. al-Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement: Social, Political, and Religious Conditions During the Three Centuries Preceding the Rise of the Saudi State* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, in association with the King Abdul Aziz Foundation for Research and Archives, 2002); Sebastian Maisel, "The Transformation of 'Unayza: Where is the 'Paris of Najd' Today?", *Arabian Humanities* 2 (2013), online.

²³ William Facey, *Riyadh: The Old City From Its Origins Until the 1950s* (London: Immel, 1992). Facey is also co-author, along with Gillian Grant, of *Kuwait by the First Photographers* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

²⁴ Suleiman Mousa, "Sharif Husayn and Developments Leading to the Arab Revolt", edited by R.B. Serjeant, R.L. Bidwell, and G. Rex Smith, *New Arabian Studies* 1 (1993), pp. 36–53; Joseph Kostiner, "Prologue of Hashemite Downfall and Saudi Ascendancy: A New Look at the Khurma Dispute, 1917–1919", in *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: A Festschrift in Honour of the Late Professor Uriel Dann*, edited by Asher Susser and Aryeh Shmuelevitz (London: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 47–64; Anne K. Bang, *The Idrisi State in 'Asir, 1906–1934: Politics, Religion, and Personal Prestige* (Bergen, Norway: Bergen Studies on the Middle East and Africa, 1996); Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia* (London: C. Hurst, for the Tel Aviv University Moshe Dayan Center, 2001); idem, "'Taking Back' the Caliphate: Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali, Mustafa Kemal, and the Ottoman Caliphate", *Die Welt des Islams* 40.3 (2000), pp. 412–24; idem, "Pilgrimage Politics: The Hajj and Saudi-Hashemite Rivalry, 1916–1925", in *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: A Festschrift in Honour of the Late Professor Uriel Dann*, edited by Asher Susser and Aryeh Shmuelevitz (London: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 65–84; idem, "Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali and the Hashemite Vision of the Post-Ottoman Order: From Chieftaincy to Suzerainty", *Middle Eastern Studies* 34.1 (1998), pp. 103–22; Mai Yamani, *Cradle of Islam: The Hijaz and the Quest for an Arabian Identity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); William Ochsenwald, "Islam and Loyalty in the Saudi Hijaz, 1926–1939", *Die Welt des Islams* 47.1 (2007), pp. 7–32.

²⁵ Paolo M. Costa, "Historical Interpretation of the Territory of Muscat", in *Oman Studies: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Oman*, edited by Paolo M. Costa and Maurizio Tosi, Serie Orientale Roma 63 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989), pp. 97–117; J.E. Peterson, *Historical Muscat: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

been largely unexplored, although the survey of Qalhat under the Kings of Hormuz by Mohammed Redha Bhacker and Bernadette Bhacker can be mentioned. This is not true of Yemen where Shelagh Weir has studied the tribes of a far northern part of the country while Paul Dresch also examines tribal documents in a different area. Two articles look at other areas — E.J. Keall the faded town of Zabid in the Tihamah and H. Matsumoto a region farther inland. To the southwest, Linda Boxberger expands on works about the Hadramawt and the far eastern reaches of Yemen.²⁶ The troubled history of South Yemen and its unification with the north has received attention as well through the works of Noel Brehony and Stephen Day while Serge Elie examines the history of Socotra Island off southern Yemen. In the Gulf, Christopher Davidson has explored the explosive growth of Dubai and the emergence of Abu Dhabi.²⁷

2.3 *Biographies and autobiographies*

Works of this genre abound, adding to the richness of understanding and presenting different as well as more personal points of view. The majority of this category of the literature involves Westerners who have lived and worked in the region but there is a healthy sub-genre of studies of local personalities. Not surprisingly, given the crucial role of personal leadership in these states, many biographical works deal with rulers. The additions are welcome because of the paucity of material except on King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz of Saudi Arabia. It is not surprising that so much has been written on King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, his life, his creation of the Third Saudi State, and his relations with foreign powers, given his pivotal role in modern history. The numbers of books, articles, and other studies on him virtually mushroomed in the 1960s and 1970s. One needs to be either foolhardy or extremely insightful to base work within the confines of that subject today. There is little original that can yet be written and the quality of writing ranges from incisive to hagiographic.²⁸ Another formative figure in Saudi Arabia’s history, Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of the school of thought that Westerners often refer to as Wahhabism, continues to receive attention as well from Esther Peskes and by the publication after many years of the seminal doctoral dissertation by George Rentz.

Longtime Saudi Arabian minister, writer, and poet Ghazi Algosaihi is one of the few Gulf politicians to publish an autobiography. A more recent but equally imposing figure in Saudi history, King Faysal, is the subject of biographies by Joseph Kéchichian and Alexei Vassiliev, while David Ottaway has produced a study of Saudi Arabia’s long-time ambassador to the

²⁶ Noel Brehony, *Yemen Divided: The Story of a Failed State in South Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011); Stephen W. Day, *Regionalism and Rebellion in Yemen: A Troubled National Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Serge D. Elie, “State-Community Relations in Yemen: Soqatra’s Historical Formation as a Sub-National Polity”, *History and Anthropology* 20 (2009), pp. 363–93.

²⁷ E.J. Keall, “Drastic Changes in 16th Century Zabid”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 21 (1991), pp. 79–96; H. Matsumoto, “The History of ‘Uzlah and Mikhlahf in North Yemen”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 24 (1994), pp. 175–82; Linda Boxberger, *On the Edge of Empire: Hadramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean, 1880s–1930s* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002); Mohammed Redha Bhacker and Bernadette Bhacker, “Qalhat in Arabian History: Context and Chronicles”, *Journal of Oman Studies* 13 (2004), pp. 11–56; Paul Dresch, *The Rules of Barat: Tribal Documents from Yemen* (Sanaa: Centre Français d’Archéologie et de Sciences Sociales and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2006); Shelagh Weir, *A Tribal Order: Politics and Law in the Mountains of Yemen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); Christopher Davidson, *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success* (London: Hurst; New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); idem, *Abu Dhabi: Oil and Beyond* (London: Hurst, 2009).

²⁸ One recent work is Sa’id A. al-Harhi, *King Abdul Aziz: An International Perspective* (Riyadh: Al-Qimam Multimedia, 2004).

USA, Prince Bandar b. Sultan.²⁹ From a different point of view, Mamoun Fandy has produced pen portraits of prominent Saudi dissident leaders and Steve Coll chronicles the history of the Bin Ladin family, far more complex than caricatured in the popular image of Usamah b. Ladin.³⁰

Elsewhere in the Gulf, Robert Jarman has written on Amir Sabah of Kuwait and Andrew Wheatcroft on Amir Salman of Bahrain, both twentieth-century rulers.³¹ A rare autobiography has been penned by Easa Saleh al-Gurg, a prominent Dubai businessman and former UAE ambassador to the UK. The study of established merchant families in the Gulf has been enhanced by a “biography” of Bahrain’s best known family by family member Khalid M. Kanoo and by James Onley’s articles on an earlier Perso-Bahraini family.³² In 1947, Imam Yahya took a radical step for Yemen and sent a small group of young men out of the country for education. These “Famous Forty” and the several hundred other Yemenis educated abroad until 1959 are the focus of Robert Burrowes’ article. Another rare autobiography has been published by Mohsin Alaini, a prime mover behind the fledgling Yemen Arab Republic as frequent prime minister and foreign minister, and translated into English. In counterpoint, a voice from Aden and the founder of South Yemen’s Communist Party, ‘Abdullah Ba Dhib, is discussed by A.K. al-Ilbi.³³

Westerners involved with Arabia have produced far more autobiographies and have been the subject of both casual and serious biographers. The substantial genre of travel writing, which revealed so many details of the lives of authors, has been largely superseded by guidebooks as mass tourism has entered the region.³⁴ Britain has had the most substantial and enduring

²⁹ Esther Peskes, *Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92) in Widerstreit: Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Frühgeschichte der Wahabiya* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993); Ghazi A. Algosaihi, *Yes, (Saudi) Minister! A Life in Administration* (London: London Centre of Arab Studies, 1999); George S. Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab (1703/41792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia* (edited with an introduction by William Facey; London: Arabian Publishing, 2004); Joseph A. Kéchichian, *Faysal: Saudi Arabia’s King for All Seasons* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Alexei Vassiliev, *King Faisal of Saudi Arabia: Personality, Faith and Times*; David B. Ottaway, *The King’s Messenger: Prince Bandar bin Sultan and America’s Tangled Relationship with Saudi Arabia* (New York: Walker, 2008).

³⁰ Mamoun Fandy, *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent* (New York: St Martin’s Press; Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999); Steve Coll, *The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century* (New York: Penguin, 2008).

³¹ Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Salman bin Hamad Al-Khalifa: Ruler of Bahrain 1942–1961* (London: Kegan Paul, 1994); Robert L. Jarman, *Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait, 1965–1977: A Political Biography* (London: London Centre of Arab Studies, 2002).

³² Easa Saleh al-Gurg, *The Wells of Memory: An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1998); Khalid M. Kanoo, *The House of Kanoo: A Century of an Arabian Business* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); James Onley, “Transnational Merchants in the Nineteenth Century Gulf: The Case of the Safar Family”, in *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf*, edited by Madawi al-Rasheed (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 59–89; idem, “Transnational Merchant Families in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Gulf”, in *The Gulf Family: Kinship Policies and Modernity*, edited by Alanoud Alsharekh (London: Saqi, 2007), pp. 37–56.

³³ A.K. al-Ilbi, “L’apport de Abd Allah Badhib (1931–1976) à l’analyse de la formation socio-economique du Yemen”, *Cahiers du GREMAMO* 10 (1991), pp. 171–8; Robert D. Burrowes, “The Famous Forty and Their Companions: North Yemen’s First-Generation Modernists and Educational Emigrants”, *Middle East Journal* 59.1 (2005), pp. 81–97; Mohsin A. Alaini, *50 Years in Shifting Sands: Personal Experience in the Building of a Modern State in Yemen* (trans. Hassan al-Haifi; Beirut: Dar An-Nahar, 2004).

³⁴ Fortunately, that effective demise of exploratory travel writing has not put an end to writing about travelers: Michael Wolfe (ed.), *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing About the Muslim Pilgrimage* (New York: Grove, 1997); Terence Clark, “The British in Oman Since 1645”, in *Unfolding the Orient: Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, edited by Paul and Janet Starkey (Reading: Ithaca Press, 2002); Hilal al-Hajri, *European Travel-Writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006); idem, “British Travellers in Oman from 1627 to 1970”, in *Modern Oman: Studies on*

relationship with Arabia and the Gulf of any Western power. Not only is there a long history of diplomatic ties with regional entities but the smaller Gulf States were British “protected states” as mentioned below. Consequently, British memoirs published in the last two decades have been written by Political Residents, Political Agents, and Resident Advisers in the Gulf and South Arabia. Through their pages, the reader can gain understanding of the transition from the Indian Political Service and from Sudan administration to the Gulf, which occurred in the decades prior to official British withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971.

A number of these books were penned prior to 1990 but more recently Julian Walker has written of his time in the Gulf while Michael Crouch, Nigel Groom, and John Harding recount their experiences in British-administered South Arabia.³⁵ Former Political Resident Bernard Burrows followed up an earlier chronicle of his time in the Gulf with a more general autobiography of his diplomatic career, as did retired ambassadors Ivor Lucas and Glencairn Balfour Paul.³⁶ The redoubtable Gertrude Bell, who held a variety of positions in Iraq and the Gulf States throughout the early twentieth century, is the subject of biographies by Georgina Howell and Liora Lukitz, and has had her diaries edited by Rosemary O’Brien. An attempt to explain the attitudes and behavior of British officialdom in the Gulf through their public school experiences was published by Paul Rich.³⁷

Another treasure trove of British autobiography is the memoirs of military men serving in Arabia. Oman, with two internal wars, has been a particular focus of this genre, with post-1990 books by Johnny Cooper, who served with the Special Air Service (SAS) in Oman’s 1950s al-Jabal al-Akhdar War, former commanders of the Oman armed forces Corran Purdon and John Graham, and former field officers David Gwynne-James and Allan Williams (served in Oman in the 1960s) and Peter Thwaites and Ian Gardiner (relate their experiences in the 1960s/1970s Dhufar War). Antony Cawston and Michael Curtis relate life in the Trucial Oman Scouts. Two other military memoirs of interest that include service in Arabia are by Peter de la Billière, who commanded British forces in the 1991 Kuwait War, and A.J. Deane-Drummond, a storied commander of the SAS. Finally, Xan Fielding has recounted the life of British army officer and politician Billy McLean, who saw action with the royalists during the 1960s North

Politics, Economy, Environment, and Culture of the Sultanate, edited by Andrzej Kapiszewski, Abdulrahman al-Salimi, and Andrzej Pikulski (Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka, 2006), pp. 63–88; Alastair Hamilton, *An Arabian Utopia: The Western Discovery of Oman* (London: Oxford University Press for the Arcadian Library, 2010).

