



POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF SAUDI ARABIA

DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

Master of Philosophy

IN

ISLAMIC STUDIES

BY

BILAL AHMAD KUTTY

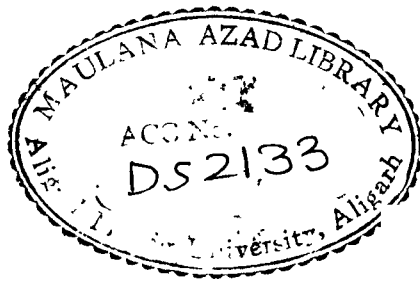
Under the supervision of

DR. ABDUL ALI

READER

**DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

1993



DS2133



Phone : 2 5 6 3 1
Telex : 564-230 AMU IN

DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH—202002 (INDIA)

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that Mr. Bilal Ahmad Kutty has completed his M.Phil. dissertation on "POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF SAUDI ARABIA" under my supervision; and that the work is his own original contribution and suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Islamic Studies of this University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Abdul Ali".

(Dr. Abdul Ali)
Reader

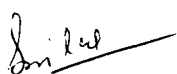
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to my supervisor Dr. Abdul Ali, Reader, Department of Islamic Studies, whose able guidance has been of great value in the preparation and completion of this work. My thanks are also due to the Chairman Prof. M. Salim Kidwai and other teachers of the Department, especially, Dr. Sayyid Ahsan and Dr. Ahsanul Haq, for their kind assistance and encouragement.

I should also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Sanaullah Parwaz, Department of Philosophy, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Mr. S.M. Younus Geelani, Head of Department Islamic Studies, Kashmir University, and my dear friend Mr. Ashraf Ali for their help and advice. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge with gratitude the affection and love given to me by my parents, brothers Nisar, Shabbir, Masood, Ishrat and sister Tabassum; fellow scholars in the department viz. Mr. Adam Malik Khan, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Wani, Mr. Aijaz Ahmad, Miss Farzana Samdani, Miss Ghazala Yasmeen; and friends Dr. Tanveer Jalal, Mr. Afzal Azad, Dr. A. Hamid Fazili, Dr. M.H. Firdausi, Mr. Zafar Majeed and Mr. Abdul Hai.

Last but not least I must express my sense of appreciation to my wife Shabnam for her constant solace and co-operation. I am also thankful to my younger friends Intisar Suhail, Rafiq Ahmad, Afaq and Zubair.

Finally, I wish to express my special thanks to the library staff of the department of Islamic Studies for the facilities provided to me; and to Mr. S. Masahab Ali for typing the manuscript within a short span of time.


(BILAL AHMAD KUTTY)

C O N T E N T S

	PAGE NO
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i - ii
PREFACE	iv - viii
MAP	ix
CHAPTER - I SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF CENTRAL ARABIA ON THE EVE OF THE 18TH CENTURY A.D.	1 - 18
CHAPTER - II THE WAHHABI MOVEMENT: RELIGIO-POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS	19 - 42
CHAPTER - III THE FIRST SAUDI REALM AND EGYPTIAN INVASION (1744-45 - 1824)	43 - 61
CHAPTER - IV THE SECOND SAUDI REALM AND THE ESTABLISH- MENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA	62 - 87
BIBLIOGRAPHY	88 - 100
APPENDIX	101

P R E F A C E

It is a well-known fact that the location of the two holiest Muslim shrines - the Kabah at Mecca and the Prophetic Mosque at Medina - in Saudi Arabia accounts for its privileged religious position as it attracts lakhs of Muslim Pilgrims every year from all parts of the world. Likewise, the presence of vast petroleum reserves in this country gives it significant economic and political clout in the comity of nations. Further, as the largest and perhaps the richest country in the Middle East, it exerts considerable influence on the nearby oil-rich states as well as on the burning problems facing the whole Muslim world.

Besides, the strategic location of Saudi Arabia is also very significant. Lying in the Arabian peninsula in the south-west of Asia and in close proximity to the African continent, it is bounded on the north by Jordan and Iraq; on the east by the Arabian Gulf, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates; on the south by the Sultanate of Oman and the Yemen; and on the west by the Red Sea. Thus by virtue of its location it acts as a bridge between the Western world, Asia and Africa as well as a meeting point of various cultures.

In addition to the above, the historic role played by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and the Saudi family in promoting the cause of Islam can hardly be over-emphasised at a time when muslims all over the world had gone astray from the true faith of this religion and become politically disintegrated.

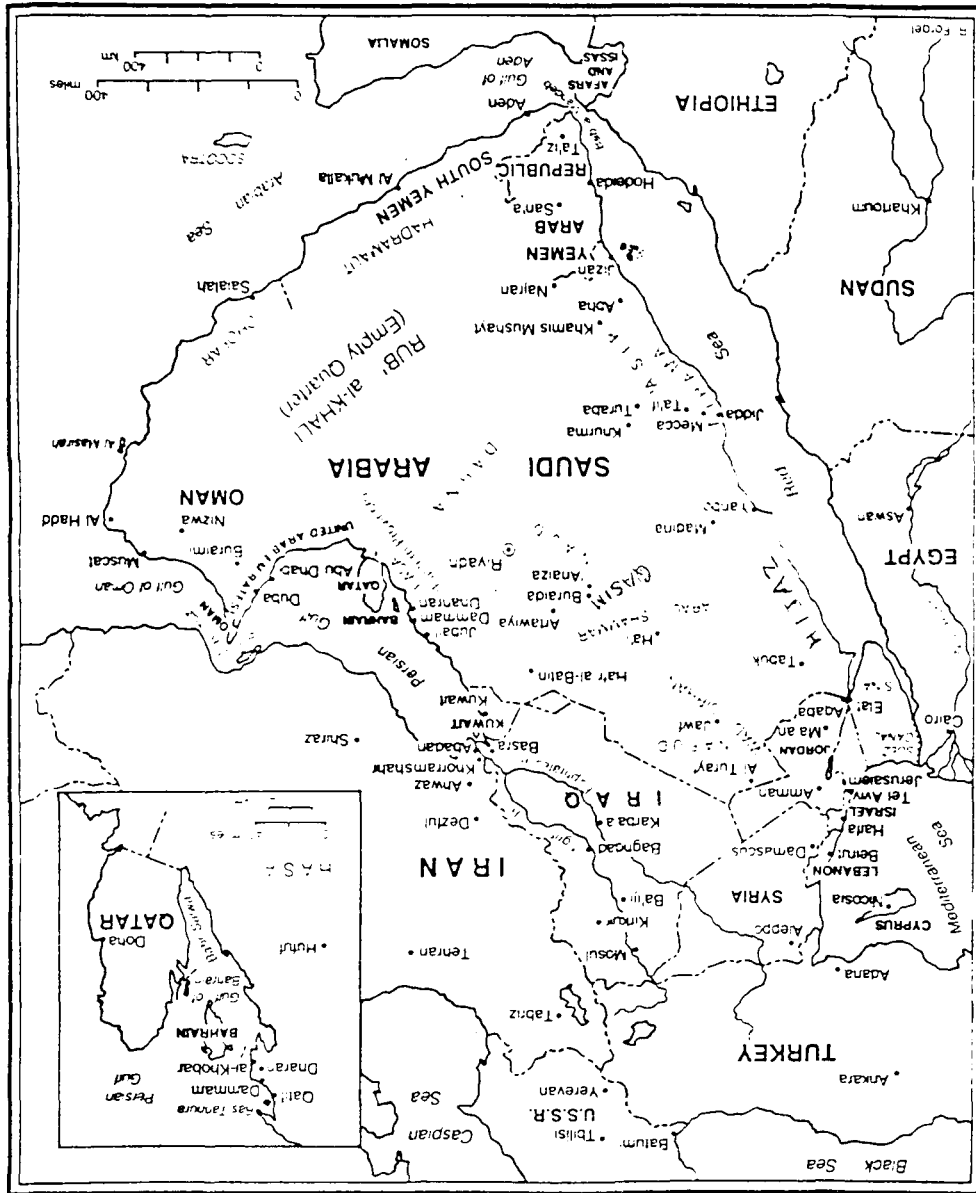
All these factors combined together give Saudi Arabia special prestige not only in the Arab and Islamic world, but also in the world at large. As such it is both interesting and imperative to delve into the religious and political origins of this state in order not only to get fully acquainted with the circumstances that led to its establishment, but also to assess objectively the important role played by the early rulers of the Saudi family in bringing about political stability in the strife-torn Central Arabia by fusing together the numerous war-like Bedouin tribes and the settled communities into a political entity under the banner of standard, unitarian Islam as revived and preached by Muhammad ibn Ab-al-wahhab. It is with this end in view that this study is undertaken.

This work is divided into four chapters followed by a genealogical table of the Saudi rulers and a bibliography. The first chapter seeks to give an account of the decadent socio-political and religious conditions of

Central Arabia which necessitated the rise of a powerful and effective religious reform movement culminating in the transformation of the turbulent provinces of this region into a geo-political entity. While discussing the deplorable social and religious conditions of the people, it has been made clear that Central Arabia had long been torn by strifes, feuds and vendettas between different strong tribal groups who recognised no authority beyond their own blood relationships where even pilgrims had been liable to pillage and murder, thereby plunging the entire region into a state of chaos, lawlessness and highway robbery.

The second chapter gives an account of the religious reform movement launched by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and of his chief religious doctrines. It is clearly pointed out in this context that the Sheikh neither belonged to, nor was he against, any of the four main schools of Muslim jurisprudence, and that his main mission was to acquaint the Muslims with the true faith of the 'virtuous ancients' (Salaf-e-Salihin). The impact of this movement on the religious, social and political life of Muslims as well as on the numerous reform movements that took place in the Muslim world from time to time has also been discussed in it.

The third chapter deals with the first Saudi realm and the subsequent Egyptian invasion, while the fourth and concluding chapter is devoted to the discussion of the second Saudi realm and the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.



MAP OF SAUDI ARABIA

CHAPTER - I

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS
OF CENTRAL ARABIA ON THE EVE OF THE 18TH CENTURY A.D.

Central Arabia particularly Najd,¹ the vast region in the interior of the Arabian peninsula is noted for its geographical isolation. Najd in its wider sense is an uplifted plateau-shield area with an outlying scarpland, composed predominantly of a suite of alternating sedimentary structures. The chief products of this area are dates and they can support quite a substantial population throughout the year.

Najd is a very important territory in the Arabian peninsula which is bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by Iraq, on the west by Hijaz and on the south by Yamamah. In the south lies al-Ramla, which is one of the least inhabited areas of the world.² It is also known as al-Rub'ul-Khali (The Empty Quarter). On the northern side it has also the stretches of desert called Nafad, thereby forming an Island within the Island.³ Najd is divided into various districts namely, Dawasir, Najran, Qasim, Jabal Shammar and Ha'il.

-
1. Najd, literally, means that piece of land which is higher than the rest.
 2. Christine Moss Helms, The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia, (London, 1981), p. 32.
 3. R. Bayly Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century, (New York, 1965), p.4.

Even in the pre-Islamic Arabia Najd has been historically very famous. It was the same territory which was protected by the prestigious tribe of Kulayb bin Wail bin Rabi'ah. It was on the same land that the forty-year war Harb-ul-Basus was fought between Banu Taghlib and Banu Bakr. The mountainous region of Akkad is also situated there which has been very famous for the preservation of the pure tongue of the Arabs. It is said that when after the expansion of Islam the Arabs intermingled with foreign peoples, especially the Persians, the purity of their language could no longer be maintained except the people of this region.⁴

A century after the advent of Islam, the new religion became the basic factor in creating and strengthening a powerful empire which continued to expand with the passage of time. But by then Arabia had ceased to be its focal point. The concentration of the Caliphs was on other parts of the globe and less and less importance was given to this fountain of Islam. This disintegration has been well described by Steiner in the following words.

"...the centers [SIC] of Islamic culture moved ever further from the peninsula. Islamic theology was built far from the Cradle of Islam. Mecca and Medina, the most sacred shrines of Islam, became mere places of pilgrimage

4. Nawab Siddique Hassan Khan, Al-Taj-ul-Mukallal, Indo-Arabic Press, 1963, p. 311.

for Moslems the world over, but as a political and cultural centers [SIC], Arabia had already ceased to exist with the founding of the Omayyad dynasty in Damascus. Arab unity on the peninsula disintegrated rapidly; permanent religious strifes and tribe war-fare turned the clock back to the pre-Islam era. Islam, which scratched but the surface of the Bedouin, has not changed his character. Some tribes even returned to heathen practices. In the 18th century, the Peninsula was the most intolerant and forbidden province of the Ottoman Empire, a turbulent province which the Turks found hard to control".⁵

In this way the process of disintegration and degeneration which took place in the peninsula, in general, and in the province of Najd, in particular needs to be examined in the light of political, social and religious conditions.

Political Conditions

In medieval times the above mentioned region of Arabia was known as Hijaz. In 1571 A.D., when Sultan Salim I. Conquered Egypt, he also assumed the title of Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn (Custodian of the two holy cities). His successor, Sulayman, the magnificent (1520-1566 A.D.), extended his hold beyond Hijaz and had a governor in Hasa.⁶

5. M.J. Steiner, Inside Pan-Arabia (Chicago, 1947), p.24

6. Winder R. Bayly, op. cit., p.7.

In his time Yemen was also annexed, but eastern Arabia did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Ottomans for long and central Arabia was never claimed by them.⁷ Moreover, the Ottomans had great difficulty in controlling this country in an effective manner. It was also impossible for them to put down any revolt in it, mainly because, as described by the French Scholar J. Benoist Mechin:

"...they knew nothing whatever of the country into which they were venturing. They knew neither the paths nor the direction of the winds. They had to put themselves into the hands of Arab guides who purposely led them astray into a region which was completely arid and where there was no well nor trace of water. Crazy by thirst, overcome by Sunstroke, the Jannissaries scattered in the dunes in search of shade and water. Fever struck down a certain number. Others wandered in circles, under a burning sky which had the pale colour of motten metal. Some of the soldiers, in a fit of madness, turned their weapons against their leaders and these killed themselves. The remainder dispersed and died in horrible suffering, without having seen a trace of their enemy. Not one escaped. It was always the same story, from the beginning of the ages: foreign armies marched into the desert and these disappeared without trace, like a river swallowed in the sand."⁸

7. Ibid.

8. J. Benoist Mechin, Arabian Destiny, (London, 1957), Eng. trs. by Denis Weaver, p. 46.

Thus the Turkish hold on the highlands proved to be transitory. The Ottoman Government was content to accept a formal acknowledgement of its suzerainty in return for a guarantee of abstention from any active concern in the administration of the country.⁹ But not being content with that, the Arabs never acknowledged the supremacy of the Ottomans, and by the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., they started openly flouting the Turkish authority not only in Yemen, but also to some extent in the Hijaz, where the Ottomans filled some of the high posts with Turkish officials which was greatly resented by the ruling sharifs as they regarded it as an act of encroachment upon their jurisdiction.¹⁰

Consequently the Ottomans lost their power, and in 1642 A.D. they resigned their claims to the Yemen.¹¹ Hijaz remained nominally under their direct control until the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D. When it was also handedover to the local chiefs. The wild and indomitable spirit of the Arabs of this region is vividly described by Stoddard in the following words,

9. H. Sr. J.B. Philby, Arabia, London, 1930, p.3.

10. Ibid., p. 3.

11. D.G. Hogarth, Arabia (Oxford, 1923), p. 99.

"...with the transformation of the Caliphate from a theocratic democracy to an Oriental despotism, the free spirited Arabs had returned scornfully to their deserts. Here they had maintained their wild freedom. Neither Caliph nor Sultan dared venture for into those vast solitudes of burning sand and choking thrist, where the rash invader was lured to sudden death in a whirl of stabbing spears."¹²

At the beginning of the eighteenth century nomadic cattle breeding and Oasis irrigatory farming were the basis of Arab economy. Vegetation was so insufficient that the needs of all were not satisfied. The Arabian peninsula at that time did not have a single state organisation. The population was divided into a number of tribes which were disunited. Every village and town had a hereditary ruler and the settled part of Arabia looked like a mass of small principalities.¹³

The central and Eastern parts never suffered foreign tutelage and the chiefs of Ha'il and Hasa, Najd and Hijaz, now considered themselves the aristocracy of Arabia. Tribal wars had become a common feature of their life. There was neighter any Central Organisation, nor any code of law. The

12. L. Stoddard, The New world of Islam (London, 1922), p. 21.

13. V. Lutsky, Modern History of the Arab Countries, (Moscow, 1969), pp. 77-78.

decisions of the respective chiefs constituted the law of the lands. The state of Chaos, Lawlessness and bloodshed triggered by the tribal warfare is correctly described in the statement.

