

# THE FIRST SAUDI STATE & THE STORY OF AD-DIR'IYYAH

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN  
ARABIA BETWEEN THE YEARS 1157 - 1233H (1744 - 1818CE)



GATHERED FROM THE WORKS OF THE CONTEMPORARY WRITERS,  
HISTORIANS & SCHOLARS OF THE ERA UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY

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Present Day**

**COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY: ABŪ HAATIM MUḤAMMAD FAROOQ**

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“How tonight resembles last night, how today resembles yesterday. It is upon us to contemplate over history – and read the biographies. To know our place; to know what it is that we are upon.”

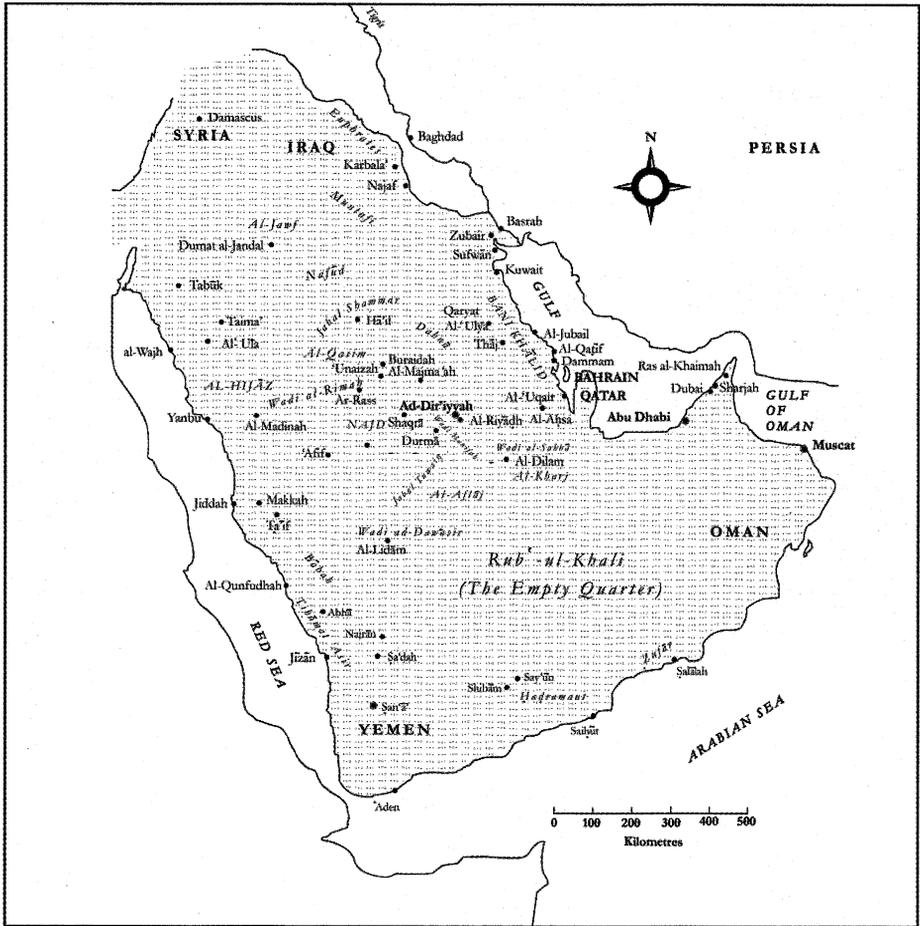
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– Shaikh Şāliḥ Al-Fawzān

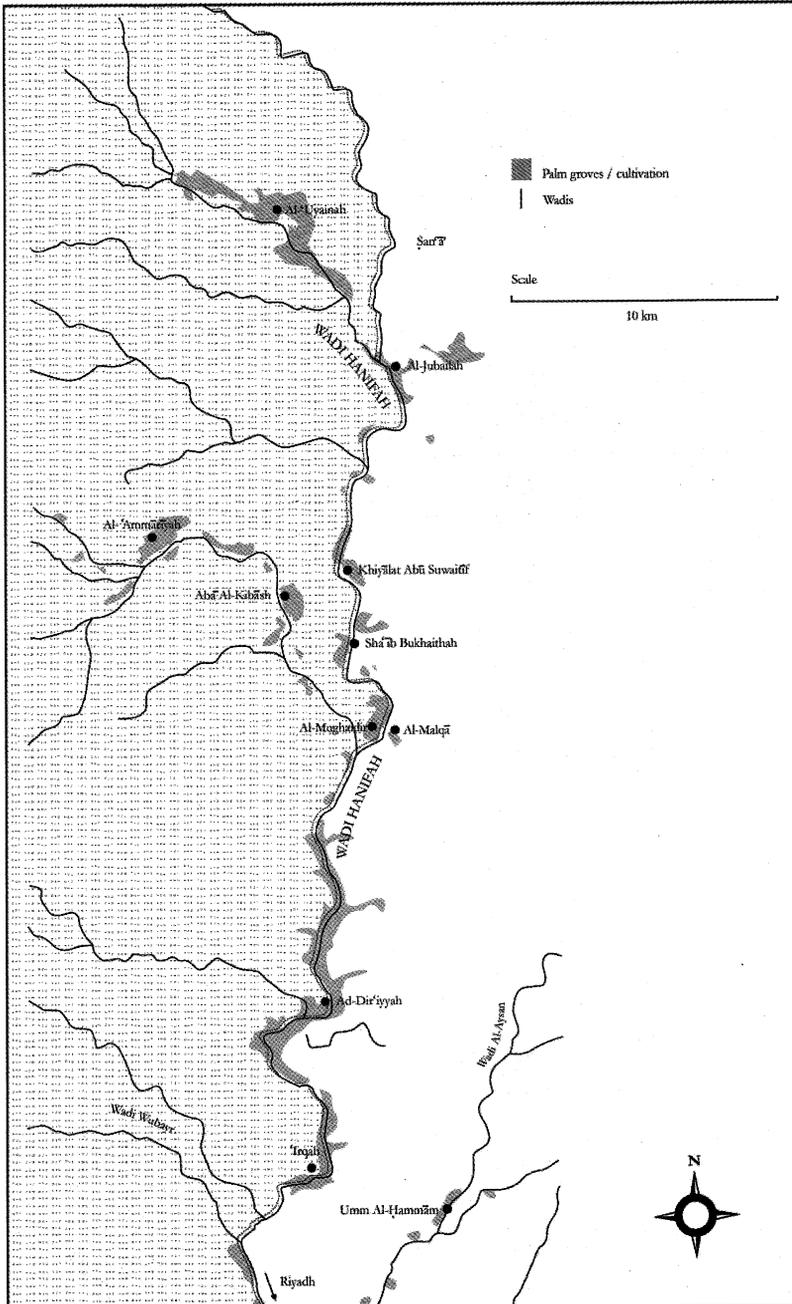
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▲ A map of the Arabian Peninsula with specific detail on the Najd area.



▲ A map of Wādī Hanīfah with its towns and settlements.



## Preface

All praise is for Allāh, we praise Him, we seek His aid and we ask for His forgiveness. We seek Allāh's refuge from the evils of ourselves and the evils of our actions. Whomsoever Allāh guides then none can misguide him, and whomsoever Allāh misguides then none can guide him. I bear witness that none has the right to be worshipped except Allāh, alone, without any partners; and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His Slave and His Messenger. To proceed:

The story which follows is not a side note of an episode from the annals of time and of the characters with in it, nor is it a chronicle of empires and nations attaining supremacy over others for the mere retelling of history. Simply put - this is the story of the struggle of truth versus falsehood, of the call of the Prophets - by way of *Tawḥīd* against the call of those who oppose them - by way of *Shirk*; and an affirmation of The Promise of Allāh that He will send a reviver at the head of each century to revive that which His Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم) came with; and which had subsequently survived but had become obscured in time and place. Of how far away from the truth *Shirk* and innovations bring their followers to the depths of religious misguidance and thus engage in every conceivable plot and stratagem to fight the truth - along with a clear warning of how the people of falsehood and innovation conduct themselves at the given opportunity against every true believer who seeks nothing but the truth and seeks to abide by its noble tenets.

The curious parallels in the story which follows are of those of the very beginning of this religion; of how the truth begins in a humble yet distinct manner, but gains evident and continuous strength. With clear indication along the way that it is indeed the truth and that its adherents are aided against its enemy - however dependable they assume their confederacy to be; and however formidable and mechanised they appear to be.

As the early Muslims burst forth from the Peninsula, they were soon to overtake the powers of the Persians and the Romans within a matter of years. Thus the world came to see the message of the Prophet Muḥammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم) at the hands of those that had been his companions and the defenders of his faith. Thereafter the affairs exchanged hands and yet still

the religion spread further away from where it had emanated, as far as the mountains of Western Europe and across the rivers of Asia until the power base from which this religion was propagated changed many a time.

So with the passing of night and day thousands of times over, and with the centres of power and authority having altered; the Peninsula fell into its sleep. The Muslims meanwhile prevailed and so during time they battled the invading Franks to the west whilst attempting to shield themselves from the Tartars who appeared suddenly from the east before them subjecting them to the horrors that history has since revealed. Their capitals were attacked, their cities were sacked and their populations were put to the sword, many an enemy showed their hands against them yet the Muslims endured these colossal battles and struggles and were given victory over their enemies and so they arose again, vanquishing the Franks and pushing back the Tartars losing in due course their Arab rulers being succeeded by other than them. Thereafter they captured Constantinople and reached the walls of Vienna and established an empire in India; whilst the Peninsula remained in its sleep with little or no mention.

That is until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> Century, at a time when the masses were stooped in religious violations and ignorant practices which contradicted the religion. It was a time wherein the reform movement that called to *Tawhīd* arose – and so for almost three quarters of a century it shone forth from Arabia with its advocates and supporters being granted honour and steadfastness and victories in the face of overwhelming odds and against formidable opponents; with the clearest of indications that they were the people upholding the truth. Their dominion and legacy became known as the First Saudi State.

# Prologue

Shaikh ‘Abdur-Rahmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“It is well known; that the adversaries of the Prophets were plentiful in number; and that their followers were the minority, as He, The Most High, says:

وَمَا آمَنَ مَعَهُ إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ

“And none believed along with him except a few.”<sup>1</sup>

He (Allāh) mentions in eight places in Sūrah Ash-Shu‘arā – when there is the mention of the call of every Prophet – whilst he would call his people to *Tawḥīd*,<sup>2</sup> at the end of each place He says:

إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَةً ۖ وَمَا كَانَ أَكْثَرُهُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ

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<sup>1</sup> Sūrah Hūd: 40

<sup>2</sup> *Tawḥīd* in basic is Islamic Monotheism; it is the belief in the Unity and Uniqueness of Allāh with respect to His Lordship and His right to be worshipped alone without any partners and with respect to His Names and Attributes. Hence from the fundamentals of *Tawḥīd* is that the Muslim believes that Allāh alone creates and provides for His creation as well as the Lordship and dominion belonging to Him and so He is their sustainer and regulates them. Likewise, that He, The Most High, is to be singled out in worship alone – without any partners, so no worship is to be directed to anything else besides him, not to an Angel or a Prophet or a grave or an idol or anything else.

Likewise, that His Oneness is maintained with respects to His Names and Attributes in that we affirm for Him the Names and Attributes He affirmed for Himself or that His Prophet (صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) affirmed for Him, and a clear distinction is made between the Creator and the created and no resemblance is made of His Names and Attributes to that of the creation nor should we ask the ‘how’ regarding them and likewise they are not to be denied or given false interpretations. (See Shaikh Muḥammad bin Šāleḥ Al-‘Uthaimīn’s definitions in: *Mu‘jam at-Ta’rīfāt* p. 140-152). Despite *Tawḥīd* being central to that which all of the Prophets and Messengers (عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَام) were sent with and called their people to, it was contention over the issue and establishment of *Tawḥīd* that led to most of the hostility and warfare illustrated in this book.

“Indeed in that there is a sign, but many of them did not believe.”<sup>3</sup>

This is likewise found in many other Sūrahs – so ponder – for amazement isn’t due to the one that perished in the way that he perished. Rather amazement is due to the one that succeeded in the way that he succeeded.”<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān mentions:

“Indeed *Ahluṣ Sunnah wal Jamā’ah* becomes the minority in some eras; and in others they become plentiful, and indeed there may be none from them except a small number. However, there is to be found in them blessing and goodness; since they are upon the truth and whosoever is upon the truth, then indeed he has no fear of scantiness – nor does he fear the formidable numbers of the enemy. Allāh, The Most High, says:

وَمَنْ يُطِعِ اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ مَعَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ النَّبِيِّينَ  
وَالصَّٰدِقِينَ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ وَالصَّٰلِحِينَ ۗ وَحَسُنَ أُولَٰئِكَ رَفِيقًا

“And whosoever obeys Allāh and the Messenger then they will be in the company of those upon whom Allāh has bestowed His Grace, from the Prophets, and the Ṣiddīqīn [true and sincere followers who attest to the truth], and the martyrs, and the righteous. And how excellent are they as companions.”<sup>5</sup>

Thus whosoever’s companionship is with these – upon whom Allāh has bestowed blessing, from amongst the Prophets and the Ṣiddīqīn and the martyrs and the righteous; from whom then should he be fearful of?”<sup>6</sup>

There was to come upon this Ummah – and more particularly the Arabian Peninsula, a time in which the true teachings of Islām with regard to *Tawḥīd* and the ‘*Aqīdah* of the Salaf had virtually become forgotten – except

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<sup>3</sup> Sūrah Ash-Shu‘arā: 8

<sup>4</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 11 p. 579

<sup>5</sup> Sūrah An-Nisā: 69

<sup>6</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil ‘Aqīdah wad-Da‘wah* vol 1 p. 176

with a few. Since the time of the Salaf when the spread of the true and untainted sources of Islām were found, eras were to come in which the *Sunnah* became ambiguous and innovations were deemed correct. Such innovations were not exclusive to the issues pertaining to *Fiqh* – but they were found in '*Aqīdah* itself. Innovations which led some to make partners with Allāh; such a distance they had come from the true teachings.

It was by Allāh's Decree and Infinite Wisdom that His *Da'wah* was to begin in this Ummah where some deemed it not to come from – where none held any interest – insignificant to most. It had settled in the little known town of Yathrib – to be re-named Al-Madīnah, a desert oasis in the western region of Arabia. From here it surged out with the call to the worship of The One True Lord; a call by the Seal of the Prophets. That which the people of this Religion at that time saw and witnessed is well documented; their affair was one of great distinction. Those who previously had been deemed insignificant had become magnificent – due to their adherence upon this religion. So too was it to rise again under similar circumstances, the same call – by distinctive adherents – in a different age, emanating from a place, another desert oasis – insignificant to most. That which the people of this *Da'wah* at that time saw and witnessed too is documented; encompassed by curious parallels similar to those of the beginnings of this religion.”

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“He, The One free of all imperfections, adorned this group with the finest garment, becoming renowned in particular circles and in general amongst the people. So no one refers to them except with the term: 'Muslims'. For it is the name with which Allāh named His believing servants, from the companions of the best of the Messengers. He, whose mention is Majestic, said:

هُوَ سَمَّاكُمْ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَفِي هَذَا

“It is He (Allāh) Who has called you Muslims both before; and in this [Qur'ān].”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Sūrah Al-Ḥajj: 78

This was the name given by Allāh to the companions of His Messenger; likewise it was given to this group – just as it was given to their brethren from the first and the foremost ones. So how then it serves as a lesson, for no one's proof of doubt or uncertainty ever crossed it, there is no benefit greater than it in consideration for the one who intends the truth and seeks after it – and turns to Him.”<sup>8</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan said also:

“All that we have mentioned by way of those that were opponents to them; from the people of Najd and Al-Aḥsā and other than them from the regions, then Allāh destroyed them, there came to them chastisements - even in their offspring. As for the wealth – then their wealth became an award for the people of Islām.

Their dominion then expanded, anyone that was native in his abode became one that would hear and obey the Imām of the Muslims who was the upholder of this Religion. The dominion of the people of Islām spread, such that it reached the frontier of Ash-Shām with Al-Ḥijāz and Tihāmah and 'Omān. They were, and all praise is for Allāh; in safety and security, feared by every rogue and devil. In this is a lesson for a people that take heed, along with what happened to those that made war upon them by way of ruin and destruction. The Muslims taking from them what had been theirs by way of territory and abodes. There can be no doubting this Religion after such account – except for the one whose sight has become blinded and who's inner and outer self has become corrupted.”<sup>9</sup>

He mentioned likewise:

“Allāh gathered under them from the people of Najd and other than them those whom it was not possible to gather together under a single Imām – except with this Religion.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 25

<sup>9</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 22-23

<sup>10</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 41

“They covered the *Ka'bah Al-Musharrafah* with the silken *kiswah*, riding camels came to it from 'Iraq, Ash-Shām, Yemen, Bahrain and Al-Başrah and from around it and other than that. Fearing none but Allāh The One, The Benevolent.

During their era the plunder of the Bedouin upon the roads was suppressed, those old scores and *fitan* (tribulations) and wars were dealt with. A man could sit and eat with the killer of his father and brother – as brothers.

The ways of *Jāhiliyyah* ceased, their administrative governors stretched to the whole of the Arab lands in Ash-Shām and 'Iraq and Yemen and in the furthest corners of Al-Ḥijāz along with what came after Al-Yenbo' before Egypt and 'Aden and what was before Başrah.

The locations where *Shirk* was committed were demolished in those regions. Mosques were built instead for the purpose of *ṣalāt* (prayer) and learning and making *dhikr*.<sup>11</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan mentions:

“Their enemies appealed for help from the sovereigns over them; and they did not cease to fire at them with the bows of enmity. They drew together a great many times from every direction, yet Allāh made them manifest over those that opposed them – despite their weakness and small number. Allāh destroyed them, and annihilated their verdant lands, and so in that are signs for the one who is heedful.<sup>12</sup> This sign is not hidden from the one

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<sup>11</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p. 350

<sup>12</sup> A common feature throughout the story of the reform movement and its rise and subsequent conflicts with those that sought to eliminate it is how their enemies were met with failures, disgrace and an overall humiliating outcome in any of their attempts, just as the people who upheld the call to *Tawhīd* were granted the opposite to that. Such characteristics are not found occasionally but in almost every instance in which the reform movement faced open hostilities; as will become ever more apparent during the course of this story. The reason for such phenomena is explained by Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan (رحمة الله) who said:

whose insight is sound, as for the one whose insight has become blinded; then he will not see.

Anytime an enemy schemed against them and desired their destruction, Allāh destroyed them. So they do not cease – and all praise is for Allāh – to be manifest with this *Da'wah* which Allāh exacted them with in preceding in accepting it and aiding it to this day.

قَلِيلٌ الْحَمْدُ رَبِّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَرَبِّ الْأَرْضِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ • وَلَهُ الْكِبْرِيَاءُ فِي  
السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ ۗ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

---

“There occurred in his *Da'wah*; a resemblance of that which transpired for our Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) as well as for his brethren from the Messengers – by way of honour and prominence and steadfastness. As Shaikh-ul-Islām (رحمه الله) said:

‘It is evidently proven that the Prophets and their followers are designated specifically with: victory and a good outcome. Just as their beliers are designated specifically with: humiliation and a bad outcome – in that He Commands and Loves and is Pleased with that which the Messengers came with, just as He Hates and is Angered by that which their beliers are upon. Since specific designation of one of two types; that being: nobility and success and a good mention and supplication – and the specific designation of the others with: punishment and destruction and a repulsive mention and damnation – necessitates love of that which the first type does; as well as a hatred of that which the second type does.’

Indeed; the like of this transpired in this *Da'wah* – by the praise of Allāh; and it is from the clearest proofs of the soundness of this *Da'wah* – and that it is the very truth, just as the entirely clear verses and the manifest proofs are indicative of, as He, The Most High said:

وَلَقَدْ أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ ۗ وَمَا يَكْفُرُ بِهَا إِلَّا الْفَاسِقُونَ

‘And We have certainly revealed to you manifest verses; and none disbelieve in them except the *Fāsiqūn* [defiantly disobedient].’” (Sūrah Al-Baqarah: 99)

(See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 11 p. 524-525).

‘And so all the praises are for Allāh, Lord of the Heavens and the earth, Lord of all of the creation. And to Him belongs [all] grandeur within the Heavens and the earth, and He is The Exalted in Might, The All-Wise.’”<sup>13/14</sup>

Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan and others mention:

“So that which occurred with Ibn Sa‘ūd, is similar to that which occurred with the Anṣār at the pledge of ‘Aqabah. Then indeed the people of Najd and the Banī Khālid and the people of ‘Iraq as well as the *Ashrāf* (Sharīfs of Makkah) along with the Bedouin and the townships all made their objectivity in enmity towards this Shaikh. Along with those that sheltered him and aided him, they sought to make war against them with their extent and their hardware and the abundance of their soldiers and their stratagems.

So Allāh nullified the plot of anyone that bore enmity to them, everyone that charged at them from these rulers in order to extinguish this light – then Allāh extinguished his heat of war turning it into ashes. He made much of their wealth as an award for the Muslims, for this is a great lesson and an immense blessing.”<sup>15</sup>

Imām Ash-Shawkānī mentions:

“Whosoever enters under their occupancy, then he establishes the daily prayers and gives the *zakāt* and fasts and practices the other religious rites of Al-Islām. The Shāmī Arabs entered under his rule, most of them from what lies between Al-Ḥijāz and Ṣa’dah – entering it either willingly or fearing. They established the obligatory acts of the religion after they had known nothing regarding the religion of Al-Islām, nor establishing beforehand anything of its obligations except the mere utterance of the two *shahādahs* (testimonies of faith) – with there being some crookedness in their utterance of it. So in general they were in the ignorance of the ignorant ones as has reached us in reports through many sources. Whilst

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<sup>13</sup> Sūrah Al-Jāthiyah: 36-37

<sup>14</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 11 p. 408-409

<sup>15</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 163-164

they have now begun establishing the prayer – in their relevant times and they come with the rest of the Islamic pillars – in the best manner.”<sup>16</sup>

Al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Buhjah Al-Atharī mentions:

“As for the Salafī *Da‘wah* – which happens to be the correct endorsement of the *Sunnī* beliefs – this is before it was adulterated by distortions and innovations. Then behind it was a small Arab force, in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula. Its appearance began at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century after the Hijrah. It attempted the retrieval of an immense sovereignty that was parting. Indeed, the one that founded this sovereignty was Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb and the progeny of Sa‘ūd in the twelfth century.

The effect was that it jolted the Ottoman State with a blow which was such that it nearly lost them their claim in the Islamic world. So to counter them they instructed Muḥammad ‘Ali, the founder of the Albanian ‘*Khedive*’ dynasty of Egypt against them. He hastened to their aid and embarked towards the Arabian Peninsula with his forces. Thus waging wars against the Arabs with the most modern destructive and devastating armaments, from the armaments of the West – which they themselves had not acquired. So he overpowered them and eliminated their sovereignty. Thereby, quelling the liberal Islamic Arabian awakening in its own territories – once in the chronicles of time.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Badr at-Ṭāli*’ vol 2 p. 5

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 6-7

## Chapter I | The Twelfth Century After the Hijrah and the State of the Muslim World

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“...An account of what was to occur over the strangeness which Islām was to undergo and which was promised concerning by the best of mankind. He informed of it coming about before the gradual disappearance of days; and that was by way of revelation inspired to him (عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ) from Allāh, The Most High – as well as its being a notification.

So that occurred and manifested and its countenance emerged and was apparent just as the narration had expressed and the report had clearly stated. For Muslim reports in his Ṣaḥīḥ from the ḥadīth of Abī Hurairah (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) that the Prophet (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) said:

‘Islām began as something strange; and will return to being something strange – just as it had begun.’”

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Hussain bin Ghannām

*Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 1 p. 22

## Introduction

Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“That which illustrates the strangeness that Islām had taken on – and the severity in that; is that which occurred from the rulers and the jurists and the chiefs upon Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah (رحمة الله). By way of enmity and imprisonment and the severe nature in which he was reprimanded when he called them to what is comprised in: *Lā ilāha illallāh* – and its meaning which has preceded, as occurred also with the scholars of his like. For they rebutted him with baseless doubts as well as by way of varying forms of misguidance; from the most extreme forms of misguidance. He (رحمة الله) refuted them in: *Minhāj As-Sunnah* and in *Iqtiḍā Şirāṭul Mustaḳīm* and in the book of *Istighāthah* and in the refutation of Ibn Al-Bakrī and in general he refuted the people of innovation from the philosophers and the theologians such as the Jahmiyyah and the Mu'tazilah and the Ash'arīs...

So when time had passed at length after them; their books fell into the hands of the ignorant, and landed in the book vaults which were then suspended. So they did not pay attention to them, thus returning to what they were upon before that, to the ways of those who had preceded from the people of innovation; and so *Shirk* became widespread in the villages and large cities; such that the people no longer knew of *Tawḥīd* except that which the Ashā'irah had asserted – by way of the misinterpretation of the attributes of The Lord – and denial in that. Such is how they became until knowledge was forgotten, and *Shirk* became commonplace – as did innovations. This was until the mid Twelfth Century (after the Hijrah), for indeed; at that time, it was not known that there was a scholar who could denounce *Shirk* or innovations – of a nature of that which had come to be in the latter part of this Ummah.

So Allāh opened/expanded the chest of our Shaikh – as a favour from Allāh; an immense blessing. He, The Most High, placed this blessing in this latter era, thus he (the Shaikh) came to know of the truth; that which was known by Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah and his companions due to his reflection of the clear verses and the two Ṣaḥīḥs of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Sunan* works and the *Musnad* works as well as the collections of narrations. In addition, he came to have an understanding of that which

the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم) was upon and the *Tābi'īn* and their successors, and what the *Salaf* of the *Ummah* were upon and their *Imāms*. Additionally; what the *Imāms* from *Ahlul Ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr* and the *Fuqahā* (Jurists) were upon such as the four *Imāms* and who it was that had taken from them. Hence *Tawhīd* became clear to him, as well as that which negates it, and likewise the *Sunnah* – and that which opposes it.”<sup>18</sup>

## The Religious State of affairs During the 12<sup>th</sup> Century After the Hijrah

The circumstances in Najd were such at the time – before the appearance of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil Wahhāb that the people had begun to revere the righteous people to the level of virtual sanctity. They would undertake pilgrimages to their graves and wipe their hands on their mausoleums and make vows in their regard and seek their intercession for gaining benefit and repelling harm as well as making sacrificial offerings to them and to other than them. Such doctrines and practices had become firmly rooted principles of belief with them; and as such show how distant from the true teachings of Islām the Muslims had arrived at by this point in time.

The contemporary chronicler Ḥussain bin Ghannām mentions:

“Grave worship was widespread in all areas. For in Al-Jubailah was found the grave of Zaid bin Al-Khaṭṭāb where the people of Najd would come to perform the pilgrimage due to their belief that he can fend off harms from them. As well as bringing about their needs and save them from misfortunes.

In Al-Fidā was a palm tree at which women and men would come in order to seek blessing and have place their faith and conviction therein. The people of Najd had the belief in a tree known as the tree of ‘*Adh-Dhayb*’ where women who had given birth to males would come and hang shreds of cloth from it. This was owing to their belief that it saves them from death and envy. Women who desired to marry would also come and

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<sup>18</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyah* vol 2 p. 219-220

perform circumambulation around it as well as those that were unable to have children. In later years Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil Wahhāb was to come in person and cut down this tree himself.

In the lower end of the city of Ad-Dir'iyyah was a cave which was claimed split open due to a miracle by a woman known as 'The Daughter of the Amīr' which sheltered her from certain punishment at the hands of corrupt doers who had intended harm towards her. So people would send meat and bread to this cave as gifts.

In Al-Kharj was a man known as Tāj, the people would believe that he could bring about benefit or harm and so would swear oaths by him, they would travel to him in order to perform the Ḥajj in masses. The people of Najd did not stop short at that, rather they would slaughter animals in sacrifice and then throw the sacrificial animal into the open country. This was done due to their claim that the *Jinn* and the devils come to this meat and eat from it and so their pleasure is gained and so they (the people) are safeguarded.

In reality; these states of affairs were not exclusive to the people of Najd against the rest of those that lived in the Arabian Peninsula and the rest of its neighbouring Arab lands. For Al-Ḥijāz was no better, the people had deviated from the correct religion; they had changed the religious beliefs for innovations and fables that were deemed appealing. Rather; making supplication at the graves had become customary in general amongst the people.

For what was being done at the grave of Khadijah in Al-Mu'alā?<sup>19</sup> As well as at the dome of Abī Ṭālib where rescue would be sought and the seeking of intercession – things which would strike terror in the souls. The religious state of affairs was no better in Egypt, Yemen, Ḥaḍramout, Ash-Shihr, 'Aden, Mokha, Al-Ḥudaydah, Aleppo, Damascus, 'Iraq, the Kurdish lands, Al-Qaṭīf, Baḥrain and Al-Aḥsā. None were any better than the circumstances found in Najd, for all of these lands had in them graves or

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<sup>19</sup> A cemetery in Makkah.

persons or some plant or a Shaikh that the people had taken to glorify and seek closeness to and seek rescue from.”<sup>20</sup>

Satan strove hard in his endeavour against the people of Najd – and had succeeded to some extent. For at the grave of Zaid bin Al-Khaṭṭāb the people would perform acts of worship and had their hopes (written and tied to cloth) suspended from his dome believing that he could fulfil their needs for them. They would call upon him in hope and fear, calling out: “O remover of punishments” and as such; this dome became one of the greatest idols for the people of Najd. They would perform sacrifices around it and seek intercession. They would gather around the grave of ʿĪrār bin Al-Azwar – and without doubt it (the grave) was a clear lie and a false assertion. They had a date palm tree at which men and women would congregate and perform despicable actions, and the woman – if she had become delayed in finding a spouse for marriage – then she would attend it making supplication to the tree asking it to grant her a spouse before the year was over.

Also in Ad-Dir'iyyah there was Wadī Ghubairā in which evil actions would be committed of a nature that one could not imagine. Likewise, in a settlement of Ad-Dir'iyyah they claimed there were companions buried and so took to worshipping them.

That which is astonishing and laughable is that some of these things which were taken as a means of worship – if not most of them had no known origin to them or any virtue. Rather Satan had made alluring the worship of it as a test and a trial.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Dawlatuṣ Sa'ūdiyyah Al-Ūlā* p. 27-28

<sup>21</sup> Al-'Allāmah Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān (رحمته الله) said in this regard:

“The people in general as well as in particular are like cattle; they visit these innovated shrines under the impression that they enclose their occupant and that their corpses and bodies are contained within or in the soil – even though that is incorrect. Yes, those who are buried being in that vicinity is correct – not due to defining the (exact) location; but rather upon supposition and conjecture.” (See: *Ad-Dīnul Khālīṣ* vol 3 p. 575)

Similar was done at the enclosed grave as well as at the grave of Abu Ṭālib – the uncle of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) whereupon a dome had been erected and so they would come seeking rescue when the tribulations would descend and would perform a great deal of actions there. They used to venerate it greatly; so if a thief or a usurper or an oppressor ever came to either of the two graves; no one would expose/insinuate in regard to him due to that which they would see for the two graves as respect and esteem.

At the grave of the mother of the believers Maimūnah and at the grave of Khadījah – the wife of the seal of the Prophets (صلى الله عليه وسلم) they would perform that which would horrify the believers and would be seen as a natural abomination by the world. This being due to the free mixing between the men and the women there and enjoining in immoral lewd acts and evil actions of vice. They would tear the pockets and raise their voices and commit *Shirk* and misguidance of the greatest extent, this is how the rest of the graves in Makkah and Al-Madīnah were treated.

In Ṭā'if at the grave of Ibn 'Abbās they would seek provisions and seek deliverance and ask for the averting of harms and misfortunes from befalling them. Therefore, *Shirk* would be committed to an extent indescribable, Muḥammad bin Ḥussain An-Nu'aimī Az-Zabīdī (رحمة الله) mentioned how a man observed what was being conducted in Ṭā'if by way of *Shirk* and said:

“The people of Ṭā'if do not know Allāh, rather they know Ibn 'Abbās.”

So some of them who had been put up as having knowledge said:

“Their knowledge of Ibn 'Abbās is sufficient because he (Ibn 'Abbās) has knowledge of Allāh.”<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Evaluate therefore between this and between His saying, The Most High:

وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ ۖ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ ۖ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا  
لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ

Similar was done at the grave of Ḥamza (in Al-Madīnah), as well as at the graves located in the Al-Baqī cemetery. Evil actions were accompanied with the belief of the people that they illuminate the world and that they grant its people good or can afflict harm.

In Egypt similar acts of *Shirk* and idol worship were committed, especially at the grave of ‘Al-Badawī’ at which there is no known origin or virtue, yet instead the people had been put to trial taking it as a means of worship besides Allāh. Some of the people of Egypt believed that Aḥmad Al-Badawī had an influence in the decree of the world yet others believed that those who possess that power were seven individuals whilst others would say four and thus they would venerate Al-Badawī and Ar-Rufāī and Ad-Dasawqī and Abul-‘Alā – and these were all in Egypt.

In Yemen to the east of the city of Ṣan’aa was the grave of Al-Hādī where the ignorant would descend and ask of him and seek rescue. Here, barren women would come and stand before the grave uttering ugly and contemptible phrases in the hope of conceiving. The people of Ḥaḍramout, Shihr, Yāfi’ and ‘Aden too were stooped in misguidance seeking help from Al-Ēdrūs towards whom they had an immense veneration and at whose grave they would come and ask from. The same would occur in Al-Mokha at the grave of ‘Ali bin ‘Umar Ash-Shādhilī and the people of Al-Ḥudaydah

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“And when My servants ask you, [O Muḥammad], concerning Me – then indeed I am near. I respond to the invocation of the supplicant when he calls upon Me. So let them respond to Me [by obedience] and believe in Me that they may be rightly guided.”  
(Sūrah Al-Baqarah: 186)

And His saying, The Exalted:

وَأَنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا

“And the mosques are for Allāh (Alone), so do not invoke anyone along with Allāh.” (Sūrah Al-Jinn: 18)

This along with the curse of the Messenger of Allāh (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) of those who took the graves of their Prophets as *Masājid* (mosques) in which Allāh was worshipped – how then of those that take other than the Prophets such as the righteous as a form of worship and supplicate to them?!

would do similar at the grave of Şiddīq. The people of Al-Laḥīyyah would venerate Az-Zaylā'ī and would undisputedly refer to him as 'The Sun'.

Aleppo, Damascus and the rest of Ash-Shām were home to shrines and the likes. In 'Iraq the 'Mash-had Al-Ḥussainī' had long since been taken as a shrine by the Rāfiḍites going to extremes at such shrines and practicing grave worship. They would do the same at the 'Mash-had of Al-Kāzīm' and other than it, then on the day of 'Āshurā they would wail and cry out and place the soil on their heads with some beating their chests with metal and wood. The Rāfiḍites would bow and prostrate at these shrines as well as perform abominable acts at them and spend freely on them.

At the grave of 'Abdul-Qādir Al-Jīlānī the people would prostrate and as such were put to immense trial, they would believe that he had powers to hear from a great distance and agreed that he could hear complaints and would help people. Thus Satan made alluring to them the worship of his grave directing their worship instead to him.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Shaikh Rabī bin Hādī said:

“When I was in India I used to teach in the Jāmi'ah As-Salafīyyah in Banāras at around 1390H. One of the misguided students of knowledge visited me and presented me with a large volume comprising of the excellent virtues of 'Abdul-Qādir Al-Jīlānī. I then saw in it strange aspects of disbelief of a nature that would not occur to the mind, from amongst these strangeness's was an incident included within it that stated that Allāh, The Blessed and Most High would walk with 'Abdul-Qādir along the edge of the river and so His foot slipped and so 'Abdul-Qādir saved Him from this fall. High is Allāh above that which the atheists say – High above, so I advised him and clarified to him that no one says speech such as this except the apostates who make evil plots against Islām and the Muslims with the like of this apostasy and blasphemy.

I gave him an insight into the *Tawḥīd* of Allāh and that which all of the Messengers came with, and by Allāh he did not part from me except after he ripped the book with his hands, and it is as though I see him now as he tears it.”

The Shaikh then spoke of that which he witnessed in the year 1410H at the Nizām ud Dīn Mosque in Delhi wherein:

At Al-Baṣrah the grave of Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī was revered and the people would flock in order to make supplication and seek rescue and would become yet more fervent upon attending the shrine when their troubles became yet greater. Whilst there was no one to warn them against such actions or criticise them in any way. This is how the rest of the towns and villages were at the time, stooped in extreme ignorance with innovations, *Shirk* and the practices of the Magians being carried out. All of which contradict the Islamic principles and lead the people further astray.<sup>24</sup>

## The Political Circumstances at the Time

The Arabian Peninsula was made up of a number of vast provinces, with Al-Ḥijāz to the west which ran along the shores of the Red Sea. At-Tihāmah ran along the southern end of the Red Sea, and Al-Yemen to the south. In the centre of the Peninsula was Al-'Urūd in which were the regions of Najd (the Yamāmah area) and Ghawr. The greater and better known area of Najd lay to the north and was the area containing the vast deserts in the direction of 'Iraq. 'Urūd lay in the central region of the Peninsula and was on the route which linked Yemen to 'Iraq and Al-Baṣrah and Baḥrain on

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“We saw therein five domes, the largest of them was the dome of Niẓām ud Dīn and so we saw from the visitors' extreme measures and humility and *khushū'* (humble attentiveness) and lowliness of a nature that you would not see at The Ancient House of Allāh. A man came wearing a loin clothe and an upper gown both dyed with red or yellow, with his head uncovered in the manner of a pilgrim (in *iḥrām*) and so he lay prostrate in front of the dome of Niẓām ud Dīn.

Then he arose and walked – withdrawing backwards and then prostrated in yet another prostration at the threshold of the dome, meanwhile we were standing witnessing these atrocious acts of *Shirk* and we were unable to speak. Then a man came to us making a clamour with some speech as though an enraged camel; and we did not know what he was saying, so I and Shaikh 'Abdur-Razzāq asked our companion 'Abdur-Rabb of what he was saying so he said: 'He says the people are in worship and you are all conducting an inspection?' meaning in the worship of the companions of these domes.” (See: *Dahr Iftirā'āt Ahl az-Zaigh wal Irtyāb* p. 292-293)

<sup>24</sup> *Tadhkirah Ulin Nuhā wal 'Urfān* vol 1 p. 18-26 (summarized).

the eastern side to Al-Ḥijāz in the west. The abundance of the watering wells of Al-Yamāmah were located on this route.<sup>25</sup>

The region of Najd in Al-'Urūdh itself was divided into a number of administrative districts, these being the districts of Al-'Āriḍ, Ash-Shi'ḥ, Al-Mihmal, Sudair, Al-Washm, Al-Qaṣīm, Jabal Shammar, Al-Kharj, Al-Furr'a, Al-Aflāj and Wadī Ad-Dawāsir. Each of these districts enclosed a number of towns and settlements such as the area of Al-'Āriḍ which was located in the centre of Najd, its principle towns ran along the well known Wadī Ḥanīfah and they were: Al-'Uyainah which was ruled by the Āl Mu'ammar, Riyadh which was ruled by the Āl-Dawwās and Ad-Dir'iyah which was ruled by the Āl-As-Sa'ūd.<sup>26</sup> The settlements of Sadūs, Jubailah, 'Irqah and

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<sup>25</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 49

<sup>26</sup> The lineage of the ruling Saudi family goes back to their forefather Sa'ūd bin Miqrin bin Mirkhān bin Ibrahīm bin Mūsā bin Rabī'ah bin Mānī' bin Rabī'ah Al-Murīdī. Their descent ends at Bakr bin Wā'il from Banī Asad bin Rabī'ah. Mānī' Al-Murīdī moved to the eastern region in the year 850H to reside in the Yamāmah region at the behest of the son of his uncle Ibn Dir' – consequently naming the new settlement as Ad-Dir'iyah as an attribution to him. The three phases of the Saudi State that stem from this line of rulers are as follows:

- **The First Saudi State**, beginning with the well known pact between Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil Wahhāb in the year 1157H (1744CE) until the end of this era in the year 1233H (1818CE).
- **The Second Saudi State**, beginning in the year 1235H (1819/1820CE) until the end of this era in the year 1309H (1891CE).
- **The Third Saudi State**, beginning with the capture of the city of Riyadh by Ibn Sa'ūd later known as King 'Abdul-'Azīz in the year 1319H (1902CE) and with the gradual unification of the varying provinces and regions hence establishing what became known as The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the year 1351H (1932CE).

Each of the three eras of rule by the progeny of Sa'ūd are distinct in their alliance with the scholars from the Āl Ash-Shaikh as well as others from the upright scholars of the religion. They are distinctive also in their adherence to the Islamic *Sharī'ah* and of ruling by it as well as a unique means of bringing

Manfūḥah were also ruled by local Amīrs and to the east of this entire region lay Al-Aḥsā which was reigned by the powerful tribe of the Banī Khālid, who held great influence within Najd itself and could interfere in the political affairs of the townships which existed within it. All of these districts subsisted in a state of constant and on-going alarm with an almost unceasing intensity of fear and intimidation directed from each other as these districts lived as virtual enemies to each other with the strong ones from them seeking to devour and overcome the weak – even if it be through the most treacherous of means.

To no surprise therefore that the economic state of affairs in Najd were in turmoil during the time, this was as a direct result of the internal disorder and a lack of political stability and social cohesion with safe and secure communities. The view of the Najdīs in economic well being had been influenced by their choice of the locations of their settlements. For permanence the Najdīs came to the areas in which there could be found the sources for water in order to establish agriculture such as around the well known Wādīs. Likewise the choice of the location for settlement was sometimes as a result of it being located on a trade route; however its fertility for pursuing agriculture would often excel any other reason. These factors were from the most important reasons why tribes would fight and unsettle each other and attack and seize trade caravans.<sup>27</sup>

Commerce, trade and travel had its own precarious procedure; there was only one way of importing goods into the region, which was by way of caravans that would travel in groups. They were particularly exposed to the dangers of the desert as well as the highway robbers who would enact violations of plunder and murder. Thus the caravan drivers would pay a toll or levy known as “*Akhāwah*” which was essentially a tax paid to the chiefs of the tribes as a means of guaranteeing safe passage through the regions of those tribes. The responsibility of those tribes over the caravan would cease once the caravan had passed into the territory of another tribe. This would necessitate the payment of a number of *Akhāwah* to more than one tribe until the caravan could reach its desired destination.

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peace and security to the regions over which they administrated. (Abridged with amendments from: *Ad-Da'wah Al-Iṣlāḥiyyah fī Bilād Najd wa A'lāmuhā* p. 184)

<sup>27</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 43-44

Many a time the trade caravans were the object of exploit and therefore would be exposed to looting and plundering. This was to such a degree that the indignation of what would happen to the trade caravans were to be from the most emphasized accounts that were later to be revealed by historians; and which would subsequently be discussed by the masses in their gatherings.<sup>28</sup>

## The Scholars Illustrate the Severity of Misguidance During this Era

Imām Ash-Shawkānī, the scholar of Yemen and a contemporary of the time mentions:

“How many are there that have become effective in the construction of structures over the graves and seeing to their decoration; from the corrupt acts which Al-Islām would otherwise weep over. The ignorant have belief in them the like of the belief that the disbelievers had towards the idols. So it is venerated; for they think it is able to bring about benefit or repel harm, thus they make it a reason for the requesting of a need and as a sanctuary for the success of the wish/request. They ask from them that which the servants should ask from their Lord. They make journeys there forth and wipe themselves upon them and seek rescue. So in general; they have not left off anything that the people in the times of *jāhiliyyah* (pre-Islamic ignorance) would do with the idols except that they too have done it. *Innā lillāhi wa innā ilaihi rāji’ūn*.

Yet with these abominable acts and atrocious disbelief we do not find anyone becoming angry for Allāh and having earnest concern for the defence of the straight religion, not a scholar nor a learner nor an Amīr nor a minister and nor a king. Indeed a successive influx of news has reached us through which it cannot be doubted that many of these *qubūriyyīn* (grave worshippers) or most of them, when under an adversary, he puts forth an oath to them then he swears by Allāh falsely. Yet if it is said to him after that: “swear by your Shaikh and your belief in such and

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<sup>28</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 49

such a Walī,”<sup>29</sup> he falters and tarries and refuses and so accepts the truth. This is from the clearest of proofs which prove that their *Shirk* has indeed exceeded over and above the *Shirk* of the one that says He, The Most High, is the second of two, or the third of three.

O scholars of this religion! O Rulers of the Muslims! Which prevention is more severe in need for Islām other than that of disbelief? And which affliction for this Religion is more harmful upon it than the worship of other than Allāh? And which affliction that afflicts the Muslims equates this affliction? And which abomination is obligatory to reject if it isn't the obligation of the rejection of this clear *Shirk*?<sup>30</sup>

‘Allāmah Şiddīq Ḥasan Khan said:

“Indeed the misguidance of the Şūfīs has increased, their being followed by the rabble and ignorant folk. Satan has preoccupied them; causing them to forget the remembrance of Allāh. So you do not hear except: O my master Aḥmad Al-Badawī; and O my master Az-Zayla‘ī; and O ‘Ēdrūs; and O Jīlānī. You will not hear one that remembers Allāh and so turns to Him upon the oceans and land – except a few. They fabricate lies/fallacies that have no basis, for their ignorance has reached the extent today that it envelops the general people of our time as well as their particular<sup>31</sup> – except those that

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<sup>29</sup> The descriptions of the Walī which the people of this era had taken to accept are aptly portrayed by Imām ‘Abdul ‘Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd in his letter to the scholars of the east and the west in which he stated:

“The Walī in this time has become one whose rosary bead has become lengthened; and his sleeves are broad; and his hand is outstretched for kissing and his fashion is of an exclusive appearance. As well as a gathering of drums and flag banners; and so eating the wealth of the servants of Allāh oppressively and through contention; and has turned away from the guidance of Al-Muṣṭafā and the rulings of his legislation.” (See: *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabīyah As-Sa‘ūdīyah* vol 2 p. 235)

<sup>30</sup> *Mughnī al-Murīd* vol 1 p. 42-43

<sup>31</sup> In the footnote Shaikh Rabī mentions:

“In the position of this Imām is that which adds support to the stance of Imām Muḥammad (bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb) from these aspects of *Shirk*, as well as a

Allāh wills. So they attribute to them things from omnipotence and the possessing of the knowledge of the unseen as well as having a power of the disposal of affairs in the universe; from the things which are exclusive only to Allāh, The Perfect.”<sup>32</sup>

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān said:

“In this land before the advent of the *Da'wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb (رحمة الله) to *Tawḥīd*, it was divided. Every town or village had an Amīr and a law. Every town was at war with another town. Rather it is mentioned in history that the people of a town would fight and kill between themselves, each section of the town fighting another section – looting and plundering, murdering and massacring.<sup>33</sup> Each town had a ruler who would not submit to any other. So when Allāh, The One free of all imperfections and Most High, came with this blessed *Da'wah* at the hands of this righteous reformer; the land became united. It came under a single rulership, it became a country established upon religion and *Tawḥīd* and it doesn't cease to be – and all praise is for Allāh. This is because its structure was founded upon *Tawḥīd*. However; before the foundation of *Tawḥīd* in the land it had been divided, they (the people) would seek blessing from trees and stones.

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confirmation from him that this destructive scourge was widespread throughout the Islamic lands, enveloping the particular from them and the general – except those that Allāh safeguarded.”

<sup>32</sup> *Dahr Iftirā'āt Ahl az-Zaigh wal Irtyāb* p. 143-144

<sup>33</sup> Many a time wars and tribulation would flare up between the rulers and the *Shuyūkh* of these Sheikhdoms either for a reason or for no reason whatsoever. This led to the Muslims of Najd being at enmity with one another and disunited with neither a nation nor Imām. They were not reigned by a legislation or regulation, some would kill others, their strong ones would devour their weak ones and they would not be bound from carrying out the violations which were committed. The limit of the affair would not stop at that, rather it would become such that conflicts would arise within the domains of a single settlement – in fact amongst the individuals of a single family unit. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 52)

The magicians would practice their work amongst the people; the sorcerers would wander in the towns and corrupt the beliefs of the people. The judgements passed amongst the tribes were on the basis of the customs of *jāhiliyyah*, even though in the land at the time there were many scholars, however they did not give importance to the call to *Tawhīd* and the rejection of *Shirk*.

So when Allāh came with this light and this blessed *Da'wah*, the land was unified and the servants were put at ease and the prescribed punishments were established. The good was commanded with and evil was forbidden, the Muslims became brothers. All this was due to the blessing of the belief in the correct *Tawhīd*.

This is an example which is close at hand, yet before the sending of the Messenger (ﷺ) the Arabs were divided, split up, taking vengeance for themselves and making attacks on each other. So when the Prophet (ﷺ) was sent, he called them to *Tawhīd*, they in turn responded to Allāh and His Messenger and thus they were united and became a tremendous force upon the earth. They prevailed and governed the servants and the territories; Allāh, The Most High, has mentioned them in His saying:

وَأذْكُرُوا لِلَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ  
بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَىٰ شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِّنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا

“And remember Allāh’s favour upon you when you were enemies to one another and so He joined your hearts together, so that, by His Grace you became brothers. And you were on the brink of a pit of fire and He saved you from it.”<sup>34/35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Sūrah Āl-‘Imrān: 103

<sup>35</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil ‘Aqīdah wad-Da’wah* vol 2 p. 15-16

## Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb During the First Half of the Twelfth Century

It was in these circumstances and in this environment that Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb was nurtured and had been growing up. It was in one of the principle towns of southern Najd – Al-‘Uyainah in which he had grown up. He had memorised the Qur’ān at the hands of his father by the time he reached the age of ten. He possessed (رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ) a sharp intellect and had a bright mind, he was intelligent and quick in memorisation and eloquent in speech. Thus he busied himself upon seeking knowledge at the hands of his father such that his father became amazed with his understanding and his perception before he reached the age of puberty.

He would say: “Indeed I benefited from my son Muḥammad in some points of benefit in *Aḥkām* (rulings).” His father would write to some of his brothers wherein he would mention the affair of his son Muḥammad and praise him and his memorisation and understanding and precision. In one of these letters he mentioned how his son had reached puberty before he had reached the age of twelve and that he saw him fit to lead in the congregational prayer due to his understanding of the rulings. Therefore, his father set him forth in order to lead the people. After this he gave him permission in order to perform the Ḥajj and so he set off on the Ḥajj after which he travelled to the city of the Messenger of Allāh (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) wherein he remained for a period of time after which he returned home.

Despite his early years he had a great desire for learning the Islamic sciences. So he studied under his father (who was the Judge of Al-‘Uyainah) the *Fiqh* of the madhab of Imām Aḥmad. Alongside this he would greatly enquire into the books of *Tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* as well as the speech of the Scholars in the principles of Islām. However, he placed much emphasis in particular over the books of Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Al-Qayyim. For it was the books of these two Imāms which had the biggest effect in shaping his distinctly astute personality.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 73-74

When the Imām had comprehended what he had studied in his town of Al-'Uyainah by way of the sciences of *Fiqh* and Arabic language and *ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr*, he aspired for more. He became intent upon journeying in order to seek knowledge with the Scholars of neighbouring lands in order to benefit from their teachings. He began with his journey for knowledge with a passage to Al-Ḥijāz. He had already travelled there before in order to perform the Ḥajj, thus he performed the Ḥajj for a second time after which he would attend the gatherings of the scholars. He dedicated himself exclusively to seeking knowledge and was able to study under a great many scholars. He took from some of the scholars of the Ḥaram, from them was Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Sālim Al-Baṣrī.<sup>37</sup>

After this he travelled to Madīnah and remained there for a time, it delighted him greatly that was there was to be found there the great scholar Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Ibrāhīm bin Saif.<sup>38</sup> The Shaikh adhered to him with a lengthy adherence, taking from him a great deal of knowledge. Shaikh Ibn Saif was fond of him and was affectionate towards him. He also gave his student the permission to teach and relay all that he had possessed. Shaikh Ibn Saif had an immense and strong association with the 'Allāmah of Madīnah and its famous *Muḥaddith* and *Faqīh* of the time; Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt As-Sindī.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> He was Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Sālim bin Muḥammad bin Sālim bin 'Ēsā Ash-Shāfi'ī Al-Baṣrī by origin Al-Makkī by birth and was buried therein. The Musnad of Al-Ḥijāz, the Imām, the *Muḥaddith*, the Ḥāfiẓ, it was agreed upon that he was the Ḥāfiẓ of the regions of Al-Ḥijāz, he left behind a number of works. He died in the year 1134H. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p.75)

<sup>38</sup> He was Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Ibrāhīm bin Saif bin 'Abdillāh Ash-Shimrī, an ascription to the well known tribe of Shimar. His father Ibrāhīm bin Saif travelled from Al-Majma'ah to Madīnah where his son 'Abdullāh grew up and studied under its scholars. He then travelled to Damascus and read upon its scholars then returned to Madīnah where he took up teaching and thus a great many took knowledge from him. The most outstanding of those that took from him was Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Ibrāhīm possessed an outstanding library. He died in the year 1140H. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p.76)

<sup>39</sup> He was Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt bin Ibrāhīm As-Sindī Al-Madanī Al-'Allāmah the *Muḥaddith*, the bearer of the banner of the *Sunnah* in the city of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ). He was born in Sindh in one of its villages

So he introduced him to his distinguished student and what he was upon by way of pure 'Aqīdah (belief) and from his self mobilization in possessing a dislike of false beliefs which the people of Najd and other than them were found to be upon. Thus Shaikh Muḥammad As-Sindī took a fondness to him and so Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb became from his exclusive students. He remained with him for a period of time and it was he that had the greatest effect upon Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb in directing him to comprehending the importance of *Tawḥīd* and singling Allāh out in worship and relinquishing blind following and instead preoccupying oneself with The Book and the *Sunnah*, for it was a fact that Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt As-Sindī was renowned for his Salafī methodology.<sup>40</sup>

So in Madīnah Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb attained permission to teach the works he had studied from the scholars. Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Saif permitted him to relay entirely what was in the index of Shaikh 'Abdul-Bāqī Abil Mawāhib Al-Ḥanbalī – the *Shaikh al-Mashāikh* of his time. This index comprised of: *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* with its chain of narration to its author, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* with its chain of narration to its author as well as the explanations of each of them. *Sunan At-Tirmidhī* with its chain of narration as well as *Sunan Abī Dawūd* and *Ibn Mājah* and *An-Nasā-ī al-Kubrā* with their chains of narration. Likewise *Sunan Ad-Dārimī* as well as his works with its chain of narration and the work: *Silsilah al-'Arabiyyah* with its chain of narration to Abil-Aswad from 'Ali bin Abī Ṭālib (رضي الله عنه).

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where he had a desire for seeking knowledge whilst still there, he then travelled to Tustur he studied under some of its scholars. Then he migrated to the *Ḥaramain* where he remained and where he died. He was pious and would be secluded from the people except at the times of teaching. He had great authority in understanding *ḥadīth* and its people, he was from the major *Muḥaddithīn* (scholars of *ḥadīth*) and his hatred for innovations and *Shirk* became renowned. As was his call to independent jurisprudence in the arena of the *Sharī'ah* and his opposing fanaticism. He authored a number of beneficial works. He died in the year 1163H. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p.77)

<sup>40</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 76-79

Along with this he was given permission in all of the books of Imām An-Nawawī as well as the *Alfiyyah Al-'Iraqi* and in *At-Targhīb wat-Tarhīb* and the *Al-Khulāṣah* of Ibn Mālik and the *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* as well as the rest of his works. This was also the case in the works of Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajr Al-'Asqalānī and in the Musnad of Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī and in the *Mu'jam* works of At-Ṭabarānī and the works of As-Suyūṭī and other than these.

The Shaikh also took what comprised this index from Shaikh 'Ali Afandī Ad-Dāghistānī and Shaikh 'Abdul-Laṭīf Al-'Afālqī Al-Aḥsā-ī who both gave him permission similar to that which Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Saif permitted him in.

When Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb was contended with the time he had spent as a learner in Madīnah; he then sought to return to Al-'Uyainah. Upon his return he sought to speak out against some of the evils taking place there. However; his condemnation of these types of violations were limited in how he could influence others, perhaps that was due to reasons such as the brief duration of his stay in Al-'Uyainah on this occasion. Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin 'Abdul-Laṭīf Āl Ash-Shaikh mentions that on this occasion he did not remain there except for the period of one year. It may have also been due to the Imām seeing that he was still not in a complete position to establish a flourishing *Da'wah*. Thus it was not long before he decided to move on and gathered his belongings yet again in preparation for a journey to Ash-Shām where there was found the famous Ḥanbalī *Madrassah* in Damascus. Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb departed from Najd intending to travel to Ash-Shām by way of Al-Baṣrah, the reason for this de-tour could have been due to the absence of any caravans at the time that would travel directly to Damascus.<sup>41</sup>

## The Call Begins

When he reached Al-Baṣrah he decided to stay there, he convened upon its scholars and began taking knowledge from them. He also studied under the great 'Ālim of Al-Baṣrah Shaikh Muḥammad Al-Majmū'ī. Ibn Ghannām mentions that Shaikh-ul-Islām remained in Al-Baṣrah for a considerable length of time whilst the majority of that time was spent in seeking

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<sup>41</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 79-82

knowledge. He also studied *ḥadīth* and *Fiqh* from a group of scholars at Al-Baṣrah and studied grammar until he mastered it as well as other various books in language and in *ḥadīth*.

It was whilst he was in Baṣrah that he authored his famous book '*Kitāb At-Tawḥīd*'; and so the Imām began to condemn the acts of *Shirk* and innovations being committed and declared an open denunciation of them. His Shaikh approved of him in his statements and endorsed them, he even aided him in this and so the Imām continued calling to singling Allāh out in worship and refuting those that call to other than Allāh.

The situation in Al-Baṣrah was such that in one of his gatherings a man mentioned the permissibility of calling upon the righteous and the *Awliyā*. The Imām responded sternly and rebuked him whereupon the look on the face of the man altered and he became perplexed and then said:

"If what this person is saying is true; then the people have been upon nothing for a long time."

Ibn Ghannām reports the saying of the Imām when he said:

"There were a people from the *mushriks* of Al-Baṣrah that would come to me with doubts that they would convey to me, so I would say to them whilst they were sitting in front of me: 'worship is not to be except for Allāh - all of it' - they would all become aghast and none would then speak."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Shaikh Muḥammad Amān Al-Jāmī (رحمة الله) mentions:

"He remained in Al-Baṣrah for a period of time seeking knowledge with some of the Scholars of Al-Baṣrah. At the head of them was Shaikh Muḥammad Al-Majmū'ī from whom he benefited a great deal in the branches of Arabic language and *ḥadīth*. Shaikh Majmū'ī realised whilst teaching him that Ibn 'Abdīl-Wahhāb was no common student; rather that he was preparing for a very great affair. He was preparing for the establishment of the Islamic *Da'wah* and towards a universal rectification. A rectification of the beliefs and a rectification of the rulings, such that Islām should be the decider alone - instead of tradition and bygone custom and blind following and other regulations.

Ibn Bishr then mentions how some of the people of Al-Baṣrah subjected the Imām to harms as a result of what he had made manifest by way of denouncing the *Shirk* and innovations committed. For the Imām tried hard to advise and admonish and guide as well as denounce with gentleness. However it did not benefit, and so the supporters of innovation resented him as did the corrupt scholars who instigated problems for him as well as upon his Shaikh and instead returned his advice with rejection and hastened with it to the masses of Al-Baṣrah and its notables thus managing to expel the Shaikh from the city during the midday heat on an extremely hot summers day. So the Shaikh left the city walking on, this was until he was overcome with thirst and was near certain death whilst he was some way between Al-Baṣrah and the town of Az-Zubair. He was discovered by a man known as Abū Ḥumaydān from the town of Az-Zubair who saw dignity and reverence upon the Imām; he gave him some water to drink and then carried him upon his donkey to Az-Zubair where the Imām stayed a few days. He still wanted to travel to Ash-Shām; however he had no money to travel, and so intended to travel back to Najd by way of Al-Aḥsā.

So in general the period of time which the Shaikh had spent in Al-Baṣrah was of great benefit, for along with his in-depth study of *ḥadīth* and *Fiqh* during the period he also mastered grammar and the rules of the Arabic language. As well as the fact that he was able to get an insight into the status of the people of innovation such as the Rāfiḍah.

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So the caller Ibn ‘Abdil-Wahhāb strove hard in seeking knowledge and acquiring it. Whilst doing so he attempted to rectify what he could from his ability. So he commenced with writing treatises in *Da’wah* and circulated them between the people. He would discuss with the people and resolve and clarify affairs. So the standpoint of rectification of that which was within his ability was always present with him – especially during his days in Al-Baṣrah – in the last of his days of acquirement.

Some sources mention how the journeys of the Shaikh included after Madīnah; Ash-Shām and ‘Iraq taking knowledge from the well known ones of those lands, such as the likes of Ibn Saif and As-Sindī at Madīnah and Al-Majmū‘ī in ‘Iraq and Shaikh ‘Abdul-Laṭīf in Al-Aḥsā before returning to his land.” (See *Majmu‘ Rasā-il Al-Jāmī* p. 65)

Upon arriving in Al-Aḥsā the Shaikh went to the *Ālim*; Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf Ash-Shāfi'ī Al-Aḥsā-ī. He studied with him and after spending some time in the region studying with the scholars he returned to his native province of Najd.<sup>43</sup>

Once he arrived in Najd he went onto the town of Ḥuraimilā where his father was residing having previously moved there from Al-'Uyainah; and so decided to stay there. The Shaikh continued his studies under his father Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb, whilst calling the people away from the actions and statements of innovation and *Shirk* in which the people had fallen into. Then in the year 1153H (1740CE) Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahhāb passed away, his son Shaikh Muḥammad continued his *Da'wah* and went on enjoining the good and forbidding evil. It is after his fathers' death that his work on *Tawḥīd* became widespread and acquired extensive circulation.<sup>44</sup> A mass of people began to follow him from the town and inclined towards his call. The Shaikh's renown also spread in the neighbouring cities of Al-'Uyainah and Ad-Dir'iyyah as well as Riyadh with many people from these cities coming to the Shaikh to hear his *Da'wah*.<sup>45</sup> The people of Ḥuraimilā had no ruler over them; instead it was made up of two tribes – one of whom had a group of slaves amongst them. Transgressions and evil doing and wretchedness had become prevalent amongst them and the Shaikh had intended to stop them from their misguidance and to enjoin the good amongst them and forbid their wrongdoings. Instead the slaves agreed a treacherous plot upon the Shaikh in order to assassinate him. One night they came round to his home and went along the wall of his house to carry out this crime but were sensed by some of the people who prevented them. Due to this event the Shaikh moved onto the city of Al-'Uyainah.<sup>46</sup>

So the Shaikh left Ḥuraimilā and set out for the town in which he was born, the city of Al-'Uyainah. The man ruling this city was 'Uthmān bin Ḥamad bin Mu'ammār who accepted the Shaikh and was greatly pleased with him.

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<sup>43</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 82-87

<sup>44</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 43

<sup>45</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 47

<sup>46</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabīyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 37

The Shaikh explained the *Da'wah* to 'Uthmān and what was necessary in order to establish *Tawhīd* in the town.

'Uthmān promptly followed the Shaikh in that and so the people of 'Uyainah followed suit, there was to be found in the town a tree which was venerated by the locals; the Shaikh sent someone in secret to chop the tree down, after which he paid him with money from himself. After the affair of the Shaikh became more widespread, he had acquired a following of around seventy men<sup>47</sup> of whom some were from the ruling house of Āl-Mua'mmar. In times to come 'Uthmān bin Mu'ammar helped the Shaikh cut down numerous other trees being utilised in the same manner.

The Shaikh's stay in the town came to an end when a married woman came forward to him having admitted to adultery. After the Shaikh had made all the necessary checks in her story and the soundness of her intellect he ordered her to be stoned to death. It is here that the Shaikh's affair became yet more widespread throughout the land. The incident reached the ears of Sulaimān bin Muḥammad bin Ghurayr Al-Ḥumaidī – the leader of Al-Aḥsā and Al-Qaṭīf and by who's permission the ruler of Al-'Uyainah was in authority. He sent an order to 'Uthmān commanding him to kill the Shaikh telling him:

“If you do not then we shall cut off your subsidy with us here in Al-Aḥsā!”

'Uthmān feared the result in failing to carry out the orders of Sulaimān, so requested the Shaikh that he leave Al-'Uyainah and go where ever else he wishes; and thus the Shaikh was made to leave Al-'Uyainah.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Those that gained an understanding of the religion from Shaikh-ul-Islām through correspondence alongside personal visitation were many. From them was Amīr 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd, this was before Shaikh-ul-Islām had moved on to Ad-Dir'iyyah. For the Amīr was in correspondence with the Imām whilst he was still in Al-'Uyainah and the Amīr was still a youth who was nearing the age of puberty. From the most distinguishing correspondences between them during that period was his letter in which he requested the *Tafsīr* of Sūrah Al-Fātiḥah. As a result, the Imām sent him a letter which was comprised of a complete *Tafsīr* of this Sūrah. (See: *Rasā'il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 2 p. 685)

<sup>48</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 37-38

Ibn Bishr mentions what took place with the Shaikh being made to leave Al-'Uyainah stating:

“‘Uthmān said: ‘Indeed a letter has reached us from Sulaimān the chief of Al-Aḥsā, and we do not have the strength to fight him nor to face his provocation.’ So the Shaikh replied: ‘Indeed this which I have stood with and call to is the *kalimah* of *Lā ilāha illallāh* and the pillars of Islām, along with commanding the good and forbidding the evil. So if you grasp onto it and aid it, then indeed Allāh, The One free of all imperfections, will give you prominence over your enemies. Therefore Sulaimān will be unable to harm or scare you. For I hope that you shall see prominence and establishment and dominance of such a degree that you should come to rule over his land and what is beyond it and around it.’ So ‘Uthmān became embarrassed and turned away from him.

However, the affair of the ruler of Al-Aḥsā intensified in his chest and so he sold the future for the short-lived. And this was due to Allāh, The One free of all imperfections, having knowledge – The One Who knows of the hidden and the unseen. The One Who gives honour to whosoever He wishes and debases whosoever He wishes. He in Whose Hand is all good and He Who is fully capable; of the fact that the aiding of this Religion and the prominence and establishment was to be for other than him (‘Uthmān) and at the hands of other than himself. So he sent another request to the Shaikh saying: ‘Sulaimān has ordered us to kill you, and we have no ability over his wrath nor in opposing his command as we have not the strength to fight him, nor is it from good character and mannerism that we should kill you in our own town, so as for your affair and your person, then; vacate our town.’ He then ordered a rider of his to go with him saying: ‘Mount your steed and go with this man to wherever he chooses.’ The Shaikh replied: ‘I choose Ad-Dir‘iyyah.’”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> ‘Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 14-15

## Chapter II | Ad-Dir'iyah Accepts the Call to *Tawhīd* and Its Rise as a Centre of Learning

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“...And it is as if Allāh preserves the good – in its entirety for whomsoever is from its deserved people from the great Princes of the Peninsula – those of strength and influence; for an affair that He, The One free of all imperfections intended, through its occurrence and endurance. So He sent *Tawfiq* (divinely conferred ability) onwards to ‘Ad-Dir’iyah; and how many an intent does Allāh have which a people are written to be destined for – and yet another people are forbidden from it! The Amīr of Ad-Dir’iyah Muḥammad bin Sa’ūd was asleep, yet prosperity was to embrace him with the advent of this great man upon him; and that was ordainment from Allāh – pre-decreed; And unto Allāh is the outcome of all affairs.”

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Muḥammad Buhjah Al-Atharī

*Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb Dā’iyah At-Tawhīd wat Tajdīd Fil ‘Asr  
Al-Ḥadīth p. 28*

In the extreme summer heat, the rider rode his steed and the Shaikh walked on by foot ahead of him carrying nothing but a fan to cool himself. Heading south he was going in the direction of the Wadī based town of Ad-Dir'iyyah,<sup>50</sup> he reached its northern end at 'Asr time of the same day and

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<sup>50</sup> Ad-Dir'iyyah: The ruined city of Ad-Dir'iyyah, from 1158H (1745CE) until its fall in 1233H (1818CE) was the capital of the First Saudi State; and in it is found their residences – until this day. The area has become known as 'Old Dir'iyyah' in which are found the abandoned fortresses and homes – enclosed by ruinous fortified walls. Ad-Dir'iyyah is not a single settlement; but of an area of settlement and agriculture – a Wadī-based oasis – on either side of an approximate eight kilometre stretch of Wādī Ḥanīfah. It is situated north west of the city of Riyadh.

The devastated remains of the city and its abandoned condition despite its surprising fertility and benefits of subsistence are a symbol of what came about there after its siege. Only the semi-remaining weathered walls and rock foundations of its quarters and dwellings remain behind the devastated walls that were put to relentless onslaughts by massive artillery fire subjecting them to burdens beyond their purpose of design.

It was a city which at its peak was the capital of much of the Arabian Peninsula. The wealth and prosperity bought about by its rise was unparalleled for a settlement of its kind. Its gardens grew crops of all kinds; its date palms and orchards provided fruit and its garden produced an array of crops, the town also had a constant and healthy livestock. The winter rains bought an ample water source throughout Wadī Ḥanīfah. In the summer, irrigation of the date palm gardens, as well as the crops of fodder, vegetables and fruit trees were continued through the operation of the wells in the Ad-Dir'iyyah gardens. Water was drawn from the wells that had been dug down to the water table, water was extracted in large leather buckets using a pulley system hauled by camels or mules, this effective means of drawing fresh water would be utilized for everyday use as well as to irrigate the farm land. The traditional Najdī architectural style which was characteristic of this region of Arabia during the First Saudi State is still visible in what remains of the ruins of Ad-Dir'iyyah, the homes and buildings were constructed using adobe bricks that were made from a careful mix of earth and straw that were blended using water and then sun-baked dry. Internal walls were constructed using the wattle and daub method with wooden beams used to support the roof, some of the larger homes and palaces had local limestone rock cut to size and used in their foundations and supporting pillars, much of this is still evident until today. Scattered along the length of Ad-Dir'iyyah were date palm groves and

upon reaching it called at the house of one of the notables of the town known as 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Suwailim. 'Abdur-Raḥmān was at first fearful of the Shaikh's presence at his home fearing what may happen if the Amīr of the town were to find out. However, the Shaikh calmed his fears by admonishing him and putting his mind at rest. The next day the Shaikh went to the house of his student in the town, Ahmed bin Suwailim, Ahmed had filled his house with those that would help the Shaikh as well as those that followed him. Amongst them was Mishārī; the brother of the Amīr of the town: Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. Mishārī advised his brother and encouraged him in following the *Da'wah* the Shaikh was giving. However; it was not until the Amīrs' wife, Mūḍi bint Abī Watbān, came to know of the presence of the Shaikh that the Amīr took an interest. Mūḍi was a wise woman possessing insight, after having heard the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh she approached her husband saying:

“Indeed Allāh has bought this man to you, he is a means of prosperity – so enrich yourself with what Allāh has specified in regard to you.”

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fruit orchards, and gardens connected to the irrigation system all ran along the valley that stretched along this section of Wadī Ḥanīfah.

The historian 'Uthmān bin Bishr said:

“Indeed I looked at its locations one day from a high place – a well known place at Bāṭin between its western settlements known as At-Ṭurayf wherein the Āl-As-Sa'ūd reside and between its eastern settlements known as Bujayrī wherein the sons of the Shaikh (Shaikh-ul-Islām) reside. I saw the place where the men were on one side and where the women were on the other side as well as the meat sellers on another side. Then what was between that by way of: gold and silver and weaponry and camels and flocks and buying and selling and give and take and other than that – all in the glance of an eye.

You wouldn't hear anything but the echo of the irrigation of the date palms... with shops on both the eastern and western sides. Therein was clothing, weaponry was available and fabrics as are unknown; and cannot be described...” (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh* p. 37)

The city itself may have been destroyed after its seige, however the tenets upon which it arose to ascendancy and dominance lived on. The prosperity and success of the adherence to those tenets was later to be reflected in the city of Riyadh – the successor to Ad-Dir'iyah.

The Amīr, listening to his wife called for his brother Mishārī, asking him to call the Shaikh in order to meet and hear from him. Mishārī replied with:

“Rather go to him yourself by foot; and make manifest his eminence and his dignity – so that he should be safe from the harms of the people.”

So Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd set out for the house of Ahmed bin Suwailim meeting the Shaikh there.”<sup>51</sup>

Shaikh Muḥammad Amān Al-Jāmī mentions:

“Then the Amīr of Ad-Dir‘iyyah, Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd came to know of his presence in the town. So he came to see the Shaikh along with some of his brothers and followers. The Shaikh called them to holding onto the correct belief of *Tawḥīd* pure and clear, explaining that *Tawḥīd* is that which Allāh sent the Messengers with; and that in this time had become weakened in the hearts of some of the people. The Shaikh related some verses from the Qur‘ān as proof; then supplicated to Allāh for Amīr Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd in the hope from Allāh that he becomes an Imām; and due to whom the Muslims gather around after the splitting and disunion...”<sup>52</sup>

After hearing the Shaikh, Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd was convinced of the true *Da‘wah* to *Tawḥīd* and the rectification of the beliefs that the Shaikh was calling to. So he replied to the Shaikh: “Glad tidings of a land that is better than your land, glad tidings of honour and strength.”

The Shaikh replied: “And I give you the glad tidings of honour and steadfastness – and it is the *kalimah* that none has the right to be worshipped except Allāh. For whosoever holds onto it; and aids it – will reign the country and the servants. It is the *kalimah* of *At-Tawḥīd*, the first thing that the Messengers called to; from the first of them to the last of them.”

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<sup>51</sup> *Dawlatus Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 58

<sup>52</sup> *Majmū‘ Rasā-il Al-Jāmī* p. 67-68

Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd said: "O Shaikh, this is the Religion of Allāh and His Messenger in which there is no doubt. Glad tidings then with aid for you and with that which you have been commanded with, as well as jihād against those that oppose *Tawḥīd*, however; I wish to put two conditions forth to you.

Firstly; that if we stand to aid you and make jihād in the path of Allāh – and thus Allāh opens for us and you other lands, I fear that you will move on from us and substitute us for other than ourselves.

Secondly; I have over Ad-Dir'iyyah a regulation (levy) which I take from its people – during the harvest season. So I fear that you will tell me not to take anything from them."

The Shaikh replied: "O Amīr; as for the first, then give me your hand on that; blood with blood, and ruin with ruin."<sup>53</sup>

As for the second; then perhaps Allāh will open conquests for you – and so Allāh replaces it for you with that which is better than it."

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<sup>53</sup> This furthermore being the assurance of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) to the Anṣār at the second pledge of 'Aqabah. When concern was raised on behalf of the companions from the Anṣār that he (صلى الله عليه وسلم) would leave them and return to his own people once he gained prominence, the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم) smiled and said:

"Rather; blood with blood and ruin with ruin. I am from you and you are from me. I shall fight those that fight you, and make peace with those who you make peace with."

Reported by Aḥmad in his *Musnad* (no. 15798) vol 25 p. 88-95 and At-Ṭabarānī in *Mu'jam Al-Kabīr* vol 19 no. 175 and others. It is reported likewise by Ibn Hishām in his *Sīrah* vol 1 p.278 and Ibn Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* vol 4 p. 401-402 and its chain of narration is Ḥasan (sound).

Its meaning is: My blood is your blood and my ruin is your ruin in support i.e. if I am oppressed then you are oppressed and it means also: My blood is in your blood, and my ruin is in your ruin. It is said as a statement of agreement and union. (See: *Lisān al-'Arab* vol 4 p. 414 and *Majma' al-Amthāl* vol 1 p. 467)

Then Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd spread out his hand and gave the pledge of allegiance to the Shaikh for the Religion of Allāh and His Messenger and making jihād in His path and for the establishment of the Islamic legislation and to command the good and forbid the evil.<sup>54</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl-Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله)<sup>55</sup> said:

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<sup>54</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 58-59

<sup>55</sup> He was: The Imām Al-'Allāmah the second *Mujaddid*, the one possessing insight into the religious sciences, and the Prophetic Āḥādīth and the Salafī athār. The reoccurring; persistent – ever persistent inheritor of knowledge. Shaikh-ul-Islām Abul-Ḥasan 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan bin Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. He was born in the year 1196H (1782CE) in Ad-Dir'iyyah and grew up therein. His father was killed in an incident at Ghurābah whilst 'Abdur-Raḥmān was still young so his upbringing and care was undertaken by his grandfather the Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. He was directed towards seeking knowledge from an early stage whereby he had memorized the Qur'ān by the age of nine. He studied *Kitāb At-Tawḥīd* under his grandfather as well as other books, and sat in his circles of the books of *Tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* and *Aḥkām*, likewise a group from amongst the *Muḥaddithīn* gave him permission to teach. His grandfather, Shaikh-ul-Islām died whilst he was thirteen years of age after which he committed himself to sitting with the scholars of Ad-Dir'iyyah. He studied the book *Al-Muqni' fī Fiqh Al-Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal* with Shaikh Ḥamad bin Nāṣir, he studied inheritance with 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Khumais and grammar with Shaikh Ḥussain bin Ghannām – the well known historian. He also studied under others including Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Fāḍil and Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Shaikh-ul-Islām – his uncle.

He had great insight in the *usūl* and its branches such that there remained no one in his time possessing more understanding than him, nor one possessing more piety or *zuhd* and following the *Sunnah* better than him. He then began teaching the students of knowledge in various subjects such as *At-Tawḥīd* and *Fiqh*; he was appointed as judge in Ad-Dir'iyyah by its then Amīr Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz. Then Amīr 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd sent him to Makkah to be judge there. He continued his duties of being a judge until Ṭūsūn Pāshā set out to fight the people of the Salafī *Da'wah* whereupon Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān enlisted himself in order to defend the religion. He thus accompanied Imām 'Abdullāh in his journeys to fight the invading Egyptian force and was present at the battles which took place.

He was known for his honesty and sincerity, as well as for nobility. He was forbearing, humble, compassionate and a sincere advisor. He was modest and

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would gain his earning through farming; he was severe in his honour for that which Allāh had made inviolable and was aware of the schemes of the innovators. He was a defender of the 'Aqīdah with his tongue and his pen. His standing along with those that fought at Ad-Dir'iyyah against the aggression of Ibrahīm Pāshā is well known and was present throughout its siege and partook in its defense. After the fall of Ad-Dir'iyyah, he along with members of his family were sent off to Cairo where he then remained. He continued his studies in Cairo under many of the Scholars to be found there such as Shaikh Ḥasan Al-Quwaisinī under whom he studied the explanation of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* of Al-Muḥillī and *Mukhtasar As-Sa'ad Ma'āni wal Bayān*. He consequently gave him permission to relate all of his reports/transmissions. He also met the *Muḥfi* of Algeria Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd Al-Jazāi-rī Al-Ḥanafī under whom he studied *Al-Aḥkām al-Kubrā* of Al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Al-Ishbīlī, he too gave him permission to relate all of his reports/transmissions from his Shaikh; Shaikh Maḥmūd Al-Jazāi-rī. He also studied under the Shaikh of Egypt of his time in recitation, Shaikh Ibrahīm Al-'Ubaidī Al-Muqrī to whom he recited the Qur'ān. He studied under a number of others during his stay in Egypt which lasted some eight years.

After Allāh, The Most High enabled the Saudis to retake control once more under Imām Turkī bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd, Imām Turkī wrote to the Shaikh making his wish clear for his return to Najd. Then in the year 1241H, he managed to break free from his confinement in Egypt and reappeared in Najd. Imām Turkī, greatly pleased with his return; reinstated him to his post of judge and utilized him for advice in general as well as particular affairs, he also accompanied Imām Turkī on most of his military expeditions under the banner of *Tawḥīd*. He helped in reviving the *Da'wah* and cleansing the land from that which had corrupted it by way of evil and tribulation. He played a major role in reviving the call to *Tawḥīd* and spreading the correct beliefs and once again establishing a centre of learning for the people to benefit from. His role and presence was of great consequence in Najd during the Second Saudi State after it had been thrown into anarchy due to the Turco-Egyptian invasion which had sought to quell the Salafī *Da'wah* and had devastated its society. Ibn Bishr mentions: "The Shaikh, the 'Ālim, the inheritor of knowledge, the precise Ḥāfiẓ. The one that revived the institutes of learning after the inkstands had been left idle. Knowledge came back through him restored; after it had reached the extremity of eradication. A great many people took knowledge from him as are not enumerable. Allāh caused the student to benefit from his knowledge in a way that he did not need to sit for long with him except that he would excel in his understanding. Camel reins were beat in his direction from every corner of Najd and Al-Aḥsā, the effects of the blessings of his teachings became manifest."

“So our Shaikh (رحمة الله) made apparent this *Da'wah* in the city of Al-'Uyainah, which is located in the uppermost part of Wadī Ḥanīfah. So his *Da'wah* was favoured by those that were pleased with it, those who accepted it – accepted it, whilst those that rejected it; then they rejected it.