³⁵ Michael Crouch, *An Element of Luck: To South Arabia and Beyond* (London: Radcliffe Press, 1993); Julian Walker, *Tyro on the Trucial Coast* (Durham, UK: Memoir Club, 1999); Nigel Groom, *Sheba Revealed: A Posting to Bayhan in the Yemen* (London: London Centre of Arab Studies, 2002); John Harding, *Roads to Nowhere: A South Arabian Odyssey, 1960–1965* (London: Arabian Publishing, 2010).

³⁶ Ivor Lucas, *A Road to Damascus: Mainly Diplomatic Memoirs from the Middle East* (London: Radcliffe Press, 1997); Bernard Burrows, *Diplomats in a Changing World* (Durham, UK: The Memoir Club, 2001); Glencairn Balfour Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon: A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

³⁷ Paul Rich, *The Invasions of the Gulf: Radicalism, Ritualism and the Shaikhs* (Cambridge, UK: All-borough Press, 1991; apparently derived from “The Rule of Ritual in the Arabian Gulf, 1858–1947: The Influence of English Public Schools”, PhD dissertation [University of Western Australia, Perth, 1989]); Rosemary O’Brien (ed.), *The Arabian Diaries, 1913–1914, by Gertrude Bell* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Georgina Howell, *Daughter of the Desert: The Remarkable Life of Gertrude Bell* (London: Macmillan, 2006; published in the USA as *Gertrude Bell* [New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007]); Liora Lukitz, *A Quest in the Middle East: Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006). A related study of interest is Maria Holt, “Memories of Arabia and Empire: An Oral History of the British in Aden”, *Contemporary British History* 18.4 (2004), pp. 93–112.

Yemen civil war.³⁸ Prince Khalid b. Sultan, the commander of Arab forces during the 1991 liberation of Kuwait and son of the late Saudi Minister of Defense and Aviation, is probably the only Gulf military officer to pen an autobiography.³⁹

The early days of Arabia's oil industry was dominated by larger-than-life men. Aileen Keating tells the story of Frank Holmes, a pioneering geologist who acquired and lost what became Arabia's biggest concessions. Early ARAMCO head Thomas Barger has published some of his correspondence of the late 1930s while Fahd al-Semmari and Jill Roberg have edited the recollections of a number of Americans who lived and worked in the kingdom and another set of interviews was collected by the University of California, Berkeley. Reem Alissa's study looks at the development of the Kuwait Oil Company camp at Ahmadi. Thomas Lippman published a biography of American diplomat and intelligence agent Bill Eddy. Speaking of Americans, Shaykh Sultan al-Qasimi, historian and the Ruler of Sharjah, has written a short biography of an apparently American cabin boy who became the virtual ruler of Oman's southern region of Dhufar in the nineteenth century. French medical doctor Claudie Fayein, who earlier published her autobiography of life in Yemen in the mid-twentieth century, recounts events in a more recent article.⁴⁰

2.4 Boundaries and legal matters

Boundaries in the Arabian Peninsula have been one of the principal legal problems over the course of the twentieth century, a point underscored by Richard Schofield, John Wilkinson, Ibrahim Ibrahim, Husain Albaharna, and myself.⁴¹ The British-sponsored 1922 conference at

³⁸ Xan Fielding, *One Man in His Time: The Life of Lieutenant-Colonel N.L.D. ('Billy') McLean, DSO* (London: Macmillan, 1990); Johnny Cooper with Anthony Kemp, *One of the Originals: The Story of a Founder Member of the SAS* (London: Pan, 1991); A.J. Deane-Drummond, *The Arrows of Fortune* (London: Leo Cooper, 1992); Corran Purdon, *List the Bugle: Reminiscences of an Irish Soldier* (Antrim, UK: Greystone Books, 1993); Peter de la Billière, *Looking for Trouble: An Autobiography — from the SAS to the Gulf* (London: HarperCollins, 1994); Peter Thwaites, completed by Simon Sloane, *Muscat Command* (London: Leo Cooper, 1995); John Graham, *Ponder Anew: Reflections on the Twentieth Century* (Staplehurst, UK: published privately by Spellmount, 1999); Ian Gardiner, *In the Service of the Sultan: A First Hand Account of the Dhofar Insurgency* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books, 2006); David Gwynne-James, *Letters from Oman: A Snapshot of Feudal Times as Oil Signals Change* (Colchester, UK: Blackwater Books, 2001); idem and Allan Williams, "Recollections of Service in the Sultan's Armed Forces, Muscat and Oman, 1962–1964", *Asian Affairs* 41.3 (2010), pp. 399–421; Antony Cawston, and Michael Curtis, *Arabian Days: The Memoirs of Two Trucial Oman Scouts* (privately published by Michael Curtis and printed by Cedar Colour, Chandler's Ford, Hants., 2010).

³⁹ HRH Khaled Bin Sultan, *Desert Warrior* (London: HarperCollins, 1994).

⁴⁰ Claudie Fayein, "Le Yémen imamite dans les années cinquante", *Cahiers du GREMAMO* 10 (1991), pp. 167–70; Carole Hicke, interviewer, *American Perspectives of ARAMCO, the Saudi-Arabian Oil-Producing Company, 1930s to 1980s* (Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Library, 1993; Regional Oral History Office, University of California); Sultan b. Muhammad al-Qasimi, *The White Shaikh* (Sharjah, privately printed, November 1996; also published in Arabic); Thomas Barger, *Out in the Blue: Letters from Arabia, 1937–1940* (n.p., 2000); Fahd al-Semmari and Jill A. Roberg (eds), Michael Crocker (comp.), *Forever Friends: Americans Share Their Fondest Memories of Work Life in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1938–1998*, 2nd edn (Riyadh: King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives, 2000); Aileen Keating, *Mirage: Power, Politics, and the Hidden History of Arabian Oil* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005); Thomas Lippman, *Arabian Knight: Colonel Bill Eddy and the Rise of American Power in the Middle East* (Vista, CA: Selwa Press, 2008); Reem I.R. Alissa, "Building for Oil: Corporate Colonialism, Nationalism and Urban Modernity in Ahmadi, 1946–1992", PhD dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 2012).

⁴¹ John Wilkinson, *Arabia's Frontiers: The Story of Britain's Blue and Violet Lines* (London: I.B. Tauris; New York: St Martin's Press, 1991); Ibrahim Ibrahim, "Sovereign States and Borders in the Gulf Region: A Historical Perspective", in *The Gulf Crisis: Background and Consequences*, edited by Ibrahim Ibrahim

al-Uqayr (now in Saudi Arabia) established the outline of borders between Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iraq, as well as two Neutral Zones, as Eran Segal discusses while Anthony Toth elucidates the tribal aspect of the divisions. Yitzhak Gil-Har points out that the British also played a major role in delineating the Saudi-Jordanian border. John Willis has examined the question of borders in Yemen, including between former North and South Yemen. Most borders have been settled by comprehensive agreements in recent years — among them the Saudi-Yemeni border, which has been studied by Askar al-Enazy and in the book edited by Renaud Detalle.⁴² So have most of the most contentious issues, such as the Saudi claims to al-Buraymi oasis (subject of an article by Tore Tingvold Petersen and book by Michael Quentin Morton), the dispute between Bahrain and Qatar over islands and the enclave of Zubarah (examined from a Bahraini point of view by the edited work by Jawad al-Arayed), and Iraq's claim to Kuwait (which has spawned a large literature, headed by studies by Richard Schofield, Maurice Mendelson and Susan Hulton, David Finnie, and Habibur Rahman).⁴³ But one dispute that continues to fester is that of ownership of the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, seized by Iran in 1971 over the

(Washington: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1992), pp. 3–17; Richard Schofield (edited by), *Territorial Foundations of the Gulf States* (London: University College of London Press, 1994); idem, “Down to the Usual Suspects: Border and Territorial Disputes in the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf at the Millennium”, in *Iran, Iraq, and the Arab Gulf States*, edited by Joseph A. Kechichian (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 213–36; Husain M. Albaharna, *British Extraterritorial Jurisdiction in the Gulf, 1913–1971* (Slough, UK: Archive Editions, 1998); J.E. Peterson, “Sovereignty and Boundaries in the Gulf States: Settling the Periphery”, in *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, edited by Mehran Kamrava (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), pp. 21–49.

⁴² Yitzhak Gil-Har, “Delimitation Boundaries: TransJordan and Saudi Arabia”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 28.2 (1992), pp. 374–84; Renaud Detalle (ed.), *Tensions in Arabia: The Saudi-Yemeni Faultline* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000); Anthony B. Toth, “The Transformation of a Pastoral Economy: Bedouin and States in Northern Arabia, 1850–1950”, DPhil thesis (Oxford University, 2000); idem, “Conflict and a Pastoral Economy: The Costs of Akhwan Attacks on Tribes in Iraq, 1922–29”, *Critique* 11.2 (2002), pp. 201–27; idem, “Tribes and Tribulations: Bedouin Losses in the Saudi and Iraqi Struggles Over Kuwait's Frontiers, 1921–1943”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32.2 (2005), pp. 145–68; Askar H. al-Enazy, *The Long Road from Taif to Jeddah: Resolution of a Saudi-Yemeni Boundary Dispute* (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2005); John M. Willis, “Unmaking North and South: Spatial Histories of Modern Yemen”, PhD dissertation (New York University, 2007); idem, “Leaving Only Question Marks: Geographies of Rule in Modern Yemen”, in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 119–50; Eran Segal, “The Uqair Conference (1922) Revisited: Britain and the Question of Boundaries in the Arabian Peninsula”, in *Britain and the Middle East: From Imperial Power to Junior Partner*, edited by Zoch Levey and Elie Podeh (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), pp. 231–47. Although not dealing with border questions, a study on a somewhat related legal topic is Bernard Haykel, “Al-Shawkani and the Jurisprudential Unity of Yemen”, *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 67 (1993), pp. 53–65.

⁴³ Maurice Mendelson and Susan C. Hulton, “La revendication par l'Irak de la souveraineté”, *Annuaire Français de Droit International* 36 (1990), pp. 195–227, reprinted as “Iraq's Claim to Sovereignty Over Kuwait”, in *Territorial Foundations of the Gulf States*, edited by Richard Schofield (London: UCL Press, 1994; SOAS/GRC Geopolitics Series); idem, *Kuwait and Iraq: Historical Claims and Territorial Disputes*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, April 1991; 1993); idem, “Britain and Kuwait's Borders, 1902–23”, in *Kuwait: The Growth of a Historic Identity*, edited by Ben J. Slot (London: Arabian Publishing, 2003), pp. 58–94; David Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1992); Tore Tingvold Petersen, “Anglo-American Rivalry in the Middle East: The Struggle for the Buraimi Oasis, 1952–1957”, *International History Review* 14.1 (1992), pp. 71–91; Michael Quentin Morton, *Buraimi: The Struggle for Power, Influence and Oil in Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Habibur Rahman, *Making of the Gulf War: Origins of Kuwait's Long-standing Territorial Dispute with Iraq* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1996); Jawad Salim al-Arayed, *A Line in the Sea: The Qatar v. Bahrain Dispute in the World Court* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2003).

strong objection of the UAE. Publications abound on both sides of the issue: the Iranian point of view is represented by Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, Hooshang Amirahmadi, Farhang Mehr, and Jalil Roshandel while the UAE side has been taken by Mohamed Abdullah al-Roken, Hassan al-Alkim, and Thomas R. Mattair, with more neutral assessments provided by Richard Schofield and Richard A. Mobley.⁴⁴

