

THE FIRST SA'UDI STATE IN ARABIA (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ITS ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC FEATURES) IN THE LIGHT OF
UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS FROM ARABIC AND EUROPEAN SOURCES.

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

BY

MUHAMMAD S.M.^{Sc}EL-SHAAFY

FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

MAY, 1967.

This dissertation has never been submitted to this or any other University.

PREFACE.

The aim of this work is to examine in detail the administrative system of the first Sa'udi state, its financial and military organization, in an attempt to fill a gap in the history of Arabia in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

These topics are treated here for the first time, because much of what has been written on the first Sa'udi state has concentrated on recording historical events without having regard to the above-mentioned topics. This could be attributed to the lack of original material from both Arabic and European sources. Concerning the first, the author of the Memorial states that the most important papers in the possession of the House of Sa'ud were destroyed or strewn about, either purposely or through neglect. In addition to this, the data which was recorded during that time dealt only with the military victory.

Although I have travelled to London, Oxford, Paris and Sa'udi Arabia for the purpose of seeking material, my efforts were not very successful and sometimes disappointing, as for example my journey to Paris where I discovered no additional materials beyond the documents dealing with Arabia written by Rousseau, Corancez, Raymond and later published.

The new materials now available are still insufficient for the above subjects, while there are many materials dealing with foreign relations. So it has been deemed advisable to divide it into two main categories, internal and external affairs; there is much more material available for the latter than for the former, and it is not possible to

fill out the rather scanty material for the first section. In addition to this, some of the important new materials are produced here as appendices which consist of the following documents:

The first deal with the doctrine, revenue and the army of the Sa'udi state

The second gives a general account of commerce in Arabia.

The third describes the Arab tribes inhabiting Arabia in 1813, giving the number of fighters in every tribe. These documents are of special importance because they treat neglected subjects of Sa'udi history.

The fourth appendix is composed of several maps which subdivide into:

- (a) the first group gives some idea of the extent of the Sa'udi raids every ten years.
- (b) the second shows the territories held within every ten years too.
- (c) the third reveals how the first Sa'udi state collapsed.

A word may be said here about the continual problem of transliteration. Many of the Arabic proper names (especially of tribes, villages, etc.) are unwritten and it is not possible to spell them with any certainty. Where possible, for the sake of consistency, the transliterations of the Royal Geographical Society are followed. For names not found in the Society's lists I have consulted the 2nd edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Where this lacks the name in question I have relied upon the pattern (morphemic) as a general guide.

I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. B.S.J. Isserlin, under whose inspiring guidance I undertook this research and for his constant encouragement. I owe Dr. J. Macdonald a great debt

for his invaluable suggestions and for his invaluable assistance in the arrangement of the material. I wish also to thank Dr. M.J.L.Young for helpful advice. Especial thanks go to the University of Riyadh for providing me with a scholarship which has made it possible for me to pursue this research, as well as the Sa'udi Arabian Cultural Bureau in Paris.

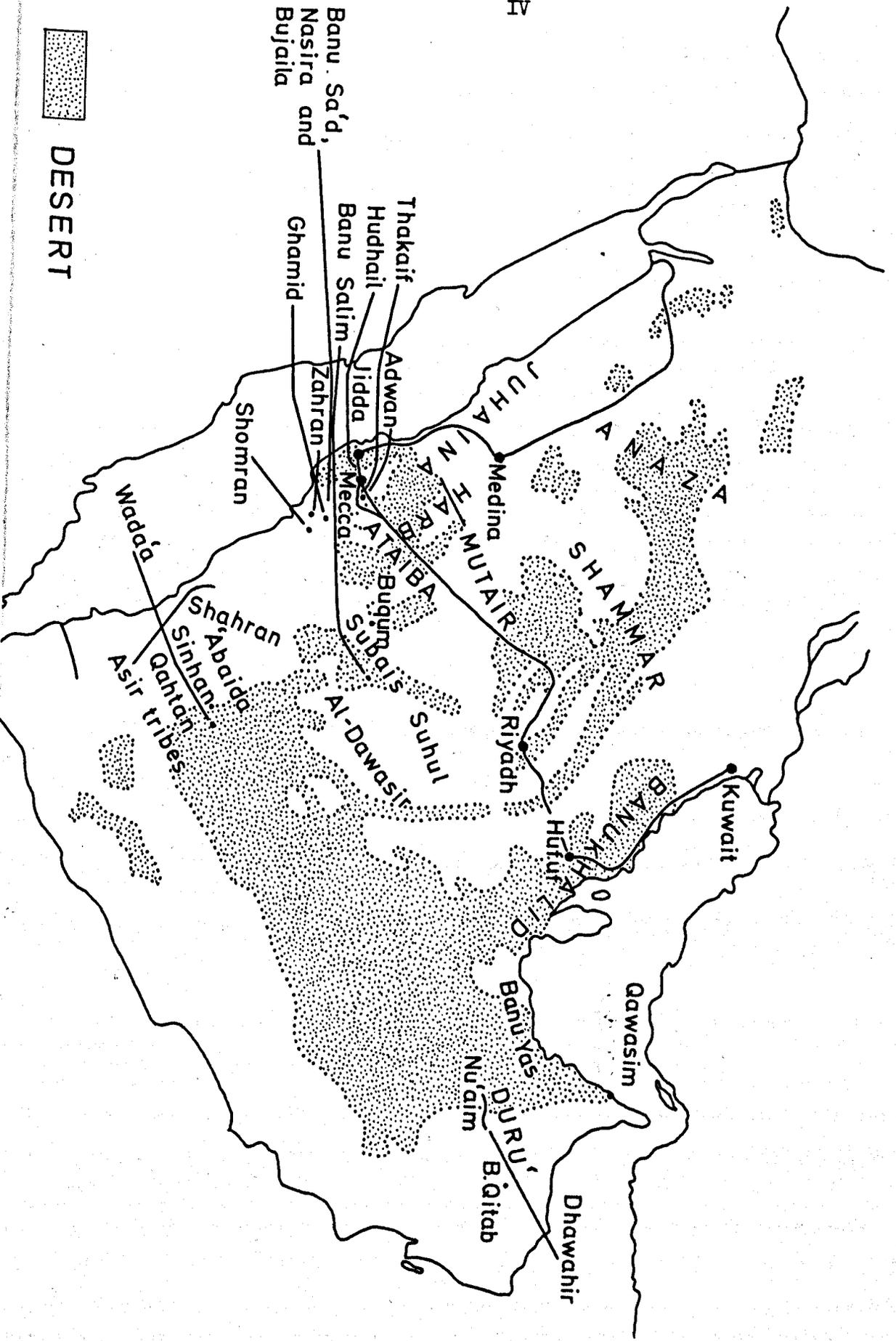
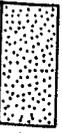
Furthermore, I should like to thank the library staff of the University of Leeds, the directors and staffs of the Public Record Office, India Office, British Museum, the library of Meccan Haram, Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres and the Bodleian library in Oxford for their co-operation. In addition, I should like to thank Mr.A.Hourani of St.Antony's college Oxford for his invaluable suggestions and criticism.

Reproduction of Manuscripts has been made with the permission of the British Museum, the Public Record Office and the India Office.

Muhammad S.M.El-Shaafy.

May, 1967.

DESERT



Banu Sa'd,
Nasira and
Bujaila

Ghamid

Banu Salim

Thakait

Hudhail

Adwan

Jidda

Mecca

Shomran

Wada'a

Shahran

Abaida

Sinhan

Qatnan

Asir tribes

ATAIBA

Buqum

Subai's

Suhul

Al-Dawasir

Nu'aim

DURRU'

B.aitab

Banu Yas

Dhawahir

Qawasim

Hufuf

BAHUKH

Riyadh

Medina

JUHHA

AN

HA

TA

HA

MUTAIR

SHAMMAR

Kuwait

ABBREVIATIONS.

(In addition to abbreviations internationally used the following are used throughout this work. For details in each case see Bibliography.)