Then indeed the people of Al-Aḥsā appealed for help from their Shaikh: Sulaimān Āl Muḥammad the Shaikh of the Banī Khālid who sent to Ibn Mu'ammār the Shaikh of Al-'Uyainah a message that he should kill him. So he migrated instead to Ad-Dir'iyyah; the land of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd, where he met him, he along with his offspring with acceptance. Most of the people of his city and tribe followed him in this; in the face of their dwindling numbers and despite their weakness – as we have mentioned.

They were patient over the opposition of the people and of the rulers around them and those far off from them. This is how Ēmān becomes when its joy is fused into the hearts. This is why this man and his followers bore the enmity of everyone that opposed this religion. He, The Most High, says:

يَخْتَصُّ بِرَحْمَتِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ ۗ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ

“He selects for His Mercy whosoever He wishes, and Allāh is The Possessor of great bounty.” <sup>4456/57</sup>

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān said:

“Allāh made ease for him in the form of one of his helpers when he met the Amīr of a town from one of those towns. He convinced him with the call to Allāh, The Mighty and Majestic, and that this is the very *Da'wah* through

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By the end of his life Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān had lived under six of the Saudi Imāms from both the First and Second Saudi States. He continued likewise under the rule of Imām Faiṣal bin Turkī and Amīr 'Abdullāh. From his works include: *Fath ul Majīd*, *Qurratul 'Uyūn al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, *Qawl al-Fiṣal an-Nafīs*, *Mulakhaṣ Minhāj As-Sunnah* as well as many others. He died in the year 1285H (1868/1869CE) in Riyadh and was buried in the 'ūd cemetery. (See also: *Mughnī al-Murīd* vol 1 p. 61-66)

<sup>56</sup> Sūrah Āl-'Imrān: 74

<sup>57</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p.14

which Allāh will gather together the people of Najd and other than it if they adhere to it and if they sincerely worship Allāh, The Mighty and Majestic. Likewise that they were to follow The Book of Allāh; and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger (صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ). He convinced him of this and so Amīr Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd (رَحِمَهُ اللهُ) aided the Shaikh and supported him. Then the Shaikh commenced with giving *Da‘wah* to the neighbouring towns whilst the Amīr continued helping and aiding him and making *Jihād* against those who rejected it.”<sup>58</sup>

Shaikh Muḥammad Amān Al-Jāmī mentions:

“Whosoever comes across the reasons which prompted the Shaikh upon the establishment of his *Da‘wah*, then studies the books and the treatises which the Shaikh had written – or his offspring had written or his grandsons and their students. Then he will come to see without doubt that the *Da‘wah* of the Shaikh was based upon two important aspects:

1. Calling the people to the worship of Allāh alone – and solely such that he does not worship the creation that is created like unto his own self other than Allāh or along with Allāh. Along with following the Messenger of Allāh alone – and solely such that he does not give precedence to the saying of anyone or to the opinion of anyone over the saying of the Messenger of Allāh (عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ).
2. Calling the people – in particular the rulers in judging with the *Sharī‘ah* of Allāh alone – such that he does not take some of the people as Lords besides Allāh whereby they make things *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* (lawful and unlawful/prohibited).

إِنِ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ ۖ أَمَرَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا إِيَّاهُ

“Indeed the command [order] is but for Allāh, He has commanded that you worship none but Him.”<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil ‘Aqīdah wad-Da‘wah* vol 2 p. 84

<sup>59</sup> *Sūrah Yūsuf*: 40

This means that the *Da'wah* of Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb used to – and does not cease to wage war on two dangerous aspects of ignorance in the Islamic world in the present times:

**Firstly:** The *jāhiliyyah* of the worship of the creation; a created entity like unto itself with the claim of a love of the righteous or seeking nearness or for intercession from them. As well as other than that from the excuses which resemble the statements of the earlier *mushriks* (polytheists) which are mentioned in the Qur'ān:

مَا تَعْبُدُهُمْ إِلَّا لِيُقَرِّبُونَا إِلَى اللَّهِ زُلْفَىٰ

“We do not worship them except that they should bring us closer to Allāh.”<sup>60</sup>

Indeed the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh was in opposition to this *jāhiliyyah* and banished it and so its banishment in every place doesn't cease to be, and all praise is for Allāh and all favour.

**Secondly:** The *jāhiliyyah* of judging with other than what Allāh has revealed. For between this aspect of *jāhiliyyah* and the one before it is a close relation as is not hidden for the one granted understanding in the religion. Since the ruling of other than the *Sharī'ah* of Allāh means to take Lords that partake with Allāh in the issuing of the rulings and laws. Hence the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh deemed this *jāhiliyyah* in association with that which was before it. Furthermore that their ruling was one in the view of Islām, so he waged war on it just as he waged war on the aspect of the ignorance before it.

It is from this that we come to know of the error of the one that claims that the *Da'wah* of Ibn 'Abdil-Wahhāb only sought to resolve the clear worship of other than Allāh merely. This being in a time wherein the aspect of rule was neglected.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Sūrah Az-Zumar: 3

<sup>61</sup> *Majmū' Rasā-il Al-Jāmī* p. 233-234

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān said:

“It was not long before the Shaikh saw – in a short space of time; how Allāh unified all the Najdī areas due to this. It came under the authority of this Amīr;<sup>62</sup> and so that populous town became the capital for that entire country, and so returned an Islamic state in that land just as it had been in the time of the righteous Salaf (رضوان الله عليهم)...

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<sup>62</sup> How Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd came to rule some twenty years before these events is illustrated by Ibn Bishr who mentions:

“In the year 1137H the ruler of Ad-Dir‘iyyah, Sa‘ūd bin Muḥammad bin Miqrin (the father of Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd) died, he in turn was succeeded by Zaid bin Mirkhān. In the year 1139H during Zaid’s rule Miqrin bin Muḥammad (the brother of the previous ruler Sa‘ūd bin Muḥammad and uncle to Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd) after having professed loyalty to him, called him in order to conclude amicability with him as well as trust. Zaid feared regarding him and so replied: ‘I will not come to you unless Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd and Miqrin bin ‘Abdillāh are present as guarantors’. Thus they came as guarantees for him and so Zaid attended amid a group of people whereupon Miqrin bin Muḥammad intended to murder him. The signs of this treachery were sensed by Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd and Miqrin bin ‘Abdillāh whereupon they leapt upon him, but he escaped through a window and hid in a lavatory where they found him and put him to death thus restoring Zaid to his position. Then later in the year, Zaid bin Mirkhān and his followers were enticed by the wealth of the town of Al-‘Uyainah after a disease had prevailed there and had carried off many of its inhabitants including its Amīr ‘Abdillāh bin Mu‘ammar. Seeing this he set out with some of his men for this purpose, they reached the town and captured a place in its environs known as ‘Aqrah, the recently appointed ruler Kharfāsh bin Mu‘ammar of Al-‘Uyainah sent a message to Zaid offering to negotiate in a meeting. Zaid went to attend the meeting with around forty men amongst whom was Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd; Kharfāsh had ordered some of his men to be ready with their muskets in the fortress. So when they entered the fort in the town Zaid took his seat at which point he was fired upon and killed. Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd and those with him upon seeing this barricaded themselves nearby and did not leave until a guarantee of safe passage was given by Al-Jawharah bint ‘Abdillāh bin Mu‘ammar (the future wife of Shaikh of Islām). Thus Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd returned with those that were with him to Ad-Dir‘iyyah where he took up rulership of the town.” (See: *Unwānūl Majd* vol 2 p. 225-227)

...This example proves that it is not possible to gather the people together and bring together their hearts except with this religion and the call to it. So whoever stands with this religion, then the people will gather around him and comply with him because he calls them to the *Da'wah* of Allāh, The One free of all imperfections and The Most High. He doesn't call them to partisanship or to personal motivation nor to fanaticism or ignorant nationalism."<sup>63</sup>

Describing these events which the Shaikh had experienced, Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān Āl-Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said:

"So he called the people, those that were from his village and its surroundings; that they should abandon taking the graves in worship and other things that are falsely worshipped and the worship of trees and stones as well as making sacrifices to the *Jinn* and its like. All of these things existed in the towns and villages of Najd and other than it such as amongst the dwellers of the desert. So when he forbade this, there were those that disliked it, so the people of the village expelled him from there – and this was in Ḥuraimilā. Then he (the Shaikh) went to Al-'Uyainah, continuing his call to Islām and prohibiting *Shirk* and the worship of idols. A group from amongst the people accepted the call, as did a group from the people of Ad-Dir'iyah. Then things were made difficult for the Amīr of Al-'Uyainah, when he saw that his words were being rejected by many a people whilst enmity had been attributed to him from the people of the villages and towns and in the deserts as well as in their midst. He then commanded him (the Shaikh) to leave his town.

Then he went to Ad-Dir'iyah, where there was Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and his offspring and his brothers and others of prominence from his group. So they accepted this *Da'wah* and were patient upon the enmity meted out to them by the people. The close ones from them (their enemies) as well as the far; they all had intent to make war upon them. Yet Allāh planted them firmly despite their dwindling numbers, despite the abundance of those that opposed them, despite the killing of those that were killed from their

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<sup>63</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil 'Aqīdah wad-Da'wah* vol 2 p. 84

distinguished ones.<sup>64</sup> They were patient, leading to wars that were ongoing between them; and Allāh safeguarded them and strengthened their hearts. That which occurred between them and their enemies is well documented in history.”<sup>65</sup>

## Ad-Dir‘iyyah as a Centre of Learning

Until these early years (1157-1158H/1744-1745CE); Ad-Dir‘iyyah had been of no major significance in southern Najd; and its people at the time were in the grips of a lack of provisions as well as facing poverty.<sup>66</sup> This did not stop the influx of people who started making their way to the town from the different regions of Najd. People began arriving in droves to the town – in response to the message of *Tawhīd* that was being taught there as well as it being a centre of learning of the other Islamic sciences. Accommodation became an issue which needed to be addressed as the population of the town began to swell, as a result of the growing influx trade began to flourish. Trade caravans increased their call at the expanding town which was fast gaining the reputation of a major town that other towns once

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<sup>64</sup> In reality Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd had made his own situation precarious by having put his religion and the religion of his people first. His town at the time was of no real significance in Najd, for other towns were greater and more powerful and influential than Ad-Dir‘iyyah. Towns were also known to move against one another when an opportunity arose, the struggle for power, influence, prestige and wealth were all too common in Najd. Al-‘Uyainah was the principal town in southern Najd and a greater commercial and political centre than Ad-Dir‘iyyah. So Shaikh-ul-Islām’s ejection from it would have deterred other smaller towns from having taken him in. Yet Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd took in the Shaikh knowing full well that he himself would be targeted – as were previous Amīrs who had been in control of greater than that which he was in control of.

<sup>65</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 2 p. 220-221

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Bishr mentions: “So when there migrated those that were to migrate to Ad-Dir‘iyyah and took it up as their abode, they were in the most difficult of living conditions and in the most severe of needs. They were tested with immense trials; they would fetch baked bricks by night (i.e. do masonry work) and practice trade whilst in the day they would sit with the Shaikh in the lessons in *ḥadīth* and general learning. The people of Ad-Dir‘iyyah at that time were in the utmost degree of weakness and in the shortest supply of provisions.” (See: *Unwānul Majd* vol 1 p.17)

possessed. Slowly, the lifestyle of the people there began to improve and the commodities available became a great deal more due to the trade which was now being done with various towns and regions.

Laying the foundations of educational enlightenment; the Shaikh laid great emphasis on eradicating religious illiteracy which was manifest among a great portion of the residents of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Therefore he ordered everyone – including the women and children to attend the lectures, in order to become acquainted with the principles of *At-Tawhīd* and the pillars of Islām – even if they were illiterate. From amongst the students and helpers of the Shaikh was the brother of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd who helped him in the task of teaching. For the efforts of the Shaikh soon bore fruit in Ad-Dir'iyyah with greater understanding in knowledge and religious enlightenment broadening amongst the inhabitants. Ibn Bishr said:

“And so the small and the great of them came to know *Tawhīd* after it had not been known of – except to a mere few.”

The Shaikh also opened communications with many of the regional scholars and judges calling them to *At-Tawhīd* and as a consequence many letters and correspondences passed between them on a range of topics. The Shaikh did not just suffice with writing to the scholars; rather he called some of them in order to meet with him in Ad-Dir'iyyah and research together along with him on a range of issues which were the cause of difference. At the same time the Shaikh exerted his efforts in order to author many books, treatises and abridgements. This was in order to simplify knowledge and understanding for the beginners from amongst the students of knowledge as well as the people in general. The Shaikh would also encourage the students of knowledge to review and observe the statements of the scholars and their books; as his own opinions and statements did not diverge from them.

The Shaikh emphasized the importance of the memorization of the concise treatises which he began authoring. These concise treatises encompassed a methodology of cultivation for the general people, and so in the other towns allied to Ad-Dir'iyyah; the Imāms of the Mosques and the teachers would likewise teach these. The students would also call to the *Da'wah* of

the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah as well as outside if they came from the neighbouring towns or to the towns to which they were being sent and so would teach the people.

The Shaikh compiled many works during this era, the number of written works compiled during this era rose five times more than works compiled before this era. Sources indicate that the numerous amount of works compiled during this era returned to one of the scholars – Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb who authored forty-seven works, this being eighty-one percent of the entire number of authored works compiled by authors in this era. This being works authored with a ratio of four times more than the works done by the other nine known authors who compiled works during this era. This being large scale dissemination of knowledge for the Shaikh which complemented his status as a caller and reviver of religious principles, fundamentals and sciences and as the most prominent teacher of the Saudi State.

The works of the Shaikh comprised and encompassed all topics of the Islamic sciences; during his era, the total number of authored works in the sciences of: *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and '*Aqīdah* and *ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr* totaled some forty-nine works – this contributed to eighty-four and a half percent of the total number of works according to these sciences during his entire period (the other works comprised of fifteen point five percent, and they were in the fields of language and history). The majority of the works of the Shaikh were authored on the topic of '*Aqīdah* – comprising some forty-six point nine percent of the total number of *Shar'ī* works during the time. The high number of works in relation to the topic of '*Aqīdah* being due to the topic itself being the basis and the core of the *Da'wah* upon which the Shaikh had established himself. The number of works to which the Shaikh dedicated on the topic of '*Aqīdah* numbered some twenty-two works – these contributed to ninety-five point seven percent of the total number of works committed to this topic, this demonstrates the importance that the Shaikh gave to rectifying the beliefs of the people and of educating them with respects to the tenets of their religion.

The educational exertions in Ad-Dir'iyyah specifically and Najd in general were taking effect, and in particular in the topic of '*Aqīdah* and the call to the rectitude of the beliefs of the people in order for their worship to be

dedicated to Allāh alone. Yet the works authored by the Shaikh on this topic and the sources which he utilized to address issues of difference and contention with those in his time – being *The Book* and *The Sunnah*; these works became undisputable in the nature of their correctness and that which they called to.

The educational advances in Najd highlighted the importance which the scholars of the era gave to recording the histories and events of their regions. For authors such as Muḥammad bin Rabī'ah, Muḥammad bin 'Abbād from Al-Maḥmal, 'Abdullāh bin 'Udhaib of Al-Qaṣīm and Muḥammad bin Yūsuf of Al-Washm authored works on the respective occurrences of their time and regions. This was corresponding to that which had reached them of the accounts of the era before them, going as far back as the Tenth Century.

As for Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb; then his work on history was confined to the summarization of the Prophetic *Sīrah* (biography) from the work of Ibn Ḥishām as well as relying on other noteworthy works as well as the books of *ḥadīth*. With this direction the Shaikh continued to undertake his methodology of teaching in accordance to and in line with the methodology of the Prophet (صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ).<sup>67</sup>

The unique nature of the Shaikh's authorship and his understanding of what the learners were (and are) in need of comprehending and in what capacity – particularly in his concise summaries such as in *'Aqīdah* and the like are highlighted by Shaikh 'Abdullāh Āl-Bassām who said:

“Alongside the Jihād conducted by Shaikh Muḥammad (رَحِمَهُ اللهُ); in speech and in the form of letters which he sent to the scholars and the Amīrs; and alongside his activity in the affairs of administration; and conducting study circles and supervising important affairs. He was not inattentive to authorship; he authored beneficial works which are relied upon in teaching and in memorization and in acquiring understanding – until today. He also had a methodology of authorship which was unique and constructive, this is because he would incline to beneficial short

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<sup>67</sup> Abridged from *Al-Ḥayāt Al-'Ilmiyyah fī Najd* p. 155-174

summaries taken from other references and books and so he would extract from them their fruit and blossom whilst leaving out that which there is no need for from the issues.

In this process is ensuring the economization of the time of the reader as well as in research and instead gathering the important issues for the one already emanating (i.e. familiar with) as well as for the one seeking to acquaint himself. This presents the great scholar with knowledge from its most simple and closest and most reliable of channels.”<sup>68</sup>

Before the establishment of the Saudi State in Ad-Dir'iyah there was no system in place that would organise and oversee the task and expense of teaching in a coordinated and ongoing practice. Rather it was left to the individual efforts and exertions of those that sought after it, however the Saudi State overhauled this practice and dedicated a great amount of assistance to expenditure upon teaching and educating the people. This system passed through two phases; the first phase stretched a duration beginning with the Shaikhs arrival at Ad-Dir'iyah in the year 1157H until the entry of Riyadh into Saudi administration in the year 1187H. The Shaikh who was the religious instructor and first teacher in Ad-Dir'iyah was also the supervisor of the *Baitul Māl* or treasury in Ad-Dir'iyah. He was therefore in charge of the expenditure of finances upon those that studied with him, from amongst those that came to Ad-Dir'iyah and were in need of financial assistance and did not have an opportunity to work and commence an earning in the town. The numerous groups of people who convened upon Ad-Dir'iyah during this stage began to supercede the customary economic capabilities of the town. Whilst financial expense was not only granted during this stage to teaching but also to the teachers themselves who he would send to other towns that had responded to the *Da'wah* in order to educate the people in the principles of their religion. The largest portion of the financial expenses committed to teaching and educating came from the *Baitul Māl* of Ad-Dir'iyah and ran successfully which suggests that the economic structures which were implemented at the time were run in a proficient and highly effective manner.

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<sup>68</sup> 'Ulamā Najd *Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 1 p. 148-149

It is also clear that Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb would at times contribute financially to the students of knowledge from his personal wealth, since in difficult times it became necessary to continue funding the developments of students and teachers and to ensure the continuation of the *Da'wah*. This led to some of the debts of the Shaikh during this period reaching some four thousand Muḥammadiyyah (the currency of the time). Despite the booty which would arrive at Ad-Dir'iyyah and the subsequent use of its finances on educational needs; there was still a shortfall in finance which led to the Shaikh and others making personal financial contributions - regardless of their own requirements. In one known expedition the fighters of Ad-Dir'iyyah who had won the expedition relinquished their share of the spoils and so Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz presented the entire proceeds to the Shaikh in order to it distribute amongst the needy - amongst whom the students of knowledge numbered the greater portion. New arrivals who sought to settle in Ad-Dir'iyyah were given financial aid if the need was present and so expense was further committed to extending the town. Judges, teachers and callers who were sent to other towns were also financed from the *Baitul Māl* and so the monetary demand continued during this early period when the *Da'wah* was still seeking to establish itself within the Najdī borders.

The conquest of Riyadh in 1187H was a milestone in the financial contributions towards education, for the Shaikh was able to settle his debts from the proceeds gained in the conquest of Riyadh. These debts had arisen as a direct result of expenditures upon both teachers and students and had by this stage amounted to some forty thousand Muḥammadiyyah - as reported by Ibn Bishr. After the admission of Riyadh into Saudi domains; the Shaikh relinquished many administrative duties he had supervised until this stage, handing over the responsibilities to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd.

The second phase began at the onset of the conquest of Riyadh after which the Saudi State witnessed a rapid geopolitical expanse encompassing all districts of Najd. The subsequent acquisitions of Al-Kharj, Al-Aflāj, Wadī Ad-Dawāsir - being naturally prosperous and wealthy domains as well as Al-Qaṣīm and As-Sudair all contributed their wealth to Ad-Dir'iyyah. The political inclusion of such domains also exacted *zakāt* from these districts which further financed Ad-Dir'iyyah's capabilities to fund and support

efforts further afield as well as transforming Ad-Dir'iyah into an educational establishment due to the vast number of Scholars and students residing within it. Among these students were the children and grandchildren of the Shaikh himself as well as scholars, judges and students who had come to seek knowledge. The efforts of the sons and students of the Shaikh became greatly manifest well before the death of the Shaikh with the Shaikh himself and Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz who organized various projects, such as the four schools which were established in Ad-Dir'iyyah and the sons of the Shaikh being appointed as tutors therein. Such schools allowed students from all areas of Najd to settle and study in the town whilst the expenses and finances of such institutes were catered for by the *Baitul Māl*.

The Saudi State would greatly encourage the financial aid toward educating and teaching the people, and Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz was widely known to spend extensively upon the people of knowledge, the scholars and the students. As well as upon the Qur'ān tutors and Imāms of the Mosques which was an economic pattern repeated throughout Najd at this time with the Imām sending finance to other districts of Najd for such purposes. An example of that was his sending of three thousand riyals to his administrators in Sudair to distribute amongst the students of knowledge and the memorisers of the Qur'ān and the teachers as well as the Imāms and those in need.

Such financial precedence and commitment increased and continued later under Imām Sa'ūd as a result of ongoing military successes and the inclusion of the Holy Cities into Saudi domains bringing yet further financial stability. This allowed for the regular sum of money to be sent to varying regions to pay for the ongoing projects and commitments in those areas with the greater portion of that wealth continuing to be directed towards education.

All of these financial systems dedicated to education and teaching had been founded and established by Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and later adapted and improvised by the authorities in Ad-Dir'iyyah. The rulers of Ad-Dir'iyyah themselves sought to be an example for the people in adhering to knowledge and learning it. Therefore Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and his sons would attend the home of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-

Wahhāb in order to study with him. This would be the case later on when Imām Sa'ūd and his son 'Abdullāh would attend a private sitting with 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb which allowed Imām Sa'ūd to attain a distinct level in knowledge and understanding. The ruler of Ad-Dir'iyyah would also stipulate upon the Amīrs of other towns that they choose around fifteen men and establish them as tutors and to pay them that which would be sufficient for their duties.<sup>69</sup>

## The Libraries of the Era and Ad-Dir'iyyah's Contribution to Educational and Scholastic Enlightenment

Since the 10<sup>th</sup> Century the scholars of Najd had given importance and precedence to the gathering of books which they needed; these books were transcribed and copied in order for them to be referred to during the course of their research. There were books which also reached Najd by way of researchers based outside of Najd or by traders who came to sell such books. An example of this was Ḥasan bin 'Ali bin Bassām – from the scholars of the 10<sup>th</sup> Century who transcribed many of the books in Damascus and so donated them to his sons and nephews. Likewise 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Atīq bin Bassām transcribed *Ar-Radd 'alal Jahmiyyah* of Imām Aḥmad and Badr Al-Wuhaibi transcribed *Sharh Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfīyyah Mālik* with there being no mention of either two having travelled away which indicates the presence of such books within Najd during these times.

During the 11<sup>th</sup> Century the number of those that gave due importance to transcribing such books declined. Then in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century six Scholars were noted for their adherence to transcribing books, however no titles other than *Al-Iqnā'* of Mūsā Al-Hajāwī exist from that period.

From the 10<sup>th</sup> Century the Scholars of Najd had founded private libraries, with the most renown of these being that of the library of Āl-Isma'īl founded by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Isma'īl – from the Scholars of the 11<sup>th</sup> Century. Ibrahīm bin Sulaimān bin 'Ali had also gathered a library

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<sup>69</sup> Abridged from *Al-Ḥayāt Al-'Ilmiyyah fī Najd* p. 244-252

through transcribing the books of *Fiqh* in his immaculate handwriting. During the era of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb; the desire of the scholars to attain books and transcribe them was well known. Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb himself gave due importance to the transcribing of books and was distinct in his ability to copy swiftly and would borrow books which he required.<sup>70</sup> It is clear that he would transcribe such books before returning them back and so the sidenotes and annotations of the Shaikh in many of the books which he copied – from the many madhabs and his citations to any contrary references indicates the abundant nature of such books in Najd.

The fruits of these efforts led to a number of libraries being established within Najd such as the library in Ad-Dir‘iyyah in which Shaikh Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb would later spend the majority of his time researching and studying. In Majma‘ah was the private library of Āl ‘Abdul-Jabbār, as well as the private library of ‘Abdul-‘Azīz bin Sulaimān bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb in Ḥuraimilā.<sup>71</sup>

This era through which Ad-Dir‘iyyah passed witnessed a distinct increase in research and authorship in relation to the period which came before. The number of authors from the scholars of Najd who compiled books rose some twenty-five percent with Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb being the prime reason for this increase as he himself authored a total of forty-seven works comprising eighty-one percent of the works compiled in the entire era.

Ad-Dir‘iyyah’s rise and prestige in Najd as a result of the reform movement had begun to attract a great deal of attention from towns both near and far. It was not just a city from which the principles of the religion and its sciences were taught; but it was a centre of learning as well as a centre from which *Da‘wah* operations throughout Najd were effectively networked and conducted. This would naturally lead to the heads and notables from other towns and districts coming to Ad-Dir‘iyyah in order to show their support after having heard of the teachings of the Shaikh.

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<sup>70</sup> An example is when the Shaikh requested the *Majmū’* of Ibn Rajab from Aḥmad bin Ibrahīm of Marrāt. (See: *Ta’rīkh Najd* vol 1 p.162)

<sup>71</sup> Abridged from *Al-Ḥayāt Al-‘Ilmiyyah fī Najd* p. 285-286

Envoys from neighbouring towns would arrive at Ad-Dir'iyah comprising of students of the Shaikh as well as others who showed acceptance to the *Da'wah*, these envoys would be welcomed and so the spread and influence of the Shaikh and his call became more and more widespread.

Consequently; as a result of the steady influx of people and the swelling of the population of Ad-Dir'iyah, the main Mosque in which the Shaikh taught became restricted as it could not accommodate a large number of those who would come and take knowledge. So the Shaikh raised this issue with Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd after which it was decided to expand the Mosque in order to allow for more people to attend at any one time.<sup>72</sup>

With the illustrious revival of the call to *Tawḥīd* and the establishment of a city dedicated to educating the people in the affairs of their religion as well as in their day to day lives, the extent to which Ad-Dir'iyah had become renowned was truly exceptional. It had already begun to show signs of a distinguished prospect – something which the Shaikh had promised the Amīr in their first meeting; and something which they had begun to see could only be accomplished when calling to the true religion.

In conclusion; the educational enlightenment of the reform movement was set not just for the benefit of the people of the era in which it had come about; but rather for those yet to come. Those that aided it were granted honour and steadfastness upon it, no matter how noteworthy or insignificant their background. What they stood to benefit from and those that are upon their way still stand to benefit is nothing other than success in this life – as well as in the Hereafter, with a marked distinction in this life of the fact that they are the upholders of the religion; and the revivers of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) and as a consequence are from the best of the people.

As Al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Buhjah Al-Atharī said:

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<sup>72</sup> *Ḥayāt Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* p. 237

“So let us look; what did the heads of the *mushrikīn* (polytheists) from the Arabs lose when they abandoned their *Shirk* and entered into Islām? Did they not benefit through it – them and the poor needy ones from their followers in this world as well as religiously? Did the best of them in *jāhiliyyah* (pre-Islamic ignorance) not become the best of them in Islām?

Indeed the meeting of Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb with Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd was *tawfiq* (divinely conferred ability) predestined for ordainment and for an affair whose accomplishment Allāh had intended; at their hands – together.”<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb *Dā‘iyah At-Tawḥīd wa At-Tajdīd fil ‘Asr al-Ḥadīth* p. 10 and p. 29

## Chapter III | A Biographic Account of the Main Proponents in the Early Part of the Salafī Reform Movement

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“...In this way Allāh intended by way of His Wisdom to cause this *Da'wah* to reach its magnitude. For if He pre-destines great affairs; He creates for it the relevant and distinguished men.”

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Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl Bassām

*'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 1 p. 150

## Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb

He was the ‘Allāmah, the Mujaddid (reviver), the Imām, Shaikh-ul-Islām Abul-Ḥussain Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb bin Sulaimān bin ‘Ali At-Tamīmī.

He was born in Al-‘Uyainah in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula in the year 1115H (1703CE), his father ‘Abdul-Wahhāb bin Sulaimān (d.1153H/1740CE) was from the well known scholars of Najd, and his grandfather Shaikh Sulaimān bin ‘Ali (d.1079H/1668CE) was an eminent scholar in *Fiqh* as well as being the *Muftī* of his land during his time – whilst a great number of scholars and students of knowledge studied with him. He memorised the Qur’ān whilst still a youth of about ten years of age, and this was whilst he was with his father and his uncle; and he studied in the various subjects of knowledge and gained a strong understanding and a great vigour in seeking knowledge. At this time, he studied the rules of Arabic grammar as well as the rules of the Arabic language along with some of the books of *Fiqh* and *ḥadīth* based upon the madhab of Imām Aḥmad along with a study of some of the books of *Tafsīr*.

His keenness in seeking knowledge and his desire to develop his understanding in the religion led him to study with and adhere to Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad from Buraidah who had made hijrah from his city to Ḥuraimilā and then to Al-‘Uyainah. Therefore he adhered to him and completed his studies of Arabic; just as he studied *ḥadīth* from him from the two books of *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* and the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal.

When he reached the age of sixteen he then studied with Shaikh Hassān At-Tamīmī in Al-Qaṣīm; studying *Fiqh* and *Tafsīr* with the Shaikh and so once he had matured and had acquired an adequate level of knowledge his father saw him worthy for leading the prayer – which he began to undertake. The Shaikh had hardly reached the age of twenty except he was already showing signs of distinction.

He (ﷺ) possessed sharp intellect and had a bright mind, he was intelligent and quick in memorisation and eloquent in speech. He continued to busy himself upon seeking knowledge at the hands of his

father such that his father became amazed with his understanding and his perception before he reached the age of puberty. He would say:

“Indeed I benefited from my son Muḥammad in some points of benefit in *Aḥkām* (rulings).”

His father would write to some of his brothers wherein he would mention the affair of his son Muḥammad and praise him and his memorisation and understanding and precision. The Shaikh’s brother; Sulaimān bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb also acknowledged this when he said:

“His father would be amazed at his understanding and would admit to benefitting from him despite his young age.”

After this he gave him permission in order to perform the Ḥajj and so he set off on the Ḥajj after which he travelled to the city of the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم) wherein he remained for a period of time after which he returned home. After this his father also married him to a woman from his people. He remained in Najd for a short time and continued studying under his father (who was at this stage Judge of Al-‘Uyainah) the *Fiqh* of the madhab of Imām Aḥmad. Alongside this he would greatly enquire into the books of *Tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* as well as the speech of the scholars in the principles of Islām. However, he put much emphasis in particular to the books of Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Al-Qayyim, for it was the books of these two Imāms which had the greatest effect in shaping his distinctly astute personality.<sup>74</sup>

When the Imām had comprehended what he had studied in Al-‘Uyainah by way of the sciences of *Fiqh* and Arabic language and *ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr*, he aspired for more. He became intent upon journeying in order to seek knowledge with the scholars of neighbouring lands in order to benefit from their teachings. He began with his journey for knowledge with a passage to Al-Ḥijāz. He had already travelled there before in order to perform the Ḥajj, thus he performed the Ḥajj for a second time after which he would attend the gatherings of the scholars. He dedicated himself

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<sup>74</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 73-74

exclusively to seeking knowledge and was able to study under a great many scholars.

He took from some of the scholars of the *Haram*, from them was Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Sālim Al-Baṣrī. After this he travelled to Al-Madīnah and remained there for a time, it delighted him greatly that there was to be found there the great Scholar Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Ibrahīm bin Saif. The Shaikh adhered to him with a lengthy adherence, taking a great deal of understanding and knowledge from him. Shaikh Ibn Saif was fond of him and was affectionate towards him, he also gave his student the permission to teach and relay all that he himself had possessed by way of transmissions. Shaikh Ibn Saif had a strong association with the 'Allāmah of Madīnah and its famous *Muḥaddith* and *Faqīh* of the time; Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt As-Sindī.

So he introduced him to his distinguished student and what he was upon by way of pure *'Aqīdah* and from his notable stance in possessing a dislike of false beliefs which the people of Najd and other than them were found to be upon. Thus Shaikh Muḥammad As-Sindī took a fondness to him and so Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb became from his exclusive students. He remained with him for a period of time and it was he that had the greatest effect upon Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb in directing him to comprehending the importance of *Tawḥīd* and singling Allāh out in worship and relinquishing blind following and instead preoccupying oneself with The Book and the *Sunnah*, for it was a fact that Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt As-Sindī was renown for his Salafi methodology.<sup>75</sup>

So in Madīnah Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb attained permission to teach the works he had studied from the scholars. Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Saif permitted him to relay entirely what was in the index of Shaikh 'Abdul-Bāqī Abil Mawāhib Al-Ḥanbalī — the *Shaikh al-Mashāikh* of his time. This index comprised of: *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* with its chain of narration to its author, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* with its chain of narration to its author as well as the explanations of each of them. *Sunan At-Tirmidhī* with its chain of narration

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<sup>75</sup> *Rasā'il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p.76-79.

as well as *Sunan Abī Dawūd* and *Ibn Mājah* and *An-Nasā-ī* in *Al-Kubrā* with their chains of narration. Likewise *Sunan Ad-Dārimī* as well as his works with its chain of narration and the work: *Silsilah al-'Arabiyyah* with its chain of narration to Abil-Aswad from 'Ali bin Abī Ṭālib (رضي الله عنه).

Along with this he was given permission in all of the books of Imām An-Nawawī and in *Alfiyyah Al-'Iraqī* and in *At-Targhib wat-Tarhib* and in *Al-Khulāṣah* of Ibn Mālik and in *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* as well as the rest of his works. This was also the case in the works of Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajr Al-'Asqalānī and in the Musnad of Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī and in the *Mu'jam* works of At-Ṭabarānī and the works of As-Suyūṭī and other than these.

The Shaikh also took what comprised this index from Shaikh 'Ali Afandī Ad-Dāghistānī and Shaikh 'Abdul-Laṭīf Al-'Afālqī Al-Aḥsā-ī who both gave him permission similar to that which Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Saif permitted him in. Upon returning to his native home the Shaikh remained there for around a year before setting off for Al-Baṣrah in 'Iraq in order to seek knowledge from the Scholars that were residing there.

The Shaikh's previous travels in the Peninsula and his stay in Al-Baṣrah opened for him the principles of the religion which other than him could not attain; and learnt also concerning that which pertained to that which *Ahl-us-Sunnah* were upon in *Tawḥīd Al-Asmā wa Ṣifāt*. During his time in the city the Shaikh adhered to the great Scholar; Shaikh Muḥammad Al-Majmū'ī<sup>76</sup> – as has preceded, with whom he studied at the Madrasah Al-Baṣrah. It was in Al-Baṣrah whilst he was studying with some of the Scholars that he began calling the people to *Tawḥīd* and calling them away from *Shirk* and innovations, it was in Al-Baṣrah that he likewise authored his book: *Al-Kitāb At-Tawḥīd*. Some of the residents raised complaints against that which the Shaikh was calling to and in doing so managed to convince the authorities to expel him from the city, this was done immediately and the Shaikh was ejected from the city during the hottest

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<sup>76</sup> Shaikh 'Abdullāh Āl-Bassām mentions that the lineage of this noble family goes back to the great companion of the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم) Ṭalḥah bin 'Ubaidillāh; one of the ten companions promised Paradise and who was killed near Al-Baṣrah itself (رضي الله عنه). (See: 'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn vol 1 p. 132).

part of the day and made to walk to the next town of Az-Zubair. After a stay of a few days in the town the Shaikh was intent on travelling to Ash-Shām, however a shortage of finance compelled him to return to Najd.

He therefore travelled by way of Al-Aḥsā where stayed for a time and it was here that he found many outstanding scholars, from them was 'Abdullāh bin Firowz Abū Muḥammad Al-Kafīf. He found that he possessed some of the books of Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Al-Qayyim – which delighted him greatly, and he showered great praise upon 'Abdullāh for his knowledge of the 'Aqīdah of Imām Aḥmad. He studied with the other scholars of Al-Aḥsā, and from the greatest of them; Al-Qāḍī 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdul-Laṭīf as well as Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf Ash-Shāfi'ī Al-Aḥsā-ī.

By this time the Shaikh had taken knowledge from many of the scholars in his country during his era, whilst he also travelled many times to Al-Ḥijāz and Al-Baṣrah and Al-Aḥsā, from amongst his scholars until this time before he returned to Najd were:

His father Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahhāb bin Sulaimān, Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Ibrahīm bin Saif, Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt As-Sindī (d.1163H), Shaikh Muḥammad Al-Majmū'ī Al-Baṣrī, Shaikh Al-Musnad 'Abdullāh bin Sālim Al-Baṣrī (d.1134H), Shaikh 'Abdul-Laṭīf Al-'Afālqī Al-Aḥsā-ī. Shaikh Ḥasan At-Tamīmī, Shaikh Ḥasan Al-Islāmbūlī, Shaikh Yūsuf Āl-Saif as well as others. He studied *Fiqh* under some of these scholars and would discuss/debate issues that he had read in *Sharh al-Kabīr* and *Al-Mughnī* and *Al-Inṣāf*; and this was regarding what was in them pertaining to what opposed the texts of other works such as *Al-Muntaqā* and *Al-Iqnā'*. The Shaikh was also given permission by his Shuyūkh to teach and relay that which he had taken from them. Examples of this is Shaikh 'Abdul-Bāqī Al-Ḥanbali – the Shaikh of the 'Ulamā of his time who granted him permission in all that he had taken from him in order to read and teach from *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* with its chain of narration back to its author. Likewise *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and the explanations of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and *Sunan At-Tirmidhī* and *An-Nasā-ī* and *Abū Dawūd* and *Ibn Mājah* as well as the works of Ad-Dārimī, all of these books with their respective chains of transmission going back to the relevant author. Likewise the *Musnad* of Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī and the *Muwaṭṭa* of Imām Mālik and the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad (رحمة الله).

After this the Shaikh (ﷺ) returned to Najd where he found the people upon a way of misguidance similar to that which he had been witnessing wherever he had travelled; and this was through their practising *Shirk* by worshipping and supplicating to the dead and the trees and stones and the *Jinn*. Seeing this; the Shaikh began his *Da'wah* to *Tawhīd* in the town of Ḥuraimilā – due to his father's presence there, whilst continuing his studies and research in order to further understand the rulings of the *Sharī'ah* and the religion. He also spent a great deal of time studying the works of Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Al-Qayyim – increasing further by way of their works in understanding of the religion. The Shaikh copied out many of the works of Ibn Taymiyyah by hand – some of which can be found preserved at the British Museum in London.<sup>77</sup> The Shaikh during his time in the town would speak out against the innovations and acts of *Shirk* being committed in the town to such an extent that disputes and hostilities arose between him and some of the people of the town. At this time his father also passed away in the town, yet the Shaikh continued his call to *Tawhīd* as well as his forbidding the people against *Shirk* and directing them to avoid blind following and instead to seek out the truth in the affairs of the religion by referring back to the authentic sources of the religion. This was ultimately to lead the Shaikh being made to leave Ḥuraimilā; and so he relocated to Al-'Uyainah. In Al-'Uyainah he came to its Amīr: 'Uthmān bin Mua'mmar who initially aided him, and there gathered around the Shaikh many students of knowledge, and he likewise began implementing the *Sharī'ah* rulings such as demolishing the domes (shrines) utilised in committing *Shirk* as well as stoning the adulterer. However Ibn Mua'mmar relinquished himself from the Shaikh after fearing threats/intimidation from some of the other more powerful rulers in authority.

For this reason the Shaikh (ﷺ) left Al-'Uyainah in search of another place, and so came to Ad-Dir'iyyah and met its Amīr Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd; the outcome of this meeting and its significance in the spread of the Salafi reform movement is well known.

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<sup>77</sup> As stated by 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf in *Mashahīr 'Ulamā Najd* p. 23

The *Da'wah* went on to spread to the neighbouring lands and Jihād was made in the path of Allāh to make His word manifest and to suppress and eradicate *Shirk* and innovations, and so it was not long before the *Da'wah* spread and all the varying Najdī regions were united under its banner – spreading thereafter to Al-Hijāz, 'Asir, and the north of the peninsula.

A great many students took knowledge from the Shaikh (رحمة الله) and who themselves took up giving *Da'wah* after him, from his students were:

His own offspring: Shaikh Ḥussain (d. 1224H), and Shaikh 'Ali (d. 1245H), and Shaikh 'Abdullāh (d. 1243H) and Shaikh Ibrahīm. His grandson: 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan – the author of *Fath ul Majīd*. Shaikh Ḥamad bin Nāṣir bin Ma'mar (d. 1225H), Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz bin 'Abdillāh Al-Hussayyin (d. 1237H). Shaikh Ḥussain bin Ghannām (d. 1225H) The Imām the Mujāhid, 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd (d. 1218H), Imām Sa'ūd bin 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad (d. 1229H). The Shaikh (رحمة الله) authored many beneficial works, from them are: *Al-Kitāb At-Tawḥīd*, *Usūl ul-Ēmān*, *Mufīdul Mustafīd fī Kufr Tārik At-Tawḥīd*, *Kashf Ash-Shubuhāt*, *Thalāthatul Usūl*, *Mukhtasir As-Sīrah*, *Mukhtasir Fat-ḥ ul-Bārī* (in manuscript form), *Mukhtasir Zād al-Ma'ād* and others.

The Shaikh would spend much of the night awake in prayer and reading and was known for his humble temperament and so would not eat from the treasury except in that which was needed. Despite the immense wealth accumulated by the First Saudi State he did not enrich himself by way of it, instead he endeavoured to spend in the cause of the *Da'wah* and upon those that were in need. The Shaikh passed away and did not leave behind any wealth other than his home in which he had lived during his life. The Shaikh had six sons of whom all were scholars of the religion, they were; 'Ali, Ḥussain, 'Abdullāh, Ḥasan, Ibrahīm and 'Abdul-'Azīz, he likewise had four daughters.

The Shaikh continued to be blessed in his progeny – from amongst them his grandsons and those that came after for many a generation until this

very day; a great number of whom went on to become scholars of the religion.<sup>78</sup>

The Shaikh was one of the notable personalities of Islamic reformation in modern times; and was himself strong in his belief and firm in his faith – and so was not perturbed by anything for the sake of the truth. He traversed upon the 'Aqīdah of the righteous Salaf and was severe in his honour for the religion.

He possessed a sturdy physique; and had a solemnity and an awe which his companions acknowledged; he had immense piety and *zuhd* and was careful, modest and would be known to remember Allāh much.

He also had a strong personality just as he was strong in establishing the proofs and was firmly grounded in understanding and was valiant in opinion and would return to The Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger (ﷺ) and to the Salafī beliefs and understanding. He was profuse in praying the night prayer and was lengthy in his worship and would not be distracted from the remembrance of Allāh – despite his love for good, righteousness and kindness.

Shaikh 'Abdullāh Al-Bassām said regarding him: “And so before we conclude the discussion of the life of Shaikh Muḥammad (ﷺ), we desire to make a statement regarding him which is:

That this Imām was not just an 'Ālim from the men of the religion and from the 'Ulamā of the *Shari'ah*, rather he was a man upon whom Allāh The One free of imperfections and The Most High bestowed a great intellect and a prudent mind and far sightedness as well as a strong – influential personality. Just as Allāh The Most High granted him sincerity in his actions and steadfastness upon that and having the ability of endurance in its regard. So as a consequence of this natural aptitude and divine

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<sup>78</sup> For further reading and detailed biographies of the scholars of the Āl-Ash-Shaikh (progeny of the Shaikh) as well others from Najd and beyond; refer to: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah fī Ajwiba an-Najdiyyah* and *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* and *Mashāhīr 'Ulamā Najd wa Ghairihim* and *At-Tarājum Al-Mukhtārah lil-Imām 'Abdillāh wa Abnā-ihī wa Ba'ad Ahfādhīhī*.

conferment he was prepared and readied to be worthy of being from the men of rectitude and from the leaders of concept. Therefore these great factors that were present within him were the reasons for knowing the falsehood which the people of his era were upon. So he kept clear of that which they were upon and it was the reason as to why he went to the source references of Islām to find the remedies from within for these sicknesses which had engulfed the Muslim lands. Then he identified how to treat these sicknesses as well as the effective path that he should undertake for that. He knew the reasons that the Amīrs and leaders would be convinced in complying to his *Da'wah* and for them to be of aid to him in his task.

Then with this wise sophistication and under its directive he set in motion the train of verbal and physical Jihād in order that the *Da'wah* should reach its goal – and so he did not die except that he actualised that which he envisioned in his mind and had hoped in his heart and had intended with his directive.”<sup>79</sup>

By the end of his life the Shaikh (رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ) had dedicated over sixty years of his life in calling to *Tawhīd* and rectifying the beliefs of the people in their religion and calling them back to correct guidance whilst facing the harsh and hostile denunciations of those that sought to reject what he was calling to. The influence of Shaikh's *Da'wah* and his efforts in reforming the beliefs of the people back to the true understanding of the religion and that which the Messenger of Allāh (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) had called set in motion a return back to the true understanding of the religion from its correct and authentic sources. It has also stimulated and influenced the rectitude in the beliefs and understandings in religion of people in other countries such as Egypt, Sudan, India and the sub-continent and Ash-Shām and as far as Indonesia as well as in other regions of the Muslim world.

The Shaikh was granted an eventful and virtuous life in calling to that which the Prophets and the Messengers had called to; and yet despite the weakness through which his *Da'wah* was to undergo in its early stages; he

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<sup>79</sup> *Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 1 p. 150-151

lived long enough to witness the promise of Allāh for those that sincerely aid His religion.

The Shaikh died at the end of the year 1206H (1792CE) at the age of ninety-one years in Ad-Dir'iyyah; and until the very end of his life he remained true to his word in residing in Ad-Dir'iyyah together with the family of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. Just as he lived his life ensuring that his family and his people worshipped Allāh alone without any partners – this being the very purpose mankind had been created for; and for the establishment of which the Prophets and the Messengers had been sent.

Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm Āl-Ash-Shaikh narrated an incident as proof of his concern that his family adhered to *Tawḥīd* and so should worship Allāh alone when he said:

“I came across a trustworthy man who narrated from a close female relative of his who said: ‘I entered the house of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb after he had grown old and had become heavy (slowed down) and he was sitting on the hassock in the front part of his house in front of its entrance. So when the mu’adhin called the adhān, the Shaikh said to those around him: ‘command ‘Abdullāh so that he should pray with (i.e lead) the people.’ So they said: ‘he has already gone to the Mosque’ so the Shaikh said: ‘Alḥamdulillāh for The One Who extracted from my offspring those that would worship Allāh.’”<sup>80</sup>

## Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd

He was: Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd bin Miqrin bin Mirkhān bin Ibrahīm, he was born approximately in the year 1100H or 1687/1688CE, the founder of the Salafī State that was to become the First Saudi State. A man of extraordinary resilience that had previously been known to honour pledges and keep his word – even if it be in opposition to his kinfolk. Both of the contemporary historians Ibn Bishr and Ibn Ghannām state that Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd was well known from early on for his assurances and his steadfastness and his good nature, this being a correct attribute – for

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<sup>80</sup> *‘Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn vol 1 p. 170-171*

the steadfastness of this Amīr in his aiding the call to *Tawhīd* would be a remarkable hallmark of his self-determination.

He had remained as head of Ad-Dir'iyah for almost twenty years (1139H-1157H/1726-1744CE) before the arrival of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. Little if anything is known of this early period of his rule, however the duration of his rule gives rise to the fact that this era was one of amity and harmony in light of the chaotic political as well as the unruly tribal problems of the era. His more powerful neighbours were the Amīr of Al-'Uyainah with whom it appears he had an amicable relationship along with the fact that he had married his son 'Abdul-'Azīz to the Amīr's daughter. Another potent neighbour was the leader of Riyadh, and yet greater than these rulers was the Amīr of Al-Aḥsā. As for the leader of Riyadh, Dahhām bin Dawās; then as Ibn Ghannām mentioned that he had been indebted to Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd for having helped him remain in his seat of authority in Riyadh. For the people of Riyadh detested him and desired to rid themselves of him, so he appealed to the leader of Ad-Dir'iyah for help and so Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd bolstered him and so sent a number of fighting men and with that the insurrectionists were quelled and his rule was upheld.<sup>81</sup>

He led many of the early expeditions and military engagements himself against the enemies of *Tawhīd*, and only deputised his son 'Abdul-'Azīz to do so due to his ailing health and old age.

He was the man that would sacrifice his every effort and endeavour to set in motion the call to *Tawhīd* that would surge from his city and spread across his country and before long across much of the Muslim world. The Islamic *Da'wah* was revived at his hands and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) was restored. He aided Shaikh-ul-Islām and endeavoured and strove, he gave all he could in preparation for Jihād from military strength and from horses – all in the path of Allāh. Through him

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<sup>81</sup> Let the reader observe in what is to follow how the Amīr of Riyadh went on to show his ingratitude to the Amīr of Ad-Dir'iyah for this act of assistance, especially when the Amīr of Ad-Dir'iyah was later to invite him to observe the call to *Tawhīd* and the subsequent battles and military confrontations that were to last between the two towns for over a quarter of a century.

Allāh honoured Islām and the Muslims and brought the hearts of the believers together and suppressed falsehood and its allies from the *mushrikīn*. A man of integrity and one true to his word, he did not cease to aid the Shaikh in calling the people to *Tawhīd* until the end of his life. He accepted the Salafī *Da'wah* despite knowing the overwhelming consequences of what the wrath of other towns and cities would be – yet still this man stood firm. The loss of family or reputation to outsiders did not concern him, nor cause him to flinch – instead he persevered to help spread this *Da'wah* and be a defender of it.

It is a thing witnessed that this Imām and his successors were upon that which the Prophet (ﷺ) was upon; that they were upon the truth and their enemies upon falsehood. Whatever occurred with them from those that opposed them, then it was Allāh Who aided them and granted them victory even though they were few in number and weak; and their enemies large in number and formidable. He died in the year 1179H (1765CE) and was buried in the cemetery at Ad-Dir'iyyah. Despite having ruled for some twenty years before over the town; he continued to rule in Najd as the head of what became the First Saudi State from the year 1158H to the year 1179H – and the successors of his progeny continue to rule to this day.<sup>82</sup>

### 'Abdul 'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd

He was: Imām 'Abdul 'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd, second of the rulers of The First Saudi State, he was born in the year 1133H (1723CE) in Ad-Dir'iyyah. He grew up in Ad-Dir'iyyah and was from the foremost of those that aided the cause of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb being a youth of less than twenty years of age making him possibly the youngest supporter of the Shaikh at the time when the Shaikh was still in Al-'Uyainah. During this time, he requested the *Tafsīr* of Sūrah Al-Fātiḥah from the Shaikh which the Shaikh compiled and sent to him at his request which gives insight into his interest and dedication in seeking knowledge; as well as their relationship from an early stage.

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<sup>82</sup> See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p. 347-355 and *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p.63-64 and 132-133.

Once the Shaikh had made the hijrah to Ad-Dir'iyyah; 'Abdul-'Azīz adhered to the Shaikh and would be ardent in attending his lessons. He was especially responsive to the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh and would help the Shaikh in many of his own needs which led to the Shaikh developing a great admiration for him through which the Shaikh would praise him much in his public and private gatherings. During this time 'Abdul-'Azīz also took knowledge from the other 'Ulamā present in Ad-Dir'iyyah and so went on to gain a profound understanding of the religion and its sciences. He had already been noted for his bravery and nobility and virtuous nature – which were with time to further his reputation with anyone who saw or even heard of him.

Some historians claim that 'Abdul-'Azīz was the founder of the First Saudi State however the historian Munīr Al-'Ajlānī correctly regards 'Abdul-'Azīz as the second founder of the State,<sup>83</sup> giving his father Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd the distinction of founding the State with Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and that his son 'Abdul-'Azīz went on to complete his actions and actualise his hopes – and each of them has his share of glory and continuance of commemoration.

During his father's era he led many expeditions from Ad-Dir'iyyah and partook in the defences of all of the assaults led by the many Amīrs and heads of local towns and provinces against the First Saudi State in its early period – as will become manifest in the subsequent chapters.

He assumed rulership after the death of his father Muḥammad, in the year 1179H (1765CE) and under his rule the State which had covered much of Najd expanded to new limits. He was given the pledge of allegiance by the people at the death of his father and at the head of those that gave the pledge was Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb himself.

Luṭfullāh Jaḥḥāf said regarding him:

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<sup>83</sup> See: *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p.18.

“He was a man who had insight into affairs and had intuitive knowledge (discernment) of ruling power (and its alternation). He was knowledgeable of the factors stimulated problems between the tribes; he was a careful leader – well acquainted with the circumstances of the people, brave and valiant. He would adorn himself with the embellishment of the Salaf and would call to the religion – encouraging *Tawhīd* and sincerity (to Allāh)...”<sup>84</sup>

Hussain bin Ghannām said regarding him:

“He would fear Allāh much and was plentiful in remembrance of Him, he would enjoin the good and forbid evils. He was compassionate a great deal and was merciful with his subjects. He would not leave the Masjid after the Morning Prayer except after sunrise and would remain there praying the *Duḥā* prayer. He would give plentifully and would give in charity to his subjects and the delegations and the Amīrs and the Judges and the people of knowledge as well as its students – with his grants and endowments to the weak and the needy being in the utmost.”<sup>85</sup>

Shaikh ‘Abdullāh Al-Bassām mentioned regarding him:

“He would implement the truth – even if it be against the people of his own home as well as his relatives. He would not allow the greatness of a person of distinction to obstruct him when that person oppressed someone and so would seek to stop him from his oppression and implement the truth in his regard. Likewise, he would not demean a weak person who was oppressed and so would seek his right for him – even if he was in a far off place. The whole of the Arabian Peninsula in his time was at peace and harmonious in dwelling such that a single person could travel with an immense amount of wealth wherever he desired; any time he desired; any direction he desired. During his time the traveller did not carry a weapon as there was not to be found anyone who would scare the travellers, all the taxations which the regional tribes imposed upon the travellers for safe passage were banned – so no such tax was given...”<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *Durar Nahūr Al-Hūr Al-’Ēn bi Sīrah Al-Imām Al-Manṣūr* p. 838. See also: *Ar-Risālah Ad-Dīniyyah fī Ma’nā Al-Ilāhiyyah* p. 22

<sup>85</sup> *Ar-Risālah Ad-Dīniyyah fī Ma’nā Al-Ilāhiyyah* p. 22

<sup>86</sup> *Tuḥfatul Mushtāq* p. 250-251

He was severe upon the perpetrators of crime and the highway bandits as well as any thieves that stole from the travellers. During his time his territory enjoyed peace and tranquillity, a traveller could go to any land he wanted with enormous wealth anytime he pleased, summer or winter, right or left, east or west, whether in Najd or Al-Ḥijāz or Yemen or At-Tihāmah. He would fear no one, since there was no thief and no negativity and no assailant and no criminal. In his days the entire Najdī province would send out its livestock in the springtime for grazing in the open country and valleys without a shepherd. Many of the people of the regions would pass by Ad-Dir'iyah in his time during their journey to perform the Ḥajj. If there were any lost camels then they would be bought to Ad-Dir'iyah quickly for fear of the one that found it being found in possession of a stray animal and so rebuked for that, when bought to Ad-Dir'iyah the Imām had a man who tended to them. Then whosoever they belonged to could come and take them away. This security in this dominion was something that Allāh placed in the hearts of the servants, from the Bedouin and the townsfolk, along with immense fear in the hearts of those that opposed its people. This had not been found except in the time of 'Umar (رضي الله عنه).

Al-Qāḍī 'Uthmān bin Maṣṣūr mentioned how there were a group of starving men from the thieves of the Bedouins that once came across a lost she-goat in a pomegranate garden in Nafud As-Sir – a well known place in Najd. They remained for two days in their hunger so one of them said to his companions: “Why not one of you set upon this she-goat and slaughter it so we can eat it.” So they all said to their companion: “Why don't you set upon it?” None of them could set upon it out of fear of the retribution upon the one that does so. Then one of the men felt the urge to say: “By Allāh; I can't set upon it – so leave it since 'Abdul-'Azīz is its shepherd!” So they left it – whilst they were in dire need of it.<sup>87</sup>

He (رضي الله عنه) would send letters and treatises to the 'Ulamā and the Judges in the east and the west calling to *Tawḥīd* and warning against *Shirk* and

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<sup>87</sup> See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p. 356-366 and *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 80-82

clarifying the reality of worship for which purpose Allāh created the Jinn and mankind. He also refuted the doubts presented by those that justify the worship of the Prophets and the *Awliyā*; from some of the most important of these letters were:

1. His well known '*Risālah Ad-Dīniyyah fī Ma'nā Al-Ilāhiyyah*' to the 'Ulamā and the Judges in the Ḥaramain and Ash-Shām and Egypt and 'Iraq and to the rest of the scholars of the east and west. This treatise was written in or before the year 1211H.
2. His letter to the people of the cities of the non-Arabs and Rūm (Anatolia and Eastern Europe) in which he elucidated the correct creed and refuted the doubts posed against the *Da'wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and his followers.
3. His letter to the people of Al-Mikhlāf As-Sulaimānī in which he again explained the correct creed. Imām Ash-Shawkānī (رحمته الله) said: "A letter has arrived in Yemen from Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz in the year 1215H" (this letter maybe the same one or possibly another one).
4. His letter to Aḥmad bin 'Ali Al-Qāsimī in which he clarified the following of The Book and the *Sunnah* and the aḥādīth as opposed to just following the madhabs, along with an explanation of the correct creed and that which opposes it.
5. His Letter to Yāqūt in which is the explanation of *Tawḥīd*.
6. His and Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb's letter to Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Al-'Uwailī.
7. His letter to Shaikh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Al-Hifzī
8. His letter to the people of Al-Kharj and Al-Far' and Al-Aflāj and Ad-Dal' and As-Sulail and other than them.

As well as other than these letters from the vast number of correspondences from the Imām to the varying members of society during his era.<sup>88</sup>

The Imām was a keen collector of books and would encourage the spread of knowledge by way of them and so would give them out to the students of knowledge. He (رحمة الله) owned a compilation of statements of Ibn Taymiyyah (رحمة الله) and so he inscribed into it the following statement of ownership:

Ownership by the bounty of his Lord The Praised – is that of:  
'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd.

He once donated a portion from the *Tafsīr* of Al-Bayḍāwī in which the following inscription was found:

This book was given in Waqf (charitable donation for public use) by 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd for the students of knowledge and the Muslims. This was witnessed by 'Abdullāh the son of the Shaikh; and it was written by and witnessed also by Ḥamad bin Nāṣir.<sup>89</sup>

From the numerous accounts of the Imām it becomes clear that he had a great love for the people of knowledge and for the students of knowledge as well as for his subjects. His consideration for the poor people and his seeking the right of the weak and his dislike for the oppressors along with his stopping at any limitations and so not exceeding the bounds are all signs and indications of the upright nature and character of the Imām. An example of this is found in a report in which some of his men once took Muḥammad bin Demās as a captive and so bought him to Ad-Dir'iyyah in order for him to be executed there. However, the Imām refused to do so; even though his hideous actions had been laid bare, but the Imām was one to stop short at the legislative boundaries and so refrained in this case.

The Imāms expense upon the scholars, judges and students of knowledge as well as other people is well documented. For the Imām would on some occasions deliver all of the spoils attained in an expedition and hand it in

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<sup>88</sup> *Ar-Risālah Ad-Dīniyyah fī Ma'nā Al-Ilāhiyyah* p. 23-24

<sup>89</sup> *Ar-Risālah Ad-Dīniyyah fī Ma'nā Al-Ilāhiyyah* p. 26

full to Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb. On an occasion twenty large sacks of Dīnars were placed in front of him on the ground, so he prodded them with his sword and said:

“O Allāh; grant me sovereignty over it – and do not grant it  
sovereignty over me.”

Then he ordered for its distribution as was required for the needs of the people.<sup>90</sup>

Likewise the children of the families of Ad-Dir’iyyah were aware of the Imāms generosity; so once they would complete their lesson with their teachers they would go up to him with their writing slates and present their handwriting and works to him. Thereupon whoever’s writing was exceptional from them then he would give them an ample gift whilst the rest would get less than that.

If a man in any region of Najd would die, then his surviving offspring would come to ‘Abdul-‘Azīz who would give them a generous contribution and maybe even enter them into the treasury accounts. He would ask after the weak and the orphans and other than them in Ad-Dir’iyyah; and so would order with making endowments upon them.

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<sup>90</sup> The Muslim historical accounts of the Imāms upright moral conduct and his adherence to conducting himself in his policies in light of the Islamic legislation and guidance are plentiful and are well known. How strange therefore that the misguided astray people of innovation who are at odds with the call to *Tawḥīd* should think otherwise based on their own erroneous and baseless accounts whilst even the non-Muslim historians are found to assert the Imāms virtuous nature and conduct throughout their writings. Such an example can be found in the statement of the contemporary historian Louis De Corancez regarding the Imām when he said:

“‘Abdul-‘Azīz lived a life of abstinence – like most of his subjects; and so perhaps that was from the greatest reasons for his *tawfiq* (divinely conferred ability). He was just; and so he would not utilise the *Da’wah* as a means of amassing wealth – however he gathered wealth in order to place it in the service of the *Da’wah*! He was brave; and by no means reckless, he was compassionate – however; he would punish at the disturbance of peace/security and causing chaos with severe punishment.” (See: *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa’ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 30)

Many a time he would write to the regions encouraging literacy and the seeking of knowledge and teaching whilst appointing a wage for those that did so; and those that were poor from among them then he would encourage them to come to Ad-Dir'iyyah whereupon he would see to all their needs.<sup>91</sup>

Ibn Ghannām mentions that the Imām gave up – on more than one occasion his own share of spoils as well as that of his own men to the immigrants and refugees who had come to Ad-Dir'iyyah. Likewise, that he would order all the districts at the time of inflation (rises in price) to count those from amongst them who were needy and weak and so provide them with food and sustenance as they were able to provide and as was sufficient. He himself would stand with that in the best way and so would give to the less privileged; in particular, the needy people and the widowers and the orphans – until Allāh would remove the distress!<sup>92</sup>

'Uthmān bin Manṣūr mentions stating that the scribe of 'Abdul-'Azīz said to me: "On an occasion 'Abdul-'Azīz was struck with a headache; so he called for me and said: 'write out the charity for the people of the districts.' So he dictated to me that the people of Manfūḥah should receive five hundred riyals and the people of Al-'Uyainah with the like of that and seven hundred riyals for the people of Ḥuraimilā and one thousand one hundred riyals for the people of Al-Maḥmal; thereby allocating portions to all the Najdī districts." Then he said: "I then totalled it up to ninety thousand riyals."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 21

<sup>92</sup> *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 20-22. Munīr Al-'Ajlānī said after citing this:

"We do not cite these examples and illustrations for mere proof that 'Abdul-'Azīz was a humane Amīr; rather we intended to make clear the aim behind that – which is that the Muslim Ruler who conducts himself with Prophetic conduct and bases it on rightly guided Caliphate (in methodology), then he would ascend in his level of rule within his domains to the highest possible levels of social justice. Something which some of the people seek in these days."

<sup>93</sup> *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 268

The Imāms life which he spent in exerting his efforts in spreading the call to *Tawhīd* and opposing all that opposes it was filled with military expeditions and campaigns till the very end of his life. As mentioned by Munīr Al-Ajlānī:

“Abdul-‘Azīz’s lifetime was a continued sequence of warfare and expeditions which he would lead out himself – whether when he was young or when at the height of his life. ‘Abdul-‘Azīz fought against the Shaikh of Riyadh, Ibn Dawās, and the Shaikh of Al-Kharj, Ibn Zāmil, and other than them from the Shaikhs of the Najdī towns. Then he fought the chief of Najrān and the Viceroy of ‘Iraq and the Amīr of Al-Aḥsā and the Sharīf of Makkah along with many others besides these from the leaders of the districts and the tribes. For he was on the defensive in the majority of his wars – not on the offensive; and indeed Allāh safeguarded him more than once from his formidable enemies – and wrote effective and powerful victories for him. From the most astonishing of affairs is that his enemies – notwithstanding their numbers; would die; either from a sudden illness, or by a spear thrown at them by an unknown pauper. Thus chaos would ensue in their armies and they would retreat and be torn apart – and so Allāh would suffice the believers from fighting!”<sup>94</sup>

A final befitting statement in regards to the Imām from Amīn Rayhānī in which he stated:

“Abdul-‘Azīz retired from work in his old age; and it was he who had dedicated more than forty years of his life in expeditions and warfare, so he did not become fatigued nor weary. He did not remain seated after a defeat – nor to that did he incline after victory, for he would advance with his men from the most distant point of the country to its farthest part – daily – intrepid and tranquil, so he would drift one day into the Rub’ Al-Khālī (Empty Quarter) and another day into Al-Qaṣīm and another day into As-Samāwah in ‘Iraq and yet another into Wadī Ad-Dawāsir. As though he were an element of rain or a simoom (hot wind); and indeed – he was rain

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<sup>94</sup> *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa’ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 38

for the *Muwahhidin* (Monotheists/Unitarians); and a *simūm* (poison) for their enemies.”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 269

## Chapter IV | Hostilities Against the Call to *Tawhīd* and the Expansions into Najd and Beyond

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“Perhaps the first thing that any one of us would consider would be; that one would compare the weakness of Ad-Dir’iyyah before the advent of the *Da’wah* – with its strength after the *Da’wah*.

Those inspirational words which were uttered by Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb to Muḥammad bin Sa’ūd in the first meeting between them. For indeed he promised him that whenever *At-Tawhīd* was made pure and sincere; and the rulings of the legislation were adhered to; that he and his sons would reign over the Arabian Peninsula.

So Allāh The One free of all imperfections willed that part of this promise would be actualised during the era of Muḥammad (bin Sa’ūd); and would then be completed during the reign of ‘Abdul-‘Azīz.”

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Dr Munīr Al-‘Ajlānī

*Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa’ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 17

Ad-Dir'iyah's prominence was on the rise, many of the heads of the other towns in Najd began fearing the union that had taken place at the town between the Shaikh and its Amīr. So they began convening upon Ad-Dir'iyah, some of them to safeguard themselves and their towns from jihād and some towns such as Huraimilā and Al-'Uyainah and Manfūhah accepted whilst others proclaimed resistance to it. It took forty years to establish the message of *At-Tawhīd* in Najd, during the course of which many wars were fought for lengthy periods with other towns. In these early days the defenders of Ad-Dir'iyah numbered no more than a few camel riders.<sup>96</sup> Many being from the family of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd himself, the fighting which would take place would be between the men of the opposing towns with little military armament being utilised.

The spread and influence of the call from Ad-Dir'iyah began to take effect in other towns in the region; and with the hijrah of the Shaikh the towns in the region which accepted the *Da'wah* became centres of knowledge and propagation in the following orders of importance; Ad-Dir'iyah, then 'Unayzah and then Al-Majma'ah and finally Ushaiqir. This shows that the order of the centres of knowledge had come to change in comparison to their order in the past. Ad-Dir'iyah's boost came due to it having become a centre of knowledge in Najd as of the hijrah of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb in the year 1157H, as well as its transition as the capital of The First Saudi State which came about with the subsequent unification of Najd under its authority. Naturally Ad-Dir'iyah became the desired objective of many of those who sought to aid the *Da'wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb from among the students of knowledge – something which historical accounts from the time testify to. For both Ibn Ghannām and Ibn Bishr give indications to many hijrahs having taken place within the Al-'Āriḍ district all with Ad-Dir'iyah as the intended destination – this being since the hijrah of the Shaikh there himself. From this is that which Ibn Bishr mentioned regarding the hijrah of seventy men from Manfūhah to Ad-Dir'iyah within a single day. This being as a consequence of the people of Manfūhah who in the year 1165H had violated their terms of agreement with Ad-Dir'iyah. Likewise, Ibn Ghannām lists a great number of those that made the hijrah from Riyadh and Manfūhah to Ad-Dir'iyah in the year 1168H, this being the result of

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<sup>96</sup> Ibn Bishr mentions that the first expedition from Ad-Dir'iyah numbered seven riders. (See: *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 19)

Dahhām breaking his terms of agreement with those in authority in Ad-Dir'iyyah in that year having been aided by the Amīr of Manfūḥah.<sup>97</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl-Ash Shaikh said: "The setting which bears most resemblance to the affair of this Shaikh (صحة الله) is that which occurred with the seal of the Prophets, even to his migrants and to his helpers. With the abundance of those that opposed him and were hostile to him in the beginning – as is the state of the truth in the beginning. Many there will be that reject it; few there will be that accept it and aid it,<sup>98</sup> and so the first of those that become adversaries to them; will be those that are closest to them in principality, being a great deal mightier and wealthier; the principality of Dahhām bin Dawās."<sup>99</sup>

### Local Hostilities Against Ad-Dir'iyyah

During the first two years which the Shaikh spent in the town he began writing to the Amīrs of other towns calling them to the message of

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<sup>97</sup> *Al-Ḥayāt Al-'Ilmiyyah fī Najd* p. 145-146

<sup>98</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl-Ash Shaikh said also:

"What is astonishing; is that when Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd had accepted in becoming from the people of this *Da'wah*, once he was granted ability from Allāh to accept this *Da'wah* from the beginning. Despite the lack of subsistence and having no helper, he embarked in aid of it – having no care for those that opposed him from those that were close ones or distant ones. Such that some from amongst the people that he had closeness to reproached him for this station to which he had now embarked upon. He didn't pay any regard to the rebuke of the one that rebuked or to the blame of the blamer, or to the opinion of the skeptic. Rather he worked hard in aiding this religion – such that Allāh caused him to rule over all those that had ruled over him during his lifetime from the people of the towns. Then after his death, the affair passed on to his progeny. They led/directed the people with this religion, making jihad with it just as they had made jihad in the beginning. Thus their territory expanded; and their authority became yet greater over the people with this religion – in which there is found no difficulty or ambiguity." (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 40)

<sup>99</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 15

*Tawhīd*.<sup>100</sup> Sometimes his correspondence served its purpose, however other times those that he addressed in them proved to be unresponsive or even hostile.

Hostilities with Dahhām bin Dawās, the Amīr of Riyadh began when he attacked some of the adherents to the Salafī *Da'wah* who were residing in his town. Then in 1159H (1746CE) he brought out his hatred in open when he organized an attack on his neighbours in Manfūḥah who had recently accepted the call of the Shaikh. The reason for this could have been that he wanted to take the town for himself and establish his own rule there after he had been expelled from it once along with his brothers. Until this attack upon an ally of Ad-Dir'iyyah; Dahhām had never shown any hostility or aggression against the interests of the Amīr of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Dahhām and some of his men hid in one of the houses of the town while the Bedouin and horsemen were to raid the fields and palm groves in order to bring out the inhabitants. The plan worked and not a man capable of fighting was left in the town. Then Dahhām and his men rushed up to occupy the fortress of the Amīr. However, at that point some of the adherents of the Shaikh had occupied the houses opposite the fortress. They opened a

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<sup>100</sup> The Shaikh came to realize the importance of this form of communication, as well as its great effect upon those being called. Thus he gave it particular consideration; he sent letters to the scholars such as the scholars of the *Ḥaram* and to the 'Ālim of 'Iraq: As-Suwaitī. Along with some of the scholars of Yemen such as 'Abdullāh As-Ṣan'ānī and likewise to 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdul-Laṭīf from the scholars of Al-Aḥsā.

He would also send letters to the students of knowledge and the religious teachers such as the teachers of Ad-Dir'iyyah and the religious teachers of Tharmidā and Al-Majma'ah and Thādiq and other than them.

To the rulers he also sent correspondence, such as to Fāḍil Āl-Mazīd, the chief of the deserts of Ash-Shām and to the ruler of Makkah Sharīf Aḥmad bin Sa'īd and later to Sharīf Ghālib. He also sent correspondence to Ibn Ṣabāḥ - the Amīr of Kuwait. There were also letters that he sent to particular regions and cities such as the letter of the Imām (i.e. the Shaikh) to the people of Riyadh and to the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah and to the religious teachers of Sudair and Al-Washm and to the people of Shaqrā and to the people of Al-'Uyainah and the people of Makkah and to the people of Al-Qaṣīm. (See: *Rasā'il al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 137-139)

discharge of musket fire which was such that Dahhām and his men were flushed out and so rushed out of the fortress to flee. Not before Dahhām himself was wounded twice and lost the toes of one of his feet and had his horse killed.<sup>101</sup>

When the news of Dahhām's attack reached Ad-Dir'iyyah it was decided by the Shaikh and the Amīr that it was necessary to confront the hostility shown by Riyadh. The decision to do so was bolstered when news came that Dahhām had offered to sacrifice animals in the cause of Tāj, the blind holy man of Al-Kharj, if the Amīr of Ad-Dir' iyyah reaches Al-Fawwārah<sup>102</sup> in an advance upon Riyadh.

A group of men set out from Ad-Dir'iyyah and managed to enter Riyadh; upon doing so they sawed off the door to Dahhām's fortress and entered some of the houses and fired a number of shots but did not hit the man they had come for. After narrowly escaping, Dahhām decided himself to take the offensive by rushing around Ad-Dir'iyyah and fell upon the town of Al-'Ammāriyah further up the Wadī. Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd set up an ambush in order to catch Dahhām on his way home. Dahhām had to flee until another group of his men returned from Al-'Ammāriyah and attacked from the rear.

Then in 1159H (1746CE) Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and some of his men, along with others from 'Irqah and surrounding villages near Ad-Dir'iyyah were lying in wait in a ravine called jurf 'Ubayyan. A sortie approached with Dahhām amongst them which they set upon and crushed killing about ten men.<sup>103</sup>

In 1160H (1747CE) Dahhām set out for a raid upon Ad-Dir'iyyah, in the fighting which ensued the defenders suffered losses. It is here that two of the sons of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd were killed. As was mentioned by Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl-Ash Shaikh who said:

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<sup>101</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 66-67 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 6-7

<sup>102</sup> A spring between Ad-Dir'iyyah and Riyadh.

<sup>103</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 22-23 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 6-7.

“He (Dahhām) was the first to launch an attack upon them, taking them at a time when they were inattentive and oblivious and having no reflection over him. They came out to him faint-hearted, some of their men were killed – from them was Faiṣal bin Sa’ūd and Sa’ūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa’ūd. So how free of all imperfection is The One that strengthened the unflinching resolve of this man (i.e. Muḥammad bin Sa’ūd) in order to be of aid to this religion – even though his sons had been killed. They came back on a second occasion and burst into attack, and so many of those that came to attack them were killed, allowing the Muslims to take reprisal from them.”<sup>104</sup>

Later in 1160H (1747CE) a group set out from Ad-Dir’iyyah and neighbouring Al-’Uyainah, Ḥuraimilā and Manfūḥah to march on Riyadh. However, one of the residents of Ḥuraimilā rushed on ahead to inform Dahhām of the approach. In the morning the fighting began at a place called Dalqah at Riyadh where fierce fighting took place. At the fortress itself there was fighting taking place with Dahhām himself in the midst. Dahhām was being attacked by a man called Ḥamad bin Muḥammad who hacked at Dahhām’s head and body with his sword in an attempt to kill him. However one of Dahhām’s men, Mūsā bin Ēsā Al-Ḥariṣ came up from behind and killed Dahhām’s attacker saving him from what may have been.

After the battle, the attackers returned home leaving the people of Riyadh to count their losses. The man who had defended Dahhām, Mūsā bin Ēsā Al-Ḥariṣ later accepted the call to *Tawḥīd*, upon informing Dahhām of this and of his intent of migrating to Ad-Dir’iyyah, Dahhām then ordered to cut off his hand and foot and expelled him to Ad-Dir’iyyah where he died three days later. After another attack upon Riyadh was complete, an attack was made in 1161H (1748CE) upon Tharmidā in the Al-Washm region with the people of Ad-Dir’iyyah returning with a great booty.<sup>105</sup>

The following year in 1162H (1749CE) another attack was made against Riyadh with Muḥammad bin Sa’ūd at its head, however in this confrontation only distant musket-fire was exchanged resulting in the deaths of seven men from Riyadh. In 1163-1164H (1750-1751CE) another

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<sup>104</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 15.

<sup>105</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p.26-27 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 9-11.

attack was made upon Riyadh and Tharmidā in the west. With the fight at Riyadh bringing about little effect, the attack on Tharmidā proved more successful despite the residents having been notified of the approach of the attackers and calling in the people of Wathithiyah and Marrāt for aid. The attackers set up an ambush outside Tharmidā with the enemy falling for it, resulting in the death of about twenty men, including the Amīr of Wathithiyah. In the same year (1163H) 'Uthmān bin Mu'ammār; the Amīr of Al-'Uyainah was killed in his Mosque after the jumu'ah prayer. This was due to some of his residents having found out of his alleged intent to make alliances with some of the enemies of Ad-Dir'iyyah; so some of the angry residents complained to the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah of this for fear that they may be associated with his intents. The Shaikh ascertained their claims after which he reassured them and took their renewed pledges of allegiance. However; some of the people took matters into their own hands and killed 'Uthmān in order to resolve the matter, this caused an uproar in the town and was only subdued at the arrival of the Shaikh three days later when peace was restored.<sup>106</sup>

The town of Ḍurma had accepted the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh from an early stage. Its Amīr, Ibrahīm bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān had so far abided by the regulations upon him. Then in around the year 1164H (1751CE) he broke off allegiance to Ad-Dir'iyyah by putting to death three of the residents of his town who were devout followers of the Shaikh. Four months after the killings, a family of one of the murdered men took revenge by killing the Amīr and two of his sons as they sat in their council chamber. After this 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd appointed 'Abdullāh Ar-Raydī as the new Amīr over Ḍurma.

Following this incident, some of the disaffected residents fled Ḍurma after the killing of its Amīr and joined forces with the people of Al-Ḥarīq and were bolstered by the people of Munaikh and Az-Zilfī who had united with the Bedouin of Zafir. Together they all came south in an attack upon Ḍurma, however they found the defenders staunch and firm against their onslaught. To enter the town, they had to penetrate the town walls, so ladders were placed against the walls to scale the town resulting in the

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<sup>106</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 29-31

death of about thirty of their men. The attackers lost a further twenty fighters in the ensuing fight before being forced to withdraw.<sup>107</sup>

As time progressed it was possible to send raiding parties out further from Ad-Dir'iyyah due to the areas which were becoming loyal to the call of the Shaikh locally. The raids began to be led by the son of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd; 'Abdul-'Azīz – who began setting out on missions from a young age, and who was later to take over all campaigns after his father in years to come.

After having concentrated on their northern and western regions they next turned their attention south, towards those that had come against them at Ḍurma – the province of Al-Kharj, it was situated about sixty miles from Ad-Dir'iyyah.

In 1165H (1751-1752CE) Mishārī bin Mu'ammār, the new Amīr of Al-'Uyainah and allied with Ad-Dir'iyyah, set out and reached the uppermost oasis of Al-Kharj where his men rounded up the flocks they found in pasture and set off. The people of Al-Kharj seeing what had happened set out in pursuit after them where they over took them at Al-Ḥā'ir. Mishārī's men numbered forty, whilst the people of Al-Kharj were two hundred in number and so gave Mishārī the strong sentiment that death was upon them. So Mishārī and his men dismounted and took up positions with their muskets from a distance; the people of Al-Kharj to their surprise did not rush upon them, instead sufficing with sporadic gunfire and pot shots from a distance. Seeing this; Mishārī's men set out dashing at the enemy firing at them from close quarters killing about thirty and causing the rest to flee capturing much of their weaponry and mounts before returning home.<sup>108</sup>

Trouble flared next in the town of Ḥuraimilā where the Shaikh had originally returned after his stay at Al-Başrah. It began when the Amīr of the town, Muḥammad bin 'Abdillāh bin Mubārak, who had become a follower of the teachings of the Shaikh was expelled. He left the town

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<sup>107</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 31-34

<sup>108</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 16-17

along with his sons and others who had accepted the *Da'wah* and journeyed to Ad-Dir'iyyah where he explained what had happened to the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. Some days after his arrival in Ad-Dir'iyyah the exiled Amīr began receiving letters from residents of Ḥuraimilā urging him to return with the pledge that he would be reinstated as their Amīr. He consulted with the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd regarding the matter and they advised him with taking a force from Ad-Dir'iyyah if he felt he wanted to return there. Refusing this he set out with around ten companions from his own people and was promptly murdered the following morning along with those that were with him, this being carried out by his foes; the House of Rāshid. One of his men escaped and returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah where he informed of what had taken place.

The leaders of Ḥuraimilā realised this act was to ensure warfare with Ad-Dir'iyyah, so they sent correspondence to Mishārī bin Mu'ammār of Al-'Uyainah inviting him to join them against Ad-Dir'iyyah; he declined.