"By dint of fighting and killing one another, the tribes began to feel the stirrings of a fresh wave of exaltation. As always their strength manifested itself in a double aspiration towards unity and transcendence. Through the ordeals they inflicted upon each other they strove to attain an absolute renunciation and to 'rediscover' paradise in the depths of their own hell.¹⁴

Politically, Najd was divided into small kingdoms and principalities. In northern Najd (Jabal Shammar) the hold was of the Tay tribe, while Hasa was under the sway of Banu Khalid. 'Uyayna was ruled by Al-Mu'ammār,¹⁵ and Dar'iyah was ruled by the 'Anaza tribe, while southwards at Manfuha, the Banu Dawwas had established their authority.¹⁶ As regards the Hijaz including the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, it was held by the Sharifs.

14. J. Benoist-Mechin, op. cit., p. 47.

15. According to some scholars 'uyayna was also under the direct control of Banu Khalid. C.f. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (Hyderabad, 1947), p.15.

16. Philby, Arabia, p. 7.

Likewise, although the Kingdoms of Jabal Shammar and Hasa were supposed to be the two powerful states, they were constantly at war with each other as there was no specific demarcation of their boundaries.¹⁷

The political structure of Najd was greatly influenced by the tribal segmentary system and the nature of authority held by the Shaikhs. It was mainly because of the absence of a peasant class living a permanently settled life among them that both the Ottomans and later the British found it almost impossible to establish their control in Najd. The Ottomans soon realized that murdering tribal Shaikhs would serve no useful purpose as there was no dearth of competent successors to fill their position. They eventually adopted the policy of 'divide and rule' by supporting rival branches of a ruling family with a view to weakening the tribe by stirring up internecine struggles among them.

As regards the British interests their policy was to choose a strong leader from amongst the tribal Shaikhs, develop good relations with him and support him against all other claimants to power. But despite all the efforts made by them, neither the Ottomans nor the British succeeded in establishing their rule in Najd because of environmental difficulties.¹⁸

17. George Kheirallah, Arabia Reborn (New Mexico, 1952), pp. 55-56.

18. Christine Moss Helms, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

In short, Central Arabia had long been torn by land strifes and vendettas between its different strong tribal groups. In fact, political stability never existed in this region except for a brief period of time during the life and after the death of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

Social Conditions

Central and eastern parts of Arabia were least exposed to foreign influence. The advent of Islam had so thoroughly moulded the out look and behaviour of the otherwise war like people that during the early years of Islam they had become a social, political and religious unit. But later due to the changes that took place in central Arabia, society became disintegrated again, and lost its past glory. Raiding continued to flourish there just as in the pre-Islamic days, and the sword retained its glory as supreme criterion of social justice.¹⁹ This state of affairs is correctly discussed by Smally as follows:

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century the groups centering around 'Ayaina and Manfuha, desert oases of more or less importance, were always contending with one another over the control of the country which had been devastated by their fightings. No one was sure of getting his flocks away from the waterholes, for he was almost sure to

19. M.J. Steiner, op. cit., p. 24.

have to fight for his rights and the rights of his flock whenever he tried to water them. The common supply of water was so meagre and therefore so precious that all had to struggle to obtain some share of it." ²⁰

Thus society relapsed into the same deplorable conditions of life as had existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. It was divided into the nomads and the settled folk. The Shaikhs were elected, but most of them had the hereditary principle of succession. There also existed vassal tribes and the dependent settled and semi-nomadic population. Slavery was common among the Arabs both in nomads as well as in settled tribes. They recognised no master, moved from place to place in search of pasturage and water for their flocks and camels, while some of them has settled here and there in the oases. The nomad Bedouins lived under the sway of patriachal 'shaikhs, the settled dewellers in the Oases usually acknowledged the authority of some leading family. But these rulers possessed no dictatorial authority, narrowly circumscribed by well-established custom and a jealous public opinion which they seldom transgressed.²¹ The basic teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qu'ran were ignored and corrupted with, un-Islamic practices. Consuming of

20. W.f. Smally, op. cit., p. 229.

21. L. Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

liquor and opium was common everywhere, and the basic form of treachery flourished openly and remorselessly.

The position of women was no better than that in the pre-Islamic days. They were looked-down upon in society and could not get the rights due to them. They had become socially and educationally backward as well as morally lax. In addition, they indulged in many superstitious practices. For example, there were several trees in central Arabia which were thought so much sacred by them that the issuess among them used to visit such trees and tie threads to their branches.

Zwemer writes:

"The whole world of thought was honey combed with superstitions, and the old-time simplicity of morals and life had given way to luxury and sensuality. ... debauchery was fearfully common, and that harloty and even unnatural vices were perpetrated openly in the sacred city. Alms giving had grown obsolete; Justice was neither swift nor impartial, effeminacy had displaced the martial spirit; and the conduct of the pilgrim-caravans²² was scandalous in the extreme."

Religion

So far as the religious life of the people is concerned, it had also become equally deplorable. Islam is a religion, which when corrupted by un-Islamic practices, can

22. S.M. Zwemer, The Mohammedan World of Today (New York, 1906), pp. 103-4.

change the whole socio-political structure of the Muslims. It is the religion which is the backbone of all the spheres of their life. The growing influence of foreign elements in the eight and ninth centuries gave birth to Muslim theology due to which Islam later acquired a philosophical, speculative character which was completely different from the true semitic spirit. In addition, saint-worship also became popular in the Islamic world. 'Numerous shrines and tombs of saints had become centres of pagan practices, where miracle performers and swindlers-at-large preyed on the nativeness of the believer'.²³ Superstitions and practices of other religions had crept into the lives and thoughts of the Muslims everywhere. There was no proper discipline of living. Luxury, ease, and irreligious practices were rampant everywhere. Islam had lost its savour and was becoming a religion of the careless. The town-folk and the Bedouins had drifted away from the fundamental teachings of Islam and were again locked in the very practices earlier removed by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The only difference was that before the Prophet they indulged in these practices without wearing the dress of religion. But now they did the same things by calling themselves Muslims. In this way it may better be called that they were wolves in the garb of

23. Steiner, M.J., Inside pan- Arabia, Chicago, 1947, p.25

lions. In short, they engaged themselves in all sorts of immoral and irreligious practices in the name of religion.

Amin Rehani writes:

"Heliolatory and sabianism were resuscitated among certain of the Bedouins' a form of Carmathian²⁴ Communism still in al-Hasa; and necrolatory, a practice of the Shiah of Persia and Najaf, had spread all over Central Arabia".²⁵

In fact Islam had become a thoroughly corrupted and distorted religion. This is clear from the fact that tombs of the 'holy men' were worshipped in sharp contrast to the basic tenets of Islam.

In addition, they practised fetishism, wore amulets to ward off evil, and put their trust in oracles, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and astrologers who flourished on the meagre earnings of the credulous.²⁶

Quoting Rehani again,

"they worshipped tombs, rocks, and trees making vows to them, supplicating them for favours; they raised walis (saints) above Allah in their prayers; they no longer could or would read the Koran; they ceased to pay the zakat-money; and they cared not about the pilgrimage to Mecca. They did not even know the direction of the Ka'ba when they prayed".²⁷

-
24. A Sh'ite sect also known as Qarmatians, named after its founder Hamadan Qarmat. They established themselves at Bahrain in 894 A.D.
25. A. Rehani, Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia, op. cit., p. 237.
26. George Kheirallah, op. cit., p. 56.
27. Amin Rehani, Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia, op.cit., p. 237.

Although there were learned men in those days who claimed to be followers of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal - the well known Muslim theologian; they had nothing to do with the teachings of the said theologian in their religious and social life. The socio-religious scenario of Najd in those days is vividly described by Uthman ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Bashr, an authority on its history of that period, in the following words:

"At that time polytheism had become widespread in Nejd and elsewhere. The belief in trees, stones, tombs and the buildings over them, and in the blessings to be had from tombs and in sacrificing to them, had increased. [Also] belief in seeking the help of the Jinn, and in sacrificing to them, and in placing food before them and putting it in the corners of the houses to cure the sick, and belief in the good or evil power of the Jinn had increased. [Finally] belief in Oaths to other than God, and other polytheistic actions, both major and minor, had increased.

"And the cause that brought about the situation in Najd, God knows, was that Bedouins when they stopped in the towns at the time of [harvesting] fruits, had with them men and women treating the sick and prescribing medicine. And if one of the people of the town was sick internally, or in one of his members, its people would come to the practitioners of that group of Bedouins, asking for medicine for his disease. And they would answer, 'sacrifice for him in such and such a place with a completely black lamb or a small-earned goat', thus speaking as if with authority before those ignorant people. Then the practitioners would say to them, 'Do not mention God's name when you sacrifice it, and eat from it such and such, and leave that part'. And perhaps God would

cure the sick person in order to lead them on and to deceive them; or perhaps the time had come for him to be cured. Anyway those practices increased among the people, and much time passed. For this reason they fell into serious things; nor was there among them anyone to forbid those practices or to proclaim to them the approved and the disapproved things. And the chiefs, and oppressors, of the town knew only how to oppress their people and tyrannize them, and to fight among each other." 28

Likewise the people of Najd believed that certain trees and stones possessed the power to harm or benefit them. For example, at Bleida there was a palm-tree called al-Fahhal. Both men and women used to visit it and commit indecencies there.²⁹ There were certain tombs in Najd which were supposed to be of the companions of the Prophet. People went there in large numbers and prayed for fulfilment of their needs and removal of their miseries.³⁰ For instance, at Jubayla in Wadi Hanifa there had developed the practice of visiting and worshipping the grave of Zayed ibn al-Khattab. Similarly, in Dar'iyah some tombs were attributed to certain companions (may Allah be pleased with them), and had become the centres of

-
28. Uthman Ibn Bishr, Unwan al-Majd fi Ta'rikh al-Najd (Mecca, 1349 A.H.), Vol. I, pp.6-7;
 - Quoted by Sayyid Ahsan, op.cit., p.52-53.
29. Ahmad Abdol Ghafour Attar, Muhammad ibn Abdel Wahhab (trs.) Dr. Rashid al-Barrawi, Saudi Arabia, IInd(ed.) 1399 A.H., p.12.
30. Ahmad b. Hujr, Al-Shaykh MUhammad b'Abd al-Wahhab, op. cit., p.19.
-

corrupt practices.³¹

Again at a place called Bulaydat al-Fida in Manfuha there was a palm tree known as 'Stallion', to which young men and maidens resorted to indulge in shocking practices acceptable to the tree-god. And women, too, would come to it clamouring for husbands as they clasped the horrid trunk to their bosoms in an agony of hope deferred. Rags were attached to tamarisk trees at the birth of a male child in the belief that such a proceeding would save it alive.³² They believe that the maidens who visited the male palm-tree, were married soon, who used to say: "O male of the males, I want my husband before the year ends."³³

Besides, there were numerous rocks, stones and caves which were frequently visited by people. In Dariya there was a cave. It is said that a prince had taken refuge in the cave to escape the extortions of a tyrant. Another interpretation regarding the cave is that it was 'created by God especially for a woman known as the Amir's daughter, who had shrieked for help under threat of outrage by some low fellows; and the rock had split to receive her in a secure dungeon. The superstitious tribal folk used to deposit meat

-
31. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Masa'il al-Jahiliyah, (Medina, 1395 A.H.), p. 118.
 32. Philby, op. cit., p.5.
 33. Ahmad b. Hujr, op. cit., p. 19.

and bread in the cave in the hope of getting their wishes fulfilled. In this way the people, especially the illiterate masses, had sunk deep in polytheism and numerous other pre-Islamic beliefs and practices.

It is clear from the above that on the eve of the eighteenth century the entire region of central Arabia was found plunged in a state of Chaos, lawlessness inter-tribal hostilities and highway robbery, while the socio-religious conditions of its people had degraded to a deplorable extent. All that necessitated the use of a powerful and effective reform movement in order not only to regenerate them religiously but also to unite and integrate them politically. Hence the stage was set for the rise of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and the Saudi dynasty to play their respective roles.

CHAPTER - II

THE WAHHABI MOVEMENT: RELIGIO-POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

It is well known fact that in the beginning of the 12th century A.H./18th century A.D., the religious and moral degradation of the Muslims all over the world was at its lowest ebb. They had deviated from the spirit and stipulated standards of Islam to such an extent that even the non-muslims wondered at the disparity between the Muslims of early times and those of the present era.¹

As pointed out above, the simple, clear-cut, chaste monotheism of Islam constituting the nucleus of the Islamic religious thought was completely eroded by saint-worship among its followers, while their religious practices had become encumbered with all sorts of un-Islamic rites, superstitions and innovations. Consequently, the ignorant majority of the Muslims, bedecked with amulets, charms and rosaries preferred to go on pilgrimage to the tombs of the faqirs or dervishes whom they worshipped as saints and intercessors with Allah. The moques in which Almighty Allah used to be worshipped were but naturally rendered deserted and ruinous. In short, the Muslims had become so thoroughly un-Islamic in their religious deads and practices that, had Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) come to earth, he would certainly have declared his followers as apostates and

1. Maryam Jameelah, Islam in theory and practice, (1983 Delhi), p. 116.

idolaters.² It is a fact of history that, whenever the Muslims deviated from the spirit of Islam and became thoroughly un-Islamic in their religious deeds and practices, a revivalist was born among them in order to put before them the genuine image of Islam.

It was against this background that Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab appeared on the scene to champion the cause of Islam, and launched a revivalist movement which brought about one of the most remarkable changes in Arabia since the days of the Prophet³ (P.B.U.H.).