C.	Cavalry.
C.A.	<u>Central Arabia</u> (see Palgrave)
E.I.	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam.</u>
F.O.	Foreign Office.
H.A.	<u>Handbook of Arabia.</u>
I.	Infantry.
Islamic So.	<u>Islamic Society and the West.</u>
J.P.H.S.	<u>Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.</u>
J.R.A.S.	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</u>
J.R.G.S.	<u>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.</u>
M.	Matchlocks.
M.T.	Maria Theresa.
N.B.W.	<u>Notes on the Bedouins and the Wahabys.</u>
R.	Riyals.
S.A.	<u>Sa'udi Arabia.</u>
S.E.I.	<u>Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.</u>
S.M.	<u>Memorial of the Government of Sa'udi Arabia.</u>
S.O.A.S.	<u>The Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies.</u>
Tr.A.	<u>Travel in Arabia.</u>
Trans.	Translation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
General Map	
Abbreviations	
I INTRODUCTION	1
a - The sources	1
b - The Sa'udi Dynasty and Wahhabism	29
c - The Arabian tribes which joined the Sa'udis	35
<u>PART ONE - INTERNAL AFFAIRS.</u>	
II The Sa'udi administration	73
1) Central government	73
2) Provincial administration	101
III The Sa'udi army	113
A-(1) Military motives	114
(2) Military policies	120
(3) Military strategies	122
B-(1) Levying of troops.....	126
(2) Numbers	128
C-(1) Organizations	138
(2) Defences	149
(3) Equipment and arms	151
D-(1) Tactics	154
(2) Methods of siege	161
(3) Methods of fortification	163
E- Treaties	169
IV Economics of Arabia in the age of the Sa'udi State	175
A-(1) The Hejaz	175
(2) Nejd	194
(3) al-Hasa	200
B- Financial organization	207

TABLE OF CONTENTS. contd.

Page

PART TWO - EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

V	FOREIGN RELATIONS	225
	(1) The Hejaz	225
	(2) Tihama of Asir	236
	(3) Oman	240
	(4) Iraq	250
	(5) Syria	258
	(6) Turko-Egypt	262
	(7) British	276
	CONCLUSION	281
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	

PART THREE - APPENDICES.

1)	<u>The Whahaubees</u> , by Harford	306
2)	An extract from Report of the commerce of Arabia and Persia ...	317
3)	An extract from al-Bassam's work	350
4)	Maps	413

1 - INTRODUCTION.

a - THE SOURCES.

The material set forth in this thesis is derived from both Arabic and European sources. The treatment of the First Sa'udi State's administration, organization of the army and the economic features are, to our knowledge, studied here for the first time. Some of the sources we have used have not been used before in dealing with the above topics.

To deal with the most important sources it is more convenient to divide these into the following categories:-

1 - Arabic sources.

2 - European sources.

1 - Some of the Arabic sources are still manuscripts, whilst others have been published, but not as critical editions. Therefore the latter are considered with the manuscripts. Among the latter are the works of Ibn Ghannam and Ibn Bishr, which are contemporary sources.

a - Husain b. Ghannam was the first chronicler of the unity movement in Arabia. He became a student of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab and for this reason he devoted his work to (the) explaining (of) the principles of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings. His work, entitled Rawdat al-Afkar Wa'l Afham fi Murtad Hal al-Imam..., is in two volumes. (see Bibliography) p. 295
The first volume is divided into five chapters. The first

chapter explains the religious conditions of Nejd, al-Hasa and the neighbouring territories before Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab. He says, "The majority of the people were daubed with dirt and were defiled by taint of corruption so that they were sunk deep in the abyss of Paganism." (p.5)

Chapter 2 deals with the genealogy of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, the beginning of his career and his arguments with the contemporary Shaikhs.

Chapter 3 presents some texts containing a number of letters written to Rulers, Judges and Scholars, in an attempt to win their support. They mostly deal with religious matters. Chapter 4 is devoted to mentioning some answers on various issues which had been delivered to Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab. Chapter 5 deals with the Shaikh's commentary on various verses of the Qur'an.

It is clear from the above review that the first volume deals almost exclusively with the teachings of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab. These letters do not bear any date.

The second volume deals with historical events, chiefly the spread of Wahhabi influence in other parts of Arabia. He begins with the year 1157/1744 in which he states that Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, following the orders of the chief of Banu Khalid to Uthman b. Mu'ammara to drive him out, was obliged to seek shelter at al-Dar'iyah.

In spite of the fact that Ibn Ghannam died in 1810-11, his work covers the period from the beginning of the rise of the Sa'udi state up to 1797. In his chronology Ibn Ghannam recorded the events year by year. In his writing he describes the opponents of the movement as polytheists; on the ^{other side} contrary, he describes only the adherents of the movement as al-Muslimun.

It is fitting to mention that Ibn Ghannam does not deal with or write on other topics such as the economic and administrative systems.

So far the important^{re} of this volume lies in its detailed descriptions of the various military operations and their outcome and in its factual accounts, whether the Wahhabis were victorious or not. Ibn Ghannam was one of the distinguished learned men in al-Dar'iyah whose lectures were attended by many Shaikhs, among them Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, son of Muhammad.

b- The second Nejdī contemporary author was 'Uthman b. 'Abd Allah b. Bishr who was born in Shaqra the capital of al-Washm province. He received a traditional education in the Qur'an and other religious subjects. His historical work, 'Unwan al-Majd fi Ta'rikh Najd, is a chronological account of events year by year, and at the end of each year there is an obituary notice which gives biographical notes concerning

All books very recently published!

important persons who had died during the year. Having finished these, he would append Sawabiq (earlier events).

As we have already mentioned, Ibn Bishr was fond of giving biographical notes concerning dead people; therefore, in his obituary notices of 'Abd al-'Aziz b.Sa'ud, Sa'ud b.'Abd al-'Aziz and 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud, he sums up the chiefs's character and administration. For example, Ibn Bishr gives a brief account of the security methods which were employed by the Sa'ud state. He describes how Arabia before the Sa'udi state's establishment was overrun by brigands and thieves. So there was no road safe for travellers and the people dared not venture alone out of their towns or villages. But with rigid administration the Sa'udis carried out the law in its extreme rigour so that a single traveller could carry large sums of money to any part of the Sa'udi realm, fearing none but Allah. Even horses and camels could be left unguarded. (pp.135-180)

Ibn Bishr also gives a full account of the methods of collection of Zakat during the reigns of 'Abd al-'Aziz and his son Sa'ud (pp.136-7, 180-181).

Above all Ibn Bishr gives the framework of both the provincial and central administration which had taken shape during the reigns of 'Abd al-'Aziz (1765-1803), Sa'ud b.'Abd al-'Aziz (1803-1814) and 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud (1814-1818) (pp.136-139, 180-183 and 213).

Furthermore, he describes the methods of levying troops (especially pp.131, 174). Also Ibn Bishr writes in more detail of the fortifications of al-Dar'iyā on the eve of its ^{siege} besieging by Ibrahim Pasha, together with the story of the fighting (pp.198-211).

Ibn Bishr states that a person who had obtained his information from Ibrahim Pasha's secretary told him that some 12,000 Turkish men were killed in Arabia, of whom it was estimated that 10,000 fell in the fighting against al-Dar'iyā. As regards the loss in lives of the sa'udis he gives their total as about 1,300 men.

Like Ibn Ghannam's work, Ibn Bishr covers the history of the Sa'udi dynasty from its rising until 1851. Although Ibn Bishr did not die until 1288/1871 he discontinued his writing in 1851. Like Ibn Ghannam he too describes the adherents of the Sa'udis as al-Muslimun.

Both Ibn Ghannam and Ibn Bishr are pro-Wahhabist.

 c - After these two contemporary authorities, we have the also contemporary source, Kitab Lam'al Shihab fi Sirat Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, British Museum. Ms.Add. 23346. The date of the manuscript is 26 Shahr Muharram, 1233 (A.H.),/1817. It contains 383 and is written in Naskh of the 19th century.