War indeed broke out in 1166H (1752-1753CE) during which the people of Ḥuraimilā launched an attack upon Ad-Dir'iyyah which was countered by a series of raids led by 'Abdul 'Azīz and others, however no decisive victory was reached in the fighting.<sup>109</sup>

In 1167H (1753CE) Dahhām bin Dawās of Riyadh made apparent his submission to the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh and so requested a truce with Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. He requested likewise that a scholar be sent to his town to teach the people; and as a token of his word, Dahhām sent horses and weapons to Ad-Dir'iyyah. Shaikh 'Ēsā bin Qāsim, an early student of Shaikh-ul-Islām was sent to Riyadh, however Dahhām's submission was not to be for long; nor was it to be the first.

Then in 1168H (1755CE) a fighting party set forth from Ad-Dir'iyyah to Ḥuraimilā led by 'Abdul-'Azīz, it consisted of eight hundred men of which only a few were horsemen. Mubārak bin Adwān along with two hundred men were to wait in the valley close by whilst the larger party attacked from the east. The ambush was set by 'Abdul-'Azīz and he led the first

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<sup>109</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 33-35 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 18-19

party when the fighting began in the early hours when the farmers were coming out to the fields. A great fight took place at the first ambush and shortly when the second ambush appeared it quelled the fighting leaving the people of Ḥuraimilā fleeing to the surrounding valleys whilst a hundred of their men had been killed. An amnesty was declared in the town which excluded the House of Rāshid for their part in the murder of the Amīr and so Mubārak bin Adwān was made Amīr of the town.

In 1167/1168H (1754CE) a man by the name of Al-Ghufailī, who owned a fort in the oasis of Ḍurma organised an uprising against the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Requesting assistance from the Amīr of Tharmidā – an enemy of Ad-Dir'iyyah he was sent horsemen and camel riders from Tharmidā as well as from the neighbouring towns of Marrāt and 'Uthaihiyah with thirty-five mounts that carried extra riders.

The Amīr of Ḍurma, Muḥammad bin 'Abdillāh came to find out about what was taking place and notified Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd, who in turn sent in his own people and also called in the people of Al-'Uyainah. With this assistance, the Amīr of Ḍurma drew near the town and waited with his men in a corn field where they remained until they heard the sound of the approaching hooves of the horsemen advancing in the night. When they drew close they rushed out to them causing them to flee and killing sixty or seventy of them and capturing a number including the Amīr of 'Uthaihiyah. Only the horsemen and their extra riders managed an escape.<sup>110</sup>

Meanwhile in Riyadh; Dahhām who had submitted to the *Da'wah* a year or so earlier now decided to violate his terms with Ad-Dir'iyyah. This he did by aligning himself with the Amīr of Manfūḥah; Muḥammad bin Fāris who had directed a raid against an ally town of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Some of the residents of Riyadh who had come to accept the *Da'wah* through Shaikh 'Ēsā bin Qāsim now left the town for fear of what Dahhām may do to them due to his history of persecution upon the adherents to the Salafī *Da'wah*.

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<sup>110</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 36-38 and Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 44-45

Dahhām sought to bring in other enemies of the Shaikh in the northern areas and so together with the Amīr of Manfūḥah he was joined by others from Al-Washm and Tharmidā and Sudair and Thādiq. They decided to attack Ḥuraimilā which had been a recent capture for Ad-Dir'iyah, some of those that had previously fled Ḥuraimilā after its capture by the Saudis now rallied with Dahhām in the hope of regaining their old positions. The Amīr of Ḥuraimilā, Mubārak bin Adwān had asked for reinforcements from Ad-Dir'iyah which were sent out. Dahhām's force reached the upper reaches of the oasis whilst the guards of the town were oblivious and asleep. He settled them in some of the houses and gardens and palm groves, Mubārak sent most of them scattering in the morning and so the majority of their strength evaporated. However twelve of the attackers had become trapped in the houses which were besieged for five days. The residents finally flushed them out and Mubārak offered them safe conduct but then executed them once they came out. The Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd in Ad-Dir'iyah were unaware of this at the time; however upon finding out, they severely reprimanded Mubārak for his conduct and violation of terms. Despite this latest failed attempt; Dahhām had another narrow escape.<sup>111</sup>

The next year in 1169H (1755CE) Dahhām tried again to rally the other towns against Ad-Dir'iyah, this time he went to Sudair and Al-Washm to gain support in his wars against the Muslims. Meanwhile 'Abdul-'Azīz set out for a raid on Manfūḥah where he and his men rounded up the livestock, camels and donkeys, and after repelling a sortie by the people of Manfūḥah and yet another by the people of Riyadh who had come to aid Manfūḥah; he returned to Ad-Dir'iyah. Then he went into the vicinity of Ḍurma in an effort to catch Dahhām on his way home from Al-Washm. Dahhām however sensed the ambush and after abandoning his heavy equipment and some of his mounts; fled at full speed to Riyadh leaving 'Abdul-'Azīz with the abandoned equipment and mounts.

Next, an attack was organized by the people of Al-Washm on the city of Shaqrā, which was in their region and a city which had accepted the call of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. In 1170H (1756-1757CE) the people of Al-Washm called for the people of Sudair and Munaikh to attack the city

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<sup>111</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 38-39 and Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 47

whilst making the village of Al-Qarā'in (not far from Shaqrā) as a base for their operations. Meanwhile Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd had sent his son 'Abdul-'Azīz to aid the town, the result was that the people of Al-Washm were badly defeated and suffered massive losses which would have been worse if they were not able to fall back on their base at Al-Qarā'in.

In the same year after organising another attack on Riyadh; 'Abdul-'Azīz led an expedition into Al-Washm and attacked the town of Ushaiqir, after a skirmish at the town wherein the defenders suffered slight losses they then retired. 'Abdul-'Azīz then moved on beyond Al-Washm to the town of Thādiq whose people had been taking part in campaigns against Ad-Dir'iyyah. Musket fire from a distance was exchanged, resulting in the death of a number of fighting men from Thādiq as the Muslims fired at them with notable accuracy. The palm trees of the town were subsequently cut down after which the people agreed to accept the call of the Shaikh. A delegation accompanied 'Abdul-'Azīz back to Ad-Dir'iyyah after which a new Amīr was appointed for the town.

Then 'Abdul-'Azīz marched onto Sudair, where fighting took place at a place called Al-'Umayrī. After this 'Abdul-'Azīz summoned that the jurists of Ar-Rawḍah and Ad-Dākhilah and Al-Ḥawṭah should accompany him back to Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to study under Shaikh-ul-Islām. He also took with him two key figures of the town of Al-'Audah; 'Uthmān bin Sa'dūn and Manṣūr bin Ḥammād fearing that they may incite the people against the *Da'wah* if left behind.

However; soon after they had all returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah, the Amīr of Al-'Audah, 'Abdullāh bin Sultān requested the release of the two townsmen whom 'Abdul-'Azīz had taken with him. They were allowed to go, only for them to return home and murder the very man who had requested their return. Ibn Sa'dūn appointed himself as Amīr of the town and declared that the town was free of the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh. So began the struggle between him and Ad-Dir'iyyah which was to last a decade.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 42-44 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 48-50

Then in 1171H (1758CE) in the month of Ramaḍān, 'Abdul-'Azīz launched a raid on Riyadh, he reached Umm Al-'Asāfir in the night and prepared an ambush at a spot called Al-Qubbah. The next day the fighting took place and in the ensuing fight, Turkī bin Dawās was killed amongst others from the people of Riyadh whilst the Saudis had lost one person. 'Abdul-'Azīz returned soon after for another encounter but the shooting which took place from long range had little effect. So he decided on the building of a fortress to keep watch over his enemy, it was built in seven days at Al-Ghadhawānah and he remained there for a few days before returning home.

Meanwhile Mubārak bin 'Adwān, the Amīr of Ḥuraimilā had been causing some concern in Ad-Dir'iyyah, for at the end of the botched attempt by Dahhām to capture Ḥuraimilā, around ten men had surrendered to Mubārak after the fighting. He had granted them safe conduct and after their surrender he had six of them killed. This angered the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd in Ad-Dir'iyyah when they came to find out. Then in 1171H (1758CE) after he had led a raid, he captured 'Abdullāh bin Sulaimān, and after he was paid a sum, he allowed him to go without having consulted the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah. This again angered them, along with the fact that in reports he had failed to carry out certain orders instructed to him. So as a result he was summoned to Ad-Dir'iyyah where he was told that he could choose whichever palm groves of Ḥuraimilā he wished to keep; but that he was to now remain in Ad-Dir'iyyah where he was to be treated with respect and given a fixed income. Mubārak outwardly accepted the terms put forth to him. A new Amīr was sent out for Ḥuraimilā, Aḥmad bin Nāṣir bin 'Adwān set out with the Ḥuraimilā contingent that had accompanied Mubārak on the way down. Mubārak decided to try reaching Ḥuraimilā before this contingent, in order to seize the town. He asked Shaikh-ul-Islām to grant him permission to visit his sister in a place called Umm Sāwī – a palm grove belonging to his brother in law near Al-'Uyainah. When he was granted permission he set out, and upon reaching Umm Sāwī, he gathered together the horsemen of the locality and set out with them for Ḥuraimilā in an effort to reach it before the new Amīr did.

As he rode out with the horsemen he kept secret from them what was actually happening; and for what purpose he had made them ride out with

him. In Ḥuraimilā, the guards in the fortress had known of the change of Amīr for their town and the decision that the Shaikh had made in Ad-Dir'iyyah. Mubāarak did reach the town first, however the guards locked off access to him when they saw him approach and refused him entry. Mubāarak had a drum sounded in the council chamber of the town on order to bring out the fighting men from his kinsfolk and others. But when they saw the fortress shut off against Mubāarak they abandoned him for fear of the outcome from Ad-Dir'iyyah. Mubāarak fled the town for Sudair with but a few who felt their stay in the town would be unsafe. Mubāarak's actions had again upset the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd in Ad-Dir'iyyah, and they called for 'Abdul-'Azīz who may still have been in the newly built fortress near Riyadh. He hurried with his fighting men to An-Na'miyyah where he received the news of Mubāarak's flight from Ḥuraimilā and subsequent abandonment of capturing Ḥuraimilā. From there 'Abdul-'Azīz turned back to carry the news to his town. He soon returned to Ḥuraimilā in order to dispel any apprehension its people may have had over the recent events that had taken place there.

Mubāarak was in Sudair negotiating with the various rulers there to gather a force and continue his struggle. The towns of Al-Majma'ah and Tharmidā and others in Sudair and Al-Washm sent men, Shaqrā however did not. The men he had been sent were not sufficient for the purpose he had intended so upon reaching the well of Al-Fuqair, near the town of Raghbah, he paused with his men for a time hesitating upon whether to proceed or not. They had come to hear that 'Abdul-'Azīz was in Ḥuraimilā, so decided instead to direct an attack against Raghbah itself. They besieged the town and cut down the palm groves, the Amīr of the town 'Ali Al-Juraisī was blockaded in his fort and could do little against the attack on his town. For there was a strong group of fighting men in the nearby settlement of Al-Ḥazm located in the same oasis but away from the Amīr. However due to their being opposed to the Amīr of Raghbah they remained in their homes leaving the Amīr to his predicament. 'Abdul-'Azīz heard of what had taken place and came from Ḥuraimilā, this resulted in the men who had accompanied Mubāarak now abandoning him. Mubāarak lifted the siege and returned to Sudair before 'Abdul-'Azīz arrived. Upon his arrival; 'Abdul-

'Azīz destroyed the dwellings of Al-Ḥazm and cut down their palm trees giving the title to the grove instead to 'Ali Al-Juraiṣī.<sup>113</sup>

## Al-Aḥsā Enters Into Hostilities Against Ad-Dir'iyyah

The area of Al-Aḥsā situated on the eastern side of the Arabian Peninsula was a vast province made up of a number of towns and settlements whilst being extremely fertile as well as enclosing numerous watering wells along the routes which spanned the coastlines. Due to these numerous watering holes and the good quality of water which they offered; the Bedouins and nomads of the deserts would pass along these routes particularly in the summers, most of these Bedouins consisted of the Al-'Ajmān. The ports of Al-'Uqair and Al-Qaṭīf were located in the province. It was from these ports that the various goods and commodities were shipped to and from other countries, notably India, Yemen, Sindh and the Far East. The region was also heavily utilized as a caravan route to 'Iraq and Persia and to Ottoman domains. Pilgrims would also pass through the area bound for the Holy Cities to the west.

The tribes that ruled the area during the rise of the First Saudi State were the tribes of the Banī Khālīd, the Al-'Ajmān and the Banī Hājir. The most powerful of these were the Banī Khālīd who had ruled over the eastern region under loose Ottoman Suzerainty for just over a century. The rulers of Al-Aḥsā had revealed their antagonism to the reform movement from the onset due to perceiving them as a possible threat to their own authority. It was after all the ruler of Al-Aḥsā Sulaimān Āl-Ḥumaid who some years before had ordered the Amīr of Al-'Uyainah 'Uthmān bin Mu'ammār to kill or expel Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdīl-Wahhāb after he had initially aligned himself with the Shaikh. The consequence of not doing so was the cutting off of the provisions to Al-'Uyainah and seizing the Amīrs assets in both Al-Aḥsā and Najd. This is an indication that the ruler of Al-Aḥsā had feared for and addressed his own false desires if the Shaikh had been successful in his *Da'wah*; something which was in actuality to transpire. The forthcoming rulers of Al-Aḥsā; at the head of them: 'Uray'ir bin Dujain and his son Sa'dūn; continued Sulaimān's stance in their hostilities against the Saudi State.

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<sup>113</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 49-52 and Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 52-54

Therefore, the first direct confrontation between Al-Aḥsā and the First Saudi State occurred in 1172H (1758-1759CE) when 'Uray'ir bin Dujain – ruler of the Banī Khālid sent reinforcements in order to bolster the attack on Ḥuraimilā under Mubārak bin 'Adwān and so contend with the *Da'wah* which was taking root by supporting its local rivals. Mubārak bin 'Adwān had come from Sudair in an effort to gain his old position and so laid siege to Ḥuraimilā for three days after receiving detachments from Sudair, Al-Washm and Al-Maḥmal as well as reinforcements from 'Uray'ir in Al-Aḥsā. Not attaining any victory he requested from 'Uray'ir that he send him yet more reinforcements. The reinforcements were promptly sent and Mubārak returned in order to attack. Yet again he attained little, instead he was met by a sortie of fighters who came out of the town and drove him and his men out of their camp where they left behind a great deal of equipment.

After learning of the defeat of his forces 'Uray'ir himself set off at the head of four thousand men along with three cannon and an artillery piece in his convoy. Joined by his allies in Najd, 'Uray'ir and his coalition attacked the town of Al-Jubailah and laid siege to it for a number of days. However, he was unable to enter the town – especially after Ad-Dir'iyyah had supported it by sending in a number of its fighting men. 'Uray'ir was faced with a crushing defeat since he had already lost sixty men in the attack as opposed to Al-Jubailah and Ad-Dir'iyyah which had lost ten men.

Next 'Uray'ir chose to attack Ad-Dir'iyyah itself, the formidable alliance that was advancing consisted of 'Uray'ir's own forces from the Banī Khālid and the people of Al-Aḥsā, as well as the Najdīs of Sudair, Munaikh, Al-Washm, Al-Maḥmal, Riyadh and Al-Kharj – all of whom were intent on war against Ad-Dir'iyyah. In Ad-Dir'iyyah itself news of the impending invasion had already reached, so Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd put preparations in place for a possible attack and had defences put up in the form of two walls with towers. Ad-Dir'iyyah was put under a lengthy siege and bombarded with cannon, however; after despairing of capturing it 'Uray'ir lifted the siege and departed.

The failure of the ruler of Al-Aḥsā in having affected any defeat against the Saudi State at both Ḥuraimilā and Ad-Dir'iyyah elevated the repute of the

First Saudi State. Since it had endured and repulsed the fearsome attack of the powerful Banī Khālīd who had previously commanded respect in the towns and cities of Najd. It also gave the First Saudi State the hope of confronting the forces of Al-Aḥsā directly when the time was right; as a result, many of the rulers of the towns of Najd became afraid of entering into confrontations with the Saudi State. For this reason, the heads of the towns of Thādiq and Maḥmal that had partaken in fighting with 'Uray'ir now began sending delegates to Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd in order to seek forgiveness for the attacks which they had now come to regret. In addition; they sent half their harvests of fruit and vegetables as admission of their fault, forgiveness was granted and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd appointed Sārī bin Yahyā as Amīr over them.

In reality; the strength and power of the First Saudi State at this point was incapable of attempting an invasion of Al-Aḥsā itself. Since its own affairs were not stable within Najd as a whole whilst the routes to Al-Aḥsā posed a logistical supply problem through potentially hostile territory. Therefore, sufficiency was sought in merely fending off the invasion of the Banī Khālīd from its capital and its protectorates. The armies from Al-Aḥsā at the time were capable of launching attacks upon the Saudi State into Najd itself whilst at the same time they were helped by some of the Najdī towns that did not cease to be at hostility against Ad-Dir'iyyah. With this campaign at a loss 'Uray'ir returned home; but was to return once again in years to come for a second attempt upon Ad-Dir'iyyah in the hope that he may perhaps silence the call emanating from it.<sup>114</sup>

In around 1173H (1760CE) a number of raids were led into Al-Kharj and Al-Washm. Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd also replaced Mishārī bin Mu'ammar; the Amīr of 'Uyainah with Sulṭān Al-Ma'mari; further attacks were made against Tharmidā and Ad-Dilam and other towns in the region.

In 1174H (1760-1761CE) 'Abdul-'Azīz led raids into Sudair and later onto Al-Maḥmal where Mubārak bin 'Adwān died after a stroke. 'Abdul 'Azīz led raids against Al-Majma'ah, Al-Kharj, Ad-Dilam and the village of An-Na'jān.

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<sup>114</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 88-89 and *Ad-Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 93 and p. 106-109.

Then 'Abdul-'Azīz went down with some of his men to Riyadh and placed them ready for an ambush before sunrise. A sortie came out later in the morning led by Fahd<sup>115</sup> – a brother of Dahhām but subsequently suffered a broken leg in the fight from which he died forty days later. Later in the year 'Abdul-'Azīz arrived at the fortress of Al-Ghadhawānah which he had constructed to watch over Riyadh in order to extend and fortify it further. Then early in the morning of 'Eid of this year, he went along with some of his men into the Riyadh oasis opposite the town at night – but they were spotted by some of the residents who quickly informed Dahhām who rushed out with his horsemen and bought up his fighting men. At first he did not find anyone in the area in which he and his men searched but then the men of Ad-Dir'iyyah showed themselves and Dahhām and his men were attacked ruthlessly by the horsemen and camel riders of Ad-Dir'iyyah who dealt him such a blow that he abandoned the fight in humiliation. He returned home after the fight having lost a great number of men as well as some of his renown horsemen and brave fighters such as Ḥamad bin Sawdā and 'Abdur-Raḥmān Al-Harīs. 'Abdul-'Azīz however had lost just two men in the fight.<sup>116</sup>

In 1175H (1761-1762CE) advances were made yet again into Al-Washm, a number of raids in the district had left the region prone to attacks and was undermining their defence and so the people of Al-Far'ah asked the people of Shaqrā to sue for peace and accept the call of Ad-Dir'iyyah. A raid on Tharmidā was followed by the building of a fort nearby to keep a check on the enemy. The fort was known as Al-Hulailah and was built between Al-Al-Fa'rah and Ushaiqir. This fort played a major part in the struggle of the region until Ushaiqir was finally converted. In this year a great flood also occurred through the region and because of the subsequent epidemic which followed, a great number of people died as a result.

Two attacks were subsequently made on Riyadh whilst the Al-Washm campaigns were ongoing. The first was in 1175H (1761CE) when a party was sent out to attack the Muqrin settlement in the Riyadh oasis. After this 'Abdul-'Azīz himself set out in 1176H (1762CE) when he set an ambush outside the town in the early morning. After the defenders were attacked

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<sup>115</sup> Ibn Bishr cites him as Fahd whereas Ibn Ghannām cites him as Fuhaid.

<sup>116</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 54-55 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 57-59

they retreated with only four dead. 'Abdul-'Azīz later returned with two hundred men and placed foot soldiers in place as an ambush and placed the camelry at a distance. Dahhām came to know of their presence and came down with his infantry and horse riders in an attempt to cut off the foot soldiers before the camelry could come to reinforce them. The plan failed and the foot soldiers fought hard after which the camelry hurried in forcing Dahhām to retreat leaving behind him six of his men and three of his horses.<sup>117</sup>

In the year 1176H (1762-1763CE) Dahhām felt bold enough to make a direct attack on Ad-Dir'iyyah. He selected his men and made secret plans for the attack and rode out with his force in the direction of the town. His aim of surprising Ad-Dir'iyyah fell short when he was sighted from a distance during the advance giving Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd time to call a council in order to discuss the best possible line of defence. 'Abdul-'Azīz was stricken with fever but nevertheless attended the council, a proposal was made that a sortie be sent along the Al-Qārī watercourse since it was low lying and hidden from view. Meanwhile, an advance guard was sent ahead. As Dahhām and his men approached, they were met with sudden musket fire which forced them to take cover; the cavalry then raced out and attacked the unsuspecting Dahhām. This was followed by the camelry and foot soldiers who all dealt their blows to the fraught attacker. Retreat was the only option for Dahhām which he did leaving behind twenty-five of his dead men and four of his horses and a number of camels.

In the same year 'Abdul-'Azīz led a raid into Al-Aḥsā, the Saudis were not yet strong enough for a full scale invasion of the province but set out with thirty horsemen to the village of Al-Muṭairifī which was raided in the early morning. Here around seventy men from Al-Aḥsā were killed and a large amount of booty, weapons and riding animals were taken. On their return to Najd; 'Abdul-'Azīz attacked the larger town of Al-Mubarraz. On the same return journey 'Abdul-'Azīz and his men overtook a caravan made up of the people of Riyadh and Ḥarmah in Sudair. The men of Riyadh were killed and their share of the caravan confiscated. As for the men of Sudair then they were allowed to go on since there was an armistice between them and Ad-Dir'iyyah at the time. Finally, 'Abdul-'Azīz and his men swooped down

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<sup>117</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 56-58 and Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 59-60

upon the livestock of their enemies at Manfūḥah and took them before finally returning to Ad-Dir'iyyah.

During this year the people of the town of Wathīthah in Al-Washm decided to throw off their allegiance to the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah. They contacted the Amīr of Tharmidā; Ibrahīm bin Sulaimān Al-Anqarī, an old enemy of the Saudis informing him of their intents. He in turn assured them of his support, and with this the people, of the town brought out their rebellion by killing their Amīr, 'Abdul-Karīm bin Zāmil.<sup>118</sup>

Then in 1177H (1763-1764CE) Dahhām bin Dawās again accepted the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh for a second time – a decade after his first submission. He wrote to the Shaikh and to Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd informing them of this. Although the Shaikh and the Amīr had doubts over his loyalty, they could not refuse his proclamation; one which was not to last. A tougher measure was imposed upon him than the first time. He was ordered to pay two thousand *Aḥmars*<sup>119</sup> as well as restoring any property which had belonged to the people of Riyadh who had accepted the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh before. Dahhām did all that was asked of him and handed over the money.

Later in the same year, 'Abdul-'Azīz set out for Jalājil which had attacked them seven years earlier. An ambush was set and in the morning they were attacked. This victory over Jalājil convinced many in Sudair to adhere to the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh.

On the return home from Jalājil, when 'Abdul-'Azīz and his men reached the town of Raghbah, a group of men from the loyal section of Subai met them there and complained to 'Abdul-'Azīz about how they had been set upon by raiders from the fierce 'Ajmān tribe that had come up from the

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<sup>118</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 57-58 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 61-63

<sup>119</sup> The *Aḥmar* was a denomination of currency used in the region during this era and was equivalent to two hundred *Muḥammadiyyah* coins. Other coins included the *Muṭabbaq*, the *Dawkah*, and *Baqshah*. Ottoman currency was also used in gold and silver such as the Ottoman *Dīnār* – although not as frequently. Imām Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz would later have the *Muḥammadiyyah* coins minted in Makkah during the period of 1219-1228H (1804-1813CE). (See: *Al-Aṭlas At-Ta'rīkhī lil Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* p. 105)

south who seized their belongings. 'Abdul-'Azīz set out in their pursuit to seize back what they had taken unjustly. He and his men rode hard after the now fleeing looters which brought him into Ramaḍān of 1177H (1764CE). He found at Qadhlah, a plain to the west of Tuwaiq, that the marauders had abandoned all their heavy gear in an effort to press on faster. 'Abdul-'Azīz moved on and soon overtook them finding their numbers to be about a hundred and forty comprising of horses also. The Saudis attacked them killing fifty or more of them and taking around a hundred as prisoners and taking forty horses, thus returning the loot which had been taken. It was also to be the beginning of a great merger against them which was the greatest threat Ad-Dir'iyyah had yet faced.<sup>120</sup>

Those of the Bedouin from the 'Ajmān who had escaped at Qadhlah now fled southwards in the direction of Najrān. The 'Ajmān had remained under the protection of the chief of Najrān; Sayyid Ḥasan bin Hibbatullāh. He was a man renowned in Arabia for his bravery and his accomplishments as a general as well as his religious zealotry. He answered the plea of the 'Ajmān by assembling the tribesmen of Yām and other fighters and began his march north. The Najrānī army reached Wadī Ḥanīfah at Al-Ḥā'ir located between Ad-Dir'iyyah and Al-Kharj which had been loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah. The Najrānīs laid siege to it prompting 'Abdul-'Azīz to descend from Ad-Dir'iyyah with the full ensemble of fighting force available. In the fight which followed 'Abdul-'Azīz found the attackers too strong for the fight he had set out for, he fell back leaving behind nearly five hundred dead and many captured. 'Abdul-'Azīz hastily rode to Ad-Dir'iyyah to inform of the news of the defeat to his father and the Shaikh. Despite the heavy loss however; he proclaimed his determination and conviction of facing the threat and emerging victorious.

The victory of the Najrānīs in Wadī Ḥanīfah was greatly welcomed by the common enemies of Ad-Dir'iyyah – bringing them into action once again. For Dahhām bin Dawās of Riyadh; the old foe of Ad-Dir'iyyah (who was at the time under the submission of Ad-Dir'iyyah), sent presents to the new invader urging him to follow up his initial victory with a campaign to exterminate the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh in the land. Ibn Ghannām mentions that Dahhām even offered Sayyid Ḥasan the Rulership of the entire Najdī

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<sup>120</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 59 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 63-64

area should he destroy the *Da'wah*. Meanwhile Sayyid Ḥasan himself moved up Wadī Ḥanīfah to Al-Ghadhawānah; the fort built in order to check on Riyadh. The men at the fort seized around twenty camels off the invader before returning to the fort and barricading themselves expecting a siege.

With the threat growing ever stronger against Ad-Dir'iyyah; Dahhām yet further endeavoured to rally against the *Da'wah* by writing to 'Uray'ir bin Dujain in Al-Aḥsā, another foe of Ad-Dir'iyyah (who a few years earlier attempted an invasion of Najd but failed), urging him to come down immediately as the moment was right for him to enter Najd. 'Uray'ir bin Dujain sent communications to Sayyid Ḥasan promising him valuable gifts including thoroughbred horses if he would wait until he himself could come down to join him.<sup>121</sup> Along with this offer, similar offers were made by Zaid bin Zāmil of Al-Kharj and Faiṣal bin Suwaiṭ of the Zāfir tribe.

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<sup>121</sup> Upon examining who the people of Al-Aḥsā actually were and what it was they were upon it becomes clearer as to what their problem was with the Salafī *Da'wah* and why they showed such intense hostility towards it. Along with the reason they came from so far away to attack an ideology that had not yet troubled them in any way. The principle tribes of these areas were the tribes of the Banī Khālid and of the Al-'Ajmān and others. The strongest of them was the Banī Khālid who governed the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula at the time of the rise of the First Saudi State. The people of Al-Aḥsā were of two types; those that were from the Shī'ah and those that were Sunni Muslims. The Shī'ah largely occupying the coastal regions and the Sunnis occupied the regions inland. The Shī'ah madhab was largely prevalent in Al-Aḥsā and Al-Qaṭīf; likewise there were those that were the followers of the *madhab* of the *Khawārij* and the *Qarāmitah*. The rulers of Al-Aḥsā found a means to rule over the region in the shadow of these beliefs which were widespread. It is as a result that the first confrontation between the Salafī *Da'wah* and Al-Aḥsā came when Shaikh-ul-Islām ordered the stoning of the woman that had committed adultery. It was Sulaimān bin Muḥammad bin 'Uray'ir who ruled Al-Aḥsā at the time that ordered 'Uthmān bin Mua'mmar to expel the Shaikh from his town. Yet when the *Da'wah* began to grow in Najd itself, the enmity between the rulers of Al-Aḥsā and the Āl-Sa'ūd began to kindle further. This was strengthened by the fact that the scholars of Al-Aḥsā would incite the rulers of the Banī Khālid against the *Da'wah* and encourage them to bring a conclusion to it. Shaikh-ul-Islām himself makes reference to writings he received from the people of Al-Aḥsā in his book *Kashf Ash-shubuhāt* (p. 108) which indicates that there was correspondence between the regions. However; the troubles between the two regions was on

Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and the Shaikh utilised the utmost skill in dealing with the threat of all of the leaders of the provinces around them and from afar having now gathered on their doorstep. Their main fighting force had suffered a serious setback at the initial defeat in Al-Ḥā'ir and so they utilised Faiṣal bin Suhail to establish diplomacy with the invader. In a skilful move Faiṣal bin Suhail, who was one of the chiefs of Zāfir reached an agreement with the Najrānīs for an exchange of prisoners.

With the agreement in place Sayyid Ḥasan lifted the invasion and set off for home leaving behind the gifts promised to him and the offers of recognition of his authority if he were to be victorious.

Meanwhile 'Uray'ir bin Dujain was on his way down to support the Najrānīs who were evacuating Najd. 'Uray'ir was accompanied by the fighting men of the Banī Khālid; he also possessed cannon and had allies waiting in Najd for his arrival. Dahhām bin Dawās of Riyadh and Zaid bin Zāmil of Al-Kharj still welcomed this second invader as they had encouraged his attempted invasion into Najd, and the alliance formed a formidable force against Ad-Dir'iyyah yet again.<sup>122</sup>

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going and was to lead eventually to the Saudi State finally gaining control of Al-Aḥsā itself and adding it to its own realm. Moreover, the Shī'ah along with the tribes of southern 'Iraq such as the Muntafiq and Ad-Dhufayr along with the Banī Khālid had embarked on aiding any of the Najdī towns that sought help against the Saudis. This confirmed with 'Abdul-'Azīz that it was these very tribes that were behind much of the disorder that would arise now and again in Al-Aḥsā, as well as in some of the Najdī towns. (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 85-86 and p. 203)

<sup>122</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan mentions:

“They descended upon the city, and there gathered from them the people of Najd those to the extent that claimed to be from the scholars. So when it was said to a man from them – who happened to be from the most exemplary of their scholars and their most intelligent: ‘How has ‘Uray’ir and his corruption played doubtful with you along with his oppression – and you all are aiding him and fighting alongside him?’ he replied: ‘If it was that Iblīs (the devil) was fighting you all – then surely we would be with him.’” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 17-18)

'Uray'ir bin Dujain consulted his Najdī allies for the best site from which to bombard Ad-Dir'iyyah. They in turn recommended a place between Qārī Al-Qusayyir and Qārī 'Amrān, and after a day the bombardment began. The towers and ramparts of the town were targeted, with Ibn Ghannām mentioning that the cannon fire didn't so much as dislodge a single brick from its place in the walls.

The invaders tried to take a vantage point known as 'Ulū Al-Bāṭin to which they were beaten by the defenders. A few days into the fight the state of the invaders was beginning to deteriorate due to a shortage in their water supply. The men of Al-Ḥarīq in the south volunteered to make a final assault on the town, however; 'Abdul-'Azīz discovered the plan and posted defenders in accordance.

The invaders put one last effort on the day of the attack with everything they had, a section of the Banī Khālid attacked Al-Zulāl. The remainder of 'Uray'ir's own tribe attacked the walls of Samḥān, Dahhām of Riyadh and Muḥammad bin Fāris of Manfūḥah along with the men of Al-Ḥarīq and Sudair, and Al-Washm went for Qārī Al-Qusayyir. In the final assault the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah fought with all that they had to protect their religion and homes, they halted the advance of the attackers and forced them back past their cannon that had proven ineffective.

'Uray'ir had seen enough and decided to head home, the alliance against Ad-Dir'iyyah had ultimately collapsed with somewhere between 40-50 dead from the attackers and 6-12 from Ad-Dir'iyyah.<sup>123</sup>

Ad-Dir'iyyah had endured yet again, with the departure of the attackers Dahhām decided again to enter into a truce with Ad-Dir'iyyah – for the third time. Which was accepted; however; it was not to last for long. For Muḥammad bin Fāris of the nearby town of Manfūḥah (who had sided with Dahhām recently in the attempted invasion of Ad-Dir'iyyah) had two nephews who informed the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd of the affairs there. They also urged that he (i.e. the Amīr) along with his son 'Abdul-Muḥsin be killed before they could carry out anything else. The Shaikh and

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<sup>123</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 60-61 and Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 65-73

the Amīr refused this stating that the truce between them had to be honoured.<sup>124</sup> Despite this the nephews returned to Manfūḥah where they killed their uncle and their cousin in the council chamber. The news of what had occurred reached Ad-Dir'iyah and Riyadh, subsequently both Dahhām and 'Abdul-'Azīz set out with their fighting men for Manfūḥah. Dahhām set out to aid those of the side of the men killed whilst 'Abdul-'Azīz set out to aid the others. Dahhām arrived first at the town since he was closer and had began taking action against the people of the town just as a messenger sped into the town ahead of 'Abdul-'Azīz and his men with a letter. The letter was from the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd informing Dahhām that if he wished to maintain the truce then he should avoid causing any further dissent. Along with the fact that the Shaikh and Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd were making efforts to contain the problems of Manfūḥah. The letter worked and Dahhām left Manfūḥah before the arrival of 'Abdul-'Azīz who then sought to quell any further problem in the town.

Dahhām was discontented with the truce, as he now had adherents of Ad-Dir'iyah not only in the Al-Ghadhawānah fort, but also in nearby Manfūḥah. So in 1179H (1765CE) Dahhām violated the truce between himself and Ad-Dir'iyah when he combined forces with Zaid bin Zāmil of Ad-Dilam to attack a place called As-Subaikhāt in the oasis of Manfūḥah. They seized a large number of livestock and killed twelve men who came out to defend in the subsequent fight.<sup>125</sup>

Later in the year 1179H (1765CE) was the passing away of the dedicated and dependable founder of this small Central-Arabian State that was soon to reach jurisdictions that he himself could not have imagined. Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd; ever the man to be at the service of this pure *da'wah* died in the town he had ruled for the first twenty years as hardly a man to be mentioned. Whilst the second half of his rule was filled with raising the *Kalimah* of Allāh comprising lesson after lesson for those that seek the truth; and a reminder to those familiar with it. On the day of his death his

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<sup>124</sup> The truce with Dahhām in Riyadh may have included Muḥammad bin Fāris in Manfūḥah.

<sup>125</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 61-62 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 73.

writ ran across much of Najd and was expanding beyond Najd itself in some areas.

A pledge given to him some twenty years earlier by Shaikh-ul-Islām had indeed been witnessed; “Perhaps Allāh will open conquests for you – and so Allāh replaces for you that which is better than it.”

The death of Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd marked the beginning of the era of rule by his son, the spirited and faithful ‘Abdul-‘Azīz. His rule began with raids on Riyadh in 1179H (1765-1766CE), it was proof that the death of Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd was not to hinder or change the operations Ad-Dir‘iyyah was to conduct. The new Imām also sent his brother ‘Abdullāh out at the head of an expedition into Sudair, after which ‘Abdul-‘Azīz himself set out in 1180H (1766-1767CE) on an expedition to Tharmidā in Al-Washm and attacked the town which had been a long time enemy of Ad-Dir‘iyyah.

After making another expedition against Riyadh in the year 1180H, the Imām then sent out a significant force to attack the town of Al-‘Audah in Sudair, one of the last towns in the district left to capture. He sent his son Sa‘ūd<sup>126</sup> along with this expedition which was to be his first; the expedition

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<sup>126</sup> He was Imām Sa‘ūd bin ‘Abdil-‘Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd known as ‘Sa‘ūd Al-Kabīr’, third of the Saudi Imāms and under whom the First Saudi State reached its pinnacle. Most of the Arabian Peninsula was bought under his rule and his forces continued north, entering deep into Ash-Shām and ‘Iraq. He was in his palm grove when he was given the news of his fathers’ death. He was given the pledge of allegiance on the day of his fathers’ death in Ad-Dir‘iyyah, after which he wrote to the provinces informing them and admonishing them. He had far reaching aims; his mention became widespread in the lands whilst the people of the big cities were fearful of him. He was brave in battle; Jihād was beloved to him in his youth as well as in his old age, he never abstained from any of the expeditions. He would leave his son ‘Abdullāh in charge and set out with his sons and his brothers and the sons of his uncle ‘Abdullāh whilst each of these would have with them a tremendous legion from horses and riders and tents and men. Many conquests were made at his hands; and he was granted victory in his expeditions. When he would come out of his fortress along with his servants and slaves, the clamor due to the resounding swords would be heard from afar. He raised the banner of *Tawḥīd* beyond the frontiers of Al-Harrah and

was led by Hadhlūl bin Faiṣal who captured the town without much difficulty.

Sudair was crumbling, the town of Jalājil was virtually the only town left in the district as an enemy, Al-Washm was falling at the same rate as Sudair and so the Amīr of Tharmidā, Ibrahīm bin Sulaimān Al-'Anqarī decided that resistance was futile and so swore allegiance to the Shaikh and to the Imām subsequently dying later the same year.

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Oman and built fortresses on the borders of Muscat. He passed through Ḥaurān and Al-Kirk reaching the gates of Ash-Shām and Palestine sending their rulers messages with the call to the *Tawhīd* of Allāh. The *zakāt* gathered would be done so from beyond the *Ḥaramain* and Oman and Yemen and 'Iraq and Ash-Shām and what lay between them from the hinterlands of Najd – seventy odd officials would collect it; with there being a group with each official. He would enjoin the good and forbid the evil – and would encourage it much. The people of knowledge were beloved to him and he would venerate them and honour them and bestow upon them in abundance. He would oblige the people of the land to honour them and venerate them and hold them in regard. He would attend the circles of knowledge taught in Ad-Dir'iyyah, he would sit next to Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdīl-Wahhāb when the circles of *Tafsīr* were taught. The Imām himself had a good understanding of *Tafsīr*. He was from the best of people in speech and from the most prolific in discourse. He would send *ṣadaqah* to the various regions and villages of about one thousand riyals or less or more in accordance to their impoverished residents. The Imāms of the Masjids also received imbursement as did the *Mu'adhins* and the students of knowledge and the teachers of the Qur'ān as was done during the rule of his father. Guests that were with the Imām were given food daily, from Dhuhr until after 'Ishā. He would honour the hard of sight and in Ramaḍān would take them by the hand for *ifṭār* and 'Ishā, and give every blind person five riyals and in the last ten nights of the month he would enter them in masses to his gatherings and give every one of them a garment and a hat and honour them with money. In the final days of his rule he would gather the poor people on the twenty seventh night of Ramaḍān in his chamber in his fortress and distribute clothing amongst them whilst their numbers were three thousand. He died in his native town of Ad-Dir'iyyah in the year 1229H (1814CE) (ﷺ). (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p. 366-376 and *Ta'rikh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 133-142)

Meanwhile 'Abdul-'Azīz kept up the pressure on Riyadh in 1181H (1767-1768CE) with attacks on its vicinities so as not to give its Amīr the notion that he was under reprieve.

Following the great drought which afflicted Najd in 1181H (1768CE) which lasted a few years, the Imām was ready to send another expedition. Hadhlūl bin Faiṣal was sent leading an expedition to Al-'Audah in the region of As-Sudair, the Imām's son; Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz was also present in this expedition. It was to be Sa'ūd's first participation in an expedition, and by no means his last – for he was in future to become ruler of his father's dominion and extend it more to reach its peak. Meanwhile in the same year, the Imām set out to resolve a score with the Bedouin of Subai who were camped at the town of Al-Ḥā'ir. After the Bedouin put up a fierce fight they were defeated, enriching the Imām with horses, camels and livestock, in this year also the people of Al-Washm and Sudair accepted the call of Ad-Dir'iyyah.<sup>127</sup>

The following year in 1182H (1768-1769CE), Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz led an expedition to Az-Zilfī, this was the first expedition to be led by Sa'ūd. Later in the year the Amīr of the town of Buraydah in the region of Al-Qaṣīm requested aid from the Imām against the rival town of 'Unayzah. It was to be the first time the Saudis had entered the province of Al-Qaṣīm, situated northwest of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Its prominent towns were Buraydah and 'Unayzah. The Imām responded by sending his son Sa'ūd at the head of a troop which attacked 'Unayzah, after which the people of the town sought refuge within the town walls, thereafter the attack was called off and Sa'ūd returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah. Later the Imām went with his men to Sabī' and were near Ḥā'ir when news came of a force which was approaching in order to confront them. The Imām and his men remained firm and engaged the approaching enemy which was defeated, leaving the men of Ad-Dir'iyyah with their baggage, horses and camels.

In this year occurred the death of the well known scholar and eminent 'Ālim of Yemen; Muḥammad bin Isma'īl As-Ṣan'ānī.<sup>128</sup> He had been in

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<sup>127</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 64-65 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 75-77

<sup>128</sup> He was Muḥammad bin Isma'īl bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad, Abū Ibrāhīm and given the title: 'Mu-ayyid billāh' and was better known as: Al-Amīr As-San'ānī.

correspondence with Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb in Ad-Dir‘iyyah and amongst the numerous exchanges which took place between them he praised the *Da‘wah* of the Shaikh in Ad-Dir‘iyyah and wrote lines of poetry in praise of the call of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb.

In 1183H (1770CE) the Imām led out an expedition to attack Riyadh, upon having traversed some distance from Ad-Dir‘iyyah, he and his men came across a large troop of Dahhām’s cavalry that were proceeding in the opposite direction to attack Ad-Dir‘iyyah. After an initial skirmish both sides returned home without a conclusive victory for either side.

In the same year during the month of Ramaḍān, the Imām set out with his camelry in the direction of Al-Qaṣīm where they came to the small hamlet of Al-Hilāliyyah. An ambush was set whereupon some of the Imāms men took up positions where they could not be seen at daybreak. Others were made to draw out the villagers from behind their walls. The plan worked well and the Imām acquired booty from the hamlet. The proficiency which the Imām used in carrying out the attack on the town was enough to convince many in Al-Qaṣīm to pay allegiance to him. Delegations were sent to the Imām (who remained in Al-Hilāliyyah for a few days) from all over Al-Qaṣīm swearing allegiance to the religion.<sup>129</sup>

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His lineage could be traced back to Ḥasan bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (raḍiyallāhu anhumā). He was born in the year 1099H (1688CE) in the town of Kahlān in Yemen, his family moved with him to San’aa in 1107H as was mentioned by Imām Ash-Shawkānī, and whilst he was there he took from its scholars. He later traveled to Makkah and Al-Madīnah where he studied with the ‘Ulamā. He excelled in the Islamic sciences and became well known for his knowledge and upright character. From the scholars whom he sat and took knowledge from were: his own father Isma‘īl bin Ṣalāḥ, Zaid bin Muḥammad bin Al-Ḥasan, ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Aslam, Abul-Ḥasan Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Hādī As-Sindī and others. He began teaching the people in San’aa upon his return to Yemen and soon became the head of the scholars of Yemen in his time. He endured a number of trials and was influential in bringing peace to his land at a time of great turmoil. He authored a number of works which show his indepth understanding of the sciences. He died in the year 1182 (1768CE). (See: *Badr At-Ṭāli’* vol 2 p. 133-139 and *Al-A‘lām* vol 6 p. 38)

<sup>129</sup> *Unwānūl Majid* vol 1 p. 67-71 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 77-79

On returning home 'Abdul-'Azīz and his men discovered the tracks of a raiding party of the Banī Khālid which was led by Butayyin bin 'Uray'ir – the son of the chief of the region of Al-Aḥsā. The raiders had attacked a number of Bedouin of Subai in the neighbourhood of Ḍurma. The townsfolk of Ḍurma came out and punished the raiders who lost a great deal of equipment and wealth and six fine horses. Thus they were evacuating the area; and when they came to know of the proximity 'Abdul-'Azīz had to them, they pressed on to leave in haste without a fight stating that they did not possess the strength to fight the people of this religion.<sup>130</sup>

Then in 1184H (1770-1771CE) the Imām set out on expeditions to both Wadī Al-Muḥammarah and later to Ḥā'ir As-Sabī' between Al-Kharj and Riyadh where he lay siege to the area. After this the people of the vicinity entered into the acceptance of the call of the Imām and so gave him the pledge of allegiance.

In 1185H (1771-1772CE) a troop set out with the Imām at its head, it went in the direction of Munaikh. However; when the party reached Ḥuraimilā, news came to them that a raiding party of the Ḍufair tribe (under the command of some of their Amīrs of the Duwaihi's) were behind them at a place called Ghiyānah – between Ḥuraimilā and a place called Sadūs. The troop turned and went after them, catching up with them they dealt them a profound swipe killing a number of them and causing the rest to flee.

After the victory against the Ḍufair the Imām in the year 1185H (1771-1772CE) and decided to attack the hamlet of Mi'kāl in the oasis of Riyadh. After the attack the Imām returned in the direction of Ad-Dir'iyyah but on the way decided to check for an attack of Riyadh itself. The operation brought them up against Dahhām in person himself – who was coming up with his horsemen and camelry to attack the residents of 'Irqah,<sup>131</sup> who were loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah. The Imām and his men were not aware of Dahhām's advance to fight the people of 'Irqah until they had come in sight of each other. The subsequent battle took place in the vicinity of 'Irqah and was to be the fill of Dahhām's years of resistance against the spread of *Tawḥīd*. For the Imām won a quick victory over the men of

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<sup>130</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 79

<sup>131</sup> A settlement between Riyadh and Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Riyadh, however Dahhām's son Dawās stumbled from his horse and fell from it after which he was promptly killed. Another of Dahhām's sons, Sa'dūn was also killed along with around twenty men from Riyadh. The loss of his two sons completely depleted Dahhām's will to continue resistance; he grieved immensely over the loss and had irrecoverably lost his determination.

Hussain bin Ghannām described Dahhām at this point of his life as being inconsolable and so suffered profound grief at the loss of his two sons, he mentions also as a point of principle the factor behind Dahhām's wretched misfortunes by stating:

ذَلِكَ بِمَا قَدَّمْتَ يَدَاكَ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَيْسَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِلْعَبِيدِ

“That is because of what your hands put forth, and indeed Allāh is not unjust to the servants.”<sup>132</sup>

In this year, communications were again established between Makkah and Ad-Dir'iyyah during the Sharīfate of Ahmed bin Sa'īd who sent a request to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz and Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb to send a scholar in order to clarify the basis and reality of the Salafī *Da'wah*. The Imām and the Shaikh dispatched Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Ḥussain with some gifts and a letter in which the Imām clarified the precepts of the call from Ad-Dir'iyyah.<sup>133</sup>

Meanwhile Riyadh's fall was imminent, and the Imām knew this, for later in the same year he again attacked the city which saw the deaths of yet more of its citizens. The following year in 1186H (1772-1773CE) it was repeated again with two raids which further weakened the city.<sup>134</sup>

Then in 1187H (1773CE) the Imām attacked the city again and his men seized some of the towers and walls of the city and so destroyed them,

<sup>132</sup> Sūrah Al-Ḥajj: 10

<sup>133</sup> More detail on this correspondence and subsequent communications and exchanges between Makkah and Ad-Dir'iyyah will be discussed later under the chapter of Al-Ḥijāz. The content of the above mentioned letter can be found in *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 80-81

<sup>134</sup> 'Unwānul Majd vol 1 p. 72-74 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 80-82

pulling down a high watch tower in the process with a number of the defenders dead. The Imām returned back to Ad-Dir'iyah despite leaving Dahhām's grip on Riyadh in its final throes of death. Then in the summer of the same year the Imām began gathering a great force to finally bring an end to the resistance of Riyadh and deal with the decade's old usurper. It was when the Imām who along with his men was riding in the direction of Riyadh had reached 'Irqah – where he had dealt such a blow to Dahhām the year before that a rider came to him informing him that Dahhām had evacuated the city for good and had fled with others from Riyadh.

The Imām arrived at the city later the same day to indeed find it deserted; most of the inhabitants had fled along with their Amīr except for a few that remained. To prevent looting the Imām posted guards around the city and gave a general amnesty to those that remained whilst calling on those who had fled to return.

Riyadh proved to be one of the greatest sources of booty that had come into the hands of the Saudis, the entire city was taken along with its palm groves and weapons, along with a considerable amount of money which had been left behind at the hasty evacuation of the city.<sup>135</sup> The Imām remained in the city for a number of days seeing to the affairs of the locality and appointing a new Amīr.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl Ash-Shaikh mentions:

“Thereafter the war between him and them continued for more than thirty years. During those thirty years or more he (Dahhām) was aided in his war by the people of Najrān and by Ibn Ḥumaid, the Shaikh of the Banu Khālid – many times. They would come to them with a whole range of plots and populace, but Allāh aided them over these people; and this is from the greatest of lessons.

After this period there occurred between him and the Muslims a battle between the two towns, in which his two sons Dawās and Sa'dūn were killed – thus ended his issue. He fled his town on a hot summer's day in the blazing heat; followed by anyone who was to follow him. His land became an award to the Muslims, for there is no more sign of the progeny of Dawās – so take heed O those possessing sight!” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 15-16)

<sup>136</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p.69 and *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 76-77

Meanwhile on the good news of the capture of the city of Riyadh; Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb was of the foremost in giving the glad tidings of the occasion to 'Abdul-'Azīz. During these days he wrote a letter to him and dispatched it with a courier from the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah which was presented to 'Abdul-'Azīz in Riyadh, an extract written in the note was as follows:

“I love for you that which I would love for myself; and Allāh has indeed shown you through your enemy that which you could not have contemplated. So that which I see fit for you is that you should be plentiful in the saying of Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī; for when he would commence his discussion he would say:

‘O Allāh; for you are the praises with that which You have created us with; and guided us; and that which You have relieved from us. For You are the praises of Islām and the Qur’ān. For You are the praises of the household and wealth and well-being, our enemy has been subdued; and our provision is outspread; and our peace is manifest; and our well-being is more excellent; and from all of that which we asked of You – our Lord – You gave to us. So for You are the praises for that, many good praises such that You are pleased; and for you are the praises when You are pleased.”<sup>137</sup>

The conquest of Riyadh had come at a time of hardship for the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah; for a drought had continued for the last two years. As such; Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb had taken out loans in order to feed his students and his aides as well as to pay for their needs. Therefore once Riyadh was conquered, all of his loans were settled.

Ibn Bishr mentioned:

“When the *Muhājirūn* (those that migrated) made their hijrah to him; the Shaikh (رحمة الله) bore a great deal of debt on his own behalf in order to be of aid to them and for the things which they needed as well as the needs of the people and the gifts for the delegations that would come to him from

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<sup>137</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 86 and *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 49-50

the towns and the rural areas. It was mentioned to me that when Riyadh was captured; he was indebted to the amount of forty thousand *Muḥammadiyah*; and so he settled it through its spoils.”<sup>138</sup>

It had been almost thirty years since Dahhām had first shown his hand against Ad-Dir‘iyyah;<sup>139</sup> it was Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd who had helped him take the city all those years before. A favour which Dahhām paid back with decades of stubborn resistance and warfare, his fall was to come eight years after the death of Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd.

And so with this flight, which Dahhām and his followers undertook,<sup>140</sup> there came to an end the fighting which had continued for some twenty-seven years.<sup>141</sup> The toll of which was that losses suffered were four thousand lives from both sides. The losses on Dahhām’s side being two thousand three hundred, and the losses on the side of the Saudis being one thousand seven hundred. Moreover, the people in Najd do not cease to mention the fleeing of Dahhām as an object of ridicule.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> *Ta’rikh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 51

<sup>139</sup> During this time Dahhām would variably seize a town one day, only to evacuate it the following day. He had resorted to warfare against the progeny of Sa‘ūd by means of utilizing weaponry, astute scheming, and causing trouble on occasions. Whilst seeking peace with them on other occasions, for indeed he had given allegiance to them four times; and had violated his pledge four times. (See: *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-‘Ulā* p. 66)

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Bishr and Munīr Al-Ajlānī state that they first fled to Kharj; that being in the Summer and so many of them died from hunger and thirst. He then quoted Ibn Ghannām as having said that as many as four hundred citizens of Riyadh who left for other places perished along the way due to the intensity of the heat. (See: *Ta’rikh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 47 and *‘Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 77)

<sup>141</sup> This is the figure as stated by Dr. ‘Abdur-Raḥīm in *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-‘Ulā* p. 69, though in other sources figures between twenty-seven and thirty years are commonly cited for the duration of the conflicts between Riyadh and Ad-Dir‘iyyah. Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān Āl Ash-Shaikh mentions it went on for more than thirty years as has just preceded and as can be found in *Ad-Durar As-Samniyyah* vol 12 p. 15-16.

<sup>142</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-‘Ulā* p. 69.

Dahhām himself fled to the town of Ad-Dilam<sup>143</sup> after his abandonment of Riyadh. The Amīr of the town was Zaid bin Zāmil, who had joined forces with the great alliance that had arisen against Ad-Dir'iyyah some years earlier. Seeing how powerful the Najrānis were all those years ago when they came upon Ad-Dir'iyyah, Zaid decided to send communications to its ruler again calling him to take up arms once more against the Saudis. So in 1188H (1774CE) correspondence was made by Zaid urging that action should be taken against Ad-Dir'iyyah. Instead the ruler of Najrān sent the messenger back with requests of what exactly would be given to him was he to partake in the campaign. Zaid responded with a figure of thirty thousand gold pieces upon which they agreed. Zaid put his people to harsh measures in order to extort the money which he needed for the campaign. The ruler of Wadī Ad-Dawāsir also joined in to help raise the funds, which were put together and sent off south to Najrān.<sup>144</sup>

Meanwhile in the region of Al-Aḥsā, 'Uray'ir bin Dujain was marching on the town of Buraydah in Al-Qaṣīm. He arrived at the town and convinced the townsfolk that his visit was in good faith and urged the towns Amīr to come out to him for a meeting. Upon doing so 'Uray'ir seized him making him prisoner whilst some of his men slipped into the town and began plundering it. 'Uray'ir remained there for a number of days before moving out into the neighbourhood. It was whilst he was here that he was receiving correspondence from the enemies of Ad-Dir'iyyah urging him to attack the town. 'Uray'ir decided to do so feeling that he had enough men to carry out the task, however; before he even left camp to carry this out he was dead. He was succeeded by his son Butayyin who did not continue with his father's plan, thus ending the threat the Banī Khālid had been posing.

The chief of Najrān, Sayyid Ḥasan bin Hibbatullāh<sup>145</sup> finally showed up the following year in 1189H (1775-1776CE) after he had gathered his fighting

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<sup>143</sup> As mentioned by Ibn Ghannām; though Ibn Bishr stated as mentioned earlier that he along with those that followed him fled to Kharj – and Allaah Knows best.

<sup>144</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 85-89.

<sup>145</sup> Munīr Al-Ajlānī mentions that the origin of this ruling clan of Najrānīs in this case stemmed from south of the city of San'ā; and that they were from the

men from the tribes of Yām and Wadī Ad-Dawāsir and so marched north to join Zaid.

As usual the advance of a formidable coalition of fighting men stirred the old enemies of Ad-Dir'iyyah into action with Butayyin bin 'Uray'ir of Al-Aḥsā promising the Najrānīs six thousand gold pieces and three hundred loads of supplies from his district to help in the campaign.

The newly appointed Amīr of Banī Khālīd, Butayyin who was encouraging the Najrānīs to attack had not long to enjoy his newly found status in Al-Aḥsā. He was dead soon after having been strangled by his brothers, Dujain and Sa'dūn – whilst in his own home. The two brothers seemingly did so out of their being enraged by his wicked ways. Dujain was appointed successor to Butayyin only to die after a short time being succeeded by Sa'dūn.

The coalition of invaders arrived at the town of Al-Ḥā'ir, the very place they had first struck when they came many years before and had struck a blow to the men under 'Abdul-'Azīz during the era of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. The people of the town were loyal adherents of Ad-Dir'iyyah, and so held out the attack on their town keeping the attackers busy. Meanwhile the Imām was calling up fighting men from the various districts in order to gather reinforcements and deal with the threat. Detachments were sent to Ḍurma and Riyadh to block the advance of the invaders; however the invaders themselves were having a great deal of difficulty dealing with the town they had taken so easily many years before. They headed towards Ḍurma where they made an attack on the town and were met with massive losses. The defenders were waiting for them hiding behind the palms and other trees, so when the invaders advanced, they showed themselves and showered the attackers with rounds from their muskets. This caused confusion in their ranks and forced them to withdraw, it had also sapped the will of the chief of Najrān to continue. He had had enough and decided to head home seeing the people of the region were not as easy to overcome as they were aforetime. He had also fallen ill on the expedition and was

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Al-Isma'īliyyah Al-Bāṭiniyyah sect. (See: *Ta'riḫ Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 56)

carried off on his bed south homeward, home he was never to reach alive, for he was dead by the time his men reached Najrān.<sup>146</sup>

By the end of the year, Zaid bin Zāmil of Ad-Dilam, who had called upon the Najrānīs in the unsuccessful attack in Najd arrived in Ad-Dir'iyyah to see the Imām along with other notables from his town. No notice had gone ahead of his arrival so his visit was one of surprise. He offered allegiance to the Imām whereupon he was asked to hand over a large quantity of weapons and horses as a sign of his sincerity. Zaid handed over what had been asked of him, the Imām for his part kept a portion for the State and returned the rest back to him. It was not long before Zaid relinquished his allegiance due to a dispute which had arisen between him and some of his own people. In 1190H (1776CE) he fled Ad-Dilam after hearing the Imām was on his way to deal with him. When the Imām arrived, he was welcomed by the people of the town, after which the Imām designated a new Amīr for them. However; later in the year a group of people who resisted the *Da'wah* in Ad-Dilam contacted Zaid once more asking him to return. Zaid himself was cautious of the situation and so sent his son to see what the circumstances were like there. The group in Ad-Dilam then contacted the Bedouin of Āl-Murrah and some people of Al-Yamāmah who were in the area and together they attacked some of the adherents of the *Da'wah* in the town – killing a number of them. This convinced Zaid that the time to return was right and so after a few days he arrived back at the town. The following year the Imām returned to Ad-Dilam but was unsuccessful in taking the town, however after attacking the neighbouring town of Na'jān the Imām returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah along with the booty they had acquired.

Meanwhile the new ruler of the Banī Khālid, Sa'dūn bin 'Uray'ir of Al-Aḥsā had been dealing with a rebellion that had broken out in Al-Aḥsā. As a punishment for the rebellion Sa'dūn put to death a number of key figures in the areas. After this, Sa'dūn brought some of his tribe to the region of Al-Kharj in 1192H (1778CE), and whilst in the region, he wrote to the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah proposing a truce to which the Imām agreed if Sa'dūn kept back from coming any closer to his territory. Sa'dūn however moved yet closer which convinced the Imām that Sa'dūn's intentions were not

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<sup>146</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 78-81 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 88-93

faithful and so regarded the truce as having come to an end. Then Sa'dūn made the ultimate mistake of driving his people through the Dahnā desert in the Midsummer. The result was that his people suffered greatly and they lost most of their livestock as a result of the move.

Sa'dūn finally arrived near Munaikh and was recovering from the ordeal of crossing the desert and having lost so much along the way. In the nearby town of Ḥarmah, the people were plotting against the town of Al-Majma'ah which was loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah. Having called in Sa'dūn for help they all attempted to take the town, but failed in doing so which led Sa'dūn to give up the attack and move off.

Throughout 1193-1194H (1779-1780CE) campaigns were launched in the south in Al-Kharj as well as in Sudair at Az-Zilfi where raids were launched, for some of the people had sought to throw off the allegiance with Ad-Dir'iyyah. It was in one of these campaigns that the brother of the Imām, 'Abdullāh, came under fire from Sa'dūn who was in the vicinity with the Banī Khālid. 'Abdullāh's men suffered losses and lost a number of key men against the formidable and overwhelmingly larger tribe Sa'dūn had with him. However, 'Abdullāh took some of the Banī Khālid as prisoners who later bought their freedom for fixed prices.

The following year in 1195H (1781CE) campaigns were sent out to the South again in Al-Kharj where the Imām's son Sa'ūd was seeing to the uprisings taking place there. Some of the people had called in Sa'dūn of Al-Aḥsā for help, however his help was short lived and so he abandoned them leaving the Saudis to continue disciplining the unruly residents of the region. Sa'ūd went on to attack the Zafīr Bedouin near Sudair who had also sought to cause problems for the Saudis, Sa'ūd returned with a great deal of booty from this expedition.<sup>147</sup>

The following year in 1196H (1782CE) rebellions began breaking out in the newly acquired region of Al-Qaṣīm, the people of the region who were against the rule of Ad-Dir'iyyah sought to oust the *Da'wah* from the area which was taking hold. They informed Sa'dūn of their plans asking him to

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<sup>147</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 74-75 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 95-107.

come and join them, this he agreed to and so moved off with his men in their direction along with men from 'Anazah, Shammar and Zafīr. This prompted the locals of Al-Qaṣīm to bring out their plan into the open, so it began with the people of one town killing their Imām as he led the *Jumu'ah* prayer. The Āl-Janāh seized a blind man loyal to the *Da'wah* and crucified him by driving nails through his calves. The Āl-Shamās near Buraydah killed their Amīr, 'Ali bin Jawshān, whilst the people in other townships carried out similar acts. Only in Buraydah itself did its Amīr, Ḥujailān bin Aḥmad come to find out the plotters of his town who were trying to carry out the same plan there, but he acted swiftly and put to death the perpetrator - Sulaimān Al-Ḥujailānī, this caused resentment amongst those in the town who had been in favour of the actions of Sulaimān.

The people of Al-Qaṣīm knew they needed to take Buraydah in order to succeed in ousting the *Da'wah* from the region. Ḥujailān knew this and so put up a stiff resistance to the coalition surrounding his town. Sa'dūn bin 'Uray'ir was at the town walls with the Banī Khālīd joined by other disaffected citizens of Al-Qaṣīm who all dug in for a lengthy siege of the town. After a number of attacks on the town the people of Buraydah still held out. Therefore after consulting with his allies, Sa'dūn decided that the town was to be pounded with cannon. However he possessed but little cannon shot to fire his cannon with and so tried to cast new ones whilst the siege was in place. The locals and others from the region bought in brass and copper and other metals to make the necessary projectiles with which to fire their volleys, but every effort to make them proved a complete failure. The siege itself was taking a lot longer than expected, and so the besiegers decided to build a fort nearby to strengthen their position only for the people of Buraydah to come out at night and tear it down. The Amīr of Ar-Rass who was loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah came out and took around four hundred sheep and goats that Sa'dūn's Bedouin had in pasture, and the men of Buraydah also seized a tent of the besiegers.

Then the besiegers attempted to build a wooden contrivance box on wheels which they made in such a way that it was bullet-proof. In pushing it to the watchtower of the town, the besiegers tried to talk the people of the town into believing they had come in good will but were driven off, thus ending their lot with the box.

With five months having gone by on this wasted siege, Sa'dūn decided to throw one more attempt into taking the town. A great attack was launched on the walls and towers of the town, it was only when they heard the drums beating within the town did they come to know that the Amīr Ḥujailān had chosen this moment and was celebrating his wedding feast. Sa'dūn hastily withdrew and bought the siege to an end.<sup>148</sup> After the departure of the army, Ḥujailān was at will to bring discipline to the people that had disaffected and helped Sa'dūn's advance into Al-Qaṣīm. Towns were made to swear allegiance once more and to pay fines for their treachery, with the town of 'Unayzah being the only exception.

Next, some of the invaders marched on to Ar-Rawḍah along with Zaid bin Zāmil and others from Sudair. After a brief siege they took the town and were joined by Sa'dūn who arrived at the diminutive victory. The coalition however made no progress after this, for any other town they attempted to take showed them firm resistance in Sudair, thus upsetting any further advance they could make.

Sa'ūd too was on his way from Ad-Dir'iyyah, since the region had seen no aid come as of yet to their side, the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah had sent Sa'ūd who was hastening his way to Al-Qaṣīm. Sa'dūn; learning of this was struck with panic and so evacuated the area and moved off leaving the coalition to dissolve away – which led the areas of the region that were loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah to fall upon Ar-Rawḍah and take it back. The Āl-Māḍī – who had aided Sa'dūn were set upon by the people of Sudair who killed their Amīr 'Awn bin Māḍī, the rest of them including some of the fighting men of Sa'dūn barricaded themselves and a siege was put in place which continued until Sa'ūd arrived. The siege continued until the men within could no longer continue, and so they surrendered themselves to Sa'ūd who restored order in the vicinity and dealt with the rebels by sending some of them into exile.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Ibn Bishr stated that upon hearing the 'duff' drums beating, he asked: "What is this?" So it was said to him that it was for the wedding celebration of Ḥujailān. Thus he came to know that they were paying no attention to him and so were off bounds; and so he departed therefrom. (See: 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 96)

<sup>149</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p. 96-98 and Rawḍatūl Afkār wal Afhām vol 2 p. 111-118

In 1197H (1783CE) Zaid bin Zāmil of Ad-Dilam rode out with two or three hundred men in order to raid the Bedouin of Sabī' who were loyal adherents of the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah. Not far from Riyadh, Zaid seized their camels, ironically however; in the local neighbourhood was Sulaimān bin 'Ufayṣān, the Amīr of Al-Kharj who was ousted by Zaid from Ad-Dilam a few years earlier with around thirty riders who had been sent out by the Imām to hunt down highway robbers. Upon hearing what Zaid had done with the Bedouin he set out after him and his men despite being hugely outnumbered. It was at Al-Ḥaniyyah where he came across the raiders, and so forced them into a fight during which one of Sulaimān's men fired a round hitting Zaid who fell from his mount – however; his clothing was caught in his saddle and so his body was left hanging as his camel sped off with his corpse suspended. The sight of this caused terror amongst the raiders who dispersed into the neighbouring areas. After the fight Sulaimān took back and returned the stolen camels to the Bedouin. Yet the news of the death of Zaid caused fear amongst his followers especially at the news of its circumstances.

In this year Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz sent gifts consisting of fine horses and other mounts to Surūr – the Sharīf of Makkah, in a mark of appreciation for his allowing some three hundred people from his domains to perform the Ḥajj that year.<sup>150</sup>

It is at this time in 1197-1198H (1783-1784CE), that the Saudis began their campaigns into the region of Al-Aḥsā itself. For their control over the Najdī areas was virtually complete, and so were looking outside of their region and began making attacks on Al-Aḥsā. It began with Sa'ūd riding out at the head of an expedition reaching the settlement of Al-'Uyūn whereupon he seized a great deal of livestock and food stocks and other provisions.<sup>151</sup>

The following year Sa'ūd was on his way to Al-Kharj when he came to know of a caravan heavily laden with goods from Al-Aḥsā on route to Al-Kharj. He set up an ambush at a well where he knew the caravan was to stop for water, and in the fight which followed, the men of the caravan

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<sup>150</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 98-99 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 118-120

<sup>151</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 93

who numbered three hundred, lost between seventy to ninety men before surrendering, Sa'ūd returned home with the entire caravan and its goods. In the same year a great many tribal chiefs began giving allegiance to the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh in Ad-Dir'iyyah; from them were the tribes of the region of Wadī Ad-Dawāsir to the south who came to Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to be accepted as true followers. People came from Al-Aflāj near Al-Kharj to seek first acquaintance with the Imām and Shaikh ul Islām after which they too enlisted themselves as adherents. Meanwhile Sa'ūd was out on an expedition to capture Ad-Dilam from Al-Yamāmah and Al-Ḥawṭah and Al-Ḥarīq after which they pledged to be loyal followers of the *Da'wah*. By the end of the year Sa'ūd had captured the stubborn town of Ad-Dilam ending years of rebel assaults being launched from the town.<sup>152</sup>

At a time when the Saudis were looking outside of Najd for their expanse at Al-Aḥsā itself, the rulers of the region of Al-Aḥsā had gradually been weakened by ineffective leadership, infighting and had been exhausted by inept wanderings in the central deserts under their leader Sa'dūn bin 'Uray'ir. Sa'dūn had sought to continue his father's legacy of making war with Ad-Dir'iyyah ever since he came to rule over the Banī Khālid. He had made every effort to continue hostilities against them, as well as to side with anyone who showed himself to be formidable enough to take them on. Yet the rulers of Ad-Dir'iyyah were now able to effectively repel the attacks which the people of Al-Aḥsā would launch into their territory – as the previous attacks had clearly sought to demonstrate.

It had been a decade since Sa'dūn took charge of the Banī Khālid of Al-Aḥsā. Many individuals from his ruling family were discontented with the way in which the Banī Khālid had been weakened over the years. Thus yet more infighting began when in 1199/1200H (1784/1785CE), members of the ruling family took up arms against one another in an attempt to oust Sa'dūn and replace him. The rebellion arose from another section of the Banī Khālid under 'Abdul-Muḥsin bin Sirdāh who appointed Sa'dūn's brother Duwailhis who was also his own nephew. 'Abdul-Muḥsin knew he lacked the military capability of ridding the Banī Khālid of Sa'dūn, and so sought aid from an outsider; that of Thuwainī bin 'Abdillāh – the Shaikh of the Bedouin confederation of the Al-Muntafiq tribes bordering 'Iraq.

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<sup>152</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 100-101 and *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p.76.

Thuwainī sent money and manpower whilst 'Abdul-Muḥsin enlisted the disgruntled sections of the Banī Khālīd and so in 1200H (1786CE) they met for war. Sa'dūn lost the fight and hurriedly escaped leaving his brother Duwaihīs to succeed him as head of the Banī Khālīd and the ruler of Al-Aḥsā.

Having been defeated by his own people and with nowhere to go, Sa'dūn rode in the direction of his old enemies, the rulers at Ad-Dir'iyyah. He sent a message ahead of himself requesting safe conduct from the Imām and of his impending arrival at his capital. The Imām however requested that Sa'dūn stay away until he could consult the matter with Thuwainī with whom the Imām had an agreement stipulating peace some years earlier. Sa'dūn however arrived at Ad-Dir'iyyah and took the Imām by surprise just as he was leaving his palace for the Friday prayer. The Imām; taking Sa'dūn with him – re-entered his palace and placed Sa'dūn within its safe confines and then continued to the Masjid for the prayers so as not to be absent. After the prayer the Imām went to Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb to consult the matter and seek his advice. The Shaikh's advice was put into practice when Sa'dūn was granted permission to stay as well as being given expensive gifts by the Imām himself.

The Imām knowing what implications this may have with Thuwainī then wrote to him explaining what had happened and that he still regarded the agreement between them as standing assuring him of no violation in the arrangement between them.

This had little effect upon Thuwainī who became angered at what had happened. Since he viewed Ad-Dir'iyyah as having taken in an enemy of his that he had defeated, and so began making preparations for war against the Imām the following year.<sup>153</sup>

The new coalition made up of the Muntafiq and contingents from the tribes of Shammar and Ghālib and Tayy the people of Al-Majrah as well of fighters from the town of Az-Zubair on the 'Iraqi border were ready in late 1201H (1786-1787CE) under the leadership of Thuwainī bin 'Abdillāh. This

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<sup>153</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 123-125 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 93-97

was a very well prepared expedition as Thuwainī was aptly equipped owing to his allegiance to the Ottoman Pāshā in Baghdad. Apart from the muskets his fighting men carried, and the cannon which he bought in; he had seven hundred pack loads of ammunition. He chose to enter Al-Qaṣīm and arrived at the town of At-Tanūmah. Here he demanded to be let in but the inhabitants stood firm and refused entry or grant them passage. So Thuwainī set about bombarding the town with his cannon and seeking to enter the town by outwitting the defenders with his cavalry – yet still he could not penetrate their defence. It was only when a resident of the town – who agreed to betray his fellow townsmen came out to Thuwainī and helped scheme a plot that the town was taken. Using this man as an intermediary, Thuwainī convinced the defenders to agree to terms and allow some of his men into their citadel. When his men got access into the citadel they seized it and turned on the defenders killing them after which the rest of the army was allowed into the town plundering and looting it. By the time his army had left the town he had killed off all of its inhabitants except for any fugitives.<sup>154</sup>

Whilst Thuwainī was busy in Al-Qaṣīm, Duwaihī bin 'Uray'ir and his uncle 'Abdul-Muḥsin of the Banī Khālid in Al-Aḥsā had heard of what was taking place. They gathered their fighting men and set out in order to join Thuwainī in his war, having been informed that Thuwainī was in Najd on a long drawn out campaign against Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Meanwhile after his capture of At-Tanūmah, Thuwainī moved onto the important town of Buraydah, loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah as had been At-Tanūmah. Since Buraydah was one of the most important centres of Al-Qaṣīm, he barricaded the town and laid siege to it. While the siege of Buraydah was in place, some prominent Bedouin politicians from 'Iraq came to see Thuwainī – convincing him to leave off wasting his military strength in the deserts and return to 'Iraq in order to take advantage of the deteriorating circumstances confronting the Pāshā in Baghdad. Thuwainī being persuaded by the opportunity lifted the siege of Buraydah and set off with his army for 'Iraq.

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<sup>154</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 199

The Imām had come to know of Thuwainī's assault into his territory, and so sent out a summons for his fighting men to turn out in full force placing them under the leadership of Sa'ūd after which they hurried out to free Buraydah. Sa'ūd arrived in the region to learn of Thuwainī's retreat back to 'Iraq, and so set out in pursuit of his army which was already some distance away. Sa'ūd failed to catch up with Thuwainī, but came across a contingent of Shammar fighting men, who were set upon and killed. Duwaihīs bin 'Uray'ir and his uncle 'Abdul-Muḥsin of the Banī Khālid too arrived late, for they were expecting to join Thuwainī on his long campaign in Najd but had learned once they entered Najd of Thuwainī's hasty change of plan. Having no choice but to turn and head home they were compelled to cross the Dahnā desert in mid summer with an insufficient supply of water. Consequently, many of their people died in the crossing, weakening further an already weak force and so for the second time<sup>155</sup> in nine years the Banī Khālid were punished by their chiefs being coerced into crossing the same desert and facing its harsh consequences.<sup>156</sup>

Thuwainī for his part returned to 'Iraq and seized the important city of Baṣrah to the south in order to undermine the position of the Ottoman appointed Pāshā of Baghdad.<sup>157</sup> The over-enthusiastic Thuwainī had

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<sup>155</sup> The first time was when they were led by their previous leader Sa'dūn bin 'Uray'ir in around 1192H (1778CE).

<sup>156</sup> 'Unwānūl Majd vol 1 p.103-104 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p.126-130.

<sup>157</sup> After seizing the Amīr of Al-Baṣrah, Thuwainī took control of the rest of the city along with his troops. He ordered the heads of the region and the prominent notables to write to the Sulṭān asking him to recognize him as Amīr over them and to make him Pāshā of Al-Baṣrah. This was done with the Muftī of Al-Baṣrah taking the letters to Istanbul and submitting them to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān in turn reviewed them with his ministers who informed him that Thuwainī was 'a Bedouin of the desert; a fickle aggressor.' This infuriated the Sulṭān who intended to put the Muftī to death but he had subsequently escaped at nightfall from Istanbul. Then in 1202H (1787CE) Sulaimān Pāshā prepared a strong force and came to confront Thuwainī who had gathered a great turnout of the Muntafiq and people of Az-Zubair. The battle which took place at Al-Fāḍiliyyah near Sūq Ash-Shuyūkh cost Thuwainī heavily and many from his side were killed. Afterwards Sulaimān had their heads gathered and piled up in pyramid stacks of three. (See: *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 50-51)

underestimated the weakness of the Pāshā, for the Pāshā came out from Baghdad and in 1202H (1787CE) along with his troops and Kurds and other fighters and destroyed Thuwainī's army that came out to him. Thuwainī got away, and after a brief loiter in Al-Jahrā – a well known watering place in the desert regions near Kuwait and Al-Aḥsā, he sought sanctity with none other than the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah; and accordingly he was taken in. He did not remain there for long; he soon set out for the Al-Aḥsā region and arrived at As-Ṣamān.

The progress of the *Da'wah* was evolving in Jabal Shammar and Wadī Ad-Dawāsir, such that by 1202H (1788CE) the whole of the two regions came under the submission of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Accordingly, both regions had 'Ulamā sent there in order to teach the people and to educate them from the misguidance they were upon. The region of Wadī Ad-Dawāsir was the area which separated the region of Najd from the southern areas. Those from Wadī Ad-Dawāsir who resented the rule of Ad-Dir'iyyah called upon the ruler of Najrān to their aid against Ad-Dir'iyyah. This was to be the third invasion by the Najrānīs against Ad-Dir'iyyah, and their turnout was a weak one. For they no longer had the strength and turnout that they had once possessed, and despite the offers of forming a coalition by other tribes; the ruler of Najrān turned back without a fight; and so for the last time there faded away any potential threat that was to arise from the South.

In Wadī Ad-Dawāsir itself the Amīr; Rabī bin Zaid along with his brother had already accepted the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh the previous year, but when they returned to Wadī Ad-Dawāsir and attempted to call their people to the message they were propagating; they found the people to be hostile and unwilling to accept what they were being called to. The majority of the people resented what Rabī was calling them to and any attempt to call the people away from the ignorant practices that contradict *Tawḥīd* were met with animosity and bitter resentment.

Accordingly; Rabī constructed a fort for himself and the people of *Tawḥīd* in the area; once the construction was finished; Rabī openly proclaimed his *Da'wah* and went about eradicating the objects of idolatry which the people had taken up. From them was a tree at which his people would perform rituals, Rabī set the tree alight and took refuge in his newly built fort along

with the people of *Tawhīd*. The people only realized the tree had been set alight once it was completely burned at which they were greatly troubled and grieved. The next day they came to the fort requesting Rabī in order to seize him. Upon no response they laid siege to the fort for three days whilst making threats and committing vile acts of aggression whilst those inside the fort remained patient. The besiegers cut the date palms belonging to the people in the fort, but it had no effect, instead those under siege managed to kill one of the besiegers. After the besiegers grew tired knowing that they could not force those inside to leave; they killed a donkey and threw it into the well that supplied the fort with water, this well was on the outside of the fort, such an action inevitably rendered its water as undrinkable which caused those inside the fort great difficulty and severe thirst.

Those inside the fort grew desperate for drinking water, in doing so they began to dig the ground inside the grounds of the fort itself whereupon Allāh gave them drinking water from which they then drank, and by means of which they took as a sign of victory.

Once the attackers grew tired of their assault, they lifted the siege and withdrew. Rabī then wrote to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz informing him of what had taken place, the Imām in return sent weapons and provisions to Rabī as well as ordering Mubārak bin 'Abdil-Hādī to proceed to Wadī Ad-Dawāsir in order to support Rabī.<sup>158</sup>

Meanwhile The Imām had requested that Shaikh-ul-Islām put together a treatise which would incorporate all the beliefs of a Muslim and which would be easy to understand for individuals from all levels of society and all abilities. The Shaikh wrote a treatise in clear Arabic which was then copied by order of Amīr 'Abdul-'Azīz into many copies and was then sent to all the regions. The people were then commanded to study it in the Mosques at the hands of the Imāms and the students of knowledge

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<sup>158</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 131-132 – refer to the subsequent pages in *Rawḍatul Afkār* wherein Ibn Ghannām illustrates the great efforts and struggles both Rabī and Mubārak went through in order to establish *Tawhīd* in the region.

therein.<sup>159</sup> All were commanded to learn it without exception; such that the people would be asked concerning it in the Mosques every day after the Morning Prayer and between the two *'Ishā's* (*Maghrib* and *'Ishā*) with regard to what the treatise comprised of from the principles of the religion and other important matters.<sup>160</sup>

In the year 1202H (1788CE) the entire eastern region of Al-Aḥsā came under Saudi influence in an expedition led by Sulaimān bin 'Ufaysān – the Amīr of Al-Kharj. The expedition took them to the east coast and they even managed to take the peninsula of Qaṭar. Accordingly, this extended their authority to the Persian Gulf on the east with its resources and ports which had previously brought economic prosperity to Al-Aḥsā. The Banī Khālid had still to be reckoned with, but their territory had virtually been won by the Saudis. On this expedition Sulaimān bin 'Ufaysān encountered Ēsā bin Ghafyān – a Persian slave and a well known poet who was leading an army for the people of Al-Yamāmah; so Sulaimān and his men seized and killed the majority of them including the well known poet deputy

In this year Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb together with Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz ordered that the people of the Najdī towns and others under their rule should pay allegiance to Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz as successor after his after, accordingly the pledge of allegiance was given.<sup>161</sup>

By 1203H (1788CE) Thuwainī was at odds again with Ad-Dir'iyyah, for he had broken off from them and was in the region of Al-Aḥsā. Sa'ūd had set out from Ad-Dir'iyyah and was in the area; by orders of his father he launched an attack on Thuwainī's forces. Although initially they were repulsed, the Saudis fought back and defeated the force Thuwainī had with him.