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab⁴ b. Sulayman b. Ali b. Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Rashid al-Tamimi was born in 1115 A.H./1703 A.D.⁵ at 'Uyayna,⁶ a small town situated in Wadi Hanifa

-
2. L. Stoddard, The New World of Islam (London, 1992), pp. 25-26.
 3. Sayyid Ahsan, Life and thought of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Aligarh, 1988), p. 58.
 4. Musil stresses that 'Ibn Abd al-Wahhab' was the name of Muhammad's family and Abd al-Wahhab was not his father as stated by others and his father's name was Sulayman. A Musil, Northern Najd, (New York, 1928), p. 258.
 5. Some scholars assert that he was born in 1691 A.D. and some say in 1700 A.D. See. T.P. Huges, Dictionary of Islam (London 1885), p.659; A.M.A. Shustry, Outlines of Islamic Culture (Banglore, 1954), p.28; M.M. Sharif (ed.) A. History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. II, p.1946.
 6. Palgrave says that his birth place was Huraymala, cf. W.G. Palgrave. Narrative of a year Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862-63, (London, 1862), Vol. I, p.374.

in southern Najd north of Riyadh, the present capital of Saudi Arabia. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab belonged to the Masharifa clan of Banu Tamim tribe which was influential as well as noted for its traditions of knowledge and learning in the whole of Najd. Both his father Abd al-Wahhab and his grandfather Sulayman bin Ali were reputed scholars of Najd. His pedigree coalesces with that of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) in the first century of the christian era.⁷ Possessing a healthy and strong physique, he was extraordinarily intelligent and alert. He was also endeavoured with a good power of memory which enabled him to memorize the Qu'ran at the age of ten. His memory is said to have been so excellent that he could reproduce and write as many as twenty pages from a religious book in one sitting.⁸ He was given a good religious education that could be had in those days by his father who himself was a reputed jurist and traditionalist as well as Qaḍi at 'Uyayna. He developed a keen interest in the study of Tafsir, Hadith and the Hanbalite jurisprudence and soon became well grounded in the Islamic religious sciences, as a result of which he was competent enough to lead the prescribed congregational prayers in the mosque at the early age of twelve. Pleased with the achievements of his son, his father got him married the same year.⁹

7. H. St. J.B. Philby, Arabia, p.8; Margolinth says that 'he was a Banu Sinan, a branch of Tamim; C.F. D.S. Margolionth, "Wahabbiya," Encyclopedia of Islam.

8. M.M. Sharif, op. cit., p. 1447.

9. Ahmad b. Hujr, al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab', p. 15.

Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab was widely travelled man. Soon after his marriage he visited Mecca and Medina, and performed the pilgrimage at an early age. After having stayed in these cities for about two months, he proceeded to Syria and Iraq, and visited a number of towns including Basra. On his return from the pilgrimage to his native town, he devoted himself to further study of the Hanbalite theology and law. He also thoroughly studied the works of Ibn Taymiyah and his disciple Ibn-ul-Qayyim, and soon established his reputation as a scholar, jurist, reformer and an effective speaker.

Having an insatiable thirst for knowledge, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab further travelled and met a number of scholars at various places, of whom Sheikh Abdullah b. Ibrahim b. Sayf, the head of the 'ulama' of Medina, was learned and prominent, who had embarked on a similar mission of bringing the believers back to the uncorrupted principles of Islam by purging it of the un-Islamic elements that had crept into it in the course of centuries. The young Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab was fortunate enough to get the opportunity to stay with this learned Sheikh, who on being deeply impressed by his enthusiasm for learning put his rare collection of books at his disposal by telling him that they were the main weapons stored by him for the redemption of the

people of Najd.¹⁰ Both Sheikh Abdullah and Ibn Abd al-Wahhab worked together for the realization of the same objective i.e. the revival of the original and authentic Islam. Later, he got the opportunity to study under Muhammad Hayat al-Sindhi¹¹ (d. 1165 A.H.), a noted traditionist of the city, as one of his privileged pupils. He also studied under several other teachers, and drew benefits from them. The most famous among whom were: Sheikh Muhammad bin Sulayman al-Kurdi (d. 1194 A.H.); Shaykh Ali Afandi al-Daghistani (d. 1199 A.H.);¹² Sheikh Ismail al-'Ajluni; Shaikh Abd al-Latif al-Afalaqi al-Ahsa'i and Sheikh Muhammad al-Afalaqi al-Ahsa'i.¹³

-
10. Aslam Jayrajpuri, Tarikh-i-Nejd (Delhi, 1344, A.H.), M.A. Nadwi, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-wahhab (Hyderabad 1947), p. 19.
11. Muhuddin Ahmad, Shaykh al-Islam Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab (Hyd. 1947), p.10. John Obertvoll, Islam Continuity and large in the Modern World, (U.S.A. 1982), p.61; Ahmad b. Hujr, op. cit., p.16; The author further comments that he informed Shaykh al-Sindhi of the thoughts of Ibn al-Wahhab and his intention to revive the basic tenets of Islam.
12. Shaykh 'Ali Afandi al-Daghistani was a famous scholar of the tradition and he belonged to Damascus. He was born in 1125 A.H. He lived in Medina for a long time and studied tradition under Shaykh al-Sindhi. He returned to Damascus in 1150 A.H. Though he was young during 'Abd al-wahhab's stay but it cannot be ruled out altogether that Ibn Abd al-wahhab had studied under him.
13. Sayyid Ahsan, op. cit., p.52; quoting Ahmad b. Hujir, p. 17.

After completing his education in Medina, Muhammad ibn abd-al-Wahhab returned to Najd, travelled widely, and visited a number of cities. First, he went to Basra where he served as a tutor in the house of a certain qadi Husain.¹⁴ Simultaneously he preached his mission also. But when he was bitterly opposed, he left for Zubayr.¹⁵ Then he went to Syria, and while back home, he stayed for sometime at Ahsa, where he met Sheikh Abdullah Abdul Latif al-Shafi'i. After that he visited Huraymala where his father was present at that time.¹⁶

These journeys made Sheikh Muhammad fully acquainted with the socio-religious conditions of the followers of Islam. He was deeply perturbed, saddened and infuriated by the un-Islamic practices in which they were involved. Being totally ignorant of the teachings of the Q'uran and the S'unnah, they visited the tombs of the saints including that of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) and sought their help and blessings instead of approaching Allah and worshipping Him,

-
14. D.S. Margolionth, "Wahhabiya", Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 618.
15. Zubayr is a small town near Basra which has been named after Zubayr b. Awam, a companion of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).
16. Some scholars stress that he returned to uyayna and from there went to Huraymala along with his father c.f. Ameen Rihani, Ibn Sa'ud, p. 239.

thereby making a mockery of tawhid and other fundamental principles of Islam. All that enkindled in the Sheikh a fire to combat all sorts of un-Islamic innovations and practices in which they were engaged in order to improve their social and religious conditions by bringing them back to the authentic model of Islam as preached and practised by the Prophet (P.B.U.H.). With a view to achieving this objective, he launched a vigorous reform movement which had far-reaching implications in the social, religious and political life of the Muslims of the world in general and of the Arabian peninsula in particular.

His Reform Movement

When Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab shifted to Huraymala in 1129 A.H./1726 A.D. alongwith his father, he started his reform movement with added vigour and momentum. In the beginning he had to face severe opposition from different corners. His own brother Sulayman b. Abdul Wahhab wrote against him and opposed his mission. Similarly his father also was not well-disposed towards his movement.¹⁷ But, he succeeded in convincing both of them and won them over to his

17. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., p. 22.

cause.¹⁸ In spite of all the opposition which he encountered, he continued to propagate his reformist ideas relentlessly, enthusiastically and courageously. His speeches and sermons proved very effective, following which the number of his supporters also began to increase slowly but steadily. It was at that time that he produced his famous work Kitabul-Tawhid

After the death of his father in 1153 A.D./1740 A.H. the Sheikh and the handful of his followers devoted themselves exclusively to the popularization of their movement.¹⁹ This eloquent Sheikh soon became the household name in Arabia. And people, attracted by his magnetism and religious favour, began to swell the ranks of his followers drawn from different strata of society.

The popularity of the Sheikh invited the wrath of the rulers of Huraymala and those of the neighbouring territories. It is worthy of mention in this context that the whole of Najd at that time was split up into tiny emirates,

18. M. Ahmad, op. cit., p.11.

19. This raises a question in the minds, that whether his father had converted to his views or not. Some are of the opinion that with the death of his father there remained no further hinderance for him, M. Ahmad op. cit., p.23; M.A. Nadwi states that his father did not like his activities but he had paid full reverence to his father and teacher. But on the other hand; H. Laoust, "Ibn Abd al-Wahhab". Encyclopedia of Islam (New ed.) vol. III, p.678; is of the opinion that, "these accounts should not be accepted without some reservation, particularly since there exists a dissertation by his father against the cult of saints!" The last one seems

while the people were mostly nomadic and lived a tribal life. The entire area was plunged in a state of anarchy in the absence of an organized central form of government. Even the Ottoman rule over the peninsula could not bring about any change in it, because in reality it remained unconquered by them.

An idea of the state of anarchy which prevailed in Central Arabia at that time may be derived from the fact that there were two rival tribes in Huraymala itself, each of which claimed supermacy for itself. One of them had the support of a large number of slaves called Humayan. Constituting a sort of irregular army, they oppressed the people with no fear of reprisal from any government worth the name. It was under these circumstances that Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab thought that 'mere persuasion unaided by political power might prove effective in the case of an individual, but it was difficult to bring about any radical change in a peoples outlook without the backing of a political force'.²⁰ After that the Sheikh decided to move to Uyayna and entered into correspondence with the then Amir of Uyayna Uthman b. Mu'ammarr to that effect. When the Amir assured him not only to give him his full support but also to accept his faith, he proceeded to Uyaynah, and reached there about the year

20. A.H. Siddiqui, op. cit., p. 1447.

1744 A.D. where he was warmly welcomed by the Amir. It is also said that he became related with the Amir by marrying his aunt Zohra bint 'Abd Allah b. Mu'ammār.

The socio-religious conditions prevalent at Uyaynah at that time are described by Amin Rihani as follows.²¹

"...a form of necrolatory was prevalent among the Arabs of Central Arabia; more than that, for they had started by worshipping the Wali, then the domed tomb of the Wali, and then the tree which they had planted in the shadow of the dome. Indeed, there were certain trees in the caves of Jabal Twaïq [Sic] and other parts of Najd which were supposed to be endowed with supernatural power, and from far and near they were sought by devotees who made vows to them and invoked their assistance".

Under the Amir's protection, Sheikh Ibn Abd al-Wahhab carried out a series of operations in order to reform the people of Uyaynah. First, he cut down all the 'believed to be pious trees'. Next, the Sheikh advised the Amir to be regular in offering prayers in congregation, as well as suggested punishment for those who did not perform prayers. He also abolished the numerous kinds of taxes that were imposed on the public. Now they had to pay only the zakaat and the khums in accordance with the Islamic law.²² All these activities made the Sheikh popular far and wide.

21. Amin Rihani, Ibn Saoud of Arabia, pp.239-40.

22. M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 13.

The growing popularity of the Sheikh aroused the suspicion and anger of Sulayman b. Muhammad, chief of the Banu Khalid tribe and ruler of al-Hasa, who apprehended that the Sheikh might usurp his throne and expropriate the taxes that maintain him and his court. It is because of this, that Sulayman b. Muhammad wrote to Uthman either to kill or banish the Sheikh. He also threatened him with serious consequences in case he failed to comply with his orders.²³ The Sheikh was compelled to seek an asylum in Dar'yah.

His works

In addition to being an effective orator, Sheikh Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab was a prolific writer also. About twenty²⁴ books and treatises are ascribed to him, most of which were compiled during his stay in Dariyah. The language and style of his presentation are very lucid and simple. On certain issues he has simply cited extracts from the Q'uran and the Hadith. Another great feature of his writings is that the terminology of tasawwuf is not at all found in his books.²⁵ The principal teachings of his faith are derived from his works. His main works are briefly introduced below.

23. Philby, Arabia, 1930, p. 11, 12.

24. M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 42.

25. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., p. 121.

1. Kitab-ul-Tawhid-il-ladhi huwa Haqq-ul-Allah 'ala-al-'Abid:

This book literally meaning the book of tawhid which is the right of Allah over his servants, is popularly known as Kitab-ul-Tawhid. It was written by the Sheikh during his stay in Huraymala. It is one of the most important books of the author on the Wahhabi doctrine. In it he has expressed his views on the definition, true meaning and dimensions of tawhid by duly contrasting them with various forms of shirk (association of gods with Allah) such as venerating saints, offering oblations to them, seeking assistance from them, etc. He has authenticated his view points with copious quotations from the Q'uran and the S'unnah.²⁶ An idea of the popularity of the book may be derived from the fact that it was reprinted several times from different places such as Mecca, Cairo and Delhi.²⁷ Commentries have also been written on the book by different authors. For example, the commentry by Ahmad b. Hasan al-Najdi was published from Delhi in 1311 A.H. Another commentary entitled Fatah Allah al-Hamid al-Majid by Hamid b. Muhammad b. Hassan was published from Amritsar in 1897 A.D.²⁸

26. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., p. 24.

27. Aslam Jayrajpuri, op. cit., p. 47

28. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 123-4.

2. Masa'il al-Jahiliyah al-lati Khalafa fiha Rasul Allah ahl al-Jahiliya:

It is commonly known as Masail al Jahiliya. In this book the Sheikh has presented the various practices of the Jahiliyah period which were opposed by the Prophet. It is also based on the teachings of the Q'uran and the hadith. He has in the book discussed over a hundred²⁹ such practices that were forbidden by Islam. This book has been recently published from Medina (1395 A.H.). Mahmud Shukri al-Alusi (d. 1342 A.H.) has written a commentary on it.

3. Kashf-ul-Shubuhah min al-Tawhid :

This is a small tract and can be termed as supplement to his book Kitab al-Tawhid. It aims at removal of doubts regarding unity caused by the faith in intercession and seeking help through saint-worship. It has also been reprinted several times.³⁰

4. Al-Usul al-Thalatha wa Adillatuha :

(The three principles and their proofs):

As the name of the book indicates, the author has classified in this small treatise the three fundamental principles regarding knowledge about Allah, the religion of Islam and the Prophet (P.B.U.H.).

29. M. Ahamad gives the exact number as 121 op.cit.,pp.42-43
M.A. Nadwi puts the number as 131, cf. op. cit., p. 128.

30. S. Ahsan, op. cit., p. 84.

5. Shurut ul-Salat wa Arkanuha: (The Conditions of Salat and its Pillars).

It mostly deals with the conditions and requirements as well as pillars of the prescribed prayers. It is also said that it is the summary of a chapter of the famous Hanbali Book al-Iqtina.³¹

6. Arba' Qawaid:

It deals with four important facts concerning tawhid.³² Besides, the Sheikh was the author of the following books also.

1. Usul al-Iman.
2. Kitab Fadl al-Islam.³³
3. Kitab al-Kaba'ir.³⁴
4. Nasihat al-Muslimin bi ahadith Khatam al Mursalin.
5. Sittah Muwadi min al-Sirah.
6. Tafsir al-Fatihah.
7. Tafsir al-Shahadah.³⁵

31. Aslam Jayrajpuri, op. cit., p. 47.

32. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., p. 126.

33. It forms part of the 'Majmua' al-Hadith al-Najdiyya'.

34. It is one of famous books and also forms part of the above mentioned book.

35. Some scholars give its name as "Maana al-Kalima al-Tayyiba", c.f. Aslam Jayrajpuri, Tarikh-i-Najd, p. 47.

8. Tafsir 'ala Badi Suwar al-Q'uran.
9. Mukhtasar Sirah Rasul Allah.
10. Mukhtasar Zad al Ma'ad.
11. Mukhtasar al-Insaf wa-al Sharh al-Kabir fi-al fiqh
etc.