There are some annotations not by the same hand.

The manuscript was written by Hasan b. Jamal b. Ahmad al-Rabki and we do not know whether this was the author himself or only the copyist. However, there is no indication contained in this manuscript to show to which tribe he belonged or what was his nationality and what sort of person he was. Abu Hakima ^(cf. p. 286) writes, "Efforts to discover the identity of the author have not, so far, proved successful. No-one interested in history in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Su'udi Arabia, could give any information, since the book was unknown to them. The British Museum Manuscript may, therefore, be the only known copy." (p.9)

Kitab Lam'al Shihab deals with the history of the Sa'udi state from its ^{rise} rising until the year 1233/1817. This manuscript is divided into several chapters and a conclusion as follows:-

1. The first chapter deals with the rise of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab and gives his biography. This chapter contains 33 pages, comprising pp. 1-33 of the manuscript. It is subdivided into the following sections: A) An introduction containing five pages. In this introduction the author explains how he collected the material of his book, giving a brief summary of the classifications of his manuscript. B) The rest of the section is concerned with Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab's travels in

various eastern cities and countries, such as Baghdad, Basra, Persia, Mecca, Medina and al-Hasa, and includes his genealogy.

2. The second chapter deals with the spread of the new doctrine of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab in Nejd and how Muhammad b. Sa'ud received the support of the former. This contains 17 pages (33-50).

3. The third chapter deals with the genealogy of Muhammad b. Sa'ud and is made up of 21 pages (50-71). From 71-94 the author explains the spread of the Wahhabi movement and success of the Sa'udi armies. From 95 to 133 he deals with the Sa'udi administration and its policy towards the conquered countries. From 133 to 155 he is concerned with some Arab tribes inhabiting Nejd and which had branches in Syria and the Hejaz, giving the number of each tribe.

4. This chapter gives a detailed account of the Sa'udi rulers, beginning with Muhammad b. Sa'ud, together with the spread of their influence in Oman, Qatar, Iraq and Syria. This contains 92 pages (155-247), divided into the following sections.

- a) From 155-188 it deals with Banu Khalid tribe and the spread of the Sa'udi influence in al-Hasa, Qatar and Bahrain.
- b) From 188-247 it deals with the Sa'udi influence in Oman, Iraq, Syria and Kuwait.

5. In the fifth chapter the author describes how the Sa'udis won over parts of the Mejaz, the Yemen, the Tihama, and gives some account of the Arab tribes living there and their numbers. This chapter includes the Sa'udi Egyptian war and is composed of 273 pages from 247-520. This chapter is subdivided into the following sections:-

(A) Dealing with the conquest of the Hejaz; it contains 52 pages (248-300).

(B) Dealing with the Sa'udi Egyptian conflict; it consists of 41 pages, (300-341).

(C) Concerning the Iraqi-Sa'udi relations; it is composed of 26 pages (342-368).

(D) Concerning the Sa'udi-Asiri relations, especially with Abu Musmar, chief of Abu 'Arish; it contains 14 pages (368-382).

(E) This deals with the Anglo-Sa'udi relations, concerning the Persian Gulf. This is made up of 9 pages (382-391).

(F) This gives an account of the boundaries of Nejd, giving some names of the important cities and towns, and contains 21 pages (391-412).

(G) This concerns the Hejaz and is composed of 4 pages (412-416).

(H) This section deals with the boundaries of Tihama/Asir and contains 2 pages (from 417-419).

(I) Concerning the boundaries of Oman and contains 5 pages (419-424).

(J) This section deals with the coasts of Banu Khalid's homeland and contains 12 pages from 424-436.

(K) This part is about Banu Khalid tribe, giving its numbers and contains 4 pages (436-439).

(L) This deals with the history of Banu Khalid and is composed of 8 pages (439-447).

(M) About the Banu Yas of Oman and is made up of 2 pages (447-449).

(N) This deals with the Hejazi tribes and contains 6 pages (449-455).

(O) Concerning the Yemeni tribes and contains 6 pages (455-561).

(P) This gives an account of some Omani tribes and contains 5 pages.

(Q) The next part gives an account of the Sa'udi revenues and is composed of 3 pages (466-469).

(R) There follows an estimate of the numbers of the Sa'udi dominions population and contains 2 pages (469-470).

(S) This section deals with the social life of Al Saud and the family of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab (471-493).

(T) Then we have some accounts of the life of the Nejdi

people, their dress, industry and trade, and it contains 27 pages (493-520).

And finally a Conclusion, which is divided into two sections:

1. From 520-547 dealing with some arguments concerning the Wahhabi doctrine.

2. This explains some points on which Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab was refuted by other Muslims.

Lam'al Shihab does not give us anything like the account of the Sa'udi administration which we have cited in this work. In addition to this it has a full account of the yearly income of Zakat during the reign of Sa'ud which we present in the following order:- (a) The yearly income of Zakat from the Beduin of Nejd amounted to 400,000 Riyals. (b) That from the Beduin who submitted to the Sa'udi authority and inhabited the frontiers of the northern region, the Yemen, Tihama and Oman, amounted to 500,000 R. (c) That from al-Hasa province reached 400,000 R. (d) From al-Qatif the revenue was assessed at 200,000 R. (e) From al-Bahrain 40,000 R was received. (f) That from the Yemen was 300,000 R. (g) From the Beduin of the Hejaz and other parts 200,000 R was received. (h) That from Ras al-Khaima amounted to 120,000 R. (i) The total income of sakat from the conquered provinces and from the

Bedouin of Oman was no less than 150,000 R, after payment of all administrative officers and their expenses had been made.

(j) Finally Al Sa'ud had a vast income which came from their estates in Nejd and al-Hasa; it amounted to 300,000 R yearly (pp.466-468).

Furthermore, its account of al-Tafq (a kind of rifle) is invaluable. Lam'al Shihab states that it was invented by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab who taught his people how they could use this kind of rifle; thereupon a target was set up and each man had to train himself until he passed his test (503-506).

Although the author was not a Wahhabi he was not apparently hostile to the Wahhabi movement. This work is very valuable because the unknown author tries to build up the truth from the historical facts, but he is to be criticized for setting out many events without accompanying date.

D - al-Bassam, Muhammed al-Tamimi, Al-Durar al-Mafakhir fi akhbar al-'Arab al-awakhir. British Museum. MS. Add. 7358.

The manuscript, a copy, contains 59 folios. It is written in black ink without any additional decoration or colour, and is easy to read. The inlaid paper is of poor quality. There are some annotations and corrections by the same hand. There is no colophon and the date of the copy

is unknown. There is no copyist's name.

However, we know that this work was compiled by the author at the request of Mr. Rich, the British political Resident in Baghdad, who was the resident of the East India Company from 1808-1821.

It is clear that this work was written after the fall of the Wahhabi capital and the capturing of the Saudi family by Ibrahim Pasha, because M. al-Bassam mentioned this in his work.

With regard to the author, little information is available; we can tell from indications contained in his book that he belonged to Banu Tamim tribe and was a native of the town of Anaiza, where the Bassam family were well-known as merchants.¹

M. al-Bassam was a soldier in the Wahhabi army which fought against Tusun Pasha, as indications in the text show.

The chief value of al-Bassam's work lies in the description of Arab tribes inhabiting Arabia, Iraq, and Syria towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, giving the number of fighters in every tribe. The book is divided into several sections:

a) The Arabs of Tihama.

1) Doughty, Arabia Deserta, vol.2. p.350.

- b) The Arabs of the Yemen.
- c) The Hejaz tribes.
- d) An account of the Nejd tribes.
- e) The 'Oman tribes, but not in detail.
- f) The Hasa tribes, but not in detail.
- g) The tribes of Iraq and Syria.

The work is on the whole entirely impersonal; only once does the author remark that he was present at a certain event, viz. the battle of al-Khaif. (Fol.14)

In spite of the fact that al-Bassam becomes confused when he mentions, for example, that Hashid wa-Bakil tribes belonged to the Hejaz tribes, his book is very valuable because it contains the only record by an eye witness of the Arab tribes which embraced Wahhabism.