2.5 Military and security

It will be obvious to any casual observer of the region that the topic of “Gulf security” receives global attention and that the literature, both scholarly and policy-oriented, is enormous — as well as being outside the scope of this survey. That includes publications on Western military activities. My annotated bibliography lists more than 2200 entries on the subject through 2004.⁴⁵ Jeffrey Macris, though, has published a careful study of the Gulf’s role in World War II operations and Nicholas Stanley-Price has written on the role of the British airfield at Sharjah. A small nucleus of writing focuses on the history of armed forces and local conflicts in the Arabian Peninsula. Jerzy Zdanowski has written on Wahhabi military organization and the British-created and officered Trucial Oman Scouts have received thorough examination from Peter Clayton, Michael Mann, and Tom Walcot. Frank Edwards, Cliff Lord and David Birtles, and Jonathan Walker have written on similar forces and operations in South Arabia. I have published a study of Oman’s two internal wars with Imamate forces in the north and Marxist insurgents in the south, and Walter Ladwig III, Geraint Hughes, Christopher Carlton, Marc DeVore, Ian Ilych Martinez, and Abdelkazzak Takriti have dealt with the British role in Oman during the Dhufar War.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, *The Islands of Tunb and Abu Musa: An Iranian Argument in Search of Peace and Co-operation in the Persian Gulf*, Occasional Paper 15 (London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, 1995); Hooshang Amirahmadi (ed.), *Small Islands, Big Politics: The Tunbs and Abu Musa in Iranian Foreign Policy* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1996); Farhang Mehr, *A Colonial Legacy: The Dispute Over the Islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997); Mohamed Abdullah al-Roken, “Historical and Legal Dimensions of the United Arab Emirates-Iran Dispute Over Three Islands”, in *Perspectives on the United Arab Emirates*, edited by Edmund Ghareeb and Ibrahim al-Abed (London: Trident Press, 1997), pp. 139–59; Jalil Roshandel, “On the Persian Gulf Islands: An Iranian Perspective”, in *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles and the Search for Consensus*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter and Gary G. Sick (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 135–53; Hassan al-Alkim, “The Islands Question: An Arabian Perspective”, in idem, pp. 155–70, Richard Schofield, “Anything But Black and White: A Commentary on the Lower Gulf Islands Dispute”, in idem, pp. 171–87; Richard A. Mobley, “The Tunbs and Abu Musa Islands: Britain’s Perspective”, *Middle East Journal* 57.4 (2003), pp. 627–45; and Thomas R. Mattair, *The Three Occupied UAE Islands: The Tunbs and Abu Musa* (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2005).

⁴⁵ J.E. Peterson, *Defense and Regional Security in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf States, 1973–2004: An Annotated Bibliography* (Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2006). I will also use the author’s prerogative to mention my historical overview of the subject in “The Historical Pattern of Gulf Security”, in *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles and the Search for Consensus*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter, and Gary G. Sick (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 7–31.

⁴⁶ Jerzy Zdanowski, “Military Organization of the Wahhabi Amirates (1750–1932)”, edited by R.L. Bidwell, G. Rex Smith, and J.R. Smart, *New Arabian Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 130–9; Peter Clayton, *Two Alpha Lima: The First Ten Years of the Trucial Oman Levies and Trucial Oman Scouts (1950 to 1960)* (London: Janus Publishing, 1994); Michael Mann, *The Trucial Oman Scouts: The Story of a Bedouin Force* (Wilby, Norwich, UK: Michael Russell, 1994); Cliff Lord and David Birtles, *The Armed Forces of Aden 1839–1967* (Solihull, West Midlands, UK: Helion, 2000); Frank Edwards, *The Gaysh: A History of the Aden Protectorate Levies 1927–61 and the Federal Regular Army of South Arabia 1963–67* (Solihull, UK: Helion, 2004); Jonathan Walker, *Aden Insurgency: The Savage War in South Arabia 1962–1967* (Staplehurst, UK: Spellmount, 2005); Tom Walcot, “The Trucial Oman Scouts 1955 to 1971: An Overview”,

3 Economic, social, and cultural history

3.1 Economic history

An encouraging sign of diversification and intensification of efforts is the growing literature on economic, social, and cultural history, to a degree unthinkable before 1990. Whereas the story of oil exploration was a prominent feature of earlier writings, post-1990 literature has produced Anthony Cave Brown's sweeping history of ARAMCO (the Arabian American Oil Company). Robert Vitalis has challenged conventional history of ARAMCO and the American impact on Saudi Arabia while Steffen Hertog examines the experience of Saudi Arabia's first national oil enterprise, Petromin.⁴⁷ The history of oil exploration and production has also been explored for Oman by Terence Clark and for the UAE by David Heard.⁴⁸

The Peninsula has experienced two distinct types of economic development or change. The six members of the GCC have all experienced high income from oil exports (and some, more laterly, from gas exports). Their state-directed income distribution, small populations and lack of other natural resources have driven what some have termed rentier economies that benefit certain sectors of the population more than others, as Rayed Krimly and Steffen Hertog demonstrate. The other type of economy is that of Yemen, similar to many Third World countries and characterized by limited and dwindling oil production, exploding population, persistent poverty, and growing water scarcity, as Ali al-Hagari has outlined.⁴⁹

Asian Affairs 37.1 (2006), pp. 17–30; Jeffrey R. Macris, "The Persian Gulf Theater in World War II", *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 1 (2010), pp. 97–107; Nicholas Stanley-Price, *Imperial Outpost in the Gulf: The Airfield at Sharjah (UAE) 1932–1952* (Brighton, UK: Book Guild Publishing, 2012); J.E. Peterson, *Oman's Insurgencies: The Sultanate's Struggle for Supremacy* (London: Saqi, 2007); Walter Ladwig, III, "Supporting Allies in Counterinsurgency: Britain and the Dhofar Rebellion", *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19 (2008), pp. 62–88; Christopher Carlton, *Oman and Britain: Oman's Changing Military Relationship with Britain; Dependence or Special Relationship?* (n.p., Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010); Geraint Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counter-Insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965–1975", *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32 (2009), pp. 271–305; Marc DeVore, "The United Kingdom's Last Hot War of the Cold War: Oman, 1963–75", *Cold War History* 11 (2011), pp. 441–71; idem, "A More Complex and Conventional Victory: Revisiting the Dhofar Counterinsurgency", *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23 (2012), pp. 144–73; Ian Illych Martinez, "The Battle of Mirbat: Turning Point in the Omani Dhofar Rebellion", *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23.3 (2012), pp. 517–26; Abdel Razzaq Takriti, *Monsoon Revolution: Republics, Sultans, and Empires in Oman, 1965–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); idem, "The 1970 Coup in Oman Reconsidered", *Journal of Arabian Studies* 3.2 (2013), pp. 155–73.

⁴⁷ Anthony Cave Brown, *Oil, God and Gold: The Story of ARAMCO and the Saudi Kings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); idem, "Aramco World: Business and Culture on the Arabian Oil Frontier", in *The Modern Worlds of Business and Industry: Cultures, Technology, Labor*, edited by Karen Merrill (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), pp. 3–25; idem, "Aramco World: Business and Culture on the Arabian Oil Frontier", in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 151–82; Steffen Hertog, "Petromin: The Slow Death of Statist Oil Development in Saudi Arabia", *Business History* 50.5 (2008), pp. 645–67.

⁴⁸ Terence Clark, *Underground to Overseas: The Story of Petroleum Development Oman* (London: Stacey International, 2007); idem, "Oman: A Century of Oil Exploration and Development", *Asian Affairs* 39.3 (2008), pp. 388–99; David G. Heard, *From Pearls to Oil: How the Oil Industry Came to the United Arab Emirates* (Dubai: Motivate, 2011); idem, "Development of Oil in the Gulf: the UAE in Focus", in *Oil and Regional Developments in the Gulf*, edited by Rosemary Hollis (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Middle East Programme in association with Division of Research and Studies, Crown Prince Court of Abu Dhabi, 1998), pp. 34–68.

⁴⁹ Ali Saleh al-Hagari, "A Comparative Study of the Economies of the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (1970–1988)", PhD dissertation (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1992); Rayed Khalid Krimly, "The Political Economy of Rentier States: A Case Study of Saudi

A key element of economic history regarding the Peninsula has been that of trade. Rather than constituting a destination, the Peninsula served as a focal point for transit from East to West and West to East. Overland routes have been of key importance for millennia but Arabia also boasts a variety of ports with long and storied histories, as Mohamed El Amrousi, Willem Floor, and Nelida Fuccaro delineate. The interaction of the Gulf with the western Indian Ocean is examined by Fahad Bishara and Beatrice Nicolini.⁵⁰ The story of pearling, once the economic driver in much of the Gulf, has been chronicled by Robert Carter and Victoria Penziner Hightower while Yacoub Yusuf al-Hijji has written about aspects of Kuwait's traditional maritime experience.⁵¹ More attention has been paid to the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, as shown in the works by Colette Dubois, Michel Tuchscherer, Roxani Margariti, Hasan Shihab, C.G. Brower, Giancarlo Casale, Guido Steinberg, and André Raymond.⁵²

Arabia in the Oil Era, 1950–1990”, PhD dissertation (George Washington University, 1993); Steffen Hertog, *Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), adapted from “Segmented Clientalism: The Politics of Economic Reforms in Saudi Arabia”, DPhil thesis (St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, 2006); idem, “Shaping the Saudi State: Human Agency’s Shifting Role in Rentier-State Formation”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39.4 (2007), pp. 539–63.

⁵⁰ Mohamed Mohamed El Amrousi, “Beyond Muslim Space: Jeddah, Muscat, Aden and Port Said”, PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 2001); Fahad Ahmad Bishara, “A Sea of Debt: Histories of Commerce and Obligation in the Indian Ocean, c.1850–1940”, PhD dissertation (Duke University, 2012); Guido Steinberg, “Ecology, Knowledge, and Trade in Central Arabia (Najd) During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”, in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 77–102; Willem Floor, *The Persian Gulf: The Economic and Political History of Five Port Cities, 1500–1730* (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2006); Giancarlo Casale, “The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-century Red Sea and Persian Gulf”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49.2 (2006), pp. 170–98; Nelida Fuccaro, *Histories of City and State in the Persian Gulf: Manama Since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Four more local studies of trade are Paul Dresch, “Guaranty of the Market at Huth”, in *Arabian Studies*, edited by R.B. Serjeant and R.L. Bidwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 63–91; R.T. Mortel, “Taxation in the Amirate of Mecca During the Medieval Period”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58.1 (1995), pp. 1–16; Mahmood Almahmood, “The Rise and Fall of Bahrain’s Merchants in the Pre-Oil Era”, PhD dissertation (American University, 2013); Beatrice Nicolini, “Re-Reading the Role of Oman Within Its international Trade Relations: From the Sixteenth Through to the Nineteenth Centuries”, in *Regionalizing Oman: Political, Economic and Social Dynamics*, edited by Steffen Wippel (Dordrecht, Germany: Springer Sciences+Business Media, 2013), pp. 149–158.

⁵¹ Robert A. Carter, *Sea of Pearls: Seven Thousand Years of the Industry that Shaped the Gulf* (London: Arabian Publishing, 2012); Victoria Penziner Hightower, “In the Time Before Oil: A History and Heritage of Pearling in the United Arab Emirates”, PhD dissertation (Florida State University, 2011); idem, “Pearling and Political Power in the Trucial States, 1850–1930: Debts, Taxes, and Politics”, *Journal of Arabian Studies* 3.2 (2013), pp. 215–31; Yacoub Yusuf al-Hijji, *The Art of Dhow-Building in Kuwait* (London: London Centre of Arab Studies; Kuwait: Centre for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2001); idem, *Kuwait and the Sea: A Brief Social and Economic History* (London: Arabian Publishing, 2010).