His Doctrines

The Wahhabi doctrines are based more or less on the teachings of the Hanbali Jurist, Ibn Taimiyah. Its origins cannot be isolated from the radical traditions of Hanbalism.³⁶ Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal's school of thought had exerted a great influence upon the followers of Islam upto the 14th century A.D. But after that period it suffered a set-back until in the 18th century .A.D. it was revived by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. As described by Amin Rihani,³⁷ "Wahhabism is in the main Hanbalism, or a revival of it. The more advanced Wahhabi of today, that is the liberal minded one, prefers to call himself as Hanbali".

The pivotal point of Wahhabism is based on tawhid or the doctrine of the unity of God, which literally means 'unification' but theologically related to the 'one-ness' or 'unity' of Allah in all its literal and abstract senses .

36. Chrishine Moss Helms, The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia, (London, 1981), p. 80.

37. A. Rihani, op. cit., p. 248.

The Wahhabis differentiate between three categories of tawhid: tawhid al-rububiya (unity of lordship); tawhid al-uluhiya (unity of the divinity); and tawhid al-asma wa-al-sifāt (unity of names and attributes). It is worthy of mention in this context that most of the beliefs and practices of the Wahhabis originated from this comprehensive concept of tawhid,³⁸ on the basis of which they claimed to be exclusively righteous in contrast to the other Muslim groups. As such he held that Allah is the Omnipotent Lord of the universe, thereby forbidding the attribution of divine powers to anyone else except Himself. It is He Who created man from nothing; He sustains all known and unknown things as well as makes His existence felt through His signs and creations that lie scattered throughout the universe in innumerable forms such as the day and the night, the sun and the moon, the mountains and the rivers, etc. Besides, He alone is worthy of worship. He further maintained that all affairs of man's daily life must conform to the dictates of the Q'uran and the S'unnah of the Prophet.³⁹ Lastly, his concept of the unity of Lordship is marked by the absolute incomparability of Allah as mentioned in the Quranic verse: "there is nothing whatever like unto Him".⁴⁰ In addition to the above, the

38. C.M. Helms, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

39. Ibid., p. 89.

40. The Qu'ran, XL11:11 tr. by A. Yusuf Ali, p. 1307.

Sheikh held that both good and evil emanate from Allah, and that human beings possess no free will, yet Allah's punishment for the wrongdoers is just. Besides, he did not believe in racial superiority. Superiority or inferiority according to him depended upon the state of a person being dutiful to, and fearful of, Allah.

The tawhid-ul-ulūiyah is referred to as practical tawhid or tawhid al-'amali which includes all the daily rituals, beliefs and acts of faith as well as strivings in love, fear, hope and trust in Allah. The tawhid al-ulūiyah is based on the five traditional pillars of Islam: Shahadah⁴¹ prayer, fasting, zakat and pilgrimage. It includes belief in Allah and His omnipotence, His angels, the revealed books and the day of judgement. It is also incumbent upon the muslims that while holding Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) as the last of Allah's Prophets sent to mankind from time to time, they should refrain from deifying him.

Muhammad ibn Abd Wahhab believed in the literal meaning of the Qu'ranic texts including the anthropomorphic expressions about Allah in it in the light of the immediate popular usage of the Arabic language. Yet he held that this did not necessitate anthropomorphism for Allah. He was of the opinion that the believers would see Allah in paradise.

41. Unity of Allah, al-Kalima al-Tayyiba cf. Aslam Jairajpuri, op. cit., p. 47.

But as regards the form and shape of Allah it was described by him as beyond the grasp of human reason.⁴² It is worthy of mention in this context that although he did not encourage the use of reason in the interpretation of the allegorical verses (Ayat-i-mutashabihat), he favoured independent judgement in respect of the clear verses. He also recommended interpretations of the 'virtuous ancients' (al-salaf-ul Salih) in the understanding of the Qu'ran. They laid particular stress on the first part of the Shahadah namely, 'There is no god but Allah'; according to which Allah alone deserves worship without intermediaries. To pray, supplicate for divine assistance, sacrifice, vow, submit, genuflect in prayer or express wishes to anyone but God, however small the departure, was to commit an act of Shirk.⁴³ Nevertheless Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab allowed visits to the tomb of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) provided no specific journey was made for it. He clarified that specific journeys could be made only to the three sacred Mosques - Kaba at Mecca, the Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem and the Prophetic Mosque at Medina.⁴⁴

42. Saeedullah, Life and Works of Nawab siddiq Hassan Khan of Bhopal, (Lahore 1973), p. 138.

43. Shrik means polythesim, c.f. Christine Moss Helms, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

44. Saeedullah, Life and Works of Nawab siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal, (Lahore, 1973), p. 139.

The Sheikh declared that "Islam is not only, form of words, an imitation of what others have said. At the Day of Judgement it will not be enough to plead that I heard people saying something and I said it too".⁴⁵ It is the duty of the muslims to find out what true Islam is. In the main it is a rejection of all gods except Almighty Allah as associating gods with Allah is an indisputed act of Shirk (polythesim).

As regards the sources of Shariah, the Sheikh recognised only two authorities: The Qu'ran and the S'unnah of the Prophet along with the precedents of the Companions. He proclaimed that the Q'uran, the uncreated Word of Allah, which was revealed by Him to the Prophet through arch-angel ⁴⁶Jabriel is the most important source of the shariah, while the s'unnah (sayings and deeds) of the Prophet is its next most important source.

Ijma (consensus of the Muslim community) is declared by him as the third important source of the Shariah in a restricted manner as he believed in the sanctity of only such Ijma as was arrived at during the first three centuries of Islam, because "the Hadith upon which they perforce relied as the vehicle of the Prophetic Sunnah contained in itself

45. S. Ahsan, op. cit., p. 92.

46. Ahmad b. Hujr, op. cit., p. 35; Further the author declares that the Shaykh's belief was against 'ilm al-Kalam he did not like to discuss in detail the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qu'ran.

about all points of view on every problem, which were developed by the muslims during the first three centuries or so".⁴⁷ Thus while accepting the Ijma arrived at among the muslims during the first three centuries of Islam, he rejected the Ijma of the later generations, thereby implying that the entire Muslim community can err in framing fresh laws independently through this process of legislation.

Although the Sheikh mostly followed Ahmad b. Hanbal in juristic matters by rejecting Qiyas (analogical reasoning) in both interpreting the religious texts and in framing fresh laws, he was no blind follower of him. Similarly, he held both Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn-ul-Qayyum to be true Imams, but he declared himself to be a non-conformist by saying that he was not bound to accept all their opinions. That was the main reason that whenever he could find an authentic hadith against any of the opinions of his favourite Imams, he preferred to follow the hadith rather than the said opinion. Thus the Sheikh kept the Muslim jurisprudence alive and dynamic by emphasizing the importance of Ijtihad (fresh thinking) in the light of the teachings of the Q'uran and the S'unnah. Here it is remarkable to note that although he preferred Ijtihad to Taqlid, he did not object to anyone being the follower of any of the four orthodox Imams provided

47. D.S. Margolionth, "Wahhabis", Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII, p. 661.

his actions and judgements conformed to the injunctions of the Q'uran and the S'unnah.

Like Ibn Taymiah the Sheikh fully realized the importance of the state in enforcing Shariah in society, in which authority lies in the hands of the Caliph or the Imam, who on his turn should act upon the advice of the 'ulema and the community. He further elaborated that if anyone becomes the Caliph with the consensus of the Muslim community, he should be obeyed. He also legitimised the overthrow of an incompetent Caliph by a competent Imam by the use of force by saying that even such a Caliph should be obeyed so long as he implements the Shariah and does not do anything contrary to the teachings of the Qu'ran and the Su'nnah.⁴⁸

lastly, the Shaykh extolled the importance of Jihad (the holy war) for the sake of implementing Shariah as well as spreading the message of Allah to all possible corners of the world.⁴⁹

His Impact

It may not be out of place to point out in this context that the main objectionable and controversial matter in respect of this movement seems to have been the use of

48. Ahmad b. Hujr, op. cit., p. 37.

49. R.B. Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century, New York, 1965, p.12.

force said to have been applied by the later followers of the Sheikh in compelling the Muslims to perform the prescribed religious duties of Islam. It is said that they not only held such Muslims as disbelievers who offered prayers individually instead of performing them in congregation in the mosque, but also considered it lawful to shed their blood. If these reports about them are true, such actions can never be said to be Islamic, because there is no justification for such extremism in the religion of Islam.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, despite all the drawbacks that may be pointed out against the Wahhabis, they did render a great service to the cause of Islam and its followers by purging them of all the un-Islamic accretions and innovations that had viciated and distorted the true image of this faith. This movement put an end to all kinds of superstitions, the prevalent practices of worshipping and offering sacrifices at tombs and belief in the miraculous power of certain trees. It made people more attached to the fundamental principles of Islam, more law-abiding, and more respectful towards the administration of justice and the rule of law. In addition, it led to the establishment of political and social stability in the strife-torn central Arabia through unification and

50. Muhammad b. Ab. al-Shawkani, Al-Badr-ul-Tali', vol. II, p. 6.

integration of its numerous turbulent provinces. The people now began to properly observe the prescribed religious duties such as holding prayers in the mosque, paying the zakat, keeping the Ramdan fast, living a decent Islamic life etc.

Lastly, the Wahhabi movement is also credited with having been the main source of inspiration for the numerous reform movements that took place in the Muslim world from time to time. For example, the Sanusi movement in Libya, the Pan-Islamic movement and the Salafiyah movement in Egypt and the Maghrib respectively, the Ahl-e-Hadith movement in India, the Muhammadiyah movement in Indonesia, etc. they are all said to have been influenced by the teachings of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd. Wahhab.

CHAPTER - III

THE FIRST SAUDI REALM AND EGYPTIAN INVASION
(1744-45 - 1824)

In the summer of the year 1744 A.D. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab chose as his new home the town of Dariyah situated between al-Uyaynah and al-Riyadh. Arriving there in mid-afternoon, he took shelter with his disciple Ahmad ibn Suwaylim which slowly turned into a great centre for the missionary activities of the Sheikh.¹ The then ruler of Dariyah, Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, whose family had governed the town for several generations, had already established his reputation for courtesy, justice and honourable dealings with his people.

In the beginning the Sheikh's arrival was kept a secret by Suwaylim lest the Amir of Da'riyah might become furious and turn him out of his dominion as had happened to him in 'uyaynah.² Nevertheless, the Sheikh kept himself busy in preaching his mission in a clandestine manner, and the number of his followers continued to increase. In the meantime, the Amir's two brothers Mashari and Tunayan, heard

-
1. Philby, Saudi Arabia, (London, 1955), p.39. However, there seems to be some confusion in the name Ibn Suwaylim because M.A. Nadwi, quoting Ibn Ghannam's Rawdat al-Afkar, writes that in Dariyah he first lived in the house of 'Abd al-Allah' ibn Abd al-Rahman b. Suwaylim and then moved to the house of his disciple Ahmad b. Suwaylim see M.A. Nadwi op.cit., p.30.
 2. Philby, Arabia (London, 1930), p.12.

of the Sheikh, visited him, and became influenced by his teachings. Now they became his staunch supporters, and wanted their brother Amir Muhammad b. Sa'ud also to follow their example.³ In order to achieve this objective they first approached his wife Mudha'bint Abi Dahtan, a wise and discerning woman, and acquainted her with the mission and teachings of the reformer. On being convinced of the truthfulness of the mission of the Sheikh, she persuaded her husband to visit him and support him in making his mission a success.⁴ When he visited the Sheikh, he was greatly impressed by him, who explained to him the meaning of tawhid, the mission of all the prophets in the light of the teachings of the Qu'ran and the sunnah, the ills of shirk (polytheism), and the causes of the religious and moral degradation of the people of Najd.

The Sheikh appealed to the Amir to help him by saying that if he assisted him in these reforms, he was sure that one day they would together be able to bring all the muslims under one flag, and that the Amir would win dominion over lands and men.⁵ Muhammad now feeling greatly inspired, agreed to assist the sheikh in his mission and fight against

3. Amin Rihani, Ibn Saud of Arabia, p. 241.

4. Ibid., pp. 241-42.

5. Ahmad b. Hujr, al-Shaykh Mohanmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, p. 15.

his enemies by putting two conditions before him. First, he wanted the Sheikh neither to desert him nor to leave Dari'iyah in case they gained power. Secondly, he wanted the Sheikh to assure him that he would not dissuade him from collecting revenues on the earnings of his subjects from agriculture and trade.⁶ The Sheikh replied: 'As for the first matter, give me your hand on it. And as regards the second, perchance Almighty God will conquer your conquests, and recompense you with spoils of war far more ample than your present revenues.'⁷ Following that Amir Muhammad ibn Saud became a strong ally and supporter of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. He also paid allegiance to the Sheikh, swore loyalty to the religion of Allah and His Prophet, and promised to fight the opponents. He developed such a great faith in the mission of the Sheikh that he put all the revenues collected by him from zakat and other sources at his disposal which he spent in the path of Allah.⁸

Thus both of them entered into a solemn pact, "whereby, should they succeed in forcing their system on

6. M.A. Nadwi, op. cit., p.32; Philby, Saudi Arabia, op. cit., p. 39.

7. Philby, Ibid, p.39.

8. Philby, Ibid, p. 39.

their neighbours, the sovereignty should rest with ibn Saud whereas the religious leadership should belong to Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahha'b...."⁹ In this way the year 1744 A.D. is very significant not only in the annals of Arabia but also in the history of Islam, when two dynamic and scholarly souls of the Arabian homeland resolved to propagate the reforms with a view to bringing the muslims back to the fold of the Quran and the Sunnah.

The alliance, the significance of which was not quite visible in the initial stage, proved to be of tremendous importance over the decades. Even the proponents of the movement might never have dreamt that this would one day be responsible for the birth of a new state. The movement which came to be called the 'Arabian Reformation' started purely as an entirely muslim movement without any anti-Ottoman gesture.¹⁰ With the conversion and backing of Ibn Saud the movement gained momentum. The followers of the Sheikh now come out openly from the surrounding areas in support of the Sheikh. His visitors included even the nobles of the house of Mu'ammār of 'uyaynah. When the news of the Sheikh's success reached 'Uthman b. Mu'ammār (who had previously turned the Sheikh out of 'uyaynah), he repented on his past dealings with him

9. D.S. Margoliouth, op. cit., p. 618. Some Scholars reject this view. See M.A. Nadwi, p. 18.

10. Amitava Mukherjee, The Land Beyond the Time, Delhi, 1981, p. 14.

Accompanied by a large number of the nobles of uyaynah he visited the Sheikh, and asked to be pardoned. He also requested the Sheikh to return to 'Uyaynah'. But when the Sheikh referred the matter to Muhammad ibn Sa'ud for his decision, he did not permit him to leave Dar'iyah.¹¹

It is remarkable to note that prior to the pact between Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, the Sa'ud family was not so influential in the affairs of Arabia as were the Sharifs in the Hijaz, the Banu Khalid in al-Hasa and the surrounding coastal district, the Mu'ammār family in 'Uyaynah, the Sa'dun in Iraq, the Zaidi Imams in Sana, the sadat in Najran and the Sultan in Oman.¹² And these were the main principulities into which Arabia remained divided for a long period of time marked by constant strife between them in a struggle for existence or supremacy.¹³ But in pursuance of the alliance both Ibn Sa'ud and Muhammad b. Abd-al-Wahhab began to assert themselves not only in the revival of religion, but also politically and militantly, as a consequence of which they launched a Jihad (holy-war) on the rival Emirates. But it

11. Ahmad b. Hujr, op. cit., p. 25.

12. Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, Arabian days, (London, 1964), p. 102.