As mentioned before, al-Bassam was a soldier in the Wahhabi army; therefore he was able to give some account of the number of fighters in every tribe, and to add information concerning the history of the Wahhabi state.

For instance, al-Bassam describes the people of Nejd as extremely fanatical. They regarded those who did not adopt the Wahhabi doctrines as unbelievers. In this case it was the duty of everybody to fight the polytheists (as they were considered) in order to force them to embrace the true faith.

Al-Bassam also comments on the policy of the Wahhabi chiefs, stating that the wishes of both Muhammad Saud and his eldest son 'Abd al-'Aziz were the restoration of religion to its original purity and the leading of their people back to the right path. Thus they regarded the people who refused to accept their instructions as worthy of death. (fol.42)

On the other hand, although Sa'ud understood that the people were Muslims, he adopted the methods mentioned above in order to extend his domination as far as possible.

In our judgement, Bassam's work is valuable in spite of the fact that the number of fighters is exaggerated (especially if we compare them with the numbers given by Burckhardt). We believe that the account of al-Bassam with regard to the Hudhail, 'Adwan, Banu Makhzum and Zebaid may be much exaggerated.

The most important chapter in this work is that which deals with Nejd, because of its invaluable geographical information, of which the author had full knowledge (fol.34-5).

E. 'Abd al-Shakur.

'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Shakur b. Muhammad 'Abd al-Shakur al-Makki al-Hanafi was born in Mecca and received his education at the hands of well qualified scholars, among them

al-Mufti 'Abd al-Malik al-Qal'ai. On the authority of al-Dahlawi ¹ Abd al-Shakur composed a book on history which the former heard about, and he wrote a treatise in verse entitled Tuhfat al-Sibyan dealing with the Shafi'i school. The author died in 1257/1841-2, and was buried at al-Ma'la in Mecca.

His work Ta'rikh Ashraf wa-Omara Mecca

al-Musharafa is preserved in the library of al-Haram al-Makki (Mosque of Mecca) under the number 43. It is composed of three parts. The first contains 36 folios and it was added later on because the script, as well as the paper, is different. The second is the original manuscript which now forms the middle part of the work. This contains 90 folios. The last part was copied from another manuscript belonging to al-Sharif Musa'id b. Mansur. This consists of 36 folios. The script is not the same, because the original part is written in Persian Naskhi script, while the first and last parts are written in modern handwriting (Ruq'a).

At the beginning of his work 'Abd al-Shakur states that his intention was to compile the history of the Hejaz under the Sharifian dynasty, starting with the Sharif Mas'ud, and he mentions that he would record the events which occurred in the reign of each Sharif. Moreover, he would set every event in its right place except that dealing with the Wahhabis,

(1) Al-Dahlawi (based on Fayd al-Malk al-Muta'ali) Tarajim Raqm 6,
vol. 2.

which he would accumulate as one topic. In addition to this he states that he would write the biography of some of the most distinguished people. Events are chronologically arranged by him throughout.

'Abd al-Shakur gives an account of the preparations which had been made in order to defend the Hejaz against the Sa'udis. Among these preparations were the building of watchtowers at the entrances of Mecca, and the calling up for military service of the tribes of Harb, Banu Salim, Thaqif, Ghamid, Zahran, Banu Sa'ad, Nasira, Bujaila, Hudhail, Luhyan and Khuzama'a (fol.42b).

Furthermore, the author writes that the Sharif Ghalib sent 'Uthman al-Mudhaifi to al-Dar'iya in an attempt to reach an agreement with the Sa'udis, but instead of bringing peace 'Uthman became a Sa'udi and undertook to fight the Sharif Ghalib (fol.48a,b).

In his work 'Abd al-Shakur gives a detailed account of the Sa'udi military operations against the Hejaz, representing the Sharifian viewpoint. So he does not accept the Sharifian defeat without attempting to excuse their defeat. For example, he explains that the Sharifian defeat at al-Taif was attributed to the fact that most of the Sharifian Bedouin scattered, leaving the Sharif side.

The chief value of this work lies in the description of the Sa'udi influence in the Hejaz and the capture of Mecca (see Sharifian-Saudi relations), to which he devoted for this purpose more than 85 folios. He is anti-Wahhabi and, on the whole, anti-Sa'udi.

2 - The European sources.

These consist of two groups of material.

- 1 - Manuscripts. (A) Documents of the public Records Office.
(B) India Office Records.

11 - Printed sources.

1 (A) - These are made up of the general and private correspondence which comprise the original dispatch reports sent to the Foreign Office by the British Ambassadors, Consuls, various individuals and other Government agents abroad. In addition to this correspondence, part of these documents consist of drafts or copies of the letters dispatched from the Foreign Office.

The documents which deal with our subject fall into the categories of the general correspondence of Turkey (F.O.78) and that of Consular dispatches (F.O.24) of Egypt. Each category contains several volumes. Those which pertain to Egypt were mostly reported by Colonel Missett, a British agent in Egypt. They give a detailed account of the military operations in Arabia 1811-1818. Those which belong to the first category were sent by different people such as the British Ambassador in Turkey and Harford Jones, the Resident of the East India company at Baghdad. They discuss Wahhabi affairs, their incursions into Iraq as well as the Hejaz, and

finally reports of the Egyptian Sa'udi war in 1811-1818.

The following quotation is an extract of a bulletin sent by the British Embassy at Constantinople, stating that an extraordinary council of Ministers, composed of 35 of the principal members of the several Departments (civil, military, and legal) held a meeting on the 19th June, 1806. "Its object, however, was ultimately ascertained to have been to take into consideration the recent irruption of the Wahabee Arabs under the conduct of Ibn Suwood (sic), the son of their late chief, who after attacking the last caravans of pilgrims are said to have occupied the cities of Mecca and Medina, the loss of which would be essentially derogatory from the Grand Signior's title in his temporal and spiritual capacity of Chier and "Kalif" of the Turks." (F.O. Turkey 78.vol.50.Constantinople, June 26th, 1806)

1 (B) - India Office Records contain several volumes dealing with Persia and the Persian Gulf as well as Egypt and the Red Sea. These are still unpublished, but have been consulted for this work. These documents, however, consist of general reports, correspondances dispatched by the residents of the East India Company in the East to the Company, together with those which were sent by the Company to its representatives.

The most valuable information which pertains to our work is to be found in volumes 21 and 32 of (Persia and the

MB!

Persian Gulf). In volume 21 there are two documents. One deals with the commerce of Arabia, written by Harford Jones and Samuel Manesty in 1790. This report begins with the following classification: "It has been deemed necessary to separate the information which has been collected, on the subject of the commerce of Arabia under the following heads. Commerce of Arabia bordering on the Persian Gulf. Commerce of the Red Sea." This report gives an account of the commercial intercourse carried on between the ports of Calcutta and that of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. (see Appendix No.2)

The second document gives an account of the doctrine, revenue, and the army of the Wahhabis (see Appendix No. 1).

Vol. 32 contains documents dealing with British-Sa'udi relations, particularly concerning the Qawasim's activities against the British vessels in the Persian Gulf.

11 - These are divided into (a) published official documents (b) other printed sources.

(a) These comprise two documents. The first one was written by Jean Raymond, a former artillery officer in the service of the Pasha of Baghdad and addressed to His Excellency Monsieur de Champagny, Foreign Minister of his Imperial and Royal Highness Napoleon the Great, in Paris. This is entitled

Mémoire sur l'Origine des Wahabys sur la Naissance de leur
puissance et sur l'influence dont ils jouissent comme nation. X

Raymond's memoir discusses in brief the alliance between Muhammad b. Sa'ud and Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab, and he also gives an account of their military organization and their policy towards the neighbouring tribes and the Sa'udi-Iraqi relations. The significance of this work lies in that Raymond was an eye witness of the events which he describes.