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<sup>159</sup> This virtuous endeavour did not cease to be until a time not long ago during the Third Saudi State during the life of the great Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm the Muftī of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia who died in the year 1389H (رحمة الله). (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 2 p. 695)

<sup>160</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 2 p. 694-695 and '*Unwānul Majd* vol 1 p. 105-106

<sup>161</sup> '*Unwānul Majd* vol 1 p. 105-106

Over the next year Sa'ūd launched successful campaigns in Al-Aḥsā against the ineffectual Banī Khālid. This was in 1204H (1789-1790CE) when a battle was fought at Ghuraimīl in Al-Aḥsā, with the leaders of the Banī Khālid present; Duwaihīs bin 'Uray'ir and his uncle 'Abdul-Muḥsin bin Sirdāh. They had called a summons for other local fighting men to come and join them in the fight against the Saudis, but daunted as they were they left the Banī Khālid and their leaders to face the Saudis alone. The Banī Khālid endeavoured with all that they had in this battle, they numbered several thousands, but this did not avail them; for they lost the battle. In losing this battle was the loss of the Banī Khālid's reign over Al-Aḥsā. For their leaders fled and dispersed into the region leaving the rest of the people to either enter into the submission of Ad-Dir'iyyah; or leave the region as they themselves had done. This is how the once powerful Banī Khālid disintergrated; the previously dominant tribe that had not just held power and influence in Al-Aḥsā; but within Najd itself. It was previously due to their influence and authority that some of the Amīrs of Najd had been intimidated into rejecting and so ejecting Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and his *Da'wah* from their towns. Within a few decades of that the very call which the Banī Khālid sought to suppress would come to expel them from their own power-base.

In the latter part of 1205H (1791CE), Sa'ūd set out for the north, hoping to encounter the Bedouins of Muṭair and Shammar. At the watering place of Al-'Adwah in Jabal Shammar he found elements of the Muṭair men of 'Ubayyāt. Sa'ūd was in the vicinity of Shammar the Bedouin Muṭair tribe were under the command of Samrah, the chief of the 'Ubayyāt. Amongst them was a famed rider; Mas'ūd – nicknamed "*Satan's Charger*". In the ensuing battle the Bedouins lost a great deal of men including Samrah and Mas'ūd and all of their stocks. The Bedouins who fled the scene then sent messages into the vicinity calling on the locals to take up arms against Sa'ūd. Amongst those that responded was Muslaṭ bin Muṭlaq who was the son of a great man of Shammar, he was amongst those that responded to the defeat of the Bedouins that were defeated at Al-'Adwah. He vowed to trample over Sa'ūd's tent with his war mare, meanwhile groups of Bedouins had sent a message of ahead to Sa'ūd that they were coming to fight him, however, he remained undaunted and so continued dividing out the spoils that had been acquired in the previous fight.

In the battle which followed; Muslaṭ intended to carry out his vow, however, one of the Muslims threw an object<sup>162</sup> at him which knocked him off his mare, and thus killed him when he fell to the ground. The losses for the Bedouins were very great and the Muslims took all of their camels and livestock and provisions, and for the following two to three days they pursued the fleeing men taking their wealth from them and fighting them. Sa'ūd took eleven thousand camels from them and more than a hundred thousand livestock.<sup>163</sup>

With these events having unfolded; the unification of Najd had become complete. The peace and security which had taken hold in Najd was contrary to what it had been just a few decades before.<sup>164</sup> The teachings conveyed from Ad-Dir'iyyah were well in place in the province and was now beginning to find adherents in Ash-Shām, 'Iraq, Yemen, Oman and Qaṭar and Baḥrain. Thus the nations and regions outside were coming to recognize the call emanating from Najd, and were coming to see the merit and prosperity it was bringing there.

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān said: "So in that land an Islamic State was established; and the people became safeguarded and the good and blessing became widespread amongst the people of that land. A traveller could travel all alone carrying immense riches and fear none but Allāh. This was

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<sup>162</sup> Ibn Bishr mentions it was an implement used in baking (*'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 111).

<sup>163</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 111-112 and *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 138-152

<sup>164</sup> The Swiss traveler John Lewis Burckhardt mentions:

"The great security which resulted from this rigid administration of justice, naturally pleased those who were exposed to depredations and disorders of any kind. The settlers, therefore, of Nedjd, Hedjaz, and Yemen, became most sincerely attached to the new system, because they had suffered most from the defects of the old. Caravans of any extent, loaded with the produce of the ground, passed unmolested through those parts of the country; nor were the people ever afraid that their crops should be cut up, or destroyed by the wandering tribes. The latter, on the contrary, who had always lived by robberies and attacks on others, found it much more difficult to obey a government whose first principles directly opposed their mode of subsistence." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 142-143)

after a time which had passed in which a person could not be safeguarded even in the depths of his own home.

That land became safeguarded, living under the banner of *Tawhīd* and the religion of Islām; it is a thing which has been witnessed. The reason for it was never due to terrorism and vengeance or the desire for wealth; rather the reason behind it was this religion. As Imām Mālik said:

‘Nothing will rectify the latter part of this Ummah except that which rectified its first part.’<sup>165</sup>

## Al-Hijāz

The Saudi expanse within Najd itself had not gone unnoticed in other parts of the Arabian Peninsula; in Al-Ḥijāz the Sharīfian rulers had come to see the domination the Salafī *Da‘wah* had been taking. Al-Ḥijāz being the stretch of territory running parallel to the red sea from the borders of Ash-Shām down to ‘Asir and Tihāmah. The importance of Al-Ḥijāz was due to the fact it was where the Holy Cities of Makkah and Madīnah were located, which were at the time under Ottoman<sup>166</sup> suzerainty. The first contact

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<sup>165</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil ‘Aqīdah wad-Da‘wah* vol 2 p. 84-85

<sup>166</sup> The Ottoman Empire; or the Ottoman Turks; an empire which endured some six centuries stemming from a patchwork of independent states in Turkish Anatolia. It began around the year 1300CE with the passing of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the ailing Byzantium Empire. Estugrul – Khan of the Kayi tribe of the Oguz Turks fled from Persia in the mid Thirteenth century to escape the Mongol Hordes and took service with the Sultān of Rūm at the head of a ghazi force. He was granted territory if he could seize and hold it. After his death in 1281CE, the leadership passed onto his son Osman I who became the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty. Osman became chief or Bey and by 1299CE had declared himself a sovereign ruler of the Seljuk Empire. Osman extended the frontiers of Ottoman settlement from western Anatolia towards the edge of the Byzantine Empire thus moving the Ottoman capital to Bursa. In the century after the death of Osman I, Ottoman rule began to extend over the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. With the extension of Turkish dominion into the Balkans it paved the way for the Ottoman expansion into Europe. The conquest of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople became a central objective, since the Ottomans now controlled most of the

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former Byzantine territories. The city was captured in the year 1453CE under Mehmed II ending the Byzantine Empire. The city became the new Ottoman capital and continued to be until the fall of the Empire in the twentieth century. After this Bayezid II displaced the naval powers of Venice and Genoa in the eastern and central Mediterranean. Under Selim I the Empire extended southward taking Syria and Palestine. During this time the Empire entered a long period of conquest and expansion, extending its borders deep into Europe and North Africa. In 1517CE Selim drove the last of the Mamluke Sultāns from Cairo and took Egypt. He was recognized as guardian of the two Holy Mosques and from this time the Ottoman Sultāns adopted the title of 'Caliph'. He also defeated the Safavid Shah of Persia and established a naval presence on the Red sea. Under Sulaimān, Belgrade fell in 1521CE, the following year the Greek island of Rhodes was captured. Vienna was besieged unsuccessfully in 1529CE whilst the entire north of Africa was taken up to Morocco. In 1534CE Kurdistan and Mesopotamia were taken from Persia. With this the Ottomans gained an outlet into the Persian Gulf where they engaged in naval war with the Portuguese. Transylvania, Wallachia and for a short time Moldavia also became principalities of the Empire.

A steady period of stagnation soon followed with the rise of western European states as naval powers and the development of alternative sea routes from Europe to Asia and the rest of the world which damaged the Ottoman economy. The seemingly effective military bureaucratic structures of the previous century also came under strain during a period of marked misrule by weak Sultāns. There was the devaluation of the Ottoman currency and rampant inflation – which had serious consequences in all levels of Ottoman society. Militarily the Ottomans fell behind the technological advances of the Europeans; European military tactics too were changing, whilst the once reputed Ottoman cavalry began to lose its relevance. Lawlessness and rebellion began breaking out in Anatolia in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries – and subsequently toppled several governments. The era of stagnation had begun and the Empire with its structures began to seek to adapt to new pressures and new realities both internal and external.

Further wars were lost and territories ceded to Austria in the Balkans. Areas of the Empire such as Egypt and Algeria became independent in all but name and subsequently came under the influence of Britain and France. The 18<sup>th</sup> century saw centralised authority giving way to varying degrees of provincial autonomy to local governors and leaders. Greece declared its independence in the early nineteenth century and later in the same century Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Wallachia and Moldova all declared their

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independence. The economic competence of the empire was bought into question during this time as it had been struggling to pay its debts to other European States earning the empire the title of 'the sick man of Europe'. More territory was lost in the early twentieth century with the empire losing most of its Balkan States during the Balkan wars; Libya was lost following the Halo-Turkish war. Its Middle Eastern territories were lost on the onset of the First World War with the Ottoman appointed Sharīfs revolting and with British help expelling the Turks out of Al-Hijāz and out of Ash-Shām with the capture of Damascus. Its Middle Eastern territories were partitioned under the avaricious mandates of Britain and France. The last Ottoman Sultān left the country in 1922CE after which the Republic of Turkey was officially established and the 'Khilāfah' constitutionally abolished in 1924CE. Over thirty Sultāns came to rule the empire amongst whom was the just and the oppressive, the weak and the powerful. Heirs to the throne were sometimes of mixed parentage – born to wives or concubines of the Sultān who came from many different ethnic groups. Successions of Sultāns were a complicated process amongst them, with much infighting at the onset of a new Sultān. It was not uncommon during some eras of the empire for a Sultān to have his brothers and half brothers executed for fear of threat. As the centuries passed, the killing was gradually replaced by lifetime solitary confinement in the 'golden cage', a room in the grand harem from where the Sultān's brothers could never escape whilst being surrounded by spies and those that would inform on their activities. This led to some who were next in line to rule to become mentally unstable when they were released to rule. Šūfīsm had been prevalent during the Abbasid eras but under the Ottoman era it took a new turn, its adherence was to the Šūfī ideology, with the Sultān and his subjects free to choose a *ṭarīqah* (mystic or dervish order) with which to follow. These ranged from the Naqshabandī, Mawlawī, Rafā'ī, Shādhilī and Baktāshī ways amongst others. The last of which being a preferred one although in jurisprudence the Ottomans referred to the *Ḥanafī madhab*, with beliefs that consisted of Māturīdī, Ash'arī and Mu'tazilī orientations. The Ottoman state was a proponent of *Taṣawuf* (Šūfī mysticism) with its varying 'Ṭarīqah's' (Sufi orders) and did so in such a way that it had in actual fact become distant from Islām to a great extent.

There had entered into it some of the customs of the Christians such as monasticism and playing with the remembrance of Allāh and innovating ways within them such as dancing and singing and crying/screaming out and clapping as well as excessive praising and celebrating birthdays. Some of these practices had been adopted from Hindu or Persian customs or even Greek such as their calling to Allāh's *ḥulūl* (His being present within the

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creation) and to *itihād* (His being united with the creation) and to *wahdatul wujūd* (His omnipresence).

For the Ottoman empire saw this shade as being from the pure Islamic religion. The Sulṭāns would yield to the callers of *Taṣawuf* (mysticism) and would exceed in lavishing praises upon them. Rather, they would go to such extremes with regard to them that the beliefs of the general masses were overcome by the beliefs into the aspirations of the scholars and the righteous ones. This was alongside the fact that the people would seek out mausoleums and graves and shrines wherein they would make sacrifices and perform vows and seek nearness and make supplications. This was widespread and rampant under the shadow of the Ottoman State as well as its preservation. *Shirk* was practised in the empire on a mass scale, great emphasis was given to the dead who were venerated and whose graves were visited by the people who would call upon them and commit other acts of *Shirk* at these and other locations.

The empires hatred for the Salafī *Da'wah* is well known, for since the beginning when the *da'wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām had spread over the Arabian Peninsula the Ottomans sought to back anyone that was opposed to them and aided those that were at odds with them. This was the case with all three Saudi States with the Ottomans seeking to encourage those that opposed them and gave them subsidies to stay loyal to them. This was to continue until the early twentieth century when the Saudis defeated the final Ottoman ally in Arabia; the Rāshidī dynasty of Ḥā'il just before the downfall of the empire itself.

The infamous depths the Empire had fallen to towards its final demise is illustrated in an extract from *Ad-Durar* wherein is mentioned:

“What is astonishing is that which Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā mentioned who said: Amīr Shakīb Arslān narrated to me in Geneva – Switzerland from Ṭal'at Pāshā At-Turkī (Grand Vizier of the Empire at the time). That was when the Emperor of Germany (the Kaiser) came on a State visit to Istanbul during the First World War, he saw the Turkish women unveiled and uncovered. Thus he reproached him for that. He mentioned to him the moral harms of that as well as the harms in the economy which had slowly gripped Europe which had in consequence become despaired from preventing. So he said to him: ‘Indeed you have a safeguard from all of that; indeed it is the Islamic Religion, are you then going to eliminate it with your own hands?!’ Shaikh Ḥumūd At-Tuwajjirī mentions: ‘I say: This German was more intelligent than many of those that affiliate themselves to Islām.’” (See: *Ad-Durar As-*

between the two sides had been during the rule of Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd himself when the then Sharīf <sup>167</sup> Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd prohibited the people of Najd from performing the Ḥajj and generally forbade them from entering

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*Sannīyyah* vol 15 p. 252-253 and '*Aqīdah Ash-Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdīl-Wahhāb As-Salafīyyah* vol 1 p. 44-45)

<sup>167</sup> Sharīf or 'Grand Sharīf' (pl. Ashrāf) meaning noble/notable was the title given to the traditional Ottoman Amīr of the Holy Cities of Makkah and Madīnah for many centuries. The centuries old Sharīfate was held by a member of the Banī Hāshim which traces its lineage back to the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم). Descendants of this family continued to hold this position until the early twentieth century. The purpose of the Sharīf was to protect and oversee the Holy Cities and their environs and ensure the safety of the pilgrims that visited, most notably during the Ḥajj season. Administered and nominally chosen by the Ottoman Turks, the Sharīfs never had complete independence, they were answerable to the Ottomans from whom they took instruction. Although throughout time this was to be the case with the rulers of Egypt also. The Sharīf was also to oversee the arrival of the 'Maḥmal' or pilgrim caravan carrying the *kiswah* (covering of the Ka'bah) from Cairo. Later 'Maḥmals' were accompanied by bands playing music and a procession of soldiers with all pomp and crass ceremony. It was the Sharīfs who helped the Ottomans maintain effective rule in Al-Ḥijāz for many centuries.

None ruled without Turkish influence, however Sharīf Ḥussain bin 'Ali (1852-1931 – Sharīf from 1908-1917) attempted to gain autonomy and establish an independent Arabian Kingdom through secret liaisons with the British who were greatly encouraging due to interests of their own, this led to the great Arab revolt during the First World War. Later the British distanced themselves and curtailed subsidies that had substituted Ottoman funding during the war and had kept the kingdom on a fleeting lifeline. With motives achieved and no more need of the Sharīf, the subsidies were minimized to a pittance resulting in disastrous economic woes and subsequent lawlessness due to widespread banditry at the outcome of war. Huge unpopularity ultimately led to the Sharīf's own downfall forcing his 'Abdication in favour of his eldest son 'Ali bin Al-Ḥussain. He held the title and was the last Grand Sharīf of Makkah for 15 months before the Saudi conquest of the remainder of Al-Ḥijāz and the subsequent dissolution of the Sharīfate ending centuries of Sharīfian rule. Within a period of just ten years from when the Sharīf first raised the banner of revolt against the Ottomans under British strategy it ended very differently with the Saudis taking Al-Ḥijāz and re-establishing *Tawḥīd*, security and later a flourishing economy in the region over a century after their ancestors first did.

Makkah. He sought from Ad-Dir'iyyah that they send some of their scholars in order to discuss/contest with the Scholars of Makkah. The discussions passed without any conformity from either side.<sup>168</sup>

Communications were opened up again between Makkah and Ad-Dir'iyyah during the Sharifate of Ahmed bin Sa'īd around 1185H (1771CE) who sent a request to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb to send a scholar in order to clarify to him and the scholars of Al-Ḥijāz; the basis of the Salafī *Da'wah*. This was followed up with the sending of Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Ḥussain<sup>169</sup> along with letters and gifts to Sharīf Ahmed bin Sa'īd as a reply to his initial letter. They both (Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz and Shaikh-ul-Islām) laid out an explanation in their letters of the nature of the *Da'wah* in Ad-Dir'iyyah in trying to convince the Sharīf that what they were calling to was nothing new, and that the Sharīf was amongst the most rightful of people to stand with them since they were reviving the Islamic teachings which had come from his very own forefather (line of ancestry).

The letters which came from Ad-Dir'iyyah made it clear that they were from the helpers of the Sharīf. The scholars sent from Ad-Dir'iyyah reached Makkah and gathered with its scholars whereupon discussions were conducted concerning the *Da'wah*. However; yet again an agreement could not be reached between the two sides or conformity between Ad-Dir'iyyah and Makkah.<sup>170</sup>

Sharīf Ahmed bin Sa'īd continued the ban on the people of Najd from performing the Ḥajj. After the end of the term of Sharīf Ahmed, Ad-Dir'iyyah sent a request to the new Sharīf Surūr bin Musā'id who ruled from 1186H (1772CE) asking for permission for the people of Najd in order to perform the Ḥajj. A condition was imposed upon them which was that a tax/levy be taken from them in order to do so. The Saudis refused and so

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<sup>168</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 134

<sup>169</sup> A biography of Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Ḥussain as well as the reasons why he was selected to represent the Salafī *Da'wah* will come later in the book under the attack of the town of Shaqrā.

<sup>170</sup> Abridged from *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 135

no one from the people of Najd performed the Ḥajj during the tenure of Sharīf Surūr except in secret.

Contact was kept between the Saudis and the Ashrāf for the next twenty years, however sluggish, with no agreement between the two sides. This was until the Sharifate came under the reign of Sharīf Ghālib bin Musā'id in the year 1202H (1787CE) who engaged in an era of conspicuous dally in Saudi-Ḥijāzī relations. It was during his reign that relations between the two sides began to take a new turn which was to lead to a head-on conflict between the two sides and result in Saudi domination and absorbing Al-Ḥijāz into their realm.<sup>171</sup>

The Ottoman State had until this time regarded Al-Ḥijāz as being from its own domains, therefore it would be inevitable that any challenge to the control of the region would attract the attention of the Porte<sup>172</sup> itself, which was shortly to occur.

Accordingly the relationship between the Saudi State and the Ottoman government did not become clear until the start of the thirteenth century after the Hijrah when the Najdīs began expanding their domains outside of Najd with the conquest of Al-Aḥsā in 1198H. News had already been spreading of the movement throughout the Peninsula with some of the scholars of Al-Aḥsā seeking to refute the principles of the *Da'wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb, this effort found particular exertion at the time with a number of scholars in the region seeking to rebut the *Da'wah*. Therefore, the news of the *Da'wah* had spread early on in Al-Aḥsā and Al-Baṣrah, and with the spread of the news to Al-Baṣrah it consequently reached the Ottomans due to Al-Baṣrah being an Ottoman vassal. It is true also that the news of the *Da'wah* had reached the Ottomans early on through the Sharīf of Makkah who had informed the Sulṭān of the

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<sup>171</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 137

<sup>172</sup> The Ottoman Porte known as the 'Sublime Porte' - a literal translation of the Arabic: *Bābul 'Ālī*. Used to refer to the court of the Ottoman Empire where government policies were established. Sublime Porte is French for 'lofty gate' as French was the language of European diplomacy at the time. The name came from the gate of the headquarters of the Grand Vizier in Topkapı Palace where the Sulṭān held the greeting for foreign ambassadors.

emergence of Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb in Najd and that his *Da‘wah* was in opposition to what they themselves were upon – and this was in the year 1163H. The judges and the Scholars of both Makkah and Madīnah wrote letters to the Ottoman Sultān warning him of the danger of the ‘Wahhābi’ emergence – as they claimed. Their letters were then observed by the legislative body at Istanbul who responded stating that the issue between them and the Najdīs was nothing more than a war of words and a difference in the interpretation of texts beyond which there was no danger posed by them upon the Ottoman State itself. Upon studying some of the letters of the Sharīf some of the members of the congress even made the accusation that ‘the Sharīf of Makkah requests military assistance from the Sultān in order to actualise his own desire to expand his domains into Najd itself.’

This being the initial recognition the Ottomans had of the Najdīs, however it was not the direct reason for the enmity of the Ottomans against the Saudi State. For as long as the Saudi State remained within its domains of Najd it did not bother the Ottomans in any way, it was as though it was not an Islamic country over which the ‘*Khilāfah*’ had any responsibility. This further supports the fact that Najd was never from the provinces of the Ottoman State itself.<sup>173</sup>

A point worthy of mention is that this era began when Najd itself had become unified under Saudi control, their military expeditions had reached the Arabian Gulf and the Salafī *Da‘wah* had been spreading within Al-Ḥijāz itself amongst some of the Arabs. Sharīf Ghālib had heard of the successes the Saudis were having against the people of Al-Aḥsā and the Banī-Khālid along with depictions of just how powerful Ad-Dir‘iyyah had become. Seeing the ‘danger’ his dominion was facing, he started his era in the same way as his predecessors did; sending a letter to Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz and Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb in the year 1204H (1789CE) requesting from them that they send one of the scholars of the *Da‘wah* to clarify to him the reality of it. Shaikh ‘Abdul-‘Azīz who was sent in the era of Sharīf Ahmed was again dispatched to carry out the same task. Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb sent with him a book to Sharīf Ghālib giving a summary of his *Da‘wah* and that he and his followers were

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<sup>173</sup> *Al-Imām Sa‘ūd bin ‘Abdil-‘Azīz wa Juhūduhu fī Da‘wah Ilallāh* p. 34-36

adhering to the madhab of Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal – and that they were not a group of innovators as they had been portrayed by their enemies.<sup>174</sup>

Upon reaching Makkah; Shaikh ‘Abdul-‘Azīz met with Sharīf Ghālib on a number of occasions explaining and clarifying the principles of the Salafi *Da‘wah*. Then he requested from the Sharīf that he come with the scholars of Makkah in order that he debate with them and clarify to them the reality of the *Da‘wah* also. The scholars of Makkah however refused; suggesting to the Sharīf that the Saudis only wanted to cease the influence of his fathers and forefathers saying: “this group having nothing with them other than wanting to cease the methodology of your fathers and forefathers and to take your hand off what comes to you by way of good.”<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Yet how Allāh sometimes causes even the enemies of His believing servants to acknowledge the true nature of what they are upon – even though they seek to vilify its adherents and endeavour in turning the masses away from it. ‘Uthmān bin Sanad Al-Baṣrī Al-Faylkāwī – a well known opponent to the *Da‘wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām and a contemporary of his mentions in his history:

“And from the merits of the Wahhābis is that they eradicate innovations and wipe them out, and from their merits is: that they bring security to a land that they come to occupy. Thus any area that was under their rule from these deserts and desolate regions could be traversed by a lone individual upon a donkey having no guard as an escort. In particular, between the *Ḥaramain Ash-Sharīfain*, they also prohibited the military excursions of the Bedouin against one another.

The Arabs – despite their varying tribes, from Ḥaḍramout to Ash-Shām – became such that they were like brothers; as though the offspring of a single man. This was due to their severity in disciplining the murderer and the marauder and the robber – such that this evil was eradicated in the time of Ibn Sa‘ūd. Hence transforming the mannerisms of the Bedouin from that of savageness to humaneness.” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p. 353-354)

<sup>175</sup> Despite the certainty that some of those that were being called to had over the nature of that which the Shaikh-ul-Islām was calling them to. Along with the soundness of the principles that his letters comprised of, then it was the overwhelming of desires and self interests and a fear of the loss of some of the worldly acquisitions that all played a part – some to a greater extent than others in hindering some of the opposers from accepting the letters of the Imām and responding to their content and what they called to. For the Imām

The visit yet again ended on this occasion with no real agreement between the two sides. However, the incitement of the scholars of Makkah of Sharīf Ghālib had inevitably flared enmity between the Ashrāf and the Saudis.<sup>176</sup>

The Saudis meanwhile were concentrating their military efforts in the east, having no objective in the western areas (where Hījāz lay). Yet it was the Ashrāf who initiated hostilities and compelled the Saudis into confrontation with what was to follow.

This began in the year 1205H (1790CE) at a time when the Ashrāf had begun a campaign of assaults in many Najdī areas, whilst the Saudis sufficed with blocking the attacks of the Ashrāf and their incursions. Sharīf Ghālib at this time had the ability to assemble a very great force comprised of people from the towns and villages of Al-Hījāz along with some of the tribes which had left Najd to side with the Ashrāf such as the Muṭāir. Sharīf Ghālib sent a great army and placed his brother 'Abdul-'Azīz at its head in order to strike at Najd. The undisclosed army reached the fortress of

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(Shaikh-ul-Islām) himself exposed this reality and confronted one of those called to who had not become influenced by the letters of the Imām and neither replied to the *Da'wah* by saying:

“And the hesitation which entered itself upon you is: this finance which is in your hand, you fear the feeding of yourself and your family if you left the land of the polytheists and have become doubtful in the rizq (provision) of Allāh.”

Thus many of the rulers and the scholars hastened to the hostility of the Imām and his *Da'wah* not necessarily from doubting its correctness and the soundness of its methodology, but rather out of fear of their office/rank and their influence. Just as the claimers to knowledge saw that if they follow the Imām, then their station would decline and their reputation would become diminutive with the masses. Along with other than that from reasons that Satan dictated to them, additionally that which also led them to antagonism against the Imām was the following of their desires and a love of leadership. This ultimately led to a lack of response to his letters and instead they began warning the people from them and its writer along with what was contained in them by way of principles. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin 'Abdīl-Wahhāb* vol 2 p. 681-682)

<sup>176</sup> Abridged from *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 137-138

Bassām – a Saudi fortress in the area whilst having reached it unnoticed.<sup>177</sup> The siege began, and went on for four months, however the attackers could not take the fort, despite some sources mentioning that the fort had held no more than twenty men within it.<sup>178</sup>

The Saudis had concentrated their efforts in the eastern region, in particular Al-Aḥsā where their operations were in the last stages against the Banī Khālīd who had been weakened to a large degree. In reality; the Saudis had grown in strength to an extent far greater than that of their enemies; and so they were able to check the military operations of the Ashrāf in the western region (which had no success against Ad-Dir'iyyah) whilst engaging against the Al-Aḥsā region in the east – simultaneously.

After this, Sharīf Ghālib himself set out at the head of a great army in order to reinforce and bolster the force of his brother, he then tried to win over the populous of Wādī Ad-Dawāsīr. Joined by the tribes of Muṭair, Qaḥṭān

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<sup>177</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān mentions:

“What then occurred by way of example in the war with the Ashrāf of Makkah against this Islamic *Da'wah* and the path of Muḥammad. That is; the fact that they were from the first of the people to evoke enmity towards the Muslims. They detained their pilgrims, as a result a great many number of them died in detention. They prevented the Muslims from performing the Ḥajj for over sixty years, during the course of which Sharīf Ghālib came out to them with a populous army and a vehement plot. He came out before his brother 'Abdul-'Azīz and set upon the fortress of Bassām, halting at it for a while and opening fire upon it, shelling it with artillery, and bombarding it – attempting to level it to the ground. However; Allāh rendered his plot futile over this fortress – the structural design of which was weak and whose men were few. And so he left it and moved on. Then there came to Ghālib yet more soldiers, having with him schemes the like of that which was with his brother – or more. They descended together upon Sha'rā, taking to fighting its people with every possible stratagem. However; Allāh incapacitated him: he and those along with him – from that weak structure whose people had not prepared their constructions for warfare – nor in armaments. Thus Allāh annulled his plots, making him leave them after being driven to despair and insolvency.” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 20)

<sup>178</sup> Abridged from *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 139

and Shammar, they tried yet again to attack the Najdī areas at a mountain around the well of Al-'Adwah near the town of Ḥā'il.<sup>179</sup>

Sharīf Ghālib had come to see that his efforts against the Najdī regions had come to no avail. It was nearly the Ḥajj season in the year 1205H (1790CE) and he had begun to fear that the Porte may seize Makkah and give the Sharifate to one of the sons of his own uncles from the Ashrāf due to the State's discontent with him. His era of making offensives into Najd had also come to an end; from now on his campaigns were either to be defensive or against those he deemed weak and easier to overcome.

Meanwhile the Saudis were out disciplining the tribes in the areas where they had sided with the Ashrāf during the offensives into Najd. Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz was in general command and it was he who was conducting these operations in these areas.<sup>180</sup>

It is about this time that Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb (رحمة الله) passed away. After a time when Allāh had shown him the fruits of his efforts in calling to Him. His *Da'wah* was on the fringes of taking Al-Ḥijāz and had reached the entire east of the Peninsula.<sup>181</sup> The death of the

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<sup>179</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān said: "Allāh gave authority to the Muslims over the Bedouin that had been with him, in particular the Muṭair. So Allāh inflicted them at Al-'Adwah, they came having with them 'absolute experience' with themselves. Allāh, The Most High, caused them defeat, instead enriching the Muslims of everything they had with them from camels and horses and all of their livestock. That which we have mentioned is from the victory Allāh bestowed, as well as His assistance to the people of this religion, a very great lesson." (*Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 20)

<sup>180</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 160

<sup>181</sup> Shaikh Muḥammad Amān Al-Jāmī mentions:

"Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd; the supporter of the Salafī *Da'wah* died in the year 1179H. Then the Shaikh, Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb died in the year 1206H (رحمة الله), did you see the death of the *Da'wah* with their deaths? Or its becoming affected? Or did it continue?!

What befits to be aware of is that if you analyse history you will find the reality in what follows and there is no doubt about it, any *Da'wah* which is established

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by a rectifier or a reviver, if its establishment is by mere exertion of human thought which seeks to implement rectification and renewal; then it will die – or weaken at the least with the death of the one behind the idea and the founder of the movement. Then; there is a *Da'wah* which does not die with the death of the one responsible for it. Therefore we must come to understand the difference between the *Da'wah* which dies with the death of its founder, and the *Da'wah* which remains and endures after him. Rather it resumes and does not cease, so in clarification of that we say: they are two types of *Da'wah*:

1. A *Da'wah* started by a thinker after he thought, laid down and made plans and established conditions seeing them as a must for the success of his call. Without looking at whether it is in conformity to the *Sunnah* or at odds with it!! Such as establishing inner regulations upon which the *Da'wah* is to proceed and abide by. Since he sees that his *Da'wah* serves the Ummah or serves a group from the people who believe in it. Then he seeks to persuade the people with his ideology and his rectifications and clarifying its objectives and making publicity for it. So he establishes a party which they then have partisanship for and come in aid of. The continuity or non continuity of this particular *Da'wah* is not exempt after the death of its founder from either of two circumstances:

The first: the one that founded the thought and was at the head of the call died before he had entrusted someone else to continue and direct the call after himself. In this case the *Da'wah* will die at the death of its founder, and this is inevitable. This is an issue that is comprehensible even by the intellect.

The second: That the founder of the ideology dies, but there is to be found one that would succeed after him and that he is worthy of leadership. As well as working in conjunction with the call. In this case the *Da'wah* will remain for a period of time – which may prolong or curtail. But it fades with time and becomes affected and loses its value and then becomes obscure; and history is the greatest witness over what I have mentioned.

This is because its founding was upon the ideologies of a man and based upon human projection. The thinker and projector has died and come to an end; therefore it is a must that it too ends and this is unavoidable. There are many examples in the present world of this, so there is no need of their mention.

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2. As for the second *Da'wah*; then it is a *Da'wah* which has been undertaken by a reviver who rectifies. Yet the meaning of reviving here differs from its meaning in the first type of *Da'wah*. For the first type of *Da'wah* as we said was founded upon human ideologies. It tries to appeal that it comes with something new. Perhaps it does indeed come with something new – which is accepted or rejected, in any case it is a human endeavour that has no relation to revelation. As for the second *Da'wah*; then its foundation is the Islamic religion – firm and established in action. However its associate finds that the Muslims have boycotted the Islamic teachings – or some of them, this is when he sees that they have boycotted The Book of their Lord and have disregarded the *Sunnah* of their Prophet. So the Qur'ān is not a reference for them in their beliefs and in their worship and in their dealings and other than it. Whilst the *Sunnah* is of no particular value to them, so he calls them to return to Islām in order that they understand it as it was understood by their Salaf. He interprets it as the early ones from the Muslims did, as well as implementing its rulings, and believing in its *'Aqīdah*.

This is the meaning of revival in relation to the second type of *Da'wah*. Therefore it is not a human ideology. Rather a revival of the Islamic legislation and its beliefs. As well as a rectification of what had been corrupted of the affairs of the religion. This type of *Da'wah* will remain after the death of the reviver.

So the *Da'wah* of Ibn 'Abdil-Wahhāb is of this second kind; as you see – firstly it has not died with the death of its helper. Secondly it did not die with the death of its reviver.

So the Islamic *Da'wah* is present and shall remain by Allāh's permission for as long as Islām remains which is its foundation. Until Allāh raises The Book of Islām from the earth when Allāh gives permission for the world to come to an end.

For when the Imām – the reviver passed away; another Imām who was of aid took it, thus the leadership of the *Da'wah* was granted to trustworthy men. In calling and in supporting and aiding and defending it, they are the Āl Ash-Shaikh and their students and the Kings and Amīrs of Āl As-Sa'ūd. The *Da'wah* continued on its way, opening up lands and opening the hearts of the servants. It does not cease to progress in a beautiful and swift progression. For today it has reached places where it was not thought it could reach; the width of the earth and its breadth. And so its continuation shall resume – by Allāh's

Imām (Shaikh-ul-Islām) occurred in the year 1206H (1792CE) regarding which Ibn Ghannām mentions: “The illness began in *Shawwāl*, and so his death occurred on a Monday near the end of the month. He died (ﷺ) when he was close to ninety-two years of age. He (ﷺ) did not leave behind any *dīnārs* nor *dirhams*. Nor was there any wealth or other distributions made between his heirs.” Ibn Qāsim said regarding the day of his *janāzah* (funeral): “It was a day of renown, the people amassed and crowded around his bed. They prayed over him in the city of Ad-Dir’iyyah, the people came out along with his *janāzah* - the elders of them as well as the young.”<sup>182</sup>

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permission and by His granted ability. Not being harmed by those that oppose it, until it displaces all of those ideologies that are in opposition to it. So the illumination of pure *Tawhīd* becomes evident and to judge by the *Sharīah* throughout the world. Since the outcome is for those that are fearful and dutiful.” (Abridged from *Majmū’ Rasā-il Al-Jāmi* p. 74-76)

<sup>182</sup> *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb* vol 1 p. 98

## Chapter V | The Capture of the Holy Cities & the Peak of the First Saudi State

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“The Sublime Porte has dispatched fifty field guns to Cairo along with their relevant ammunition; each field piece has a thousand shell round. They have also sent three units of the Artillery Corps, it is said that this is exclusively for the defence of Mecca against the Wahhābi Amīr; who is prevailing over the Arabian Peninsula - one portion after another.”

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Telegram sent by Guillaume Brune - French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul to Napoleon Bonaparte shortly before the Saudi takeover of Makkah - March 1803.

*Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 172

Meanwhile Sharīf Ghālīb sent correspondence to the Porte informing them of the issue of emergence of the 'Wahhābis'.<sup>183</sup> He sent As-Sayyid Muḥsin bin 'Abdillāh Al-Ḥamawī and As-Sayyid Ḥussain the Muftī of the Mālīkīs with his message. However they (the Ottomans) gave no consideration to this – nor did they pay any regard to it.

This stance no doubt had a great effect in the enfeeblement of the Sharīfs own position. The effect was due to the Ottoman state; because until that time it had not regarded the Saudis as a danger nor were they aware of the extent to which their strength had reached. Alongside their being preoccupied with their own problems both internally as well as externally.<sup>184</sup>

The preoccupations of the Porte did not allow it at the time to send its troops to fight the Saudi State. For it was busy putting down the uprisings in Belgrade as well as the Serbian rebellion in Serbia itself. Likewise it found itself dealing with the French occupation of Egypt and the Russian invasions in neighbouring lands as well as the British expedition on the Dardanelles and later in Egypt in 1222H (1807CE).<sup>185</sup>

The year was 1209H (1794CE) Amīr Sa'ūd was conducting military operations, in doing so he managed to reach near the town of Turbah besieging the villages and towns in the area. His efforts were intensified

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<sup>183</sup> The term 'Wahhābi' has long since been a deprecating title that is dubbed in general upon a Muslim who calls to *Tawḥīd* and the rectification of the beliefs of the people, but more specifically upon Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb's reform movement. The term was already in use during the era of the First Saudi State; and regardless of whether the origins of the term stems from Muslims or non-Muslims; the purpose behind it was to denigrate and vilify those it was directed at. Any basic analysis of the Salafī reform movement since the time of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb makes it clear that the Salafīs do not exclusively follow Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb against other scholars for them to be labeled as such. Hence the term which was coined as a negative propaganda tool only bears testimony to the ignorance of those that utilize it for such a purpose; and of their enmity of those that call to *Tawḥīd*.

<sup>184</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 143

<sup>185</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 160

which led to some of the villages to seek a truce as well as declaring their submission to Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Despite the successes he had in the Ḥijāzī areas he did not proceed beyond this point. The way ahead deeper into Al-Ḥijāz was open before him; however, he chose to return to Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Sharīf Ghālib responded to the successes of Sa'ūd by preparing an army at the head of which was Sharīf Nāṣir bin Yaḥyā. The expedition reached an area known as the well of Al-Jumāniyyah in the upper reaches of Najd – except that the Saudi forces there defeated the army, causing it heavy losses.

Then in the year 1211H (1796CE) Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz ordered the Saudi commander Rabī bin Zaid – Amīr of Ad-Dawāsir to conduct operations in Ḥijāzī territory. His attacks defeated some of the Bedouin in the area and he moved on to Bayshah where he inflicted yet more defeat upon the region entering them into the submission of Ad-Dir'iyyah. The successes were having a great effect upon the locals in these Ḥijāzī regions, for they were seeking peace with whichever force was strongest at the time and showed itself to be more powerful.

As a consequence of the operations the stance of Sharīf Ghālib had evidently faltered and was weakened. What added to his exasperation was that the tribes which had until now helped him in opposing and fighting Ad-Dir'iyyah such as the Muṭair and Qaḥṭān and 'Utaybah and other than them saw no advantage in fighting the Saudi forces and so sought peace from Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz and declared their submission to the Saudis.

Meanwhile, Sharīf Ghālib was making an abundance of letter writing to the Porte – receiving in response no help whatsoever; at the same time he feared that the Ottoman Sulṭān would dismiss him from his position. Along with that; supplies and requirements had fallen short in the Sharīfs possession; furthermore, the Ḥijāzī economy was now suffering due to the incursions the Saudis were making on the main routes which led to Makkah, Al-Madīnah and At-Ṭā'if.

In 1212H (1797CE) Sharīf Ghālib sent Shaikh Ahmed At-Turkī to the Ottoman State to raise his plight and seek assistance, the State again gave no response, nor gave importance to what was being said. So instead Sharīf Ghālib began fighting the Hījāzī tribes which had declared their allegiance to the Saudis in the hope of bringing them back to his loyalty once again. The fighting he was occupied in against the tribes gave the Saudis the opportunity to spread out in varying regions of Al-Hījāz and concentrate their efforts in many parts at the same time. The Saudi commander Rabī bin Zaid continued his offensive in Bayshah against the Sharifian army causing it much destruction and material losses. Things got so desperate for the Sharīf that he himself set out with an army to face the Saudis who were now closing in on the major cities. He again incurred substantial losses in this expedition,<sup>186</sup> losing wealth and man power, choosing instead to return to Makkah.<sup>187</sup>

The exasperated Sharīf had incurred enormous losses; he was weakened militarily due to his continued failures, in particular after his defeat at Al-Khurmah where he lost a vast amount of his fighting force. Many of the Hījāzī tribes around Makkah had joined the Saudis which had affected his own political power and restricted his movement.

The ill nature of the Hījāzī economy was a direct result of the military expeditions and its failures and the varying regions now paying their taxes

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<sup>186</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ḥasan said:

“After that which we had mentioned here, the Sharīf Ghālib yet again endeavoured in warfare, he strove hard. However; his war became confined to the Bedouin, not transcending the conspicuous. Making attacks upon anyone that was weak and prone to deflection. Allāh gave the Muslims from amongst the Bedouin triumph over him in a number of battles. The greatest of them being that of Al-Khurmah at the hands of Rabī. They were fought by the people of the valley and by the people of Qaḥṭān (tribal allies of Ad-Dir'iyyah) and so Allāh, The Most High, caused them defeat. The fighting became intense within his (the Sharīfs) own army, leading to them (the Muslims) taking everything by way of livestock and other than that. Thereafter he (Sharīf Ghālib) remained in meekness and disgrace.” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 20-21)

<sup>187</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 145-147

to the Saudis instead of the Sharīf as they had done before – affecting the economy. Added to this the Saudis had come across the Sharifian treasury at Al-Khurmah which had accompanied the Sharīf; so there was no more revenue to fund further operations. The Ottomans too had given him nothing; instead they sent him an order to fortify the *Ḥaramain* and reinforce the city walls of Jeddah for fear of the French advancing on the Ḥijāz after their invasion of Egypt. The Sharīf therefore called for a truce.<sup>188</sup>

In *Jamādil-Ūlā* 1213H (1798CE) after correspondence between the two sides, a truce was agreed between Sharīf Ghālib and ‘Abdul-‘Azīz. Contained within it was an outline of areas and tribes under the rule of each side making it clear where the territory of both sides lay. The people of Najd were allowed to perform the Ḥajj once again after they had been prevented from doing so for such a long time.

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<sup>188</sup> Imām Ash-Shawkānī writing at the time in Yemen mentions:

“He (Ghālib) has an immense preoccupation with the ruler of Najd; ‘Abdul-‘Azīz bin Sa‘ūd who is in charge at the moment over the Najdī lands and other than it from what surrounds it. Many a time does he gather armies and then makes expeditions into Najd reaching some of its districts. It has reached us that a small group from some parts of the country stood to fight him thus defeating him whereupon he returned to Makkah. The last one which occurred from him was in the year 1212H when he gathered a massive army and launched an attack on Najd and came upon territory belonging to the aforementioned ruler of Najd. He didn’t even notice except that he was taken unaware by an army, he had no strength against it. For it had been sent by the ruler of Najd and so the army defeated him and got the upper hand over Ghālib; killing and capturing them. In fact; reports have come that none survived from his (Ghālib’s) army except a small group whilst a group of the Ashrāf of Makkah themselves were killed. His defeat was sealed with his return to Makkah, for if he had left that off and busied himself with other than it then it would have been better for him. For the one that wages war and has not the strength to wage it will be overrun with affliction. In reality the ruler of Najd commands enormous strength, he (Ghālib) has no way to stand with the like of it. Indeed we have heard that he (‘Abdul-‘Azīz) has established rule over Al-Ḥasā and Al-Qaṭīf and the Dawāsir regions and most of the regions of Al-Ḥijāz.” (See: *Badr at-Ṭālī* vol 2 p. 4-5)

During the course of the truce some of the tribes of Al-Ḥijāz (previously loyal to the Sharīf) continued to accept the Salafī *Da'wah* and so pledged allegiance with Ad-Dir'iyyah. Along with the fact that Saudi influence was spreading fast in Tihāmah and 'Asir and in northern Yemen where the Saudi forces were having successes.

Sharīf Ghālib accused the Saudis of violating the truce through influencing some of the tribes to deflect to their side, along with this he accused them of spreading bad sentiments amongst the tribes against him. He sent a delegation to Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to discuss the problem, at the head of the delegation he sent 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Al-Muḍāyafī; his own brother-in-law. The delegation met 'Abdul-'Azīz in Ad-Dir'iyyah, the complaints which were levelled were listened to whereupon 'Abdul-'Azīz gave them his word that he would look into the issues which the Sharīf has raised in order to resolve them. However; upon the delegations return to Makkah the situation between the two sides began to worsen, as a result this turned their relationship to what it had been before the truce. Ad-Dir'iyyah also placed a limit on the powers of disposal of the Sharīf, added to this his brother in law 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Al-Muḍāyafī, who had been his minister as well as the Shaikh of the Adwān tribe around At-Ṭā'if - declared his allegiance to the Saudis, with some references citing a difference which had arisen between the two men which had led to this.

The historian Ibn Bishr mentions: "In this year 1217H (1802CE) was the truce between Sharīf Ghālib and 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. So the minister of the Sharīf: 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Al-Muḍāyafī parted from him and left Makkah leaving the Sharīf opposing him. He proceeded to 'Abdul-'Azīz and gave him the pledge of allegiance upon the religion of Allāh and His Messenger and to hear and obey."<sup>189</sup>

The deflection of 'Uthmān had a great effect upon those who were still with the Sharīf, for when 'Uthmān returned to Al-Ḥijāz, many Ḥijāzī tribes declared their termination of loyalty from the Sharīf. 'Uthmān sent a message to Ad-Dir'iyyah asking for assistance and help against the Sharīf

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<sup>189</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 148-152

Ghālib. An order was sent from Ad-Dir'iyyah to its commander in Bayshah and Raniyyah to proceed to the aid of 'Uthmān.

In 1217H (1802CE) the force arrived at At-Ṭā'if and after a sudden attack upon it managed to capture it. Sharīf Ghālib had been there and subsequently fled in the direction of Makkah with his force.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan said:

“Then Allāh opened At-Ṭā'if for the Muslims. 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān became its Amīr, within it there was encompassed a Federation for the Muslims. They proceeded to fight the Sharīf and with them was 'Abdil-Wahhāb Abu Nuḡṭah, the Amīr of 'Asīr and Sālim bin Shakhbān, the Amīr of the people of Bayshah. They descended near to the Ḥaram and so an army of soldiers came out to them from Makkah whereupon they were killed. The Sharīf then sought peace, which was rejected except if he entered into Al-Islām and after giving the pledge of allegiance to the Imām – which he did, taking the pledge at the hands of some of the men that had been sent to him. All this took place after events which, due to their lengthy account we have left off mention of them.

The intent behind this passage; is to give consideration to what took place with the people of this *Da'wah* – by way of victory and aid – and a splendoured appearance despite the scarcity of their subsistence – and the abundance of their enemies and their might. That is from the signs of Allāh and His Illustration upon the fact that that which this Shaikh stood with despite the corruption of his era was indeed the religion which Allāh sent His Messengers with. It becomes clear that this group in these times is that very group which was mentioned in his (صلى الله عليه وسلم) saying:

“There will not cease to be a group from my Ummah victorious upon the truth. They will not be harmed by those that forsake them nor by those that oppose them, until Allāh, The Most Blessed and Most High, comes with His affair; and they are upon that.”

(See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 21) *ḥadīth* reported by Al-Buṣṣirī in *Al-It-ḥāf* 3/112 (abridged version) and Al-Ḥākīm in his *Mustadrak* vol 4 p. 550 with similar wording and Ad-Dārimī in his *Sunan* vol 2 p.280 and Al-Bukhārī in *At-Ta'rikh al-Kabīr* vol 4 p. 12 with its like and Ibn Ḥajr in *Muṭālibul 'Āliyah* vol 17 p. 595-599.

Despite the *ḥadīth* having two defects in its chain of narration; that of the 'an'anah of Qatādah who is *mudallis* and a missing link in the chain between

In 1218H (1803CE) the Saudis arrived with a great force under the leadership of Amīr Sa'ūd; the force which had taken At-Ṭā'if had come to join him. Combined together they rode in the direction of Makkah in order to take the city and finally expel the Sharīf from it. Meanwhile the beleaguered Sharīf was trying to persuade the Shāmī, Egyptian and Moroccan pilgrims as well as the Imām of Muscat, who was in Makkah to help him make war against the Saudis and to stand with him. However; in the end they desired to return safely to their lands, so chose not to side with him in order to wage war against the Saudis who were now surrounding Makkah.

The garrison of Turkish soldiers abandoned Makkah for Jeddah, and the Sharīf – who had no way of standing against the Saudi forces – also left for Jeddah, leaving the way open for Amīr Sa'ūd to enter Makkah and declare a general amnesty for all its people.<sup>191</sup>

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Qatādah and Abil Aswad Ad-Dawalī; it has numerous supporting chains with varying wordings. From them is what is reported by Al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (no.3640) and Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (no.171) and others in which the Prophet (ﷺ) said:

“There will not cease to be a group from my Ummah who are manifest, until the affair of Allāh comes to pass – and they are manifest.”

This being one of the wordings of Al-Bukhārī. The *ḥadīth* has a similar wording in a version reported by At-Tirmidhī (no.2192) and An-Nasā'ī (no.6):

“There will not cease to be a group from my Ummah who shall be victorious. They will not be harmed by those that forsake them until The Hour is established.”

Declared *Ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic) by Shaikh Al-Albānī. See also *Silsilatul Aḥādīth As-Ṣaḥīḥah* vol 4 p. 597-604 for further reading and similar wordings of this *ḥadīth*.

<sup>191</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“These events occurred in April and May, 1803. The Mekkans still remember with gratitude the excellent discipline observed by these wild Wahabys on their entering the town. Not the slightest excess was committed. On the next day all the shops were opened by order of Saoud, and every article which his

The precepts of the Salafī *Da'wah* were put into immediate effect in the city. The domes which had been built over the graves were levelled, the shrines were likewise demolished. The book; *Kashf Ash-shubuhāt* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb was ordered to be studied in the Mosques – and to be attended by the scholars as well as the locals.<sup>192</sup>

Upon taking the city Imām Sa'ūd also sought to rectify some of the more important matters pertaining to the sanctity of the city as well as of the welfare of the people. Edicts were issued rectifying a number of affairs; from them were:

1. The prohibition of carrying weapons in Makkah due to the numerous textual proofs prohibiting this except in cases of necessities, thus bringing security to the vicinity.

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troops required was purchased with ready money.” (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 194-195)

<sup>192</sup> Refer to *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* wherein can be found the declarations of the scholars of Makkah and Al-Madīnah in their acceptance of the Salafī *Da'wah* at this time and their rejection of the practices of *Shirk* and innovations prior to this event. The declaration begins with:

We; the 'Ulamā of Makkah put down our handwriting and our signatures upon this inscription – in declaration that this religion which Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb (رحمة الله) stood with and which is called to by the Imām of the Muslims: Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz is from the *Tawhīd* of Allāh and a rejection of *Shirk* which has been mentioned in this book is indeed the truth in which there is no doubt and no uncertainty and that which occurred in Makkah and Al-Madīnah previously and in Egypt and Ash-Shām and other than them from the countries – until this time – from the types of *Shirk* which is mentioned in this book – then it is kufr..

Then the document is signed by the 'Ulamā of Makkah and Al-Madīnah ranging from the *Muftī* of Makkah to scholars of individual schools of thought as well as others. The document is also acknowledged and signed by none other than Sharīf Ghālib bin Musā'id. (See: vol 1 p. 314-317)

2. The prohibition of smoking tobacco – particularly in Makkah not just due to its Islamic prohibition but also due to its harmful effects in health and the economy as well as socially.
3. The prohibition of the women being inappropriately covered in public.
4. Barring the people from accompanying the ‘Maḥmal’ and warning them against accompanying it the following year. Due to what accompanied it by way of forbidden things such as the playing of flutes and the beating of drums and other things. This being an action innovated into the religion by the Fatimids who introduced this and so later it became a symbol of the Ḥajj itself which was honoured and revered.<sup>193</sup>

A general edict was also issued enjoining the people to perform the acts of worship such as the Ḥajj and ‘Umrah correctly in accordance to the Prophetic *Sunnah* in order for it to be valid and accepted free of *Shirk* and innovations.<sup>194</sup>

After the administration for the city was put into place the Saudis moved on in the direction of Jeddah to lay siege to the city where Sharif Ghālib was. However; the siege was unsuccessful due to the recent reinforcement of its city walls, so Sa‘ūd ordered the siege be lifted and after organizing his forces at Makkah and seeing to its garrison he returned to Ad-Dir‘iyyah leaving the affairs of Makkah to an administrator placed there by the Saudis.

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<sup>193</sup> *Al-Imām Sa‘ūd bin ‘Abdil-‘Azīz wa Juhūduhu fī Da‘wah Ilallāh* p. 110-113

<sup>194</sup> What can the upright Muslim who believes in Allāh and The Last Day find wrong with these rules with which the general Muslims were asked to abide by? Rather is this not executing a principle from the principles of the religion in enjoining the good and forbidding the evil? Is this not a clear proof of the Ruler carrying out his responsibility for the wellbeing of the citizens in order for them to carry out the religious duties and obligations free of disbelief and sinfulness based instead upon guidance and upright beliefs and therefore have a better chance at having those actions accepted by Allāh, The Most High? Or what is it then that roams behind the aims of those who seek to substitute this authority just as its opponents did during the First Saudi State?

Sharīf Ghālib took advantage of the opportunity, seeing that the main Saudi force had left Makkah he hastened in taking it and so returned to it later the same year. News of the Sharīfs return to the city reached Ad-Dir'iyyah at the same time the Saudi rulership passed into the hands of Sa'ūd following his fathers' assassination. As a result of the ongoing Hijāzī struggle the new ruler ordered the construction of a military fort in Wadī Fāṭimah near Makkah in order to keep the activities of the Sharīf under observation whilst taking counteractive measures against the city in order to tighten the grip around the Sharīfs neck until he surrendered.

The fortress's construction in Wadī Fāṭimah was completed in 1220H (1805CE), Amīr Sa'ūd ordered 'Abdul-Wahhāb bin 'Āmir – the Amīr of 'Asīr and the Tihāmah regions to proceed to Jeddah in order to fight its people.<sup>195</sup> After defeating the forces of the Sharīf again, all Saudi forces were told to move in on Makkah, the city was surrounded, blockading all routes to and from it. This had a massive economic affect on the city and so hunger spread amongst the populous and great difficulty manifested itself. The residents preferred to side with the Saudis as opposed to the continued siege, along with the fact that there was no fighting force with which to fight them with. Many of the Ashrāf at this point made allegiance

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<sup>195</sup> Around six thousand fighters had gathered with 'Abdil-Wahhāb, they were camped at the well of As-Sa'diyyah – a well-known spring; a day and a half from Makkah. Sharīf Ghālib, having heard of their movements decided to take 'Abdil-Wahhāb and his forces suddenly whilst they were still encamped before being aided with others as well as the party of Amīr Sa'ūd. He gathered his force – which is said to have reached ten thousand men and set out. Along the way he came across forty men who had come from 'Asīr – the Sharīf put them to death before moving on. Upon encountering the force of 'Abdil-Wahhāb fierce fighting ensued, whereupon the troops that had come with the Sharīf retreated and began to flee. They were instead chased by those they came to attack who would kill them and take what they had. Their weapons were taken and a large amount of money. The Sharīf himself had to retreat to Makkah; he abandoned all that would weigh him down by way of armament and weaponry which 'Abdil-Wahhāb captured. It is said that the number of rifles taken alone reached 2500 whilst six hundred of the Sharīf's troops were killed – most of them Turkish. It was apparent that the munitions and field guns the Sharīf had been using had been supplied by the Ottoman State. (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyatis Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 89-90)

to the Saudis, Sharīf Ghālib seeing again that he had no way of standing in the way called for a truce. He agreed to enter under the obedience of the Imām of Ad-Dir'iyyah and remain in his position of Amīr of Makkah – and so a truce was agreed between the two sides. As a result, the Saudi forces entered Makkah and all routes to the city were re-opened settling the city's economy once more.

The Sharīf had agreed to become an Amīr under Saudi jurisdiction, however; his actions which followed gave rise to suspicion on behalf of the Saudis of the Sharīfs intentions for two main reasons.

Firstly; he had retained Turkish, Moroccan and other troops from abroad there and ordered their organisation under Ottoman prerequisite.

Secondly; his engaging in fortifying the city of Jeddah, as well as digging a trench around it and preventing Najdī persons from entering it – as well as spending most of his time there.

Later the same year (1220H), the Saudis took over Al-Madīnah, the judges of the city, as well as its scholars and notable citizens wrote a declaration to Imām Sa'ūd giving him the pledge of allegiance and sending it with a delegation to Ad-Dir'iyyah. Imām Sa'ūd himself did not come to Al-Madīnah until the following year after he had secured terms of peace with Sharīf Ghālib. The following year in 1221H (1806CE), there came an order from Ad-Dir'iyyah which prevented the Maḥmal from coming through from Ash-Shām, Istanbul, Egypt and 'Iraq. The Maḥmal was turned back this year after it had reached the vicinity of Al-Madīnah; Imām Sa'ūd himself performed the Ḥajj and ordered any remaining Turkish troops to leave Makkah. Any Turkish judges were expelled from Makkah and Al-Madīnah and a general declaration was made that any Ottoman affiliation be eradicated from the Ḥaramain.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 155-157 and *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* part 3 p. 47-48.

## The Acquisition of the Treasures From the *Hujrah* *Ash-Sharīfah*<sup>197</sup>

During the early part of the Saudi annexation of Al-Madīnah the treasures and valuables contained within the *Hujrah Ash-Sharīfah* became the focus of attention in regards to their utilization for the welfare of the populace of the city during this time, due to the immediate needs which had arisen. The taking of the treasures from the *Hujrah Ash-Sharīfah* is a criticism often levelled at Imām Sa‘ūd for his alleged having done. It is a criticism by the opponents of *Tawhīd* devised solely to taint and underscore the conduct of the First Saudi State in Al-Madīnah during their hold on the city at the time, as well as to disseminate a general revulsion throughout the Muslim world at the event along with the insinuation of the ‘disrespect’ the people of *Tawhīd* have toward the religion.

Muḥammad Adīb Ghālib mentions regarding this:

“As for the taking of the wealth and treasures of the ‘*Hujrah*’, then anyone who follows up the events of history will find that those who trifled with those treasures through pillaging them were actually the Amīrs of Al-Madīnah themselves who did so before the occupation of the First Saudi State over Al-Ḥijāz.<sup>198</sup> So once it had been occupied, Imām Sa‘ūd (رحمة الله) consulted the ‘Ulamā of Al-Madīnah for a religious verdict with regard to the expenditure of what was in the *Hujrah* toward the benefit of Islām and the Muslims. So they gave him a fatwa (legal religious verdict) regarding that. For it is established with every Muslim that it is not from the religion

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<sup>197</sup> The room in which the grave of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) is located and its immediate vicinity.

<sup>198</sup> This is alluded to by Burckhardt who stated: “Yembo surrendered when the Beni Harb and Djeheyne (another large tribe of that neighbourhood) had joined the Wahaby party; and Medinah soon after (early in the spring of 1804) followed its example. The principal man of this city, Hassan el Kaladji, had usurped despotic power, and had been guilty of the greatest injustice during the general distress, while all supplies were withholden from the town by the Wahabys. He at last seized upon the treasure attached to the tomb of Mohammed, and divided part of it among his adherents; after which, he proposed to surrender.” (See: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 198)

to present gifts to the grave of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) and so drape them upon it. For this act did not come about except after the early generations who were upon excellence regarding whom the Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم) said:

“The best of generations is my generation, then those that come after them.”<sup>199</sup>

So what benefit is hoped to be attained through presenting those gifts which anyone possessing intelligence would doubt that the expenditure of which upon Islām and the Muslims is better than suspending them and leaving them obsolete without benefitting from them?!”<sup>200</sup>

Al-‘Allāmah Ash-Shaikh ‘Abdul-Laṭīf bin ‘Abdir-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan has a treatise on this topic in which he states:

“As for the boldness over the rooms of the Messenger of Allāh (he is indicating to the wealth which Sa‘ūd took out from the *Hujrah Ash-Sharīfah* and its consequent expenditure upon the needs of the people of Al-Madīnah and the well-being of the Ḥaram). Then he (رحمة الله) did not do this except after the people of Al-Madīnah from the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs and the Shāfi‘īs and the Ḥanbalīs gave him the necessary fatwa to do so. So their Fatāwā were in agreement over the fact that it should be specified and is obligatory upon the Ruler to extract the wealth which was in the room and spend it upon the needs of the people of Al-Madīnah and the people living around the Ḥaram. This was because the official payments on behalf of the Sulṭān had been suspended (cut off) that year and so the needs and requirements became severe to a point of extracting this wealth and utilizing it, and there is no need for the Messenger of Allāh for its being presented in his room...

...So there is no doubt that extracting it in this manner and disseminating it through its legislative channels is more beloved to Allāh and His Messenger than its being left to remain as well as its amassing. And what benefit is there in its being left with the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم)

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<sup>199</sup> Reported by Al-Bukhārī (no. 2650 and 2651) and Muslim (no. 211)

<sup>200</sup> *Min Akhbār Al-Ḥijāz wan Najd* p. 113

whilst the people of Al-Madīnah are in the most severe need and requisite of it? Likewise, the glorification of the Messenger and veneration of him is in following his commands and adhering to his religion and guidance. Thus if there is a legislative proof with the one who opposes us which comprises of the forbiddance of its expense upon the well-being of the Muslims then let him make mention of it to us. For not one of the scholars of the religion who are referred to would approve of this wealth being left, however; these individuals have nothing other than following the customs of their forefathers and their *Shuyūkh*.”<sup>201</sup>

A point worthy of note is that the Ottoman Sulṭān was from amongst the most vocal in voicing objection to Imām Sa‘ūd’s taking of the wealth from the *Hujrah*. However, we find in a book authored by the Turkish historian Jawdat Pāshā, a rare document confirming that the Ottoman Sulṭān himself once approved the taking of the wealth from inside the *Hujrah* and distributing it amongst the sons of the notables and the students of knowledge. This document was a letter sent by the Sulṭān of Marrakech to the Ottoman Sulṭān outlining objection over his action.<sup>202</sup>

With these events, Saudi control had been complete in all regions of Al-Ḥijāz,<sup>203</sup> Saudi influence reigned in all the towns and districts and so peace and prosperity returned to the region.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Summarized from: *Min Akhbār Al-Ḥijāz wan Najd* p. 113-114

<sup>202</sup> *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* part 3 p. 53-54 – found in these pages also is the text of this letter itself.

<sup>203</sup> Despite the fact that Sharīf Ghālib had accepted in becoming a Saudi Amīr, he did not give up his scheming plots against the Saudis. For the future and final Imām ‘Abdullāh bin Sa‘ūd accused him of sending letters to the Ottoman State as though they had been written by his father Sa‘ūd and sending them to the Ottoman Sulṭān – which flared further hostility and so he continued this endeavour until the forces of Muḥammad ‘Ali landed in Al-Ḥijāz. (See: *Dawlatus Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 157)

<sup>204</sup> Regarding this Burckhardt mentions:

“All the open country of Arabia, and all the towns of the interior were formerly subject to the same disorderly state of law which still prevails among those tribes that have not submitted to the Wahabys, and which I have described in my account of the Bedouins. ‘Abd el Azyz and Saoud taught their

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Arabs to obey the law, to maintain public peace and in their disputes abide by the decision of a tribunal, without any appeal to arms... The next step was to secure the country against robbers. Before 'Abd el Azyz had acquired sufficient power, the whole of Nedjd, and, indeed, of Arabia, was overrun in every direction by hostile parties, and the great number of independent states rendered it impossible to establish a firm internal peace. 'Abd el Azyz, and still more, his son Saoud, made the Arabs responsible for every robbery committed within their territory, should the robber be unknown; and those who were sufficiently strong to repel or resist a hostile invasion of a camp or town, and wanted the inclination or courage to do so, were punished by a fine equivalent to the amount of cattle or other property taken away by the robbers.

Thus every tribe was rendered vigilant in protecting its neighbours, as well as strangers passing through their territory. So that both public and private robberies almost totally ceased among the settlers as well as Bedouins of Arabia, who formerly delighted in nothing so much as in pilfering and plundering. For the first time, perhaps, since the days of Mohammed, a single merchant might traverse the Desert of Arabia with perfect safety, and the Bedouins slept without any apprehension that their cattle would be carried off by nocturnal depredators." (Abridged from: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 135-137)

## Chapter VI | Pretexts for War – The Onset of the Ottoman- Saudi Wars

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“You should understand; that the first thing your grandfather Muḥammad (bin Sa‘ūd) stood with as well as your grandfather ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad and your uncle ‘Abdul-‘Azīz; was that it was a *Khilāfah An-Nubuwwah* (Rulership based upon Prophetic methodology). They would seek the truth and act in accordance to it and would arise with and would be angered only for its (rightful) sake; and would be pleased with and would fight for it.

Therefore Allāh sufficed them of their enemies despite their strength; for when an enemy set out – Allāh would vanquish it before it would even arrive – because it was a *Khilāfah An-Nubuwwah!*”

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Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan in a letter to Imām ‘Abdullāh bin Faiṣal during the Second Saudi State.

*Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 122

It is commonly alleged in various historical accounts that the hostilities which arose between the Ottoman Empire – the most powerful Islamic State of the time; and the First Saudi State had arisen after the occupation of the Holy Cities in 1803-1804CE. However upon verification of the facts; the truth reveals what is contrary to this claim – and that the Ottoman Turks had taken a hostile stance against the people of *Tawhīd* in Najd not after, but in the years preceding the occupation of the Holy Cities. Therefore the assertion by some historians that the Porte did not take a stance against the Saudi State until their conquest of the Holy Cities is an erroneous if not misleading claim and so contrary to historical fact. Since once the rulers in Ad-Dir'iyyah were able to unify the province of Najd; they had been obliged to check on the constant attacks and campaigns launched into their territories by the tribes coming out of Al-Aḥsā firstly; and then Al-Ḥijāz secondly – as has preceded. The attacks from Al-Aḥsā inevitably led to hostilities between Ad-Dir'iyyah and the tribes within Al-Aḥsā culminating in the acquisition of Al-Aḥsā into the First Saudi State; and this is where the Ottomans began noticing the movement in Najd.

According to historians such as Fākhirī, Ibn Bishr and Ibn 'Ēsā; Al-Aḥsā had previously been captured by the Ottomans around the year 1000H (1591CE)<sup>205</sup> with some citing that Al-Aḥsā had been incorporated into Ottoman domains in the year 1592CE with the help of the tribes of the Muntafiq under Fathī Pāshā. However, that which is correct is that Al-Aḥsā had been conquered in the year 963H or 1555CE under Sulṭān Salīm Khan as is mentioned by the historian of Al-Aḥsā, Ibn 'Abdil-Qādir and reiterated by Sāti' Al-Ḥusrī. Thus Ottoman rule over Al-Aḥsā remained as a mere formality void of feudalism and without the Ottomans imposing any taxation upon its inhabitants. At the same time the Ottoman rulers did not send any military detachments and there was no mention of Ottoman activity in the Gulf region during this time except for the mention of their failed attempt to capture Baḥrain in 1559CE. Around the year 1080H or 1670CE the powerful tribe of the Banī Khālid, in taking advantage of the Ottoman State being busied in Europe with its campaigns, came to settle and rule autonomously in the Al-Aḥsā region for the next one hundred and twenty years until the inclusion of Al-Aḥsā into the First Saudi State. It is

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<sup>205</sup> This is the year which is stated likewise by Shaikh 'Abdullāh Al-Bassām in *Tuḥfatul Mushtāq* p. 95

therefore of importance to note that during this period of time the Ottoman State did not give any due importance to Al-Aḥsā until it was incorporated into the Saudi State. Previously in 1680CE the Ottomans did not attempt the re-capture of Al-Aḥsā after its take over by the Banī Khālid – despite the fact that the Banī Khālid were the most powerful ruling clan of the region south of Kuwait along the Arabian Gulf which also bordered the northern territories of 'Iraq – also an Ottoman vassal.

So why did the Ottomans begin to take serious notice of the movement stemming from Najd once it had acquired Al-Aḥsā into its domains? The Ottomans had realized the significance of Al-Aḥsā after its incorporation into the First Saudi State and after the tribe of Banī Khālid had submitted to their rule. The Ottomans also saw that their remaining vassals in the region (Al-Ḥijāz and 'Iraq) were now adjacent to a strong neighbour possessing military and economic capabilities and above all; religious influence.

The constant warnings which the government of Baghdad and the Sharīfs of Makkah were giving the Ottomans of Ad-Dir'iyyah's prominence in the Peninsula only highlighted their significance yet further. Therefore, despite the Saudi acquisition of Al-Aḥsā reaping a great deal of benefit for them; it also cautioned the other States and in particular the Ottoman State of the implication of the Saudi State as it had successfully acquired the region of Al-Aḥsā which had been the buffer between the Saudi State and the Ottoman vassal of 'Iraq into its domains. These factors were from some of the reasons the Ottomans sensed the need to combat and contest it – which is subsequently the policy they undertook.

As a result, for the next two decades in particular, the Ottoman State and those aligned with them sought to combat the Salafī reform movement in Najd through two policies, the first being the sending of the armed forces of 'Iraq, Ash-Shām and Egypt against the First Saudi State. The second being that of political indictment along with the enstrangement and repulsed alienation of the Salafī reform movement which they sought to promote in the Muslim world. Such propaganda would no doubt have dangerous consequences in every time and place, however the extent and

level of enmity which the Ottoman State had against the Salafī reform movement at the height of the conflict is signified in an Ottoman decree<sup>206</sup> issued from the 'Sublime Porte' in which is the change in the term of addressing the Saudis from the term: 'Wahhābis' to that of: 'Khārījites' (renegades) – this being 'after careful study of the provocation of the general Islamic opinion against them.'<sup>207</sup>

As is historically clear; the Salafī *Da'wah* itself – and its positive influence in the region as well as the territorial gains which the Saudi State was making at the time through the willing acceptance of the local populaces became the reason for the hostilities and subsequent military campaigns which the Ottoman State instigated and instructed against the people of *Tawhīd*. With the Ottoman Sultān having numerous times instructed the Pāshā of Baghdad as early as 1210H (1795CE) with conducting military action against the First Saudi State and with the subsequent 'Iraqi expeditions of Thuwainī in 1212H (1797CE) and 'Ali Kakhayā in 1213H (1798CE) against Najd, it is unmistakably clear to see that the Ottoman-Saudi wars were already underway before the Saudi conquest of the Holy Cities in 1218H (1803CE). Hence the claim that the conquest of the Holy Cities was the trigger which initiated the Ottoman-Saudi wars is flawed and only serves the purpose of those who attempt to argue that the Saudi State commenced military aggression against the Ottomans and so 'rebelled' when the reality of the matter is quite different and to the contrary – as will become clear.

The Ottomans took little notice from the warnings they had received from the Sharīf of Makkah when he attempted to warn the Porte of their threat. It was however; during the latter part of the wars between Sharīf Ghālib and the Najdīs<sup>208</sup> that the Ottoman Sultān was instructing the Pāshā of

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<sup>206</sup> Decree number 1/2-69 of the Ottoman decree collection of the Dārah Malik 'Abdul-'Azīz written by the head of the scribes to the Grand Vizier dated 1224H.

<sup>207</sup> *Ad-Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 58-59 and p. 152 and p. 232.

<sup>208</sup> Some sources cite that between the years of 1205H-1220H, the Sharīf had instigated more than fifty military encounters against the First Saudi State in Najd as well as against their allies in Al-Ḥijāz and 'Asīr. Although that which is closer to the truth is that many of these were small scale confrontations against individuals and allies of Ad-Dir'iyyah which would not be considered

Baghdad with action against Ad-Dir'iyyah. Before this period; the Sharīfs of Makkah along with the judges of the Holy Cities and their scholars had written plentifully warning Istanbul of the 'imminent Wahhābi danger' – as they claimed. These warnings at the time were considered as minor and insignificant misgivings by the legislative councils that studied and responded to them, having regarded the issues between the Ḥijāzī's and the Najdī's as nothing more than a war of words with little threat to the Sulṭān – as has preceded.

However, with the province of Al-Aḥsā having entered under Saudi control and areas in the southern regions of 'Iraq being influenced by the teachings of the Salafī reform movement and the warnings from Baghdad and Al-Ḥijāz, the Ottomans began taking greater notice – and therefore instructed the Pāshā of Baghdad to act against Ad-Dir'iyyah. So the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah found himself defending his dominions and boundaries in the east against the 'Iraqi expeditions and in the west from the Sharīf of Makkah, yet both sets of these series of military confrontations which were initiated at the behest of the Porte ended in failure on the part of their advocates and only bolstered the position and dominions of the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Imām Sa'ūd's takeover of the Holy Cities and the consequent expulsion of the Turkish officials and military company as well as the prohibition of supplicating for the Ottoman Sulṭān – further incensed the Ottoman perspective of the Salafī reform movement turning it from bad to worse. A direct consequence of the events in Al-Ḥijāz was that the Ottomans had lost their reign over the Holy Cities and therefore lost their religious standing and prestige in the Muslim world, in particular the Sulṭān had lost his most esteemed title; that of 'the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques.' These were from the affairs which greatly troubled the Porte and so it could not tolerate or accept these events and the political implications they had yielded. That which added to their disconcertion was that although anyone who came to perform the Ḥajj was permitted to do so; particular Ḥajj caravans were refused entry into the Holy Cities after

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full scale military expeditions. (See: *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabīyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 141)

being warned by the Saudis not to do so having being accompanied by affairs which contradicted the Islamic legislation.

Whichever of these reasons in particular caused the Ottomans an extreme sense of revulsion and an aversion to anything associated with the people of *Tawhīd* in Najd, Sulṭān Maḥmūd II who ascended the title of the Ottoman Sulṭān in the year 1223H had made it one of his priorities to recover the Holy Cities from the hands of Imām Sa'ūd. However; he could not recover the cities utilising his own forces; and so had been incapacitated to move directly against Ad-Dir'iyyah due to a great number of problems his State was facing – in particular from the European nations.

The rise of the First Saudi State during the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century and its annexation of the Holy Cities at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century coincided with an era in which the Ottoman Empire – which had indirectly ruled the Holy Cities; and was the largest Islamic Empire of the time, was faced with a growing number of political problems.

The major European powers had already begun to take an interest in the fate of the Ottoman Empire whose eventual collapse they recognized would lead to bitter conflicts over its vast territories. This also came at a time when the European powers intended to expand their own domains, however their expanse was not focused solely on Ottoman territories, for it is yet another coincidence that this era saw the European powers contesting against each other in their conflicts and rivalries throughout Europe and beyond in what became known as the Napoleonic Wars.

These wars were largely played out in the varying parts of Europe and beyond, therefore it was inevitable that the inter-imperialist rivalries would come to affect the Ottomans who had territories in both Europe and the Middle East. It was an Empire which had already been in a state of decline for over a century, and with territorial disputes and occupations against the Empire on the rise; the Sulṭān attempted to draft in hasty reform programmes designed to revive the ailing administrative and military institutes. But the problems it faced were too great, and so the rout and territorial expansions into their domains continued.

Among the major problems the Empire faced during this period was in 1798CE with the failed French occupation of Egypt – an Ottoman vassal, together with yet more failed French operations in Syria that dragged the Sulṭān into war with France. The subsequent evacuation of the French left a power vacuum in Egypt won eventually by Muḥammad ‘Ali. The Sulṭān was aware that the new Pāshā of Egypt was laying the foundations for independence, and so despite being at unease with the rulership in Egypt – accepted it reluctantly.

The Russo-Turkish Wars fought interminably over a number of years weakened the Turks further in Europe ceding territory to Russia allowing for Russia’s extension and influence into Ottoman territory. This led to a series of treaties that caused the Empire to lose more territory in the Balkans causing losses to its economic independence, as well as in the Crimea and territories north of the Black Sea. The Austro-Turkish Wars at this time; and the first Barbary war in North Africa together with Serbian uprisings kept the Ottomans in a constant state of alarm and found themselves militarily stretched across the frontiers of a dwindling Empire which Istanbul was struggling to preserve.

In 1807 Britain prompted the Anglo-Turkish War when attempting to seize the Dardanelles with a naval force, and then attempted to invade Egypt in the same year only to be repulsed. This being just some of the conflicts the Empire was engrossed in at the time. The Sulṭān also faced a stagnating economy and a series of internal problems and so introduced reforms to reconstruct the military to make it more able to defend the Empire against the ongoing encroachments of European powers; a policy that would bring the Sulṭān into direct conflict with the Janissaries who had been the traditional Ottoman fighting force.

The territorial losses the Turks faced on its boundaries together with the domestic problems of the ever increasing socio-cultural issues associated with the political identities of communities who demanded autonomy – particularly in Europe was where the Empire found itself at this stage of its existence. Some of these territories were given away or were granted autonomy through treaties or by political coercion, however; the one territory the Porte could not accept losing was that of the Holy Cities – and

upon which the Ottomans felt the basis of their reputation in the Muslim world was legitimised.

With the Turkish military so pre-occupied to its western flanks, and with no reserve forces to undertake the re-conquest of the Holy Cities; the Sulṭān could only issue instructions to regional viceroys or 'Pāshās' to commence the assignment. The closest of these Ottoman vassals to Ad-Dir'iyyah was that of 'Iraq, the Pāshā of Baghdad had already received instructions from the Sulṭān to attack Ad-Dir'iyyah. This heralded a new chapter in the annals of Islamic and Middle Eastern history, one which was commenced with the vassal of 'Iraq; and with its consequent failures in the task, it was then enjoined upon the vassal of Ash-Shām. With the failure too of the latter; the duty was imposed upon the vassal of Egypt – these wars along with their extended campaigns later in Arabia became known as the Ottoman-Saudi Wars.

## 'Iraq

The State of 'Iraq was divided into various regions, with each region having a local Pāshā in charge of its affairs. However, the Pāshā of Baghdad had overall influence and authority over the others and so could endorse a Pāshā in a district or remove him with prior permission of the Ottoman Sulṭān.

The extension of the First Saudi State north of the Najdī frontiers towards the regions of 'Iraq coincided with the mandate of the Georgian Mamluke Pāshā's who ruled from Baghdad; and as such – held power under Ottoman influence. The Viceroy of Baghdad at the time was Sulaimān Pāshā 'Al-Kabīr' (1193-1215H or 1779-1802CE) who had been empowered in 'Iraq after the weakness and chaos that ensued during the rule of his predecessor Ḥasan Pāshā.

The spread of Saudi influence in the northern regions of Al-Aḥsā were being viewed in 'Iraq with suspicion. As this region bordered its southern province, as such some of the hostile activities of the 'Iraqīs did not stop short at the border, but rather entered into Najd itself. For in 1201H (1786CE) Thuwainī bin 'Abdillāh, the Amīr of Al-Muntafiq along with his tribe and the people of Al-Majrah and Az-Zubair and Shammar set upon

the northern villages of Najd. They even entered Al-Qaṣīm and captured the town of At-Tanumah and put the entire population to death except the fugitives, then they lay siege to Buraydah and nearly succeeded in capturing it but due to affairs which had arisen in his land Thuwainī was forced to call off the siege and return home.

Meanwhile Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz opened communications with the Viceroy in Baghdad in a positive and forthcoming manner and sent Sulaimān Pāshā a letter clarifying the reality of the Salafī *Da‘wah* to which he was calling to along with a copy of *Kitāb At-Tawhīd* requesting that he gather the scholars of Baghdad to observe the book in order that they see what it is comprised of. However, the scholars of Baghdad rejected the *Da‘wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb and his teachings before they even studied and observed the reality of the tenets of the *Da‘wah* itself. Sulaimān Pāshā authorized ‘Abdullāh Afandī Ar-Rāwī – the *khaṭīb* of his Mosque to prepare a refutation of the *Da‘wah* of Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz. So a refutation was put together, of which an excerpt stated:<sup>209</sup>

“So after we had observed it and understood its substance we found it to be a comprehensive book of a scattered range of issues comprising of a number of treatises. However; he has gathered between the lean and the weighty; and the strong and the feeble, we found its circumstance to be the circumstance of the one who scoops a portion from the *Sharī‘ah* whilst not conducting careful study within it. Neither has he studied upon anyone who has guided him to the steadfast methodology – and so directed him and given him ability over the beneficial sciences which are The Straight Path.”<sup>210</sup>

<sup>209</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 199-200 – including the text of the refutation itself.