13. Roy Lebkicher, The Arabia of Ibn Sa'ud, New York, 1952, p. 41.

was no smooth sailing for the Sheikh and Ibn Sa'ud. They were bound to face numerous difficulties and opponents. In the ensuing armed struggle, Ibn Sa'ud suffered some humiliating defeats also; and in 1765 A.D. his fortunes seemed to have been at their lowest ebb, when he was confronted with the combined forces of 'Orayyir of Hasa and of Sayyid Hasan ibn Hibat-Allah of Najran, who, bent upon putting an end to the new movement, had planned to attack Dar'iyah simultaneously. Meanwhile, an army led by his son Abdul Aziz ibn Muhammad was defeated by the Najrani forces at Al-Hayir, between al-Khaj and Riyadh, without the aid of 'Orayyir and his tribes who had not yet even arrived there. This defeat made the Amir nervous to some extent. But Ibn Abdul Wahhab sought to solidify his courage by asking him to remember what had happened to Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) in the battle of Uh'ud. Ibn Sa'ud's wife, an enthusiastic supporter of the new movement, also encouraged him to carry on the struggle against the opponents with added vigour. However, Ibn Sa'ud and the Sheikh succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Najran ruler, who set his prisoners free, and returned home. Later, when the Hasa army arrived there alongwith the Bedouin allies from the Ijnan tribe, and heard of the departure of the Najran forces, they also went back.¹⁴

14. Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., p. 102.

The rising power of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and the Saudi family was bitterly opposed by the ruler of Riyadh named Waham bin Dawwas who struggled against his opponents for more than a quarter of a century (1157-1187 A.H.).¹⁵ Nevertheless, when Muhammad bin, Sa'ud died in 1765 A.D., most of Najd had been subdued.

After the death of Muhammad b. Sa'ud, his able and eldest son Abdul Aziz proved a worthy successor of his father. Assisted by his brother Abdullah, he carried the movement forward, and achieved great triumphs. The first major victory scored by him was the occupation of Riyadh in 1773 A.D. After that the Wahhabi-S'au'di state began to expand so rapidly that within fifteen years it annexed the whole of Najd. The Banu Khalid, the ruling Bedouin tribe of Hasa were also defeated by him in the winter of 1789-90 in a great battle at Ghurarimil. In this way after establishing a solid foundation for the expansion of the Wahhabi- Sa'udi State, Sheikh Muhammad b. Abd-al-Wahhab decided to retire from active participation in public life,¹⁶ and entrusted Amir Abdul Aziz with all the affairs of the state. Now he confined himself to the task of instructing the people in religious matters by delivering lectures. He also spent

15. Derek Hopwood, The Arabian Peninsula, Society and Politics (London, 1972), p. 57.

16. Ibid.

much of his time in prayer and worship. Nevertheless, he continued to be the intimate adviser of Abdul al-aziz in religion, war and politics until he died in 1792 A.D. at the mature age of 91, after having successfully preached and popularized the pure unitarian faith of Islam for as many as fifty years.

The death of the Sheikh did not cause any setback to the reform movement, because, it had already consolidated its position and struck deep roots on the Arabian soil. The triumphs of the movement continued unabated under the leadership of the Sa'udi family. The Wahhabi forces ably led by Abdul Aziz's eldest son, Sa'ud, were victorious in all directions. Eastwards, the Wahhabis captured Qatif, an oasis inhabited by sectarian shi'ites. Hasa and Bahrain were also conquered and annexed by them.

Southwards, the Wahhabi forces reached the great Empty Quatar and made incursions into the Hadramaut. The leaders of the 'Asir tribe joined the cause and thence forward the Wahhabi movement spilled down into the lowland of the Tihama along the Red sea, reaching as far South as the ports of Yemen, while in the north, they advanced into the Iraq and Syrian deserts by subding the rival tribes. Meanwhile the growing Wahhabi power was viewed with great concern by Sharif Ghalib of Mecca in the Hijaz, who being an

ally of the Ottomans was a determined enemy of the Wahhabis. As such he had a keen interest in widening the breach between the Wahhabis and the Ottomans. With this end in view he launched a campaign of misrepresenting the Wahhabis as infidels in order to render abortive all attempts at negotiation with them. The Pashas of Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, also had their own vested interests in presenting them in the blackest of colours,¹⁷ as a consequence of which rumours spread far and wide that the Wahhabis were endeavouring to establish an entirely new religion, and that they treated the Turks with increased cruelty because they were Muslims.

Hostilities between the Wahhabis and the Sharif of Mecca broke out in 1792 or 93 and the war continued for several years in the form of raids and counter raids by tribes dependent upon either side.¹⁸ Thence forward the Wahhabi's became increasingly militant. Their raids on the borders of Iraq had started as early as 1784. After that they made Kuwait the target of their attack, between 1793 and 1795 A.D.¹⁹

17. J.L. Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, (London, 1831), pp. 100-101.

18. J.G. Lorimer, Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia, Vol. IA, p. 1052.

19. Ibid., p. 1059.

In 1801, a Wahhabi force of 10,000 men on 6,000 Camels broke into Karbala, site of the tomb of Prophet Muhammad's (P.B.U.H.) martyred grandson Husayn and one of the holiest places of Shi'ism. In an eighthour orgy of violence they indiscriminately massacred some 5,000 people, wrecked Husayn's mosque-tomb, plundered the city, and then pulled-out with 200 camels loaded with valuable treasures.²⁰ This expedition proved to be a starting point of a general revulsion against the Wahhabis which later had disastrous consequences for the nascent Wahhabi state.

The next year in 1802 there was a deterioration in the relations between the Sa'udis and Sharif Ghalib b. Musa'id, the ruler of Mecca, who was earlier engaged in a number of skirmishes with Amir 'Abdul Aziz b. Sa'ud for about 15 years, as a consequence of which the Sharif mustered a big army and launched an attack on Najd. But his army was utterly routed. It is said that most of his soldiers including a large number of the Sharifs of Mecca were either killed or taken prisoners.

Soon afterwards Abdul Aziz occupied Hasa, Qatif, Dawasir and most of the territories of the Hijaz.²¹ Following the fall of Mecca in 1803, the 'ulama of the holy city

20. Nadav Safran, Saudi Arabia, the Ceaseless quest for Security, (London, 1985), p.11

21. Muhammad bin Ali al-Shawkani, Al-Badr-ul-Tali, Cairo, Vol. II, p.5.

declared their acceptance of Wahhabism, in the presence of the victorious Abdul Aziz, while Sharif Ghalib accepted Sa'udi sovereignty. But after the return of Abdul Aziz to Dar'iyah, Ghalib reoccupied the city. Shortly thereafter, 'Abd al-Aziz was assassinated in his capital while performing the Friday Prayers in the mosque.²² Thus ended the period of 'Abdul 'Aziz, renowned for his humility, asceticism and justice, who carried out the precepts of the faith scrupulously and without favouritism.

Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz

'Abd al-'Aziz was succeeded by his son Sa'ud as the new amir. In fact Sa'ud's nomination was assured by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab himself as early as in 1787.²³ Sa'ud was a seasoned military campaigner and his military career had already covered about thirty-five years by the time he had ascended the throne of Dari'yyah.²⁴

Sa'ud's military campaigns started as soon as he assumed the command of the state. His first major victory was in Hijaz when he reconquered Mecca in 1805.²⁵ He captured Medina the following year and extended the frontiers

-
22. Sir John Baggot Glubb, War in the Desert, New York, 1961, p.44.
 23. Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., p. 103.
 24. Philby, op. cit., p. 63.
 25. Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., p. 106.

of the Wahhabi state in all directions. In 1808, 1810 and 1812 A.D., Wahhabi forces threatened Baghdad. In 1810 A.D. a large Saudi force sacked dozens of villages immediately south of Damascus and later that year exacted taxes from tribes forty miles south of Aleppo. Internally, Sa'ud institutionalized Wahhabism and dealt severely with tribal lawlessness. Soon thereafter Medina and the whole of Hijaz came under the sway of the Wahhabis. Sharif Ghalib was made incharge of Hijaz with the orders to destroy all the domses and structures in Jeddah and Medina. Sa'ud also initiated certain reforms in the performance of the pilgrimage. He especially stopped Mahmal.²⁶ Sa'ud expelled all the Turkish carvans and suspected persons from Mecca and Medina. The Friday Khutba hitherto delivered in the name of the Sultan of Turkey was discontinued.²⁷ Since the fall of the holy cities was a great loss to the Ottomans, Sultan Salim III made several attempts to recapture them. But when he failed in his mission, he appointed Mohammad Ali of Egypt as the Viceroy of Hijaz in 1805, and ordered him to combat the Wahhabis. In 1811 A.D. Mohammad Ali dispatched a huge army under the command of his son Tunsun Bey with a view to

26. Holy Carpet which was brought from Egypt on pilgrimage as a rallying standard for their people. See H. Wahhaba, p. 107.

27. J.G. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 1052.

attacking the Wahhabis. Tunsun Bey occupied the port of Yanbo and attacked Medina the same year. But Tunsun's army suffered heavy losses, and was repulsed by the Wahhabis. In the meantime when large reinforcements arrived from Egypt, Tunsun Bey attacked Medina again the next year in 1812.²⁸ In January 1813 Mecca was occupied without much resistance. Taif was also easily annexed by them. In August of that year Muhammad Ali himself landed at Jeddah with a 2000 Cavalry and 2000 infantry and performed a triumphant pilgrimage.

After fulfilling his mission of recapturing the Hijaz Muhammad Ali tried to conclude a truce with Sa'ud, but the negotiations failed as Muhammad Ali made it a condition that all the expenses incurred by him in the expedition along with all Jewels and other treasures of the Prophetic Mosque or their equivalent in cash should be paid to him. It was also provided that Sa'ud should visit him personally. These humiliating terms of the draft treaty were refused by Sa'ud. And thanks to his dominant personality and iron rule, the defeat could not demoralize him. Instead, he started making preparations to reclaim the Hijaz by means of the forces

28. In October, 1812 the reinforced Egyptian army, supported by tribes that had deserted the Wahhabis, reached Medina, and, after a fourteen day siege stormed Medina and captured the city. One thousand Wahhabis were killed and 1500 captured. See Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, p.13.

which he had kept intact. But his plan could not materialize as he died of fever in 1814 at Dar'iyah.²⁹

Abdullah ibn Sa'ud

Saud was succeeded by his son Abdullah. But the throne was contested by his uncle Abdullah ibn Muhammad also on the grounds that he was a closer relative of Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, founder of the dynasty. Although the newpew defeated his uncle, dissention crept in and the throne began to crumble. Taking advantage of this delicate situation Najdi rivals of the Sa'ud's turned to Muhammad Ali for support with a view to establishing their own rule.

Although Abdullah was known for his wisdom and intelligence, he lacked in the warlike qualities of his father, as a consequence of which he made several mistakes in the prosecution of the war. Contrary to his father's practice, he confronted the Egyptians having vast experience in military tactics in open battle instead of harassing and exhausting them in guerilla raids. He was but naturally defeated at Turaba in 1814 A.D. and southern Hijaz was occupied by the Egyptians.³⁰ This was followed by a truce³¹

29. Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., p.110; Nadav Safran, op. cit., p.13; Philby, Saudi Arabia, gives date of his death as 1st May 1814.

30. H. Wahba, op. cit., p.11; Nadav Safran, op.cit.,p.13

31. The terms of the truce included: (a) termination of hostility; (b) Ending of Turkish intervension in Egypt; (c) An establishment of free trade between Arabia and its neighbours c.f. Philby, Saudi Arabia, p. 151.

with Tunsun Pasha, the Egyptian Army chief, in 1815 A.D., which gave time to the Egyptians to bring in fresh support and supplies. Further, Abdullah renounced his claim to Mecca and Medina, while Tunsun agreed to withdraw to Medina, but Muhammad Ali refused to ratify it. When Tunsun Bey died soon afterwards Muhammad Ali sent his another son Ibrahim Pasha for the destruction of the Wahhabis.³² Ibrahim Pasha rapidly occupied 'Anaiza, arranged for its security, proceeded to Buraida which surrendered without resistance, followed by Mudhinib, Ushaiqir and Far'aa. In April 1818, he finally reached Dar'iyah with a big force and laid siege to it. After a period of about five months Abdullah was constrained to sue for terms³³ and ask for pardon for himself, his family and troops loyal to him. He also made an appeal for the preservation of the town. But Abdullah's safety was guaranteed only till his arrival in Cairo,³⁴ from where he was taken prisoner to Constantinople and beheaded by the Turks. The town of Dar'iyah was razed by Ibrahim Pasha, and all the neighbouring territories came under his Sway.³⁵

32. Nadav Safran, op. cit., p.13.

33. Ibid.

34. Nadav Safran, p.14.

35. The destruction was carried with great efficiency under the instructions of Muhammad Ali. For details see, Nadav Safran's, Saudi Arabia, op. cit., p. 24.

He heralded the collapse of the first phase of the Saudi rule by arresting and deporting to Cairo a good number of the members of the Sa'udi family. Thus the first Sa'udi realm came to an end after 70 years of its beginning.

Egyptian Occupation 1818-1822

Muhammad Ali's policy was to liberate the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Wahhabi control at any cost. As already mentioned, the adjacent territories of the Hijaz and 'Asir in the west were brought under the control of the Egyptian troops. 'ASIR had a special attachment for Muhammad Ali, particularly in view of his ambition to control the coffee trade of Yemen. After eleven expeditions sent by him having failed to subdue Asir, he personally directed his forces to conquer it, but he met with a stiff resistance from the mountain folk who, besides being Wahhabis, were deadly opposed to outside rulers. Nevertheless, the Egyptian forces succeeded in occupying most of the large towns and territories of the Sa'udi state. Yemen disappeared from the Sa'udi-Wahhabi ken for a century.³⁶ Similarly, the areas to the east of Najd known as Eastern provinces which exhibited some sort of independence under Majid ibn 'Ura'ir of the Banu Khalif tribe,³⁷ soon fell

36. Winder R. Bayley, op. cit., p.27.

37. Philby, Saudi Arabia, p. 25 and 81.

before a force sent by Ibrahim Pasha culminating in the persecution of the Wahhabi religious leaders and expropriation of all the property and funds of the Sa'ud family in the local treasury.

So far as the South-Eastern thumb-like peninsula of Qatar is concerned, Wahhabis raided it in 1787-88 A.D. under the command of Sulaiman ibn 'Ufaisan.³⁸ In 1810 A.D. Imam Sa'ud Ibn Abdul Aziz consolidated his administrative arrangements in this region by appointing Abdullah Ibn 'ufaisan as governor of Bahrain, Qatar Qatif and Qatar.³⁹ But a year later, the Masqatis launched fresh attacks on Bahrain and Zubarah, arrested 'Abd Allah Ibn' 'Ufaisan, and occupied the islands. And no sooner did they withdraw than the Egyptian invasion of Arabia started, as a consequence of which the Imam could not find an opportunity to re-assert his position. So the Sa'udi control over Qatar was temporarily lost. Similarly, as regards the Trucial coast and Oman, it became impossible for the Wahhabis to occupy these areas in

38. Winder R.B., op. cit., p.30.

39. Ibid., p. 31

face of the Egyptian invasion.⁴⁰

40. With Wahhabi religious beliefs already in Trucial Coast and Oman the Saudi forces first appeared to Buraimi with its strategic location in the background in the year 1795 A.D. under the command of Ibrahim Ibn Sulaiman Ibn 'Ufaisan. The people of Oman requested Imam Abdul Aziz to take their country to 'New Reformation' (Wahhabism) See. Winder. Op. cit., p. 35; Four year later a treaty was made between the Saudi forces and the powerful Trucial Coast tribe, Qawasim, which from then can be considered Wahhabi. A new governor was appointed, followed by Mutlaq Ibn Muhammad al-Mutari in 1810 A.D. When the latter was killed in a chance encounter, his brother and successor Battal could not consolidate Saudi power over whole Oman in the context of Egyptian invasion, with one additional factor the British interests and policies in the region. For details see, Winder, op. cit., pp. (37-49).