The second document is La Formation de l'empire de Mohamed Aly de L'Arabie au Soudan, 1814-1823. This was the correspondence of the French Consuls in Egypt. Those which deal with Arabia are reports on the Egyptian-Sa'udi war of 1814-1818. In addition to their military value they provide information about the towns and villages of Nejd which lie on the route of the expedition, about their population numbers and the distance from one place to another (pp.130-1).

(b) - These are concerned with contemporary European travellers.

Among them were (1) Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) who was the first European to report the rise of the Wahhabi movement. He was a member of the scientific expedition which was sent in 1760 by the king of Denmark to Arabia and adjacent countries. This expedition arrived in Jidda on 29th October,

1762. In his work he gives a short account of the principles of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhib's teaching in which he states that the new religion of 'Abd al-Wahhab deserves to be regarded as a reformation of Islamic religion (Vol.2. pp.128-136).

(2) Ali Bey al-Abbasi (Badia y Leblich, Domingo) landed in Jidda in 1807 accompanied by a train of servants and scientific instruments. He therefore was an eye witness of the Hejaz's conditions under the Sa'udi rule. Ali Bey presents short notices of the administration of the Sa'udi state, both civil and military (pp.137-8). He also describes the political situation of the Hejaz in 1807 by saying that on the 26th of February 1807 royal command was given that in all public places all pilgrims and soldiers, Turkish and Magharibi, belonging to the Sharif Ghalib, should quit Mecca on the afternoon of the following day, preparatory to their being sent out of Arabia. This order included the Turkish Pasha and the Judges of Mecca and Medina and other places (pp.123-4). Finally Ali Bey gives a short list of prices of some articles (vol. 2 P.97).

(3) Johann Ludwig Burckhardt was born at Lausanne in 1784. After he had studied in England, Burckhardt was sent to the East by the British African Association. He spent some time travelling in Arabia Petra and ~~the~~ Nubia before he proceeded to Arabia. From Sawakin, a port in the Red Sea,

Burckhardt as Shaikh Ibrahim crossed to Jidda and later on he visited Mecca, Taif, Medina and Yanbu'. He spent only some nine months in Arabia. His books are entitled Travels in Arabia and Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys.

The first book deals mostly with the Hejaz in which he relied on both local information and Arabic works particularly for data on the history of the Hejaz. Among the latter were (a) Al-'Aqd al-Thamin which was written by Taqi al-Din al-Fasi. This comes down to the year of the 829(A.H.). (b) The history of the Hejaz and more particularly of Mecca, by al-'Asami, comprising historical records from the time of Banu Umayyid to the year 1097 (A.H.).

Burckhardt devoted most of this treatise to the description of the economics of the Hejaz and in more detail the economic state of Jidda and Mecca. (vol.1) ^{Passim} (see this work Ch. 4)

His notes on the Bedouin and the Wahhabis give an immense amount of invaluable information concerning the following topics:-

1. An account of some of the Arab tribes inhabiting ~~the~~ West and Central Arabia, enumerating their fighting men and delineating their territories. This contains about 16 pages (from 229-245). From pp.66-70 he deals with their government

and mode of justice.

2. Administration of justice in which Burckhardt describes the outlines of Wahhabi law. He writes: "Abd al-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." (pp.296-9).

3. Revenue and the organization of finance which we have often cited in this work (see chapter 4.) pp.304-9 .

4. Military affairs which we have also cited in this work (311-320).

5. Finally Burckhardt gives a detailed account of the Egyptian campaign against Arabia. For instance, he describes the difficulties which Muhammad 'Ali's army had met, among which was the conveying of provisions between Jidda and Mecca where most of the camels that attended the expedition to the Hejaz perished soon after their arrival for lack of food. Thereupon he states that of the eight thousand camels which Muhammad 'Ali had sent by land, five thousand only remained alive three months after their arrival.

His work covers the history of the Sa'udis from the beginning up to the treaty which was concluded between 'Abdallah b.Sa'ud and Tusun in 1815.

(4) Corancez was a member of the Commission of Science and Art which Bonaparte had constituted during the expedition to Egypt in 1798, and a member of the Institute of Egypt. After the departure of Bonaparte Corancez lived in Syria for eight years, where he collected his material. These were obtained from the Christian Maronite of Aleppo, Diego Frange, from numerous correspondents in Syria, Egypt, Damascus and in Baghdad, and notably from the notes of Jean Raymond, a French artillery officer who was in the service of the Pasha of Baghdad. His work is entitled Histoire des Wahabis, depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fin de 1809.

The importance of this work lies in the treatment of events which had some connection with the Wahhabi activities against the Hejaz, Iraq, Syria and Oman, which he discusses in detail. The advantage of this work is that it gives a review of the political situation in the whole area, especially in 1807 (Chapter 11. pp.105-123).

(5) Brydges, Sir Harford Jones (1764-1847) was the representative of the East India Company at Basra from 1784 to 1794. From 1797 to 1806 he resided at Baghdad in

which he worked as a representative of the British Government at the court of the Pasha of Baghdad. His work bears the title An account of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807-11, to which is added a brief history of the Wahaubys. Brydges gives an account of the Iraqi Sa'udi relations together with ^a short description of the military organization and the treasury of the Sa'udi state. These topics are similar to that which was presented by Burckhardt and are both accurate and interesting.

His account of and comment on Ali Kiakhiya's expedition is the best piece of information on this matter (pp.19-23).

(6) Vincenzo Maurizi (Shaikh Mansur) worked as surgeon and Naval commander to Sayyid Sa'id of Muscat for some time. He was an eye witness of the ~~historical~~ events which took place between 1809-1814 in Oman, and took part in some of the battles against the Sa'udis and their subjects in the area, such as that organized against Ras al-Khaima (pp.51-59 of his work History of Seyd, Sultan of Mascat.....)

The most interesting account of his narrative is that in which he sets forth a conversation which took place between himself and the Sa'udi envoy at Muscat (pp.39-46). This conversation throws light on the general principles of

the movement and the description of al-Dar'iyā - and above all the military organization.

Since Shaikh Mansur had been in the service of the Sultan and participated in some fighting, we can say that he is an authority on the current events of that period.

(7) Rousseau, Consul of France in Baghdad, wrote a notice on the sect of the Wahhabis as an appendix to his work entitled La Description de Pashalik de Baghdad. In this he gives an account of the Wahhabis' origin, their victorious army and their policy towards the tribes which had not accepted the Sa'udi rule.

At the end of his notice Rousseau gives extracts of letters received from Aleppo and Baghdad dealing with the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Sa'udi activities against Iraq.

It is of interest to quote Burckhardt's comment on Rousseau's work: "In two short treatises on the Wahabys written at Baghdad and Aleppo, about 1808 by M. Rousseau, it is positively asserted that the wahabys have a new religion, and that although they acknowledge the Koran, yet they have entirely abolished the pilgrimage to Mecca. This was certainly the vulgar opinion about that time at Aleppo; but more accurate information might have easily been obtained from the intelligent pilgrims and Bedouins even in that town; and it is surprising that it should not, as the author was

professedly giving a description of the Wahabys, and as he states that he derived part of his information "du chapelain de Saoud", implying an office in the court of Derayah, respecting the nature of which I am not able to form any exact notion." 1

(8) Captain George Forster Sadlier was sent to Arabia in 1819 by the British administration in India in order to congratulate Ibrahim Pasha on his victory over the Sa'udis, and at the same time to attempt to reach an agreement concerning the security of trade in the Persian Gulf. Having finished his task Sadlier compiled his diary of his journey across Arabia, in which he describes the cultivation and the trade of Nejd, but not in detail. The chief value of this work lies in the author's description of Nejd in the time of *the* Egyptian campaign.

With regard ^{to} of its importance to our work, it presents a short notice on trade in al-Qatif, 'Anaiza and Shaqra.²

1. N.B.W. pp.277-278.

2. pp.71-72 and his report pp.458-459.474.

b -The Sa'udi Dynasty and Wahhabism.