<sup>210</sup> If calling to and adhering to the *Tawhīd* of Allāh The Most High and singling Him out in worship is not The Straight Path then what is? And why are there *ayāt* after *ayāt* in the Qur’ān wherein Allāh makes clear the call of the Prophets which suggest contrary to the above claim? Such as the following:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ رَبِّي وَرَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُوهُ ۗ هَذَا صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ

“Indeed; Allāh is my Lord and your Lord, so worship Him (Alone). This is the Straight Path.” (Sūrah Āl-‘Imrān: 51)

Despite the importance of these interactions and the rejection of the Salafī *Da'wah* by the scholars of Baghdad, there are no details of the substance of their arguments in any sources of reference. Nor of the proofs these scholars relied upon in their rejection of the *Da'wah* of the Shaikh. Nor is there any mention of the influence the Pāshā may have had over the scholars or whether the refutation sent to Ad-Dir'iyyah in reality represented the actual opinion of the scholars or that there may have been some pressure/coercion of some sort from Sulaimān Pāshā himself. As actual proof is absent, the possibilities are open – especially in the form of the latter as the antagonism of the Ottoman State and of its vassal in Baghdad against the Salafī reform movement was a clear animosity. One in which they always attempted to malign and smear the reform movement by means of false accusations.<sup>211</sup>

and:

وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ رَبِّي وَرَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُوهُ ۗ هَذَا صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ

“And verily Allāh is my Lord and your Lord. So worship Him (Alone). This is the Straight Path.” (Sūrah Maryam: 36)

and:

وَأَنْ اعْبُدُونِي ۗ هَذَا صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ

“And that you worship Me (Alone). This is the Straight Path.” (Sūrah Ya-sīn: 61)

and:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ رَبِّي وَرَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُوهُ ۗ هَذَا صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ

“Indeed, Allāh; He is my Lord and your Lord, so worship Him. This is the Straight Path.” (Sūrah Az-Zukhruf: 64)

Since the book *Kitāb At-Tawhīd* deals primarily with this issue and is supported extensively and in its greater part by ayāt from the Qur'ān and some āhādīth from the *Sunnah*, where then is the ‘lean and the weighty; and the strong and the feeble’? In addition to the above claims; the scholars of Baghdad thereafter failed to produce a work on the topic of *Tawhīd* the like of *Kitāb At-Tawhīd*, let alone better than it.

<sup>211</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Ad-Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 230-231

Further communication and exchanges followed between Ad-Dir'iyah and Baghdad with religious discussions over the principles of the religion with the Saudi's emphasizing the importance of establishing the *Tawhīd* of Allāh – especially in worship of Him as well as an emphasis of the *Shirk* and general misguidance which the people of the time had fallen into in all levels of society. In another exchange written to Amīr Sa'ūd; the Pāshā of Baghdad sought to make his position clear and stated:

“We are true Muslims, and the Imāms of the four madhabs are unanimous upon that as are the legists of the religion and those upon the path of Muḥammad.”

In response Imām Sa'ūd made clear the principles of the religion and what it is he was calling to. As well as the *Shirk* and misguidance some of the people of the time had fallen into, he explained how they found a letter<sup>212</sup> from the Ottoman Sulṭān which highlighted the point he was making stating:

“For we saw when we opened the Ḥujrah Ash-Sharīfah upon its inhabitant be the best of ṣalāt and salām in the year twenty-two a letter of your Sulṭān Salīm sent by way of the son of his uncle to the Messenger of Allāh (صلى الله عليه وسلم) seeking rescue from him and calling upon him. Asking him for victory against the enemies from the Christians and other than them, and in it was: humility and humbleness and worship and submissiveness of that which bears testimony to your fallacy. Its opening is: from your diminutive slave: Sulṭān Salīm, as for what follows; O Messenger of Allāh; indeed we have been afflicted with harm and that which is disliked has descended upon us of that which we are unable to repel. The worshippers of the cross have become established over the worshippers of The Most Merciful. We ask you for victory over them, and of aid against them and that you break them away from us...”<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> As is found in *Ta'rīkh Najd min Khilāl Kitāb Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* p. 45-46

<sup>213</sup> Rather such beliefs and statements being in conflict with the *Tawhīd* of Allāh are consequently from the greatest causes of the disbelievers gaining supremacy over the Muslim domains.

The general rebuttals of accepting the call to *Tawḥīd* from the Viceroy of Baghdad in the course of his letters with Ad-Dir'iyyah reflected the official stance of the Ottoman State itself against the Salafī reform movement and its followers. Therefore, the Saudi State saw that the rejection of the tenets of the Salafī *Da'wah* by the Viceroy of Baghdad and its scholars was done so solely out of obstinacy, pride and rejection of the truth.<sup>214</sup>

The political problems facing the Vizier of 'Iraq were a great deal many, the country's economy was stagnant, his expeditions against the rebelling tribes and varying regions were not ceasing. A year of his rule would not pass except that he would set out to fight a group somewhere in his land; a particular problem he faced was that of the Kurdish population in the north of the country.

'Iraq's military involvement against Ad-Dir'iyyah began with the Saudi influence in the territories of the Banī Khālid and the northern Najdī towns. Some of the people in these regions had requested help against

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These phrases of clear *Shirk* are that which directly conflict with the foundations of the religion of Islām, and this is the type of association of worship with Allāh, The Most High that the Prophets and Messengers were sent to call the people away from. Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah mentioned as is found in *Majmū' Fatāwā* vol 1 p. 159:

“From the greatest forms of *Shirk* is the supplication to the Angels and the Prophets and the Righteous after their passing away, as well as at their graves and in their absence. As well as addressing their depictions/illustrations and seeking rescue from them and seeking intercession from them; and it is from the religion that was not legislated by Allāh nor that which He sent His Messenger with nor did He reveal His Books with...”

He (ﷺ) mentioned also in *Qā'idah Jalīlah fī At-Tawassul wal-Wasīlah* p. 25:

“So these types of addressing the Angels and the Prophets and the Righteous after their passing away – at their graves as well as in their absence and addressing their depictions/illustrations; then this is from the greatest form of *Shirk* which is present in the polytheists from other than the people of The Book...”

<sup>214</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Ad-Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 232

Saudi operations in the area from 'Iraqi tribes; and so it became clear to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz that it was these very tribes that were behind much of the disorder which would arise now and again in Al-Aḥsā – as well as in some Najdī towns.

In 1203H (1788CE) Amīr Sa'ūd led out an army to check the insubordination of the Al-Muntafiq confederation which had been the cause of a number of problems. This was to be the first time the Saudis had ventured into 'Iraqi territory; and the expedition did little to quell the problem. The next year Amīr Sa'ūd returned again, however the problems the Saudis were facing in the region continued.<sup>215</sup>

Seeing that the ongoing problem was to be dealt with astutely, the Saudis began sending continuous expeditions into southern 'Iraq against the tribes. In 1209H (1784CE) Amīr Sa'ūd led an expedition against the Banī Dhāfir on the 'Iraqi border, this time to succeed in acquiring a great deal of wealth from them. Circumstances being good for the Saudis in Al-Aḥsā along with successes against the rebelling tribes led the Saudis to further their expeditions as far as the vicinities of Al-Baṣrah. At a time when their expeditions in Al-Ḥijāz were just as successful, this was also at the time that Sharīf Ghālib was in correspondence with the Ottoman State requesting help and raising his plight against the Saudis.<sup>216</sup>

The Ottomans sent an order to the Viceroy of Baghdad Sulaimān Pāshā; commanding him to move against Ad-Dir'iyyah and bring a conclusion to the issue. Sulaimān however anticipated the difficulties his forces would face encountering the Saudis in desert warfare who had the edge over his own largely Mamluke force. Along with this hindrance he also feared the

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<sup>215</sup> In this and in many other citations of the Saudis entering into their neighbouring countries and provinces such as Al-Ḥijāz and Ash-Shām is a proof that they would only enter to counter attacks launched from within those territories. Such expeditions were disciplinary actions conducted as a response to attacks and hostilities launched by those within that particular territory; once the Saudis had responded to the aggression from those within that realm; they would then evacuate the area as has been shown in many such an expedition.

<sup>216</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 199-204

tribal uprisings of his own country against him – in particular that of the Kurds in the north. At the same time, he had been receiving a great deal of requests from the people of Al-Aḥsā and the tribes of Al-Muntafiq (a confederation of tribes in southern Iraq) asking him to let loose Thuwainī<sup>217</sup> in order to fight the Saudis. Therefore, Sulaimān Pāshā gave Thuwainī the task of confronting the Saudis.

After making him Amīr of the Al-Muntafiq tribes, Sulaimān began gathering a great army for him built up of Al-Muntafiq and the people of Az-Zubair and Al-Baṣrah and the begrudged ethnics of Banī Khālid. This expedition was to be the first confrontation between the Saudis and the forces sent by the Viceroy of Baghdad. Thuwainī spent four months based in Al-Baṣrah further gathering his forces and accumulating the necessary armaments – in particular cannon. Before setting off he was joined by the entire Āl-Zufair clan who had been angered by the Saudi incursions into their territory. The Pāshā of Baghdad had also requested from his administrators in Al-Baṣrah to support the army of Thuwainī with what they could contribute through the regular army whilst also complementing the effort with an additional five pieces of cannon. The Ottomans also sent one of their military advisors from Beirut named Aḥmad Aghā Al-Ḥijāzī to be of assistance to the venture. The merger and consequent union of the locals and tribes of these districts was of no surprise; since they had been the ones who had been writing to the Pāshā of Baghdad requesting help against Ad-Dir'iyyah. It therefore comes at no

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<sup>217</sup> Thuwainī bin 'Abdillāh had previously a good association with the Saudis, except that he implicated himself in the tension between the Saudis and the Banī Khālid in 1200H (1786CE). After which he attacked the villages of Al-Qaṣīm which were under Najdī administration – however he could not capture Al-Qaṣīm due to domestic troubles in Al-Baṣrah which forced his return. He tried to gain autonomy for Al-Baṣrah but Sulaimān Pāshā came out and defeated him. Thuwainī fled to Banī Ka'ab and from there he sought refuge at Ad-Dir'iyyah in 1203H (1789CE). 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd extended fine treatment towards him, during his stay in Ad-Dir'iyyah he (Thuwainī) would continue writing to Sulaimān Pāshā asking him to pardon him. Pardon him the Pāshā of Baghdad did but on condition that he resides in Baghdad itself. He agreed and so returned to Baghdad staying there until Sulaimān gave him the task of waging war against the Saudis in 1211H (1796CE) and so making him Amīr of the tribal confederations of Al-Muntafiq. (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p.206)

astonishment either that the head of the powerful Banī Khālīd Barrāk bin 'Abdil-Muḥsin broke off ranks and his allegiance with Ad-Dir'iyyah and therefore enlisted the majority of the Banī Khālīd into Thuwainī's legion when he descended upon Al-Jahrā. At Al-Jahrā Thuwainī spent a further three months gathering more fighting men from the Bedouin and other men as well as armaments and gunpowder, lead (bullets and cannon balls) and food provisions in a vast amount. Thuwainī had spent eight months gathering the multitude of his force and had also dispatched a naval force from Al-Baṣrah to Al-Qaṭīf with yet more stocks.

After completing the necessary preparations Thuwainī led his expedition through Al-Aḥsā as opposed to a direct move upon Ad-Dir'iyyah. Some of the reasons suggested for this route – despite being the longer course – include the reason that Al-Aḥsā was the traditional residence of the Banī Khālīd whose two main leaders Barrāk bin 'Abdil-Muḥsin and Muḥammad bin 'Uray'ir were in league with Thuwainī and so their association to the venture added considerable influence in the region. Therefore, Thuwainī's passageway through Al-Aḥsā would attract the begrudged elements of the region to also join – in particular the Shī'ah.

Thuwainī's very large army likewise required constant supplying, and so chose the Al-Aḥsā route as it had more means of supply than the desert route of Al-Baṣrah to Ad-Dir'iyyah which had water rest-stops every three full days and nights travel as opposed to the Al-Aḥsā route wherein the watering wells were within an approximate twenty-hour distance from each other. Therefore, this route appeared a more practical alternative as carrying the entire water supply needed over the whole distance for such a vast army would prove impossible. Thuwainī was also familiar with the Al-Aḥsā route due to his previous attempts in the region, he may also have estimated that after taking Al-Aḥsā; if he were defeated in his conquest against Ad-Dir'iyyah itself then he could fall back on Al-Aḥsā and so suffice with his conquest of Al-Aḥsā; and if otherwise then he would have achieved his objective. What is clear is that Thuwainī had thought his preparations through very carefully and had thoroughly prepared the entire expedition to insure its success – in particular because he wanted official powers restored back to him by way of this military campaign.

When news of Thuwainī's departure for war against the Saudi State reached Ad-Dir'iyyah; and after Imām 'Abdul-Azīz had ascertained that the news was indeed true of the advance, the first thing he conducted as mentioned by Ḥussain bin Ghannām was: "That he raised his hands to his Lord and asked of Him and called upon Him whilst being certain of a response to his supplication and so asked Allāh in supplication and invoked for the acceptance of the supplication of the compelled and to avert the evils of other people away from them. Therefore, he did not complete his supplication until his certainty and hope had been strengthened and so his overwhelming notion was that tribulation had been written over that entire ensemble and that destruction and humiliation had been inscribed over them. Then when he had finished from that he reflected (thought) and then recited:

سَيُهْزَمُ الْجَمْعُ وَيُوَلُّونَ الدُّبُرَ • بَلِ السَّاعَةُ مَوْعِدُهُمْ وَالسَّاعَةُ أَذَىٰ وَأَمْرٌ

'Their multitude will be defeated, and they will turn their backs [in retreat]. Rather The Hour is their appointment and The Hour will be more grievous and more bitter.'<sup>218/219</sup>

He then began making the necessary preparations and gathering of the fighting men and so ordered Sa'ūd and the Muslims to prepare themselves and set out along with the fighting men of the neighbouring towns and beyond. Therefore, in a short space of time a large army had been amassed – despite the fact that Thuwainī's expedition had exposed many of the people into showing a lack of patience and therefore breaking their allegiances with Ad-Dir'iyyah at the news of his formidable army and its imminent approach.

In the month of *Muḥarram* 1212H or June 1797CE, Thuwainī's army arrived at Ash-Shabbāk where they struck camp; however his move was short lived, for he met his demise at the hands of one of the slaves of Banī Khālid itself before he was able to do anything against the Saudis. The news of his death hardly broke in the ranks of the soldiers except that chaos ensued amongst them.<sup>220</sup> Upon learning of Thuwainī's demise, Barrāk bin 'Abdil-

<sup>218</sup> Sūrah Al-Qamar: 45-46

<sup>219</sup> *Rawḍatul Afkār wal Afhām* vol 2 p. 193-194

<sup>220</sup> Regarding the entire incident Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān mentions:

Muḥsin the chief of the Banī Khālīd who was present within camp broke ranks and fled along with his fighting men and joined the opposing Saudi force camp based nearby. Barrāk bin ‘Abdil-Muḥsin then sent correspondences to Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz and Amīr Sa‘ūd expressing regret over his actions as well as his desire to rejoin the Saudi ranks. Such a move caused yet further unease in what had been Thuwainī’s camp and so the remaining force was compelled to return home without having achieved a thing. The Saudis intercepted the ‘Iraqi force and followed them as far as the border of Kuwait not before taking much of their supplies and artillery and stockpiles enriching themselves with considerable provisions from the Muntafiq who had set out to fight them.

This is how the first ‘Iraqi expedition against Ad-Dir‘iyyah came to an end. The magnitude of the failure of this expedition became clear to see, since it

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“As for the vizier of Al-‘Iraq; then he tried many a time with all that he had by way of military might and ruthless plots. Allāh brought down upon them humiliation as cannot even be envisaged - before there even occurred with them what occurred.

From them was when on an occasion Thuwainī set out with his forces towards Al-Aḥsā after its people had entered into Al-Islām. After only a short period since they had come out of *Shirk* and misguidance, so when he came within close range of that land, a destitute unknown man came to him. Despite having had no collaboration with any of the Muslims - he attacked him causing him to die. So Allāh aided this religion by way of a man who was unknown. That is something to reflect upon. So that army was set at liberty, leaving behind them livestock and wealth - out of fear of the Muslims and fright of them. So those that were present thereafter were enriched by it.”  
(See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 18)

In another account regarding this episode there occurs that as Thuwainī entered his council and took his seat the slave who was possessing a lance with a spear head attached to it was behind him and so thrust him with it once between his shoulders. The slave was killed immediately and Thuwainī was carried by others to the inner portion of the tent. Some of the notables there refused to believe in his death and maintained that he was alive, and so they began calling him by his name and presenting him with coffee and tobacco, whereas in reality he was void of any life. (See: *Ta’rīkh al-Mamlakatil ‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 66)

had left 'Iraq well supplied and as some references mention it was even given aid from discontented inhabitants of Kuwait who were constricted by the ongoing Saudi incursions yet it still failed to inflict any impairment upon the enemy it had been sent out to confront. This expedition had been potentially the most dangerous and largest military campaign that the First Saudi State had faced since its establishment.

Along with this the killing of Thuwainī and the failure of the campaign brought about a great deal of significance and influence for Ad-Dir'iyyah and so raised its status yet further amongst its opponents. Particularly its opponent situated in Al-Ḥijāz in the form of Sharīf Ghālib; who was waging campaigns against Najd at the time.

After the remaining forces that had come with Thuwainī had departed, Amīr Sa'ūd arrived in Al-Aḥsā and camped north of Al-Mubarraz were the populace of Al-Aḥsā came to express their regret at their stance and sought to renew their allegiance and pledge of obedience.

The factors which had induced the Viceroy of 'Iraq to undertake the campaign in his first attempt only emboldened after its subsequent failure, in effect the factors had become greater than before due to Thuwainī's death and the failure of the campaign. The Pāshā was greatly affected by the failure, the financial losses along with the setback to his reputation only added to the anxiety of Sulaimān Pāshā. For fear of repercussion and blame of the failure of the expedition from the Ottoman State; in particular due to the Sulṭāns knowledge of the Pāshās reluctance to initiate military action to begin with, the Pāshā wrote to the Sulṭān detailing the reasons of the failure of the expedition along with a commitment of preparing a new campaign stronger than the last in order to actualize the desired goal.

With the Saudis taking more territory in Al-Ḥijāz and being on the brink of virtually annexing the Holy Cities it made the need for military action even more necessary to the Ottomans as well as to their regional governments. The Viceroy of Baghdad was aware that the Porte would not view the ceding of the Holy Cities as a light matter, and knew that the annexation of the cities into Saudi domains could spell the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire itself. He had been officially assigned the task of fighting the Saudis and so any withdrawal or failure would provoke the Ottoman

State to turn to its vassals of Ash-Shām and Egypt – which ultimately they were to do. Due to these reasons; Sulaimān Pāshā hastened in the preparation of a strong force, he saw the need to gather an army greater than before which was militarily drilled, combined with tribal forces to accompany it in order to face this enemy. Seeing that the enemy also posed a threat to 'Iraq itself he assigned his son in law – the inexperienced and coarse Georgian Mamluke 'Ali Kakhyā<sup>221</sup> in command of the expedition.<sup>222</sup>

Saudi incursions into 'Iraq continued, whilst at the same time they tightened their grip on Al-Hijāz and had surrounded the *Ḥaramain*. Sulaimān Pāshā was receiving strict orders from the Ottomans to prepare a force in order to quell the Saudi danger. In 1213H (1798CE) the Ottoman Sulṭān issued his decree to the Viceroy of Baghdad with orders to prepare a large force against the Saudi State. Sulaimān Pāshā observed the utmost importance of this decree and went to great efforts in its preparation. He opened his treasury and exerted his utmost capability in seeing to the orders.

Preparations to gather the force were well under way on the outskirts of Baghdad,<sup>223</sup> 'Iraqi regimented troops were brought in as well as forces from

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<sup>221</sup> 'Kitikhidā' or 'Kakhyā' meaning: deputy, were titles utilized by the Turks, the intent here in its meaning was: the deputy Viceroy and his associate. The title itself denotes a high rank and varied according to the different Pashāliks. 'Ali Pāshā was the deputy to the Viceroy of Baghdad, 'Ali Pāshā had previously been a slave; and had been bought and freed, Sulaimān Pāshā later married him to one of his daughters and then appointed him as deputy. (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p.110 and *Ajā-ib al-Āthār fit-Tarājim wal-Akhhbār [Ta'rikh Al-Jabartī]* p. 1066)

<sup>222</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 205-209 and *Ad- Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 170-188 and p. 193-195 (all abridged).

<sup>223</sup> Harford Jones Brydges (the Englishman and commercial representative of the East India Company and later British Ambassador to Persia) mentions regarding these preparations and his observations of them:

“A day or two before Ally Pacha, the Kiah, marched for Dereyah, I paid him a visit in his camp, which, from the liberal and handsome manner in which everything was appointed, and from the various troops, collected from distant parts of the Government, made a gallant show. The army possessed a

Kurdish and Arab tribes – along with Shī'ah tribes. Most of the 'Iraqi Bedouin tribes joined the expedition as did the Muntafiq and the people of Az-Zubair, Arabs as far as the borders of 'Iraq and Najd enlisted so much so that it was said that the cavalry alone numbered some eighteen thousand and Al-'Azāwī mentioned that the camels numbered thirty thousand. Military hardware was supplied and cannon were readied, the Viceroy was personally supervising the preparation of the expedition as he feared for his own position if it were to fail, this was also substantiated by the fact that he did not sanction leadership of the expedition to anyone but his own deputy and son in law 'Ali Kakhyā.

In *Rabi' Al-Ākhir* 1213H (October 1798CE) the hastily assembled expedition made its way along the same route via Al-Aḥsā avoiding the direct route to Ad-Dir'iyyah due to the fertility of Al-Aḥsā and its productiveness – as it was rich in food supplies known to be able to suffice the entire peninsula.

'Ali Kakhyā marched by land to Al-Aḥsā along with his troops whilst the second detachment travelled by sea from 'Iraq along the Persian Gulf by-passing Baḥrain to Al-Aḥsā. This detachment carried the artillery and heavy equipment needed in the campaign.

The expedition swelled in numbers on its way to Al-Aḥsā with the remaining people of Az-Zubair and Al-Majrah and Al-Baṣrah and others joining the campaign, some joined for fear of suppression, others for the possible booty and others to assert the Ottoman cause. Military hardware

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formidable train of artillery, if its real value depended on the number of pieces displayed: but, notwithstanding all these mighty preparations, the Pacha (Sulaimān Pāshā) was thoroughly acquainted with the character of his minister and son-in-law, Ally ('Ali Kakhyā), and probably even entertained some doubts of his success. The failure of the expedition was, however, confidently predicted by persons of judgement, before it lost sight of the cupolas of Bagdad, and this prediction was grounded on the ignorance which the Kiah displayed of military affairs, and on the absurd and haughty manner in which he accustomed himself to treat the friendly Arabs who had joined him, and on whom he had principally to depend when he entered the most difficult part of his enterprise. The failure of the expedition was entirely owing to the improper, spiritless, and cowardly manner in which Ally commenced the attack on El Hassa." (See: *An account of the Transactions* vol 2 p. 19 and 22)

was also donated and so as the expedition drew closer to Saudi territory its numbers and armaments also grew in formidable numbers.

Upon arriving in Al-Aḥsā, and upon the arrival of the ships carrying the supplies, 'Ali Kakhyā sent out requests to some of the towns in order that the people show their appeal to his cause. His call was particularly appealing to the Shī'ah from whom he received most inclination, these being communities discontented with Saudi rule and to live under the regulations of the Salafī call.<sup>224</sup> In reality; 'Ali Kakhyā had written to the

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<sup>224</sup> With a history like that of the Shī'ah this should be of no surprise, Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah (رحمته الله) mentions:

“It is well known with us that the coasts of Ash-Shām were captured by the Christians due to their influence. For they are always with every enemy of the Muslims, they are with the Christians against the Muslims, and from the greatest of calamities with them is the conquest of the Muslims of the coastlines and defeating the Christians. Rather from the greatest of calamities with them is the Muslims gaining support over the Tartars. From the greatest of celebrations of theirs – and Allāh, The Most High's, refuge is sought – is when the Christians captured the Muslim harbours. For indeed the Muslim harbours do not cease being in Muslim hands, even the island of Cyprus – may Allāh make easy its conquest soon. It was conquered during the Khilāfah of *Amīr ul Mu'minīn* 'Uthmān bin 'Affān (رحمته الله) then it was conquered by Mu'āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān until the course of the forth century.

So these are the opposers of Allāh and His Messenger, they were plentiful at the time at the coastlines and other than them and so the Christians captured the coasts. Then; due to them they captured Al-Quds Ash-Sharīf and other than it. Indeed, their affairs were from the greatest of reasons behind that. Then when Allāh established Muslim rulers who would fight in the path of Allāh, The Most High; such as Nūruddīn Ash-Shahīd and Salāhuddīn and their followers; they re-captured the coasts from the Christians. As well as those who were there from them. They also re-conquered the land of Egypt, for they (the Fatimids) had been ruling over it for around two hundred years. They had come to an agreement with the Christians and so the Muslims made Jihād against them until they re-conquered the land. And so from that date the Islamic *Da'wah* became widespread in the Egyptian and Syrian provinces.

leaders of the region demanding their loyalty to his campaign, however a few of those that disliked Saudi rule responded, some however joined due to the close proximity of the expedition and of its capabilities to their location. Some members of the tribes in Al-Aḥsā came to the aid of the expedition, from them were the Banī Khālid and other notables of the Al-Aḥsā region and their leaders, therefore the expedition entered Al-Aḥsā at the will and tidings of some of its people – although not all of them.

The Saudi State had no known defence force at this time in Al-Aḥsā, apart from a hundred men stationed in the fort of Al-Mubarraz and a like number in the fort at Al-Hofuf, and these locations did not join the expedition as their loyalty was to Ad-Dir'iyyah.

'Ali's first attack therefore was upon the fortresses of Al-Mubarraz – commanded by Sulaimān bin Mājīd and that of Al-Hofuf commanded by Ibrahīm bin Sulaimān bin 'Ufaisān. The siege and subsequent bombardment of the fort of Al-Mubarraz began in the month of Ramaḍān; 'Ali's forces surrounded it, tightly packed it and bombarded the defenders relentlessly. Despite some deaths within the fort and the attackers at one stage seizing some of the livestock from the forts precincts; they could not subdue the defenders. Ibn Bishr mentioned that the siege of the Al-Mubarraz fort went on from the seventh of the month of Ramaḍān until seven days remaining of the month of Dhil-Qa'dah. Wherein they greatly bombarded the fort causing much of it to collapse and was about to be destroyed were it not for the protection of Allāh. They attempted to dig tunnels and fill them with dynamite to blow up the defences but that did not work. They built high platforms from where they would bombard the

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Then; the Tartars did not enter the Islamic lands and kill the Khalīfah of Baghdad and other than him from the Muslim rulers except with their aid and their assistance." (See: *Majmū' Fatāwā* vol 35 p. 150-152)

Shaikh Muqbil bin Hādī (رحمته الله) said:

"What is befitting to be known; is that if the Rāfiḍah ever gained subjugation over Ahlus-Sunnah – may Allāh never allow them to, then they would make permissible over them that which the Jews and the Christians would not allow to be made permissible. Whosoever doubts my speech then let him read the history of the Rāfiḍah." (See: *Ilhād Al-Khumainī fī arḍ al-Ḥaramain* p. 56)

middle of the fort and attempted to scale the walls and demolished its ramparts and its accommodation and structures. Yet its people exerted every effort to repair the damage and every day they would renew the features and defences of the fort.<sup>225</sup>

After twenty days into the siege and with no progress; the attackers attempted to tear down the fortified walls using pick-axes, however this too was ineffective. Then some heavy siege cannon arrived by sea, and when fired these had more effect on the walls, but these cannon would either explode or fracture after the fourth round. The attackers remained in this state for the duration, prolonging the siege was holding up the army which could not remain static and isolated in one place for too long; especially with a lack of animals for haulage that had been perishing in great numbers. Many of the animals which were used to transport equipment had died or were dying with around nine thousand camels having already perished.

In reality the fort had held out and endured extraordinary attacks and had highlighted the bravery of its defenders in the face of heavy Ottoman firepower, despite receiving no help as of yet in their defence against the invader. The sturdy defence of the fort and the inability to wear down the defenders led to the decision by 'Ali to move on and attack the fort of Al-Hofuf to which he proceeded, however the staunch defence of its defenders was no different to that of the fort of Al-Mubarraz. The siege here started in Dhil-Hijjah and continued for two months, for day after day 'Ali's forces were in decline, provisions ran low and carrying water to supply the expedition was proving very difficult. Under these circumstances 'Ali Kakhyā attempted to play his last card by trying to fool the defenders into thinking that a remaining force was on its way. However Sulaimān bin Mājid – inside the fort, was aware it was a ploy and so rebuffed it as mentioned by Ibn Bishr:

“And it was mentioned to me that when the siege over this fort became lengthy they communicated with Ibn Mājid saying: ‘Surrender to us and come out of the fort before there comes to us such and such from the

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<sup>225</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 149-150

Bedouin and soldiers.’ So Sulaimān responded: ‘Here you have filled the plains and the hills (with yourselves) – so where will those that come then descend? Then you will depart and they will come and they too shall see from us Inshā Allāh the like of what you see.’<sup>226</sup>

Many attempts were made to capture the fortress at Al-Hofuf resulting in the failure of all of them. So when the siege became prolonged, some of the more local tribes allied with the attackers began to abandon their positions. During this time news had also arrived that Ad-Dir’iyyah had sent a large army in order to confront the besiegers, therefore it was decided to lift the siege and evacuate Al-Aḥsā.

Ibn Bishr mentions how the defenders became emboldened and the attackers were struck with dread and fear and so they called off the siege and retreated. With no success against the forts, and his supplies low and animals dying, along with the morale of his men in depletion, ‘Ali could only retreat.

Upon arriving at Al-Qatār the retreating column was struck with yet more panic for fear that the force sent from Ad-Dir’iyyah under Amīr Sa’ūd would intercept them, therefore they buried the lead and cannon which was weighing them down along the way in order to retreat faster. Ibn Bishr said regarding this: “A man who was with them at the time said to me: ‘I think it is all still in its place until this day.’”<sup>227</sup>

They had also disposed of the heavy weapons and the rounds of ammunition in the Al-Aḥsā desert for fear of the Saudis benefiting from them if left sound and accessible.

Until now the Saudis had not come in aid of those that held out at the fortresses; and there are those that express dismay at the slow response of Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz at the events in Al-Aḥsā during the sieges. It must be stated though that the Imām was well aware of the attacks initiated by ‘Ali Kakhyā; yet knew that the spirited defence the defenders were putting up

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<sup>226</sup> *Dawlatus Sa’ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah* p. 206-207

<sup>227</sup> *‘Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 150 and *Ḥayāt Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb* p. 554

was a positive and worthy resistance. The Imām had correctly anticipated that when the attacks were launched in Al-Aḥsā to the east; the Sharīf of Makkah in Al-Ḥijāz to the west would show his hand and launch an attack simultaneously against Najd.<sup>228</sup> This is what took place, for Sharīf Ghālib saw his opportunity to strike the Saudi State during the time they were engaged with the forces of the Viceroy of Baghdad. The Sharīf launched one of his biggest expeditions yet during this time into Najd, a situation in which the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah found himself at war with two forces at one time at opposite ends of his dominions. Therefore, the Imām did not hasten to a rapid response to the situations, rather he waited until 'Ali Kakhyā was worn out by the prolonged duration of the siege and had decided to return, whilst the Sharīf too had failed in his expedition. At this point Ibrahīm bin 'Ufaisān in Al-Aḥsā had written to the Imām requesting assistance to which the Imām then sent support.<sup>229</sup>

Meanwhile 'Ali Kakhyā's column was retreating from Al-Aḥsā, and whilst retreating they encountered very heavy rains and harsh winds which sent their tents and already depleted provisions flying in the gusts. They remained in this state the entire night of the storm and in the morning began scouring the locality in search of their tents and belongings gathering them and returning back to their camp. After this they moved on without provisions or supplies and ammunition, only surviving the march because of their being close to the presence of some ships that were docked in the Al-'Amā'ir Peninsula nearby. However, supplies even on these ships were low and could not suffice the entire expedition for more than a single day. Despite this they divided the rations between them – thus whoever received a small weight (measure) of barley was delighted with that.

'Ali and his force camped at the spring of Ash-Shabbāk, not far from where Amīr Sa'ūd bin 'Abdul-'Azīz was camped at the spring of Thāj. He had

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<sup>228</sup> This presumption was to prove correct; for perhaps unbeknown to the Imām; Sharīf Ghālib had already been writing to the heads in Al-Aḥsā encouraging them to wage war against him, promising to join them in Najdī territory if they did so. (See: *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabīyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 141)

<sup>229</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 208-209

earlier arrived in Al-Aḥsā with his forces, but realising the invader was retreating home he went in pursuit of them and in doing so managed to precede them – arriving at Thāj whilst the enemy was camped nearby.

Minor skirmishes followed between the two sides for a few days; however, 'Ali knew clearly that he had no chance of taking up arms. His men were in a pitiful state and his force had lost much of its provisions and equipment along with the problem of divisions and rifts which had become manifest amongst his generals. He therefore decided to retreat with what was remaining of his force which was being dogged from every angle, rather than see them completely annihilated. Sources also indicate that the Saudis, who knew the territory and types of water it provided, had taken up positions where the wells provided clean drinking water leaving the invader on an already low supply of water at wells containing unsuitable salty water. Desperate for water 'Ali's men dug around five hundred wells, the water of all of which turned out to be bitter and salty.<sup>230/231</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> As stated by Al-Karkawī in *Dawḥah Al-Wuzarā fī Ta'rīkh Baghdad Az-Zawarā* p. 208 and Al-Baṣrī in *Maṭāli' As-Sa'ūd bi Akhbār Al-Wālī Dawūd* p. 125. See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 213

<sup>231</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān mentions:

“Then they renewed their motivations for making war upon the Muslims – coming together as a mighty state – some of them coming together with others. Whilst having great plots. They descended upon Al-Aḥsā with their leader being 'Ali Kaykhā. So upon laying siege those that were besieged remained firm upon their religion in Kut and Thaghr Sāhun. They were pounded with bombs and artillery whilst the enemy putting themselves to great pains. Yet Allāh caused him ('Ali) to come to no avail – along with those that had come with him from those that had apostated from Al-Islām. So he turned and retreated with his force.\*

Then they gathered against Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz (رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ) at Thāj, those that fought with him from the Muslims were less in number than the Muntafiq and Āl Dhufayr who were fighting alongside Khaykhā. So Allāh threw fear into their hearts at their numbers (the Saudis) and their strength. Such was it as a mighty lesson. They sought for a truce on condition that Sa'ūd allows them to return to their land. They were given the guarantee of a safe return and so they went back in immense humiliation. When they all returned to their places Sulaimān Pāshā died – and that is from the aid of Allāh for this Religion

'Ali Kakhyā decided therefore to open negotiations between the two sides in order to salvage his force and spare his life and those of his men. Territorial boundaries were discussed and agreed to be respected and a six-year truce was agreed upon between the government of Baghdad and Ad-Dir'iyyah.

'Ali returned to 'Iraq without having affected any of that which the Ottoman Sulṭān or the Viceroy of Baghdad had sent him to accomplish. Instead the magnitude of this loss was such that the expedition had cost the treasury of Sulaimān Pāshā all that he had saved since the year 1194H (1780CE) till the year of the expedition 1213H (1798CE) – a great accumulation of wealth for those they set out to fight. Therefore, it was inevitable that 'Ali Kakhyā returned to Baghdad after his nine-month tour to face an infuriated Sulaimān Pāshā who saw no benefit having been gained but instead had his troops exposed to an array of perils and dangers and failing to achieve any goals that had been hoped would be achieved.<sup>232</sup>

The truce itself was not to last long, for in 1214H (1799CE) only a year after the truce had been drawn up, an incident near An-Najaf occurred which saw the killing of around three hundred men who were allied with Ad-Dir'iyyah at the hands of the 'Iraqi Shī'ah Khuzā'al tribe. In another report the Saudis who were attacked were escorting an Iranian Ḥajj caravan when they were between Al-Ḥillah and An-Najaf. All historians and the majority

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– for He caused to perish the one who had originated this state.” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 19)

\* This area was targeted due to its people having newly accepted the Salafi *Da'wah*. There were eighteen thousand horsemen who had set out from 'Iraq in this expedition along with artillery and other arsenal being supplied and replenished along the way. The fortress was pounded for sixty days with artillery causing the walls of the fortress to be badly damaged such that the entire fortress was in danger of collapse, only to be quickly repaired by the defenders inside whilst the siege was in place. During the whole siege the fortress with its defenders had contained no more than a hundred men. (See: *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 71)

<sup>232</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 209-215 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 208-209 and 218-219.

of western historians are in agreement that hostilities resurfaced between the two sides due to this incident as the Saudi unit was merely escorting an Iranian Ḥajj caravan returning home after having performed the Ḥajj.

The Imām at Ad-Dir'iyyah regarded the incident as a violation of the truce agreed between himself and the Viceroy of Baghdad so sent a request for an explanation of the incident to Viceroy of Baghdad as well as a demand for the blood money of those killed or regarded the truce as null and void if the bloodmoney was not paid.

The Viceroy of Baghdad sensed the urgency of the situation and so entrusted 'Abdul-'Azīz bin 'Abdillāh Ash-Shāwī to pass by Ad-Dir'iyyah on his return from the Ḥajj and to negotiate with both Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd and his son Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz regarding the issue. However the Pāshā had instructed that negotiations be made to renew the truce citing that deaths had afterall occurred on both sides.

The Imām was not content with this opinion and so pronounced his famous statement:

“As for the contentment of the Wazīr, then I shall leave him to rule Baghdad. For by Allāh it is soon you shall see that the entire west of the Euphrates shall be ours, and its east will be his.”<sup>233</sup>

More communication followed with the Imām giving the Viceroy of Baghdad the choice of paying the bloodmoney, or regarding the truce as annulled, but no agreements could be reached. However, 'Abdul-'Azīz Ash-Shāwī who was sent by the Viceroy of Baghdad returned back to Baghdad, having accepted the Salafī *Da'wah*, as well as becoming a caller to it.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Al-Wardī in his *Lamḥāt Ijtimā'iyyah min Ta'rīkh Al-'Iraq al-Ḥadīth* and Muḥammad bin Sulaimān Al-Khudairī in his *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* ascribe the statement to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz whereas 'Uthmān bin Sanad Al-Baṣrī in his *Maṭāli' As-Sa'ūd bi Akhbār Al-Wālī Dawūd* and Dr. 'Abdur-Rahīm in his *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* mention it was the statement of Amīr Sa'ūd – and Allāh knows best.

<sup>234</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl-Ash-Shaikh (رحمته الله) said:

The delegation had not reached an agreement between the two sides, to make matters worse; in order to stoke yet further aggression between the two sides; members of the Muntafiq tribe led a small expedition into Saudi territory attacking tribes loyal to Ad-Dir'iyyah and taking a large amount of livestock. The purpose of the Amīr of the Muntafiq in this incident seemed to have worked as each side began preparing itself for war once again. The Viceroy of Baghdad in exercising caution sent 'Ali Kakhyā at the head of a force to check any Saudi incursions entering their domains. The force came and camped near Karbala, upon hearing that Saudi units were present near Shafāthah they went to its direction. Here they were met with more supporters from the Al-'Ubaid tribe and well as around two thousand regular soldiers. At Shafāthah they encountered the Saudi unit but the 'Iraqi army was the first to retreat citing 'thirst' as having struck them. The Saudi unit also returned home and none of the two sides engaged with the other. The historian 'Uthmān Ibn Sanad Al-Başrī mentions:

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"For many from amongst those that opposed them in the beginning, then the correct nature of what this Shaikh was calling to became clear to them. Likewise that it was the truth which Allāh had sent the Prophets with and had revealed His Books with. Likewise the one that follows him comes to know of what Allāh has obligated upon them and forbidden them from. Teaching them fine manners and prohibiting them from nonsense speech. From that is what 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Al-Muḍāyafi narrated to us when he came desiring this religion and entered it: that Jāsir Al-Ḥussainī who moved away from his Ḥaram (Mosque) due to his enmity to this religion, resided in Baghdad, so years later after the appearance of Al-Islām in Najd and its protectorates, he was present with Sharīf Ghālib as a resident (in Makkah). So he heard the mentioned Sharīf revile Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. So he said to him:

'O Sharīf, you have from me the right to command with the good which necessitates that I advise you. Do not say this regarding Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb, for he appeared in Najd at a time when they were in the worst state of corruption and oppression and misguidance. So Allāh, The Most High, gathered them with him after a time of splitting and differing, teaching them fine manners. Such that they were taught what to say which was befitting when they speak and what not to say when they speak by way of disliked words. So be careful of mentioning him with evil.'" (*Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 24)

“The retreat of ‘Ali Kakhyā’s force was not due to thirst, on the contrary they claimed that falsely. Rather they disliked lining up for battle for fear of their souls, it had been possible for them to bind the camels and remain in their midst (middle) just as the Saudis had done and so charge at them along with the camels together – however; how numerous are the excuses of cowards!”<sup>235</sup>

## Karbala and the Truth Behind the Alleged Saudi Sacking of 1801CE

West of the Euphrates lay some of the cities revered by the Shī‘ah, the most important of these being Karbala and An-Najaf wherein were located the many shrines, mausoleums, tombs and dome structures over the graves. The most important of these was the alleged mausoleums of ‘Ali bin Abī Ṭālib (عليه السلام) at An-Najaf and that of Al-Ḥussain bin ‘Ali (عليه السلام) in Karbala and the grave of Mūsā Al-Kāzīm in Al-Kāzimiyyah near Baghdad. These were the very places in which *Shirk* and disbelief would be committed and where in general the worship which should be directed to Allāh would be directed to the inhabitants of the graves and mausoleums – if indeed they contained inhabitants.

This was from amongst the major factors which led to the expedition into western ‘Iraqi territory, other reasons included the fact that the tribe that attacked the Ḥajj caravan near An-Najaf had gone unpunished and had subsequently been the cause of the breach of the truce between the two sides. The Saudi State had also not forgotten the officially sanctioned well organized previous ‘Iraqi expeditions of Thuwainī and ‘Ali Kakhyā against them. These expeditions saw Al-Aḥsā as their first step on their route to Ad-Dir‘iyyah itself. As a result, the Saudi State saw it as a necessity to reprimand the Viceroy of Baghdad when the time was right.

Therefore in the year 1216H (April 1801CE), Amīr Sa‘ūd led a force into ‘Iraqi territory. After initial skirmishes with the Muntafiq and Al-Ḍufair, he

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<sup>235</sup> *Maṭāli‘ As-Sa‘ūd bi Akhbār Al-Wālī Dawūd* p. 134. See: *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah* p. 243-247 (abridged).

appeared suddenly at the city of Karbala. The numbers of fighting men in this expedition stood at around twenty thousand men – this being the number most historians agree upon,<sup>236</sup> however the numbers have been greatly exaggerated in other accounts with one source suggesting that they numbered some sixty thousand men.<sup>237</sup> Such a large number of men would not have been easy to accumulate in a short space of time; and with the purpose of the expedition having specifically been a disciplinary measure against the Viceroy of Baghdad, the usual numbers for such an expedition would have been between ten thousand and twenty thousand men – which supports the assertion of those that state this number including Ibn Bishr.<sup>238</sup>

The statistics of fighting men in this expedition are of relevance due to the unsubstantiated claims of some historians – especially from the Shī'ah Rafiḍite sect that the suggested large numbers involved represented a deliberate attempt by the Saudi State to maximize the bloodshed and therefore 'sack' the city of Karbala. An assertion which is historically and factually incorrect; as will become clear.

Just as the numbers of the Saudi force are disputed; so are the events which took place – to a greater extent. The reason being that the outcome of the expedition touched a religious sentiment on the part of some historians; and as such some of the accounts of the event – in particular various western accounts relied on such vindictive sources instead of reliable accounts. This inevitably would lead to depictions of the event being far from the truth.

The purpose of the expedition when Amīr Sa'ūd arrived at the city was for two reasons; firstly, to punish the Al-Khuzā'al tribe and secondly to remove the dome and mausoleum like structure built over the grave of Al-Ḥussain (عليه السلام) as well as other graves. These graves were objectives in

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<sup>236</sup> Such as Al-'Umrī in *Makhtūṭ Gharā'ib Al-Athar* p. 58, as well as in *Lam' Ash-Shihāb* p. 88.

<sup>237</sup> As alleged by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Al-Ḥubaishī in his *Ta'rīkh Ad-Dawah Al-Wahhābiyyah fī Makhtūṭ Yemeni* in the *Mujallah Al-'Arab* – Seventh Edition Part 1 *Rajab* (1392H) p. 157

<sup>238</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 161

particular as the residents of 'Iraq and Iran would perform pilgrimage to them and venerate them as the Ka'bah should be venerated. The affair had become such that some of them would sell the soil from the alleged area in which Al-Ḥussain was said to have been martyred. They would also seek rescue from Al-Ḥussain and would pray to his grave whilst having their backs turned to the Ka'bah.

Therefore, once they entered the city, the first action which was carried out was the leveling of the graves and the dismantling of the domes over them. As this was actualizing the tenets upon which the Salafi *Da'wah* is based upon – the eradication of *Shirk* in all of its manifestations and establishing instead the worship of Allāh alone without any partners. Such practice was not exclusive to Karbala, it is acknowledged that the Saudis had cleansed their own domains of *Shirk*, disbelief and innovations first before actualizing it elsewhere. Therefore they were not implementing anything foreign to their beliefs and practices and which they had not already implemented in their own territories first.

Subsequently, the treasures found with the precincts of the mausoleums, had been there in veneration of the graves, and so were considered booty for the Muslims and were taken away. Thereafter at just before dhuhr on the same day the Saudi force pulled out and advanced a day's march from Karbala where they settled at a place called Al-Ubayyid where the booty was distributed amongst the army. Meanwhile the Viceroy of Baghdad had been unable to intervene and so remained powerless to confront the Saudis.

An important point in need of addressing is that many of the historians have exaggerated the number of people killed as a result of the expedition. In some reports the numbers in a single night amount to some twenty thousand people,<sup>239</sup> whilst in another account the numbers were eight thousand and it was said that fifty people were killed at the grave of Al-Ḥussain and five hundred in the courtyard.<sup>240</sup> Ibn Bishr estimated the people killed at two thousand,<sup>241</sup> and that which appears closer to the truth

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<sup>239</sup> *Āl Ta'mah in Shu'arā min Karbala* p. 23

<sup>240</sup> Al-Wardī in *Lamḥāt Ijtimā'iyah min Ta'rīkh Al-'Iraq Al-Ḥadīth* vol 1 p. 190

<sup>241</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 155

is that the number of dead was not a great amount due to the fact that this incident had occurred at a time that the people of Karbala were busied elsewhere with one of their festivals and so none had stayed behind except those compelled to.<sup>242</sup> Despite the fact that these people died as a result of the events in Karbala, there are suggestions that there were others who in taking advantage of the events at Karbala then advanced to it and so after the withdrawal of the Saudis then entered and pillaged the town. This was particularly the case of the Bedouins living in its locality and some of the marauders who in the guise of the Saudis then entered in order to not be recognized.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> This is confirmed also by the contemporary of the time Louis De Corancez who, despite wrongfully accusing the Saudis of unjustified killings; acknowledged that the city was virtually empty as the expedition had coincided on the same day in which the locals were all on a visit to the mausoleum of 'Ali (عليه السلام) in An-Najaf. (See the Arabic translation of: *A History of The Wahhābis* p. 56)

<sup>243</sup> As stated by Khan in *Rihla Abī Ṭālib ilal 'Iraq wal Urubba* p. 381-382; as far-fetched as this may sound; this has been reported by an eye witness account, Abū Ṭālib Khan who was a contemporary of the era mentioned how he was unable to come to the mausoleum out of fear that the highway robbers who had disguised themselves in the appearance of Saudis would kill him. Then he mentioned:

“Once the Saudis had left; the neighbouring Arabs around Karbala took advantage of the alarm which had befallen the region and so they entered the city and plundered that which the Saudi army had left behind and subsequently killed a large number of residents.”

There is also a document from the time suggesting that the Shah of Iran instructed to the Shī'ah present in Baghdad to evoke and so generate disturbances and launch plots and trouble as well as surmounting over the cannons and ammunition stores as well as other necessities which were guarded throughout the land. The fact that they had overpowered the fortress corroborates their mischief making and foul behavior. The document is found at the directorate-general for the archives of the head of the council of ministers in Istanbul as document number 3797 from 'Ali Bek; Administrative officer of Baghdad to the Sultān dated 25<sup>th</sup> Jumādil Awwal 1217H. (See also: *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 259) The fact that these events occurred at about the same time as the Saudi attack on Karbala would cause the rulers in Baghdad to disseminate false and unsubstantiated

Another point of note is that there are no accounts of Saudi losses in the incident even though some sources state there were none whilst others mention that there were fatalities, with some attempting to assert that they had carried their dead with them back to Najd.<sup>244</sup> This claim being far from the truth as 'Iraq was a Muslim country therefore burial within it would not have been an issue along with the fact that carrying the dead as far as Najd would prove very difficult. That which supports the assertion that the fatalities were limited was that apart from the local populace being few in number; the Saudi forces were not confronted by the forces of the Viceroy of Baghdad, neither in Karbala nor after their withdrawal, therefore large scale military confrontation did not take place.

In conclusion the expedition Amīr Sa'ūd led into Karbala – a city venerated by the Shī'ah due to their claim it encloses the mausoleum of Al-Ḥussain bin 'Ali (عليه السلام) spawned on behalf of the Shī'ah themselves a great deal of negative and grave indictment. For they no doubt overstated the matter; and some of these accusations were then taken up by the Ottoman State and propagated thereafter against the Saudi State in the form of books and publications regarding the events at Karbala. These became the sources utilized by various historians without their investigating the events for themselves carefully – or even attempting to unravel the true events.

History has shown that the expedition led by the Saudis under Amīr Sa'ūd against Karbala was not the first expedition ever conducted to that city; nor was it to be the last. Since it was preceded and superceded by events unleashed upon it at the hands of others more severe and violent by far than that which it was exposed to during the Saudi expedition. As-Suyūfī mentions how in 236H Al-Mutawakkil had ordered the grave of Al-Ḥussain to be leveled as well as the surrounding buildings to be made way for farmland and so prohibited the people from visiting it.<sup>245</sup> Karbala was again attacked by As-Sayyid 'Ali bin Muḥammad bin Falāḥ Al-Wāsiṭī who attacked the mausoleums during his fathers life and so plundered it and

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allegations against the Saudis in that the problems and looting in any of the 'Iraqi regions was as a consequence of the Saudis!

<sup>244</sup> As-Sudānī in *Al-'Alāqāt Al-'Iraqiyyah was Sa'ūdiyyah* p. 34

<sup>245</sup> *Ta'rīkh Al-Khulafā* p. 347

violently put its people to death taking any survivors as prisoners.<sup>246</sup> These were some of the events which took place before the Saudi expedition, as for after it then they were to be much worse in their violent and horrific natures. For in 1258H (1843CE) under the era of the Ottoman Sulṭān 'Abdul-Majīd during the rule of Najīb Pāshā over Baghdad; Karbala witnessed the Ottoman siege and consequent sacking which took place. After laying siege to the city for twenty-three days and the constant bombardment of the city walls the Turks entered the city. Upon entering the city, the soldiers opened fire upon anyone they came across and some reports suggest that ten thousand people were put to death, with the dead being buried in groups without being washed or placed into burial shrouds. At the cellar under the hallway of Al-'Abbās (ﷺ) over three hundred bodies alone were recovered.<sup>247</sup> The Turks committed the killings in the most horrific and gruesome of manners and the city was given open plunder for a whole day with the elderly and children being put to death. Reports suggest that the total death toll was between ten and twenty thousand people in total, along with the plunder of the wealth of the people of Karbala and thirty-four thousand tons of stocks from the foodstores – as was recorded in the registers of the traders at the time.<sup>248</sup>

Such an occurrence proves that events during the expedition led by the Saudis and claims of their blood-thirsty conduct are evidently overstated and exaggerated in comparison to the events which unfolded at the city later on at the hands of the Ottomans themselves. Unlike the Ottoman expedition the intent of which was to destroy its power structure, put its people to death and monopolise upon the income earned through the pilgrimage to the city; the Saudi expedition was to level the mausoleums wherein *Shirk* was taking place and establish the worship of Allāh - alone. The damage and loss of life sustained at the Saudi expedition is clear to see for those who seek it, the subsequent marauding and looting which took place after the withdrawal of the Saudi force was a sign of the weakness of the Viceroy of Baghdad's inability to maintain peace within his domains. As the entire incident had arisen at the onset of 'Iraqi tribes attacking

<sup>246</sup> As stated by Al-Amīnī in *Shuhadā Al-Faḍīlah* p. 304-306.

<sup>247</sup> Al-Amīnī p. 306-307 and see: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 263-264.

<sup>248</sup> As is found in *Taskhīr Karbala* of 'Abdur-Razzāq Al-Ḥusnī p. 30-36 and 40-41.

pilgrims for whom Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz sought justice, something which the Viceroy of Baghdad failed to deliver.<sup>249</sup> The Viceroy of Baghdad himself

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<sup>249</sup> This is rarely discussed and is seldom investigated, for the opponents of the Salafī *Da'wah*; and in particular the Rāfiqites would be quick to point out their allegory of the 'Sacking of Karbala' – as they call it, which they claim took place under Amīr Sa'ūd's expedition there. Yet many of them fail to point out the origins of the expedition to Karbala in that it was at the failure of the Viceroy of Baghdad in bringing to account the marauders who had been responsible for the deaths of up to three hundred Najdīs who were escorting a Ḥajj caravan back to its destination. This being closer to the truth – as well as being further proof of the inability of the rulers of the time in establishing peace and security within their own borders without the fear of banditry, robbery and killing. These acts of transgressions and corruption were criminalities which the First Saudi State had eradicated from their sphere of influence very early on, and this was acclaimed during their era and was acknowledged by everyone including their own enemies.

Compare therefore the Pāshā of Baghdad's inability to provide safe passage to returning pilgrims after the annual Ḥajj despite being escorted by three hundred adherents of the Salafī *Da'wah*, in comparison to Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz's solemn pledges of granting safe passage to whosoever passed through his domains.

Louis De Corancez relates that long before the troubles between the Pāshā of Baghdad and Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz started; the British East India Company had a trading post at Al-Baṣrah (in 'Iraq). The trading post also had a consul based in the city and so due to fears of the nature of the desert and its perils – in particular from those that resided within it; they contacted the Imām in Ad-Dir'iyyah over the issue of granting safe passage to the mail carriers who commuted the great distances between Al-Baṣrah and Aleppo (in Syria) carrying with them official mail from India passing through the Imāms territory. After accepting the letter and gifts sent to him he replied in a concise but positive manner stating:

"I have received your correspondence; and so for as long as there is peace between me and the Pāshā of Baghdad then your dispatchers shall pass in safety."

Thus 'Abdul-'Azīz who would always fulfil his promises adhered absolutely to that which he had promised in his letter. So a general instruction was sent out to the tribal Shaikhs in order to safeguard the passageway of the mail carriers through the desert. On an occasion when he received a complaint against one

proposed to make a truce of peace with Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz and agree upon terms and conditions when it suited him and then when time afforded he would annul the truce and any conditions with him.<sup>250</sup> This further substantiates the truth that the conduct of the Ottoman and 'Iraqi State was never one of a friendly or affable nature and so they never desired peace and harmony with their Saudi neighbours before the conquest of the Holy Cities, this is a point of history often overlooked and is almost never subjected to scrutiny.

With the 'Iraqi governments inability to move against Najd the incident at Karbala compelled the Viceroy of Baghdad to seek the help of the British whose Royal Navy was stationed in India citing the 'sincere friendship' they had with the Ottoman State<sup>251</sup> although this request produced no known consequence. To make matters worse the residents of the southern 'Iraqi regions began paying their *zakāt* to the Saudi State for a period that would go on to last for more than a decade until 1227H when the forces of Muḥammad 'Ali landed in the Peninsula.

The incident also strained the Iran-'Iraq relations and so prompted the Shah of Iran to demand that the Viceroy of Baghdad undertakes appropriate defensive measures of the 'Holy sites' within his domains and so repair the city walls aswell as lead an armed force to strike the Saudi

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of those tribal Shaikhs he sent for him and promptly dealt with the problem. Therefore safe passage went on for as long as the peace between the Pāshā of Baghdad and Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz endured. (See the Arabic translation of: *A History of The Wahhābis* p. 81-82). Note the Imāms concern for the mail bearers passing through his domains and that his mere instruction to local tribes was enough to see them granted that safe passage through his territory, yet others at the time could not even ensure the safety of pilgrims – despite having an escort.

<sup>250</sup> As is found in a document at the directorate-general for the archives of the head of the council of ministers in Istanbul as document number 3778, from the Viceroy of Baghdad to the Sulṭān – undated. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 268)

<sup>251</sup> As is found in a document at the directorate-general for the archives of the head of the council of ministers in Istanbul as document number 3765, from Sulaimān Pāshā to the Sulṭān dated 10<sup>th</sup> of *Rabi' al-Awwal* 1216H found at the Dārah Malik 'Abdul-'Azīz document number 3/1-25. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 269)

State – or that he himself would traverse through 'Iraq in order to do so himself. However; the Iranians became busied with the sudden confrontation they faced from the Russians in the north; and so could not undertake any further engagements.<sup>252</sup>

These demands were to reach Sulaimān Pāshā at a time when he was in the throes of death; he received these warnings from the Shah of Iran at the very end of his life and was unable to respond to them. Such events and their consequences along with how Ottoman-'Iraqi policy toward the First Saudi State had catastrophically backfired and only served to make their enemy more effective had become too much for the Pāshā; he famously stated after this incident that:

“It does not befit for me to remain alive after the incident of Karbala.”<sup>253</sup>

### 'Iraq Continues in its Hostilities

Sulaimān Pāshā died soon after in April 1802CE; despite attempting to curb the Saudi threat it was without effect and continued to cripple him towards the end of his rule. Saudi incursions into 'Iraq continued targeting the areas situated west of the Euphrates. The *Da'wah* in this area was easily spreading and its areas were constantly traversed by the Saudis. With Sulaimān Pāshā dead the new Pāshā of 'Iraq 'Ali Kakhyā – who had previously encountered the Saudis was ordered to check the Saudi forces

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<sup>252</sup> Munīr Al-'Ajlāni states that some historians mention that Fateh 'Ali Shah – the ruler of the 'Ajam (non-Arab Persians) was determined to prepare a military force numbering some one hundred thousand men in order to engage in war against the 'Wahhābis' in within their own territories. Sulaimān Pāshā – the Viceroy of Baghdad likewise attempted to muster a fighting force which he himself would lead, however; the Persians became unexpectedly occupied with war against the Russians; whilst Sulaimān Pāshā became embroiled with the ongoing problems with the Kurds in his country. (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 131-132)

<sup>253</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 216-219 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 241-272 (abridged).

and deal with their spread and make an expedition into Najd and occupy Ad-Dir'iyyah.<sup>254</sup>

'Ali Kakhyā who had been Sulaimān Pāshā's deputy was officially endorsed by the Ottoman State as Pāshā of 'Iraq along with a list of priorities, the most important of which being to strike the Saudi State. The rulers of Ad-Dir'iyyah were aware of the change of authority in Baghdad and the subsequent appointment of the new Pāshā who had previously attempted to launch an attack on Ad-Dir'iyyah but had failed in 1213H (1798CE) resulting in his request for a truce from Amīr Sa'ūd. The latter was perceptive to the personality of 'Ali Kakhyā in that he did not possess the distinguished political or military characteristics which would render him worthy of his tenure which his predecessor Sulaimān Pāshā had displayed.<sup>255</sup>

Yet still Amīr Sa'ūd extended the hand of friendship, but the ensuing response and bad conduct led to the reason the Amīr entered 'Iraq in order to effect another expedition there. According to a report, Amīr Sa'ūd sent a representative to 'Ali Pāshā the new viceroy of Baghdad ensuring him of his eagerness to co-exist in peaceful harmony with him. 'Ali Pāshā received the representative with a degree of bad conduct and of a withdrawn nature and sent him back without a written reply telling him instead that he would 'be coming to Ad-Dir'iyyah to exact reckoning and punishment.'

When the representative returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah and informed Sa'ūd of what had taken place, Amīr Sa'ūd arrived soon after into 'Iraq to stimulate a challenge. He attacked the cities and many villages and killed and

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<sup>254</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 219 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 273.

<sup>255</sup> This demonstrated itself; for the duration of his rule was to last five years and was to be inhibited with disorder and turmoil convincing some under his rule to conspire and act against him citing his unworthiness to rule. From these individuals was the head of the Jasinaries Aḥmad Aghā who started a rebellion against him plundering the markets of Baghdad and setting alight another portion of them until 'Ali Pāshā after great pains was able to quell and so subdue the uprising. (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 277).

destroyed<sup>256</sup> and then returned. So the Viceroy of Baghdad wrote to him stating:

“Indeed you make war; then you plunder and flee, and this is the practice of the Bedouin Arabs and not the practice of the sovereigns. I will be coming to you myself to Ad-Dir’iyyah – the land of Musailamah Al-Kadhāb!”

So Amīr Sa’ūd replied to him stating:

“You say that we make war and then we flee... However; we stayed an entire month awaiting you and you did not come. You say also that I am an Arab; know then that the free Arab is better than the Mamluke (slave soldier) such as yourself who was purchased by Sulaimān Pāshā for three hundred coins. You say likewise that our land is the homeland of Musilamah, for your land was the centre of the worship of idols and its

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<sup>256</sup> This being the citation of Dr. Munīr Al-Ajlānī who reports this from Mānjān, however upon analysis the Arabic translation of Mānjān’s work it becomes apparent that on this expedition, apart from the calling off of the attack on Karbala; there were only two places in which killings took place during any form of confrontation, the first being when around five hundred Bedouins from the Al-Baṣrah district attempted to extort money from some of the Najdī tribes believing that Amīr Sa’ūd’s absence would be to their advantage in doing so. However before arriving home a dispute arose between these men after which two hundred of them took another route with the remainder proceeding straight into the direction of where Amīr Sa’ūd was camped; and as soon as his men saw them they set upon them and ended their threat. The second incident was when Amīr Sa’ūd arrived at the walls of Al-Baṣrah; his men destroyed some of its locations and they moved on to the walls of the city however the city’s populace were stricken with terror and so did not come out to fight. Upon seeing that no one wanted to confront him Amīr Sa’ūd retreated and when at a distance some of the city’s inhabitants came out and found around fifty Saudis still in their gardens and so killed them all except for two whom they sent to ‘Ali Pāshā in Baghdad as a token of their so called victory. However, one of the Shaikhs of the Bedouin was able to convince the local leader of pardoning them and so they were released and returned home. ‘Ali Pāshā summoned the leader of the village and promptly beheaded him. After this the Pāshā sent the above mentioned correspondence to Amīr Sa’ūd. (See the Arabic translation of *Histoire de l’Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Aly* p. 321-322)

people used to worship the fire, however the earth is resided upon by the righteous and the evil-doer; and Allāh makes a reckoning of the servants and not of the land... And lastly...We await you – in order to defeat you just as we defeated you in Al-Aḥsā.”<sup>257</sup>

Meanwhile the new Viceroy was being commanded persistently by the Ottomans to confront and overcome the enemy; as the Turks were themselves forced to seek his assistance for as long as he remained in the office of Viceroy of Baghdad. Therefore in a letter to ‘Ali Pāshā the Sulṭān added an addendum stating:

“Indeed ‘Ali Pāshā has pledged to undertake this mobilization by way of Najd and Ad-Dir‘iyyah; and that the finance which he requires has been sent in the form of a policy/certificate of insurance sent by way of the English. It should be kept in mind that it is not permissible for him to delay or languish, nor should he look at the hardship and difficulty involved; and that he gives precedence to setting off from Baghdad. If he is unable to set off, then the Sublime State will be compelled to seek out another way to undertake this imperative matter.”<sup>258</sup>

For fear of reprisal ‘Ali Pāshā hastened to write a number of memorandums to the Sulṭān stating his inability to undertake such a mission into Najd due to a number of factors.

He was familiar with warfare against the Saudis; and so knew the high risks involved as well as the difficulties to be encountered when embarking such a task. He stated several issues, from them was:

1. That there was no benefit in sending a small detachment to Najd in order to capture Ad-Dir‘iyyah – since this had no benefit.

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<sup>257</sup> *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 3 p. 42 and *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah* p. 276-277. The full and lengthier version of this letter can be found in *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 9 p. 264-289.

<sup>258</sup> As is found in a document at the directorate-general for the archives of the head of the council of ministers in Istanbul as document number 3782, from the Viceroy of Baghdad ‘Ali Pāshā to the Sulṭān dated 19<sup>th</sup> of *Rajab* 1218H. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah* p. 279)

2. The nature of this war required a vast army disciplined and regimented for desert warfare.
3. The issue of transporting water and a sustaining supply lines to the region for the troops was no easy affair in the vast sandy deserts.
4. The government of Baghdad could not overcome these issues and undertake this by itself – except if the Ottoman government came out to help them.

The Ottomans – who until this time had no idea to which degree the Saudis had increased in strength would not accept the excuses presented by ‘Ali Pāshā. Instead they became incensed whilst submitting a final order to the Pāshā that he follows the orders of the Sulṭān and prepares an expedition to Najd and takes control of Ad-Dir‘iyyah. As it had succeeded in taking the *Haramain* out of Ottoman control and so ended Ottoman sovereignty in Al-Ḥijāz. It had also come at a time when ongoing Saudi incursions left ‘Ali Pāshā in a more defensive state of affairs as opposed to any offensive and direct assault strategy against the Saudis.

‘Ali Pāshā had no choice but to follow the orders and began the preparation of an expedition knowing that any expedition going to Najd was doomed to fail. What confirmed this is the fact that his expedition failed to even enter Najd, instead being impeded at the border of Jabal Shammar.<sup>259</sup>

Regarding this incident Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan said:

“Then ‘Ali Kaykhā stood as Pāshā; and so started renewing the instrument of war once more. So he assembled what he could by way of plotting and reasons for justification – far greater than was at his disposal aforesaid. So when his pretexts were complete and ready and had gathered his troop; there remained for him nothing but to set out and make war upon the

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<sup>259</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 219-221 and *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah* p. 276-280.

Muslims; to seek vengeance from the people of this religion. Instead; Allāh caused two slaves that stayed with him to get the upper hand over him; killing him in the last part of the night. Thus that track became lost, all that support dispersed – for there has not arisen for them any prop to this time.

So look at this lesson, there is nothing clearer than it for the one that possesses the smallest amount of insight! So take heed O those that have sight. Where has the intellect gone of those that reject this religion and dispute it?"<sup>260</sup>

### The Death of Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz

Towards the end of the month of *Rajab* in the year 1218H (November 1803CE) whilst Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz was in prostration during the 'Asr prayer in the Masjid of At-Ṭuraif in Ad-Dir'iyyah; he was stabbed and subsequently died from his wounds a short while after. Historical accounts of the killing of the Imām are virtually identical as well as over the circumstance of the incident itself. As they all mention that he was killed whilst he was in the Masjid of At-Ṭuraif in Ad-Dir'iyyah whilst in prostration during the 'Asr prayer; this being in the final ten days of *Rajab* in the year 1218H. The killer had apparently launched himself forward from his position in the third row of the Masjid to the front row whereupon he stabbed him in his aorta or in his lower waist side with a dagger which he had concealed for this purpose. After he had stabbed the Imām; the people in the Masjid became confused and frenzied and did not know what had happened with people moving around with some moving forward to the source of the incident and some to the back. For when the Imām had been stabbed; he tumbled onto his brother 'Abdullah beside him, so he (the assassin) knelt down to stab him however 'Abdullah rose up and tackled him whereupon they both engaged in a fight during the course of which 'Abdullāh sustained a serious wound but still threw him to the ground and struck him with his sword upon which other people convened upon him and so they killed him – it is after this that the circumstances over what had transpired became clear to them.

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<sup>260</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 19

The Imām; was unconscious and close to death as the wound had been a deep one and so he was carried hastily up to his fort, however; he did not remain long – for after they ascended up to the fort with him he had already died – (رحمة الله).

At the time, Amīr Sa‘ūd was at his farm known as Mushairafah in Ad-Dir‘iyyah, so when the news of his father’s death reached him; he came in haste and the people began to gather and so he stood up and gave them a profound admonition and offered his condolences and then the people stood up and gave him the pledge of allegiance – the particular ones as well as the general people whilst they offered their condolences to him.

The true identity of the killer as well as the reasons for his assassination of the Imām have been differed upon with Ibn Bishr stating:

“He was Kurdish, from the people of Al-Amādiyah near Mosul who came to Ad-Dir‘iyyah in the guise of a fakir...”

Then as though in doubt of this first report Ibn Bishr goes on to mention:

“And it has been said that this fakir who killed Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz was from the people of the city of Al-Ḥussain; a filthy Rāfiḍite who left his native land for this purpose after Sa‘ūd had killed them therein and had taken their wealth. So he came to get his revenge and his intent was to kill Sa‘ūd – but he was unable to and so killed ‘Abdul-‘Azīz. This – and Allāh knows best is more suitable to the truth because the Kurds are not from the people of Rafḍ (Rāfiḍite ideology) nor do they have rancour in their hearts against the Muslims.”<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Şiddīq Ḥasan Khan mentions in *Tāj Al-Mukallal* how the killing may have been instigated by the Persian (Iranian) ruler out of revenge for the loss of Al-Qaṭīf and Baḥrain from his domains and then for the events at Karbala. Despite the suspected doubt over this claim by some historians such as Munīr Al-Ajlānī; there is an incident reported by the historian Mānjān which supports that which Şiddīq Ḥasan Khan professed. In this assertion Mānjān mentions that a note written in Persian was found in the killer’s hat after the incident in which is the encouragement of killing the Imām and of the promise of Paradise in doing so. The incident – if authentic indicates the possible Persian

Ibn Bishr and other than him mention how the killer had come to Ad-Dir'iyyah in the year 1217H and that he was a man from Baghdad claiming to be a migrant. He then manifested adherence to religious obedience and learnt something from the Qur'ān. At his arrival in Ad-Dir'iyyah he approached Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz telling him:

"I am a man from Baghdad and have heard of the *Da'wah* since ten years; however, I was unable to come to you; and now Alḥamdulillāh I have reached my purpose, therefore I give you a covenant upon this religion. After this I have no way of returning back to my people and family, rather this abode of yours is an abode of *Hijrah* and a residency for the believers; and you are all more esteemed to me than the whole of my people and my clan."

So Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz accepted that from him, since he had noticed his keenness in adhering to attending the prayer along with the congregation.

He would adhere to the Mosque and not leave it which gave grounds to suspicion by some of the people, so some of them proposed his banishment – however Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz refused and defended him on the basis of his not noticing from him anything that would warrant action against him. He (the Imām) would help him in some of his needs and would grant him finance and clothing, Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz also requested for someone to teach him the pillars of Islām and the conditions of the prayer and its pillars and its obligations. It appears as though during this time he used the name of 'Uthmān during his stay at Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to repel any doubt of his Shī'ah affiliations as the Shī'ah do not use that name. After some days and weeks after which he had immersed himself in worship and had been occupied with that and had earned the trust of the general people; he was then able to move freely as he wished. This was until he realised that his opportunity had come to carry out his purpose for which he had come – and so carried it out.

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involvement in the incident – and Allāh knows best. (See: *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 207).

There is also indication that the incident was encouraged by the Viceroy of Baghdad 'Ali Pāshā as is found in a letter in which the Pāshā stated to the Sulṭān:

“Indeed the killing was concluded due to the Saudi annexation of Al-Ḥijāz and to reacquire Makkah.”<sup>262</sup>

With this it becomes clear that the killing of Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz was an expression from the apparent negative relations between the Saudi State and the Ottomans. The process of the killing was determined due to the events which had transpired at Karbala which led to one of its fanatical residents to travel to Ad-Dir'iyyah, reside therein for a period in the appearance of a fakir. His purpose being to kill Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz out of revenge for what had happened at Karbala. Therefore the crime of the killing itself was carried out at the hands of the assassin; however it was also at the encouragement of the Viceroy of Baghdad 'Ali Pāshā, this is an undisputed issue since he mentioned in a letter he sent to the Sulṭān:

“I then set forth to encourage him and entertained him; and so when he was resolved and determined – upon this auspicious intent I offered to him a handsome reward and I was persistent upon that but he refused it. He sufficed for that which was enough for his expense along the journey.”<sup>263</sup>

In another letter 'Ali Pāshā is clear in his involvement in the killing of the Imām when he stated:

“Your servant is considered as the killer of the father of the enemy.”<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> As is found in the Ottoman decree archives at the Dārah Malik 'Abdul-'Azīz as document number 3/1-22, from 'Ali Pāshā to the Sulṭān dated 17<sup>th</sup> of *Sha'bān* 1218H. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 306)

<sup>263</sup> Ottoman decree archives at the Dārah Malik 'Abdul-'Azīz, document number 3/1-22, from 'Ali Pāshā to the Sulṭān dated 17<sup>th</sup> of *Sha'bān* 1218H. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 307)

<sup>264</sup> As is found in a document at the directorate-general for the archives of the head of the council of ministers in Istanbul as document number 3781, from 'Ali Pāshā to the Sulṭān dated 19<sup>th</sup> of *Dhil-Qa'dah* 1219H. (See also: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 307)

Meaning: Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz – due to that which he harboured against him by way of enmity. These letters and others known to have been written by him on the topic<sup>265</sup> make the Pāshā's involvement in the killing clear, as the factors for enmity, dislike and a need for revenge were also present with him due to his defeats in all of the battles he undertook against the Saudis.<sup>266</sup>

With Imām Sa'ūd now in overall authority of the Saudi State; Saudi raids into 'Iraq continued frequently upon the villages and towns year after year. Az-Zubair and Al-Baṣrah would likewise be targeted; the western side of the Euphrates was under threat of attack from them which lead many of its residents to flee deeper into 'Iraq. This in itself became a further cause of anxiety to the government of Baghdad. As the attacks on the western side of the Euphrates continued, the Saudis in doing so closed in on Baghdad itself on some occasions. They had callers within 'Iraq that were calling the people to the correct belief and the avoidance of *Shirk* – this too annoyed the government. The 'Iraqis also feared the Persians from the east who were pushing them further west, however; it is evident that the overwhelmed administration of Baghdad could do nothing to stop the Saudis.

As the years passed so the incursions continued, the Saudis had made advances on the territories in 'Iraq and on one occasion in an expedition led by Amīr 'Abdullāh they came in the vicinity of Baghdad threatening it directly. The fear the 'Iraqis had of attacks continued until the year 1226H (1811CE) when the forces of Muḥammad 'Ali landed after which the Saudis became preoccupied with them and thus ceased their expeditions into 'Iraqi territory.

The failures of the 'Iraqis had confirmed to the Ottoman Sulṭān that they were not the appropriate force to repress and subdue the Saudis and end their dominion. This subsequently led them to turn their attention to the

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<sup>265</sup> Such as the lengthier correspondence as is found in Lam' Ash-Shihāb p. 103 in which there is more detail over the incident, despite its apparent error in dating the event at 1219H.

<sup>266</sup> *Ta'riḫ Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 2 p. 205-209 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah* p. 301-308

region of Ash-Shām; and the Viceroy of Damascus in order to fulfil that which the Viceroy of Baghdad could not.<sup>267</sup>

## Ash-Shām and the Turco-Syrian Endeavour

The problem between the Saudis and the Viceroy of Damascus in conjunction with the Ottoman Sultān began in 1221H (1806CE). This was when the Viceroy of Damascus, 'Abdullāh Pāshā Al-'Aẓam (Amīr of the Ḥajj caravan for that year) was prohibited from reaching the *Ḥaramain*. Together with the fact that the Viceroy of Damascus could not voice his objection to the Saudis regarding what had happened.

'Abdullāh Al-'Aẓam intended to fight the Saudis; however some of the Ottoman officials that had accompanied him counselled him not to enter into confrontation with them and to return to Ash-Shām. This was done after they had given him the promise that they would write to the Sultān informing him of what had happened. However the then Sultān Salīm issued a decree for the dismissal of 'Abdullāh Al-'Aẓam from his position, citing his lack of standing up to the Saudis and instead returning back with the pilgrims on the basis of what Sa'ūd bin 'Abdul-'Azīz ordered him with – who had now made it apparent that the affairs of the *Ḥaramain* were in his hands alone and not in the those of the Ottoman Sultān.

Saudi influence continued to spread into Ash-Shām with callers to the Salafī *Da'wah* present in some of the villages and towns. Many of the pilgrims of Ash-Shām did indeed perform the Ḥajj unhindered.

The authority in Damascus after 'Abdullāh Pāshā Al-'Aẓam was issued to Yusuf Pāshā Kanj, the new Viceroy was being inundated with strict orders from the Ottoman Sultān to commence war against the Saudis. On the contrary, he did nothing against the Saudis; and instead pocketed all of the finance for himself. Instead he settled to reply to the Sultān with letters of war strategy and appropriate routes in order to bring a conclusion to the Saudis along with the governments of Baghdad and Egypt helping him in order to fulfil this request. After this he began appealing to the Ottomans

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<sup>267</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 221-222

to delay the expedition at the time due to his claim that he was waiting for some equipment which were necessary for the expedition.

At the time that Yusuf Kanj was procrastinating with the Sultān, Amīr Sa'ūd led out an expedition towards Ash-Shām reaching Ḥaurān taking the possessions and farm land of Al-Mezerib and Baṣrah. Many of the residents fled in the face of the Saudi approach, the citadel of Al-Mezerib which was on the important Ḥajj route was besieged but was called off after it was not possible to storm. The Saudis returned to Baṣrah and waited there at the gates of Ash-Shām and Palestine. Meanwhile Sa'ūd wrote to the Viceroy of Ash-Shām extending the call to *Tawḥīd*, however – with little effect.

The Saudis left Ash-Shām after this, taking with them a great deal of riches whilst the Shāmī forces despite scrambling to fight them, could not stop their advance.

The new Ottoman Sultān; Maḥmūd II recognized that Yusuf Kanj was not the correct individual who was hoped would put an end to Saudi activity and return the *Ḥaramain*, and was no better than the Pāshā of Baghdad in that they had both evidently failed to secure their own borders. As a consequence, a decree was given to dismiss the procrastinating Viceroy as well as seizing his assets.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> This is the same Vizier that had previously been encouraging Muḥammad 'Ali to make war against the 'Wahhābis'. He congratulated the Pāshā on his massacre of the Mamlukes of Egypt saying how the Porte was 'amazed – truly amazed with the venerated service which you undertook when you suppressed the fitnah of the Amīrs of Cairo (the Mamlukes).' Regarding the orders of the Porte in fighting the Saudis saying:

“My eyes had hardly laid sight on the lines which contained these orders that I felt enormous delight; such that I conceived, and felt immense happiness...”

Regarding the Saudis themselves saying:

“...they took over the respected two Holy Ḥaramain and spread corruption therein and began commencing vile acts of ferocity...” “So you will aid the Sublime Porte which desires endless existence. You shall strive hard with your effort in, fighting those Wahhābi Khawārij in the path of removing them from

Rulership of Ash-Shām was instead issued to the Mamluke Sulaimān Pāshā who was asked to establish contact with Muḥammad ‘Ali Pāshā – Viceroy of Egypt in order to combine their efforts together to resolve the Saudi issue. However; due to a particular problem between the two Viceroys – the lack of eagerness for co-operation between them was evident; as a result the Ottoman State turned its attention entirely on the Viceroy of Egypt.<sup>269</sup>

The establishment of Saudi control over Al-Ḥijāz and the Ḥaramain as well as its being under the authority of the Imām of Ad-Dir‘iyyah gave rise to the Ottomans of the ‘dangers’ posed by the reform movement.

For it saw the loss of the Ḥaramain from its realms as a very great blow. Since with that there was the absence of the claim which it had till this time enjoyed over the Islamic world through its Sharīfs – and was such that some of its ‘Caliphs’ kept it as an honorific title for themselves as: the custodian of the two holy mosques.

Thus they began to pay great attention to the issue of a strategy against Saudi rule and the reacquisition of the Holy Cities back into their territory. Even though its armies could not set off for this undertaking, the Porte instead relied for that purpose upon its governors of ‘Iraq and Ash-Shām and finally Egypt.<sup>270</sup>

The Ḥajj caravans of Egypt, Ash-Shām, ‘Iraq and Istanbul were being refused entry in Al-Ḥijāz due to the Saudis having seen manifestations that were present within these caravans; and so being from those things that

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the land of the Ḥaramain Ash-Sharīfain...” continuing: “we shall unite together our forces between us through our approval, and agreeing on a designated place – early on. We shall strike the enemy with one strike simultaneously...”

(See the full text of the letter in *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 374-382).