CHAPTER - IV

THE SECOND SAUDI REALM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Ibrahim Pasha's successor, Khalil Pasha was succeeded by his brother Ahmad Shukri Yakan Bey as 'governor of Arabia' who became known to fame as Ahmad Pasha. Since Ahmad Pasha had meagre military resources, he could not prove an effective ruler, as a consequence of which anarchy prevailed in Najd, and the old patterns of inter-tribal feuds were revived again. In 1819 A.D.¹ Muhammad Ibn Mushari ibn Mu'ammār, a scion of the family that had ruled 'Uyaynah before Wahhabism and who was related to the Sa'uds by marriage, returned to the reign of Dar'iyah and by the end of the year partially rebuilt the town thereby gaining some recognition. Ibn Mu'ammār had to fight it out with Majid Ibn 'urair of Banu Khalid (who had occupied for himself Hasa and Qatif), and successfully defended Riyadh that consolidated his position to some extent. But the position of Ibn Mu'ammār was greatly shaken by the unexpected arrival at Dar'iyah by Mushari ibn Sa'ud ibn Abd al-Aziz,² One of the deported brothers of Abdullah ibn Sa'ud ibn Abd al-Aziz, who had managed to escape while being taken to Egypt because, being a member of the Saudi family, he was most likely to be accepted by his people as a legitimate

1. Winder R. Bayly, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century, (New York, 1955), p. 51.

2. Philby, Saudi Arabia, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

heir to the dynastic honours of the Sa'uds. After his escape at a place between Medina and Yanbu he had already visited Qasim, Zilfi and Tharmida and considerably consolidated his position by mustering sufficient support to his cause for making a bold adventure for the the throne.³ Ibn Mu'ammār was deserted by most of his followers who melted away towards Mushari. Under these circumstances Ibn Mu'ammār had no alternative but to acknowledge his opponent as Imam for the time being. In the meantime he feigned illness and retired to Sadus with the intention of making preparations for a revolt against him. Having mustered a force, he launched a surprise attack on Dariyah, entered it without resistance, and besieged the palace of Mu'shari, who was arrested and imprisoned. Ibn Mu'ammār now became the ruler of the land.⁴

Turki 1824-34

Muhammad Ali at this time sent an Egyptian force under Abosh Aga whom Ibn Mu'ammār assured of acting in the Egyptian interests. This fact gave local support to Turki Ibn Abdullah Ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'ud,⁵ who was destined to

3. Philby, *ibid.*, p. 151.

4. For details see: Winder Bayly, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

5. The son of the previous Imam Abdullah.

restore Saudi rule in Najd. Turki made a serious bid for power by moving straight to Dar'iyah which he captured without fight, mainly because the people of Dar'iyah had already deserted Ibn Mu'ammār. The latter was captured and killed. Meanwhile in 1820 A.D. Hussein Bey⁶ with fresh Turkish militia arrived in Qasim, immediately joined Abosh Aga in Tharmida, and then marched on Riyadh, where Turki was settling in preference to the ruins of Dar'iyah. A seige was laid and the besieged requested for 'aman (Security for life)⁷ which was granted. But Turki had fled the city a night before.⁸ After that a reign of repression followed. There was some relief when Hussein Bey was called back to Egypt, but the familiar anarchy soon returned in the same manner as it had taken place when Ibrahim Pasha was withdrawn two years earlier. In 1822 A.D. Hasan Bey Abu Zahir was made the new Turkish commander of the area with

-
6. Peter Hobday, Saudi Arabia Today, An Introduction
 — to the richest oil power, (London, 1978),
 p. 19.
7. Aman was a sort of peace proposal and surrender offered by any party to a war in the battles of Arabia.
8. Winder, R., Bayly, op. cit., p. 74.

some 800 cavalrymen at his disposal.⁹ Although otherwise sincere, Hasan Bey demanded heavy taxes from the people which met with serious opposition. Even some attacks were launched by the tribesmen that resulted in serious reverses for Hasan Bey. After his escape in 1820 A.D., Turki re-appeared in 1823 A.D. with some allies, and brought with him a force against Riyadh where 600 Egyptians were still stationed under Abu Ali al-Bahluli al-Maghribi, but could not achieve any positive results.¹⁰

As already mentioned, Hasan's policy of heavy taxation met with a serious resistance as well as provoked a sudden uprising that forced him to ask for aman, wherein his security was guaranteed. But in violation of the agreement he left some 600 men under Muhammad Aga in Unaiza. In 1823-24 Turki received messages of help from various Najdi towns, and attacked Durma situated to the west of Riyadh, killing its governor Naseer al-Saiyari, and became its ruler¹¹. In August 1824 A.D.,¹² Turki

9. It is said that these 800 men were left there by Hussein Bey when he left the area with surety that no one was left alive.

10. Peter Hobday, *op. cit.*, p. 19; See also Winder, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

11. Winder, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

12. Fouad Al-Farsy, Saudi Arabia, a case study in development, London, 1982, p.64; Winder, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

marched on Riyadh which was then garrisoned by a Turkish force under the command of Abu 'Ali al-Bahluli al-Maghribi, and laid seige of the town. Abu Ali al-Bahluli asked for aman which was granted on condition that he would take his soldiers out of Najd.¹³ Turki thus established himself in Riyadh instead of returning to the ruins of Dariya. Thus Riyadh has since then continued to be the capital of Najd till the present day. Turki's accession marked a change in the ruling branch of the Royal family, and his descendants are still the rulers of Saudi Arabia.

Stability returned to Najd with refugees returning home including among others one Mushari ibn 'Abd al-Rehman ibn Mushari ibn Sa'ud, who was welcomed by Turki and appointed governor of Manfuha¹⁴. Later he was instrumental in the assassination of Turki. From here onwards Turki seized every opportunity to expand his empire receiving a number of delegations from the neighbouring territories.

13. Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Najd* (London, 1972), p.262; see Ibn Bashir, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

14. Peter Hobday, *op. cit.*, p.19; Winder, *op. cit.*, p.65.

Qasim was formerly incorporated in the state in 1827-28.¹⁵ Hijaz, however, could not be subdued. The Eastern provinces were being ruled by two brothers, Muhammad and Majid ibn 'urair of the Banu Khalid family since the evacuation of Egyptian forces. Turki, raided these territories and a fierce battle took place between the forces of Turki, led by his son Faisal and those of the opposition led by Majid ibn 'urair. Turki emerged victorious in this battle with the killing of Majid ibn 'urair, as a result of which Hufuf and the Oasis of Hasa were annexed by him. Now Bahrain felt the tremor of occupation of the Eastern provinces due to which its ruler Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Khalifa was obliged to acknowledge the Saudi supremacy. He also agreed to make the annual payment of Zakat.¹⁶ So far as Oman and Trucial coast is concerned,

15. Musil, A., Northern Nejd, New York, 1928, p.271.

16. Turki reasserted Saudi suzerainty over the ruler, 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad Al-Khalifa (r. 1816-1843), who also controlled most of Qatar, by presenting him with a three-point demand: (i) to begin again the annual payment of Zakah; (ii) to pay immediately a compensation of \$ MT 40,000 for some horses left in 'Abd Allah's charge in 1811 A.D. When the first Wahhabis had been forced out of Bahrain; and (iii) to surrender the mainland fort of Dammam. C.f. Winder, p. 78.

Wahhabism had already set a foothold there, and Turki continued to receive messages from Wahhabi elements residing there for military support and religious guidance. In 1832 A.D. Turki ordered one Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Ufaisan to proceed to Burami for a full-scale invasion of Oman.¹⁷ Sultan Sa'id ibn Mutlaq¹⁸ decided not to resist against odds, and agreed to pay a tribute of 5000 German crowns per annum to the Wahhabi chief. Finally, as it was to happen, Mushari ibn Abd al-Rehman, was made governor of Manfuha by Turki after his return from captivity in Egypt in 1825 and who was pardoned for an unsuccessful revolt in 1831, hatched the plan to assassinate his benefactor. On May 9, 1834 (Friday)¹⁹ when Turki came out of the Mosque, he was surrounded by three men hired by Mushari one of them shot Turki and killed him on the spot. Now Mushari for a short while established himself as Imam.²⁰

17. Anne Blunt, op. cit., p. 262

18. Who was son of one of the former Saudi Governors of Buraimi.

19. K.S. Twitchell, Saudi Arabia, with an account of the Development of its natural Resources; (London, 1982), p. 90; Nadav Safran, op. cit., p.15.

20. Hafiz Wahba, Arabian Days, op. cit., p. 14.

Turki's Way of Governance and His Religious Beliefs:

Turki was a very strong ruler, a dedicated Wahhabi with a very polite heart. In the matters of governance his policy was aimed at promoting the welfare of the people by minimizing the burdens upon them. He issued strict orders to his governors that no additional tax should be levied upon the people even in case of contingency, and that if any official transgressed the limit, he would be severely punished. He further emphasised that he would stand by the oppressed in all cases.

Being a spirited Wahhabi, he urged people to pray and fulfil prescribed religious obligations. He appointed outstanding Qadis at various places for the administration of justice. The postings of the qadis were rotated, and they were ordered to decide legal questions strictly in accordance with the Sharia. He also issued written epistles for demonstration among the people, wherein they were required to believe in the unity of Allah, while prayer and zakat were made obligatory.

Besides, Turki was a great patron of literature. Two outstanding poets of his reign were Rahman ibn Jabir and Abd al-Aziz ibn Hamad ibn Nasir ibn Muammar. Further, he took various steps to ensure the economic prosperity of

his people.²¹

Faisal Ibn Turki (r. 1834-38 A.D.):

The pseudo-rule of Mushari Ibn Abd-Rehman lasted for just 40 days, when Faisal, informed by Turki's slave Zuwaid in Saihat,²² attacked Riyadh alongwith his friends, particularly Abdullah ibn Rashid,²³ laid seige, captured Mushari (despite some valliant defence by Mushari's slaves), and ordered his death. At the age of 40 years Faisal was recognised as the new Imam and consolidation followed.

21. For details see, Winder R. Baylay, op. cit., pp. 83-93.
22. Zuwaid was captured at the time of Imams murder. However he managed to escape and went straight to Faisal in Saihat to inform him what had happened; see H. Wahba, p. 97.
23. A member in the Junior branch of the ruling family of Ali Ibn Rashid, who had been agent of Sa'ud and had asserted rule after the fall of Dariya to Ibrahim Pasha.

Faisal then assisted Abdullah ibn Rashid and his brother Ubaid in replacing Salih ibn Abdul Muhsin ibn Ali, who was then incharge of Jabal Shammar.²⁴ In 1836 A.D. Egyptian pressure was once again felt in Najd. One Dausari who appeared in Najd on behalf of the Egyptian authorities demanded acknowledgement of Egyptian authority from Faisal as it had been due to Faisal's power only that Muhammad Ali had ordered General Ismail Bey to reduce the uncooperative Saudi state. Since Faisal did not submit wholly, the invasion of Najd was certain.²⁵ The Egyptians had one Khalid Ibn Abd al-Aziz with them.²⁶ They seized this

24. For details see; Winder Bagly, op. cit., pp.101-103

25. Lorimer, I., op. cit, p.1097.

26. One of the most important individuals in Ismail's force was Khalid, the twenty-four-year-old youngest son of the third Wahhabi Imam, Sa'ud the Great, and thus the Wahhabi Imam, 'Abdullah, who had surrendered to Ibrahim Pasha. Like Dausari of Asir, Khalid had been deported to Egypt after the fall of Dariyah and educated there, under Muhammad 'Ali's auspices. As a member of the original ruling branch of the Sa'ud family Khalid would naturally have a certain amount of support in Najd; see Winder, op. cit., p. 108.

opportunity to get some support for Khalid in Najd and marched on Riyadh on Saturday May 13, 1837 A.D. Faisal could not resist the attack this time, and shifted from Riyadh to Al-Dilam in Southern Najd.²⁷ Thus came the end of Faisal's first reign.

Najd was almost partitioned between Faisal and Khalid after the Egyptians faced a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Wahhabi fugitives of Hariq, Hutad, and Hilwah, while Khalid tried to consolidate his position in central districts of Sudair and Washim, Faisal administered a reduced territory in the south with his headquarters at Dilam. Khursheed Pasha, who was at Medina and for whose cause Khalid was working came to Najd, and in May 1830 A.D. he proceeded towards Unaiza without any opposition. There he stayed for five months, made intensive preparations, and made the city a strong base for Egyptian armies in Najd. Khursheed Pasha confirmed Abdullah ibn Rashid as Amir of Jabal Shammar who in turn agreed to acknowledge the Egyptian suzerainty. By the end of October, 1838, Khursheed was joined by Khalid, and a combined force marched on Dilam. After some resistance Faisal had to give

27. Philby, Saudi Arabia, op. cit, pp.178-179.

in by the end of 1838 A.D., following which he was taken as a prisoner to Egypt.²⁸

Khalid was a mere puppet in the hands of Khursheed, while the latter managed the affairs of the state solely by himself. Khursheed soon established the absolute sovereignty of his master Muhammad Ali over the whole of Najd. By 1840 A.D. Muhammad Ali had to call back Khursheed Bey from Najd as he needed his troops nearer home in the event of a war between Egypt and France on one side and Turks, British,²⁹ etc. on the other side.

After the departure of Khursheed from the scene Khalid was able to retain power for just over a year. Since he was a creature of the Egyptians, he was disliked, and consequently possessed no capacity for government. There is no clear evidence to show that any of the Wahhabi religious leaders of the Sheikh's family had paid homage to Khalid as Imam.³⁰

28. He was taken with his brother Jilwy and his sons, Abdullah and Muhammad to Egypt C.f. Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., p. 115.

29. British interests in the area, derived from its position in India. British for their free trade and commerce wanted the Persian Gulf to be kept open, and not to be allowed to go into the control of any power that could threaten its position in India. For details see Winder, pp. 37,38,40,49,81,82.

30. Ibn Bishr, Unwan al-Najd fi Ta'rikh al-Najd, Riyadh, 1385 A.H., II Vols., p. 73.

In August 1841 A.D. Khalid paid his last compliments to Khursheed Pasha in Shinanah.. Abdullah Ibn Tunaiyan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Tunaiyan Ibn Sa'ud, a great-great-grandson of the founder Sa'ud, raised the banner of revolt, Khalid tried to mobilize his forces, but he failed to receive any positive response and there-upon marched to Hufuf in the east probably to save himself. Ibn Tunaiyan took 'Irqa north of Riyadh and Manfuha south of it before marching upon Riyadh.³¹ The people of Riyadh sent messages to Khalid for help who in turn sent some force to Riyadh under Zuwaid (the already mentioned slave of Turki). Zuwaid was defeated by Ibn Tunaiyan and Riyadh was occupied with recognition by its leaders. By the end of 1841 A.D. Ibn Tunaiyan had established himself in Riyadh and Khalid asked for an asylum with the ruler of Bahrain in Dammam and there from made an unsuccessful bid to recapture his lost rule, but failed; and with that his role in the affairs of Arabia disappeared.