Politically Arabia of the eighteenth century was almost independent of the Ottoman rule. So we find that the Hejaz was ruled by the Sharifian family - except Jidda where the Turkish government maintained a Pasha, or, during the pilgrimage, when the influence of the Porte came into play under the Emir al-Hajj.

In East Arabia the Banu Khalid had managed to take possession of al-Hasa province together with Qatif. Nejd was under independent town-state princes who had nothing in common with their close neighbours and above all they were in perpetual war with each other. In addition to this, the wild freedom of the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, their endless wars and predatory raids, rendered Nejd and the surrounding country a scene of continual disorder and bloodshed.¹

This, in brief, was the political condition of Arabia when the Sa'udi state was established by the conclusion of an alliance between Muhammad b.Sa'ud and Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab in 1744.

The Sa'udi dynasty traced its ancestry to Mani' al-Muraidi who inhabited the village of al-Duru', better known as al-Dar'iya, a suburb in al-Qatif. Owing to an exchange of letters between Mani al-Muraidi and his cousin Ibn Dira' who had settled down in the hamlets of al-Jiz'a and Hajar, near al-Riyadh, Mani' in 1446 joined his cousin Ibn Dira', who presented him with the two fiefs of Ghasiba and al-Muhaibib which came to be known in later years as al-Dar'iya. And it was Mani' son Rabi'a who

(1) Burckhardt, N.B.W. pp.285-6.

succeeded in winning over some part of the neighbouring dominions. When Rabi'a died, he was succeeded by his son Musa who subsequently was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. When the latter died, he left behind several sons; among them were 'Abdal-Rahman, 'AbdAllah, Saif and Markhan. Through Markhan's younger son Muqrin came Muhammad the father of the first Sa'ud, to whom the chieftdom of al-Dar'iyah passed some time before 1720. Following the death of Sa'ud b. Muhammad b. Muqrin b. Markhan, his son Muhammad b. Sa'ud succeeded him in the amirate of al-Dar'iyah about 1726-1727. This man accepted Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings and promised to propagate them even by force. Accordingly, a pact of alliance between the two men was concluded in 1744 by which they pledged themselves to bring back the Muslim community to the state of religion, morals and manners of the early Islamic state. The foundation of the first Sa'udi state in Arabia began with that date. It was from this date on that these families were associated in directing the affairs of the state; the Sa'udi family took charge of political affairs, while the family of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab were responsible for religious affairs.

Thus it may be of value here to give a short account of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab and his teaching. He was born at al-'Ayaina in 1703. He belonged to a Hanbali theologian's family. His grandfather had been Mufti of Nejd and his father Qadi of al-'Ayaina. At the hand of the latter Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab received his first education; then he later decided to travel to the Hejaz to make the pilgrimage.

Having done that, Muhammad proceeded to Medina where he studied under the guidance of Shaikh 'AbdAllah b.Ibrahim b.Saif and Shaikh Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi al-Madani. The latter was advocating a reopening of Ijtihad. Afterwards he planned to go to Damascus, the homeland of the Hanbali school, but instead he made for al-Basra where he studied under Shaikh Muhammad al-Majmu'i. At al-Basra Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab spoke in public against idolatry and the veneration of saints, and as a result he was compelled to leave the town. He then made his way on foot to al-Zubair where he stayed for a short time, later proceeding to al-Hasa and finally he went to Huraimala to rejoin his father who had been deposed by the new chief of al-Ayaina, Muhammad b.Ahmad, better known as Kharfash.

By the year 1740 Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab came out openly as a reformer, but soon he had to leave Huraimala because of opposition and he returned to his birth place at al-Ayaina where he won to his side 'Uthman b.Mu'ammār, the chief of the town. With 'Uthman's assistance Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab cut down sacred trees and some domes of tombs were destroyed - such as the dome of Zaid b. al-Khattab at Jubaila.

However, on receiving the news of 'Abd al-Wahhab's activities, Sulaiman b.Ghurair, the chief of al-Hasa and the Banu Khalid tribe, whose authority extended to al-Hasa, Qatif and al-Aridh, wrote to 'Uthman threatening to withhold the payment of 'Uthman's income from his estates in al-Hasa province unless he got rid of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, who

consequently took refuge in al-Dar'iyah in 1744.

As to his teaching, Laoust quotes Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab as stating: "The definition of our belief is the following: we describe God as He Himself and His Prophet have done. We do not transgress the terms of the Qur'an and the Hadith. We consider as infidels those who compare God to His creatures quite as much as those who refuse to accept the description that God has given of Himself through the voice of His Prophet. Muhammad has said of Him: God is not comparable to anything. He hears all and sees all. Glory to Him whose names none other may bear and who has not His like, who is the one who knows Himself best and who best knows others, the one who puts the most sincerity into His words." ¹

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab condemned the veneration of saints, all innovations and pilgrimages to shrines, because it is forbidden to saddle a mount to go elsewhere than to the great Mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Those who make a vow to things or beings, and worship saints, are Mishrikun (polytheists). The Qur'an says, "Those who go astray and call upon others beside God shall not be answered even until the day of judgment; and those on whom they call shall not heed them; and when mankind shall rise again from the dead, they will look upon their supplicators as their enemies, and their worship as infidelity."

As regards innovation (Bid'a) Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab

(1) Essai sur les doctrines sociales. p.514.

considered that all the practices which were introduced after the third generation from the Prophet were absolutely sinful, e.g. the building of domes on tombs, the wearing of silken clothing, smoking and music, especially that which accompanied the pilgrims.

On the other hand, no sooner had Muhammad b.Sa'ud and Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab concluded the alliance of 1744 than they began to invite their neighbours to accept their doctrine and authority. As a result of this, the settlements of al-'Ayaina, Huraimala, Dhurma, and Manfuha accepted the invitation and joined the ranks of the Sa'udi state, while other parts of Nejd, especially Riyadh, refused to offer their submission and Riyadh started hostilities by attacking the Sa'udis. Al-Ahsa, like Riyadh, declared its opposition to the Sa'udi state. The Sa'udis had to carry the war into their enemies' territory, and by the time that Muhammad b.Sa'ud died in 1765, most parts of Al-Aridh, Washm and Sudair had offered their submission. Following the death of Muhammad b.Sa'ud, his son 'Abd al-'Aziz succeeded him in the leadership of the nation and continued to follow his father's policy by attacking Riyadh which, after long resistance, held out for some twenty-eight years (1745-1773) before submitting to the Sa'udi state. And by 1789 all Nejd had offered its loyalty to the Sa'udis.

However, during the lifetime of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, 'Abd al'Aziz was in complete harmony with the former, so that Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab issued orders to all provinces and tribes to acknowledge and accept Sa'ud,

the son of 'Abd al-'Aziz as their future chief. On the other hand, when Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab died, his son Husain succeeded him as the head of religious affairs in 1792.

When 'Abd al-'Aziz died in 1803 the Sa'udi state had been acknowledged in Nejd, al-Hasa, 'Oman, 'Asir and most parts of the Hejaz. He was succeeded by his son Sa'ud as the head of state and to him was attributed the capture of the holy cities and the increase in the Sa'udi state's power - so considerable an increase that the Sublime Porte issued orders to the Pashas of Baghdad and Syria to attack the Sa'udis and destroy their capital al-Dar'iya. Finally the Porte authorized Muhammad 'Ali to march against the Sa'udi state. Unfortunately Sa'ud the Great died in 1814. He was followed by his son 'AbdAllah who tried to stop the invaders, but in vain. The Sa'udi dominions were taken one after another until al-Dar'iya itself was carried by storm and 'AbdAllah was captured in 1818 and put to death later.

This date represents the fall of the First Sa'udi State.

At the end it is worth noting that the term of Wahhabism is unknown in Arabia. However this term is employed by their temporary opponents and later was adopted by Western scholars.

C - INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON THE ARABIAN TRIBES IN GENERAL.