⁵² Hassan Saleh Shihab, “Aden in Pre-Turkish Times (1232–1538): The Arabian Entrepot of the Western Asian Seas”, in *Gateways of Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th–twentieth Centuries*, edited by Frank Broeze (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), pp. 17–32; André Raymond, “A Divided Sea: The Cairo Coffee Trade in the Red Sea Area During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, edited by Leila Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, with the collaboration of Robert Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Colette Dubois, “The Red Sea Ports During the Revolution in Transportation”, edited by Fawaz and Bayly, *Modernity and Culture*; Michel Tuchscherer, “Trade and Port Cities in the Red Sea-Gulf of Aden Region in the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, edited by Fawaz and Bayly, *Modernity and Culture*; C.G. Brower, “Pepper Merchants in the Booming Port of al-Mukha: Dutch Evidence for an Oceanwide Trading Network”, *Die Welt Des Islams* 44.2

3.2 Culture and social history

Much of the emergence of Arabian social history deals with the role of elites and leadership. This was a central focus in Khaldoun al-Naqeeb's seminal study of society and state. Yemen has been the most studied area, as seen by the works of Isa Blumi, Gabriele vom Bruck, Paul Dresch, Aharon Gaimani, and A. Sayyad, which range from society in Ottoman times to the resistance of the Yemeni *sayyids* to Wahhabi penetration to ideological elites in South Yemen. On the other side of the Peninsula, historian James Onley and anthropologist Sulayman Khalaf look at leadership in the Gulf, Fatma al-Sayegh examines the role of merchant families in Dubai, and I draw conclusions about the role of ruling, merchant, and shaykhly families in recent Gulf history.⁵³ Perhaps the most pervasive form of social organization in the Peninsula is the tribe, although Donald Cole and Soraya Altorki question that assumption, and much of Arabian history has been seen as a perpetual struggle in political, economic, and social terms between the *badu* (bedouin, nomads) and the *hadr* (settled, townspeople), a conflict that Anh Nga Longva and Farah al-Nakib examine in relation to Kuwait. The tribes undoubtedly remain most powerful in Yemen and the tribes of northern Yemen are dominated by the Hashid and Bakil confederations, as explained by Paul Dresch.⁵⁴

Other social histories deal with more specific topics. Aspects of women's lives and restricted roles in society have been studied by Eleanor Doumato in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Sophia Pandey in Bahrain, and Ulrike Freitag, Hanne Schönig, and Susanne Dahlgren in South Yemen. Another approach is Penelope Tuson's look at Western women in Arabia.⁵⁵ Soumyen

(2004), pp. 214–80; Roxani Eleni Margariti, *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁵³ Khaldoun Hasan al-Naqeeb, *Society and State in the Gulf and Arab Peninsula* (trans. L.M. Kenny; London: Routledge; Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1990); A. Sayyad, "La formation de la société yéménite à la veille de la révolution", *Cahiers du GREMAMO* 10 (1991), pp. 179–93; Fatma al-Sayegh, "Merchants' Role in a Changing Society: The Case of Dubai, 1900–90", *Middle Eastern Studies* 34.1 (1998), pp. 87–102; Gabriele vom Bruck, "Disputing Descent-Based Authority in the Idiom of Religion: The Case of the Republic of Yemen", *Die Welt des Islams* 38.2 (1998), pp. 149–91; Paul Dresch, "Colonialists, communistes et féodaux: rhétoriques de l'ordre au Sud-Yemen", in Pierre Bonte, Édouard Conte, and Paul Dresch (eds), *Émiris et présidents: Figures de la parenté et du politique dans le monde arabe* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2001), pp. 219–46; Isa Blumi, "Shifting Loyalties and Failed Empire: A New Look at the Social History of Late Ottoman Yemen, 1872–1918", in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, edited by Robert Vitalis and Madawi al-Rasheed (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 103–18; Aharon Gaimani, "The 'Orphans' Decree' in Yemen — Two New Episodes", *Middle Eastern Studies* 30.4 (2004), pp. 171–84; James Onley and Sulayman Khalaf, "Shaikhly Authority in the Pre-Oil Gulf: An Historical-Anthropological Study", *History and Anthropology* 17.3 (2006), pp. 189–208; J.E. Peterson, "Rulers, Merchants and Shaikhs in Gulf Politics", in *The Gulf Family: Kinship Policies and Modernity*, edited by Alanoud Alsharekh (London: Saqi, 2007), pp. 21–36.

⁵⁴ Paul Dresch, "The Tribes of Hashid wa-Bakil as Historical and Geographical Entities", in *Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus; Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Alan Jones (Oxford: Ithaca Press, 1991), pp. 8–24; Donald P. Cole and Soraya Altorki, "Was Arabia Tribal? A Reinterpretation of the Pre-Oil Society", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 15.4 (1992), pp. 71–87; Donald P. Cole, "Where have the Bedouin Gone?" *Anthropological Quarterly* 76.2 (2003), pp. 235–67; Anh Nga Longva, "Nationalism in Pre-Modern Guise: The Discourse on Hadhar and Badu in Kuwait", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38.2 (2006), pp. 171–87; Farah al-Nakib, "Revisiting Hadar and Badu in Kuwait: Citizenship, Housing, and the Construction of a Dichotomy", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46.1 (2014), pp. 5–30.

⁵⁵ Ulrike Freitag and Hanne Schönig, "Wise Men Control Wasteful Women: Documents on 'Customs and Tradition' in the Kathiri State Archive, Say'un", *New Arabian Studies* 5 (2000), pp. 67–96; Eleanor Abdella Doumato, *Getting God's Ear: Women, Islam, and Healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Penelope Tuson, *Playing the Game: The Story of Western Women in Arabia, 1892–1939* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); Sophia Pandey, "Muslim Women's Changing

Bandyopadhyay chronicles the development of an Omani interior town and Muhannad A. Albaqshi examines the expansion of Kuwait. Although the people of the Peninsula are predominantly Arab and Muslim, it should not be forgotten that the region is also home to an intriguing variety of religious, social, and/or ethnic minorities and communities who, in many cases, have been in the Peninsula for centuries. Some of these, such as the *hawalah* (Arabs from the Persian coast who resettled on the Arab littoral of the Gulf) and the Baluch (originally from the Pakistani and Iranian coast) have received little attention (except for the articles by Beatrice Nicolini and myself). Fortunately, however, Nelida Fuccaro has looked at Persians in Bahrain, Anie Montigny at Africans in Qatar (as well as Arabs in Iran), and Marc Valeri at “Zanzibaris” in Oman.⁵⁶ The role of Western medical missionaries in the Peninsula from the late nineteenth century on remains a fascinating topic, attracting the attention of Eleanor Doumato and Catherine Woodward for the Gulf, Fatma al-Sayegh for American missionaries in the UAE, Paul Armerding for American missionaries in Saudi Arabia, Lucile Fevrier for French missionaries in Yemen, and J.H. Proctor for Scottish missionaries in South Arabia.⁵⁷

More cultural contributions include Nicolas Gavrielides on historical memory in Iraq and Kuwait, Nadia Rahman on the memory of UAE elders, Ulrike Freitag on the press in Yemen’s Hadramawt, and Bernard Haykel on legal proceedings in eighteenth-century Yemen.⁵⁸

Religious Practices in Bahrain: The Impact of Modern Education”, PhD dissertation (University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006); Susanne Dahlgren, “Revisiting the Issue of Women’s Rights in Southern Yemen: Statutory Law, Sharia and Customs”, *Arabian Humanities* 1 (2013), online; Muhannad A. Albaqshi, “The Social Production of Space: Kuwait’s Spatial History”, PhD dissertation (Illinois Institute of Technology, 2010); Soumyen Bandyopadhyay, *Manah: An Arabian Oasis, An Arabian Legacy; Architecture and Social History of an Omani Settlement* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

⁵⁶ Anie Montigny, “Les Arabes de l’autre rive”, *CEMOTI: Cahiers d’études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turcoiranien* 22 (1996), pp. 51–81; idem, “L’Afrique oubliée des noirs du Qatar”, *Journal des Africanistes* 72.2 (2002), pp. 213–25; Nelida Fuccaro, “Mapping the Transnational Community: Persians and the Space of the City in Bahrain, c.1869–1937”, in *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf*, edited by Madawi al-Rasheed (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 38–58; Marc Valeri, “Nation-Building and Communities in Oman Since 1970: The Swahili-Speaking Omani in Search of Identity”, *African Affairs* 106.424 (2007), pp. 479–96; Beatrice Nicolini, “The Baluch Role in the Persian Gulf During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27.2 (2007), pp. 384–95; J.E. Peterson, “The Baluch Presence in the Persian Gulf”, in *Sectarian Politics in the Persian Gulf*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (London: Hurst, 2014), pp. 229–44.

⁵⁷ Fatma al-Sayegh, “American Missionaries in the UAE Region in the Twentieth Century”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 32.1 (1996), pp. 120–39; Lucile Fevrier, *Yemen: Événements vécus: Médecine coopérative française sur fond de révolution* (Saint-Martens-Latem, Belgium: Les Editions de la Dyle, 2002); Eleanor Abdella Doumato, “An ‘Extra Legible Illustration’ of the Christian Faith: Medicine, Medical Ethics and Missionaries in the Arabian Gulf”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13.4 (2002), pp. 377–90; Paul Armerding, *Doctors for the Kingdom: The Work of the American Mission Hospitals in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1913–1955* (Grand Rapids, MI: Erdmans, 2003); J.H. Proctor, “Scottish Medical Missionaries in South Arabia, 1886–1979”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 42.1 (2006), pp. 103–21; Catherine S. Woodward, “The Discourse and Experience of the Arabian Mission’s Medical Missionaries: Part I, 1920–39”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 47.5 (2011), pp. 779–805; idem, “The Discourse and Experience of the Arabian Mission’s Medical Missionaries: Part II, 1939–60”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 47.6 (2011), pp. 885–910.

⁵⁸ Nicolas Gavrielides, “State Formation, Historical Memory and Popular Culture in Iraq and Kuwait”, in *Statecraft in the Middle East: Oil, Historical Memory, and Popular Culture*, edited by Eric Davis and Nicolas Gavrielides (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991); Bernard Haykel, “Dissembling Descent, or how the Barber Lost his Turban: Identity and Evidence in Eighteenth-Century Zaydi Yemen”, *Islamic Law and Society* 9.2 (2002), pp. 194–230; Nadia Rahman, “Place and Space in the Memory of United Arab Emirates Elders”, in *Popular Culture and Political Identity in the Arab Gulf States*, edited by Alanoud Alsharekh and Robert Springborg (London: Saqi, 2008), pp. 31–39.

Architectural history forms the basis of John Alexander Smith's study of Islamic gardens in Oman while Lealan Swanson regards historical houses in Yemen and Nancy Um concentrates on architecture in al-Mukha (Mocha).⁵⁹

4 Diplomatic history

4.1 *The international relations and foreign policies of regional states*

Diplomatic history has continued to capture the attention of the largest number of scholars. Historical relations between states and powers within Arabia has been explored with regard to Saudi Arabia by Elie Podeh, to Kuwait by Uzi Rabi, to Yemen by Paul Dresch, and to Oman by Christopher Hedigan and Raghid El Solh's reprinting of a half-century old ARAMCO work.⁶⁰ The history of Omani foreign policy has been studied by Joseph Kéchichian and Majid al-Khalili while Jeremy Jones and Nicholas Ridout look at the role of culture in Oman's historical foreign policy and Saeed Badeeb and Faisal bin Salman al-Saud have dissected the pivotal period in Saudi-Iranian relations immediately prior to British withdrawal.⁶¹

4.2 *The role of foreign powers*

But the greatest volume of diplomatic history chronicles the involvement of foreign powers with Arabia. Most attention is given over to the ingress of European powers into the region although a welcome development has been the attention given to the Ottoman presence. The lion's share of studies of the Ottomans in Arabia covers Yemen, where Istanbul was dominant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and then again in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Manfred Kropp, Salih Özbaran, and Frédérique Soudan have dealt with the earlier period while Caesar Farah, Thomas Kühn, Vincent Wilhite, and A.R. Yaccob have studied the more

⁵⁹ John Alexander Smith, "The Islamic Garden in Oman: Sanctuary and Paradise", *Garden History: The Journal of the Garden History Society* 19.2 (Autumn 1991), pp. 187–208; Lealan Anderson Nunn Swanson, "Historical Considerations in Yemeni Vernacular Architecture: Houses from the Sulayid Dynasty (439/1047) to the Modern Period", PhD dissertation (Ohio State University, 1997); Nancy Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

⁶⁰ Elie Podeh, "Ending an Age-Old Rivalry: The Rapprochement Between the Hashemites and the Saudis, 1956–1958", in *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: A Festschrift in Honour of the Late Professor Uriel Dann*, edited by Asher Susser and Aryeh Shmuelevitz (London: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 85–108; Paul Dresch, "A Letter from Imam Yahya Concerning the Idrisi", edited by G. Rex Smith, J.R. Smart, and B. R. Pridham, *New Arabian Studies* 3 (1996), pp. 58–68; Raghid El Solh (ed.), *Oman and the South-Eastern Shore of Arabia* (London: Ithaca Press, 1997; a reprint of Arabian American Oil Company, Relations Department, Research Division, *Oman and the Southern Shore of the Persian Gulf* [Cairo, 1952]); Uzi Rabi, "Kuwait's Changing Strategic Posture: Historical Patterns", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 27.4 (2004), pp. 52–65; Christopher J. Hedigan, "Oman, Pakistan and Gwadar 1948–1958", in *Modern Oman: Studies on Politics, Economy, Environment, and Culture of the Sultanate*, edited by Andrzej Kapiszewski, Abdulrahman al-Salimi, and Andrzej Pikulski (Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka, 2006), pp. 88–98.