In 1843 A.D.³² Faisal managed his escape from Cairo with the help of 'Abbas Pasha,³³ Muhammad Ali's grand-son. Faisal arrived in Jabal Shammar where his old friend and ally Abdullah ibn Rashid welcomed him and

31. Nadav Safran, op. ct., p.16; Philby, Saudi Arabia, op.cit,pp. 162-63.

32. Safran Nadav, op. cit., p. 16.

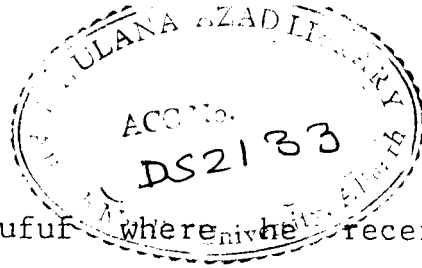
33. He had some plans of Independent empire and wanted the Arabs as his allies in the plan.

along with his brother Ubaid offered every assistance to Faisal. Then Faisal entered into an alliance with the governor, Abdullah ibn Sulaiman ibn Zamil of Unaiza and started secret negotiations with various citizens of Riyadh, and on gaining their support ordered his brother Jelwi to march on it with a band of the army. Riyadh was captured and Ibn Tunaiyan was granted aman for his life, but was imprisoned where he died in July 1843 A.D. Faisal was recognised as Imam by all the local population. Thus he was destined to rule this region from 1843 A.D. onwards for almost a quarter of a century.³⁴

Faisal's Second Term:

Once established in central Najd, he thought of conquering the Eastern provinces. In 1843-44 he led his forces near Qatif and beseiged the fort of Dammam which was under the control of the Bahraini ruler Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Khalifa. In the meantime al-Khalifa was ousted by a younger member of his family, Muhammad ibn Khalifa, who agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Saudi rule.³⁵

-
34. Faisal's second realm (1843-1865) was the golden age of the second Saudi realm; Safran Nadav, op. cit., p. 16.
35. Abdullah Ibn Ahmad al-Khalifa the longlived ruler of Bahrain had been ousted from Bahrain by younger member of his family as there was a dispute within the al-Khalifa family. Muhammad Ibn Khalifa was allowed to be the new ruler of Bahrain on resumption of payment of annual tribute to Riyadh.



From Dammam Faisal went to Hufuf where he received delegates, and appointed Abdullah Ibn Sad Ibn Mudawi as governor of Qatif and Abdullah ibn Muhammad al Sudari as governor of Hasa.³⁶

In 1845 A.D. the southern districts of Aflaj and Wadi al-Dasir, where there had been some internal disturbances, were subjugated and order was re-established. So far as Jabal Shammar was concerned, the relations with Abdullah ibn Rashid were strengthened. In 1846 A.D., Faisal replaced Ibrahim Ibn Sulaiman Ibn Zamil, the then governor of Unaiza by Nasir Ibn Abd al-Rehman al-Suhaimi. In 1848-49 there was a rebellion in Unaiza which was joined by Abd al-Aziz al-'ulaiyan, the then governor of Buraida. Though initially there was some agreement, but due to treacherous designs of Abd al-Aziz there was a fierce battle at Yalima between Abdullah ibn Faisal's forces and those of Abd al-Aziz. Abd al-Aziz was defeated in the battle, following which he escaped to unaiza where he tried to resurge the revolt but failed. Peace was established through the Chief Qazi of Qasim, Abdullah ibn Butaiyin. Abd al-Aziz asked for pardon and was allowed to retain his post, but his power was reduced by keeping Jelwi

36. Winder, op. cit., p. 151.

(brother of Faisal) as amir of the whole province of Qasim with a garrison at Unaiza³⁷. After that there were some more revolts in Qasim as well as in Unaiza and Buraida that were subdued in due course of time.³⁸

'Ujman, a large and powerful tribe, who in 1854 A.D. had defied the authority of Faisal by attacking a Carvan of pilgrims, having built up its strength in the next 15 years under Rakan Ibn Hithlain, wanted to test the strength of aging Faisal in 1860 A.D. Faisal on his part sent a large force under the command of Abdullah ibn Faisal, who attacked 'ujman at night and defeated the rebellious forces. When in March 1861 A.D. the tribe of 'Ujman raised the banner of revolt again, it was totally ruined. So far as Bahrain was concerned, Muhammad ibn Khalifa was installed as its ruler by Faisal in place of Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Khalifa in 1844 A.D. The new Bahraini ruler, despite demands from Riyadh, refused to make the agreed payments.³⁹ In November 1850 A.D. Abdullah ibn Faisal was sent with a force. After a few skirmishes, an agreement was reached through the mediation of Said ibn Tahnoon, the ruler of Abu Zabi, whereby Muhammad ibn Khalifa agreed to pay the tribute. In 1859 A.D. there again started the trouble when Muhammad ibn Khalifa

37. Ibid., pp. 157-159.

38. These revolts took place in 1854, 1859 and 1862 A.D. for details see, Hafiz Wahba, op. cit., pp. 165-170.

39. Winder R. Bayly, op. cit., p. 185.

withheld the tribute, following which Abdullah al-Mudawi, the governor of Qatif and Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Khalifa (the son of desposed Khalifa) prepared to invade Bahrain. This time the British government informed Faisal that they recognised Bahrain as an independent principality, and in June 1861 A.D. gave him an ultimatum to negotiate peacefully with Muhammad ibn Khalifa with the result that Faisal, instead of taking any military action, mediated between Abdullah branch of the Khalifa family and their Kinsmen, whereby the former were allowed to return to Bahrain. But Bahrain no longer remained under the Saudi Control.

As regards Oman, Faisal had occupied Buraimi output in 1854 A.D. through Sad ibn Mutlaq at the head of the Wahhabi force. soon afterwards Sad demanded tribute from Said ibn Sultan, the ruler of Masqat, and the latter agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Saudi ruler. In 1848 A.D. however, Buraimi was occupied by Said ibn Tahnoon the ruler of Abu Zabi temporarily, but in October 1848 A.D. Buraimi was reoccupied by the Saudi force and by 1853 a new treaty was made with Masqat for an enhanced tribute to be paid by the latter. It is difficult to ascertain the exact extent of the Saudi control over Oman expecting the fact that Musqat and other statelets were required to pay the tribute.⁴⁰

40. Lorimer, I, pp. 708-710.

Faisal's System of Government

The wahhabi state in Faisal's time was centrally administered with all political, physical, military, domestic and foreign powers invested with the Imam himself.⁴¹ There was, however, some devolution of power to lower officials, but the same was negligible. Faisal used the member of his own family to run the government which ensured loyalty and discouraged dissention. But as regards the administration of the districts, it varied from place to place depending upon the Saudi hold of the district and of course other consideration like the religious beliefs of, and the extent of cohesion, among the people.

In regard to relations with the Ottoman Empire, Faisal pursued the policy of caution and non-aggression towards Syria, Hijaz or Iraq, probably due to the fact that he did not have the same degree of control in his own dominion as that had by the earlier Saudi rulers. Faisal did pay tribute to the Ottoman authorities.⁴² He also worked in cooperation with the British, who were interested in playing an important role in the Gulf.⁴³

41. Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 16-17.

42. Winder, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

43. *Ibid.*

Justice was administered in consonance with Shariah as interpreted by the Hanbali School. Qazis were appointed by the central government who received a regular pay.⁴⁴ Military was organised in the same way as the earlier Saudi rulers had done, and a high level of efficiency was maintained. Forces were mobilised in case of contingency without any regular pay, who received four-fifths of the booty in accordance with the traditional Islamic practice. The forces consisted mostly of townsmen. Tribesmen were also recruited whenever need arose.⁴⁵

Revenue was collected in the same fashion as was done by the early Saudis. Zakat was levied on such agricultural produce (both grains and fruits) as could be measured and stored. Individuals having a low production were exempted. Live-stock was also taxed. Some important duties were also charged from the pilgrims who passed through the realm.⁴⁶ In addition, one-fifth of the booty of any engagement was also payable to the state. Besides, tributes were paid by Masqatis, Jabal Shammar, Bahrain and others.

44. Palgrave, W.G., op. cit., p. 397.

45. Philby, Saudi Arabi, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

46. Palgrave, p. 276; Mushil, p. 243.

In Commerce there was significant export, particularly of horses, pearls and dates. Although taxes were mostly paid in kind, they were paid in cash also.

Faisal patronized literature and other cultural persutes like his father Turki. In religious matters Wahhabism was strictly followed. A number of historians particularly Ibn Bishr lived in his time and received support from him. His works constitute one of the basic sources of information regarding the second Saudi realm.⁴⁷ In December 1865 Faisal died after a prolonged illness and his eldest son Abdullah, who had already become the de-facto ruler, succeeded to the throne.

Decline of the Second Saudi Realm

With Abdullah ibn Faisal in power the dissentions within the family acquired enormous proportions resulting in the ultimate debackle of the Saudi state for the second time. Besides Saud ibn Faisal's⁴⁸ desperate efforts to establish himself as Imam, there was another factor that had significant impact upon the second debackle of the Saudi State. That was Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Rashid of Jabal

47. Winder, op. cit., pp. 223-224.

48. Faisal had four sons, Abdullah, Sa'ud, Muhammad and Abd-al-Rehman.

Shammar (the third son of the founder amir Abdullah) who had assumed Emirate of Jabal Shammar after the death of Talal. Saud Ibn Faisal clashed at Judah 60 miles northwest of Hufuf with the forces of Abdullah ibn Faisal led by Muhammad ibn Faisal. Saud got victory and in April 1871 Riyadh was occupied while he himself was established as the new Imam. Abdullah sought the help of the Ottomans, who had their own vested interests.⁴⁹ The Turks conquered the Eastern provinces. Meanwhile Saud was temporarily ousted from Riyadh by Abdullah in Turki (Faisal's brother) at the head of a revolt. Abdullah reached Riyadh, over which he had sufficient control by 1872.⁵⁰ But Saud mustered his force again in 1873 A.D., clashed with Abdullah's forces at Jiza near Riyadh, and defeated the latter who escaped and fled, and died soon afterwards. In January 1875 Saud died of small-pox. Since at the time of his death his brothers Abdullah and Muhammad Ibn Faisal were wandering in the deserts, his fourth brother Abd al-Rahman announced his accession to the throne.⁵¹ But Abdullah considered himself to be the legitimate successor,

49. Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

51. Lorimer I., *op. cit.*, pp. 1132, 1133 & 1134.

and sent his own brother and collaborator Muhammad ibn Faisal at the head of a force to fight against Abd-al-Rahman but he could not get any success. In the meantime the sons of Saud quarrelled with Abd-al-Rehman who, apprehending the danger, left Riyadh, and asked Abdullah to take over. Abdullah entered Riyadh, and was recognised as Imam.⁵² In 1887 Saud's sons led by Muhammad ibn Saud captured Riyadh after a siege, and imprisoned Imam Abdullah, who appealed to Muhammad ibn Rashid, the Shammar ruler, for help. The latter occupied Riyadh under the pretext of restoring it to its rightful owner (Abdullah). But instead of installing Abdullah back on the throne, he appointed a Rashidi governor for the Saudi capital. Thus the Wahhabi state was conquered by Ibn Rashid.⁵³ Abdullah, who had been taken as a guest by Ibn Rashid, was allowed to return to Riyadh as a governor in November 1889. But he passed away within three days after his arrival at Riyadh.

Now Abd al-Rehman was confirmed as governor by Muhammad ibn Rashid. But Abd al-Rahman revolted, following which ibn Rashid besieged Riyadh in 1890. When he found it impossible to reduce the town, he entered into negotiations with Abd al-Rahman, who was now allowed to retain

52. Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

53. Winder, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Riyadh and the districts of Kharj, Aflaj and Mahmal under his authority in return for acknowledging the overlordship of Muhammad ibn Rashid. Finally in the battle of Mulaidah that occurred in 1891 A.D. between the allies of Abd al-Rehman ibn Faisal and those of Muhammad ibn Rashid, the former were badly defeated, and that marked the end of the second phase of the Saudi state.⁵⁴ Abd al-Rehman was now compelled to take his family into exile. First, they lived among the Bedouins on the edge of al-Rub-ul-Khali (The Empty Quarter) for a short period of time. Then they went to Qatar and Bahrain, and finally they got shelter in Kuwait.⁵⁵

It was under these adverse circumstances that Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd-Rahman, known to fame as Ibn Saud, who was born in Riyadh in 1880 A.D., was being brought-up and trained to play a very crucial role in the history of the Saudi dynasty. He received his early education from a customary tutor Abd Allah al Kharji,⁵⁶ who taught him the Qu'ran. By the age of Eleven when his family took to flight he had finished his studies of the Qu'ran. During the days of the exile he learnt a lot about the Bedouin

54. Winder, op. cit., p. 157.

55. Roy Leblicher George Rentz and Steineke, The Arabia of Ibn Sa'ud, (New York, 1952), p. 44.

56. Winder, op. cit., p. 266.

life and the political forces that were operating in the Persian Gulf region. The death of Muhammad ibn Rashid in 1897 A.D. gave Abd-al-Rahman renewed hope.⁵⁷ Abd al-Aziz made close friendship with Mubark al Sabah, who had in the year 1896 A.D. assumed power in Kuwait by killing the then ruler Muhammad ibn Sabah. He also planned to capture Riyadh with his assistance.⁵⁸ Mubarak in his turn tried to use the Sauds in his goal to supersede the Rashidi family. In 1901, Mubark entered into a secret pact with the British,⁵⁹ and obtained their protection. With the British help Mubarak launched a major assault on Ibn Rashid along with the supporters of Abd al-Rahman. But Mubarak's forces were badly defeated, and hence an attempt on Riyadh which was planned by the Sauds in the offensive had to be abandoned. After a few months ibn Saud conceived another attempt on Riyadh, and in January 1902 made a bold bid for capturing it with a small contingent of 60 men. On the outskirts of Riyadh he left thirty men behind with instructions to return to Kuwait in case nothing was heard within the next twenty-four hours. After advancing further with the rest of his companions he left another

57. Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

58. Nadav Safran, p. 29.

59. Arabia of Ibn Sa'ud, p. 44; Safran Nadav, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

twenty men with his brother Muhammad outside the walls which Ibn Rashid had partly demolished. Then Abd al-Aziz alongwith the remaining most trusted men entered under the cover of darkness, a house near the residence of the Rashidi governor, Ajlan. When he Castle's gates were thrown open, Abd al-Aziz and his men attacked and killed the governor with many members of his garrison. The reserves were called into secure the town, whose population welcomed the return of the sauds. Now Ibn Saud soon arranged for the transport of his father and the remaining members of the family from Kuwait to Riyadh. After that he also succeeded in restoring and consolidating the position of his dynasty by expanding the Saudi state in the Arabian peninsula.⁶⁰

Thus it goes to the credit of Ibn Saud that starting from a very delicate situation, he succeeded against heavy odds in recapturing Riyadh on January 16, 1902, thereby marking the establishment of the Saudi state on a firm and permanent footing which later in 1932 A.D. officially became known as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

60. For details see Nadav Safran, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20; Winder, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-261.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Abu Hakimah, A.M. History of Eastern Arabia 1750-1800, Beirut, 1965.
- _____ (ed.) Lam'al-Shihab fi Tarikh Muhammad b. Abd al Wahhab, Beirut, 1967.
- Ahmad b. Hujr al-Shaykh Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, Mecca, 1395 A.H.
- Ahmad, Muhy al-Din Shaykh al-Islam Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, Hyderabad, 1947.
- Ahsan Sayyid Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn al-Wahhab, Aligarh, 1988.
- al-Alusi, Muhammad Shukri Tarikh Najd, Cairo, 1347 A.H.
- Ameer Ali, S. The Spirit of Islam, New Delhi, 1978.
- Arberry, A.J. Religion in the Middle East, Cambridge, 1967, 2 vols.
- Armajani, Y. Middle East Past and Present, New Jersey, 1970.
- Armstrong, R.C. Lord of Arabiya, Beirut, 1966.
- Assah, Ahmad Miracle of the Desert Kingdom, London, 1960.
- Attar, Ahmad Abd al Ghafur Saqr al-Jazirah, Jeddah, 1964

-
- Shaykh al-Islam Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, Eng. trs. Rashid al-Barrawi, General Presidency of Education, Saudi Arabia, 1979.
- Bari, M.A. "The Early Wahhabis and the Sharif of Mekkah", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. III, 1955, pp. 91-104.
- Beling, Willard A. King Faisal and the Modernisation of Saudi Arabia, London, 1980.
- Benoist-Mechin, J. Arabian Destiny, Eng. trs. Denis Weaver, London, 1957.
- Bidwell, Robin L. Travellers in Arabia, London, 1976.
- Blunt, Anne A Pilgrimage to Najd, London, 1871
- Blunt, aufrid S. The Future of Islam, London, 1882
- Brydges, H.J. A Brief History of the Wahauby, London, 1834.
- Burton, Sir Richard F. Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Madina and Meccah, London, 1855-6, 3 vols.
- Caldarola, Carlo Religion and Societies:Asia and the Middle East, Berlin, 1982.