This section provides a brief account of the tribes, their distribution, way of life, their number, their territory and their loyalties. It is shown below that in economic terms the importance of a tribe lies in its wealth of animals, the number of its fighting men, and the significance in strategic terms of the locus of its territory.

For convenience, the subject may be arranged under the following geographical divisions.

- (A) The north-west of Arabia (Hejaz).
- (B) South-west of Arabia (Asir and Tihama).
- (C) Central Arabia (Nejd which included north and south).
- (D) East-north of Arabia (al-Hasa) and East-south (Oman).

The Arabian tribes which joined the first Sa'udi state.

To deal with this subject it is advisable to say a few words under the following headings:-

- 1 - Tribal classification.
- 2 - Tribal organization.
- 3 - The relationship between the central government and the tribes.

1 - The Arabs divided themselves into two main groups:

A) Hadhar, which means the people who dwell in villages, towns and cities, and (B) Badw, which refers to the people who live a nomadic life.

Both belonged to tribes which traced their origin from a

single ancestor. The Arabs, however, traced their genealogy from two great ancestors. (1) Qahtan who is known as the Joktan of the Old Testament.¹ The people who related to Qahtan are generally called al-'Arab al-'Ariba and their origin home was al-Yaman. (2) 'Adnan who descended from Ishmael, son of Ibrahim. 'Adnan's descendants are called al-'Arab al-Musta'riba and their original territory was the northern half of the peninsula. Qahtan's descendants, however, moved north of their homeland and mixed with the 'Adnaniyun, especially the Bedouin who roam the desert seeking for water and pastures for their herds of camels and other animals.

2 - Unceasingly at grips with a hostile nature, man cannot live alone in the desert. It is inevitable, in the conditions of the desert, that a tendency to grouping should arise. So strong social organization is the only rational order for such a life. Thus the desert-dwelling Arabs are constituted of groups of varying sizes such as tribe (qabilah), subdivisions ('Ammar), subtribe (Fakhidh), and clan ('Ashirah).² According to Hitti the latter is the basis of Bedouin society. He writes: "Every tent represents a family; an encampment of tents forms a hayy, members of one hayy constitute a clan (qawm). A number of kindred clans grouped together make a tribe (qabilah). All members of the same clan considered each other as of one blood, submit to the authority of but one chief - the senior member of the clan - and use one battle cry."³

Accordingly, the kinship through the male line is the basis

(1) Hitti: p.32.

(2) This division is according to al-Qalqashandi. Op.cit. p.13.

(3) History of the Arabs, p.26.

of the tribal organization. In spite of this rule there are certain exceptions such as a person not related to a group by blood; he could enjoy some of the privileges of membership as an ally (halif), a protected neighbour (jar), or a client (mawla).¹

At the head of a tribe is a superior shaikh who is appointed by the acclamation of the assembly. However, according to Burckhardt, every tribe has its chief shaikh, and every camp (for a tribe often comprises many) is headed by a shaikh, but the shaikh has no actual authority over the individuals of his tribe. The function of the shaikh of a tribe is to lead his tribe against the enemy, conduct negotiations for peace or war, and to fix a spot for encampments. He cannot declare war or conclude treaties without consulting the chief men of his tribe. The shaikh does not derive any yearly income from his tribe or camp.²

Tribe and its territory; tribe and neighbouring tribes:

Every tribe has its own territory. So if rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it remains at home, but if rains fail it will migrate to its neighbouring territories. Dickson writes: "It cannot, of course, wander into lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their dirahs when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances,

(1) EI, vol.2. p.890: Hitti, op.cit. p.27.

(2) Burckhardt, Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp.66-67; EI. Ibid.

are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabian may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances. (a) Harb-Mutair (Ilwa)-'Ajman tribes. (b) Banu 'Abdilla (Mutair)-'Utaiba. (c) Dhafir-Shammar and 'Awasim. (d) 'Ajman-Murra-Najran tribes (a blood federation). (e) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Rawala, Sha'a and Zana Muslim."¹

3 - The relationship between the central government and the tribes was based on the payment of the zakat and supporting the head of the government in his expeditions. These are the formal ties binding the tribes to the government.

In the case that a tribe refused to pay the zakat, for example, the head of the government has the right to declare war against it. Abu Zahrah writes, "War against those who refused the Zakat is obligatory. It is obligatory because they are doing wrong, seceding from obedience to the Imam. Fighting against extremists is obligatory because of Allah's word. If two groups of the believers fight each other, make peace between them. If one of the two acts wrongly, fight against the one doing wrong until he returns to the command of Allah, (the Koran, xlix;9)".²

In case a powerful and distant tribe resisted the payment of zakat, the head of the government would not use force. Burckhardt

(1) The Arabs... pp.46-48.
(2) S.M. Memorial, 2, p.303.

writes, "Thus in 1810, when Saoud's power was unshaken in Arabia, the northern Aenezes (sic) refused to pay tribute, and the chief did not think it prudent to attempt the subjection of them by main force, but continued to correspond with their sheikhs, who paid him a nominal obedience, but acted according to the interest of their own tribes."¹

As regards joining the chief in his expeditions, every tribe is liable to contribute men for active service in proportion to the importance of the situation so as to repel a serious danger or to attack a serious enemy.

The following list which was supplied by Pelly, who visited al-Riyadh in 1865, may throw light on the actual proportions which every tribe could contribute both in men and zakat, and at the same time it gives a clear picture of the important tribes and the unimportant ones.²

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Number of fighters</u>	<u>The zakat revenue</u> (MT)
Subai'	800	6,000
Suhul	600	8,000
Qahtan	6,000	16,000
'Ataiba	1,400	12,000
Harb	1,000	8,000
'Anaza	600	4,000
Mutair	1,200	16,000
Banu Khalid and the 'Ujman of al-Hasa	2,000	2,000

(1) NBW. p.314.

(2) Report, pp.92-3. See also Winder, p.213 who quotes Pelly.

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Number of fighters</u>	<u>The zakat revenue</u> (MT)
Dawasir	1,000	12,000

It is evident that these figures do not exhibit any system of proportional taxation and levying of troops. Accurate figures for this subject are impossible to obtain and probably they do not exist. As far as possible in the notes which follow, notice has been taken of variant figures where we have a choice.

A - The tribes of north-west Arabia (Hejaz).

1 - Juhaina.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Juhaina belonged to Rabi'a.¹

The territory of Juhaina extended to the south of Jabal Hussaini, (northward of Yanbu') and along the sea-coast as far as below Yanbu' and eastward to Hadiya, a station of the Syrian Hajj road; from Yanbu', in the direction of Medina, the tribe possessed an area, representing a distance of about twelve or fifteen hours travelling.² They occupied a fertile oasis of the Yanbu' al-Nakhal. According to Burckhardt a part of the Juhaina tribe were cultivators, while the majority of them were Bedouin. They also possessed a few horses.³

However, they nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Sharif of Mecca. Like all Bedouin who dwelt southward of Aqaba, Juhaina were entitled to surra, or passage money; from the caravans of the Egyptian pilgrims.⁴

They submitted to the Sa'udi authority about 1802. In the following year they, together with Harb, undertook the attacking of Yanbu' until it swore loyalty to the Sa'udi state. They threw off the Sa'udi authority in 1812 and helped Tusun Pasha to take al-Medina in the same year.⁵

As to their main strength al-Bassam states that they could muster a force amounting to ten thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen. On the contrary, Burckhardt estimated that they could muster eight thousand matchlocks.⁶

(1) Lam'al-Shihab fi Sirat Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab, Ms.p.450. According to al-Qalqashandi, Nihayat Al-Arab fi Ansab Al-Arab, Juhaina is section of Qudha'a, p.221. (2) Op.cit. p.329. (3) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.229.

(4) Burckhardt.p.230. (5) Burckhardt, tr,A. vol.1.p.330.

(6) Bassam, p.55; Burckhardt, vol.2. p.23.