⁶¹ Joseph A. Kechichian, *Oman and the World: The Emergence of an Independent Foreign Policy* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1995); Faisal bin Salman al-Saud, *Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf: Power Politics in Transition 1968–1971* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Majid al-Khalili, "Oman's Foreign Policy: Foundations and Practice", PhD dissertation (Florida International University, 2005); Saeed M. Badeeb, *Saudi-Iranian Relations 1932–1983* (London: Centre for Arab and Iranian Studies and Echoes, 1993), 2nd edn, *Saudi-Iranian Relations 1932–1997* (London: Centre for Arab and Iranian Studies, 2006); Jeremy Jones and Nicholas Ridout, *Oman, Culture and Diplomacy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

recent episode.⁶² Suraiya Faroqhi and Syed Tanvir Wasti have both written on the Ottoman presence in al-Hijaz, where they at least nominally controlled the holy places of Islam until defeated at the end of the First World War.⁶³ But it is in the Gulf that a small outpouring of Ottomanist work has first appeared in recent years, led principally by Frederick Anscombe and Zakariya Kurşun.⁶⁴ Persian relations with Arabia have been covered by Mohammad al-Muqadam, Mohammad Vosoughi, and J.F. Standish while R.T. Mortel has written on Mamluk-Hijazi ties.⁶⁵

Beginning in the sixteenth century, various European powers vied for power and influence in the Gulf. The earliest of these were the Portuguese, who literally blazed a trail up East Africa and along the Arabian coast and into the Gulf, as described by João Teles e Cunha and the authors in the edited work of Rudi Matthee and Jorge Flores, whose efforts are supplemented by Joseph Chelhod's examination of the Portuguese in Yemen and by Dejanirah Silva Couto's look at Portuguese maps; they were followed closely by the Dutch as Willem Floor and Virginia Lunsford

⁶² Manfred Kropp, "The Realm of Evil: the Struggle of Ottomans and Zaidis in the 16th-17th Centuries as Reflected in Historiography", in *Yemen-Present and Past*, edited by Bengt Knutsson et al. (Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press, 1994), pp. 87–96; Salih Özbaran, "The Ottoman Budgets of Yemen in the 16th Century", in *Türkische Wirtschafts und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by H.G.M. and R. Motika (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), pp. 231–9; A.R.B. Yaccob, "Anglo-Ottoman Rivalries in South West Arabia Prior to and during the First World War", PhD thesis (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1995); Frédérique Soudan, *Le Yémen ottoman d'après la chronique d'al-Mawza'i* (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1999); Caesar E. Farah, *The Sultan's Yemen: Nineteenth Century Challenges to Ottoman Rule* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002); idem, "Anglo-Ottoman Confrontation in the Yemen, 1840–9", in *Arabian Studies*, edited by R.B. Serjeant and R.L. Bidwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 137–69; idem, "Smuggling and International Politics in the Red Sea in the Late Ottoman Period", *New Arabian Studies* 5 (2000), pp. 47–66; Vincent Steven Wilhite, "Guerrilla War, Counterinsurgency, and State Formation in Ottoman Yemen", PhD dissertation (Ohio State University, 2003); Thomas Kühn, "Shaping Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1872–1919", PhD dissertation (New York University, 2005); idem, "An Imperial Borderland as Colony: Knowledge Production and the Elaboration of Difference in Ottoman Yemen, 1872–1918", *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (Spring 2003), pp. 5–17; idem, "Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872–1919", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27.2 (2007), pp. 315–31.

⁶³ Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The Defence of Medina, 1916–19", *Middle Eastern Studies* 27.4 (1991), pp. 642–53; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj Under the Ottomans* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994).

⁶⁴ Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); idem, "An Anational Society: Eastern Arabia in the Ottoman Period", in *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf*, edited by Madawi al-Rasheed (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 21–38; idem, "The Ottoman Empire in Recent International Politics-I: The Case of Kuwait", *International History Review* 28 (2006), pp. 537–45; idem, "The Ottoman Role in the Gulf", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 261–276; Zakariya Kurşun, *The Ottomans in Qatar: A History of Anglo-Ottoman Conflicts in the Persian Gulf* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2002). Another relevant article should be noted: Mohammed al-Zulfa, "Omani-Ottoman Relations During the Reign of Imam Ahmad b. Sa'id, 1741–83, in the Light of a Recently Discovered Exchange of Letters Between the Imam and the Ottoman Sultan", in *Arabian Studies*, edited by R.B. Serjeant and R.L. Bidwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 93–103.

⁶⁵ R.T. Mortel, "Aspects of Mamluk Relations with Jeddah During the Fifteenth Century: The Case of Timraz al-Mu'ayyadi", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6.1 (1995), pp. 1–13; Mohammad Saad al-Muqadam, "Oman's Relations with Persia, 1737–1868", PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 1996); J.F. Standish, *Persia and the Gulf: Retrospect and Prospect* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1996; New York: St Martin's Press, 1998; including reprints of articles on "Britain and the Gulf" and "Bahrain and the Persian Claim"); Mohammad Bagher Vosoughi, "The Kings of Hormuz: From the Beginning Until the Arrival of the Portuguese", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 89–104. Mention might also be made here of a seemingly unusual subject: Guy F. Isitt, "Vikings in the Persian Gulf", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 17.4 (2007), pp. 389–406.

outline.⁶⁶ The French arrived shortly afterwards and were engaged in a continuous but losing struggle with the British until well into the twentieth century. Surveys of French relations with the Gulf have been published by B.J. Slot, with Oman by Sultan al-Qasimi and Robert Oddos, while C. Veillon and Roger Joint Dagueneet relate incidents involving the French in Yemen.⁶⁷ Other European challengers to Britain's predominance appeared late in the nineteenth century. Among them were Russia, chronicled by Efim Rezvan and Grigori Bondarevsky with a later look at Soviet policy in the Gulf by Mishel al-Mosaed. German interests emerged at roughly the same time but the recent literature by Helmut Mejcher and Fahd al-Semmari concentrates on twentieth-century German relations with Saudi Arabia. The Italian interest in the Red Sea and its favored position in pre-revolutionary Yemen are the subjects of R. Rainero's article.⁶⁸

As befits the victors in the European rivalry in Arabia and the Gulf, the literature on the wide span of British interests, influence, and interference is voluminous, even considering that published in just the last two decades. More general studies include the surveys of Britain's role in the Gulf by Uzi Rabi, Saul Kelly, and myself while more specific approaches are in Robert Dalziel's study of maritime contacts, Rabi's overview of British possessions in the region, Harry Wieschhoff's view of the role of economics in the formulation of British policy toward the region, Robert Johnson's account of Anglo-Russian rivalry, and Clive Jones' look at British intelligence in the Dhufar War.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Joseph Chelhod, "Les Portugais au Yémen, d'après les sources arabes", *Journal Asiatique* (1995), pp. 1–18; Dejanirah Silva Couto, "Le Golfe dans la cartographie portugaise de la première moitié du XVIe siècle", in *Atlas Historique du Golfe Persique, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006); João Teles e Cunha, "The Portuguese Presence in the Persian Gulf", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 207–34; Rudi Mathee and Jorge Flores (eds), *Portugal, the Persian Gulf, and Safavid Persia* (Louven, Belgium: Peeters, 2011); idem, "The Portuguese Presence in the Persian Gulf: An Overview", in *Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf*, edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), pp. 1–12; Willem Floor, "Dutch Relations with the Persian Gulf", in Potter, *The Persian Gulf in History*, pp. 235–59; Virginia Lunsford, "The Dutch in the Persian Gulf", in *Imperial Crossroads*, edited by Macris and Kelly, pp. 13–30. Also relevant is Floor's *The Persian Gulf: The Economic and Political History of Five Port Cities, 1500–1730*; idem, *The Persian Gulf: Dutch-Omani Relations; A Commercial & Political History, 1651–1806* (Odenton, MD: Mage Publishers, 2014).

⁶⁷ C. Veillon, "L'affaire de Cheikh Saïd (1868–1914): Une tentative d'implantation française au Yémen", *Cahiers du GREMAMO* 10 (1991), pp. 39–51; Roger Joint Dagueneet, "Le Meurtre d'Henry Lambert, Agent Consulaire de France à Aden (1855–1865)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd Series, 2.2 (1992), pp. 175–90; Sultan b. Muhammad al-Qasimi, *Les Relations entre Oman et la France (1715–1905)* (trans. Abdeljelil and Mireille Temimi; Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995; also published in English as *Omani-French Relations, 1715–1900* [trans. B.R. Pridham; Exeter: Forest Row, 1996]); Robert Oddos, "Deux siècles de relations franco-omanaises (1735–1920)", *Revue historique* 599 (1996), pp. 83–123; B. J. Slot, "French Relations with the Independent Shaikhdoms of the Lower Gulf", *Liwa: Journal of the National Center for Documentation and Research* 1.2 (2009), pp. 10–21.

⁶⁸ Fahd Abdullah al-Semmari, "Saudi Arabian-German Political and Economic Relations 1926–1939", PhD dissertation (University of California, Riverside, 1989); Mishel Abdullah al-Mosaed, "USSR-Gulf States Relations since the British Withdrawal from East of Suez in 1971", PhD dissertation (University of Denver, 1990); R. Rainero, "Les ouvertures commerciales de l'Italie fasciste au Yémen: enjeux et réalités (1926–1936)", *Cahiers du GREMAMO* 10 (1991), pp. 53–61; Efim Rezvan, *Russian Ships in the Gulf, 1899–1903* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1993); Helmut Mejcher, "Die Wiederaufnahme der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Saudi-Arabien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", *Orient* 42.3 (2001), pp. 469–84; Grigori Bondarevsky, "Mubarak's Kuwait in Russian and German Policy", in *Kuwait: The Growth of a Historic Identity*, edited by Ben J. Slot (London: Arabian Publishing, 2003), pp. 49–57.

⁶⁹ Nigel Robert Dalziel, "British Maritime Contacts with the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman, 1850–1900", PhD thesis (University of Lancaster, 1989); K. Harry Wieschhoff, "The Saliency of Economics in the Formulation of United Kingdom Foreign Policy: The Persian Gulf, 1945–1955", PhD thesis (University of Essex,

By the mid-twentieth century, Britain had established a crown colony in Aden and protectorates over its hinterland, gathered the small Gulf States into de jure or de facto protected status, and effectively checked Saudi expansion. This required an administrative apparatus that was exceedingly modest given the vast territory under British control. Earlier works have concentrated on arrangements in Aden — although Simon Smith has made a more recent contribution — but Omer al-Omery and James Onley have written on the residency system in the Gulf and former ambassadors Richard Muir and Terence Clark have traced the history of British missions in Kuwait and Oman respectively, as have Robert Alston and Stuart Laing for Oman as well. Onley also treats the role of the Gulf in the British Empire, focusing on the reach of British India, while Robert Blyth discusses the struggle between British India and London for control in the Gulf. John Willis looks at the role of British India in Yemen while Christian Lekon narrows the subject to the British role in the Hadramawt.⁷⁰

The somewhat wider subject of British relations with regional states and British activities has attracted a plethora of authors who have examined most aspects of the British presence. Shafi Aldamer looks at Anglo-Saudi relations around the period of World War II while relations with Kuwait in the pre-1961 period have been studied by Simon Smith, Andrew Loewenstein, and Miriam Joyce. Smith and Joyce also contribute studies of relations with Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, and an article on British relations with Yemen. Christopher

1990); J.E. Peterson, "Britain and the Gulf: At the Periphery of Empire", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 277–93; Uzi Rabi, "Britain's 'Special Position' in the Gulf: Its Origins, Dynamics and Legacy", *Middle Eastern Studies* 42.3 (2006), pp. 351–64; idem, "British Possessions in the Persian Gulf and Southwest Arabia: The Last Abandoned in the Middle East", in *Britain and the Middle East: From Imperial Power to Junior Partner*, edited by Zoch Levey and Elie Podeh (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), pp. 264–81; Saul Kelly, "The Gamekeeper versus the Mercenary Spirit: The Pax Britannica in the Gulf", in *Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf*, edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), pp. 49–59; Robert Johnson, "The Great Game and Power Projection", in *Imperial Crossroads*, edited by Macris and Kelly, pp. 31–48; Clive Jones, "A Guiding Hand or Controlling Grasp? Britain, Intelligence, and the War in Oman, 1970–1976", in *Imperial Crossroads*, edited by Macris and Kelly pp. 91–107. Sarah A. Kaiksow has also published an unusual case study of the psyche of a British soldier in the region: "Subjectivity and Imperial Masculinity: A British Soldier in Dhofar (1968–1970)", *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4.2 (2008), pp. 60–80.