<sup>269</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 227-230

<sup>270</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 161

opposed the teachings of the religion<sup>271</sup> and did not agree with the principles of the Salafī *Da'wah*.<sup>272</sup>

Along with that these '*Mahāmil*' were accompanied by a military detachment which concerned the Saudis, thus not permitting these caravans from reaching the holy places.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan mentions:

"As for the Turkish Egyptian states; then Allāh made them as a trial for the Muslims when they (the Muslims) turned away the caravans of Ash-Shām for the *Ḥajj*. This was due to reasons pertaining to affairs that they would carry out at the *Ḥajj* stations (shrines used for ceremonies during the *Ḥajj*). So it was requested from them that they stop doing these things; and that they should establish the prayer in congregation. But they did not do that. So Sa'ūd (رحمة الله) turned them away out of religiousness. Thus the Turkish state became angered by this, in consequence there arose from them affairs which if mentioned would become lengthy due to their amount; and there is no benefit in their mention." (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 26)

<sup>272</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

"The scandalous conduct of many hadjys who polluted the sacred cities with their infamous lusts; the open license which the chiefs of the caravans gave to debauchery, and all the vices which follow in the train of pride and selfishness; the numerous acts of treachery and fraud perpetrated by the Turks, were all held up by the Wahabys as specimens of the general character of unreformed Muselmans; and presented a sad contrast to the purity of morals and manners to which they themselves aspired, and to the humility with which the pilgrim is bound to approach the holy Ka'aba." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 111)

<sup>273</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

"Although the hadj caravans were now interrupted, great numbers of pilgrims flocked every year to Mekka from all parts of the Turkish Empire. They came by sea to Djidda, and no orders were ever given by Saoud to prevent them from going on to Mekka. These pilgrims of course were obliged to comply with all the Wahaby precepts; but those who conducted themselves accordingly, and with decency, experienced no harsh treatment. I knew in 1810, at Aleppo, a native of that town, who informed me that he had for the last six years annually performed the pilgrimage by way of Cairo and Cosseir, without any molestation." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 204-205)

Due to this the people of Al-Ḥijāz made some material losses in addition to the cutting off of the Ottoman finance they would receive by way of endowment having been an Ottoman province.<sup>274</sup>

The Ottoman state was irritated by the expanse of the Saudis; and that which added to their irritation was the proclamation of the Saudis of the cessation of Ottoman sovereignty over the two Ḥarams. This was along with their onset upon the States of 'Iraq and Ash-Shām, as well as their preventing the Ḥajj Maḥmal. Adding to their anxieties was the failure of the States of 'Iraq and Ash-Shām in bringing a conclusion to Saudi domination.

So the state was eager to see its sovereignty return over the two Ḥarams along with a return to their awe in the Islamic world. It therefore saw the inevitable choice of seeking help from the Viceroy of Egypt: Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā.<sup>275</sup> To carry out that which both the Viceroy of Baghdad and the Viceroy of Damascus had ultimately failed in.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> The financial support and investment into the Holy Cities of Makkah and Madīnah and for their respective Sharifs, Amīrs, notables and poor folk prior to this period had been contributed largely by the Ottoman Sultāns from Istanbul. The caravan carrying the traditional funds or purse for the Holy Cities would leave Istanbul on the twelfth of the month of *Rajab* every year destined for Al-Ḥijāz. The trustee of the purse would be overall incharge in seeing to its safe arrival in Al-Ḥijāz within a limited duration. (See: *Al-Mu'jam Al-Mawsū'ī lil Muṣṭalahāt Al-'Uthmāniyyah At-Ta'rikiyyah* p. 144)

<sup>275</sup> He was Muḥammad 'Ali bin Ibrahīm Aghā 'Pāshā' better known as Muḥammad 'Ali Al-Kabīr the founder of the last sovereignty of Egypt, he was born in 1182/1183H (1769CE) in the Aegean seaport of Kavalla in Macedonia. He worked as a tax collector and an extensive tobacco merchant whilst becoming an officer in an Albanian regiment which the Ottoman's sent to Egypt in 1799 in order to repulse the invasion of Napoleon. The French occupation had destabilized Egypt; their defeat and withdrawal left the country vulnerable to an internal political struggle which was won by Muḥammad 'Ali who gained power over the Mamlukes who had been Egypt's traditional rulers. He was a young officer who had been sent to evacuate the French to restore the Empire's authority in what had formerly been an Ottoman province, but effectively took control by establishing a local power base of village leaders, clerics, and wealthy merchants in Cairo. The Porte officially recognized him as 'Pāshā' and 'Walī' (Governor) of Egypt. However, in

## The Turco-Egyptian Alliance and the First Period of War

Sources indicate that the first proposition for the task came from the Ottoman Sulṭān, Muṣṭafā IV to Muḥammad 'Ali in order to carry out this task, this was in the year 1222H or 1807CE. However, Muḥammad 'Ali responded to the Sulṭān excusing himself for not being able to carry it out as a result of an economic decline which had befallen his country as a result of the recent floods which were now receding, together with the

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demonstrating his grander ambitions he claimed for himself the higher title of 'Khedive' (Persian for Lord) as did some of his successors, thus he was appointed Viceroy of Egypt by the Ottoman Sulṭān. His legacy and character was one of: deception, betrayal and ousting – even upon his close friends. The historian Al-Jabartī said regarding him: “The double-dealer and hypocrite the cheat, the liar, he who would take false oaths, the oppressor having no commitment and no safeguard. He conceals evil and utilizes tyranny and injustice at the same time that he deems justice in that.” As for the *Shuyūkh* that supported him and promoted him to the nation until they helped him attain rule; then he diffused discord between them causing some to attack at others until corruption became predominant between them. In 1226H (1811CE) he famously massacred the Mamlukes who had helped him to power after having worn down their power with raids and skirmishes by inviting their Beys (Amīrs) to a banquet at the citadel in celebration of the departure of his first military expedition to Arabia. Once they had entered, the gates behind them were locked whereupon his soldiers opened fire from the ramparts above on the guests killing over four hundred. Thus he broke their power and consolidated his own. Although Muḥammad 'Ali was nominally a representative of the Ottoman Sulṭān he was for all intents and purposes an absolute ruler. Throughout his reign, however, he always kept up the pretence of being a loyal representative of the Ottoman Caliph. Though in reality the writ of the Porte no longer extended to Egypt after Muḥammad 'Ali had seized power. He was an ambitious expansionist; his armies at times extended his power over Syria, Sudan, Greece and the Arabian Peninsula until by 1839 he controlled a large portion of the Ottoman Empire. He died after suffering insanity and severe paranoia towards the end of his life in the year 1265H (1849CE) although it has been said this occurred due to his being administered silver nitrate to treat his dysentery. (See also: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh* p. 77)

<sup>276</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 305

Mamlukes who had seized Upper Egypt and the European States viewing Egypt as their object of desire.

When the Ottoman Sulṭān was repetitive in his proposition to Muḥammad 'Ali for undertaking this 'Good Beneficial Act' he sought to coerce him in that a conclusion or resolution over 'outsiders' (foreigner invaders) will not come about except 'at his own hands.' Muḥammad 'Ali feared the possibility of being replaced by a rival on behalf of the State. He then sent a message to the Sulṭān with justifications along with what was mentioned before by stating that his military strength was insufficient in his being able to carry out this 'Good Beneficial Act' and bringing a conclusion to the Saudis whose dominion had now covered most of the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>277</sup>

When Muḥammad 'Ali saw that all his efforts at the time with the Ottomans came to no avail; he began the preparation of armed forces of both land and sea.<sup>278</sup> He also began to adhere to visiting the preparations taking place at the dockyards of Cairo and Suez of the ships which were to carry the armed forces by sea. An unprecedented amount of ship building and labour work was put into effect; and as such an effective fleet of ships were constructed and readied in preparation for the coming expeditions. Due to the bad state his country was in, he sent requests to the Ottomans for large amounts of financial aid. This was along with a request for

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<sup>277</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 307

<sup>278</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

"The principle duty imposed on him by orders of the Porte was to attempt the reconquest of the Holy Cities. He was aware that to disobey these orders would be punished with removal from the government; and the Porte, to stimulate his exertions, promised him the Pāshālik of Damascus for one of his sons, as soon as he should obtain possession of Mekka and Medinah; his own ambition also made that object highly desirable, as the deliverance of the Holy Cities would exalt him far above all other Pāshās of the Turkish empire, and add such celebrity to his name that the Porte might never afterwards be induced to oppose his interests." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 218-219)

cannons and other essentials<sup>279</sup> to be readied for his ships which were docking at Suez.

The Ottoman rulers saw that Muḥammad 'Ali was bargaining with them and so ignored his requests and sent him nothing other than a few cannon. Strangely, Muḥammad 'Ali prepared his expedition even though he did not receive the essentials he had requested instead seeking help from some of the wealthy traders of Cairo.<sup>280</sup>

A possible reason for the lack of receiving any major resource from the Porte was that the Pāshā was initially deemed equal to any other provincial Pāshā to be found within the Ottoman Empire at the time, and would have continued to be considered as such if it were not for major reforms conducted in Egypt under the Pāshā. As such from the onset the Pāshā seized upon the difficulties the ailing Empire was faced with both internally and externally by aiding the Porte in various campaigns and so increasing his influence within its Empire with the view of extending his own dominion. The sheer extent of the Pāshā's military campaigns during his rule were afforded and financed through the restructuring of Egypt's administrative, economic and military systems allowing him to further Egypt's capabilities in expansions.<sup>281</sup> This was indentified early on by the

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<sup>279</sup> In a letter to the Ottoman Turks Muḥammad 'Ali stated: "if the aforementioned necessities were not available except from other than Turkey; and it were possible for me to acquire them; then I would sell my own children and purchase these necessities." (See: *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 311)

<sup>280</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 306-311.

<sup>281</sup> The Pāshā was financing these expeditions using the most repressive of measures; his country was clearly in no suitable state to finance such an undertaking; however the Pāshā imposed a series of extreme measures upon his own people in order to fund his multitude of military expeditions. Some of the contemporaries of the time illustrate how such objectives were financed, in particular those which the Pāshā conducted later on.

The Scottish Peer Alexander Lindsay mentioned in notes regarding his travels through Egypt concerning the Pāshā's financial systems: "He has made a great deal of Egypt considered as his private property, but at the expense of the people, who are fewer in number, and those few far more miserable than they were before his time. And how could it be otherwise? He has drained the country of all the working men. He pressed them as sailors, soldiers, workmen,

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etc and nobody can be sure of his own security for a day. His system appears to be infamous, and the change which has taken place in the general appearance of the country within a few years, is said to be extraordinary. Everywhere the land is falling out of cultivation; villages are deserted, houses falling to ruin, and the people disappearing. He taxes all the means of industry, and of its improvement; and then taxes the product. Irrigation is the great means of cultivation and fertility; he therefore charges fifteen dollars' tax upon every Persian wheel; and as the people can find a way of avoiding it by manual labour raising the water in a very curious way by the pole and bucket, he lays a tax of seven dollars and a half even on that simple contrivance.

He then, in the character of universal land-proprietor in his dominions, orders what crop shall be sown, herein consulting his own interest solely, in direct opposition to that of his people. He settles the price of the crop, at which the cultivator is obliged to sell it to him, for he can sell it to no one else; and if he wishes to keep any himself, he is obliged to buy it back from government at the new rate, which the Pāshā has fixed for its sale – of course many per cents dearer than when he bought it. Numberless are his little tricks for saving money; e.g. when he has to receive money, it has always to be paid in advance; taxes particularly he collects always just before the plague breaks out; so that though the people die, he has their money. In paying the troops and others, it is vice versa; he pays after date, and gains also upon their deaths..." (The Dublin University Magazine A literary and Political Journal (July to December 1838) vol 12 p. 569)

The British orientalist and lexicographer Edward William Lane mentioned:

"The revenue of the Basha of Egypt is generally said to amount to three million of pound sterling. Nearly half arises from the direct taxes on land, and from indirect exactions from the fellaheen: the remainder, principally from the custom-taxes, various productions of the land; by which sale, the government, in most instances, obtains a profit of more than fifty per cent. The present Basha has increased his revenue to this amount by most oppressive measures. He has dispossessed of their lands almost all the private proprietors throughout Egypt, allotting to each, as a partial compensation, a pension for the life, proportioned to the extent and quality of the land which belonged to him. The farmer has, therefore, nothing to leave to his children but his hut, and perhaps a few cattle and some small savings."

E.W. Lane went on to say after stating that the above figures had changed by the year 1842 due largely to the Western powers having imposed militarily curbs upon Egypt:

Porte who in order to keep this important vassal pinned under their domination; directed the Pāshā with key military assignments beginning with the campaign against the Najdīs. The Pāshās subsequent intent for expansion within Ottoman domains and the Porte's attempts at re-directing his campaigns at their behest and to drain his military capabilities to their own advantage were inevitably to lead to hostilities between them - as history was to testify.

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“Great changes are now being made in various departments; and as the Basha has no longer to maintain an enormous military and naval force, he will be able to ameliorate very considerably the condition of the people whom he governs. Most of the evils of which the people of Egypt have hitherto had to complain have arisen from the vast expense incurred in war, from the conscription, and from the dishonesty of almost all the Basha's civil officers.”  
(See: *Manners and Customs of The Modern Egyptians* p. 117 and p. 119)

صورتی و مکتوبات از بلاد خراسان

۱۲۰۱

علامه الشیخ احمد حنفی

سویں اسکھنچ انشا و الیم اقامہ مشتعل الیدیم سفیرہ مقتضی طوب و بیکال مقولہ ہا تقدیر نقض الہفله  
 دیرکن مقولہ مقدما تا مارا غاخرن حامل اولدین عریفہ مزہ ضدج ایدہ ہورقم مجموع مقتضیات سفایزکا  
 برقعہ دفتر تنظیم و تہریر بلہ قبکھ از اقدی مولیٰ نب لربیل بینہ ویش الہفله بختون منظومہ کبازہ  
 جہیز اولانہ عنایت دولت علیہ اولور ایسہ فم اجاسہ یوق عیقا وقت دولت علیہ اولد فیدہ عنایت جہیزہ مار  
 کینہ فقیہانہ بہاری ویرلک اوزدہ قبکھ از نب لک معرفتہ مجاہدہ کورینا اولانہ عت و معرفتہ جہیزہ  
 سفایہ مذکورہ یہ شوریہ لازم بودہ لازم جہیزہ کبازہ سفایزکا ختاضدہ آتہ و تون وادوات  
 سائک لک وضو و تزیینہ المذرق کجالتقا و در عقبہ عاکروز خاری و ہرماہ بطالضج جہیزہ و نیویج اسکھ لربہ  
 لکھ لکرا بونج لربہ ہر برا غوتی اید کبکہ اشتباہ ہوییدہ نیازند اولدیم طوب و عت و ساز اولت سفایز  
 عنایت یا خود مباہتہ اولانہ عت بیولہ منتظر نب لک مدر

الوثيقة ۱۹۵۱ التورکیة

An image of a letter sent by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha to the Sultan in Istanbul in which he informs him of his preparations to finance and gather the ships needed for his expedition to Arabia.

It is here that the Ottomans were about to undertake one of the biggest errors and misjudgements of their empires entire history, the consequences of which would have serious implications on the Empire. In taking the Imaam of Ad-Dir'iyyah as a foe and the Pāshā of Egypt as an ally, the Ottomans commenced an injudicious episode in their history which only hastened their own undoing.

In utilising Muḥammad 'Ali the Ottomans had made a catastrophic error, one which was to become manifest later once the Porte was to witness that the Pāshā was to become greatly emboldened and his position yet further strengthened after his 'service' to them. For ever since the Pāshā had seized power the Porte had viewed him with suspicion. His policies of building a military power base drilled and modelled on Western military patterns caused yet further concern to the Porte who were aware of Egypt's vast potential as part of their dominion. However; they were forced to accept that this vassal was ruled by a non Egyptian Pāshā who was keen to strengthen himself militarily. It therefore served in the interests of the Porte to throw the ruler of this vassal against their 'enemy' in Najd at a time when their client rulers in other vassals had failed in the task, and in doing so had badly underestimated the possible outcomes of such an unwise move both religiously and politically.

The Ottoman assertion that they had lost sovereignty over the Holy Cities and hence a loss of esteem in the Muslim world was a frail justification for declaring war upon a people whose military strength was weaker than their own but whose ideology rested upon the true tenets of the religion that they themselves claimed to be adhering to - and alleged to be championing.

The Najdī's had never been a threat to the Ottomans or to any other ruling power at the time had those powers understood the basis of their call and observed carefully the message they were propagating. It was in the interest of all the rulers and governors of the time to aid the call which had emanated from Najd - for in it lay their own success and prosperity. It would have done for them what it had done for the people of Najd and Arabia who had adhered to it by their being guided aright and finding rectitude and being granted prosperity and having their rule strengthened and established yet further through divine aid and victory.

But this was not to be, and by way of Allāh's Knowledge and Wisdom that which was pre-destined was to occur. Muḥammad 'Ali was to become a far greater threat to the Ottoman Empire itself than even the Western Powers who all had aspirations of their own in the ailing Empire. Accordingly, within decades the Pāshā would be poised to attack the Ottoman capital Istanbul itself after defeating them at two previous encounters. It was at the intervention of the Western Powers of Britain, France and Russia that the Porte was able to strike a deal, and so avert – for a few decades longer the total collapse of their Empire.

How ironic then; that of all of the Ottoman territories of the time with their respective provincial rulers and their varying loyalties and military capabilities, the territory set to pose the greatest threat to the Ottoman Sulṭān and his territories was to appear from the territory upon whom they had deputized the task of warfare against the people of Najd. An irony of the furthest; that the deterioration and eventual cessation of the Ottomans was to be sealed and concluded after having weakened each other in the Turco-Egyptian Wars, and today they cease to be and are no more – as is the case with the progeny of Muḥammad 'Ali. Whilst their 'foe' – whom they assumed they had utterly uprooted and destroyed, this being the people of *Tawḥīd* from Najd and its protectorates are ruled by the same progeny who were fought against by them and uphold the same tenets they were fought against for upholding. Regardless of their enemies' military strength, numbers, alliances and cunning stratagems – It is the people of *Tawḥīd* who endured and were granted honour and steadfastness – just as Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb had said.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> This being in his words to Amīr Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd at the onset of their alliance when he said:

“And I give you the glad tidings of honour and steadfastness – and it is the *kalimah* that none has the right to be worshipped except Allāh. For whosoever holds onto it; and aids it – will reign the country and the servants. It is the *kalimah* of *At-Tawḥīd*, the first thing that the Messengers called to; from the first of them to the last of them.”

- Note that the fundamentals of Shaikh-ul-Islām's call from the very beginning were based completely upon the same fundamentals of that which the

Preparation in Egypt continued for the coming expedition, the numbers of soldiers for the expedition reached eight thousand, consisting of five thousand mercenaries along with artillery. They were to travel by sea on the ships which had been built locally as well as in those that had been leased. They set off in two expeditions: The first, began its journey in the month of *Rajab* 1226H (early August 1811CE). The second: began its journey in the month of *Sha'bān* 1226H (late August 1811CE). These consisted of sixty-three ships.

As for the cavalry whose numbers had reached three thousand – some of whom were Bedouin; then they had made the journey by land from 'Aqaba to Yenbo' headed by Muḥammad 'Ali's son Ṭūsūn Pāshā – who was in general command of the expedition. Muḥammad 'Ali had known that this was a war in which his enemy was not made of one force but many, along with the fact that theirs was to be considered a jihād in the path of Allāh, based on the spread of their 'Aqīdah. Therefore, Muḥammad 'Ali had added to the expedition the 'Muftī of the four Madhabs' to counter this.

The expeditions reached the harbours of Yenbo' and Muwailiḥ – at the time in the hands of the Juhainah tribe under the control of the Saudis, capturing both towns with no real hindrance. Due partly to the ill effects of the declining Ḥijāzī economy which had hit its towns such as the people on the Ḥā'il route in the north due to the traditional 'Maḥmal' that once came through which had for so many years now become interrupted. This had played into the hands of the invader, for these were from the major reasons why little resistance was put up on the first landing of these expeditions in Al-Ḥijāz. Gifts and money were distributed along with local tribes being asked to write to other tribes asking for their collaboration and allegiance as well as their disassociation from the Saudis, the tactic worked with many tribes. Ṭūsūn's first aim was to re-capture Madīnah; however he suffered a great defeat on his way by 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd<sup>283</sup> –

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Prophets called to. Refer then to the books of Shaikh-ul-Islām; and in particular Kitāb ut *Tawḥīd*, its content is testimony unto itself.

<sup>283</sup> He was: The Imām 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd. The fourth of the Saudi Imāms and the last of them from the First Saudi State. He came to rule after the death of his father in 1229H (1814CE). His

the Imām's son and future Imām and Sa'ūd bin Midyān. This was in a defile/pass at Wadī Ṣafrā which is barren and surrounded by rocky landscape. The Saudis managed to gain a height advantage over them on the hilly rocks on either side of the Wadī – something the Saudis always adhered to in fighting – that of gaining advantage of higher ground. So they were able to defeat the force of Ṭūsūn which had become overtaken in fright and so began the retreat and escape towards Yenbo' for those that remained alive from them. This battle cost Ṭūsūn much of his equipment and military supplies and most of his army.<sup>284</sup> When he returned to Yenbo'

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father had relied upon him during his lifetime and had entrusted him with some of the most difficult tasks. He was one possessing a good background and would implement the Islamic legislation. He was one who commanded with good and forbade all evils. He was known for speaking little and possessed a fine manner. He was generous when he would bestow upon others and was proficient in the management of military expeditions – just as he was valiant on the battlefield. During his father's rule, much of the Arabian Peninsula came under Saudi rule; and so reached the zenith of the First Saudi state - he was sent on many expeditions and at one such expedition managed to close in on Baghdad which was in direct threat of him. He was defeated after the eight-month siege of Ad-Dir'iyyah in 1233H (September 1818CE) after which he was sent to Cairo and then to Istanbul along with others. (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muhaddith Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh* p. 213-214)

<sup>284</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“In this defile, which extends lengthways about one hour and a half, the Turkish army was at once assailed by the united force of the tribe of Harb. After some skirmishing, the Turks believing that they had obtained the advantage were induced to pursue the Arabs into the very middle of that pass; when on a sudden, the mountains, on both sides, were thickly covered with the Wahaby troops, who had arrived the day before from Najd, and of whom the Turks had not the slightest information. The Wahabys were commanded by 'Abdullah and Faysal, the sons of Saoud, and their number amounted to twenty thousand infantry and camel-riders, and from six to eight hundred horsemen... On the first cry of alarm, however, the Turkish infantry fell back, and the cavalry, ordered to cover their retreat, soon joined in the flight; while their nimble enemies, pressing them from behind, and outrunning them along the mountainside poured in-cessant volleys on them...The Wahabys were, for a short time, engaged in seizing the baggage of the army, and this circumstance caused them to slacken their pursuit; and when the Turks had regained the open space beyond the entrance of the defile, their cavalry rallied, and in some degree protected the others.

he found three thousand of them there after having fled. So he sent a request to his father asking to be re-supplied and reinforced.<sup>285</sup>

The incident is detailed by Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh who said:

“The Muslims had gathered in the land, and they dug an entrenchment at the deep end of the Wadī and then they all entered it, so that the trench was full of the Muslims that had come from Najd. Whilst 'Uthmān (bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān) and those that were with him from the people of Ḥijāz were on the mountain above the trench. So when the soldiers descended, their horses failed them and thus did they come to know that there was no path to the Muslims (due to the trench). So they took to firing at them with artillery. Yet Allāh safeguarded the harm of that colossal artillery fire upon the Muslims; if they directed their volleys higher it would just pass over and not harm. Yet if they aimed at low level it would explode in the sandy ground in front. For this is a lesson – and that is: that the mightiest of plots they had with them then Allāh annulled it in an instance. Then they went towards 'Uthmān and those that were with him on the mountain, so he bid his time to let them approach and come near. Whereupon he opened fire on them in a fusillade after having calculated them. He did not fall short towards them when they came close, for their rifles made no mistake, thus did they inflict fatality upon the soldiery in a sweeping death. This too is a lesson, since the soldiers that had come to them were more in number than they themselves – many times over and each of them possessed a pistol and gunlocks. They didn't so much as afflict a single man from the Muslims – whilst the killing went on amongst their own selves. This is also a great lesson; all this was happening – as I was witnessing it...

Then when it was around noon the next day, I looked to see two men approaching, they then scaled the mountain. We didn't hear their rifles go

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Had the Wahabys eagerly pushed forward over the mountains, the whole body of Turks would have been annihilated: they contended themselves however, with taking all the Turkish baggage, four field pieces, almost every one of their camels, and much booty. About twelve hundred were killed on that day.” (Abridged from: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 230-232)

<sup>285</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 311-315

off except that Allāh shattered that banner of theirs – and all the while we were watching. So defeat set in within the entire army and in consequence they fled leaving behind them horses and their discarded items left in their places. They took to the route that they had come from to be chased by the Muslims who would kill and dispossess them. All this occurred whilst we were watching those horses of theirs that were neighing, directionless.

At this point there appeared a cavalry detachment alongside the trench along with some infantrymen. But instead this detachment took flight and fled – being pursued by the horses of the Muslims that were riding in their tracks. However; stocks and provision bags are not what is important; look at this great victory from The True Deity, The Lord of the servants in that Allāh vanquished that great army with two men. This is the third precept but where are those that take heed?<sup>286</sup>

Later in the year 1227H (1812CE), the reinforcements arrived from Egypt and Ṭūsūn made his base at Badr (Badr Al-Ḥunayn) where he re-organized his army.

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<sup>286</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 26-28



The historian Al-Jabartī mentioned the state of affairs of this armed force which made war upon the Salafī *Da'wah*, along with the state of them when they encamped at Badr. For his citation is an account from a historian of that time; and he reports here what he had heard from one of the major participants of this war.

Al-Jabartī (رحمة الله) said: “Some of the senior-ranking ones from those that claim uprightness and prudence said:

‘From where do we expect victory?! Whilst most of our soldiers are upon other than the religion (creed). For there are amongst them those that do not have belief in any religion, nor do they assume a madhab. Whilst we were accompanied with crates of intoxicating liquor and no *adhān* was to be heard in our ranks. Nor was the obligatory prayer established, neither did the importance of the religious duties occur to them — or even cross their mind.

Yet the people; (The Salafī's) — if the time for prayer entered then the *Mu'adhin* would call the *adhān*. Then they would arrange the rows behind a single Imām with concentration and humility. So if the time was almost over; and the war was still raging; then the *Mu'adhin* would call the *adhān*, and they would pray *Ṣalātul khawf* (the prayer of fear).

So a group would come forward to face the war whilst the other would stay back in order to pray. So our soldiers would be in amazement of that — since they had never heard of that — let alone witness it.

They would call amongst their fighters with:

‘Forward! To the war against the *mushrikīn*, those that shave their beards, those that make fornication and homosexuality and the drinking of alcohol allowable, those that abandon the prayers, those that consume interest, those that kill themselves and make lawful what was prohibited.’

They came across many of the dead from amongst the enemy and discovered that they were uncircumcised.<sup>287</sup>

For when they reached 'Badr', and captured it and the other villages and the valleys between the mountains – and there were found in them from the best of the people as well as the people of knowledge and the righteous – they then plundered them. They took their women and their daughters and their children taking also their books, they would rape their families, they would sell some of them to others saying: 'they are *kuffār* (disbelievers) – *Al-Khawārij* (renegades)'.<sup>288</sup> Some of the righteous ones

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<sup>287</sup> Note the condition of this legion who in the writings of many of the misguided *Ṣūfī* and other deviant sects until this very day are considered heroic 'liberators' of the two Holy Cities of Islām! Note also that these appalling descriptions are coming from their own ranks and associates thus exposing their disgraceful state of affairs from their own eye witness accounts. This should come as no surprise since the *Pāshā* had sent the most undesirable of his military detachments to the region to rid himself of their threat – largely his Albanian and *Arnaut* troops who were causing him a great deal of trouble in Cairo. Is it any wonder then that after their re-occupation of *Al-Hijāz* the region was blighted again by people committing *Shirk*, misguided innovations gaining manifestation along with sinfulness, and other forbidden acts with the added predicament of fear and banditry on the routes and highways in the region.

<sup>288</sup> Shaikh *Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān* refutes this matter; that of Shaikh *ul Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil Wahhāb* having been the *Imām* of the *Khawārij* in his time; and that he and his group made *khurūj* (rebellion) against the Ottoman State. The Shaikh (*ḥafīzahullāh*) said:

"The *Imām* came and made association with one of the *Amīrs* making manifest to him his *Da'wah*. So the *Amīr* assisted him upon conviction and true faith. They made an alliance upon that and so as a result the reign spread over the whole of *Najd*. All entered under a single *Imām*, before this they were divided with no single *Imām* for them. So he (ﷺ) strove to establish a single State under a single *Imām* after the splitting and differing – so that is the opposite of rebellion against the *Imām*. If they say that he rebelled against the Turkish State, then this is false. Since the Turkish State had no rule/command upon the *Najdī* regions, rather *Najd* was governed and was in the hands of its own people. The Turkish State had no ambitions for it; they therefore left it in the hands of its own people, with each town having its own *Amīr*. So when the

from the people of Badr sought back their wives from some of the soldiers; in reply they would say 'let her stay with me the night; then I'll give her back to you tomorrow!'"<sup>289</sup>

After this Tūsūn advanced towards Wadī Ṣafrā and was able to capture it. In the same year help arrived from the tribes of Ḥarb and Juhainah, they made their way to Madīnah after an arduous journey due to the difficulty of the way as well as the severity of the heat which caused detriment to his army compelling them to travel in the night and rest in the day. On reaching Madīnah they laid siege to it which went on for a considerable time. During the course of it they were able to open a breach in its fortified walls from some explosives they had set off. The defenders were perturbed by this and it resulted in the surrender of the city<sup>290</sup> which had been made

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Da'wah of the Shaikh came, the land became unified and there was for them an Imām. The rulings of *jāhilliyyah* with which the Arabs and the Bedouin used to rule by were eliminated, replaced by the rulings of the *Sharī'ah* in the deserts and cities. So all praise is for Allāh, a State was composed possessing all the values of an Islamic State." (See: *Al-Ijābāt al-Muhimmah* vol 2 p. 71)

Shaikh Muqbil bin Hādī (رحمته الله) said: "We ask our brothers: that did Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb rebel against the Turks? Or was it that the Turks were the ones that sought to break into Najd so as to adjoin it to their own administration. Then after that the Turks became occupied in killing the Yemenis and killing the Najdīs and neglected and lost seven Republics which were acquired by the Communists. From them were Armenia and the Caucasus and Turkīstan and so on. Thus towards the end of its circumstance the Turkish Empire was built upon ignorance and corruption." (See: *Al-Muṣāra'ah* p. 403-404)

<sup>289</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Jabartī* p. 823

<sup>290</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

"While the Wahabys were engaged in their midday prayers, part of the wall was blown up... The Wahabys surprised, fled towards the castle: about one thousand of them were butchered in the streets; the whole town was plundered... About fifteen hundred Wahabys sought refuge in the castle, which the Turks were unable to take, not having proper battering artillery... After three weeks, their provisions being exhausted, the Wahabys capitulated, on the promise of Ahmed Bonaparte to grant them safe-conduct: he also agreed that they should carry off unmolested all their baggage; and that the camels should be provided for those who wished to return to Nedjd. When the

easy due to the lengthy siege which had caused sicknesses to prevail within the city as well as the food and water supplies having been cut off.<sup>291</sup>

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garrison marched out from the castle, they found but fifty camels, instead of three hundred, that had been promised for their conveyance. Thus they were obliged to leave behind the greatest part of their baggage, carrying on their own backs whatever was most valuable; but they had no sooner left the precincts of the town, then the Turkish soldiers pursued, stripped, and killed as many of them as they could reach; a few escaped, besides those who were mounted on camels.

The treacherous behaviour of the Turks at Medinah was an unwise measure, as they were contending with an enemy celebrated for the most scrupulous observance of good faith, in executing the promises of safe-conduct once given. It disgusted all the Bedouins; and with other transactions of a similar nature, which I shall hereafter notice, branded the name of Turk with infamy throughout Hedjaz. Ahmed Bonaparte, in the true style of a vandal, collected the skulls of all the Wahabys killed at Medinah, and constructed with them a kind of tower, on the high road to Yenbo. He stationed a guard near it: not withstanding which, the Arabs, and even the people of Medinah, succeeded in removing, from time to time, most of these ghastly memorials; and when I arrived at Medinah in 1815, very few of them remained.” (Abridged from: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 240-243)

Compare then this Turco-Egyptian capture of the city with the way the city was captured by the Saudis some years before as described by Al-Jabartī in the events as he stated on the fifteenth of *Rajab* 1220H or the ninth of October 1805CE wherein ‘news has reached that the Wahhābis have occupied Al-Madīnah Al-Munowwarah after laying siege to it for around a year and a half without any warfare occurring. Rather they encircled it and cut off the imports (goods) from it and so the dry measure of wheat reached one hundred riyals within it. So when the constriction became severe upon them they surrendered it. Thus the Wahhābis entered and did not carry out anything within it other than to prohibit the evils and the smoking of tobacco in the markets and demolishing the domes – except for the dome of the Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم).’ (See: *Ta’rīkh Al-Jabartī* p. 648)

<sup>291</sup> Ṭūsūn sent the ‘glad tidings’ of the capture of Madīnah along with three thousand severed ears from the dead enemy and the keys to the *Ḥaram*. The capture was the cause of great jubilation throughout the regions of the Ottoman Empire. Ibn Bishr mentions that ‘the treachery of Sharīf Ghālib in

The Saudis thereafter made no effort to re-take Al-Madīnah, nor did they focus their efforts on re-asserting their authority in the region.

Next was the capture of Makkah in which Ṭūsūn sent his naval force to Jeddah whilst sending Sharīf Ghālib there to allow the force to enter after negotiations despite the Sharīf having renewed his pledge with the Saudis the same year during the *Hajj* season. In *Muḥarram* 1228H (January 1813CE) his forces quickly entered Jeddah by land and sea without any bloodshed and began making their way to Makkah. A reconnaissance force was sent out which reached Makkah with the help of Sharīf Ghālib and the Bedouin and it entered and took the city with a small fight which had taken place.<sup>292</sup>

The Saudis prepared two great armies to face the Egyptians. One was led by Sa'ūd himself whilst the second was led by Faiṣal bin Sa'ūd. The first army met the Egyptians at Al-Ḥenakiyyah where they defeated them. The defeated Egyptian force was sent off to 'Iraq under the escort of the Amīr of Jabal Shammar. Then Sa'ūd set about reprimanding the Bedouin tribes that helped the Egyptian forces in. His activities in the area came close to bringing them to Madīnah – which perturbed the Egyptians.

The second army under Faiṣal met the forces of Ṭūsūn at Turbah which were under the command of Mustafā Bek and Sharīf Rājih, this force suffered great losses. This led Ṭūsūn to send a message to his father informing him of the loss of his force at Turbah<sup>293</sup> and his lack of knowledge of what had happened to the force at Al-Ḥenakiyyah.

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supporting the Egyptians was from the greatest of reasons for its surrender.' (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 318)

<sup>292</sup> The Egyptian victories in Ḥijāz led to a change in tactics by the Saudis which were to persuade the forces of Ṭūsūn further in-land towards the deserts and Wadīs. This would allow them to be at a distance from their bases and making their supply lines longer which would make it easier for them to fight as the Saudis saw that these forces were incapable of success in the desert in which they themselves commanded supremacy as they could endure its hardships of hunger and thirst as well as the terrain being better suited to them. (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 320)

<sup>293</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

To add to the losses of the Egyptians they were further afflicted with illnesses which had begun to take hold in the ranks of his soldiers.<sup>294</sup> This was as a result of poor hygiene as well as their having never before been accustomed to the harsh conditions of the desert. Therefore Ṭūsūn settled for gathering the rest of his force together and awaiting reinforcements from his father. A treaty was drawn up and agreed upon between the two sides as the Egyptians had achieved what they had set out for; which was to recover the two Holy Cities from the Saudis.

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“Tousoun was dispatched from Tayf with two thousand men to take possession of Taraba. When Tousoun marched from Tayf, he took with him provisions for thirty days of which he consumed the greater part... On arrival before Taraba, he had but three days’ allowance of provisions remaining. The troops were immediately ordered to attack the place; but the Arabs defended their walls with spirit...Tousoun commanded a second attack to be made on the next day but his troops openly refused... stating that in case of a second repulse, they should all perish from famine. They thus induced him to change the order for attack into one for a retreat towards Tayf. The Bedouins, aware of his embarrassing situation, as soon as he began to retreat, issued from the town, pressed closely upon his soldiers, gained the passes through which his road lay, and harassed them so severely, that at last the Turks commenced a running fight, and abandoned their baggage, tents, guns, and provisions... Upwards of seven hundred men were killed in this retreat; many died from mere want of water... After four days of considerable hardship, and many hair-breadth scapes, Tousoun Pāshā arrived with the remains of his army from Taraba at Tayf.” (Abridged from: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 270-272)

<sup>294</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“The repeated victories gained by the enemy, and the certain death that awaited all Turkish prisoners, rendered the very name of Wahaby a terror among the Pāshā’s troops. The pay which in Egypt sufficed for a soldier’s comfort, scarcely enabled him in Hedjaz to keep himself from starvation. Many sold their fire-arms and clothes, to relieve which, Mohammed Aly never troubled himself. A Turkish soldier is at all times a volunteer, and may retire from the service whenever he pleases; but in Hedjaz they found themselves treated as prisoners. Many left their quarters at Tayf and Mekka, and came privately to Djidda, hoping that they might escape on board some vessel. When detected, they were marched back, in chains, to headquarters; and I myself met once on the road from Djidda to Mekka, above thirty of them, fastened together by their arms to a long rope; an ignominy which those haughty Osmanlys (Ottomans) could never forget.” (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 280-282)

Meanwhile Muḥammad 'Ali had written to the Ottomans informing them of his impending plans to send out another force as well as writing to Ṭūsūn telling him of his plans. He wrote to the heads of his military forces encouraging them with firmness and *Taqwā* until his impending arrival saying:

“Be firm therefore as true men and know that after I have sent out land and sea expeditions I shall personally be arriving in Ḥijāz to assess your efforts. So be as one hand and pray your five daily prayers. Your station is one of rectification and seeking forgiveness. May Allāh cause you to become successful and plant your feet firmly.”<sup>295</sup>

The Sultān had meanwhile written to the Pāshā reminding him of his promise to travel to Al-Ḥijāz himself and administrate military affairs personally against the Najdīs. Until this time, affairs in Egypt had been unfavourable for the Pāshā to be absent from. However the Pāshā himself desired to travel regardless of the Sultān's encouragement. Since his presence there would venerate the conquests and their grandeur in his favour as well as increase his standing in the Muslim world. As his name would be associated with the victories and the reconquest instead of the Ottoman Sultān affiliating those victories to himself. Likewise, the prospect of his soldiers being encouraged and emboldened by his arrival and presence amongst them, therefore he set sail for Al-Ḥijāz in 1228H (1813CE).

Upon his arrival, the Pāshā was met at the port of Jeddah by Sharīf Ghālib who had hastily arrived at having been notified of the Pāshā's arrival and boarded his vessel in order to meet him. The two men met graciously and ensured each other of their commitment toward cooperation and aiding the cause they were embroiled in. The Pāshā spent his initial days in Makkah engaged in worship and sitting with the scholars and so would make apparent piety and rectitude.<sup>296</sup> Just as he would spend much from charity and would honour the scholars and men of knowledge and would

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<sup>295</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 317-324

<sup>296</sup> This is according to Burckhardt as mentioned in *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 3 p. 134.

see to the preservation of the *Haram* and in general would be seen often within the *Haram*. After assessment of the immense military losses and their impact upon the entire expedition the Pāshā saw that he needed to raise local revenue in order to pay for the ongoing campaign. He decided to initiate this plan whilst at the same time to begin what he saw necessary, which was to seize Sharīf Ghālib himself. The Sharīf would visit the Pāshā often to begin with, but then the visitations declined to a point that distance began to arise between the two men, the reason being due to revenue.

The customs at the port of Jeddah was the source of a great deal of income for the authorities due to trade and above all; the Ḥajj and 'Umrah traffic which passed through, it had been under the supervision of the Sharīf and so approximately half the revenue generated would go to the Sharīf. With the Pāshā's arrival and subsequent ascendancy of overall government affairs this revenue ceased reaching the Sharīf who complained of his affair to the Pāshā. The Pāshā reassured him verbally but did nothing to change the situation or to see to his request. Then the Pāshā requested from the Sharīf that he orders the tribal Arabs to hand over the camels in their possession to be bought into the service that his campaign was in need of. So the Sharīf made seeming the execution of his request but did not carry it out – as though responding to the Pāshā with a salutation of its like. Such did the conduct of the two men take a turn and so the Pāshā continued harbouring his desire to seize upon the Sharīf and thus remove him from office replacing him with someone more submissive to his requirements.

The Pāshā likewise was unwilling to share power with someone who was a popular figure and had the backing of the local tribes and Arabs and who had now reached sour terms with himself. Therefore, under false pretences the Sharīf was lured into a ruse set up by the Pāshā and Ṭūsūn in order to arrest the Sharīf. Upon being informed that the Pāshā and Ṭūsūn had fallen out and that the Sharīf was sought to reconcile between the two, he arrived oblivious to any dangers and with but a few of his men and so took his seat in the guest chamber whereupon the Pāshā's soldiers unsheathed their swords and promptly placed him under arrest. His military detachments loyal to him were stationed at the Ajyād fortress overlooking the *Haram*; and were swiftly pacified under threat by the

Pāshā. After this the Sharīf and his household were hurriedly expelled firstly to Egypt and then on to Istanbul where the Sultān arranged for him along with his family to be expatriated yet again, this time to Salonik where he lived till the end of his life.<sup>297</sup>

The Pāshā was to justify his actions by stating:

“He is from the causes of the Wahhābi *Da'wah* becoming dangerously widespread. Since his remaining in office could cause the expedition to be unsuccessful and bring the affair to a swift conclusion.”<sup>298</sup>

It was once Muḥammad 'Ali had arrived at Jeddah in Ramaḍān 1228H (August 1813CE) that he came to realise the reality of the forces of Ṭūsūn and the situation they were embroiled in. So with all his efforts he began to restore security in the area and deal with the tribal disturbances. The Egyptian Ḥajj caravan had already arrived the previous year and now the Syrian caravan had arrived for the first time in a decade. Meanwhile he had contacted the Sultān of Muscat who was an enemy of the Saudis in order to lease twenty ships from him for the period of one year in order to help in the expedition. He likewise began paying monthly wages to the tribes in order to maintain security on the routes in Ḥijāz.<sup>299</sup>

The newly appointed Sharīf of Makkah who had been chosen by Muḥammad 'Ali began to fear that his own fate will be that of his predecessor. So after finding his opportunity of catching Muḥammad 'Ali off-guard he fled with his followers to side with the Saudis thus partaking in helping them in the fight against the forces of Muḥammad 'Ali.<sup>300</sup> Many tribes were affected at the sight of this which caused detriment to the forces of Muḥammad 'Ali.

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<sup>297</sup> Abridged from *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 3 p. 135-140.

<sup>298</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 324

<sup>299</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 317-324

<sup>300</sup> This Sharīf is identified by the author of *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* (p. 325) as Sharīf Rājih, this incident is rarely cited in historical sources and his mention is seldom to be found, though it was Sharīf Yahyā bin Surūr who was commonly associated with having been appointed as Sharīf of Makkah after Sharīf Ghālib – and Allāh Knows best.

He then set off to Makkah in order to perform the Ḥajj<sup>301</sup> whilst at the same time sending his son Ṭūsūn at the head of an army of infantrymen and cavalry to meet the army of Sa'ūd.

Ṭūsūn's force was badly defeated at the hands of the Saudis forcing him to retreat back to Ṭā'if. The Saudis pursued him but Ṭūsūn took their chance of seizing his supplies and equipment by ordering the tents to be burned rather than let them fall into enemy hands.

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<sup>301</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“In November 1813, the pilgrimage was performed with great pomp. Soleyman, Pāshā of Damascus, had come with the Syrian caravan through the Desert without any obstacle; but the Bedouins, through whose territories his road lay, obliged him to pay the passage tribute for the whole space of ten years, during which there had been a suspension of the Syrian Hadj to Hedjaz.”  
(See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 273)

المحرم سنة ثمان فوجرت امره باليه وامله وادخله من قول له وامله فتوسل اليك باسطن انى الاقتار  
 وتفرغ اليك بانه مستكبه به الخمر وتبطل اليك بالادعية لمفوعة في ساعات الاجابه المستمرة في ساعات  
 الاجابه ان يمد دولة من باسطن انى... واسطة محمد ال عثمان وياشروا العدل والامان وتقمع بسيف  
 عدالة دبر من معتدى وتزيد زوايا الذين شرب آرائهم جرم من المتع غير بسيل الهدى وتوسل اليك ان تكرم  
 منايك الراسية وبما يملك الرحمانية بشفرة انقام القام المالى غير الزوايا العالى فقال الدولة العثمانية  
 كال الصورة المتناقضة مدبر اعظم الملك مقررا ولسج المسالك صاحب العز والسعادة وساحب دين  
 الحمد والسيادة في الخضراء والاحسان والخيالات الحسن الواثق بالله الكرم الله عز وجل من زناهم غير ادم الله  
 اجوله واقبال وبلغه في الدين امله اهوى ومجد فلما كان الظلم بغير الارواح عند خدر قنصل  
 الاشياى استنفاة في اداء الواجب عن ان السيلر وايداع في الطريق من التنا ما يتعطر بنشرة النسيم  
 ثم الذي يجهل به حكم الكرم وقبحكم السلام اناسكان الوادى الموصوف بان غيرة زرق وجيران النار  
 للعرف باند لا يدرب غيرة وليس لنا من واجب المعاش وكما سب الوتعاش الا ما نعلم به علينا  
 سلطان الاسلام ووجه لنا باهوا الكرم من مملوكة جده وسائر المبرات وما وظف على الروافض اعداء  
 الدين الواصلين اليك في كرمين الذين لا يختلف اثنان من العلماء وذو الفان في اباحة دما نهم وصل  
 وقايم وموالعهم لمرارهم على كثير من انواع الرفضا كنفوا كباي شائفة عنهم وعليهم مقرر القوم  
 القهوا سب الشينين الجليلين المقضين الكرمين الموجب لوردا بلونزاع المبيع للدم والمال باليها  
 وحيث اخفوا ذلك واظهره والاسلام مكفى من الوصول الى بلدا منه الحرام على ان يبذل كل واحد منهم شيئا  
 من الختام بعد انشاء كثير من العلماء بعل ذلك واذن السلطان المتقدمين بما هنالك فلما ان اقتضت  
 انصار الدولة العلية الاكون ان برا على مكة السنية لوزالت امنة تحية ووصل بذلك الفرمان العظيم  
 والرسوم الكرم المذبل بالتجيز والتعليق وقرى على رؤس الاشهاد بين كرمات وباد ونطق باقى  
 حوى من مكارم الدولة العاقرة وسمازم العاطرة على ما كان عليه اباذ من قادة البدو امين مع عطاء  
 الدولة من السلطانيين طلبت ما هو المعتاد على طائفة الروافض الواصلين اليها المعاندين لستين  
 يدع الواصلين من حفرة الدولة العلية على نفقة الخدم والاتباع والساكنة لدية الجهاد الحربية حيث  
 انه لو كان في سنة وسواه المذكور اذ حصة وثلاثين الفا على عهد الشهور منعت من ذلك اعظم الامتناع  
 وفوقه في سنة النزاع من يعرف مقدم حفرة والذنا المذكور محمد على باشا والاتباع الذين ابقاهم في المنابر  
 حين رجع الى مصر الحروسه وليست معارضته في خصوص هذه المادة بل في كل شاة وفوازه حتى لم ينفذ  
 في مكة شين من انصام كما يعلل من الخفاة والعام وصرت فيها كاحاد الوعية لاستطيع دفع مظالم احد  
 ولا زرية وايضا ما يصل من الدولة لهذه الجهات من معالم حال مكة والصدقات يفرقونه ويسير  
 به الطلوع ولذا على يصل تحقيقه ويحصل له لزه الضياع مع ان فرقات الدولة الواصلة في كل عام  
 تشتمن تعويض اسرة لك الراج الضفافة الكرم فلا يلبث تتون الرافض ولا يعملون بما تضمنه ظاهرها  
 وخافسها فالجهدون مكارم اخلاقك السنة وشما لك المرضية رفع ذلك في الدولة العلية بلقلم  
 من سعادة الرافضين كل انسية ووصول فرقات خاص يتغن اجراء ما كان على ما فان وعدم معارفتنا في الاحام  
 الموافقة لشريعة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وجماعة الروافض وكل معد وللصعابة وباعض  
 والمضيقه على اسان خادنا عامل المكتوب ونحن ليس لنا من نرفق اليه الشكوى ونثبت ما نجد من اللوز  
 ونرجو له فوكل كسب وتزيد الى معالي دهرهم العلية والامر مشوط بالادوار العلية والاحكام النافذة  
 الماضية والى كذا في بيت الله المذموم بين الركن والمقام والمشاعر العظام بدوام الدولة القيام السادة  
 وساعة القيام وكما وصل اليه غير طرفة والدو حبه وجب وما على المكتوب الشرف من سائر الخفاة  
 عربون سنة في الهجرة الحرام ختام شهر 1230

1959E - A



An image of a letter from the year 1230H sent by Sharif Yahya bin Surur of Makkah to the Ottoman Minister Muhammad 'Anbar in which he complains of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha's policy of control over the finances and political authority at his detriment. In this letter he asks the Minister to raise his plight to the Sulṭān himself.

A second force had been sent out by Muḥammad 'Ali under Zaim Oghlu to the southern regions to capture the town of Qunfudhah. It consisted of forty ships carrying soldiers as well as infantrymen who had come by land. The town's defenders numbered five hundred, so the Egyptians laid siege to the town and bombarded it. The town fell to the Egyptians; however, its wells were at a distance and were in Saudi hands.

Ṭāmī Shu'aib who was commanding the Saudi force in the region had heard of the fall of the town, so proceeded in its direction with his men whereupon there ensued fierce fighting between the two forces. The Egyptians turned in panic and began the retreat not before the Saudis had killed five hundred of them and captured their tents and equipment and food storage. Upon capturing the tents, the Saudis stumbled across the commander of the force, putting him to death before pursuing the fleeing soldiers. The retreating soldiers fled to the harbour in order to embark the ships and evacuate the area.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“A naval expedition was fitted out at Jeddah, accompanied by fifteen hundred foot-soldiers, and numerous transports loaded with provisions. Hosseyh Aga and Saym Oglu were entrusted with the command of this force. They proceeded to Gonfode, a sea-port, seven days southward of Jeddah... Gonfode where Tamy (Ṭāmī) kept only a small garrison, was taken in March 1814, without bloodshed; but most of the inhabitants fled... Gonfode was sufficiently defended by a wall to resist an enemy who wanted guns, like the Wahabys; but it has no water within its precincts, and the wells which supply it are three hours distant near the mountains. Fortifications should have been constructed about these wells and the road from them to the town of Gonfode protected by a line of towers or batteries, as the Turks had abundance of artillery with them; but similar precautions never occur to the stupid and improvident mind of an Osmanly (Ottoman) chief. One hundred and fifty Arnauts were placed near the wells of Gonfode. After the Turks remained at Gonfode about one month, perfectly inactive, they were surprised early in May by a corps of from eight to ten thousand Wahabys, under the personal command of Tamy. The Arnauts were first attacked. Some of them fought bravely till night; the others fled towards the town and spread a general consternation. Without attempting resistance from within the walls, the panic stricken commander and most of his troops ran towards the ships that lay in the harbour, while the Wahabys

Not being put off by these reverses Muḥammad 'Ali began making pledges with the local tribes so that they would not deflect and take side with the enemy. He even went to these regions in order to ensure their loyalty so as to keep the area from falling under Saudi influence.<sup>303</sup>

It was at this stage that in 1229H (1814CE) Imām Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz passed away in Ad-Dir'iyyah, he was considered from the great Imāms of the First Saudi State and under his leadership the state had reached its zenith. Ibn Bishr mentions regarding him: "He was one who was vigilant, having the farthest aspiration. Allāh made easy for him the awe his enemies had for him as well as the modesty of his subjects as was not seen by anyone. He had a complete understanding of the *Tafsīr* of the Qur'ān..." Shaikh Rāshid bin 'Ali Al-Ḥanbalī mentions: "He took reign of Najd and the military which exceeded four hundred thousand individuals, what consisted of riders and footmen. He subjugated the Arabian Peninsula and even attempted to resist the Sovereigns of the *dunya*..."<sup>304</sup>

After the death of Sa'ūd, his son 'Abdullāh had become Imām and had now to confront the threats which were facing the State.

In the meantime; having seen the dangers in the southern regions Muḥammad 'Ali sent a very large force under 'Ābidīn Bek in order to take Wādī Zahrān – which separated Yemen from Ḥijāz. Ṭāmī Shu'aib who was in charge of the Saudi force there was at a fortress in the area, the Egyptian force managed to encircle the fortress and laid siege to it. Except that the Saudis managed to lift the siege and raise the offensive against the enemy who yet again took flight in face of the force which had come out of

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entered the town and killed numbers of soldiers and servants belonging to the Turkish army, who could not save themselves in boats and who were not able to swim. Many were actually slain in the water close to the vessels by the Wahabys who swam after them; and the Turkish commander was no sooner safe on board ship himself, than he ordered the sails be hoisted, and abandoned to certain death all those who could not escape by sea." (Abridged from: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 274-277)

<sup>303</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 324-326

<sup>304</sup> *'Aqīdah Ash-Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb As-Salafīyyah* vol 2 p. 852-853

the fortress. The usual spoils of tents and provisions were seized off the fleeing enemy. However, the Saudis went in pursuit of them as far as Ṭā'if where the wretched Egyptian force had sought refuge.<sup>305</sup>

The Saudis laid siege around where they had sought refuge, however the unwary Ṭūsūn was himself at Ṭā'if and so had become caught in the siege. Muḥammad 'Ali who was in Jeddah was informed whereupon he set out to lift the blockade that his forces had now come under. Muḥammad 'Ali went with twenty men close to the siege, whilst there his men managed to capture a Saudi fighter. After interrogating him of the Saudi force laying siege Muḥammad 'Ali agreed to release him if he carried a letter to his son Ṭūsūn. The fighter agreed and took the letter in which it was said:

“I am on my way to you, so wait and we shall come to meet you at the top of the mountain.”

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<sup>305</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“About this time, the affairs of the Turks assumed a favourable aspect... Hopes were entertained that the Pāshā might be enabled to conduct in person some grand enterprise against the enemy; when another defeat still further humbled the pride of the Turks, which, notwithstanding their cowardice and their failures in war, they had never relinquished... With the usual negligence of the Turkish commanders, no entrenchments were thrown up, no advanced posts nor sentinels placed towards the enemy; whose general was thus enabled, at the head of his own, and several allied tribes, and a strong detachment of infantry from Tamy (Ṭāmī) to surprise the Turks. Bakhroudj, early one morning in September, fell upon the sleeping Arnauts, who scarcely waited to fire one shot, but abandoned their camp, and all that it contained. Some little resistance was made by a few hundred soldiers from Romelia, under Mahou Beg, the Pāshā's most active chief in Hedjaz; but they could not long contend against the overwhelming force of the Wahabys; and the whole army owed its escape from destruction to a corps of cavalry commanded by a Syrian chief, named Hoseyn Bey, who covered their retreat, in which Bakhroudj pursued them during two days. The Turks once more lost all their tents, artillery, baggage, and provisions: eight hundred Turkish foot-soldiers and eighty horse-men were killed... The last defeat had a very depressing effect on the spirits of the troops. 'Abdin Bey had hitherto enjoyed the highest reputation for skill and courage, and his troops were certainly the best of the whole army.” (Abridged from: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 300-303)

The fighter gave the letter to the Saudi forces who were tricked into thinking that a great force was on its way to lift the blockade and so they would be caught between the two forces. So the Saudis lifted the blockade thus having let Muḥammad 'Ali shrewdly lift the siege.

Muḥammad 'Ali accompanied his son to Makkah and from there he proceeded to Jeddah where he set about instructing his army for the following three months in preparation for the impending battles to take place.

During his stay in Hijāz and after his observations of his enemy, Muḥammad 'Ali had come to understand the method of fighting that the Saudis relied on in warfare; and their constant occupations of higher ground and their control of warfare from above their enemy. He also came to recognize the weaknesses of their horsemen as well as a lack of formidable artillery and fire power at their disposal. This was all confirmed to him by the eyes of the native Bedouin. These deficiencies were indeed the prime military flaws in the Saudi forces. So Muḥammad 'Ali began to analyse how best to take advantages of these flaws and began by firstly disseminating his forces widespread so as to give illusion to his enemy of the greatness of their number.

In the year 1230H (1815CE), Muḥammad 'Ali was drilling his forces in preparation for the coming battles, his observations of his enemy as well as his organisation of his forces was about to pay off. For he came with his forces to Bisal where the Turco-Egyptian force met the Saudis under the command of Faiṣal bin Sa'ūd. Although many Egyptians were killed, the Saudis suffered heavy losses, this unsettled the Saudis much.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“They (the Saudis) occupied a strong position in the very centre of the Turkish lines. When the Pāshā's cavalry approached, they remained upon their mountains, and repulsed an attack made on a valley, where Mohammed Aly wished to plant one of his field-pieces. The whole of Thursday was consumed in several fruitless attempts made by the Turkish cavalry... The Turks began to despair of success, while the Wahabys entertained sanguine hopes of

From here he captured Baysha<sup>307</sup> which was considered the key to Yemen on the northeastern side. Then he went on to Wādī 'Asīr despite the hardships his hard pressed men faced. Their food supplies had depleted which caused them to have to rely on a diet of just dates. Then in Wādī Zahrān he defeated the Saudis who were under the leadership of Ṭāmī Shu'aib whom he captured and sent to Cairo.<sup>308</sup>

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weakening the enemy by repeated defeats, and finally destroying them. Fearing such a result, several Turkish soldiers, as well as Bedouins in the Pāshā's service, deserted the army and hastened back to Mekka... Mohammed Aly Pāshā had clearly seen, during the skirmishes on Thursday, that he could have no chance of success as long as the enemy remained upon the mountain; he likewise knew, that if unsuccessful on the following day, his career both in Hedjaz and in Egypt would probably close forever... He then assembled his officers, and commanded them to advance with their columns closer to the position of the Wahabys than they had done before, and, after firing off the guns, to retreat in seeming disorder. This was accordingly executed. The Wahabys seeing the moment for completely crushing them had arrived; they left their strong-hold on the mountain side, and pursued the flying Turks over the plain. All happened as the Pāshā had expected. When he thought the enemy sufficiently distant from the mountains, he rallied his cavalry, faced the pursuers and the battle was soon decided in his favour... Messengers were immediately dispatched to Constantinople and Cairo with intelligence of the victory. The three hundred prisoners, to whom quarter had been promised, were sent by Mohammed Aly to Mekka. In the true style of a Turkish conqueror, he celebrated his triumph by causing fifty of them to be impaled before the gates of Mekka; twelve to suffer a like horrible death at every one of the ten coffee-houses, halting places between Mekka and Djidda; and the rest before the Mekka gate of Djidda: there they were left until the dogs and vultures devoured their carcasses. If the Turks delighted in this disgusting and atrocious act, which they styled a martial triumph, all the Bedouins, their allies, expressed aloud the utmost indignation." (Abridged from: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 313-323)

<sup>307</sup> According to Burckhardt, this too was captured by deceitfulness; some of the people defending here were given the promise of safe conduct by the Turks if they surrendered. After accepting the terms given to them they were murdered upon leaving. (See: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 325-326)

<sup>308</sup> From here he was transferred to Istanbul where he was instantly beheaded upon his arrival. This was as Burckhardt mentions: "In violation of the solemn promise made by Mohammed Aly. Tamy, when he arrived in Cairo, was loaded with an immense chain about his neck, placed upon a camel, and then paraded

Then he captured Qunfudhah which they were unable to capture before. With that he had driven out the Saudis from the southern regions of 'Asīr and Tihāmah. Whereupon he returned to Makkah knowing that he had dealt with that which was a direct threat to his work in Ḥijāz.<sup>309</sup>

Later in the year 1230H Muḥammad 'Ali embarked a ship bound for Egypt for fear of domestic trouble back home which he felt he was in need of attending to. Meanwhile his son, Ṭūsūn had been somewhat successful in the northern regions and had daringly arrived at Ar-Rass – situated between Madīnah and Ad-Dir'iyyah. He had managed to reach an agreement with the locals of Ar-Rass as well as Al-Khobra in Al-Qaṣīm to surrender without any fighting taking place; after which he entered Ar-Rass. This he did just before the Saudi forces had arrived not far in Ar-Rawayḍah – at a close distance from Ar-Rass under Imām 'Abdullāh himself. So the Egyptians came out from Ar-Rass and went in his direction whereupon both sides began a bombardment of each other without getting too close. Here Imām 'Abdullāh found out that Ṭūsūn and some of his forces were in Ad-Dāth – a known well close to Ar-Rass. So he turned to head in its direction. Upon nearing it he found out that they had left Ad-Dāth in the direction of Ar-Rass. He was also informed that some of the Egyptians had arrived at a well called Al-Ba'jā not far from Al-Busayrī intent on reaching Ar-Rass. So the Imām went in its direction to find that they had fortified themselves in its fortress. The Imām massed his forces outside the fortress and laid siege to it whereupon they were able to open a wide breach in its walls. The Imāms men entered the fortress and put to death all one hundred and ten men that were inside – many of them were from the heads of the army.

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through the streets with the head of Bakhroudj in a bag suspended from his shoulders.” (See: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 334) he says of him during his capture: Tamy's conduct inspired the whole army with respect. The Pāshā often conversed with him for amusement, as the tiger plays with his prey before he seizes it in his grasp; but Tamy's dignified behaviour subdued the ferocity even of this Turk, and he promised to write in his favour, and procure him permission from the Sulṭān to live in retirement in the mountains of Romelia.” (See: Notes on the Bedouins vol 2 p. 333)

<sup>309</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 326-329

Next Ṭūsūn was intent upon entering 'Unayzah, upon hearing of this the Imām set off for 'Unayzah himself whose Amīr he knew. He spent several days there during the course of which he sent out detachments that attacked the caves in which Ṭūsūn's men were located; this caused a great deal of hardship upon the Egyptian force. The force retreated to Ar-Rass followed by the Imām who camped at a well between 'Unayzah and Ar-Rass. The Imām laid siege to Ṭūsūn and his force making regular attacks upon them which caused severe difficulty for Ṭūsūn who by now feared the possible bad outcome of this situation.

For the fact is that Ṭūsūn had made a mistake which he had now come to see. His position had been a feeble one ever since he had entered the region. For he had come out with limited resources and had his supply line cut off behind him in Ḥijāz by having come out so far. His father – who had known of this, had been encouraging him to make a truce – which Ṭūsūn now knew he had to make due to the dire situation he was facing. So he sent some men out with a letter from himself seeking an end to the fighting and to make a truce. The Imām accepted this and so an agreement was drawn between the two sides.<sup>310</sup>

On the first of *Sha'bān* of this year, Ṭūsūn and his forces evacuated Ar-Rass in the direction of Al-Madīnah. The Imām sent letters containing the

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<sup>310</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said: "There came from them some people who requested a truce, so 'Abdullāh (ﷺ) accepted a truce from them. Then they requested from him that he send with them a man from his household who would go with them out of fear that one of the Muslims may allude to them on the course of their journey. So Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin Mishārī went with them to Al-Madīnah. The point: is that Allāh debased them; placed fear into their hearts; and safeguarded the Muslims from their evil. Rather He enriched them from that which was in their very hands due to their endeavours in spending their wealth in the purchase of remonstrance. For they purchased humiliation from the Muslims at its most feeble and weakest price – this is from that which indicates the true nature of this religion and that it is that which Allāh loves and is pleased with. For it is He who made easy the causes of aid for whosoever holds onto it. As well as disappointment for those who are hostile towards them and oppose them in this Religion." (*Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 32)

agreement to Muhammad 'Ali making clear what had been agreed. So for the time being the fighting between the two sides ceased.

جبهه رايیسی خوسون و زبان قوتلک برید و سیمان قوتلک لوسون قوتلک

دولتو عتابلو عطفولو زافلو وقتانم برام انقم حفظلا

بوتله اولم طرف دولتله بسط و بیان اولنجه اولوره درجده سگه قناق قسیم و ایسی قزلرک دایسی قسیم  
و بکیردیم چوون کیشیه اهابلیک تحت طاعت دولتله لری اولور بیه وادی مرقومه رسه اولور اکی اولور  
عنبه و بریک و ساز صغیر قریه لرینک دخی اخذ و سخی یون حرکت نصیبین بیکون عیالته ایلر سعور و عیالون  
سواری و هجرات و غیره ایه و دور ایدوب قراها، مذکورانه امداد و اعانت و صودرینه کمال شانت و بر بکنه  
عکرمه صیت مخلصیه بجمع و نجه لرله کلوب اطراف صداقت لری قیاش عربانک جمال و غلغله تسبیح کجکلف  
دور زیانک سرفه طریقیه اولسون مفضله آنکه حفر و لشرایبه ده ملافه لینه و قنار لینه قیاه مقدری  
ظهور ایشو ک طرفک چاپول کونا محارباتمز نطق اولوبوب اکرجه و دور امدارمه انتظارا انکابندوک  
قریه لرک سخی لری سید اولریبه ده ارعای باطنه سنلک نتیجه پندرا اولوبوب نهایت لاری شنبه  
شوخا هم اوله جناح دور و جرم انبکه سنلک اولور لری راه بنادق و عتارک عطا و حفظ  
اولریفلک فرم و نرم ایه جرم گذشته لرینک عفو یه بوزک بویه نزلت عتبت سلطانیه مسدور اولدی  
تمنایه دلک بالا سندان ادروی مخلصیه اوج ساعت عینا دیه نام برکود لری پنجه لوزمه کمن  
نزلک و بو خصصه ک تمثیل ایچون جنفر مسول طرف اهل کادری و دور انبکه بالرفعات شمیر و  
اولون مکاتباته امان نظر مسول لرینک تقریرن اطوعنر مورد اولوق واقعا موافا بر لرینک  
در تکاب ایشو ک بعض شتاعت و حرکات نا اهدا درون کلیا منجب اولوب بعد ازین دجه و ایسی  
عربا لری غیره و غیره الوجوده نفس و تموض اتمیوب وینه کانه بود و در ایا اطولذت و جناحی لذت

تا بعد از این که سلطان اولی نام بنام محمد و اینکد سماغی شایسته قرانت در صورتی صومع و اطاعت  
 بخلاف کوشید و خودی خودی شریف کلاف و لغت و عاقبت کجا السنه عربانه فتح المکه  
 هر گاه امیران نامی صدور و نه خدمت نامور اولورایه تجویز قصود انجود بزل کوی مغربه ابراهیم  
 شهر و بوجه عهد و پیمانک اوزده ایکین هزار و سیصد و پنجاه و هشتاد و هشت  
 خلاصوری نامور دیگر اوردی مشیر بربر اشبوناه رجب شریفک بکری و بی کوی طرف شخصی ملحق  
 اولی و پنج شیخ مرفوع عبادیه ابراهیم و جمعی فرزندان و وجوده تصفاتی بود و نه طاعت و بی عیبی  
 تمنی و مغربین بجز خارمزم شاهانه دن نیاز اینستد ایکین تار بیار تکرار خاربه به بارخ اولی و نهم  
 نهایت برهفته اداره اید جاک موجود ذخیره من اولی و نهم جنکه دور بودی بر طرفه خار اینیکه در نهم  
 که کیوب و نهم اولی محافظه در بی عمل اولی و نهم حکم اولی و بیعی ملاحظه کیه فرست فوق اولی  
 بیعی نیاز بر روی مساعده کوشید که منته عمال زده عبدالعزیز ابن محمد و عیال بر بنیان نام کوشید  
 همین بیعیه مسکه جانب روزان بر سنه افات دستخی تکین بر لینه اخرد هیندک دور و برون  
 و نهم و نهم اولی اوزده با لکه ذکر اطفاله شد و ایامانک تا کجا به طرف و نهم در  
 فقرا طوفانک خهونی نیاز ایدر به باز عیبه او کونک ذکر از من ندادن او نهم نهم بظرف  
 رکت و سینه نهم و اصل اولی ذکر اطفاله یک نفر دهند صوب و نهم ایصال قله عینی و بیانی  
 و بی معلومی بوجه سون کب ابریکه نجا به هر زمان مزه اولی فرستید به اله کتبه  
 تا ب مسئول امور دن نامور و نهمی خالصانم ایوک بیانی به عریفه خالصانم ایصاله بیانی  
 در بنه نهم منظور کوشید بچو رقت خهوی مذکوره و اندر نهم کلک و نهم ایصاله بیانی  
 ایصاله بیانی نهم نهم نامور خالصانم ایصاله بیانی

Images of a letter sent by Tūsūn Pāshā to his father in which he attempts to explain his failed attempt to bring the towns of Al-Qasīm under his authority. In this letter he also encourages his father to pretend to show his acceptance of the peace terms of Imām 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd until they are themselves militarily capable of launching another war.

Meanwhile, upon reaching Al-Madīnah; Ṭūsūn wrote to his father requesting permission to return home to Egypt due to his ill health. So Muḥammad ‘Ali sought permission from the Ottoman Turks who gave the go ahead for Ṭūsūn’s return home. He embarked a ship at Yenbo’ and arrived at Suez from where he travelled to Cairo reaching it in *Dhil Hijjah* 1230H (November 1815CE) where his father welcomed his return home amid lavish celebration.<sup>311</sup>

Ṭūsūn reached Cairo to find the Saudi delegation already there, for they had been sent by Imām ‘Abdullāh two months earlier. The delegation consisted of ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin Banyān and Al-Qāḍī ‘Azīz bin Ḥamad bin Ibrahīm Al-Musharrafi.<sup>312</sup> For it was when they arrived at Cairo that they could not find a balanced resolution with the Pāshā, thus they had come to find that he had changed as well as the reality of the intents of the Pāshā of Egypt.<sup>313</sup> For they did not find any compromise from

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<sup>311</sup> *Dawlatus Sa’ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p.331-333 and *Ta’rīkh al-Mamlakatil ‘Arabiyyah As-Sa’ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 151-154

<sup>312</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“I am strongly warranted in giving this statement, by the opinion of several of the first olemas of Cairo. In the autumn of 1815, two envoys were sent to that city by the Wahaby chief, one of whom was a perfect Wahaby Scholar. Mohammed Ali Pāshā wished them to give an explanation of their tenets to the principle learned men of Cairo: they, in consequence, met repeatedly; and the Wahaby had invariably the best of the controversy, because he proved every proposition by a sentence of the Koran, and the Hadyth, or Tradition, the whole of which he knew by heart, and which were of course irrefragable authority. The olemas declared, that they could find no heresy in the Wahabys; and as this was a declaration made in spite of themselves, it is less to be suspected. A book had also been received at Cairo, containing various treatises on religious subjects, written by ‘Abd el Wahab himself: it was read by many olemas, and they declared unanimously, that if such were the opinions of the Wahabys, they themselves belonged altogether to that creed.” (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 112-113)

<sup>313</sup> This change in the Pāshā and its effect upon the nature of his rule was clear to see, in addressing this issue; Burckhardt mentions:

“The reputation which he had acquired in Hedjaz was found to have caused a change in his character. The affability that had distinguished him from other Pashas was converted into haughtiness: instead of a simple soldier-like

him and instead found his ardent intent of the destruction of Ad-Dir'iyah and a final termination of Saudi power. The delegation had failed in its purpose.<sup>314</sup>

Meanwhile, the Imām who had been eager to see the truce agreed and peace restored between the two sides sent out letters to both Muḥammad 'Ali and the Ottoman Sulṭān clarifying his position as well as a reiteration of his desire for peace - whilst making it manifest that it was Sharīf Ghālib, who during his father's rule, was writing to the Ottoman state inciting them to make war against the Saudis - and writing false letters concerning the Saudis whilst his father was unaware of this and its resulting in warfare between the two sides.<sup>315</sup>

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establishment, he began to indulge in pomp and show, and monopolised all the exports and imports for his own advantage, by which the labourers and manufacturers were materially injured." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 350)

<sup>314</sup> The Pāshā did however allow them access to the libraries and bookstores during their stay as Al-Jabartī mentions:

"The Pāshā gave the two messengers an open hand and permission to go where they pleased. So the two of them would ride and stride through the streets and they went to Al-Jāmī' Al-Azhar at a time when there was no one there from the advanced ones who could study thoroughly and teach. They asked concerning the Madhab of Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (رحمته الله) and regarding the books of *Fiqh* which had been authored in his Madhab. They were told that they had become extinct from the land of Egypt entirely. So instead they bought copies of the books of *Tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* and other than them..." Then Al-Jabartī mentions: "I met the two of them on two occasions, I found them both possessing friendliness, having eloquence of the tongue, having knowledge (awareness) and proficiency. They likewise had an understanding of the annals and of the rarities. They had humbleness, polite courteous manners, fine conduct when speaking, an understanding of the religion, having knowledge of the branches of *Fiqh* as well as knowing the differences between the Madhabs in that - such as could not be described..." (See: *Al Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh* p. 215)

<sup>315</sup> An extract from a letter sent by the Imām to Muḥammad 'Ali reads:

"Then the Sharīf requested from my father (رحمته الله) that he be in charge of sending those letters in which all this is explained to the (Ottoman) State so he responded to this due to his being more knowledgeable of them than us. Then

He also renewed his intent to make open his subjection to the Ottoman state in order to alleviate war and seek peace for his people. In one of his letters he even accepted to mention the name of the Ottoman Sulṭān upon the *minbars* in his land.

Again in 1231H (1816CE) the Imām sent yet another delegation with gifts and other endowments for Muḥammad ‘Ali as a sign of good will and commitment. Instead Muḥammad ‘Ali put forth an addition to the truce proposed by the delegation stating that the Saudis should surrender once and for all – and that ‘Abdullāh should present himself in Egypt so he could be sent to the Ottoman Sulṭān who would possibly seal for him his fate.

The Pāshā could not have doubted that this condition would have been rejected by the Saudis. This would mean that yet again the two sides were in no truce and had reached no agreement, the outcome of which would give the Pāshā a pretext for a full scale war and an invasion of Najd.<sup>316</sup>

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we came to realize that that was a plot from him against us, since he made apparent to the State regarding us what was contrary to that. So he began writing to them in the tongue of my father which brewed enmity and hatred between us and the State by way of lies and slander. He would seal those letters that he forged with a seal/stamp he had inscribed in the name of ‘Sa‘ūd’. Keeping back with himself what my father had really written, his intent behind this was to incite trouble and bring to a blaze the fire of war. Whilst we had no idea of anything of his plotting until war flared between us and you ...”

(See the letter in: *Dawlatus Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p.447)

<sup>316</sup> Burckhardt mentions:

“A suit of clothes, and three hundred dollars, were given to each as presents, with a letter to ‘Abdallah Ibn Saoud from the Pāshā, written in a most ambiguous manner, respecting peace or war; offering to confirm the treaty concluded with his son, provided the Wahabys would cede to him the province of Hassa, one of the most fertile and important of their dominions, being situated on the Persian Gulf. It now became manifest, either that Tousoun Pāshā had deceived the Wahabys at Kasym, or that Mohammed Aly had given a fresh proof of the contempt in which he held all engagements. Tousoun, equal in rank with his father, had concluded a treaty, binding his whole party; and he had enjoyed the full benefit of that treaty, in being allowed to save himself

Along with this, the delegation came to witness the preparation of this invasion in Cairo. The Pāshā was amassing a huge army consisting of Egyptians, Turks and others from Maghrib and Ash-Shām and 'Iraq. Tūsūn was dead<sup>317</sup> and so he had placed his older brother, Ibrahīm Pāshā<sup>318</sup> as commander of this force.<sup>319</sup>

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and his army from destruction. His father, however, seemed anxious to represent the matter under a different point of view at Constantinople; and as he had pledged himself to annihilate the Wahabys, by taking Derayah, it was necessary to persuade his sovereign, that he had not yet abandoned that object; and that the treaty concluded by his son should be merely considered as a temporary armistice." (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 351)

<sup>317</sup> Whilst at the Baranbāl fortress one night in 1231H (1816CE) he was afflicted with a plague which caused him restlessness for about ten hours. When his soul departed his body became swollen and his colour became blue. His body was emitting blood and pus so was placed in a stone coffin. (See: *At-Ta'rikh Al-Jabartī* p. 964-966)

Observe then the pre-decree of Allāh, The Most High in that some of the chief advocates and adversaries who until this time had directly fought against Imām Sa'ūd were to die in this one year and were not to see any outcome in the conflict. Along with Tūsūn, Sharīf Ghālib's fate was also sealed this year, for after being arrested in Makkah by the Pāshā he was sent to Egypt and on to Salonik where he died. Al-Jabartī described how the Pāshā did not cease to deceive him until he finally found his chance and so seized him. He confiscated many of his possessions and treasures which he had accumulated; his women folk and female slaves were likewise banished with just the clothes that they were wearing after they had been searched immorally and his wife being dishonoured. He had thus been exiled from his State and his position and his wealth and treasures so much so that when he was marched off with the accompanying soldiers to Jeddah they confiscated and took what was to be found in his pockets! He lived a few years longer in Salonik as a stranger dying after his children had died during the plague in this year. Finally, Yusuf Pāshā or Yusuf Kanj who had been the Viceroy of Ash-Shām and was a campaigner in the war against Ad-Dir'iyyah, was to die in this year after having fled from Ash-Shām where the Porte had sought after him. He fled and took up residence in Cairo where he died; these deaths all occurred in the year 1231H/1816CE. (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Jabartī* p. 959-969 and *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah Part 3* p. 338-339)

<sup>318</sup> He was: Ibrahīm bin Muḥammad 'Ali, the Egyptian military figure of high aspiration and the Turco-Egyptian military and administrative leader in the

Al-Jabartī said regarding this period of time:

“There arrived from the land of Rūm (Ottoman territories) a messenger in whose hand was a decree (edict). This was read out in the judicial court on Sunday the 28<sup>th</sup> of this month (June 1813) in the presence of: Kitikhidā Bek, and the judge and the *Shuyūkh* and the prominent ones from the State as well as a great multitude of people. In the decree was:

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eastern Mediterranean area of the Ottoman Empire. The eldest son of Muḥammad ‘Ali and so of Albanian decent, he was born in the year 1204H (1789CE) in Kavalla in what is now Greek Macedonia. In 1805CE, during his father’s struggle to establish himself in Egypt, Ibrahīm, then sixteen years of age, was sent as a hostage to the Ottoman capital. But when Muḥammad ‘Ali was recognized as ‘Pāshā’ and had managed to defeat a British expedition, Ibrahīm was allowed to return to Egypt. He came to join his father in Egypt along with his brother, Ṭūsūn Aḥmad in the year 1220H where he then studied. In 1811CE Mohammed ‘Ali sent Ibrahīm to Upper Egypt to defeat the remaining Mamlukes, to control the Bedouin, and to assert the power of the new government. Ibrahīm remained as local governor until 1816CE, when the Sulṭān rewarded him for his services to the Ottoman Empire with the title of ‘Pāshā’. His first military expedition was to Arabia.

It is said that when he came to Al-Madīnah, he stood at the grave of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم) and sought rescue from him and his aid. In this expedition the training which his Egyptian troops had received, and their artillery, gave them a marked superiority in the open field. It culminated in the destruction of the First Saudi State, as well as their capital – which he razed, thus restoring Ottoman authority over western Arabia by 1819CE whilst plunging the rest of the Peninsula – in particular Najd into total anarchy. He was instrumental during subsequent years in the military conquests which his father instructed him to lead – in particular against the Ottoman Sulṭān, during the course of which he won a string of victories which threatened the very existence of the Porte. In 1846CE he came to Britain where he met the then Queen Victoria. In 1264H (1848CE) Muḥammad ‘Ali abdicated due to his insanity in place of him, after which there came an Ottoman decree for Ibrahīm becoming Viceroy. In 1848CE he visited Istanbul in order to be declared Viceroy, with his health totally ruined, he died in Cairo in the year 1264H (1848CE), his rule lasted seven months and thirteen days.

<sup>319</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 334-340

“A command to the Khaṭīb̄s of the Mosques when they give the sermon on a Friday upon the minbar that they should say when supplicating for the Sultān:

‘The Sultān, the son of the Sultān (repeating the word Sultān three times), Maḥmūd Khan ibn Sultān ‘Abdil-Ḥamīd Khan ibn Sultān Aḥmad Khan Al-Maghāzī (the warrior) the custodian of the Two Holy Mosques...’

‘Since he befits to be described with this attribute as it is his forces that conquered the land of the Ḥaramain and in doing so. fought against the Khawārij and so expelled them there from.