- Cleron, J.P. Saudi Arabia, A Strategy for Growth, London, 1978.
- Crichton, Andrew History of Arabia and its People, London, 1852-
- Dickson, H.R.P. Kuwait and Her Neighbours, London, 1956.
- Doughty, Charles M. Travels in Arabia Deserts, New York, 1964, 2 vols.
- al-Farsy, Fouad Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Development, London, 1978.
- Fazlur Rehman Islam, London, 1966.
- Fisher, S.N. The Middle East: A History, London, 1971.
- Gabrielli, Francesco The Arab Revival, London, 1961.
- Gibb, H.A.R. Modern Trends in Islam, Chicago, 1947.
- Glub, J.B. Britain and the Arabs, a study of fifty years 1908-1958, London, 1959.
- _____ War in the Desert, London, 1960.
- Habib, John S. The Sa'uds Warriors of Islam, Leiden, 1978.

- Hamza, Fu'ad Jazirat al-Arab, Cairo, 1933.
- Helms, C.M. The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia, London, 1981.
- Hitti, P.K. A History of the Arabs, New York, 1968.
- Hogarth, D.G. Arabia, Oxford, 1922.
- _____ Penetration of Arabia, New York, 1904.
- Holden, D. and Johns R. The House of Saud, London, 1979.
- Holt, P.M. and Others (eds.) The Cambridge History of Islam, Cambridge, 1970.
- Hopwood, Derek (ed.) The Arabian Peninsula, London, 1972.
- Hourani, Albert Arabic Thought in the Liberal Ages, 1798-1939, Oxford, 1970.
- Hughes, T.P. Dictionary of Islam, London, 1885
- Hujr, Ahmad b. al-Shaykh Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, Mecca, 1395 A.H.
- Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Kitab al-Tawhid, Medina, 1395, A.H
- Muhammad
- _____ Masail al-Jahiliyya; Medina 1395 A.H.

- _____ Mukhtar Sirat Rasul Allah, Beirut, 1967.
- Ibn Bishr 'Unwan al-Najd fi Ta'rikh al-Najd, Riyadh, 1385 A.H. 2 vols.
- Ibn Taymiyyah Ziyarat al-Qubur, Urdu trs. Bombay, 1978.
- Iqbal Sheikh Muhammad The Arab Glory; The Arab Grief, Delhi, 1977.
- Izzedin, Nejla The Religion Reformers in Islam, Istanbul, 1978.
- Jayrajpuri, Aslam Ta'rikh-i-Najd, Delhi, 1344 A.D.
- al-Jundi, Abd al-Halim al-Imam Muhammad b. Abd. al-Wahhab, Cairo, 1978.
- Kelly, J.B. Britain and Persian Gulf 1795-1880, Oxford, 1968.
- Khan Nawab Siddique Hasan Al-Taj-ul-Mukallal, Indo-Arabic Press, 1963, p. 311.
- Kheirallah, George Arabian Reborn, New Mexico, 1952.
- Lebkicher, Roy and Others Arabia of Ibn Sa'ud. New York, 1952.
- Lewis, Bernerd The Arabs in History, London, 1954.
- Lipsky, G. Saudi Arabia, New Haven, 1959.

- Longrigg, S.H. Four Centuries of Modern Iraq,
Oxford, 1925.
- Lorimer, J.G. Gazetter of the Persian Gulf, Oman
and Central Arabia, Calcutta, 1915.
- Lutsky, V. Modern History of the Arab
Countries, Moscow, 1969.
- Macdonald, D.B. Development of Muslim Theology,
Jurisprudence and Constitutional
Theory, New Delhi, 1973.
- Muhammad b. Ab
Al Shawkani, Al-Badr-ul Ta'li, 2 vols.
- Mukhtar,
Salah al- Din Ta'rik al-Mamlakat al-Arabiyyat al-
Sa'udiyya, Beirut, 1957, 2 vols.
- Musil, Alois Northern Negd., New York, 1928.
- Nadwi, Masud Alavi Muhammad b. Abd. al-Wahhab,
Hyderabad, 1947.
- Niblock, Tim (ed.) State, Society and Economy in Saudi
Arabia, London, 1982.
- Nuseibeh, H.Z. The Ideas of Arab Nationalism,
Ithaca, 1956.
- Palgrave. W.G. Narratives of a Year's Journey
Through Central and Western Arabia,
1862-63, London 1865.

- Philby, H. St. J.B. Arabia, London, 1930.
- _____ Arabia of the Wahhabis, London,
1928.
- _____ Arabian Jubille, London, 1952.
- _____ Saudi Arabia, London, 1955.
- Rida, Rashid (Ed.) Majmu'a al-Hadith al-Najdiyya,
Cairo, 1342 A.H.
- Rihani, Amin Arabian Peak and Desert, London,
1930.
- _____ Ibn Sa'oud of Arabia His People and
His Land, London, 1928.
- _____ Mulak al-Arab, Beirut, 1929.
- _____ Ta'rikh Najd al-Hadith, Beirut,
1928
- Rutter, Eldon The Holy Cities of Arabia, London,
1928.
- Saab, Hassan The Arab Federalists of the Ottoman
Empire, Amsterdam, 1958.
- Sabini, John Armies in the Sand: The Sruggle for
Mecca and Medina, London, 1981

- Saeedullah, Life and Works of Nawab Siddique Hassan Khan of Bhopal, Lahore,
- Safran, Nadav Saudi Arabia: A Ceaseless Quest for Security, London, 1985.
- Sa'id Amin Ta'rik Dawlat al-Sa'udiyya, Beirut, 1964, 3 vols.
- Sharif, M.M. (Ed.) A History of Muslim Philosophy, (Weisbenden, 1966), 2 vols.
- Sheean, Vincent Faisal: The King and His Kingdom, Tavistock, England, 1975.
- Shustry, A.M. Outlines of Islamic Culture, Banglore, 1954.
- Smith, W.C. Islam in Modern History, New York, 1959.
- Spencer, W. Political Evolution in the Middle East, Philadelphia, 1962.
- Stacey International The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, 1977.
- Steiner, M.J. Inside Pan-Arabia, Chicago, 1947.
- Stoddard, Lothrop The New Wworld of Islam, London, 1922.
- Taylor, W.C. The History of Muhammadanism and its Sects, London, 1839.

- Thomas, Bertram Arabia Felix: Across the Empty
Quater of Arabia, London, 1932.
- _____
- Alarms and Excursions in Arabia,
London, 1931.
- _____
- The Arabs, London, 1940.
- Troeller, Gary The Birth of Saudi Arabia: Britain
and the Rise of House of Saud,
London, 1976.
- Twitchwell, K.S. Saudi Arabia, Princeton, 1953.
- Van Der Menlon,D. The Wells of Ibn Saud, New York,
1957.
- Von Grubebaum, G.E. Islam: Essays in the Nature and
Growth of a Cultural Tradition,
London, 1955.
- _____
- Modern Islam, California, 1962.
- Wahba, Sheikh Hafiz Arabian Days, London, 1964.
- _____
- Jazirat al-Arab fil-Qarn al-Ishrin,
Cairo, 1935.
- Walzer, R. Greek into Arabic: Essays on
Islamic Philosophy, Oxford, 1962.
- Williams, K. Ibn Sa'ud, London, 1933.

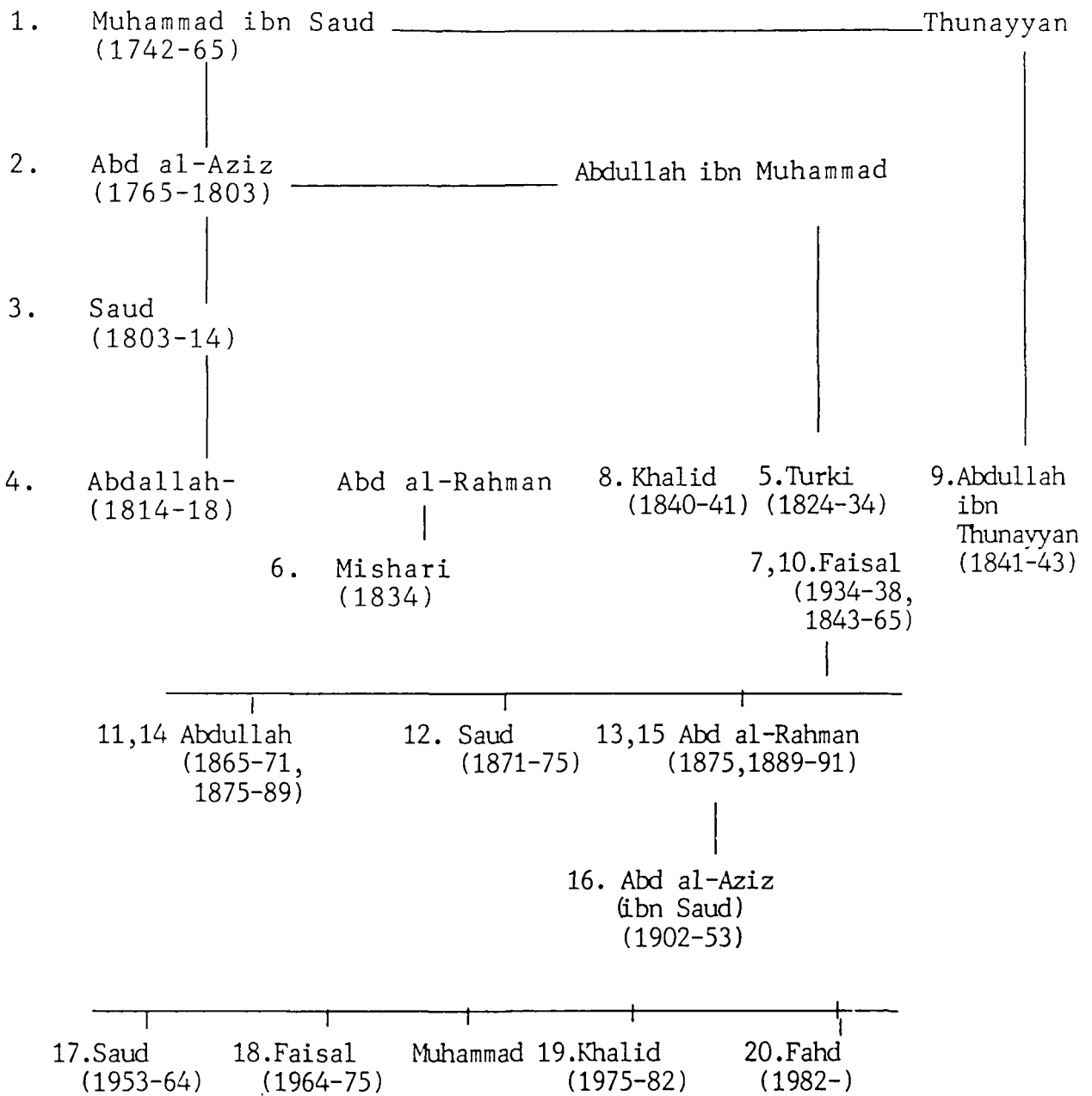
- Winder R. Bayly, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century, New York, 1965.
- Ya'la, Ibn Ali Tabaqat al-Hanabila, Damascus, 1931
- Zwemer, S.M. Arabia: The Cradle of Islam, New York, 1900.
- _____ Islam - A Challenge to faith, New York, 1907.
- _____ The Mohammadan World of Today, New York, 1906.

ARTICLES

- Bari, M.A. "The Early Wahhabis and the Sharifs of Mekkah", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, vol. III, 1955, pp. 91-104.
- Bligh, Alexander "The Saudi Religious Elite (ulema) as participant in the political system of the Kingdom", International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. XVII, No.1 (Feb. 1985), pp. 37-50.
- Dame. L.P. "Four Months in Nejd", The Muslim World, vol. XIV.

- Edens, David G. "The Anatomy of the Saudi Revolution", International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, vol. V., Pt.I, 1974, pp. 50-64.
- Fazlur Rehman "International Religious Developments in the Present Century Islam" Journal of World History, vol. II, 1954, pp. 862-79.
- Khan, Muin-ud-din Ahmad "A Diplomat's report on Wahhabism of Arabia", Islamic Studies, Vol. VII, No.I, 1966, pp. 33-46.
- Laoust, H "Ibn Abd al-Wahhab", Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd Ed. Vol. III.
- Malone, Joseph, J. "Islam in Politics: Saudi Arabia, The Muslim World, Vol. LVI, pp.290-95.
- Margoliouth D.S. "Wahhabiya" Encyclopedia of Islam (Shorter).
- Rehatsek,E. "The History of Wahhabis in Arabia and India, Journal of Asiatic society, Bombay, Vol. XIV, pp.274-401.
- Rentz George "Ojazirat al-Arab": Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp.533-56.

- Shaikh M. Safiullah "The Role of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Ibn. Taymiyya". The Muslim World League Journal, Vol. 19, No.5, Nov. 1991, and vol. 19, No.6. Dec. 91, pp.43-46 and 33-36 respectively.
-
- Wahhabism: A Conceptual Relationship between Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Taqiyy al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, Hamdard Islamicus, Vol. X, No.1, 1981, Pakistan, pp. 67-83.
- Smalley, W.F. "The Wahhabis and Ibn Sa'ud", The Muslim World, Vol. XXII.
- Wahba, Sheikh Hafiz "Wahhabism in Arabia: Past and Present", Journal of Central Asian Society, Vol. XVI, Pt. 4 (1929), pp. 458-67.



ABRIDGED GENEALOGY OF SAUDI ARABIA'S RULERS