⁷⁰ Omer Saleh al-Omery, "The Resident in the Gulf: British Power in Transition, 1858–1872", PhD thesis (University of Essex, 1989); Simon C. Smith, "Rulers and Residents: British Relations with the Aden Protectorate, 1937–1959", *Middle Eastern Studies* 31.3 (1995), pp. 509–23; Christian Lekon, "The British and Hadhramaut (Yemen), 1863–1967: A Contribution to Robinson's Multicausal Theory of Imperialism", PhD thesis (London School of Economics, 2000); Robert J. Blyth, "Britain Versus India in the Persian Gulf: The Struggle for Political Control, c.1928–48", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Affairs* 28.1 (2000), pp. 901–11; James Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); adapted from "The Infrastructure of Informal Empire: A Study of Britain's Native Agency in Bahrain, c.1816–1900", DPhil thesis (St Antony's College, University of Oxford, 2001); idem, "The Politics of Protection in the Gulf: The Arab Rulers and the British Resident in the Nineteenth Century", *New Arabian Studies* 6 (2004), pp. 30–92; idem, "Britain's Native Agents in Arabia and Persia in the Nineteenth Century", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 24.1 (2004), pp. 131–9; idem, "Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection", *Occasional Paper* 4 (Doha, Qatar: Georgetown University, Center for International and Regional Studies, 2009); Richard Muir, "Kuwait", in Hugh Arbutnot, Terence Clark, and Richard Muir, *British Missions Around the Gulf, 1575–2005: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman* (Folkestone, Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2008), pp. 169–226; Terence Clark, "Oman", in *British Missions Around the Gulf*, pp. 229–53; John M. Willis, "Making Yemen Indian: Rewriting the Boundaries of Imperial Arabia", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41.1 (2009), pp. 23–38; Robert Alston and Stuart Laing, *Unshook Till the End of Time: A History of Relations Between Britain and Oman 1650–1970* (London: Gilgamesh, 2012).

Davidson also looks at Britain and the Trucial States (as do Miriam Joyce and Helene von Bismarck) while Hussain al-Mousawi, Lawrence Timpe, and Miriam Joyce Haron examine aspects of the several centuries of the British–Omani relationship. Timothy Paris studies the British role in al-Hijaz, where the Hashimis were eventually defeated by the Al Sa‘ud and forced to accept the British offer of thrones in Syria, Iraq, and Transjordan.⁷¹ The gradual British drawdown from its East of Suez prominence, culminating in official withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971, received considerable attention in pre-1990 works to which John Darwin contributes another study. At the other end of the microscope, Suliman (Soli) Shahvar looks at the impact of the Indo-European Telegraph Line and P.J.L. Frankl and Christopher Gandy have written about specific British initiatives in Saudi Arabia and Yemen respectively.⁷²

It should of course be remembered that the British presence in Arabia was not always harmonious and accepted by regional political entities or their neighbors. In some ways, the British need to take military action to secure the interests of themselves and their clients rivaled their efforts to maintain their position through quiet administration and diplomacy. This was certainly true in Aden and the Protectorate when rising Arab nationalism in the 1960s forced the British out of their last military redoubt in the Middle East, as Spencer Mawby, Peter Hinchcliffe, John Ducker, and Maria Holt make clear. But Britain also saw Jamal ‘Abd al-Nasir’s intervention in

⁷¹ Shafi Aldamer, *Saudi Arabia and Britain: Changing Relations, 1939–1953* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2003); Hussain Ben al-Sayed Yousuf Hashim al-Mousawi, “A History of Omani-British Relations, with Special Reference to the Period 1888–1920”, PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 1990); G. Lawrence Timpe, “British Foreign Policy Toward the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, 1954–1959”, PhD thesis (University of Exeter, July 1991); Miriam Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945–1996: An Anglo-American Perspective* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); idem, *Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty’s Government, 1960–1969* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); idem (Miriam Joyce Haron), “Britain and the Sultan of Muscat and Oman and Dependencies, 1958–59”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 4.1 (1993), pp. 90–102; idem, “On the Road Towards Unity: The Trucial States from a British Perspective, 1960–66”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 35.2 (1999), pp. 45–60; Andrew B. Loewenstein, “‘The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait’: Liberalized Imperialism and British Efforts to Influence Kuwaiti Domestic Policy During the Reign of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber, 1938–50”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 36.2 (2000), pp. 103–23; Simon C. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965: Britain, the al-Sabah, and Oil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999); idem, *Britain’s Revival and Fall in the Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950–71* (London: Routledge, 2004); idem, “Revolution and Reaction: South Arabia in the Aftermath of the Yemeni Revolution”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 28.3 (2000), pp. 193–208; idem, “The Making of a Neo-Colony? Anglo-Kuwaiti Relations in the Era of Decolonization”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 37.1 (2001), pp. 159–72; Timothy J. Paris, *Britain, the Hashemites and Arab Rule 1920–1925: The Sherifian Solution* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Christopher M. Davidson, “Arab Nationalism and British Opposition in Dubai, 1920–66”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 43.6 (2007), pp. 879–92; Helene von Bismarck, *British Policy in the Persian Gulf, 1961–1968: Conceptions of Informal Empire* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); idem, “‘A Watershed in Our Relations with the Trucial States’: Great Britain’s Policy to Prevent the Opening of an Arab League Office in the Persian Gulf in 1965”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 47.1 (2011), pp. 1–24.

⁷² John Darwin, “Britain’s Withdrawal from East of Suez”, in *Munich to Vietnam: Australia’s Relations with Britain and the United States Since the 1930s*, edited by Carl Bridge (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1991); P.J.L. Frankl, “Lieutenant Jopp’s Report on a Visit to Hufuf, 1257/1841”, edited by R.B. Serjeant, R.L. Bidwell, and G. Rex Smith, *New Arabian Studies* 1 (1993), pp. 215–27; Suliman Shahvar, “The Formation of the Indo-European Telegraph Line: Britain, the Ottoman Empire and Persia, 1855–1865”, PhD thesis (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1998); idem, “Communications, Qajar Irredentism and the Strategies of British India: The Makran Coast Telegraph and British Policy of Containing Persia in the East (Baluchistan)”, Parts 1 and 2, *Iranian Studies* 39.3 and 39.4 (2006), pp. 329–51 and 569–95; Christopher Gandy, “A Mission to Yemen: August 1962–January 1963”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25.2 (1998), pp. 247–74.

the North Yemen civil war of the same period as the fundamental threat behind the unrest in both north and south, as Clive Jones and Rory Cormac write.⁷³

British military action had an even longer pedigree on the Gulf side of the Peninsula, beginning with the campaigns against the Qawasim of what the British then termed the “Pirate Coast” (and which later became known as the Trucial Coast). This subject was covered in earlier years but Mubarak al-Otobi and Charles E. Davies add new light. British activity in Saudi Arabia fell into the category of military assistance, which Joseph Kostiner examines for the period of the 1930s and Nikolas Gardner discusses for the period of the 1960s–70s. The insertion of British troops into Kuwait when Iraq seemed to threaten that country upon its independence in 1961 has been treated in the past but Nigel Ashton reviews the topic. Another side of British security concerns involved internal developments in the Gulf States and the emergence of opposition movements perceived as radical threats, as Miriam Joyce describes in the case of Bahrain in the 1950s and Hasan Alhasan describes in the 1980s after independence.⁷⁴ A few studies look at the security scene from a broader point of view: Rod Thornton describes British strategy in countering Arab insurgencies and William Roger Louis adds what must be hoped is the final coda on British withdrawal.⁷⁵

⁷³ Clive Jones, *Britain and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–1965: Ministers, Mercenaries and Mandarins; Foreign Policy and the Limits of Covert Action* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2004); idem, “‘Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins’: Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–64”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.1 (2004), pp. 99–126; idem, “Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–1967”, in *Britain and the Middle East: From Imperial Power to Junior Partner*, edited by Zoch Levey and Elie Podeh (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), pp. 248–63; Spencer Mawby, *British Policy in Aden and the Protectorates, 1955–67* (London: Routledge, 2005); idem, “Britain’s Last Imperial Frontier: The Aden Protectorates, 1952–59”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29.2 (2001), pp. 75–100; idem, “A Crisis of Empire: The Anglo-Ottoman Dispute Over the Aden Frontier, 1901–1905”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 18.1 (2007), pp. 27–52; idem, “The Clandestine Defence of Empire: British Special Operations in Yemen, 1951–1964”, *Intelligence and National Security* 17.3 (2002), pp. 105–30; Peter Hinchcliffe, John T. Ducker, and Maria Holt, *Without Glory in Arabia: The British Retreat from Aden* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006); Michael James Esdaile, “Aden and the End of Empire, 1937–1960”, PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2011); Rory Cormac, “Coordinating Covert Action: The Case of the Yemen Civil War and the South Arabian Insurgency”, *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36 (2013), pp. 692–717.

⁷⁴ Mubarak al-Otobi, “The Qawasim and British Control of the Arabian Gulf”, PhD thesis (University of Salford, 1989); Charles E. Davies, *The Blood-Red Flag: An Investigation into Qasimi Piracy, 1797–1820* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997); idem, “Britain, Trade and Piracy: The British Expeditions Against Ra’s al-Khaima of 1809–10 and 1819–20” in *Global Interests in the Arab Gulf*, edited by Charles E. Davies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 29–66; Joseph Kostiner, “Britain and the Challenge of the Axis Powers in Arabia: The Decline of British-Saudi Cooperation in the 1930s”, in *Britain and the Middle East in the 1930s: Security Problems, 1935–39*, edited by Michael J. Cohen and Martin Kolinsky (Houndmills, UK: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 128–43; Nigel Ashton, “A Microcosm of Decline: British Loss of Nerve and Military Intervention in Jordan and Kuwait, 1957 and 1961”, *Historical Journal* 40.4 (1997), pp. 1069–83; Miriam Joyce, “The Bahraini Three on St. Helena, 1956–1961”, *Middle East Journal* 54.4 (2000), pp. 613–23; Nikolas Gardner, “The Harold Wilson Government, Airwork Services Limited, and the Saudi Arabian Air Defence Scheme, 1965–73”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 42.2 (2007), pp. 345–63; Hasan Tariq Alhasan, “The Role of Iran in the Failed Coup of 1981: The IFLB in Bahrain”, *Middle East Journal* 65.4 (2011), pp. 603–17.

⁷⁵ William Rogers Louis, “The British Withdrawal from the Gulf, 1967–71”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31.1 (2003), pp. 83–108; Rod Thornton, “Countering Arab Insurgencies: The British Experience”, *Contemporary Security Policy* 28.1 (2007), pp. 7–27. But Lewis was not the last: Shohei Sato, “Britain’s Decision to Withdraw from the Persian Gulf, 1964–68: A Pattern and a Puzzle”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37.1 (2009), pp. 99–117. A geographically narrower piece on the subject is Lord Wright of Richmond, “Memories of 1971: A Historic Year in the Emirates”, *Asian Affairs* 42.2 (2011), pp. 300–8.