Likewise the Muftī also declared them to be ‘kuffār’ (disbelievers)<sup>320</sup> due to their declaring Muslims to be *kuffār* and making them from the mushriks<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> *Takfīr* is a trait from the traits of the people of innovation, Shaikh-ul-Islām mentions:

“And the *Khawārij* make *takfīr* of the people of unity, likewise the Mu’tazilah make *takfīr* of those that oppose them – as do the Rāfiḍah. So those that they do not make *takfīr* of, they then declare to be evil doers, as do most of the people of desires who declare people to be innovators out of opinion and make *takfīr* of those that differ with them in that. *Ahlu Sunnah* however follow the truth from their Lord which came with the Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم). They do not make *takfīr* of those that differ with them in that, rather they are the most knowledgeable of the truth and most merciful with the creation.” (See: *Minhāj us Sunnah an-Nabawiyah* vol 5 p. 158)

Shaikh Rabī mentions:

“As for making *takfīr* of the Muslims – rather the best of the Muslims, and they are the companions of Muḥammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم) and those that follow them upon excellence. As well as having hatred for them and having enmity towards them and making *takfīr* of them oppressively and unjustly, then it is the attribute of the Rawāfiḍ...” and he says: “Indeed it is the attribute of the *Khawārij* who are their instigators, over whom there is silence regarding their misguidance. They make *takfīr* of the companions of Muḥammad except for a few, and they make *takfīr* over the ones committing a major sin. So no one is safe from their *takfīr*. Indeed it is the Mu’tazilah and the Zaidiyyah who make

and due to their rebellion against the Sultān<sup>322</sup> and their killing of individuals. Whosoever kills them is a warrior; a Mujāhid and a martyr if he himself is killed”<sup>323</sup>

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*takfīr* of the Muslims, those that traverse their path... For they take the believers outside of *Al-Ēmān* if they commit a major sin. Declaring them to be in the Fire for eternity, they also reject for them the intercession of those that intercede on their behalf.” (See: *Daḥr Iftirā’āt Ahl az-Zaigh wal Irtiyāb* p. 109-110)

<sup>321</sup> Anyone possessing the slightest insight into the *Da’wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām and of his teachings would know that this is a false allegation and is far from the true reality of what he called to. There are many examples in the Shaikh’s works that refute this matter, for example; in a letter the Shaikh wrote to ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin ‘Abdillāh, he said:

“From it is what you mentioned that I make *takfīr* of all the people except for those that follow me, likewise that I claim that their marriages are incorrect. How strange! How has this even entered the intellect of the one possessing intelligence? Does the Muslim or the kāfir or the one that knows or the mad one even say such a thing?”

He mentions also in the response to an issue:

“As for the lies and slander, then it is like their saying that we make *takfīr* of the general masses, and that for the one who wishes to make his religion manifest we obligate upon them the Hijrah to us. That we likewise make *takfīr* of the one who does not make *takfīr* and does not fight and the likes of this – many times as much. All of this is lies and slander which they seek to use as a hindrance from the religion of Allāh and His Messenger. So if we do not make *takfīr* of the one that worships the idol that is upon the grave of ‘Abdul-Qādir, and the idol that is upon the grave of Aḥmad Al-Badawī and their likes; this being due to their ignorance and the absence of the one that could direct them to what is right; how then are we going to make *takfīr* of the one who does not associate partners with Allāh if he does not make the Hijrah to us or if he himself doesn’t make *takfīr* or doesn’t fight? How free are You (Allāh) from imperfections; this is a great slander.” (See: *Ṣiyānatul Insān* p. 407-408)

<sup>322</sup> Let the truth not be concealed and the masses deceived into believing this was actually the case. For Najd in general had never witnessed any authority from the Ottoman State. Its Sultāns had never extended to the region nor did any of the Ottoman rulers visit it, nor did its influence penetrate the region with any Turkish garrison during the whole era before the appearance of the *Da’wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Waḥhāb (رحمة الله). What confirms this historic fact is when the administrative divisions of the Ottoman State are

After the sitting came to an end, cannons were fired greatly from the citadel and from Bulāq and Al-Jizah (districts of Cairo). They likewise let off rockets (fireworks), their cannon blast continued with every adhān for the following ten days.<sup>324</sup>

The Imām meanwhile set out to discipline the people of Ar-Rass for their part in allowing the Egyptian forces to enter Al-Qaṣīm. This led to some from the people of Al-Qaṣīm to travel to Egypt and inform the Pāshā. The tales carried were fallacies and lies upon Imām ‘Abdullāh, however this

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investigated. For it is in a Turkish document entitled: *Qawānīn Āl ‘Uthmān dar Maḍamīn daftar dīwān* meaning: the enactments of the progeny of ‘Uthmān in regards to what is comprised in the bureaucratic register. It was authored by Yamīn ‘Ali Afandī who was custodian/secretary of the *Khāqānī* register in the year 1018H corresponding to the year 1609CE. It was printed by Sāti’ Al-Ḥusrī as an addition/addendum from the periodicals of his book: *Bilād al-‘Arabiyyah wad dawlah Al-‘Uthmāniyyah*. In the treatise it becomes clear that from the beginnings of the eleventh century after Hijrah, the Empire of Āl-‘Uthmān (the Ottomans) was divided into 32 provinces of which 14 provinces were Arab. However, Najd was not from them except for Al-Aḥsā, that is if we assume it is a part of Najd. Hence Ottoman authority didn’t remain in the Arabian Peninsula except that it declined, as a result of their problems both internally and externally. Thus in the end they were compelled to abandon Yemen due to the rebellion of the Imāms of Sanaa’ against them. Likewise they were forced to evacuate Al-Aḥsā in the face of the rebellion of the chief of the Banī Khālīd Barrāk bin Ghurayr and his followers in the year 1080H. (See: ‘*Aqīdah Ash-Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb As-Salaḥiyyah* vol 1 p. 40-41)

<sup>323</sup>Regarding this Muḥammad Adīb Ghālib said:

“This is how they used to disseminate their negative propaganda and deceive the masses and the naïve folk into thinking that the people of the call to rectitude that are in actuality upon the correct way are instead: Khawārij. For they are the most furthest of people – and all praise is for Allāh from all that opposes the correct religion. However, the desires cause blindness as they cause deafness, and all praise is for Allāh Who manifests the truth and renders futile the falsehood and aided that *Da’wah* as well as those that stood with it and caused them to become victorious over their enemies.” (See: *Min Akhbār Al-Ḥijāz wan Najd* p. 145)

<sup>324</sup> *Ta’rikh Al-Jabartī* p. 867

proved to be an excuse for Muḥammad 'Ali do declare the peace between him and them as now void. Since Muḥammad 'Ali had previously reached a decision with the Porte that he would destroy Saudi dominion. Therefore, this proved an appropriate reason for the nullification of the truce.

Muḥammad 'Ali sent correspondence to the Porte informing them of the annulment of the truce with Imām 'Abdullāh - whilst the Imām was unaware of this. For the Imām was still sending expensive gifts and letters expressing friendship as well as a desire for the peace to persist.<sup>325</sup>

## The Second Period of War

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of *Dhil-Qa'dah* 1231H (23 September 1816CE) Ibrahīm Pāshā set sail for the Arabian Peninsula; reaching the port of Yenbo' three days later. His forces had already landed before and were awaiting his arrival. The force had numbered around ten thousand. In Yenbo' he intended an opening manoeuvre upon his enemy by placing his forces on the outer side of the city's fortifications. This he did in order to cause anyone who was not willing to be an ally to the Turco-Egyptian force to flee. More importantly, he did this in order to cause fear amongst his enemy knowing that news of the arrival of the great force would reach the Saudis through the Bedouin. From there he set off for Al-Madīnah in order to visit the grave of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم).

For up until Ibrahīm's arrival in Ḥijāz, the Imām was still writing to both Muḥammad 'Ali and the Sulṭān making clear his obedience to Ottoman rule and to bring an end the fighting. However, the Ottomans wrote to Muḥammad 'Ali telling him that:

“There is no obligation to respond to the letters which 'Abdullāh is sending. Neither is there any need to give any importance to these letters.”<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 156-157

<sup>326</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 340-342

At this time a great deal of correspondence was also sent out from Ad-Dir'iyyah by the Imām as well as the scholars to the people living within their dominion encouraging them to adhere onto the religion of Allāh and remain united in the face of the aggressor who had come to eradicate their creed and the fruits of that which they had been endowed with which they until this time had been blessed with. From these correspondences is a short treatise which survived and was written by Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb (the grandson of Shaikh-ul-Islām) entitled: *Risālah Ad-Dalā-il fī Ḥukm Muwalāt Ahlil Ishrāk*. It was written at the time Ibrahim Pāshā and his forces were already in the Arabian Peninsula for the purpose of war against the people of *Tawḥīd*. This treatise explains in the most excellent manner the reasons for abstaining from allegiance and loyalty with the invading aggressor and remaining united in eliminating their threat and upholding their religion and beliefs in the face of those who wish to extinguish that. The treatise comprises of some twenty-one different aspects of this issue with proofs presented from The Book and The *Sunnah* encouraging the people to remain steadfast in remaining upon *Tawḥīd* and aiding its adherents.

Meanwhile, Muḥammad 'Ali, having learnt from the mistakes of the first expedition had now sought to improve upon them. Therefore he had brought in around three thousand North African cavalrymen who could cope with the severe desert heat. Likewise there were other North African, Turkish and Albanian infantrymen as well as twelve artillery pieces along with gunners and men skilled in the details of warfare. Along with this he sent five Europeans – four of them being doctors (one of them a personal physician to Ibrahim) and a siege engineer named Vaissiere, he had been a French officer in the forces of Napoleon and after his defeat at Waterloo had left home. His position was one of great importance for the Turco-Egyptian invasion.<sup>327</sup>

The Imām had previously an advantage over the Egyptian force by way of numbers, for he had more fighting men available to him on this occasion than the Egyptians did the first time. This time was no different. However; the Turco-Egyptian force had a much greater advantage at this stage in the form of their immensely superior fire power. Instead of the motley

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<sup>327</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 340-342

Albanian units begrudgingly sent in the first expedition under Ṭūsūn as well as the paid mercenaries; this force was better drilled and more regimented on this occasion, so could deal with the hardships of war better. The type of flintlock rifles they had bought were more efficient and up to date European versions, much more reliable and formidable and modern than the aging and less reliable version of flintlock the Saudis were using, although the sword was still a preferred weapon of theirs in warfare. The modern Turco-Egyptian cannon and artillery and brought in was vastly overpowering than the inferior and less able and ageing cannon the Imām possessed. The munitions available were plentiful and in constant supply, and their cavalrymen were sophisticated riders.

The Saudis meanwhile, had never attempted to advance their heavy weaponry since the beginning of their State – until its end, despite their coming across military hardware utilised by the British in their attack upon Ra's Al-Khaimah in 1224H (1809CE). Along with this, they had previously an understanding of the different types of weaponry which had been utilised by 'Ali Pāshā Kakhyā during his conquest of Al-Aḥsā in 1213H (1798CE). They had never sought to take full benefit from all of them in evolving their armaments.<sup>328</sup>

This had ultimately led to their enemies – some of whom were major powers, acquiring the latest destructive weaponry and utilising it in their warfare against the Saudi State. It was not the mere superiority of fire-power alone which was an issue in the success against an enemy, since the enemy had until now always had the upper hand in dominance of armaments. Yet still they were defeated by the Saudis. But there was something else which was to play a factor in the outcome of what had arisen between the people of *Tawḥīd* and their enemies.

Ibrahīm began organizing his army by establishing strongholds and making them as garrisons for his army. He also began to put his forces through arduous drilling exercises in order to make their capabilities as soldiers more significant in the terrain. With the tribes he began offering sums of money as payment to them in order to keep them loyal. Whilst

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<sup>328</sup> *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 266

with others he would use means of bribery and gifts in order to keep his supply lines open and so not be attacked by the local tribes.

Ibrahīm moved on to swiftly take the two towns of Al-Ḥenakiyyah and As-Suwaydarah. He established them as strongholds for his forces. During his time here he managed to overcome the tribes of Ḥarb and Muṭair, bringing them under his authority.<sup>329</sup>

During this time an officer arrived having been dispatched from Egypt to Ibrahīm Pāshā in Al-Ḥenakiyyah with the announcement that the Porte had promoted him to the level of: a 'Pāshā of Three Tails'.<sup>330</sup> At the same time three additional cannon pieces also arrived – relics used during the French invasion of Egypt under Napoleon. All of this strengthened Ibrahīm's endeavour after sicknesses had prevailed amongst his men and had until now demoralised him.<sup>331</sup>

## The First Encounter

Meanwhile the Saudis who had been making preparations to confront the Turco-Egyptian force had based their plans on three aspects:

Firstly; to entice the Turco-Egyptian force further into the desert. Secondly; to get around the force once in the desert and cut them off from behind and so sever them from their supply line and their strongholds. Thirdly; to surround the force and then attack it once the opportunity arises.

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<sup>329</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 157

<sup>330</sup> The title of Pāshā was an honorary Turkish title granted to governors and generals and high ranking dignitaries. There were three grades of Pāshā distinguished by the number of horse-tails on their standard. In war; the horse-tail standard was carried before the Pāshā, and planted in front of his tent. The highest rank of Pāshās was that of three tails, this corresponded to a commanding general. Pāshās of two tails were governors of provinces. A Pāshā of one tail was a 'Sanjak' or lowest of the provincial governors. The word Pāshā is made up of the Persian word *pa* – i.e. the support of the *Shah* (ruler). (See also: *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* p. 2132)

<sup>331</sup> *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 79

This they tried at the well of Māwiyah near Al-Ḥenakiyyah where the Saudis had heard that a detachment of Ibrahīm's force was under 'Ali Awzun. The Saudis made an early morning sudden attack and went in the direction of the tents of the enemy. The enemy however was ready and prepared for the fight; and so opened artillery fire on the advancing multitude of fighters.

Ibn Bishr mentioned:

“So the Imām moved location to the mountain at Māwiyah facing the Turks, and so the Turks stood firm when they saw him move. So they turned and faced their cannon at the Muslims and fired at them – striking them, forcing the Muslims to retreat to the wells of Māwiyah.”

One of the reasons given for the defeat of the Imām at Māwiyah as well as in some of the ensuing encounters is that his men fought with swords and spears in traditional battle formation. They also possessed aging flintlock firearms which in the time it took one of them to retrieve from his holster and load as well as kindle its flint, he would be targeted and so shot at some five times in the least by a Turkish soldier who possessed an advanced musket being quicker to re-load and fire.<sup>332</sup>

The Turco-Egyptian force continued firing on the Saudis which led to many deaths whereupon they gave chase to them causing the Saudis to

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<sup>332</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 80 The Arabs had a preference to older models of flintlock pistols and muskets and the even older matchlock muskets as they were antiquities of value which may have previously served in notable conflicts and so carried historic value. Therefore, despite seizing modern weapons from their enemies; the preference was to the older and locally customized and adorned firearms which held great value and repute. This rendered many such firearms as ageing relics which had passed their prime; or were even obsolete replicas locally manufactured or customized and so were unreliable and prone to malfunctions. These were crucial factors which would ultimately work against fighting a modern well equipped army possessing the latest army-edition muskets and devastating heavy weaponry and firepower.

retreat for further loss of life to their forces. The Saudis lost around two hundred men as well as weaponry.<sup>333</sup>

It is in this battle that the grandson of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb Shaikh Ibrahīm bin Ḥamad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb<sup>334</sup> died, Imām Sa'ūd had appointed him as a judge at Marrāt – within the Al-Washm district. So when the opportunity arose to fight the invading enemy; he accompanied the Saudi force and died defending his beliefs and country.

With the failure at the well of Māwiyah the plan the Saudis had to isolate the enemy had failed, since the first of the three conditions had not worked – upon which the other two conditions could only be actualised if it were to have succeeded. To add to this, another force of ten thousand men had arrived from Egypt to safeguard the Holy Cities from attack.

With that the Imām fell back upon Al-Qaṣīm in order to protect the approach to southern Najd, meanwhile Ibrahīm had heard of the fight at Māwiyah so hastened to reach it. Upon learning that the Imām had set off to Al-Qaṣīm, he decided to set off after him.

### Ar-Rass

After making the arduous journey into Al-Qaṣīm, the Turco-Egyptian force arrived at the town of Ar-Rass. Ibrahīm's brother Ṭūsūn had taken the town easily some years earlier. However, the capture of Ar-Rass this time by Ibrahīm was to prove a difficult task. Ibrahīm laid siege to the town and

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<sup>333</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 158-159 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 343

<sup>334</sup> Shaikh Ibrahīm bin Ḥamad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb Al-Wuhaibī At-Tamīmī grew up in Ad-Dir'iyyah, his father had been a judge at Marāt and came to Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb who married him to his daughter who gave birth to two sons; 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Ḥamad – who went onto become a judge and Shaikh Ibrahīm bin Ḥamad. Therefore, Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb was his grandfather from his mother's side of the family. He studied and attained knowledge in Ad-Dir'iyyah at the height of its distinction and was later appointed judge in Marāt by Imām Sa'ūd. He died in *Jumādi ath-Thānī* in the year 1232H at Māwiyah. (See: *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 1 p. 294-295).

began bombarding it with artillery. They attacked the town's fortified walls with great severity causing great anxiety to its inhabitants. The fighting would go on night and day but the attacks would be repulsed time and time again by the defenders. The Imām had sent a force to aid Ar-Rass under Ḥasan bin Mazrū', so the town continued its stiff resistance to the attacks that Ibrahīm would continue to launch. At the same time the summer heat was causing great difficulty for the invading army, sicknesses and disease were beginning to prevail and to add to this some Saudi detachments would come up and harass their supply lines. But supplies would continue to get through due to the tribal politics Ibrahīm had played with the tribal leaders, and so it was at this time that the influential Faiṣal Duwaish who had been a great ally to the Saudis deflected to Ibrahīm's forces.

In desperate attempts to break the stalemate, the Turco-Egyptian force brought closer their artillery to pound the town yet further. The attacks were intensified on the town's walls causing great damage during the bombardment of the day - only to be repaired by the defenders at nightfall when the assault was reduced.

Gunpowder would be placed in the ground around the walls with mines and explosives. But the defenders were equal to the situation and would dig other pits in the ground nearby to diffuse the mines which kept any damage to the walls to a minimum. Despite the meagre armaments, the defenders would respond against the massive firepower the enemy would unleash, yet they still held out.

Ibrahīm had been toiling at Ar-Rass for a considerable length of time, yet he had found no breakthrough, his forces blitzed the town to such a degree that the like of it had not been seen before in the region. In one night alone the Turco-Egyptian force fired five thousand volleys of artillery which devastated all the date palms in the gardens within the town's walls.

A truce was put forth by the residents but was quickly rejected by Ibrahīm and instead threatened the town's Amīr, Muḥammad bin Mazrū' that if the town did not surrender then the fighting would go on to the very end. This led to the fighting flaring up once more, but Ibrahīm's position was becoming increasingly precarious, he had been at the walls of Ar-Rass for

three months and had still not taken the town. Yet he needed to take it as it was the opening to the way ahead to Ad-Dir'iyyah itself. Feeling the strain and the extremely difficult situation his entire force had been stretched to, Ibrahīm accepted a truce with the Amīr of Ar-Rass on the condition that if the next town of 'Unayzah was taken by Ibrahīm, then Ar-Rass would accept an Egyptian garrison, if however they failed to take it then the two sides were technically at war again.

Despite the fact that Ar-Rass had dealt a serious blow to the invading force, the siege was lifted and the Turco-Egyptian force moved on. Estimated figures of the invading army's losses numbered somewhere between six hundred to three thousand four hundred men, and a loss of a vast amount of ammunition whilst the defenders of Ar-Rass had lost only seventy men.

Ibrahīm was incensed at not having overcome the town; and so ordered some of the trees and date-palms of the town to be cut down. Some of the trees cut down were those of Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz bin Rashīd bin Zāmil who had been the judge in Ar-Rass and had possessed a beautiful orchard known as Ar-Ruwaiḍah. The Shaikh was affected by this act of criminality and became unwell and this became the reason for his subsequent death – (رحمة الله), this being the year 1232H.<sup>335</sup>

Meanwhile the Imām along with his brother Faiṣal withdrew deeper into Najd, whilst Ibrahīm journeyed in the direction of 'Unayzah, bypassing the town of Khabrā which was included in the agreement with Ar-Rass.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> See: *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 3 p. 346-348

<sup>336</sup> *Ta'rikh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 159-160 and *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 343-346



## 'Unayzah

Imām 'Abdullāh had spent 'Eid ul-Adhā at 'Unayzah, he had placed a garrison there from the people of Najd at the head of Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin Mishārī bin Sa'ūd. Stockpiles of food were brought in as well as fire wood and gunpowder along with all other provisions needed for the impending siege. After seeing to the fortifications of 'Unayzah, the Imām left for Buraydah. Ibrahīm arrived at 'Unayzah and besieged the town, after the refusal of the defenders to surrender, the bombardment began both day and night. Ibrahīm had the artillery bought in closer to the town walls in order to bombard well inside the town whilst having his men shielded from the gunfire of the defenders. He entrusted the direction of the siege to the French officer Vaissiere, who ordered the artillery fire at its famed fortress 'Qasr As-Safā' which had a five-metre-thick wall, it was located within the town and so it was readily pounded after which a breach was made in its wall. The fortress however was where the stockpiles of weapons and gunpowder were kept and after chance artillery fire, a shot fired into the fortress igniting the powder magazine and causing an explosion which breached the fortress totally. The defenders of 'Unayzah knew that surrender was inevitable and so after just six days of fighting they surrendered. From then on Ibrahīm kept Vaissiere close by and his advice was constantly sought thereafter.

Ibrahīm sent out a detachment to Ar-Rass in order to have them agree to a garrison placed in the town which they did. 'Unayzah possessed plentiful food supplies and so the invading army could recuperate with ample supplies to see them through before the next campaign.

Ibrahīm had now taken both Ar-Rass and 'Unayzah and had come to make Buraydah as his base where he stayed for three months. The tribes of Al-Qaṣīm had now come to see that the invader was making more gains than the defenders. So tribes began readily surrendering to Ibrahīm out of fear of his wrath and tyranny, the tide of the war was changing, tribes could see that the influence the Saudis once possessed was now diminishing, as well as an ongoing rout taking place of their forces. Seeing this; supply caravans began taking provisions to the invader as opposed to the natives, and so

gradually the area of Al-Qaṣīm was lost from Saudi hands to that of the invader.<sup>337</sup>

## Shaqrā

In *Rabi' al-Awwal* 1233H (December 1817CE) Ibrahīm made his way towards the next town he intended to take: Shaqrā. The siege here was to be a brief affair; the defenders had dug a moat around the defences, so in response to this Ibrahīm ordered bombardment of its fortifications. Units of soldiers were sent north and south of the town whereupon contingents of fighters came out to face the soldiers. In the fierce fighting that followed; many of the soldiers were killed in and around the date palm groves and many were injured. Many more fighters came out to help defend the town whereupon the Turks were being outnumbered, with the killing continuing the Turks began to panic, in the ensuing fight the Amīr of Shaqrā; Ḥamad bin Yahyā bin Ghaihib was struck by a lead shot (lead ball fired from a musket) and was seriously wounded and so was carried back into the town walls whereupon the fighters sought to barricade themselves.

Accordingly; Vaissiere's advice was sought again and so cannon and artillery pieces were set up on the mountains to the north of the town; whereupon the town was bombarded heavily. The immense attack on Shaqrā at this stage was such that the villages and towns surrounding it could hear the constant bombardment.

After this the artillery was brought to a very close proximity to the towns walls and so the bombardment was started again constantly pounding and blasting the walls of the town to such an extent that it was said that on a single night the Turks fired three hundred payloads (cargo loads) of cannon lead shot and gun powder.

Ibn Bishr mentions:

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<sup>337</sup> *Ta'rikh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 161-163 and *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 345-346

“A man who was caught in the middle of that said to me that ‘the lead shot fired from the cannon along with the grapeshot and shells and the musket fire were such that the rounds would strike against one another mid-air over the town as well as in its midst.’”<sup>338</sup>

A breach was made in the plantation circuit wall where some fighting then took place. However; due to the large trench<sup>339</sup> that had been dug around the outside of the town the Turks could not get close enough to destroy the walls totally and so seize the town. Each night the Pāshā would call upon the townsfolk to surrender and make peace terms with him, yet each night they would refuse him.

Peace terms were eventually agreed upon between the defenders and the Turks, on condition that the lives of the residents be spared as well as the town itself. Due to the severe bombardment of the town some of the residents pleaded with the Pāshā saying: “Peace O Ibrahīm; have mercy upon our families and forgive us for our shortcomings.” This was after the fighting had lasted for some three days.

As a condition, Ibrahīm asked for the five cannon in the fortress to be handed over to him, as well as the weapons that the four hundred fighters based there had received through the Imām to be confiscated and supplies be sold instead to his troops. After sending the fighters (who had defended the town) away, Ibrahīm set up a field hospital there, he also sent twelve hundred pairs of severed ears<sup>340</sup> to his father from the dead enemy as proof of his continuing progress.

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<sup>338</sup> *‘Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 236

<sup>339</sup> Ibn Bishr states that the trench had been dug during the days of Ṭūsūn’s campaign in the province, then once peace had been agreed at that time the townsfolk abandoned the trench. Then shortly before Ibrahīm Pāshā’s attack on the town the Amīr ordered the trench to be completed, and so it was dug to a much deeper depth with the women and children helping to bring food and water (to the workers). As such it became a deep and wide trench on the edges of which the residents constructed a wall nearer to the side of the town walls. (See: *‘Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 234)

<sup>340</sup> Munīr Al-Ajlānī states:

During the two week stay of the invaders at Shaqrā, rumours had begun to spread that some of the residents of Shaqrā intended to break their peace terms and had gone to Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to join their ranks and so participate in the defence there during the forthcoming siege and help cut the route ahead for the invading army. This angered the Pāshā who entered Shaqrā with a large number of men and settled his fighting men in the Masjid whilst he himself proceeded to the house of Ibrahīm As-Sadhān south of the Masjid. He summoned the Amīr of Shaqrā Ḥamad bin Yahyā bin Ghaihib who was presented despite having been wounded from the fighting before their surrender, the Pāshā spoke to him ruthlessly and likewise summoned for Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Ḥussain<sup>341</sup> who had been

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"He sent the ears of the martyred Najdīs as a "proof" of his activity and his extermination, this type of representational mutilation was recurring from Ibrahīm Pāshā – and is deemed reprehensible in religion and morality; and it warrants degradation and shameful rebuke upon its perpetrator – not glory and pride." (See: *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 96)

<sup>341</sup> Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Ḥussain was born in the year 1154H (1741CE) in the village of Al-Waqf in the district of Al-Washm and was educated there and memorized the Qur'ān whilst residing there. He studied under the judge of his district Shaikh Ibrahīm bin Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdillāh under whom he completed his studies in the *usūl* and the *furū'* as well as in *ḥadīth* and the Arabic language. Then after the Salafī *Da'wah* had manifested in Ad-Dir'iyyah; he made the hijrah there; and this was at the time that Ad-Dir'iyyah was surging with knowledge and the scholars and so he adhered to the sittings and lessons of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb. Shaikh Muḥammad himself regarded him highly as Ibn Bishr mentions:

"And so he studied under Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and remained for a period of two years reading upon him; and he would honour him."

He also studied under the sons of Shaikh Muḥammad; Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and Shaikh Ḥussain bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb as well as Shaikh Ḥamad bin Ma'mar. He continued in this way and so benefitted immensely, once Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb saw his sufficiency in his time with him as well as in his ability; he appointed him as judge in the area of Al-Washm. He settled there with his

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family and became the Judge, *Muftī*, admonisher and the deliverer of sermons as well as a teacher in the area.

A great number of students came and took benefit from him and he gained an immense admiration and respect from the great and the insignificant and the general people as well as the particular due to that which he possessed by way of fine manners and praiseworthy attributes and *zuhd* and other dignified characteristics. He remained teaching students in this way and was proficient in his teaching methodology and as such a great number of students benefitted from him. He would also dedicate a great deal of time in research; and has surviving manuscripts written in his pen in brilliant clarity. Writing was his occupation; and many manuscripts were to be found with his grandsons and students and he would make sidenotes on some of the manuscripts and would state points of benefits signing them off with his initials. He was a reference point in history and lineage and had a great understanding in many fields – in particular *Fiqh* and *ḥadīth* and was just in his judicial verdicts and was sound and upright in that and would know the truthful from the false by way of his intuitive perception. This stemmed from his humbleness and devoutness and fine mannerism as well as his standing in the night prayer along with his other noble characteristics. He was an *āyah* in *zuhd*; for he was a forebearing *ʿĀlim* who would not seek any aid or help for himself and was loved by the people and had no need or regard for the *dunya*. Instead he spent most of his time transcribing beneficial works and in seeking knowledge as well as in his own books; and so Allāh placed a great deal of blessing in his knowledge for the people.

He had a place of great veneration and trust with the Saudi Imāms as well as with the scholars of the religion, as such Imām *ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz* bin Muḥammad bin Saʿūd and Shaikh Muḥammad bin *ʿAbdil-Wahhāb* sent him to Makkah in order to represent them and their *Daʿwah* in the year 1185H (1771CE) to the then Sharīf Aḥmad bin Saʿūd in order to discuss with the scholars of Makkah. Shaikh Muḥammad bin *ʿAbdil-Wahhāb* sent him along with a letter to the Sharīf who subsequently received him and hosted him and arranged for him to meet and debate with the scholars of Makkah, from amongst whom were: Yaḥyā bin Ṣāliḥ Al-Ḥanaḥī, *ʿAbdul-Wahhāb* bin Ḥasan At-Turkī – *Muftī* to the Sulṭān, *ʿAbdul-Ghanī* bin Hilāl and others; and in this meeting a number of topics and issues were raised and discussed. The Shaikh cleared a number of misconceptions concerning the reform movement and its call and after this he returned to Najd.

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Later when Sharīf Ghālib requested Ad-Dir'yyah send him a scholar to clarify the *Da'wah*, Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz was again appointed. He remained as judge of his district during the rule of Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz and likewise under Imām Sa'ūd and Imām 'Abdullāh and continued in the years after their administration. His abstinence from the excesses of the dunya and his humbleness were illustrated when at the harvest season and the time the crops were gathered and the fruit picked from the date palms; he would receive a deliverly of provisions consisting of wheat and dates from the *Baitul Māl*. However, there would be leftovers still with him from the provision of the previous year as well as its fruit and so he would return it to the *Baitul Māl* and not leave anything from it with himself. He would love the students of knowledge as though they were his own offspring and apart from teaching them; he would enter joys amongst them and would see to any of their needs. His words and statements were listened to and accepted by those in authority as well as anyone other than them. He was not fazed by fear in the path of Allāh and had many noble stances in advising the Rulers and Amīrs. From them was the occasion during Ibrahīm Pāshā's invasion of Najd when he said to him: "What do you say concerning me O old man?"

The Shaikh replied: "You are a deceptive tyrant - from the punishment of Allāh; Allāh empowered you upon us due to our sins. Do you not fear Allāh? And do you not fear His punishment on The Day of standing before Him? Traverse the path of pardoning, for whosoever pardons and resolves; then his reward is with Allāh."

So he said: "We have pardoned them O old man."

A great many people benefitted from the Shaikh; and from his students were Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Abā Buṭain, Shaikh Ibrahīm bin Saif, Shaikh Ghunaim bin Saif, his nephew Amīr 'Abdullāh bin Ibrahīm Al-Ḥussain, Shaikh 'Ali bin Yaḥyā and a great many others. His works and answers to a range of topics are scattered in collections, a treatise of his exists in *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* on the meaning of worship consisting of some sixty four pages. He died (رحمته الله) in Shaqrā in the year 1237H (1821CE). (See: 'Ulamā Najd *Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 3 p. 454-464 and *Mashahīr 'Ulamā Najd wa Ghairihim* p. 206-211.)

Addendum: The close friendship which existed between the people of these times as well as their cooperation upon righteousness which led to the level of success they achieved as well as being upright exemplars, pious individuals and pillars of knowledge gives a unique insight to the one who examines them

present in the town and was from the major scholars of the Saudi State and had previously been appointed twice by Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz to represent the reform movement in Makkah before the Sharīfs and the scholars. The Shaikh being of old age was brought upon a riding beast whereupon he was honoured and venerated. The Pāshā explained what he had been notified of with regard to the actions of some of the residents, but this was a pretext for his intent – which was to kill them both. Some of those that were present explained that the rumours were false, subsequently; after investigating the rumours Ibrahīm found that some of the fighters accused of having set off to Ad-Dir'iyyah were actually in their homes in Shaqrā itself, proving that the rumours that had been spread were indeed mere rumours. The original agreement of peace terms between the Turks and the townsfolk was also presented to the Pāshā, whereupon he read it carefully again and again whilst standing and sitting down – re-reading it to himself, his intent being to slay them, yet Allāh safeguarded them from his evil.

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in terms of their mutual relationships within their era. The scholars are the inheritors of the Prophets; and as such busy themselves with the legacy of the Prophets – which is calling to establishment of the worship of Allāh alone and seeking and disseminating the knowledge of the religion and rectifying affairs of the religion against deviance and misguidance. The scholars of the reform movement during this time were therefore from those that were upon this way; and so busied themselves with writing and recording knowledge for it to be preserved as well as taught. Of the many manuscripts which have survived to this time from the writings and transmissions of the scholars of Najd; is a manuscript of interest in light of the aforesaid qualities of righteousness and dedicated friendship. In the Salmān library of manuscripts (established by Aḥmad bin 'Abdil-'Azīz) which are currently held at the King 'Abdul-'Azīz Foundation for Research and Archives is a treatise classified as: Salmān no.14 and is a twelve-page transcript of the famous *Ar-Risālah At-Tabūkiyyah* of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah. It was written by the hand of Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb in the year 1189H (1775CE) and in the closing lines the copyist stated:

“Completed – and all praise is for Allāh during the month of Rabī' uth-Thānī 1189H by the one who is needy to Allāh; 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb; and written for his brother for the sake of Allāh: 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Hussain.”

Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz then said to him: "O Ibrahīm; whoever overlooks and resolves then his reward is upon Allāh."

Whereupon the Pāshā took offence to having been addressed solely by his name without the mention of eminent and prestigious titles; and so took to mimicking the accent of the Shaikh with the name 'Ibrahīm'. So the Shaikh responded by stating that Allāh, The Most High, addressed His Prophets solely by their names. So by the Favour of Allāh, The Most High, and then the goodness of this righteous man; his heart was made to feel compassion and so the Pāshā stated in his Egyptian accent: "We have overlooked O old man; we have overlooked O old man."

Upon leaving, Ibrahīm did want to raze the whole town, but because of the injured soldiers there at the field hospital and the provisions the town had for his men (a month's supply) he decided not to and sufficed with demolishing the towns walls and filling the moat with earth before moving on. Ibrahīm meanwhile sent Rishwān Aghā in the direction of Sudair to receive the submission of the towns there.<sup>342</sup>

## Ḍurma

Ḍurma was a town small in size but with a population of about five thousand inhabitants and was situated not far from the Saudi capital itself, it's gardens supplied Ad-Dir'iyyah with stores and provisions and the loyalty it had to the Salafī *Da'wah* was well known. Therefore its resistance was to be expected. The Imām had already set about seeing to its defences, he had sent Sa'ūd bin 'Abdillāh from Ad-Dir'iyyah there with a contingent of men to defend it. Likewise, he sent Mut'ib bin Ibrahīm from Al-Kharj and 'Ali Al-'Umayrī from the people of Thādiq and Maḥmal there with other contingents of fighters.

Ibrahīm was on the outskirts of the town, he had sent spies to seek out the dwellings of those that were to be particular targets in this siege. Then in *Rab' uth-Thāni* 1233H (March 1818CE), Ibrahīm descended from the east of

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<sup>342</sup> *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 236-237, *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabīyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 163-165, *Dawlatūs Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 346-347 and *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 3 p. 461-462.

the town whilst another force descended upon the opposite side of it. The usual intense bombardment began after which Ibrahīm sent the defenders an offer of a truce which was rejected. The inhabitants of Ḍurma were from the strongest of those in Najd possessing great wealth and weaponry – and being of a large population – second to that of Ad-Dir'iyah itself. Ibrahīm brought in additional artillery which damaged two fronts of the town's wall. It is mentioned that the invaders breached the wall in the period between *Maghrib* and *'Ishā* – a space of about two and a half hours during which time they fired 5700 volleys of artillery. The defenders were quick to rebuild the damaged walls wherein families including women and children would help with the repair to the walls.

Ḍurma was putting up a vigorous defence, so after having sent Vaissiere to reconnoitre for the best place to breach the walls, Ibrahīm sent some of his artillery down to the southern end of the town where Mut'ib bin 'Ufaysān and the people of Al-Kharj were stationed. Ibrahīm opened fire upon them and the fighting flared up to a fierce battle. During this time a breach had been made in the original place the invaders had attacked whereupon they entered the town. Then a breach had been made in the southern end whereupon the soldiers entered from there causing the defenders to withdraw deeper into the town itself in order to defend the women and children. This occurred after the *Fajr* prayer in the month of *Rabi' uth-Thāni* 1233H (1818CE).

Dark clouds had gathered over the town whereupon it rained heavily to the degree that the town had not seen its like – whilst with the rain was a bitter cold to accompany it. The Turco-Egyptian force was well inside the town, chasing after the occupants and killing those that they came across in the market places and in the streets and in their homes. By sunrise a great many of the inhabitants of Ḍurma had been killed whereupon some of the Egyptian generals called out for an amnesty in the town in order to gather the people at which point they attacked and kill them. Ibn Bishr mentioned in his record of the occurrences of Ḍurma that in this battle, the Turks would enter the homes of the inhabitants and gather them in masses calling out “peace peace” and after the male inhabitants would hand over their weapons they would set upon them with cruelty and brutality and finally kill them. Muḥammad Al-'Umayrī who had defended Ḍurma with the people of Thādiq and Maḥmal, had escaped with them

after which when they had traversed a while they came across a contingent of Turkish soldiers whereupon a skirmish broke out with the defenders fighting with swords and spears before they were once again able to secure their getaway. Sa'ūd bin 'Abdillāh had been in one of the fortresses of the town along with a hundred men from Ad-Dir'iyyah, Ibrahīm fearing their rage let them go giving them a more realistic truce, allowing them to return with their weapons back to Ad-Dir'iyyah.

Ḍurma was pillaged completely; its wealth, foodstock, provisions and weaponry were all taken. As for those that remained alive from the inhabitants, then most of them wandered aimlessly into the desert and wasteland – leaving the town with no inhabitants.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> The question arises as to why this atrocity and its like are not mentioned in the annals of history and in the works of those that write it. If one analysed the accounts of those periods it becomes apparent that it is they, the upholders and supporters of *Shirk*, kufr, and innovations, that are guilty of mass execution, slaughter and butchery of populaces in the Peninsula at the time, not the people of *Tawhīd*. For why is it that in their accounts of that era there is always the reference to the “Wahhābi sacking” of the Rāfiḍite city of Karbala in 1216H (1801CE)? The fact is that the majority of these biased accounts, with their foregone conclusions are written by Ṣūfī, Māturīdī and Ash'arī writers. They seek to mislead the masses from the Salafī *Da'wah* with accounts of brutal and callous stories making clear what their actual objective is. It is a contest of *Tawhīd* against *Shirk* that marks the basis for these claims. For the *Da'wah* of Shaikh ul Islām came to eliminate the very practices these writers now seek to defend, hence the bitterness against the callers to *Tawhīd* and its defenders. Their condemnation of the attack on Karbala doesn't stem from their having any particular sympathy for the Rāfiḍah Shī'ah whom in the words of Ibn Taymiyyah:

“Allāh Knows – and sufficient is Allāh as A Knower; that there is not to be found in all of the sects that affiliate themselves to Islām – despite their innovations and misguidance in being more evil than them, nor more ignorant or more dishonest or more oppressive or being closer to disbelief and wickedness and sinfulness as well as being the furthest from the realities of Ēmān than them.” (See: *Minhāj us Sunnah an-Nabawiyah* vol 5 p. 160)

Rather their condemnation of the people of *Tawhīd* and the *Sunnah* counter to the people of wickedness and transgression is a sign to every Muslim of the ignorance and misguidance of the Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfī orientated groups in their

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support for the practices of *Shirk* and its people. Whether they are of the vilest of sects and closest to disbelief such as the Rāfiḍah, in opposition to those that are upon the belief of the early Salaf.

Regarding the accounts of atrocities committed at the time then the evidence speaks for itself, for why was the town of Tanūmah sacked after Thuwainīs attack upon it in 1201H (1786/87CE) with its entire population put to death and why is its mention curiously left out of their works? For what reason were the citizens of Najd imprisoned under the Sharīfs in Makkah with the death of some of them and why is its mention left out of their works? Why was the city of the Prophet (ﷺ), Al-Madīnah bombarded during Ṭūsūn's invasion of it in 1227H (1815CE) during which tunnels were dug out; filled with explosives and then blown up as a consequence shaking the foundations of the city which contains the graves of the Prophet (ﷺ) and his companions. Why did this city – held as virtuous by all Muslims; with a population of seven thousand men, have its water supply cut off by the Egyptians in the same conflict causing epidemics and why were its people fought against after they opened their gates to the Egyptians and have four thousand residents killed in the assault on the city? Why is this not mentioned in their works?

For what reason were the people of Ḍurma subjected to the relentless bombardment of their town and the subsequent butchery of their populace AFTER their surrender and had their town left barren of civilisation after Ibrahīm's attack upon it? Why is its mention left out of their works? What of the atrocities committed at Ad-Dir'iyyah after its fall and the subsequent executions of its scholars in the most abhorrent of ways as well as their populace and the displacement of its remaining citizens? Why is its mention left out of their works?

Why, after the fall of Ad-Dir'iyyah did the Ottoman State set up their 'concentration/death camp' in 1236H (1821H) under Ḥussain Bey at Tharmidā wherein a great mass of the people of Najd were killed or died from mistreatment? Was it not to eradicate entirely once and for all the remaining adherents of *Tawḥīd* and those that continued to hold the correct beliefs in the region? And why is its mention left out of their works? Why did Aḥmad Daḥlān choose to put fallacies and lies into his book concerning the carnage and bloodshed the Saudis were alleged to have committed when they took the city of Ṭā'if in 1217H (1802CE) when no such thing took place? When in actual fact the Amīr of Ṭā'if, 'Uthmān bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān Al-Mudāifī willingly allied himself with the Saudis thus making the town a protectorate of theirs. Yet their audacity has led them to claim that women

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and children were killed and infants were torn from the arms of their mothers and put to death. (See: *Şiyānatul Insān* p. 478)

Why do they avoid the mention of their own sacking of Karbala in 1843CE at the hands of Najīb Pāshā who was sent in to reassert ailing Ottoman suzerainty over the city? In the process massacring thousands of residents in order to cash in on the financial gains to be made at the shrines and tombs where *Shirk* was committed and where the visitors would curse and revile the companions of Allāh's Messenger. What of the cruel savagery committed by the Ottoman Turks during the First World War in the Peninsula when they mass murdered towns and villages in Al-Ḥijāz in the most pitiless and ruthless of ways? Why do they not state this in their works? For history has witnessed these events; chroniclers of the times have recorded them; but they seem to evade the mention of these realities. The reason they choose to leave these facts out is due to it being their own people that carried them out, those being of the same beliefs and creed. The Saudi attack on Karbala was to eradicate the presence of large scale *Shirk* in the form of the worship of graves and tombs and the countless shrines in the city, to replace this destructive practice instead with the *Tawhīd* of the Messengers and calling the people to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muḥammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم). It is a fact that the majority of the residents of these regions at the time were (and still continue to be) Rāfiḍah Shī'ah, who with their vile beliefs and evil practices were behind many of the attacks against the people of *Tawhīd* at the time. Thus is the blood of the Rawāfiḍ Shī'ah more inviolable than the Sunnī *Muwaḥḥidīn* whom the Ottomans and their allies were murdering? Is the Saudi attack upon Karbala in any way equal to the aforementioned massacres committed by their enemies upon them and their people? Or is it that the misguided Ṣūfī writers seek to highlight the case of Karbala because of their support and acceptance of the evil practices of calling upon the dead and slaughtering for them and other forms of *Shirk* in associating partners with Allāh?

It is the whole truth that to this very day the Ṣūfī callers and writers seek to hold the attack of Karbala against the First Saudi State and ignore the countless atrocities of their Ottoman predecessors – who were consequently of their same beliefs due to the Salafī *Da'wah* being at odds with *Shirk*. History has exposed their ways and time is a proof against their claims, for until this time the State of Turkey is haunted by global allegation of genocide against the Armenians at the turn of the twentieth century by the Ottoman State. It is a brutal legacy that cannot be hidden and will not go away, despite the deceitful veil its defenders seek to cover it with.

Meanwhile Ibrahīm had gathered the remaining three thousand women and children and sent them off to Ad-Dir'iyyah where the Imām took them in and found accommodation for them. The number of those that died defending the town numbered some eight hundred men whilst the invaders had lost fifty men.<sup>344</sup>

Nothing now stood between the Turco-Egyptian force and the Saudi capital itself. The Imām had begun organising the defences of Ad-Dir'iyyah and bringing in food supplies and men in preparation for the now unavoidable finale.

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<sup>344</sup> *Ta'rikh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 165-167 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 348

## Chapter VII | The Siege of Ad-Dir'iyyah

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“Alas – concerning the servants; those who acknowledged *At-Tawhīd* – and emerged and were raised within it and submitted to it for a time. How then do they exit from the Wilāyah (protection, authority and kingdom) of The Lord of the creation and The Best of Helpers to the protection/authority of the copulas and its people and are pleased with it in exchange for the protection/authority of The One in Whose Hands is the dominion of all things?!”

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Shaikh Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb in an excerpt from his treatise: ‘*Risālah Ad-Dalā-il*’ to the regional districts sent out at the time the Turco-Egyptian force had already landed in the Peninsula.

*Risālah Ad-Dalā-il Fī Ḥukm Muwalāt Ahlil Ishrāk* p. 69

Heavy rains had fallen in southern Najd, and as a result the routes to and from the towns were made even more arduous to cross due to the bad state of the trails and roadways which had been affected by the heavy rainfall. Ibrahīm remained in Ḍurma until he was able to move on, once able to; he rode towards Wadī Ḥanīfah then following along it where he left the main body of troops in the fields of Malqah (an hour away from Ad-Dir'iyyah). He then rode on with a detachment and some artillery further up the Wadī to find a suitable camping ground. Upon the first observations of Ad-Dir'iyyah, Ibrahīm paused at 'Ilb; a palm grove belonging to Amīr Faiṣal bin Sa'ūd. After a clash of gunfire (started by the invaders who fired upon the town) Ibrahīm retired back to Malqah with his contingent, not to return for three days.

On the third day Ibrahīm returned, this time with his entire army and set up camp at 'Ilb facing Ad-Dir'iyyah itself. He began preparations for offensive positions from where his artillery could fire onto the town. Ad-Dir'iyyah itself was well fortified, and in the months leading up to the siege the Imām had reinforced much of its outer walls and prepared the town itself for the heavy bombardment it was due to receive. Surrounding Ad-Dir'iyyah itself was not an option for the Turco-Egyptian force, since the town was too big and the invading force too small for such a task. The usual method in laying siege to a town could no longer be put into operation here as each side of the high edges of Wadī Ḥanīfah had walls built on either side of it with bastions lining them; this was too hazardous a method to undertake down the Wadī. Likewise, completely cutting the towns supplies off was also out of the question due to its location, size, and number of settlements networked within.

The plan was therefore to make three divisions, one going down the centre of the Wadī itself, and one on either side of it attacking the defences on each side and occupying them when they fell.

So the siege was to begin at the northern limits of the town, from 'Ilb and 'Awdah, below these settlements was the great settlement of Ghusaibah, and this was opposite the tributary of Bulaydah. Further down the Wadī turning eastward was the settlement of At-Ṭurayf; and it is here that the Saudi Imāms resided and ruled from. On the opposite side of the Wadī from At-Ṭurayf was Bujayrī, it is here that Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb had resided; and where his Masjid was and it was here that

his family continued to live. Further down the Wadī were the cliffs of Jabal Qurayn after which comes the large agricultural area of Mulaḃid – which was at the far end of the oasis.

The Imām had organised the defences of the town with fighters from both Ad-Dir'iyyah itself as well as from other Najdī towns. For when other towns had declared their loyalty to Ibrahīm, many of the inhabitants had sought to flee and arrived at Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to defend it. The Imām organised the defences so that many of these people were positioned along the fortified walls running down the Wadī.<sup>345</sup> The various Amīrs of the Saudi family were positioned at turrets and along the bastions and

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<sup>345</sup> This is the reason why accounts of this siege were to vary later on by those that survived to tell the story. A reader may often find that the primary sources of this event can portray somewhat differing accounts of some of the many episodes of the siege of Ad-Dir'iyyah. The varying accounts of the siege and the sometimes differing descriptions and reports over the events and incidents that took place are clear to see in many of the principle sources that deal with this event. The simple reason for such varying accounts is given by Ibn Bishr himself who mentions:

“During that time; many events occurred which cannot be comprehend in knowledge nor can it be discerned by the one who intends to pen them down. I saw that I should write some of them down and so I asked some of the men that were present and witnessed it with regards to it, however no two individuals could agree on one account. I was left bewildered at such excessive difference, then the point of the affair became clear to me, which is that each man from the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah was stationed at his rampart along with his troop, and the Turks were remaining constantly positioned against them; and so the people of this frontline had no knowledge of the nature of the fight of those in that vicinity. Rather the people of the western district were unaware of the fight of the people of the eastern district, likewise no man was able to relieve his position from his rampart due to the inseparableness of some of them to others, along with the frequent fighting; whilst the city itself was large and extensive and its districts were distantly located from one another.

Thus I came to know that I was unable to state every event upon its true reality, likewise I was afraid of addition and deficiency – and so I avoided mentioning the occurrences except for a slight amount of them.” (See: *Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 247-248)

ramparts along with a group of fighters who would remain with those Amīrs who possessed some cannon as well as stocks of ammunition. The Imām had placed his brothers Faiṣal, Ibrahīm and Fahd with groups of fighters to confront the invading force. The three brothers possessed a mere three cannon in the face of the superior enemy artillery. Further down the Wadī, Sa'ad had been placed to protect the heights of Qurayn. The Imām himself was within the towns walls along with the Āl-Ash-Shaikh and others from the town. He had a great stock of ammunition as well as cannon.

Fierce fighting began with the invading force firing artillery at the town with the defenders returning fire along with gunfire. This first period of fighting lasted nine days after which on the tenth day there occurred a fierce fight at Al-Mughīsibī on the northern end of the Wadī where fighting raged at its worst since the fighting began and as a result; there were many died on both sides. Then after further fighting, Ibrahīm sent some cavalry under the cover of darkness to the tributary of Ghubayrā where the cavalry halted beside it (possibly in its rear end) with the Saudis unaware of their presence. Then at sunrise Ibrahīm sent a detachment in the direction of Ghubayrā to confront the defenders face to face. Once within range of the Saudis and once the fighting erupted, the cavalry which had been lying in wait emerged whereupon the Saudis were now being attacked from the rear as well as from the front. This led to many deaths on the defenders' side. Artillery was bought in once the tributary had been taken along with the weapons which the defenders had left behind before they had abandoned their position; this consisted of cannon and other supplies.<sup>346</sup>

After the fight at Ghubayrā and seeing the formidable contest the Saudis had put up, Ibrahīm took to the lowly tact which the Turks had adopted in corrupting the souls and purchasing individuals. That of bribery; for there were those alongside Ibrahīm who were natives of Najd itself, so they were sent into the varying areas of the town to infiltrate and report back on the whereabouts of the fighters, key individuals, stocks and supplies. As well as access to the town from places which were not guarded adequately and a

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<sup>346</sup> *Ta'riḫ al-Mamlakatil-Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 168-172 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 348-349.

description of the locations where the Saudis had placed defenders on their bastions and fortifications.<sup>347</sup>

The information that came back to Ibrahīm proved highly useful to him, for after this he attacked Samḥah, a well known palm grove situated at the top end of Ad-Dir'iyyah nearer the Wadī. Some of the fiercest fighting of the whole war took place here. Ibrahīm sent cavalry along with 'Ali Awzun towards Samḥah, whilst sending other detachments to the west in order to outflank the Saudis who were guarding the area. With Samḥah taken there was further loss of life on both sides, however Ibrahīm was unable to follow up his initial successes at Ghubayrā and Samḥah due to his supplies having fallen short, so chose to await the supply caravans which had already been dispatched. This allowed the Saudis to regroup and make new defences further down the Wadī.

The Samḥah fort was taken soon after, which commanded a vantage point from which artillery was placed. Ibrahīm's force then set up artillery on either side of the Wadī and attacked the tower in which 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdil-'Azīz and his brothers and his men were located. Fighting took place at this point wherein Ibrahīm directed round after round of artillery fire upon the tower which caused some of it to collapse, though some of it remained standing. 'Abdullāh came out with some of his men and stood firm to defend the ramparts opposite. Whilst the invaders reached and captured the tower he had been defending. 'Umar bin Sa'ūd – the Imāms brother was in another tower nearby and was now under attack due to the fall of this previous tower. 'Ali Awzun turned on him all that he had and fired with artillery and cannon whilst ordering his men to direct their musket fire at the tower. When this happened, 'Ali Awzun called out to the contingent of men he had set up behind the tower thus trapping 'Umar between two attacking sides. The attacks intensified and were conducted simultaneously, which forced 'Umar to withdraw and retreat back which

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<sup>347</sup> Burckhardt alluded to this point when he stated:

“The Turks had suffered many defeats, but had always repaired their losses and became stronger after each. They also possessed the means of bribery, and the Wahaby chief well knew that some of his present companions were in their hearts his enemies...” (See: *Notes on the Bedouins* vol 2 p. 344)

led Ibrahīm to move forward with his force and cut off the Imāms other brother Faiṣal. The two invading forces now attacked Faiṣal whilst at the same time the Moroccan and Egyptian invaders launched an attack on the northern buttresses of the Saudis. This buttress was being bombarded by Ibrahīm's forces which perturbed the defenders who were losing the southern and northern sides, this was leaving Faiṣal outflanked.

The defenders; leaving their cannon and supplies set out to attack the enemy with just their swords and daggers penetrating the invaders and forcing them back to a palm grove known as Salmānī. It was at this point that Faiṣal and his brother Sa'ad came out and charged at the enemy with their swords and daggers chasing them while the enemy turned and retreated after a great number of them had been killed. Having left their positions Faiṣal, his brother Sa'ad and their men then made new defences further down the Wadī. The new defences were set up with the Imāms brother Faiṣal along with his brothers Turkī and Fahd and their men in the central section of the Wadī, whilst the southern section was held by Ibrahīm bin Sa'ūd along with the people of Al-Bujayrī. The Imāms son Sa'ad was holding his tower above the Ghusaibah fort which commanded a good view over the Wadī, Sa'ad also had with him a formidable cannon which played a major role in the war and held off an attack on the lower end of Ad-Dir'iyyah.

The Imām himself was in the heavily fortified area between the two gates of *Bāb Samhān* and *Bāb Qil'atul Bilād* along with the scholars of the Āl Ash-Shaikh and their relatives and other notables of Ad-Dir'iyyah.<sup>348</sup>

Each and every tower belonging to the Saudis was faced with an alternative tower in the hands of the Turco-Egyptian force, as was the position of their defenders in general. 'Ali Awzun went down to the southern areas opposite the southern bastions defended by the Saudis. Ibrahīm meanwhile had positioned his men throughout the areas of the city which had already been captured. The ramparts of his men directly faced the ramparts of the defenders which had been put in place by his siege engineers having been built and supported by stone. Fighting flared

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<sup>348</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 173-177

again with the defenders holding off attack after attack and gaining the upper hand over the invaders at times. In the meantime, supply caravans had traversed through the deserts from Cairo to replenish the Turco-Egyptian force, essential supplies for the troops such as ammunition, artillery and round shot, and shells for the artillery batteries as well as food supplies were arriving.

Whilst the siege inside the city was now beginning to show its devastation with inadequate supplies arriving for the defenders. For every thousand troops killed in Ibrahīm's force another thousand would arrive along with supplies. Whilst the defenders were on a continued decline in their numbers when their fighters were killed, day after day – this was to go on for six months.<sup>349</sup>

Ibn Bishr describes the replenishment of Ibrahīm's forces and its supply and reinforcements stating:

“This Pāshā was in a position of immense force by way of soldiery, wealth and military equipment such as shell rounds and cannon and case-shot and the numerous types of weaponry. Likewise, the frequent supply caravans arriving constantly from Egypt bringing soldiers and powder magazine/artillery stores and military hardware as well as pleasurable gratifications and stores and other than that from everything that replenishes an army, even the onions; they would arrive to him from Egypt!

His round shot and shells were a tremendous affair due to the quantity of their lead and the impact they would have on the ramparts and the walls and the houses.”<sup>350</sup>

The invaders had previously captured the ramparts of Samḥah forcing the Saudis to retreat being followed by the invaders who also took Dār As-Salmānī. The Saudis however; stormed and retook this and so the fighting continued in this area. At this point Ibrahīm sent a great force from his

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<sup>349</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 177-178

<sup>350</sup> *'Unwānūl Majd* vol 1 p. 264

cavalry to the district of 'Irqah in the lower end of the city. The cavalry attacked its residents killing around thirty of its men after which they charged the area setting fire to it before evacuating it. After this many skirmishes took place throughout Ad-Dir'iyyah with no real outcome for the attackers. This was the time of year when the fruits of the date palms were normally collected from 'Irqah. So the Imām sent a hundred men there to protect the fruit which were an essential food supply for the residents. Ibrahīm came to know of their affair and sent a Turkish cavalry force there to expel them from their position.

The siege was taking its toll upon the attackers, along with there being no significant accomplishment. So some of those that were with Ibrahīm from the people of Najd, advised him to seek help from the areas loyal to him for assistance in generating pace in the fight against Ad-Dir'iyyah. Ibrahīm did this and was joined by a great force from the people of Najd who joined the cause of the Turco-Egyptian force. Ibrahīm used this force to concentrate its efforts on 'Irqah along with the Amīr of Riyadh and some of his men and the people of Manfūhah and Al-Kharj. After besieging 'Irqah, its people came out seeking peace and so Ibrahīm took this area.

Soon after this there occurred the well-known explosion in the main camp of Ibrahīm, a result of a sudden gust of hot wind which blew into a fire that a soldier had started to cook some food. It blew a firebrand into the ammunition dump which ignited its stores that contained the gunpowder, shells, bullets and ammunition used by the invaders. The setting off of the ammunition led to a colossal explosion so loud that it was heard by nomadic Bedouin a three-day journey away. A fierce fire ensued in the camp which engulfed many of the men, their horses and tents. The disorientated troops that survived fled to the hill-tops around their camp to seek refuge from the inferno and subsequent explosions. The people of Ad-Dir'iyyah anticipated to launch an attack on the enemy at that point but, for some unknown reason, did not.

After the fire was extinguished and the damage assessed, affairs became constricted for Ibrahīm, however; he quickly re-organized his troops anew and began sending requests to all corners of Najd which were under his dominance for aid and to send what they had by way of ammunition and gunpowder. His requests were followed out and aid soon began to arrive. A

huge cargo supply was dispatched from Cairo sent by Muḥammad 'Ali containing ammunition and supplies. A number of supply caravans began arriving from Al-Baṣrah and Az-Zubair as well as some of the areas of Najd whose disgruntled people sought to aid the invader. Food arrived in the form of rice and wheat and all the requirements of the army; and it is here that Ibrahīm regained determination.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> It must be said however, that at this point Muḥammad 'Ali wrote to Ibrahīm stating that he was sending out Khalīl Pāshā who had a senior position in the Alexandria district to be 'of aid to him' in the conquest of Ad-Dir'iyyah. Ibrahīm feared that his father thought him weak so sent him the news of the capture of Ad-Dir'iyyah before the arrival of Khalīl Pāshā. This was in Ramaḍān 1233H (July 1818CE). (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 352)



Meanwhile the Imām's brother, Amīr Faiṣal was killed by a stray bullet soon after whilst relocating to another position.<sup>352</sup> Ibrahīm decided to tighten the siege around the city which was now dragging on for so long, skirmishes continued between the two sides in different areas of the city but to no avail.

Ibrahīm then decided to attack the bastions of Sha'ib along with the people of Al-Kharj and the Amīr of Riyadh and its people along with two heavy guns. The Saudis repulsed the attack with a great deal of fighting between the two sides. Ibrahīm sent in his cavalry which attacked and killed a large number of the defenders, but they responded and fought back and defeated Ibrahīm's force, causing him to retreat with some of his men after a great number of his cavalry had been vanquished. Ibrahīm soon returned and fighting broke out again from sunrise continuing till before the midday prayer, with the fighting only coming to a halt after a considerable loss of life on both sides.

After this a number of skirmishes continued, but the siege was taking an ultimate toll on the defenders. People had started leaving the city individually as well as in groups, commodity prices within were inflated – all as a result of a prolonged siege which was displaying the bleak and devastating manifestations within the city walls. To add to this, the commander of the Saudi cavalry Ghisāb Al-'Utaibī left the city secretly for Ibrahīm's camp. He was relied on by the Saudis and his deflection as described by Ibn Bishr, 'bolstered the determination of the Pāshā in the war and so he brought closer the artillery to the city whilst the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah were troubled with his deflection and felt grief and weakness at his exit.' Continuing he mentions:

"When those that left exited from the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah and other than them to the Pāshā, they informed him of their weaknesses and their inroads. They told him of the places in which its people have no strength in warfare and of the places where they meet at night. They told him of the

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<sup>352</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 178-180 and *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 348-350

places where there are but a few people and of the places that they could enter upon the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah whilst they would not realize.<sup>353</sup>

It is without doubt that the information Ibrahīm received from the residents benefited him much, it also helped him plan the final assaults which would bring the war to an end. In light of these details, Ibrahīm planned his attack; he sent a gun battery and a number of troops to the lower end of Ad-Dir'iyyah. There they attacked in order to keep the people of this area busied. Then he sent another force to 'Ali Awzun to lie concealed with him to the south, whilst himself launching an attack of artillery on the opposite end to prevent this area aiding the southern regions.

On the morning of Saturday the third of *Dhil-Qa'dah* after sunrise, the Turco-Egyptian force launched a full scale attack on these areas. 'Ali Awzun sent his force onto the ramparts above, these bastions overlooked the gardens of Mushayrafah – a palm grove that had belonged to Imām Sa'ūd. Once they ascended to the top of the bastion the soldiers found it vacant and unguarded, whilst beyond it lay the city itself, so they climbed over and set upon the inhabitants who had been oblivious to their presence. Whilst this was happening another assault was launched by the invaders on the northern and southern bastions; thus the defenders were busied in various districts with simultaneous attacks. The Turco-Egyptian force then launched an attack from the rear, just as another force was making its way down the Wadī from the front. This caused the Saudis to retreat and give up their positions on their defences which resulted in the death of many of them. Those that stopped fighting returned to their residences in order to defend them, Amīr Sa'ad who had been in his tower commanding the Wadī was under attack. He along with his men abandoned the tower and made their way to the Ghusaibah fortress; a well known fortress built by Imām Sa'ūd which had strong iron gates. He barricaded himself therein along with his men whilst Ibrahīm turned his cannon upon it firing round after round. It destroyed sections of the walls causing breaches and toppling its upper ends. The people of the district of

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<sup>353</sup> *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 352-353

As-Sahl were fighting fiercely to defend their city whilst the Invaders were within their dwellings.<sup>354</sup>

The Imām himself seeing what had happened moved from Samḥān to his headquarters of Ṭurayf, leaving his supplies and cannon and equipment in their places. Ibrahīm, who had come to know of the Imāms movements, turned his guns and artillery onto Ṭurayf along with his troops. The bombardment began upon the Dhahīrah gate with a barrage of shells and bullets – this continued unremittingly. Meanwhile the people of As-Sahl were still fighting the troops that had entered their vicinity – they were now joined by some of the people of Al-Bujayrī where the progeny of Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb including his grandsons lived.

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<sup>354</sup> *Ta’rīkh al-Mamlakatil ‘Arabiyyah As-Sa’ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 182-184 and *Dawlatul Sa’ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 352-353



## The Attempt to Storm Al-Bujayrī

The troops had entered Al-Bujayrī and began occupying the homes of some of the defenders and were also making their way through the palm groves. It is here that Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb<sup>355</sup> came out followed by other defenders from Al-Bujayrī who set

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<sup>355</sup> He was: The great 'Ālim, Shaikh Abū Sulaimān 'Abdullāh bin Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb born in Ad-Dir'iyyah in the year 1165H (1751/1752CE) the successor to his father after Shaikh-ul-Islām had passed away. He studied under his father and others and excelled in the Islamic sciences, his students were a great many and he authored a number of treatises and books. From them is the famous treatise which he wrote when he entered Makkah with Amīr Sa'ūd bin 'Abdil-'Azīz on Saturday of the first month of 1218H. In this treatise was an account of what took place as well as a general explanation of the 'Aqīdah and other affairs in methodology in *usūl* and *furū'* as well as a refutation of the opposers and a rebuttal of their maligning of the Salafī *Da'wah*, which highlight the extent of the knowledge of the writer. A collection of his treatises, works and *fatāwā* can be found in *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* and elsewhere. The Shaikh was the 'Ālim of Najd as well as its *Muftī*; he possessed an indepth understanding of the different *madhabs* and was profoundly knowledgeable of the Islamic sciences. He attained a status in knowledge and understanding that no one else in his time possessed, therefore he became the reference point in dealing with problematic issues and was a source for *fatāwā* and in the rulings pertaining to judicial matters. In the year 1187H when Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz gathered a force to capture Riyadh; at the head of the force was Shaikh 'Abdullāh. After the capture of the city and once affairs had settled in Riyadh; the Shaikh established a Masjid in the 'Dakhnah' district of the city which was known as Masjid Shaikh 'Abdullāh.

The Shaikh and his sons bravely defended Ad-Dir'iyyah against the forces of Ibrahīm Pāshā. After the fall of Ad-Dir'iyyah in 1233H he was exiled to Egypt in 1234H where he remained in Cairo until his death in 1244H. The Shaikh not only demonstrated courage during the seige of Ad-Dir'iyyah, but he illustrated immense patience afterwards. For he was to lose two of his sons after the truce with Ibrahīm Pāshā, of his three sons - all of whom were 'Ulamā; Sulaimān, 'Ali and 'Abdur-Raḥmān, Sulaimān was killed in 1233H after the surrender. 'Ali who had been a judge over Al-'Uyainah and then Al-Aḥsā was killed by Turks near Ad-Dir'iyyah in 1234H. 'Abdur-Raḥmān was exiled to Egypt where he went on to teach in Al-Azhar University where he taught the Ḥanbalī madhab and attained a position of

upon the troops with their swords. Their voices filled the district of Al-Bujayrī and the surrounding hills as they attacked the Turks. The Shaikh and those with him managed to expel the invaders from this area, not before leaving the ground strewn with the corpses of the dead Turco-Egyptian troops all around on the ground.<sup>356</sup>

Ibn Bishr and others describe the brave resistance of the people of As-Sahl and Al-Bujayrī wherein the scholars were residing, the Turkish military had spread out and took up positions over the people of As-Sahl occupying the houses and date palms and were about to seize the area. However, its people out-manoeuvred them in an immense operation and despite the severe onslaught of the Turks upon them, Allāh, The Most High, protected them and averted the hands of the Turks from them. Then Shaikh ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Wahhāb unsheathed his sword and stood at the well known gate of Samḥān calling out amongst them and fought a battle of the valiant ones such that he shattered the rank of the soldiers whilst Allāh safeguarded him from being killed. So the people of Al-Bujayrī gathered around him and repelled the aggressors from every side fighting with such intensity that the horror of which would turn the hair on a young child grey. The area turned dark as though darkness had descended due to the dust thrown up and the clamour of swords striking the enemy until they forced them out from the area – debased.

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great eminence. Shaikh ‘Abdullāh died in Cairo in the year 1244H (١٢٤٤هـ). (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 46-50 and *Arba’ Rasā-il Fiqhiyyah* p. 13-42 and *At-Tarājum Al-Mukhtārah* p. 15-78)

<sup>356</sup> Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān mentions:

“He (Shaikh ‘Abdullāh) was brave and fearless. He stood at the well known door of Al-Bujayrī at Ad-Dir‘iyyah and unsheathed his sword and fought like the fighting of valiant ones whilst pronouncing his unforgettable statement:

‘To be in the belly (inside) of the earth upon honour is better than being on it upon lowliness.’

Then he struck at the soldiers and tore them from their standing point. And that was at the end of the war of the Pāshā against Ad-Dir‘iyyah.” (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 47-48)

It has been reported here that Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh being present also partook in the fighting, for he was an accomplished horseman and was well acquainted with the art of warfare. He undertook great bravery against the Turks when they arrived to fight and stood in their way in order to prevent them from attacking. In one of the attacks; he was upon his horse with his sword in his hand and commenced upon a Turkish cavalier, when he rode close to him he struck him severely with his sword splitting him into halves leaving one half falling to the ground with the other half still mounted upon the horse he had been upon. With that the Turks who had been observing this became terrified and fear and inferiority entered their hearts leaving any of them that appeared in front of him to flee from his face – and this was the reason of their defeat in this attack. It has been said also that this may have been the reason why Ibrahīm Pāshā ordered his killing later on due to what had been seen from his bravery and immense strength and severe standpoint against the Turks.<sup>357</sup>

### The Final Assault

Ibrahīm meanwhile had gained access to the heights to the west of At-Ṭurayf for the final bombardment, it was one of the last districts to be captured; and it is where the Imām was located. The people of At-Ṭurayf tried desperately to defend the area; Ibrahīm gathered his entire force and surrounded At-Ṭurayf from all sides. He ordered artillery fire from the tops of the hills; this caused many of its dwellings to collapse at the severity of the attacks and huge breaches in the walls of the At-Ṭurayf fortress. The troops tried to storm the fortress but the Imām and those with him from the horsemen prevented them and so sustained the defence. Next the Imām took the cannons out of the fortress and into the Masjid of At-Ṭurayf itself returning fire at the enemy with them. He was joined by some of the men of Al-Bujayrī and the surrounding districts and so the fighting continued in this way for a further two days whilst the Ṭurayf settlement was bombarded from all sides.

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<sup>357</sup> *Tarājum Mukhtārah* p. 59-60 and 138-139 and *Ta'rīkh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah Part 4* p. 125-126.

The entire city had been lost including the Wadī and so the defenders were clearly in a situation where they were fighting a losing war. The fighting became so intense and the bombardment so forceful that those with the Imām soon began to breakout leaving the Imām with but a few defenders; this caused him to fear for the safety of his women-folk and children from falling into the hands of the soldiers and being harmed by them and so sent Ibrahīm the appeal for surrender. Ibn Bishr mentions:

“Most of those that had been with the Imām had now left him, he distributed money amongst them and they took it and escaped. So when ‘Abdullāh saw this he sacrificed himself in order to safeguard the women and children and the resources. So he sent a request to the Pāshā for peace, so he ordered him to come out to him and so he went out to him.”

Thus ‘Abdullāh bin Sa‘ūd set out to the camp of Ibrahīm Pāshā on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *Dhil-Qa’dah* 1233H (9<sup>th</sup> September 1818CE) and was greeted by Ibrahīm with hospitality; in the subsequent truce made between them were conditions which were agreed, from the conditions was that ‘Abdullāh was to travel to Egypt and from there to Istanbul – as desired by the Sulṭān and that the city would not be destroyed.<sup>358</sup>

Subsequent to the fall of Ad-Dir‘iyyah in one of the meetings between them, he (‘Abdullāh) said to Ibrahīm Pāshā:

“You are strong O Ibrahīm; and your father Muḥammad ‘Ali is stronger than you; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd is stronger than your father. However; Allāh is stronger than you all.”<sup>359</sup>

There is a reference in a letter written by Russell the French Consul at the time who sent it to the Foreign Ministry in Paris. He remarked that when ‘Abdullāh bin Sa‘ūd went to the encampment of Ibrahīm Pāshā in order to discuss the terms of peace, Ibrahīm spoke the following words saying:

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<sup>358</sup> *Ta’rīkh al-Mamlakatil ‘Arabīyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 184-185 and *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 353

<sup>359</sup> *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 214

“It is now that you have come to see my power, and so you have submitted. I shall ensure your security until you reach my father, and my father will ensure your security until you reach the Sulṭān.<sup>360</sup> As for the Sulṭān, then we do not know what he will do with you!”

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<sup>360</sup> Amazing are the lengths and extents that the people and misguidance and innovations will go to in order to justify their erroneous ill-deeds and accuse the people of the *Sunnah* who adhere to the correct methodology of the upright pious predecessors of falsehood and fallacy. Here is Ibrahīm Pāshā standing before the defeated Imām of Ad-Dir‘iyyah dictating the terms of surrender stating it is his responsibility to ensure the Imām reaches Istanbul safely to stand trial before the Sulṭān – in whose name Ibrahīm has led the expedition by order of his own father Muḥammad ‘Ali. But this is the same man who would afterward conduct himself towards the Sulṭān in the most unfaithful and disloyal manner as a result of policies associated to: invasion and subjugation and nothing else. For by the year 1249H the Turco-Egyptian wars were well under way with Muḥammad ‘Ali having seized Syria by force from the Sulṭān by again using his son Ibrahīm who in the words of the Syrian historian ‘Abdur-Razzāq Al-Baiṭār; during the Syrian campaign ‘consolidated the Syrian territories, and subjugated the people and made permissible the forbidden things. As well as carrying out all of the serious misdeeds and sins, therefore there was nothing left from the disfigured (acts) in his time except that it was carried out without any disapproval... The military established themselves in most of the Mosques and schools and other buildings and so prevented the worshippers from entering them and turned them instead into their residences as well as for their animals... And so Christianity was given precedence over the way of Muḥammad...’ Along with these violations Ibrahīm and his father in an attempt to discredit and undermine the authority of the Sulṭān to whom they had previously pledged their allegiance and who were now exceeding the bounds; gathered the people and proclaimed that ‘the Sulṭān had exited the limits of his predecessors, and had excelled in oppression and transgression and that he had ordered for the people to change the appearances of the populace and their garments and to make the Christians and Muslims equal in appearance. The reason for this is his poor judgement and as a result; his enemies from the Franks have overpowered him such that they have come to take control of much of the Islamic lands. He has no respect or trust remaining with the sovereigns nor with his subjects and as a consequence of that it is from welfare that he be removed from the Sultanate and authority... Then he requested a Fatwa to be produced for the allowance of that and that the Muftī and the scholars throughout the land and of every madhab sign it, and so they wrote what he desired.’

'Abdullāh replied:

“You are strong O Ibrahīm, and your father Muḥammad 'Ali is stronger than you, and Sultān Maḥmūd is stronger than your father. However, Allāh, The Glorified and The Most High is stronger than all of you. If it is not destined for me to be killed, then indeed all your swords cannot cut my head.”<sup>361</sup>

After this the Imām entered his residence and remained there during his last days seeing to any final tasks and preparing for his final journey.

Accordingly, 'Abdullāh set off on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *Dhul Qa'dah* for his journey to Egypt.

After the truce had been agreed and arrangements made; it heralded the end of the era of the First Saudi State. Ibrahīm had hardly agreed the truce with the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah after the Imām had departed except that he began undertaking a course of oppression and revenge.

Subsequent executions began to follow; so from the people were those that were executed by firing squad such as Rashīd As-Sardī, the judge of Al-

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Who rebelled against whom? It has been established that Najd was never a part of Ottoman domains and so the Najdīs did not rebel or transgress against the Turkish State. But here Ibrahīm on behalf of the Egyptian State not only rebels against the Sultān, but transgresses the bounds towards the religion and the people in general, and he is in the eyes of the Sufi writers and historians the 'liberator' of the Holy Cities from the hands of the 'Wahhābis' – and the: 'Conquerer of the Wahhābis'. So let not the Muslims be misinformed and misguided to the reality of the past by the people of misguidance and innovations who wish to see a return to the worship of rocks, graves, trees and other objects and who throw falsehood and lies in their histories in accusing the people of *Tawḥīd* to be rebellious renegades whilst they as well as their allies are guilty of the like, but they remain silent regarding it; and wish to keep it silent. (See: *Hilyatul Bashār fī Tar'rikh Al-Qarn Thālith 'Ashar* vol 1 p. 15-29, and within these pages observe Ibrahīm Pāshā's infamous conduct in Syria during his occupation of it.)

<sup>361</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 134

Ḥawṭah and Al-Ḥarīq. As were 'Abdullāh bin Aḥmad and 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad and Ḥamad bin 'Ēsā bin Suwailim and others.

Then there were those that were executed by being tied to the mouth of a cannon before it was fired. From them also was 'Ali bin Ḥamad,<sup>362</sup> the judge of Al-Kharj and Ṣāliḥ bin Rashīd and 'Abdullāh bin Saqar. Ibrahīm also ordered the judge and Shaikh, Aḥmad bin Ḥasan bin Rashīd Al-Ḥanbalī<sup>363</sup> to be tortured and whipped – this was done as well as pulling out his teeth. Many others were put to death with the circumstances of their demise being unknown – such as that of Shaikh 'Ali bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Shaikh 'Ali bin Ḥamad's father had been from amongst the students of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and from the helpers of the *Da'wah* and so 'Ali bin Ḥamad grew up learning and taking from the scholars of Ad-Dir'iyyah whilst having great love for the *Da'wah* and its people. After he had studied greatly and had benefitted from the scholars; Imām 'Abdullāh appointed him as judge over some of the areas around Al-Kharj where he dedicated himself to his job in the best way possible. Ibn Bishr mentions of him:

“He was an 'Ālim of excellence and was a judge in the area of Al-Kharj; and was killed as a martyr in the year 1233H. For when the armies of Ibrahīm Pāshā were advancing; he entered Ad-Dir'iyyah in order to be from the defenders of the faith and State. After a lengthy war the State then surrendered to the invading army; and he (Shaikh 'Ali) would openly declare his enmity of them and his being free and distanced from the invaders out of honour for his religion and country as well as distancing himself from falsehood and its people. Ibrahīm Pāshā – became aware of this from him and thus he entered amongst those that were killed whilst exercising patience.” (See: *Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 5 p. 178-179).

<sup>363</sup> A biography of Shaikh Aḥmad bin Ḥasan bin Rashīd Al-Ḥanbalī can be found in the epilogue.

<sup>364</sup> Shaikh 'Ali bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb was the grandson of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and had been born and raised in Ad-Dir'iyyah and had studied under its scholars – those being from amongst his own family as well as the other numerous scholars from whom he took knowledge. He had been appointed over the judiciary in the city of Al-'Uyainah and then became judge in Al-Aḥsā during the era of Imām Sa'ūd; and continued in his position under Imām 'Abdullāh. He was known for his fine handwriting and his ability to transcribe clearly, a few of the works which

Ibrahīm remained in Ad-Dir'iyyah for around nine months, during the course of which he was given orders to send all of the remaining members of the Al-Sa'ūd family and the Āl Ash-Shaikh to Egypt. So the orders were followed out and both the progeny of Sa'ūd and that of the Āl-Ash-Shaikh were put under military escort and sent off along with their women-folk and children. During the course of this, Amīr Turkī bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin Sa'ūd the future Imām managed to escape – not to re-appear again until 1235H (1820CE). Shaikh 'Ali bin Ḥussain bin Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb also escaped to Qaṭar and Oman remaining there until Amīr Turkī bin 'Abdillāh returned and re-established rule in the region. Along with them a great many others escaped and scattered throughout the land.

Muḥammad 'Ali did not suffice with the defeat and surrender of the people, instead rejecting the second condition of the agreement of the truce. In the month of *Sha'bān* 1234H (1819CE) he sent orders to his son Ibrahīm to raze Ad-Dir'iyyah and its fortifications and city walls as well as to demolish its residences. So Ibrahīm ordered the people of Ad-Dir'iyyah to leave after which he ordered his troops to demolish the fortresses and homes with no regard and mercy for small or old. The soldiers hastened in the demolition work as it hastened their return to their land; some of the homes they demolished still had its inhabitants inside. They turned then to the date groves and chopped down the date palm trees and set fire to the homes and fortresses causing some of them to collapse.

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were written by him survive until this day such as his manuscript of *Sunan Abī Dawūd*. Ibn Bishr mentions regarding him:

“As for 'Ali bin 'Abdillāh bin Muḥammad; then he had a great understanding of the *ḥadīth* and its men and *Tafsīr* and other than that. It was mentioned to me that he had made an explanation of *Kitāb At-Tawḥīd* – the work of his grandfather Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb; however, we have not seen this explanation nor has it been mentioned to us as to where it is found. Yet Shaikh 'Ali's extent was not to last long; and so he fell into the clutches of the Turkish soldiers of Ibrahīm Pāshā – and so they killed him near Ad-Dir'iyyah” This being in the year 1234H. (See: *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 5 p. 240-241 and *At-Tarājum Al-Mukhtārah lil Imām 'Abdullāh* p. 150-170).

Ibrahīm ordered the horses that had belonged to the Saudi family be transported along with their military hardware. Whilst his troops roamed the city markets beating people and tormenting them, they would round up the men from the residences and force them to haul on their backs what would otherwise be hauled by animals. They likewise forced them in the demolition work of their own town and shops and compelled them to carry its timber afterwards. They were ordered to bring forth water for the troops and all of their horses – with no regard for distinction between the scholar in his level and the one possessing good for his excellence. Money too was extorted from the residents.<sup>365</sup>

Ibrahīm moved locations in the city from Samḥān along with his cannon and artillery and hardware. He settled at the lower end of Ad-Dir'iyyah in a date grove called Al-'Uwaisiyyah. Here he re-organised his remaining troops spreading them out in the date groves and different districts of the city. He likewise sent different parties of troops to different regions of Najd along with artillery with the command to demolish the city walls of any of the cities they would come across and to raze their fortifications along with wheat and barley being gathered from the towns leaving little for its residents.