It was, after all, British withdrawal in 1971 that sparked American interest in “protecting” the Gulf, even if that interest did not translate into direct action for a decade or more to come. Certainly, the USA had official interests well before 1971, as Moira de Moraes Ruehsen, William Fain, Reuven Hollo, Michael Palmer, Gary Sick, and Naif Bin Hethlain demonstrate, while Fred Lawson discusses the US position vis-à-vis opposition movements in the region.⁷⁶ Victor McFarland contributes a look at the relationship during the succeeding decade and Amy Austin Holmes examines the US Naval presence in Bahrain from World War II on.⁷⁷ But the transition from a British umbrella to an American one was not smooth and the two powers clashed discreetly over al-Buraymi Oasis and Kennedy’s recognition of the Yemen Arab Republic in 1962, among other points of tension. The intertwining of Anglo-American interests in the Gulf during the 1940s through the 1960s has been studied by Simon Davis, Taylor Fain, Tore Tingvold Petersen, and Miriam Joyce, and Simon Smith, as well as by Petersen and Jeffrey Macris in the 1970s.⁷⁸

Washington’s closest bilateral relationship was with Saudi Arabia, in large part because of the kingdom’s gigantic oil reserves but also because of American involvement in that country’s development and Riyadh’s emerging role on the Arab stage. Rachel Bronson has published one of the latest overviews of US–Saudi relations while a former ambassador, Parker Hart, wrote about the

⁷⁶ Moira de Moraes Ruehsen, “The Advent of American Hegemony in the Persian Gulf, 1953–1956”, PhD dissertation (Johns Hopkins University SAIS, 1992); Fred H. Lawson, *Opposition Movements and U.S. Policy Toward the Arab Gulf States* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992); Michael A. Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America’s Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833–1992* (New York: Free Press, 1992); Reuven Hollo, “Oil and American Foreign Policy in the Persian Gulf (1947–1991)”, PhD dissertation (University of Texas at Austin, 1995); W. Taylor Fain, *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Gary G. Sick, “The United States and the Persian Gulf in the Twentieth Century”, in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 295–310; Naif Bin Hethlain, *Saudi Arabia and the US Since 1962: Allies in Conflict* (London: Saqi, 2010). For more on dissidence in the Peninsula, see Joseph A. Kechichian, *Extremism and Opposition Movements on the Arabian Peninsula* (New Delhi: Observer Research Foundation, 2006).

⁷⁷ Victor R.S. McFarland, “Living in Never-Never Land: The United States, Saudi Arabia, and Oil in the 1970s”, PhD dissertation (Yale University, 2014); Amy Austin Holmes, “The Base that Replaced the British Empire: De-Democratization and the American Navy in Bahrain”, *Journal of Arabian Studies* 4.1 (2014), pp. 20–37.

⁷⁸ Tore Tingvold Petersen, “Anglo-American Rivalry in the Middle East”; idem, *Richard Nixon, Great Britain and the Anglo-American Alignment in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula: Making Allies Out of Clients* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2009); idem, “Richard Nixon, Great Britain, and the Anglo-American Strategy of Turning the Persian Gulf into an Allied Lake”, in *Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf*, edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), pp. 75–89; Simon Davis, “Keeping the Americans in Line? Britain, the United States, and Saudi Arabia, 1939–1945: Inter-Allied Rivalry in the Middle East Revisited”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 8.1 (1997), pp. 96–136; Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945–1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*; idem, “Preserving the Sheikdom: London, Washington, Iraq and Kuwait, 1958–61”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 31.2 (1995), pp. 281–92; W. Taylor Fain, “John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan: Managing the ‘Special Relationship’ in the Persian Gulf Region, 1961–63”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 38.4 (2002), pp. 95–122; idem, “‘Unfortunate Arabia’: The United States, Great Britain and Yemen, 1955–63”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 12.2 (2001), pp. 125–52; C. Smith, *Ending Empire in the Middle East: Britain, the United States and Post-War Decolonization, 1945–1973* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2012); Jeffrey R. Macris, *The Politics and Security of the Gulf: Anglo-American Hegemony and the Shaping of a Region* (London: Routledge, 2010); adapted from “The Anglo-American Gulf: Britain’s Departure and America’s Arrival in the Persian Gulf”, PhD dissertation [Johns Hopkins University, 2007]; idem, “Why Didn’t America Replace the British in the Persian Gulf?”, in *Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf*, edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), pp. 61–74.

early years of the relationship, as have Nathan Citino, Fahad al-Nafjan, Bruce Nardulli, Abdulmuhsin Ruwaithy, David Lesch, and Helmut Mejcher. Jason Campbell looks at later years in the relationship while Fawaz Gerges builds upon earlier works dissecting American-Saudi cooperation in countering the Yemen revolution in the 1960s.⁷⁹ The story of American relations with Oman (which was the second Arab state to enter into diplomatic relations with Washington and the first to send an envoy to the USA) is covered by Miriam Joyce and Mohammed al-Khudhairi.⁸⁰

5 Islam and Islamism

5.1 Wahhabism

The attacks of 11 September 2001 and the emergence of al-Qa'idah and like-minded groups on the global stage have created a cottage industry of publications on Islamism, Islamist extremism, and terrorism. Most of these works fall outside the scope of this survey but it should be noted that Wahhabism — the conservative Salafi interpretation of Sunni Islam prevailing in Saudi Arabia — has received increased critical attention as well. The historical linkages between the religious reformer Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab (and his descendants, known as the Al al-Shaykh) and the holders of political power Al Sa'ud, as well as the historical, theological, and social context in which the movement emerged in Najd has been explained by Khalid al-Dakhil, Muhammad al-Freih, Michael Cook, Guido Steinberg, Abdulaziz al-Fahad, Natana J. Delong-Bas, David Commins, and Michael Crawford.⁸¹ In addition, Hala Fattah has explored the Wahhabi influence

⁷⁹ Fahad Mohammed al-Nafjan, "The Origins of Saudi-American Relations: From Recognition to Diplomatic Representation (1931–1943)", PhD dissertation (University of Kansas, 1989); Abdulmuhsin Rajallah al-Ruwaithy, "American and British Aid to Saudi Arabia, 1928–1945", PhD dissertation (University of Texas at Austin, 1990); David W. Lesch, "The Saudi Role in the American-Syrian Crisis of 1957", *Middle East Policy* 1.3 (1992), pp. 33–48; Fawaz A. Gerges, "The Kennedy Administration and the Egyptian-Saudi Conflict in Yemen: Coopting Arab Nationalism", *Middle East Journal* 49.2 (1995), pp. 292–311; Parker T. Hart, *Saudi Arabia and the United States: Birth of a Security Partnership* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998); Nathan J. Citino, *From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Sa'ud, and the Making of U.S.-Saudi Relations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002; a reworking of the author's "Eisenhower, King Sa'ud, and the Politics of Arab Nationalism: United States-Saudi Relations, 1952–1960", PhD dissertation [Ohio State University, 1999]); Bruce R. Nardulli, "Dance of Swords: United States Military Assistance to Saudi Arabia, 1942–1964", PhD dissertation (Ohio State University, 2002); Helmut Mejcher, "King Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud in the Arena of World Politics: A Glimpse from Washington, 1950–1971", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 31.1 (2004), pp. 5–25; Rachel Bronson, *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Relationship with Saudi Arabia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jason H. Campbell, "The Ties That Bind: The Events of 1979 and the Escalation of U.S.-Saudi Security Relations During the Carter and Reagan Administrations", in *Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf*, edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), pp. 129–46.

⁸⁰ Mohammed Sulaiman al-Khudhairi, "The Sultanate of Muscat and the United States: A Study of Mutual Cooperation Between Sultan Said and the American Merchants", PhD thesis (University of Essex, 1989); Miriam Joyce, "Washington and Treaty-Making with the Sultan of Muscat and Oman", *Middle Eastern Studies* 30.1 (1994), pp. 145–54.

⁸¹ Muhammad al-Freih, "The Historical Background of the Emergence of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahab and His Movement", PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1990); Michael Cook, "On the Origins of Wahhabism", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd Series, 2.2 (1992), pp. 191–202; Khalid S. al-Dakhil, "Social Origins of the Wahhabi Movement", PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1998); idem, "Wahhabism as an Ideology of State Formation", in *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State*, edited by Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), pp. 23–38; Guido Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabien: die*

in Iraq, Scott Reese looks at Salafi influences in Aden and the Indian Ocean, Abdulla Zaid has studied the Ikhwan (the harnessing of the tribes of the Najd as the flying wings of the Saudi expansionism before being crushed by King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz), and Yaroslav Trofimov gives a detailed account of the takeover of the Great Mosque of Makkah in 1979 by descendants of the Ikhwan, also called Neo-Ikhwan, a subject also studied by Pascal Ménoret.⁸²

5.2 Islamic sects and minorities

Other scholars have worked on the Shi‘ah and other Islamic sects. Studies of the Twelver Shi‘ah (Ja‘faris or Ithna‘asharis) predominate, with Laurence Louër providing a view throughout the Gulf, Guido Steinberg investigating the Shi‘ah of Saudi Arabia’s Eastern Province (now numbering several million), Werner Ende illuminating the little-known Nakhawilah community of al-Madinah, and Fouad Ibrahim tracing the rise of Shi‘ah political opposition in the Eastern Province. Mark Sedgwick also provides a look at Sufism in al-Hijaz earlier in the twentieth century.⁸³ Amongst other studies of Islamic sects, Gabriele vom Bruck has tackled the centrality of the Zaydi (Fiver Shi‘ah) imamate in Yemen, S. Jiwa discusses Isma‘ilis (Sevener Shi‘ah) in Yemen, John Wilkinson discusses the development of Ibadism in Oman, Valerie Hoffman and Amal Ghazal throw light on Ibadism in Oman and Zanzibar, and Molly Patterson examines the role of South Arabia in introducing Islam to East Africa.⁸⁴

wahhabitischen Gelehrten 1902–1953 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002); idem, “The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State: 1745 to the Present”, in *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*, edited by Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman (London: Hurst, 2005), pp. 11–34; Abdulaziz H. al-Fahad, “From Exclusivism to Accommodation: Doctrinal and Legal Evolution of Wahhabism”, *New York University Law Review* 79.2 (2004), pp. 485–519; David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

⁸² Abdulla S. Zaid, “The Ikhwan Movement of Najd, Saudi Arabia, 1908–1930”, PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 1989); Hala Fattah, “‘Wahhabi’ Influences, Salafi responses: Shaikh Mahmud Shukri and the Iraqi Salafi Movement, 1745–1930”, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14.2 (2003), pp. 127–48; Natana J. Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); idem, “Wahhabism and the Question of Religious Tolerance”, in *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State*, edited by Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), pp. 11–21; Michael Crawford, “The Da‘wa of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab Before the Al Sa‘ud”, *Journal of Arabian Studies* 1.2 (2011), pp. 147–61; Scott S. Reese, “Salafi Transformations: Aden and the Changing Voices of Religious Reform in the Interwar Indian Ocean”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44.1 (2012), pp. 71–92; Yaroslav Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam’s Holiest Shrine and the Birth of Al Qaeda* (New York: Doubleday; London: Penguin Books, 2007); Pascal Ménoret, “Fighting for the Holy Mosque: The 1979 Mecca Insurgency”, in *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations in Sacred Spaces*, edited by C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸³ Werner Ende, “The Nakhawila: A Shi‘ite Community in Medina, Past and Present”, *Die Welt des Islams* 37.3 (1997), pp. 263–348; Mark J.R. Sedgwick, “Saudi Sufis: Compromise in the Hijaz, 1925–40”, *Die Welt des Islams* 37.3 (1997), pp. 349–68; Guido Steinberg, “The Shi‘ites in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia (al-Ahsa’ 1913–1953)”, in *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture and Political Culture*, edited by Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), pp. 236–54; Fouad Ibrahim, *The Shi‘is of Saudi Arabia* (London: Saqi, 2006); Laurence Louër, *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

⁸⁴ Gabriele vom Bruck, “Being a Zaydi in the Absence of an Imam: Doctrinal Revisions, Religious Instruction, and the (Re-)Invention of Ritual”, in *Le Yémen Contemporain*, edited by Rémy Leveau, Franck Mermier, and Udo Steinbach (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 1999), pp. 169–92; S. Jiwa, “The Genesis of Isma‘ili Da‘wa Activities in the Yemen”, *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 15.1–2 (1988), pp. 50–64; J.C. Wilkinson, *Ibadism: Origins and Early Development in Oman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Valerie J. Hoffman, “The Articulation of Ibadi Identity in Modern Oman and Zanzibar”, *Muslim World* 94.2 (2004), pp. 201–16; Amal N. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding*

6 Popular topics

There remains a body of work that might be given, for lack of a better term, the title of “Popular Topics” because of the numbers of studies and scholars devoted to two fields relating to Yemen, which continues to exhibit the most research and publication of any area of the Arabian Peninsula, and to highlight some works that reach beyond the Peninsula to other areas of the Indian Ocean.

6.1 Indian Ocean studies

Holistic treatments of the Indian Ocean littorals have seen a growing attraction in the past two decades, beginning with K.N. Chaudhuri’s companion volume on the Indian Ocean as a historical economic whole and complemented by the works of Richard Hall, Patricia Risso, Redha Bhacker, Mandana Limbert, and Kenneth McPherson.⁸⁵ Studies with narrower focus include elucidations of the slave trade by Janet Ewald, Thomas Ricks, Jerzy Zdanowski, Johan Mathew, and Hideaki Suzuki, as well as Giancarlo Casale’s exploration of Ottoman influence and Patricia Risso on India’s role while Amal Ghazal, Thomas McDow, and Beatrice Nicolini discuss the connections with Africa (and with the Makran Coast in the case of Nicolini).⁸⁶

the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (1880s–1930s) (London: Routledge, 2010); adapted from her “Islam and Arabism in Zanzibar: The Omani Elite, the Arab World and the Making of an Identity, 1880s–1930s”, PhD dissertation [University of Alberta, 2005]; idem, “The Other ‘Andalus’: The Omani Elite in Zanzibar and the Making of an Identity, 1880s–1930s”, *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (Fall 2005), pp. 43–58; idem, “The Other Frontiers of Arab Nationalism: Ibadis, Berbers, and the Arabist-Salafi Press in the Interwar Period”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42.1 (2010), pp. 105–22; Molly Benjamin Patterson, “South Arabian Maritime Expansion and the Origins of East African Islam: 1200–1500”, PhD dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009).

⁸⁵ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Patricia Risso, *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); Richard Hall, *Empires of the Monsoons: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders* (London: HarperCollins, 1998); Mandana Limbert, “Personal Memories: Revolutionary States and Indian Ocean Migrations”, *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (Fall 2005), pp. 21–33; Kenneth McPherson, “Port Cities as Nodal Points of Change: The Indian Ocean, 1890s–1920s”, edited by Leila Fawaz and C.A. Bayly, with the collaboration of Robert Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 73–95; M. Reda Bhacker, *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar: The Roots of British Domination* (London: Routledge, 1992); idem, “The Cultural Unity of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean: A Longue Durée Historical Perspective”, in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 163–71.

⁸⁶ Janet J. Ewald, “Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c.1750–1914”, *American Historical Review* 105.1 (2000), pp. 69–91; Beatrice Nicolini, *Makran, Oman, and Zanzibar: Three-Terminal Cultural Corridor in the Western Indian Ocean (1799–1856)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004); Giancarlo L. Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Thomas Franklin McDow, “Arabs and Africans: Commerce and Kinship from Oman to the East African Interior, c.1820–1900”, PhD dissertation (Yale University, 2008); Thomas M. Ricks, “Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment”, *Slavery and Abolition* 9.3 (1988), pp. 60–70; Patricia Risso, “India and the Gulf: Encounters from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Centuries”, in *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 189–203; Jerzy Zdanowski, “The Manumission Movement in the Gulf in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 47.6 (2011), pp. 863–83; Johan Mathew, “Margins of the Market: Trafficking and the Framing of Free Trade in the Arabian Sea 1870s to 1960s”, PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2012); Hideaki Suzuki, “Baluchi Experiences

6.2 *The Hadramawt and its diaspora*

Since Yemeni unification in 1990, southern Yemen has been opened to development, tourism, and... scholars. Nowhere in the south has the focus of scholarship prospered more than the Hadramawt, the *wadi* of the eastern part of south Yemen with its storied cities of Shibam, Tarim, and Say'un. Not only is the Hadramawt famous as a center of learning controlled by its *sayyid* families (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), but for the Hadrami diaspora across the Indian Ocean. The Hadramawt's traditional prosperity depended far more on remittances from abroad than its agriculture. Eng seng Ho, Linda Boxberger, Ulrike Freitag, and Leif Manger trace the contours of the diaspora⁸⁷ and Kazuhiro Arai and Ahmed Abushouk zero in on the Hadrami influence in southeast Asia, Friedhelm Hartwig analyzes the Hyderabad connection, Sumit Mandal concentrates on Java, and Natalie Mobini-Kesheh dissects the presence in the Netherlands East Indies.⁸⁸ Back at home, Sylvaine Camelin expands on earlier studies of social stratification and Freitag delineates the Hadramawt's religious role.⁸⁹

6.3 *The Jews of Yemen*

Another "popular topic" with a burgeoning literature also comes from Yemen. The Yemeni Jewish community has dwindled from a pre-Israel peak of perhaps 50,000 to only a few hundred today (increasingly threatened by both Zaydi and Sunni Islamists). But the relocation of the community to Israel has both sustained scholarly interest in it and made it easier for scholars to study and write about it. Thus, the works of Reuven Ahroni, BatZion Eraqi Klorman, Yehuda Nini, Tudu Parfitt, Yosef Tobi, Ari Ariel, and Aharon Gaimani look at the Jewish community in the modern era, particularly the nineteenth and twentieth

Under Slavery and the Slave Trade of the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, 1921–1950", *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 4.2 (2013), pp. 205–23.

⁸⁷ Ulrike Freitag, "Hadrami Migration in the 19th and 20th Centuries", *Journal of the British-Yemeni Society* (1999); Boxberger, *On the Edge of Empire: Hadramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean, 1880s–1930s*; Eng seng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility Across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); idem, "Empire Through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46.2 (2004), pp. 210–37; idem, "Le don précieux de la généalogie", in *Émirats et présidents: Figures de la parenté et du politique dans le monde arabe*, edited by Pierre Bonte, Édouard Conte, and Paul Dresch (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2001), pp. 79–110; Leif Manger, *The Hadrami Diaspora: Community-Building on the Indian Ocean Rim* (New York: Bergbahn Books, 2010). On Hadrami movements within the Arabian Peninsula, see Abdullah M. Alajmi, "House-to-House Migration: The Hadrami Experience in Kuwait", *Journal of Arabian Studies* 2.1 (2012), pp. 1–17.

⁸⁸ Sumit K. Mandal, "Finding Their Place: A History of Arabs in Java Under Dutch Rule, 1800–1924", PhD thesis (Columbia University, 1994); Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900–1942* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Friedhelm Hartwig, *Hadramaut und das indische Fürstentum von Hyderabad: Hadramitische Sultanatsgründungen und Migration im 19. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 2000); Kazuhiro Arai, "Arabs Who Traversed the Indian Ocean: The History of the al-'Attas Family in Hadramawt and Southeast Asia, c.1600–c.1960", PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 2004); Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "Al-Manar and the Hadrami Elite in the Malay-Indonesian World: Challenge and Response", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 17.3 (2007), pp. 301–22.

⁸⁹ Sylvaine Camelin, "Reflections on the System of Social Stratification in Hadramaut", in *Hadrami Traders, Scholars, & Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s–1960s*, edited by Ulrike Freitag and W. Clarence-Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 147–56; Ulrike Freitag, "Hadramaut: A Religious Center for the Indian Ocean in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), pp. 165–83.

centuries.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, Ahroni, Isaac Hollander, and Renate Meissner focus their attention on Jews in southern Yemen and Aden.⁹¹

7 Conclusion

What can be said in conclusion given such a myriad of purposes and expressions in writing? Most obviously (and perhaps equally banally), time marches on. The concerns of scholarly interest, the methodologies, and the persistent range of lacunae — all have changed or evolved over the past several decades. Undeniably, the range of scholarship (in terms of geographic origin as well as topics of examination) and the numbers of scholars has increased. Naturally, this is a most welcome development, given that in 1990 the Arabian Peninsula was probably the least-studied part of the Middle East.

It would have been difficult two decades ago to hold a conference at which the subjects cited in this essay were presented (let alone to hold it in the Gulf itself). Three decades ago, it would have been virtually impossible. I participated in a conference on the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf at Oxford a few years ago. Looking around at the other participants, I was moved to remark to a colleague of my age that somehow we had become the older generation. This was quite a shock. I had always regarded the older generation to be composed of such stellar names as George Rentz, Bob Serjeant, Bayly Winder, J.B. Kelly, Robert Landen, and Briton Cooper Busch. The torch is being passed yet again.

My experience in the Peninsula and Gulf spans some forty years. Much has happened in regards to the difficulties and challenges of conducting research in the region. In the early 1970s, visas for most researchers were difficult to come by. There were few institutions able or willing to sponsor scholars and those that existed tended to have no interest in sponsorship or understanding of the purpose of such research.

In the last few decades, some institutions in the region have emerged and sponsored seminars, conferences, and publications. To be sure, their principal interest is in Arabic-language works but the volume of English publications has grown as well. Abu Dhabi has been a leader in this regard as the publications lists of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research and the National Center for Documentation and Research (NCDR) show. The private Gulf Research Center, previously headquartered in Dubai, also publishes extensively in English. Kuwait's *Journal of the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf Studies* was an early leader in the region, as was Bahrain's *al-Watheeka*. Oman's *Journal of Oman Studies* has continued to produce excellent

⁹⁰ Reuven Ahroni, *Yemenite Jewry: Origins, Culture, and Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); idem, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen 1951–98: Carpet Without Magic* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon, 2001); Yehuda Nini, *The Jews of the Yemen, 1800–1914* (New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991); BatZion Eraqi Klorman, *The Jews of Yemen in the Nineteenth Century: A Portrait of a Messianic Community* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993); idem, "Messiahs and Rabbis: the Yemeni Experience", *Revue des études juives* 151.12 (1992), pp. 77–94; idem, "Muslim Supporters of Jewish Messiahs in Yemen", *Middle Eastern Studies* 29.4 (1993), pp. 714–25; idem, "Jewish and Muslim Messianism in Yemen", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22.2 (1990), pp. 201–28; idem, "The Forced Conversion of Jewish Orphans in Yemen", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33.1 (2001), pp. 23–47; Tudo Parfitt, *The Road to Redemption: The Jews of the Yemen, 1900–1950* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996); Yosef Tobi, *The Jews of Yemen: Studies in Their History and Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999); Ari Ariel, "Trust Networks, Migration, and Ethno-National Identity: Jewish Migration from Yemen to Palestine in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", PhD dissertation (Columbia University, 2009); Aharon Gaimani, "Rabbi Yihye Yitzhak Halevi and His Relations with Imam Yahya", *Middle Eastern Studies* 46.2 (2010), pp. 235–50.

⁹¹ Reuben Ahroni, *The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden: History, Culture, and Ethnic Relations* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994); Isaac Hollander, *Jews and Muslims in Lower Yemen: A Study in Protection and Restraint, 1918–1949* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005); Renate Meissner, *Die Südjemenischen Juden: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion ihrer Traditionellen Kultur vor dem Exodus* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999).

archaeological and historical material. The NCDR's recently launched *Liwa* is another step forward. Al-Darah (the King 'Abd al-'Aziz Foundation) in Saudi Arabia also sponsors books and journals in English as well as Arabic. Indeed, there is a relatively greater desire in general across the region for conference proceedings and invited lectures to be published, often in dual-language formats.

Many of these works published in the Gulf itself showcase non-regional authors. This is not surprising but it may indicate a continuing problem with regard to self-censorship. Many topics remain taboo for local scholars and official toleration of discussion regarding these topics has been accepted for Western scholars only grudgingly. Furthermore, nearly any publication presents the risk that it will upset someone over even a minor point and thus jeopardize the writer's standing or livelihood. This may well constitute an additional reason why many promising young scholars fail to publish or even move into occupations that have nothing to do with scholarship. It is often safer to pick topics in countries other than one's own but the fact remains that most Gulf scholars write about only their own countries, in part because it is frequently true that the citizens of any Gulf state know very little about the other states. And it is all-too-frequently true that elaborate centers and magnificent structures are created in various Gulf States to showcase their own history but the buildings stand largely empty and their administration and staffing are hollowed out, misdirected, or controlled by inappropriately appointed leaders.

Another major lacuna is in the near-absence of autobiographies by Gulf personalities. This is true not only for political figures but also businessmen, educators, oppositionists, and even the "average" person's point of view. A few biographies have appeared, particularly in article format, but they are generally descriptive and often limited to their subjects' publicly known activities. As so much that happened within living memory, that is, from the early years of the oil era to the present and in what have been key transitional times, is not otherwise recorded, the failure of participants to tell their versions means that large chunks of historical knowledge are lost forever.

Significant advances in the production of history about the Gulf States have been made in the last twenty some years. But, by and large, these have been only incremental advances. In many cases, works to date are still scratching the surface, providing the groundwork upon which future scholarship can be built. The subjects still not studied far outweigh those given consideration. Just a few representative areas deserving considerably more study include: the composition of society and social change; the dynamics of policy-making, past and present; and the emergence of new elites and the growth of the middle class.

Nevertheless, the next two decades are distinctly promising, to judge by the accomplishments so far and the quality of younger scholars. I still sense an urgency to document what still exists — or did exist — before it is too late and no record remains. I also look forward to surveying the scene two decades hence and — with any luck — to writing an even more optimistic prognosis.