Money which used to be given to the Saudis was being gathered, for when some of the troops reached the region of Al-Aḥsā they began killing anyone attributing himself to the Saudis and seized their wealth and the wealth of the Saudis. Likewise, they began killing the Imāms of the Mosques from the people of Najd such as 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Nāmī whom they detained and imprisoned and took his wealth after which they killed him oppressively.<sup>366</sup>

People began fleeing in the wake of the approaching forces, the progeny of 'Uray'ir fearing for themselves and their wealth the peril of pillage and plunder left the Al-Aḥsā region and settled in the northern areas followed

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<sup>365</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 184-185 and *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 353.

<sup>366</sup> A brief biography of 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Nāmī can be found in the coming pages.

by their relatives. Ibrahīm's forces continued spreading their corruption in this region until Ibrahīm himself departed the land.

After Ibrahīm had finished razing Ad-Dir'iyyah, he departed from it along with his forces and camped at the well of 'Al-Ahwar' in the Ḍurma neighbourhood.<sup>367</sup> This had been a place where Imām Sa'ūd used to keep his horses, Ibrahīm remained there for over a month.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> During this time, he left his main force here and set out with a smaller force for an expedition in which he was nearly killed when he attacked another expedition of two hundred men from 'Ujmān, whereupon one of them leapt upon him whilst he was on his horse stabbing him with his dagger in a powerful blow in the upper seaming of his lower garment so hard that it sliced his saddle splitting it in half and penetrated his horse's back with a significant wound. (See: *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* p. 195-196)

<sup>368</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 1 p. 193-195.

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مطابقاً بدو سالیگرم دولتاً نعم حضرتك

بدرخ مدجه نك اتفاقاً برن نظامه بگن خودن در بطوب ميده خودن بر خودن و خودن ازده سینه مقتضون ابروگ  
 در نظام خودن صلواتي رهي طرفاً بنه و بسيار برونش اوفته در بيش دمه جاكازم و خاويون سبزه سلام بركازم و بشد  
 كان مقصيح اوليخته كوره بر طاقفه بلغبه نك اندي طرف خودن بوانه دكبن نقصان ايگي سته مرد ايدوب خندت در نوبه  
 دبدك بر طاقن بين العرب اميرالك ناميكه شويكبر الوشن اوله خردن بشقه طرف طرون اوله سته اشعي و شيبه  
 برفخ سته در دعيان اولون كاد به رتاسيه فن عربي كاليه اوكرشي اليربه قق طالع پادشاهي به جسيه و برونه  
 ايستان و كوكبدي كسيه پايان الوشكن اطمن و كاذون خودن مفيددي كرككبي قطع الوذيريه فاندرك  
 بزون بزون بر طرف اوله بروب بنو ليرينك خودن من كان امسندن چه بچه كراحتك طرف بطرف طرفه برونه  
 بو والدي مالوا شد كوشد اين جكاري و كاد بر طرف مال و كرك تصايبه اندر نيه كنده ده نظام  
 حادري كان اوله ميچني برهني و قدون كاشي بوجول و بيايان شفق سرفايه سوبلازمه اوله بزم خردن قدر  
 قاهر و فرد بيمه بو والينك حسن نظام بچون ابع دود ماه رهي نامقي اختيار ابروب دولت عليه به برونه  
 مضمون اولون حولي جدملك رهي مامدينك خصانن فلاس ذنيه ليزن اوله بزي وضع حلي الوضوه  
 اشاد حاله ابتداء و افشور انشا الله تعالى صودت حال و كيفيت موكله بنو ليرينك خلاصه  
 ندر حقيقت ميديت سلامم عالمشون و لالعياري بيورلوق بويابن نه كونه حركت اوله بزي و برونه  
 صودت نيريه و دعيت فلفي اتفاقاً ابروگ سبباً و ما جاد افاده و شغامي نهنه هم سببه  
 اصفا نه لري دكار و ميديت بيدي و بنه ليرينك اگاه فلفي بانبه ابروگ و اوبان و برونه  
 هاتيار نيزه طرفت و دقلا و طم نعم بدو ساليگرم نعم حضرتك

An image of Ibrahim Pasha's letter to his father in which he mentions that he had received instructions from the Sultan to vacate Najd and to return to Al-Madinah.

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said: "Then he (Ibrahīm) moved to Al-Hawar<sup>369</sup> with his troops, he sent those that he sent to Egypt – after he had sent 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd (رحمة الله). He was followed by his family and his brothers and the senior ones from Āl Ash-Shaikh. After this he (Ibrahīm) performed the Ḥajj; and so Allāh caused annihilations to reign over his troops – and none reached Egypt from them except a few."<sup>370</sup>

Ibn Bishr mentions: "In this year (1233H or 1818CE) a great deal of disorder/chaos and differing occurred. Wealth was plundered and men were killed, a people were bought forth (given precedence) whilst others were dismissed. That was by the wisdom of Allāh, The Glorified and by His pre-ordainment.

...The organisation of unity became lost – as well as hearing and obeying. Commanding with the good became absent as did forbidding the evil – such that a person was unable to forbid the evil – or to enjoin the good. Forbidden acts were practised as were disliked ones – in open. Obedience – and those that stood with it were given no regard... The sword of tribulation was unsheathed between the masses, it became such that a man could be in the very depths of his own home and was not be able to sleep.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> This is the name given by Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān in *Ad-Durar*, it is the same well mentioned before as 'Al-Ahwar'; however – the Shaikhs' being a native of the region at the time would render his citation as more reliable than that of the other source. It is the name of a well situated west of Ad-Dir'iyah.

<sup>370</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 35

<sup>371</sup> Refer to the book *Mirā'atul Ḥaramain* by Ibrahīm Rif'at Pāshā for further insight into the anarchy and lawlessness in Al-Ḥijāz during subsequent Ottoman mismanagement and accounts of how pilgrims would travel the region in fear of bandits and highway robbery. A total disregard for human life followed during this time in which a bandit would shoot dead a pilgrim in order to rob him to find he had nothing to rob and so would lament over the loss in value of his bullets in having gained nothing. The narratives are impartial, for the author; himself an Ottoman subject was well experienced in journeys in Al-Ḥijāz at the time, he had been head guard of the Egyptian Maḥmal in 1901CE and 'Amīr' of the Egyptian Maḥmal in 1903CE. Nothing changed for over half a century, for sixty years later, 'Allāmah Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khan gave account of his journey of the Ḥajj during this period in which he refers to the fear and apprehension his fellow travellers had of the banditry in

Travels and journeying was overlooked between the lands, allowing all types of evils to become manifest in the towns. The traits of *jāhiliyyah* became manifest once more between the servants; and they were called out with over the heads of those that witnessed.<sup>372</sup>

Even by the following year (1234H) Ibrahīm was still conducting 'clear-up' operations in the region to track down people that had escaped or were still at large. He sent the previous rulers of Al-Aḥsā; Mājid bin 'Uray'ir and his brother Muḥammad bin 'Uray'ir back into the region and they attempted to seize all the wealth that had been designated in the region for the Saudi State. They killed anyone who had been an official or in their retinue – including the Imāms of the Mosques! From amongst those that they seized was the Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Nāmī;<sup>373</sup> and so they took his wealth – and then put him to death in this year – oppressively and out of transgression.<sup>374</sup>

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the region. Rather he mentions how the authorities themselves fell into immoral undertakings when he stated: "I found at Jeddah; cunning shrewdness from the Turks, oppressing the people by taking their wealth through false ploys." (See: *Riḥlatus Ṣiddīq ilā Baytil 'Atīq* p. 167-176)

This period is in stark contrast to the years before in which there was peace and security in the region and in the Peninsula as a whole during the First Saudi State. Ibn Bishr mentions that 'he people were such that they would leave their camels to graze and wander where they wanted without fearing that anyone would intend anything unpleasant upon them. A person could travel by himself with immense wealth anytime he wanted to any place he desired without fearing anyone but Allāh.' (See: *Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 236-237)

<sup>372</sup> *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh* p. 83-85.

<sup>373</sup> Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Nāmī was born in the city of Al-'Uyainah and grew up therein studying under its scholars. He responded to the *Da'wah* of Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb and possessed a very notable comprehension. Imām 'Abdul-'Azīz appointed him as judge of his city (Al-'Uyainah); so when Imām Sa'ūd took up rulership he transferred him to the Al-Aḥsā region to continue as judge after its former judge Shaikh Muḥammad bin Sulṭān died in the year 1223H. Then when Imām 'Abdullāh became ruler he also endorsed him as judge; and so he continued to remain upon the judiciary there until Ibrahīm Pāshā's expedition into Najd. (See: *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 3 p. 273-274).

<sup>374</sup> *'Ulamā Najd Khilāl Thamāniyah Qurūn* vol 3 p. 274

Ibrahīm was content with the destruction of Ad-Dir'iyyah in specific and of the political and social chaos and anarchy that had been brought about in Najd as well as the Arabian Peninsula in general,<sup>375</sup> the harms of this entire endeavour cut deep in the social fabric of those it had come to affect and who had to live with its devastating consequences.<sup>376</sup> He, along with those

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<sup>375</sup> This did not stop nations from congratulating the invaders in their bloodthirsty exploits in Arabia, since the rise of the First Saudi State had again unified the Arabian Peninsula centuries after it had first been unified in the early part of Islām but had long since been thrown into anarchy and chaos; this new unification under the First Saudi State coincided during the heightened age of Imperialism and the colonial race between European nations. As a direct result of the rise of this strength and union within the Arabian Peninsula, any colonial aspirations of these nations in and around the Peninsula were in large kept in check, whether along the Red Sea or Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. As became clear once the British East India Company who had a trade port in Kuwait felt sufficiently threatened by the expansion of the First Saudi State outside of the Peninsula into 'Iraqi territory. Hence the fall of the First Saudi State later in 1818CE was well received by the British who promptly dispatched Captain George Forster Sadlier of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment in 1819CE to congratulate and establish links with Ibrahīm Pāshā on behalf of the Governor General of India. Ibrahīm had evacuated Najd and had journeyed on to Al-Madīnah and so in his pursuit; Sadlier became the first European to unwittingly make the first recorded crossing of the Arabian Peninsula, this was in order to convey the congratulations of the Governor General of India, 'on the very spot where the arms of the Ottoman Empire, under the command and guidance of his Excellency, had obtained so signal a victory.' (See: *Diary of A Journey Across Arabia* p. 82)

<sup>376</sup> Recounting the devastations he had witnessed less than a year after the fall of Ad-Dir'iyyah, Sadlier lamented that he had 'been dragged a reluctant witness to the devastations of the Pacha's army.' Complaining yet further of what he witnessed and came to know of he stated:

"It has unluckily fallen to my lot to have become acquainted with a leading feature of Ibrahim Pacha's character, from personal observation, to which I have to add that the general history of the late campaign entrusted to his management exhibits a series of the most barbarous cruelties, committed in violation of the faith of the most sacred promises; on some occasions to enrich himself by the plunder of the very tribesmen who had contributed to his successes, and in other cases to obtain possession of the wealth of such of his vanquished enemies as had for a moment screened themselves from his rage.

that had instructed this expedition had ensured that the reform movement had been destroyed and thoroughly uprooted by way of their power-base being ruined, their ruling authorities killed or taken prisoner along with their scholars; and those that had any religious influence or authority were banished, exiled or hunted down. In theory the Turco-Egyptian invasion was commenced to achieve this very goal, however – this could not happen as is explained by Shaikh Al-Fawzān who said:

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These unfortunate wretches, deluded by the fairest promises, have frequently fallen victims to his avaricious disposition, and insatiable desire to shed human blood.”

When speaking of what he saw of the ruinous nature of Ad-Dir‘iyah he said:

“The walls of the fortification have been completely razed by the Pacha, and the date plantations and gardens destroyed. I did not see one man during my search through these ruins. The gardens of Deriah produced apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates; and the dates were of a very fine description; citrons were also mentioned, and many other fruit trees, but I could only discern the mutilated remains of those I have mentioned.”

Sadlier went on to describe some of the sad state of affairs in the loss of morals which had befallen the natives of Najd as a result of the wars when he said:

“It is hardly to be expected that the morals of the Bedouins would be improved by the intrusion of the Turks, and however famed the Arabs may be for the chastity of their females in their secluded state as pastoral Arabs (far removed from an intimacy with the vices of cities), it has unfortunately arisen as one of the concomitant circumstances attending the introduction of a numerous and depraved soldiery, that the morals of these people have become tainted by the introduction of vices hitherto said to be unknown; among them it is very well ascertained that an open or public disregard of chastity has never been noticed by any traveler who may have visited Arabia, and my surprise was called forth by witnessing the misery of several Bedouin girls who had followed the camp from Riaz, and even from Remah. They proceeded generally on foot, dependent on the occasional attention of a Turk, who probably had shared their favours, and in return permitted them to ride on one of his camels, thus forsaking a life of innocence for the most horrid state to which human nature could be debased – that of a common prostitute, following a Turkish camp through the deserts of Arabia.”

(See: *Diary of A Journey Across Arabia* p. 76, 158 and p. 66-67)

“By this he thought by way of his ignorance that he had terminated this *Da'wah*. However, no one is able to terminate the *Da'wah*. This is because in is built upon The Book and The *Sunnah*, so it is the call of the Messenger (ﷺ) and so it is not possible to terminate it – ever, because Allāh, The Glorified, is Protecting it. Even if its people are afflicted with something by way of killing or occupation from their enemy, for indeed the *Da'wah* is never harmed, rather this will only increase it in strength and firmness. This is because it is the call of the Messenger (ﷺ) and so Allāh has pledged with its aid and victory – and that it will endure.”<sup>377</sup>

### The End of the First Saudi State

The Imām reached Egypt under military escort on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *Muḥarram* 1234H, the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1818CE. Muḥammad 'Ali received him in his palace at Shabrā (a district of Cairo) making gestures of great cheerfulness whereupon he said to him: “Why this delay?”<sup>378</sup>

Imām 'Abdullāh replied: “The war was lengthy with alternate success.”

So he asked: “How did you find Ibrahīm?”

He replied: “He did not fall short; and spared no effort in his determination. We were likewise – up until there came about that which The Lord had decreed.”

So Muḥammad 'Ali said to him: “I will *Inshā Allāh* implore for you with our *Mawlānā* – the Sultān.”

'Abdullāh replied: “That which is decreed shall come about.”

In another narration when the Imām was asked by Muḥammad 'Ali regarding his son Ibrahīm he said:

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<sup>377</sup> *Sharḥ Risālah Ad-Dalā-il fī Ḥukm Muwalāt Ahlil Ishrāk* p.16.

<sup>378</sup> Meaning: what had delayed the wars being brought to a conclusion and your subsequent arrival?

“Your son carried out what was obliged of him, and I carried out that which was obliged of me, and Allāh will judge that which is between us!”

This answer pleased Muḥammad ‘Ali. Then the Pāshā said to him: “What is your opinion of the incidents of Najd having now become confined to history?”

The Imām replied: “Before mankind reads it as a chronicle of history, it has already been written a foretime in the Preserved Tablet.”<sup>379</sup>

Then he was imprisoned after which he was sent to Istanbul reaching it on the seventeenth of *Ṣafar*.<sup>380</sup>

In another report ‘Abdullāh bin Sa‘ūd reached the Peninsula of Istanbul on Thursday the fifteenth of *Ṣafar* in the year 1234H. He and his companions were fastened in chains and led to the ‘Bustānji Bāshi’ prison after they had been paraded a great deal through the varying routes, as well as close to the *Bābul ‘Āli* (lofty gate) so that the people could catch a glimpse of them before their being consigned to imprisonment where they remained for three days during the course of which interrogations were conducted upon them over what they had done!

After the interrogation had ended the execution of ‘Abdullāh bin Sa‘ūd and his accomplices was legitimised.<sup>381</sup> So they were first sent to the old Al-

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<sup>379</sup> *Ta’rīkh Al-Bilād Al-‘Arabiyyah As-Sa‘ūdiyyah* vol 4 p.141.

<sup>380</sup> *Dawlatu Sa‘ūdiyyah al-‘Ulā* p.354 and *At-Tāj Al-Mukallal* p.309.

<sup>381</sup> Ayyūb As-Ṣabrī – an author of severe resentment towards the people of Najd – mentioned that the Imām could not be executed immediately after being sentenced as the sentence itself required the approval of the Sulṭān and his authorisation. So they waited until the Sulṭān attended the Old Government House whereupon ‘Abdullāh was bought before the Sulṭān besides whom stood the Prime Minister Darwaish Pāshā and ‘Shaikh-ul-Islām’ Makki Zādah Mustafā ‘Āṣim. Then the edict which the Sulṭān had agreed to was read out and so a ‘fatwā’ was issued for the execution of ‘Abdullāh and his accomplices for their ‘ensuing upon crimes’. These were listed and from them were: barring the routes of the Ḥajj and inciting the tribes upon disobedience...

Humayun Government House where the Sulṭān himself and his entourage were observing as spectators the horsemanship display and the equestrian javelin games and so he glanced at them from a distance. Then they took them to the 'Bāli Kawshk Square' where their execution was carried out.<sup>382</sup>

In other reports he was paraded through the streets of the Ottoman capital for three days before being beheaded at the gate of *Humayun* whilst others that were sent with him were executed throughout the city. His body was then exhibited for a number of days before being tossed into the Bosphorus; this catastrophe occurred during the rule of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan II in the year 1234H (1819CE).

Al-Jabartī said:

"News has reached us concerning 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd that when he reached Istanbul; they paraded him around the city and then executed him at the gate of *Humayun*. They likewise killed his followers in different districts – and thus they all went amid the martyrs."<sup>383</sup>

Ibrahīm Pāshā returned to Cairo in a 'triumphal entry'<sup>384</sup> the following year, amidst lavish celebrations in Cairo which went on for a number of days.<sup>385</sup>

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and so on after which the edict was carried out. 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ūd met death with rare bravery. (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p.143)

<sup>382</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 142

<sup>383</sup> *Ta'rikh Al-Bilād Al-'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* vol 4 p. 144

<sup>384</sup> Although Ibrahīm is commonly considered a successful 19th Century general of Egypt, some of the realities of the chronicles of the time are sometimes obscured by those that record them. His success is attributed due largely to the harsh measures of his ostensibly 'successful' military operations beginning with Ad-Dir'iyyah and later at Morea (the Peloponnese Peninsula in Southern Greece) regarding which Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh mentions:

"Then the Sulṭān sent 'Najīb Afandī' to Muḥammad 'Ali seeking from him that he himself goes there, but he replied to him that he was unable due to sickness – and that Ibrahīm Pāshā would stand in place of himself. Whilst before that he had sent his son Ḥussain Bey who had scattered the people of

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Najd and had some of them killed in Tharmadā – may Allāh kill him. Najīb was sent out before the sending of Ibrahīm Pāshā along with his army that was with him in Najd. So Ibrahīm Pāshā followed him to help and be of aid to him. They then descended upon Morea in order to fight its people. However; Allāh debased them, and there erupted amongst them a severe fight. As for the troops of Ḥussain Bey; then none from amongst them reached Egypt except a young boy.

As for Ibrahīm Pāshā, then he bought his life from them with money. Look at these instantaneous punishments that Allāh, The One free of all imperfections and Most High, brought about upon the commander and the commanded. Yet most of mankind are unaware of these affairs – and this is what we mentioned concerning there being in it great heed; and a proof for the people of this religion that; when Allāh allows their enemies to have authority over them, and they get from them whatever it is they get. Then the end result and safeguard will be for those that remained firm upon their religion, and stood with the religion of Islām.” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 36-37)

Other campaigns in Ash-Shām included the taking of Acre, Damascus and then defeating the Ottoman army at Homs and again at Konya and then finally at Nezib (present day Nizip). Some would allege that the campaign of Ad-Dir'iyyah was a success, despite the oppression, wrong doing, killing, and repression and violations committed by those under whose banner this campaign was championed. Despite the massive Egyptian loss of life (some twelve thousand men in Ibrahīm's campaign) and despite the toll the campaign took on the Egyptian economy which demonstrated later on that the operation was too great a burden to have been undertaken. The financial burden of the campaign was afterwards extorted from none other than the Egyptian populace themselves.

<sup>385</sup> The fall of the Saudis against the forces of Muḥammad 'Ali also cooled the chests of those in authority in Persia (the Shī'ah). The news of the fall of Ad-Dir'iyyah rang out massive jubilation in the Persian royal courts. Such that Shah 'Abbās sent a letter to Muḥammad 'Ali congratulating him over his success in bringing a conclusion to the Saudi State. He praised him and his 'good actions' which he took up in the path of the religion stating:

“I looked into what you did in killing the Arabs and you were patient upon bearing the toilsome burdens, you strove in readying battalions... You cleared the Najdī land with honour and glory. You opened the door of aspiration by opening Ad-Dir'iyyah and you were profound in repelling innovations and rejecting the invented religion, as well as cutting out the root of the corrupt doers...”

Shaikh 'Abdullāh Al-Bassām mentions:

“I read in some of the books of Egyptian history that; when Ibrahīm Pāshā returned to Cairo after the war at Ad-Dir'iyyah; the scholars and *Shuyūkh* of Al-Azhar came to him to congratulate him.<sup>386</sup> However he did not pay attention to them, nor did he concern himself with them. When he was asked concerning that he replied: ‘The true Scholars are those that are in the Najdī deserts.’<sup>387</sup>

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Then in an appendix to the letter he mentions how he could not present anything to him worthy enough for the venerable duty he undertook except for an ancient sword which the Persian rulers would inherit from their forefathers from aforesaid. (See: *Dawlatu Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā* p. 301-302)

<sup>386</sup> This is bizarre, since some years earlier the scholars of Egypt had acknowledged the true nature of the *Da'wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām. 'Abdur-Rahmān Al-Jabartī mentions regarding the year 1217H (1802CE): “there is the news regarding Ibn 'Abdil-Wahhāb (Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb) and the manifestation of his affair from around three years ago in the direction of Najd. Many of the Arab tribes have entered into his 'Aqīdah and his callers have spread in the regions of the land. He claims that he calls to The Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger, and that he commands with the abandonment of innovations which the people undertake, and are upon and other than that. He sent to Shaikh Ar-Rakb Al-Maghribī a book and along with it were some papers which comprised his *Da'wah* and his beliefs; and it began with: Bismillāhi Raḥmān Ar-Rahīm, alḥamdulillāhi... then he (Shaikh Ar-Rakb Al-Maghribī) said:

‘If it is such then this is what we ourselves profess as religion to Allāh also.’” (See: *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 16 p.327)

<sup>387</sup> Al-Jabartī mentions:

“Then Ibrahīm returned from this absence of his being in immense pride within himself. Self-conceit entered into him the like of which there is no excess – such that when the *Shuyūkh* came to give him *salām* and congratulate him on his return, when they met him he was seated in his chancellery; he didn't get up for them – nor did he return their *salām*, instead they sat down giving him the congratulations of safe return. He didn't reply to them... not even with an indication! Instead he began talking to someone else as a form of ridicule with himself. Then whilst he was in that state they finally got up to leave; dejected, disobliged and languorous.” (See: *Ta'rikh Al-Jabartī* p. 1013)

This was due to that which he had seen from them by way of their *Ēmān* and their honesty as well as their exemplifying the conditions of the early *Salaf*.”<sup>388</sup>

Regarding the return of what was left of the army, then Al-Jabartī mentions what took place in Cairo at the return of the soldiers who had fought in this expedition saying:

“And in it (i.e. *Ṣafar* 1235H – November 1819CE) there arrived a group of Moroccan and Arab soldiers who had been in Al-Ḥijāz. Along with them were families of the *Wahhābis* women-folk, girls and young boys. They descended at Al-Hamayyīl whereupon they began selling them to whoever wished to purchase them – even though they were Muslims and free citizens!”<sup>389</sup>

These were from some of the events which closed the chapter on the era which had been known as the First Saudi State. Saudi rule had for a limited period of time come to an end, even though the principles of the Salafi *Da’wah* remained firm with adherents of it who continued in its propagation. They were to succeed in that to a large extent, for many a scholar from other regions and Islamic lands were influenced by the *Da’wah* – conveying it to their own countries.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 89-90

<sup>389</sup> *Ta’rīkh Al-Jabartī* p. 1012-1013

<sup>390</sup> *Dawlatu Sa’ūdīyyah al-Ūlā* p. 356

## Chapter VIII | The Outcome is for the Believers

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...Then He, The One free of all imperfections – from His Mercy and His Benevolence compensated the people of this *Da'wah* in a way in which He allowed them to prevail. By His Blessings He caused them to be victorious – time after time. Some of you came across that in what went before; and whoever has not come across it, then it has surely reached him as to how the tests and trials enumerate over the people of this *Da'wah*.

Then for them was to be the outcome; and that is the preceding *Sunnah* of Allāh, The Glorified towards His Prophets and Messengers. “The severest of people in being tested are the Prophets, then those most alike and then those most alike. A man is tested in accordance to [the strength of] his religion.”

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Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf in a letter to the scholars during  
the Second Saudi State.

*Ta'rikh Najd Khilāl Kitāb Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* p. 155-156

Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān Āl Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said:

“The affair ended with a truce, whereupon he (Ibrahīm) gave them a truce; and a covenant (of safeguard) – for what was in the city by way of men and wealth – even for the fruit that was upon the date palms. However; he was not faithful... They were treacherous with Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh<sup>391</sup> and the

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<sup>391</sup> He was: the Imām, the 'Allāmah, the Faqīh, the Muḥaddith; Sulaimān ibn Shaikh 'Abdillāh ibn Shaikh-ul-Islām Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb Al-Musharrafi, Al-Wahbī, At-Tamīmī, Najdī in nativity, Ḥanbalī in madhab, Salafī in 'Aqīdah (belief) and methodology. He was born in Ad-Dir'iyyah in the year 1200H (1786CE). His enthusiasm in seeking knowledge and his interest in that which is related to ḥadīth and its sciences is illustrated by way of some of the trustworthy ones who reported from him that he said: “My knowledge of the men of ḥadīth is more than my knowledge of the men of Ad-Dir'iyyah.”

Shaikh 'Abdullāh Al-Bassām made a note here saying:

“The intent is that he did not busy himself in other than knowledge itself; in seeking it; and researching; and revising. Such that he surpassed his contemporaries and so gained supremacy over his friends. He gained much knowledge – in such a short time.”

After Imām Sa'ūd bin 'Abdul-'Azīz took control of Makkah at the end of the year 1221H, he sent Shaikh Sulaimān in order to partake in the judiciary there. So the Shaikh stayed there for a period of time as a judge in Makkah with the other judges that had been selected by the Imām. After which he returned to Ad-Dir'iyyah and continued with the judiciary there.

He taught for a period of time in Ad-Dir'iyyah despite the presence of his father and his uncles illustrating the extent of his knowledge and their testament to his knowledge. The times of the lessons taught were: after sunrise, at the *Ḍuḥā* time, after *Zuhr* and after *Maghrib* in the *Al-Jāmi' Al-Kabīr* following the prayers. A great many people benefited from his knowledge. Ibn Bishr mentions how he would teach from *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* in the presence of Imām Sa'ūd bin 'Abdul-'Azīz. Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān Āl Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said:

“A great many people took knowledge from him from the people of Najd and other than them from those that came to Ad-Dir'iyyah at that time. Unfortunately, however; it was not possible for me to know their names.”

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A great number of people were killed in the siege of Ad-Dir'iyyah or tortured after its fall and a great number exiled to Egypt or displaced otherwise – from them were the students of the Shaikh who were to witness these events. The extent and number of which is known only to Allāh.

From his students however was his own brother, Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin 'Abdillāh Āl Ash-Shaikh (1219H-1274H) who was exiled to Cairo where he taught the Ḥanbalī Madhab, as well as the great scholar, the *Faqīh*, Muḥammad bin Sulṭān bin Muḥammad (1213H-1298H) and a great many others.

Ibn Bishr mentions:

“He was (رحمته الله) an āyah in knowledge, he had a complete understanding of *ḥadīth* and its men and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of it and the *Ḥasan* and the *Ḍa'īf* as well as in *Fiqh* and *Tafsīr* and grammar. He was one who enjoined the good and forbade evil; he would not care for taking the reproach of the censurer in the way of Allāh. He would not be taken aback by the greatness of the ruler when commanding good or forbidding evil. Nor would he debilitate the weak that would come to him seeking benefit or seeking his aid. He had many gatherings in teaching and he authored and taught and gave *fatāwā*. He was set as an example in his time with regard to understanding.”

Shaikh Ibn Qāsim mentions:

“He was the *Hāfiz*, The *Muḥaddith*, The *Faqīh*, the *Mujtahid*, the *Thiqah*, the unique of the *Hufāz*, the jewel of his era, the attraction of the time... He was an āyah in: knowledge, and forbearance, and memorisation, and intelligence, he had a complete understanding of *ḥadīth* and its men and its *Ṣaḥīḥ* and its *Ḥasan* and its *Ḍa'īf* as well as in *Fiqh* and *Tafsīr* and grammar. In regard to the understanding of the men in the chains of narration in *ḥadīth*, then his eminence was of the major *Hufāz*. He was set as an example in his time with regard to intellect. He had beautiful handwriting; non in his time could write with a pen the like of him...”

No one was seen to have attained what he did by way of perfection and learned sciences and praiseworthy attributes which had not been perfected with anyone other than him – despite the youthfulness of his age... And whosoever arrives at his speech can witness the astuteness and the fine quality and the intelligence and the memorisation and the fine understanding...”

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Shaikh 'Abdullāh Al-Bassām said:

“Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm Āl Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said: “Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh went out once with some of his friends to one of the orchards of Ad-Dir'iyyah. So they tested him to see if he could distinguish between the melon plant and the gourd plant – he couldn't distinguish between them.”

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said:

“The proficient 'Ālim and the intelligent well known 'Allāmah, the *Faqīh*, the *Muḥaddith*, the *Uṣūli*, the Shaikh... The profound 'Ālim ....no one in his time could write with a pen the like of him in Najd... For he was (رحمة الله) with all that we have mentioned of him by way of excellence and knowledge; severe in his respect and honour of the inviolabilities of Al-Islām and the religion as a whole. He was one who would enjoin the good and forbid the evil, he would not care for taking the reproach of the censurer in the way of Allāh.”

His dislike for corrupt actions and his speaking against them, as well as his love of good and his enjoining them became known. Once it was known that he had an intense regard of honour for that which Allāh had made inviolable, Ibrahīm Pāshā thus brought him out after being tipped off about him. Shaikh Sulaimān gave no regard to whether he was the Pāshā; and so admonished him with severe reproach whereupon Ibrahīm had brought forth in front of him musical instruments and equipment for making melodies in order to infuriate him and set his heart alight. Then after this he took him out to the cemetery and ordered his officers with his execution in a firing squad – firing their rifles at him simultaneously. After they did this, then they tore his body up until he died, subsequently gathering his flesh in pieces.

After this Ibrahīm went to Shaikh Sulaimān's father in order to complete what was in his chest by way of malice for this *Da'wah* and so to inform him of his son's death saying: “We have killed your son – old man!”

Shaikh 'Abdullah replied: “If you hadn't have killed him – he'd have died.”

The Pāshā began repeating the words with his tongue; and contemplating over them with his mind.

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān Āl Ash-Shaikh (رحمة الله) said after mentioning the method of his killing:

Āl-Suwailim<sup>392</sup> and Ibn Kathīr ‘Abdullāh due to the indecent Baghdadī who pointed them out to him; thus Allāh had chosen for them.

After this; the people of the city dispersed from it, the palm groves were cut down and the residences were demolished – except a few...<sup>393</sup>

Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzān mentions:

“Then the Najdī land did not remain except that it was afflicted with something of laxity. There entered into it something from opulence and becoming busied with the *dunya*; and it is here that it received its penalty. For its enemies gained sovereignty over it, returning it to what it had been before the *Da’wah* of the Shaikh with the differing of the people and their mutual fighting. Then after that they returned to Allāh whereupon their State/country was returned. Then there occurred something from shortcoming and so the confusion returned along with the splitting and differing up until the coming of King ‘Abdul-‘Azīz (رحمة الله). He subsequently trailed the path of his predecessors, the path of *At-Tawḥīd* and so gathered the people under the *kalimah* that none has the right to be worshipped except Allāh. Thus for the third time the honour and sovereignty of this land was returned to it – and all praise is for Allāh.”<sup>394</sup>

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“We seek refuge with Allāh from this savagery and cruelty and lack of humaneness and mercy.”

Shaikh Ibrahīm bin ‘Abdul-Muḥsin said:

“May Allāh disfigure his killer; for it is a must that justice is to be administered between the creation on The Day of Appointment.” (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 47-125)

<sup>392</sup> From those that had been influenced by the *Da’wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām and his treatises and who were to be from the earliest helpers of the *Da’wah* were individuals from the family of Āl-Suwailim. They had accepted the *Da’wah* before the Imām had migrated to Ad-Dir‘iyyah. (See: *Rasā-il Al-Imām Muḥammad bin ‘Abdīl-Wahhāb* vol 2 p. 687)

<sup>393</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 34-35.

<sup>394</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt fil ‘Aqīdah wad-Da’wah* vol 2 p. 85.

Shaikh Muḥammad bin ‘Abdil-Laṭīf Āl Ash-Shaikh and Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“Every time the people of this *Da’wah* were afflicted with shortcoming and committed a breach, for the reason of falling into sin and wrongdoing; then Allāh, The Most High, restored to them their recurrence by His grace – returning their federation – time after time. Until Allāh bestowed the advent of Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz bin ‘Abdir-Raḥmān.”<sup>395</sup>

Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“Their soldiers ran amok and in torment and corruption. So Allāh let war prevail between the Sulṭān and Muḥammad ‘Ali;<sup>396</sup> and so Allāh returned

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<sup>395</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 410 (Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz bin ‘Abdir-Raḥmān being: King ‘Abdul-‘Azīz, known otherwise as ‘Ibn Saud’ – founder of what would become the Third Saudi State – known today as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.).

<sup>396</sup> These became known as the Turco-Egyptian wars. It began when in 1824 at the request of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II; Mohammed ‘Ali sent Ibrahīm and the new Egyptian army to the Peloponnesus to subdue Greek nationalist rebels. Ibrahīm’s well-trained troops routed the Greeks. But the Greek guerrilla bands harassed his army, and in revenge he retaliated heavily when he desolated the country and sent thousands of the inhabitants into slavery in Egypt. These measures of repression aroused great indignation in Europe and led to the intervention of the naval squadrons of Britain, France and Imperial Russia whose combined fleets destroyed the joint Ottoman-Egyptian naval force at the battle of Navarino off the southern Greek coast in 1827. Disagreement with the Ottoman sulṭān over the Greek conflict resulted in Muḥammad ‘Ali suspending his allegiance to the Ottoman Sulṭān, thus sending Ibrahīm to invade Syria (Ottoman territory at the time). Then in 1832 victory over the Ottoman troops at Konya, gave Ibrahīm control over Syria and Adana provinces. Ibrahīm during this time opened greater Syria to the penetration of Western merchants and missionaries. The struggle between Sulṭān Maḥmūd II and Mohammed ‘Ali continued in 1838. In 1839 Ibrahīm again overwhelmed the Ottoman forces on the Anatolian border and was victorious at the battle of Nezib (Nizip), resulting in a total defeat for the Ottoman fleet. Maḥmūd II died of tuberculosis before the news of this further defeat reached Istanbul. With the Sulṭān dead, Ibrahīm victorious on the Anatolian border, the army scattered, and the Ottoman navy already deserted to Egypt, the major European powers,

the opportunity once more for the people of Najd. They returned to the state they were in from the onset – upon that which they were upon before waging war against this State, just as He, The Most High, said concerning Banī Isrāʼīl:

ثُمَّ رَدَدْنَا لَكُمُ الْكُرَّةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَمْدَدْنَاكُمْ بِأَمْوَالٍ وَبَنِينَ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ أَكْثَرَ  
 نَفِيرًا • إِنَّ أَحْسَنَكُمْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ ۖ وَإِنْ أَسَأْتُمْ فَلَهَا

‘Then We gave you a return of victory over them and We helped you with wealth and children and We made you more

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(except France), feared the final disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Intervention of the powers in 1840 forced Mohammed ‘Ali to yield his claims to Syria and Adana. In return, the Ottoman Empire and the European powers recognized Mohammed ‘Ali’s hereditary rights to the position of ‘Pāshā’ of Egypt. Ibrahīm would meanwhile remain with his forces. Then, finally in 1841 British and Austrian forces drove Ibrahīm out of Syria and Adana.

These events and the course which they took were a must, for what was their cooperation together against the people of *At-Tawhīd* founded upon? And what was their mutual reason and justification for their severe and ferocious aggression displayed against those people in their hostility against those that upheld the very principles that the Prophets and the Messengers were sent with? Since if their reason was the re-conquest of the Holy Cities as some historians point out then they achieved that initially in 1813CE and ratified it with a treaty when they entered Al-Qaṣīm and felt endangered. But when granted safe passage and the danger was eliminated they disregarded the treaty made with the people of *At-Tawhīd* and remained determined to crush the call to *At-Tawhīd*, its proponents and its centre – proving that it was those very principles they wished to eradicate under their excessive, immoral and corrupt union. Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah mentions as is found in *Majmū’ Fatāwā* (vol 15 p. 128):

“And the people; if they co-operate upon sinfulness and transgression, they will hate each other – some against others – even if what they carried out was done at their contentment.”

Observe then how the catalyst utilised in this campaign against Ad-Dir’iyyah was to come and choke those that instructed it. Observe also what means, no matter how immoral and wrong, the people of misguidance and innovations utilize in their efforts to eradicate the truth.

numerous in manpower. If you do good; then you do good for your own selves, and if you do wrong; (you do it) against yourselves.”<sup>397/398</sup>

Al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Sulṭān Al-Ma’sūmī (رحمة الله) said:

“So caution then, caution from those that are brothers for a mere duration. Since they are forbidden from the necessary assignments of Islām, just as they became forbidden from implementation of The Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم) – even if they claim to be from *Ahlul-ḥadīth* or the Salafīs. However, their actions prove the fallacy of their claims as is witnessed, so how strange the state of Islām has become amid its scholars and its claimants! It was due to this that Allāh, The Most High, forbade them from attaining the *Khilāfah* upon the earth and made them instead doomed to being contemptible under the feet of the disbelievers.”<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Sūrah Al-Isrā: 6-7

<sup>398</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 39

<sup>399</sup> Ironically, the ailing Ottoman Empire took its fatal blow a century to the year of the fall of Ad-Dir’iyyah after their crashing defeat during the First World War. For they had sided with the central powers – primarily the German Empire, losing for the most part the majority of their territory and compelling them to seek an abysmal armistice from the Entete powers of Britain, France and Russia. Leaving the victorious allies to divide what they had taken from the declining empire and dividing it amongst themselves in order to fulfil their covetous imperialistic aspirations. Leaving what was left of the ‘empire’ which had now been reduced to Anatolia itself (modern day Turkey) to rid itself of six hundred years of Ottoman rule at the hands of Muṣṭafā Kemal ‘Ataturk’ who abolished the ‘*Khilāfah*’ and established a secular state.

The dynasty of Muḥammad ‘Ali known as ‘*Khedives*’ continued under successive rulers until Ismail Pāshā began taking out massive foreign loans from Europe to improve the infrastructure of Egypt. The debts mounted up and his government found difficulty in repaying them thus Britain had him removed from office. After 1882 Britain invaded Egypt in support of his son Tawfiq Pāshā succeeded by Abbās II. After this Abbās II, during the First World War supported the Ottomans and was subsequently deposed by the British who then declared Egypt a protectorate. Husayn, the uncle of Abbās II was placed as ‘Sulṭān’ and so the dynasty continued through Husayn until by

With the exception of Āl-As-Sa'ūd and Āl-Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb, at the head of them King 'Abdil-'Azīz. For indeed Allāh, The Most High, has granted them towards goodness and good deeds. So all praise is for Allāh – Lord of all creation.”<sup>400</sup>

Shaikh Muḥammad bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān said:

“For years they had been established upon that; in peace and vitality, in honour and enablement. Their banners fluttered east and west, south as well as north – until there descended upon them suddenly what was to descend – from the colossal events. That which disturbed the hearts and consequently unsettled them from the homeland. It was a pre-destined consequence; its cause was the indulgence in sinfulness and disobedience. Since whosoever disobeys Allāh – and he knows Him; then Allāh will give ascendancy over him through the one that doesn't know Him.

And so the *fitnah* that encompassed them; that was the *fitnah* of the Turkish and Egyptian soldiery, the Islamic regulation dispersed, its helpers scattered – as did its notables. Then the Islamic State disappeared, and so the people of hypocrisy announced their hypocrisy. Thus there returned to the religion of their fore-fathers those that were to return – to that which they had been upon previously by way of *Shirk* and disbelief. Yet there remained firm upon Islām those that were to remain firm.”<sup>401</sup>

'Abdullāh bin 'Abdil-Laṭīf bin 'Abdir-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan said:

“They were patient in the cause of their Lord, upon that which came upon them by way of severity and enmity. And so Allāh made them as sovereigns due to that, and thus the Arabs submitted to them. They did not cease to be upon that state until there transpired the trial of desires which necessitated punishment. Thus Allāh gave reign to the Egyptian soldiery; as a purification, as a trial and as an examination.”<sup>402</sup>

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the early 1950's when, due to huge public discontent they were ousted in a coup by the 'Free Officers' and Egypt was declared an Arab Republic.

<sup>400</sup> *Tamyīz al-Maḥzūzīn 'Anil Maḥrūmīn* p. 274

<sup>401</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 10 p. 450-451

<sup>402</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 163-164

# Epilogue

Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“So ponder O one possessing a heart; for were it not that there hadn't occurred from the people of this religion by way of being at odds with the legislation in some instances; then the aid/victory would have been even greater than it was. However; Allāh pardons many – and protects His Religion from those that intend to extinguish it. So to Allāh belong all praise and benevolence, we cannot enumerate enough praise upon Him. For He is as He Himself has praised – and above what the creation praise Him.”<sup>403</sup>

He said also:

“The Islamic traditions became manifest in many of the Najdī regions as well as in other than it – as has been mentioned. Allāh rectified due to them what those nations had corrupted; those that made war upon them, they that tried to repel them from this religion – in order to extinguish it. However, Allāh prevented that; instead giving them honour and renown, the mention of which has preceded.”<sup>404</sup>

He mentioned likewise:

“Reflect over these occurrences; and what is in them by way of extraordinary favours and clear indications – of the truthfulness of this *Da'wah* to *Tawḥīd* and worshipping Allāh sincerely and solely. As well as rejecting *Shirk* and disparagement whilst paying careful attention to establishing the Islamic rights – in a way legislated by Allāh and His Messenger. Likewise prohibiting that which Allāh and His Messenger prohibited, by way of *Shirk* and innovations and the corruption which has occurred in the latter part of this *Ummah*. However; hidden is this from the people of discord and opposition.”<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 32-33

<sup>404</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 41

<sup>405</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 32-33

Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“So if it is said: that which you have mentioned is correct; however Allāh, The Most High, caused the Egyptian State to have authority over their country. Killing those that they killed, cutting down the date palms, demolishing the residences and taking what had been in their hands by way of wealth and so their corruption began to spread in Najd.

We say: yes; these are the effects of the sins which had become manifest when the affliction of the *fitnah* of desires became widespread amongst them. This was due to causes: from them was the *dunya* opening up to them and their being drawn into seeking after it and becoming wasteful in it. The dire courtiers took hold – as did their numbers. Likewise, their closeness to the Imām and an acceptance of what they made fair seeming and embellished.

Thus the commanding of good and forbidding evil was weakened – it became very scant. The harms began to be plentiful upon him, carelessness set in, and turning away. Hence came the punishment due to what had occurred by way of disregard and negligence; thus the people of desires were competent in taking over them.

وَلَا يَظْلِمُ رَبُّكَ أَحَدًا

“And your Lord does not oppress anyone.”<sup>406</sup>

However; Allāh The One free of all imperfections, was graceful to many from the people of Najd, in protecting for them their religion and travelling to where this enemy could not harm them – in the land of Allāh. So they held onto the rope of Allāh; and it was they that had the conclusion over this enemy – which had taken authority due to the sin of the one that sinned and the neglect of the one that was negligent and the carelessness of the one that was careless. He returned to them the

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<sup>406</sup> Sūrah Al-Kaḥf: 49

comeback – time after time.<sup>407</sup> So all praises are for Allāh for His Bounty and His Justice, in this too is a great lesson and a huge blessing.”<sup>408</sup>

Shaikh ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said: “Many have acknowledged the correct nature of this Islamic *Da‘wah* and the *Sunnah* of Muḥammad, such as those from the people of Egypt,<sup>409</sup> Ash-Shām and ‘Iraq.

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<sup>407</sup> By way of His Mercy, Allāh, The Perfect and Most High, restored the call to *Tawḥīd* in the region after the colossal tribulation which had come by way of His Wisdom to afflict it. He preserved some of the believers to remain steadfast until a possible return to its re-establishment. So there were those that were to escape the clutches of the enemy who had reckoned the complete destruction of the call to *Tawḥīd*; and so Turkī bin ‘Abdillāh bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd and his son Faiṣal escaped into the desert – to return at a time close at hand and raise again the banner of *Tawḥīd* – and so establish the Second Saudi State.

<sup>408</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyah* vol 12 p. 41-42.

<sup>409</sup> It was to reach these regions and become manifest as the correct *Da‘wah* and attested to by the scholars and people of those regions. For it was to not only enter Egypt, but the household of the Pāshā himself. How Allāh establishes the proof against the people of falsehood and wrongdoing is found in the example of many from those that were exiled to Egypt only to take up posts of teaching and given positions of great respect over the masses. From them was Aḥmad bin Ḥasan bin Rashīd Al-Aḥsā‘ī known famously as: ‘Al-Ḥanbalī’. Born in Al-Aḥsā he grew up learning under the scholars of his time, studying the various sciences and excelled in them all due to his instant ability to grasp and understand and his ardent desire to learn and work hard. He surpassed his friends such that some of them studied under him as instructed by their Shaikh. As a result of ongoing operations by Sa‘ūd bin ‘Abdil-‘Azīz in Al-Aḥsā, his Shaikh took flight to Al-Baṣrah whilst he himself sought permission and went to Al-Madīnah where he was accepted with great respect and continued taking from the people of knowledge there. He also married the daughter of the Shaikh of Al-Madīnah and gained eminence.

He began writing to the Ottoman Sulṭān ‘Abdul-Ḥamīd and his ministers appealing to them to expel Sa‘ūd from the *Ḥaramain*. He also wrote to the scholars of Rūm (Anatolia) and Ash-Shām in that regard but the last event was that the scholars of Ash-Shām upon seeing the lack of help from the Porte sent him financial aid saying:

“We have given up hope of assistance from the Porte, so make plans for getting to us with this.”

They were plentiful in supplicating for it, this too is a point of observation, a proof of the correct nature of what Shaikh-ul-Islām revived from the religion after the severity of its absence had become manifest in every time and place. It became such that the one who sought knowledge and

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However, he could not and thus Madīnah was subsequently captured by Sa'ūd soon after whereupon he was given a position of teaching and respected and honoured greatly by the Saudis due to his knowledge of the *madhab* of the Salaf and his renown. The correct nature of the *Da'wah* of Shaikh-ul-Islām became clear to him and he taught their books and stood firmly with them, he had great esteem with Imām Sa'ūd who consequently ordered the Amīr of Al-Madīnah not to issue or state anything without seeking his opinion. When their rule drew to a close and they escaped, he fled with them (from Al-Madīnah) instead going back and forth between them and Ibrahīm Pāshā trying to secure a truce but was inconclusive. Ibrahīm Pāshā reproached him for leaving Al-Madīnah with them as he was residing with Imām 'Abdullāh in Ad-Dir'iyyah however he excused himself with weak excuses which led to his being ordered back to Al-Madīnah but he replied instead with: "I will not leave them except if they change." This incensed the Pāshā who upon capturing their territory (Ad-Dir'iyyah) seized him and unleashed upon him a variety of persecutions which included beatings and punishments and having all of his teeth pulled out. It was only when the Pāshā witnessed a dream in his regard which disturbed him did he release him from his torture. His father Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā who had heard of this did not approve since he had been from the residents of Madīnah and a brother-in-law of theirs and he had been known before to have criticised them (the Saudis) and sought the assistance of the Porte against them as well as being known for his knowledge and intellect. He then ordered for him to be sent to him in Egypt where he was honoured and given a fine subsidy and a pleasant abode. He gathered him with the scholars of Egypt who then debated during which he consequently stood firm and gained reverence in the eyes of the Pāshā and the scholars came to know of his excellence and thus praised him. Subsequently the Pāshā made him the Shaikh of the *Hanbalī Madhab* which is a term for a *Muftī*. He also ordered him to teach some of his children and his slaves in his citadel, and so he taught in the citadel and in his home as well as teaching in Al-Azhar where everyone would gather around him. He stood alone with the *Madhab* of Imām Aḥmad and so people would travel to him in order to seek from him, the populace would also send requests to him from various places for *Fatāwā* and to seek *ijāzah* (permission to narrate or teach). He died in the year 1257H in Egypt where he was buried (رحمته الله). (See: *At-Tarājum le-Muta'akhirai Al-Hanābilah* p. 46-49)

taught it would not know the reality of *At-Tawhīd* - nor that which negates it by way of *Shirk* and condemnation. Whilst they would read the Qur'ān and the *Āḥādīth*, but they were ignorant of that which was meant by the truth, that which the Lord of the servants commanded them with.

Then the truth appeared after its concealment, making clear what was meant by the entirely clear verses and the clear proofs. The truth became manifest after it was unknown during which time falsehood had instead become known. It (ignorance) was forsaken due to this *Da'wah*, for this is a station which is not hidden except from the one who rejects the truth, is haughty and resists it, from those whose sight has become blinded, we seek refuge with Allāh from the supremacy of sin and the death of the hearts."<sup>410</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān said:

"Then no one doubts in this religion after what occurred with those about whom we have mentioned except the one whose sight Allāh has blinded, putting a seal over their hearts from understanding the proofs of the Book and the *Sunnah*. They regarded what occurred with this religion - from its beginning until this day of ours and all that we have mentioned by way of nations; the desert folk and the town dwellers - that its illumination had become extinguished. Every time they tried to extinguish it - its lights glistened ever more; and its helpers were honoured."<sup>411</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan Āl Ash-Shaikh said likewise:

"They became busied with the *dunya* and its blossom, along with that which Allāh had opened for them. They had turned away from what Allāh had obligated upon them to establish within themselves and upon the people. So there occurred what was to occur; the burden of it was to be: that most of those that were expelled - from those that remained (alive); then their future lay in Egypt.

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<sup>410</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 24-25

<sup>411</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 40

This was due to the negligence of what was commanded by Allāh, since Allāh had chosen for them a very great affair, making them and the people secure upon it, but there transpired negligence in this great blessing.

And so the Dir'iyyah of today; for the one that reflects over its condition and its disintegration (ruin), will come to know that nothing came to them other than their own sins. So ponder O those with insight.<sup>412</sup>

All this – despite the fact that they were upon *At-Tawhīd*; they just never gave it its right.<sup>413</sup>

The truth is aided in every time and place, aided too are those that stand with it. Whether they are free citizens or slaves, trivial or great, Allāh has tested you, and so you have come to know of the consequences. The believer is never stung from the same hole/burrow twice.

فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ حَسْبِيَ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ ۗ وَهُوَ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ  
الْعَظِيمِ

“So if they turn away then say: Allāh is sufficient for me – none has the right to be worshipped but Him. Upon Him I place my trust and He is the Lord of the Mighty Throne.”<sup>414/415</sup>

So no one rejects this Islamic *Da'wah* after its manifestation in Najd and its protectorates except an ignorant opposer; who doesn't know; and doesn't know that he doesn't know. The proof of every single debater and opposer has been refuted<sup>416</sup> – and all praise is for Allāh and from what was solved.

<sup>412</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 123-124

<sup>413</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 123

<sup>414</sup> *Sūrah At-Tawbah*: 129

<sup>415</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 14 p. 124 (Quotes taken from a letter of advice written by Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān to Imām 'Abdullāh bin Faiṣal many years later during the Second Saudi State around the year 1282H [1865CE]).

<sup>416</sup> Refer to the book: *Ṣiyānatul Insān 'an Waswasah Ash-Shaikh Daḥlān* by Shaikh Muḥammad Bashir As-Sahaswānī (d. 1326H) for further reading on refutations of some of the worst attempts at the slur and maligning of Shaikh-ul-Islām and his *Da'wah*. Quotes from Shaikh-ul-Islām himself are used in the book to refute matters he was accused of in proving he did not

So Allāh completed His blessing upon those that accepted this Islamic *Da'wah*.

Indeed, some of the scholars (رضيهم الله) have said:

*Al-Ikhlāṣ sabīl al-khalāṣ; wal Islām markab as-salāmah wal Ēmān  
khātam al-amān.*<sup>417</sup>

So all praise is for Allāh over the perfection of these great blessings which are such that there is no blessing greater than it; or more elevated than it; or more beneficial.”<sup>418</sup>

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say what his enemies allege him to have said. A great many of the doubts and lies against him and his *Da'wah* used both past and present are rebutted by the author, about whom Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm Āl Ash-Shaikh said:

“A valuable book in its subject matter; the author was an Indian man who never knew Najd or the people of Najd. Rather he knew the truth and its people and so refuted falsehood – and rebutted its people.” (See: *Al-Imām Al-Muḥaddith Sulaimān bin ‘Abdillāh* p. 122)

<sup>417</sup> Meaning: sincerity is the path to deliverance, Islām is the vessel to protection and Ēmān is the seal of safeguard.

<sup>418</sup> *Ad-Durar As-Sanniyyah* vol 12 p. 10

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*Ḥilyatul Bashar fī Ta'rīkh Al-Qarn Thālith 'Ashar* by 'Abdur-Razzāq Al-Baiṭār  
(Dār Ṣādir)

*Ad- Dawlatus Sa'ūdiyyah al-Ūlā wa Dawlah Al-'Uthmāniyyah – Dawr Al-Aḥsā wal  
'Iraq fī Istratijiyyah Ad-Dawlatayn* by Dr. Muḥammad bin Sulaimān bin 'Abdil-  
Azīz Al-Khuḍairī (Dār As-Sawltiyyah lit-Tarbiyyah)

*Al-A'lām* by Khairud Dīn Az-Ziriklī (Dārul 'Ilm lil-Malayīn)

*Al-Mu'jam al-Mawsū'ī lil Muṣṭalaḥāt al-'Uthmāniyyah at-Ta'rīkhiyyah* by Dr.  
Suhail Ṣābān (Maktabah Al-Malik Fahd Al-Waṭaniyyah)

*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* by Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr (Dār Hajr)

*Sīrah An-Nabiyy (صلى الله عليه وسلم)* of 'Abdul-Malik bin Hishām (Dārul Fikr)

*Ṣiyānatul Insān 'an Waswasah Ash-Shaikh Daḥlān* by Shaikh Muḥammad  
Bashir As-Sahaswānī (Maktabah Ibn Taymiyyah & Dār Al-'Ilm)

*Lisān al-'Arab* by Imām Ibn Manzūr (Dār Iḥyā at-Turāth al-'Arabī &  
Mu'assasah at-Ta'rīkh al-'Arabī)

*Majma' al-Amthāl* by Abil Faḍl Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Al-Maydānī  
(Maṭba'ah 'Ēsā Al-Bābī Al-Ḥalabī)

*Al-Aṭlas At-Ta'rīkhī lil Mamlakatil 'Arabiyyah As-Sa'ūdiyyah* (Dārah Al-Malik  
'Abdil-'Azīz)

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& Richard Bentley – London)

*The Dublin University Magazine; A Literary and Political Journal* (July to December 1838) (Samuel Holdsworth - London)

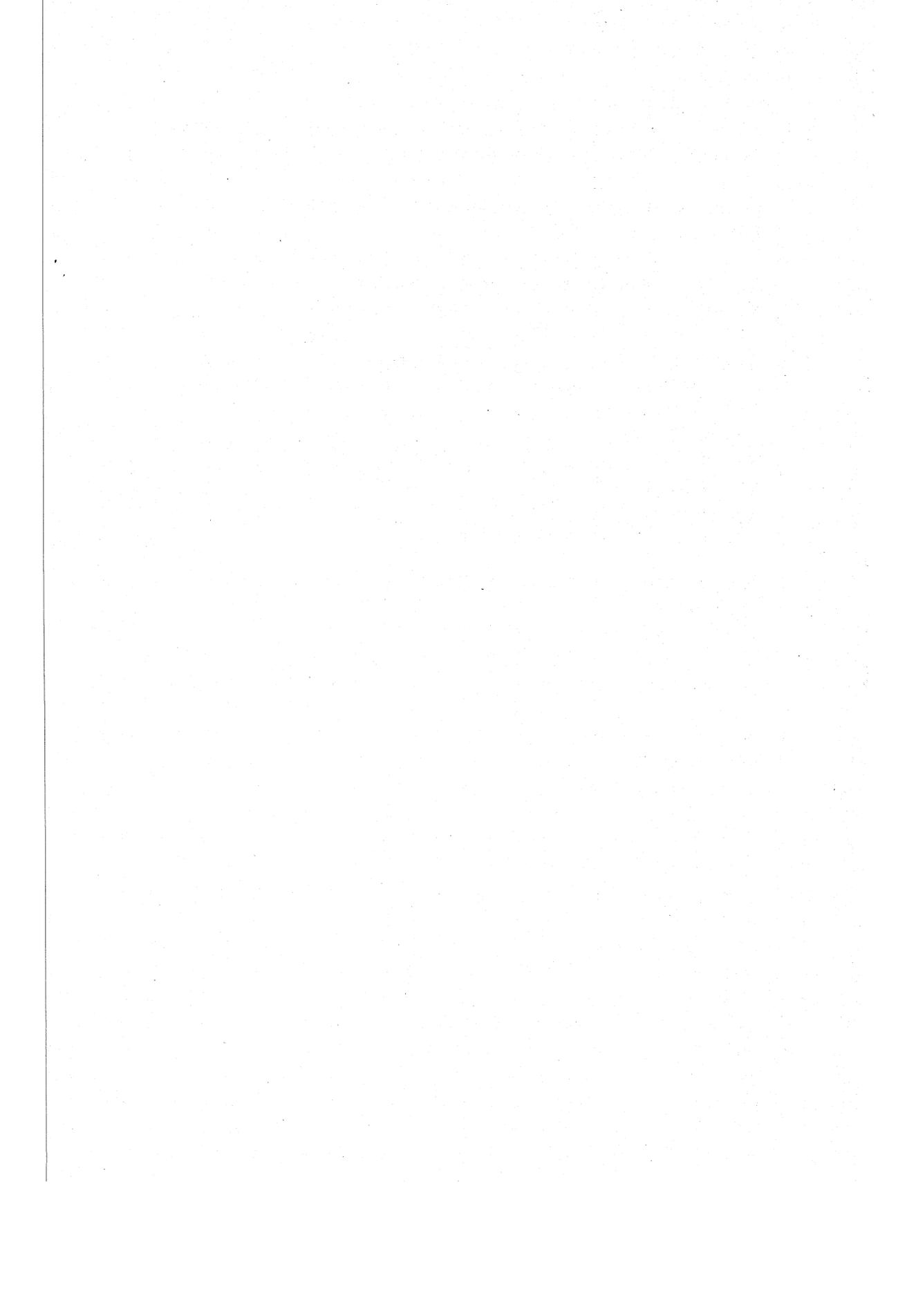
*Manners and Customs of The Modern Egyptians* by Edward William Lane (Ward, Lock and Co)

*Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Aly* by Felix Mengin (French to Arabic translation - Dārah Malik 'Abdul-'Azīz)

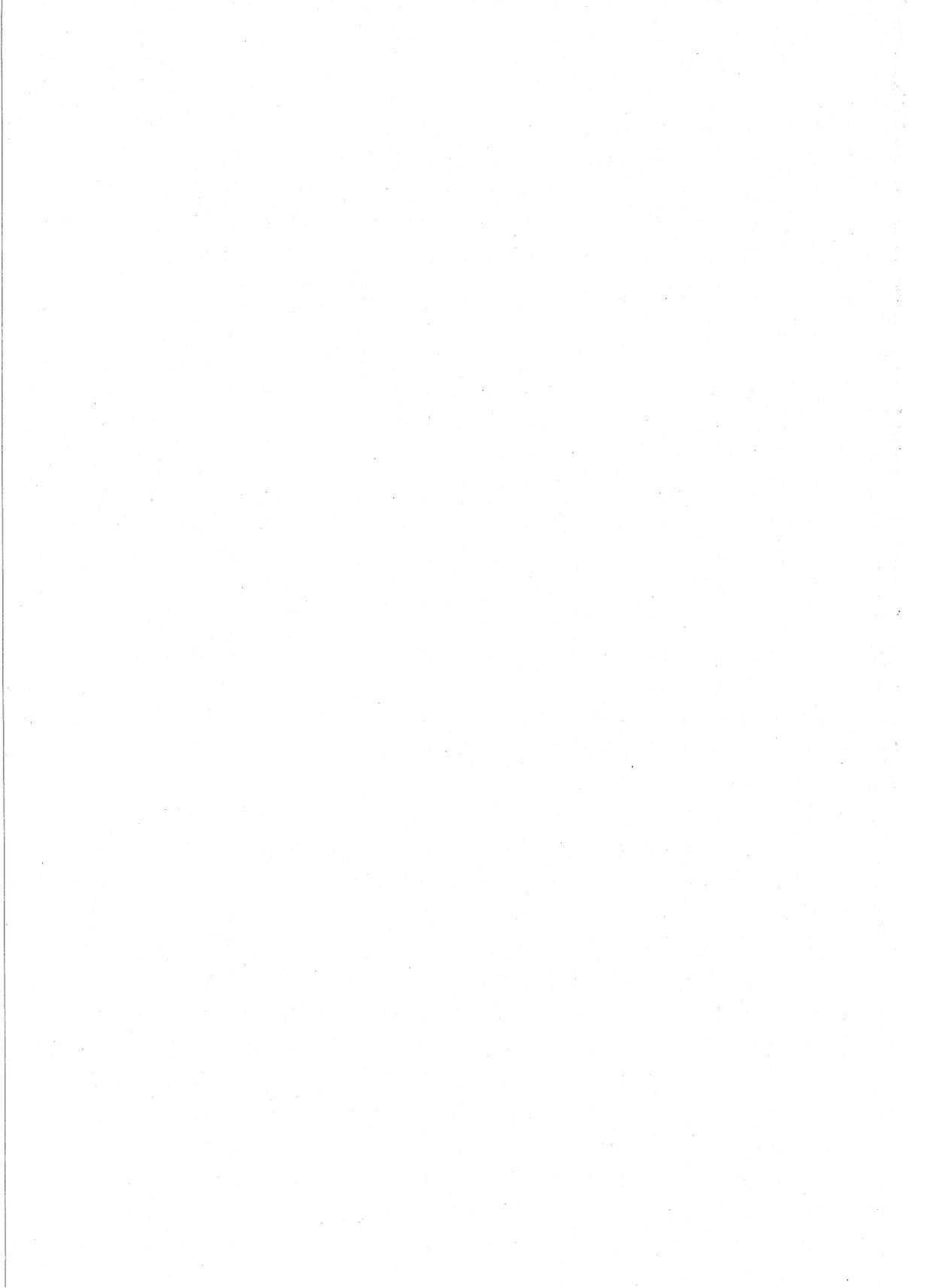
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*Diary Of A Journey Across Arabia From El Khatif In The Persian Gulf, To Yambo In The Red Sea, During the Year 1819 - Compiled From The Records Of The Bombay Government* by P. Ryan, Esq, Assistant Secretary To Government (Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay 1866)

*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* by E. Cobham Brewer (1894)



A Small Selection of Surviving  
Manuscripts from the First Saudi  
State

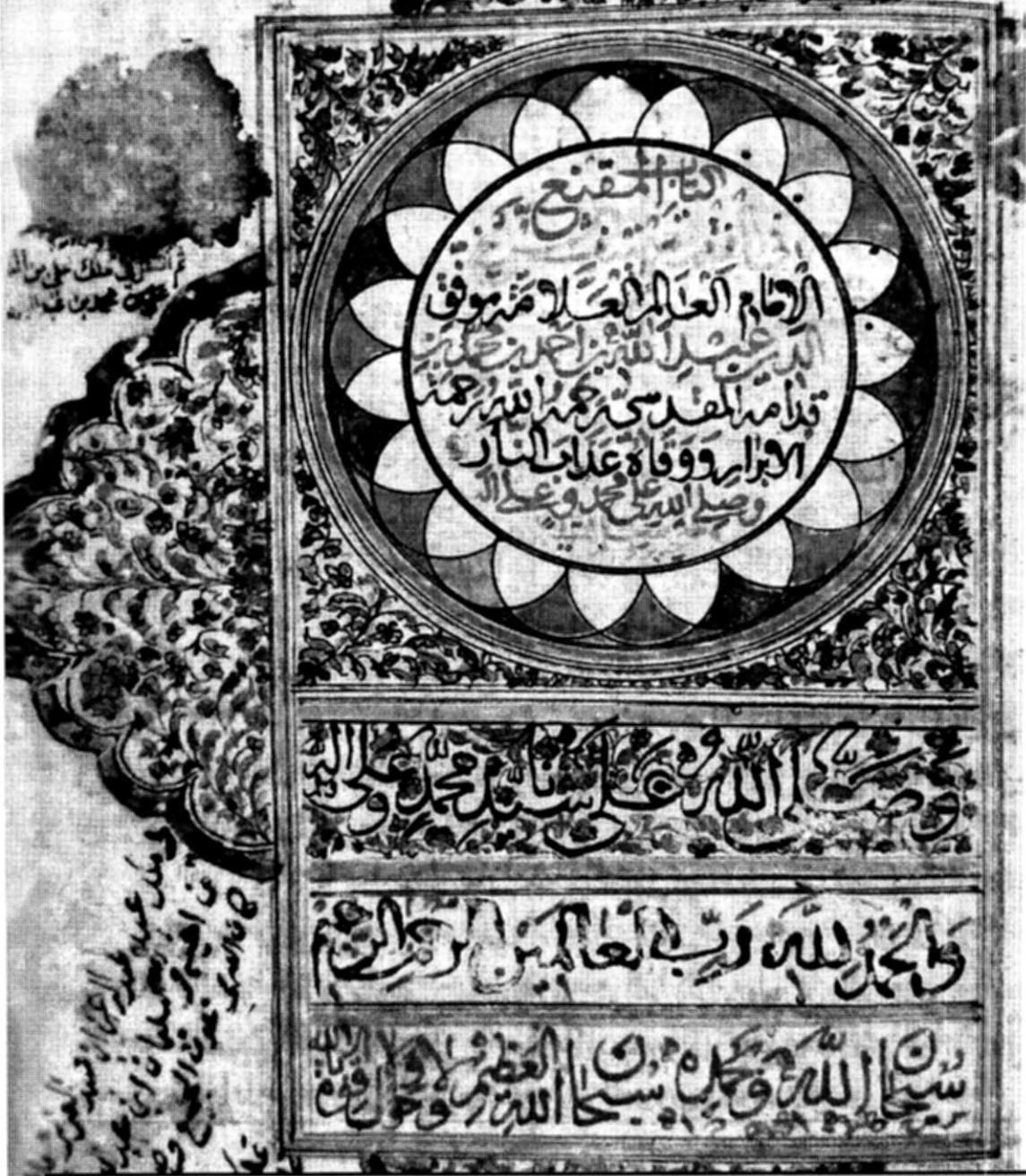


تمت بحمد الله تعالى في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1189 هـ

# بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

قال الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة محمد بن ابي بكر المعروف بـ **قائم الجوزية** رحمه الله عليه ورضي عنه وارضاه  
 في كتابه الذي ستره من بركاته **تأخره** ان شاء الله تعالى في شرح طائفة من افعال العباد  
**قصه** وبعد حمد الله تعالى على نعمه التي لا تحصى والصلوة والسلام على خاتم الانبياء  
 رسوله محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فان الله سبحانه يقول في كتابه وفيما نزل على البر والتقوى ولا تعاونوا على  
 الاثم والعدوان وان اتقوا فان الله شديد العقاب وقد استملت هذه الاية على جميع مطلق العباد  
 في دعائهم ومعادهم فيما بينهم وفي بعضهم بعضا وفيما بينهم وبين ربهم فان كل عبد لا يتفكر في  
 هاتين الحالتين وهما بين الواجبين والجدية لله والواجب لله وبين الخلق فاما ما بينه  
 وبين الخلق من العاقبة والعاقبة هي غايت سعادة العبد وقلة ولا سعادة الاغلام البر والتقوى  
 وناعلى منة الله وطاعته التي هي غايت سعادة العبد وقلة ولا سعادة الاغلام البر والتقوى  
 الذين هم اجمع الذين كلهم واذا اذ ذكرا واحدا من الامم دخل في المسار الاخر اما مطلقا او بالربوب  
 دخوله فيها فمقتضى اظهر لان البر خير من التقوى واذا كان التقوى فان جرمه يسمى الا بر فكون  
 احد هما لا يدخل في حكم الاخر عند الاقتران لا يدل على انه لا يدخل فيه عند الاقتران وظاهر من اللفظ الا  
 يلائم الاسلام والايمان والعمل الصالح والفقير والسكين والفقير والعصيان والسكر الفاحشة  
 ونظائر كثيرة وهذا قاعدة جليلية من احاط بها بالبر والعبادة استقامت على طوبى فاكين  
 من الناس **والله اعلم** لا واحد يستبدل به على غيره وهو البر والتقوى فان حقيقته البر هو  
**كل** من الشيع والمانع التوفيق وكثير كما يدل عليه تشاقق هذه اللفظ وتضاريفها في الكلام  
 عند البر بالضم منا وقد جزم بالاضافة اليها كقول من ومنه قول من ومنه قول من ومنه قول من  
 قد تبرعوا بالبر لربهم فكله جاء مع جميع انواع الخير والكل للطلق من العبد وفيها بركة الامم وفي  
 حديث النعمان بن شعبان ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال له جئت تسأل عن البر فقال لا ثم كل ما جاء  
 معك من البر والعيب القويم العبد عليها فان دخل في معنى البر الايمان واجزائه الظاهر والباطن  
 والبر والتقوى **الحمد لله** والكر ما يعجز بالبر عن بر القلب وهو وجوه طمع الايمان فمن  
 وحلا وقد وما يلزم ذلك من حال بينهم وسلامه وان شاء الله تعالى وقد وجه بالايمان فان لا يحال

Work: Ar-Risālah At-Tabākīyah (Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah)  
 Date of Copying: 1189H (1775CE)  
 Copyist: Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb  
 Note: At the end of this particular manuscript there appears the following remark: "Completed - and all praise is for Allāh during the month of Rabī' uth-Thāni 1189H by the one who is needy to Allāh; 'Abdullāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb; and written for his brother for the sake of Allāh: 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Hussain."



Work: *Al-Muqni'* (Ibn Qudāmah Al-Maqdisī)

Date of Copying: 1220H (1805CE)

Copyist: Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdill-Wahhāb

Note: This manuscript was written in Ad-Dir'iyyah some thirteen years before the death of the copyist.



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 بَابُ مِيرَاثِ أَهْلِ الْمَلِكِ  
 لا يرث المسلم الكافر ولا الكافر المسلم إلا أن يسلم  
 قبل قسم ميراثه فيرثه وعنه لا يرث وإن عتق عبد  
 بعد موت مورثه وقبل القسم لم يرث وجهوا حدًا  
 ويرث أهل الذمّة بعضهم بعضًا إن انفقت أديانهم  
 وهم ثلاث ملل اليهودية والنصرانية ودين سائرهم  
 وإن اختلفت لم يرثوا وإن عتق يتوارثون ولا يرث  
 ذمي حرّياً ولا حرّياً ذمياً ذلك القاضي ويحتمل أن يتوارثا  
 والمراد لا يرث أحدًا إلا أن يسلم قبل قسم الميراث وإن  
 في مردته قاله في وعنه أنه لو رثته المسلمين  
 لو رثته من أهل الذمّة الذي لحقاه فصل وإن أسلم  
 الجسر أو تحاكموا البنا ورثوا جميعاً فإذا خلف امرؤ  
 اخته من أبويه وتما ورثت الثلث بكرها أو ما ونصف بكرها  
 اختها والباقى لله ثم فإن كان معها اخت أخرى لم يرث

Work: *Al-Muqni'* (Ibn Qudāmah Al-Maqdisī)

Date of Copying: 1220H (1805CE)

Copyist: Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb

Note: This page is a close-up of the previous illustration.

اولا اسلام هذا كما في قوله تعالى اول ما نزل من انزلنا من عندنا من غياثا ما وصل اليه ويديها واسمها  
عفتها ان لم يكن لها كتب فان اسلم حلت له وان ما قبل ذلك عفتت وحيث انها  
لشعب في حياتهم وبعثوا ولذا وطى احد المسلمين الجارية قالوا لها صارت ام ولد لك  
ولو حر وعلمه فبغير نصيب شركيه فان كان في معتز فان وطىها الثاني من  
لولد فاعليه هو فان كان علما قوله رقيق وان جعل الولد شركيه وانها صارت  
ام واليه قوله حر وعلمه فذلك بين الولاده ذكره لشرقي وعنت للقاضي واليه ان  
الاول معسر المير استيلاءه وتصيرام واليهما حتى نصفها بموت احداهما وان  
اعتق احداهما تصير بعد ذلك وهو من فعل يقوم عليه نصيب شركيه على وجهين

# كتاب النكاح

النكاح ستر لا اشتغال به افضل من الخاليين اقل العبادة الا ان يخاف على نفسه  
من الخطر بركه في طهره ونكحته انزواحي على الاطلاق وليست تحب ذلك  
في ذلك الحسد الا جدد ويحس ان اراد خطبة امرأة النظر الى وجهها من غير  
النظر اليها بالنظر اليها كالمثيرة والدين والقدرين والنظر الى

**Work:** *Al-Muqni'* (Ibn Qudāmah Al-Maqdisi)  
**Date of Copying:** 1220H (1805CE)  
**Copyist:** Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb  
**Note:** This page is taken from the chapter of marriage.

لزمه الثلاثة وان قال فقبح حنظلي فقبح شعبل ودرهم دينار الزمناه معا وان  
قال درهم في دينار لزمه درهم وان قال درهم في عشرة لزمه درهم الا ان يربطها  
بما زه عشرة وان قال له عندي ثمر في جراب او سكين في قراب او ثوب في منديل  
او عبد عليه عاتبة او دابة عليها اسحج فهل يكون مقرابا لظرف والعمامة والشيخ  
عقل جهين وان قال له عندي خاتم قيد نصوص كان مقرا بهما وان قال فصر في خاتم  
مطل جهين وان قال له عندي درهم او دينار لزمه احدهما برج اليد في تعبينه

في الكتاب بعض الملك الوها على يد الفقير لله تعالى سليمان بن عبد الله بن  
محمد بن عبد الوهاب سليمان بن علي الخنيزي غفر الله له ولوالديه واجلادته وشيوخه  
وكان ذلك في مدينة الدرعية الحروسية في خلافة امير المؤمنين والسلف  
المسول على الكافي في الامام سعود بن امير المؤمنين ~~بن عبد الوهاب~~  
الامام عادل الشهيل عبد العزيز بن امير المؤمنين محمد بن سعود غفر الله  
في يوم الخميس اول يوم من شهر ذي الحجة الحرام احد شهر رمضان المبارك  
هذا الكتاب المستخرج من كتابه الشريف عليه السلام في شرح الالفاظ الشرعية والاصطلاحات الشرعية

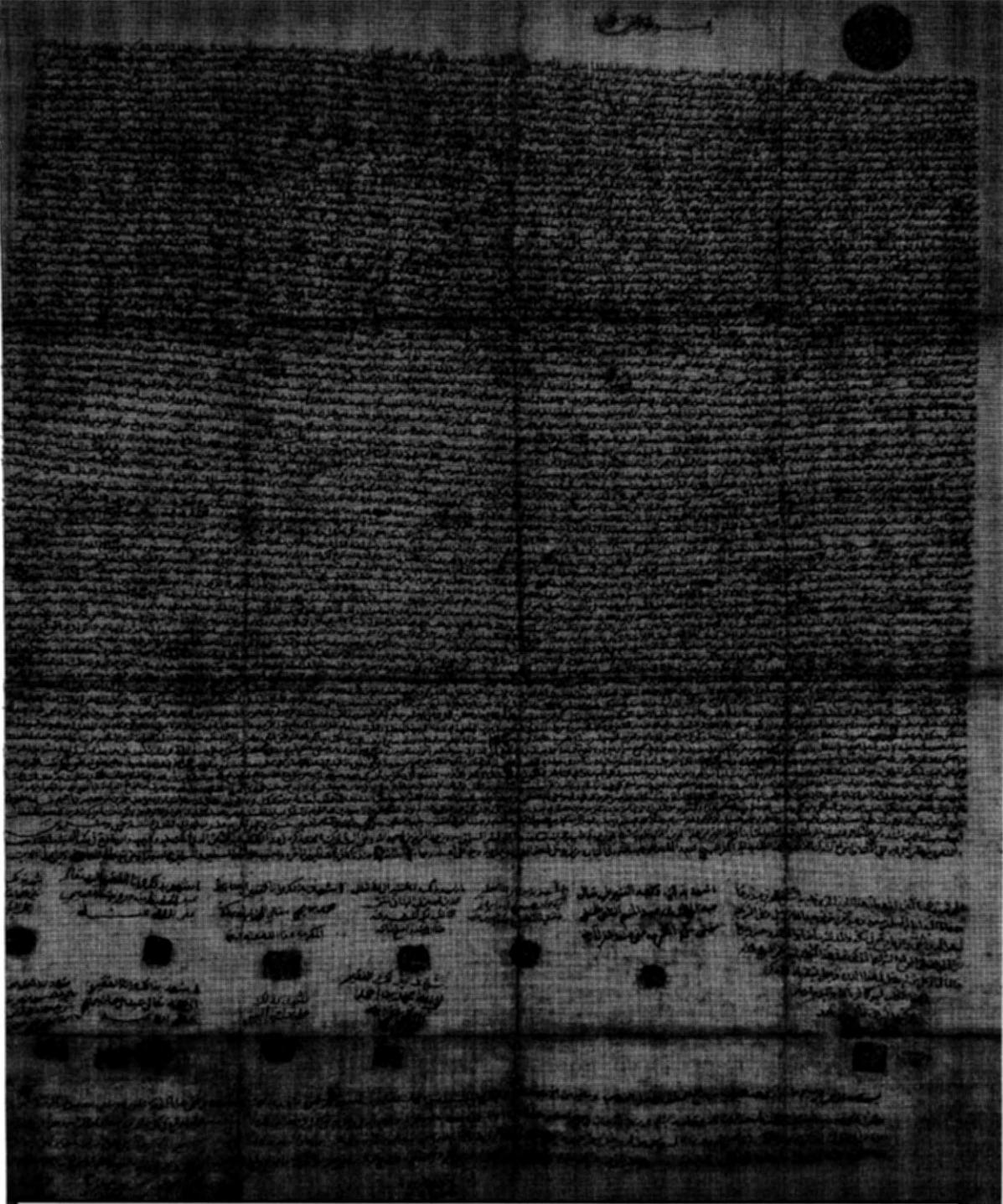
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم  
وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم

Work: *Al-Muqni'* (Ibn Qudāmah Al-Maqdisi)

Date of Copying: 1220H (1805CE)

Copyist: Shaikh Sulaimān bin 'Abdillāh bin Muhammad bin 'Abdil-Wahhāb

Note: This is the final page in this work which has been signed and dated by the copyist and in which he makes clear it was written in Ad-Dir'iyyah during the reign of Imām Sa'ūd.



**Work:** Letter from Imām Sa'ūd to the Viceroy of Ash-Shām Sulaimān Pasha

**Date of Copying:** 14th Dhul-Qa'dah 1225H (10th December 1810CE)

**Note:** This is a large letter for its time measuring 73cm long and 54cm wide. In this letter Imām Sa'ūd refutes some of the doubts against the call to Tawhīd and seeks to explain the reality of his call as well as the principles of the First Saudi State. The letter is distinct in the strong level of proofs utilized from the Qur'an and the Ahādīth as well as the statements of the Salaf and the scholars of the religion. The bottom of the letter contains the signatures of a number of key figures who endorsed it, on the far right is the signature of Sharif Ghālib followed by the Muftis of the Hanafi, Shāfi'i, Māliki and Hanbali madh-habs from Makkah.

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“O Allāh; preserve amongst them the kalimah: lā ilāha illallāh – such that they should be steadfast upon it, and not diverge from it.”

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– Imām ‘Abdul-‘Azīz bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘ūd  
(In his supplication during the night prayer)