The importance of this tribe lies in the fact that they controlled the key road of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrims to Medina, and in some extent the road onward to Mecca. In addition to this there is their economic importance in that they possessed the fertile country of Yanbu' al-Nakhal as well as Yanbu' al-Bahr. Thus the tribe was of special importance because the Sa'udis could not spread their influence over Yanbu' and (more or less) over Medina until they had control over this tribe.

2 - Harb.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Harb belonged to Rabi'a.¹ Harb occupied the area near al-Medina, both to the east and to the south, and the coast from Yanbu' to al-Laith. They possessed the valleys of Jadid and al-Safra and Rabigh. This was a powerful tribe which included many branches, such as Banu Salim, Banu Subh (who were warlike subtribes of Harb), Al-'Awf, Zabaid, Banu 'Ali and Banu Safra.²

(a) Banu Salim who lived between the valleys of Jadid and Safra, amid plantation of date-trees. They obtained considerable tribute from the Syrian pilgrims as the price of letting them pass through their territory.³

(b) Banu Subh possessed Badr and the surrounding area.⁴

(c) Al-'Awf occupied the mountains southward of Jabal Subh toward Rabigh. According to Burckhardt they were never completely subjugated by the Sa'udis.⁵

(d) Zabaid were fisherman.⁶ Burckhardt states that many of them were sailors and served as pilots between Yanbu' and Jidda.⁷

(1) Op.cit. p.450. (2) Burckhardt, op.cit. pp.235-7. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Op.cit. p.238. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.

(e) Banu 'Ali possessed some watering place, situated in fertile spots, where they sowed corn and barley.¹

(f) Banu Safra possessed the district of al-Far'a, from which dates were exported all over Hejaz. According to Burckhardt their shaikh first joined the Turkish army, but when they arrived at al-Qasim, he went over again to the Sa'udis.²

However, the Banu Harb between Medina and Mecca were entitled to a considerable tribute (surra) from the Syrian as well as from the Egyptian pilgrims. Burckhardt states that they received about eight thousand dollars from the latter.³

Harb, like Juhaina, offered its submission about 1802. It took part in surrounding Yanbu' and al-Medina until they surrendered. It fought in favour of the Sa'udis against the Turkish invasion in 1811 in the battle of al-Khaif.⁴ But as a result of distributing money to the tribes, Banu Salim and Banu Subh co-operated with Tusun in 1812.⁵

According to al-Bassam Banu Harb formed a body comprising forty thousand infantrymen and ten thousand horsemen, but Burckhardt estimated them between thirty and forty thousand men armed with matchlocks.⁶

Their territory was less fertile than Juhaina's, but their importance lies in the fact that they controlled the roads from Medina to Mecca and from Mecca to Medina. As to their strategic position, they held the passage of al-Khaif, which controlled communications between Yanbu'

(1) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.235. (2) Ibid. (3) Op.cit. p.236.
(4) Ibn Bishr, p.144. (5) Ibid; Burckhardt, tr.A. vol.1. p.330.
(6) al-Bassam, op.cit., p.60; Vol.2. p.31.

and Medina.

Both Harb and Juhaina were very important for the Sa'udis because without capturing these tribes they could not conquer the northern parts of the Hejaz territory.

3 - 'Ataiba.

According to the Handbook of Arabia 'Ataiba belonged to Mudhar.¹ 'Ataiba inhabited the eastern area of the Mountains between Mecca and al-Taif.² Their roaming area stretches from Taif to al-Qasim. Burckhardt mentions that 'Ataiba were, before the time of Wahhabis, the most inveterate enemies of Harb and derived benefit from the pilgrims who passed through its territory.³

They possessed a great abundance of camels and sheep: They had also horses, and they stood in high esteem for their bravery, being constantly at war with all their neighbours.⁴

In 1797 the 'Ataiba Shaikh went to al-Dar'iyah in order to offer his submission to the Sa'udis.⁵ Hence the 'Ataiba tribe took part in the Sa'udi campaigns of 1802 and 1803 which led to Taif and Mecca, as well as other campaigns.⁶ During the Turkish campaign against Arabia 'Ataiba remained loyal to the Sa'udis until 1814, when a part of the tribe was won by Muhammad Ali,⁷ while another part fought in the battle of Basal on the side of the Sa'udis.⁸ The same dissension seems to have repeated itself when Ibrahim Pasha in 1816 commenced his operation to control Arabia.⁹

(1) P.61. (2) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.238. (3) Op.cit. p.239.
(4) Burckhardt pp.238-9. (5) Ibn Bishr. op.cit. p.119. (6) Ibn Bishr, p.131.
(7) Burckhardt, p.379. (8) Op.cit. pp.395-6. (9) Philby, S.A. p.133.

According to al-Bassam they mustered ten thousand infantrymen and one thousand cavalry. Burckhardt states that their force could not be less than six thousand matchlocks and might amount to ten thousand.¹

Their importance lay in the fact that they held the key to the conquest of Mecca, especially from the east, because they occupied the main roads between Mecca and al-Taif and even as far as the frontiers of the Hejaz and Nejd.

4 - Thakaif.

According to al-Qalqashandi Banu Thakaif belonged to Huzan and were of 'Adnani descent.² They possessed the fertile country of al-Taif. They were rich in sheep and goats. They surrendered to the Sa'udis in 1802 but not easily.³ It seems that they threw off the yoke of the Sa'udis when Tusun captured al-Taif in 1813.

On the authority of al-Bassam Thakaif could raise three thousand infantrymen and eight hundred cavalry, and according to Burckhardt they could muster two thousand matchlocks.⁴

Their importance stemmed from their possession of the fertile oasis of al-Taif.

5 - Hudhail.

According to al-Qalqashandi Hudhail derived its origin from Mudhar.⁵ They occupied the steep mountainous region on the road from

(1) Al-Bassam p.56; Burckhardt, p.239. (2) Op.cit. p.198.

(3) Burckhardt, p.242. (4) Al-Bassam p.56; Burckhardt p.242. (5) Ibid.

Mecca to al-Taif and particularly about the Jabal Kura. They had a great number of sheep and goats.¹ Before they submitted to the Sa'udis above three hundred of their best men were killed. It seems that they joined Muhammad Ali in 1813.²

They mustered one thousand matchlocks and reputed to be the best marksmen in the whole country, and according to al-Bassam their force could be eight thousand infantrymen. They were famous for their bravery.³

They controlled the passage of Jabal Kura between Mecca and al-Taif.

6 - 'Adwan.

Concerning its descent al-Qalqashandi states that they belonged to Qais 'Ailan from al-'Adnani.⁴ They lived in the Tihama of al-Taif. They were able to muster twenty five thousand infantrymen and eight thousand horsemen.⁵ 'Adwan's chief went to al-Dar'iya in 1801 where he offered his loyalty.⁶ Hence he was authorized by Sa'ud to conquer al-Taif and Mecca in 1802-3.⁷ 'Adwan also took part in the operations which were directed against the Sharif of Mecca in 1805, as well as acting on instructions to go to al-Medina in order to stop the Syrian pilgrims from proceeding to the Holy cities in 1806-7.⁸

The importance of their situation enabled them to play a key role among their neighbours. Thus it is not surprising to find that

(1) Burckhardt. p.241. (2) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.242. (3) Ibid.
(4) Op.cit. p.354. (5) Al-Bassam, p.61. (6) Ibn Bishr. pp.130-131.
(7) Ibid. (8) Ibn Bishr, pp.143,146.

these tribes followed their example in offering submission to the Sa'udis.

7 - Ghamid.

According to al-Qalqashandi Ghamid belonged to al-Azd.¹

The territory of Ghamid lies in the highlands of the southern Hejaz.

They may have submitted about 1802-3. They could raise from five hundred to one thousand.² A part of Ghamid joined Muhammad Ali's army in 1813 while the tribe fought on the side of the Sa'udis in the battle of Basal.

8 - Zahran.

Zahran traced its ancestry to al-Azd according to al-Qalqashandi.³ The territory of Zahran is bounded on the north by Banu Malik and Shalawah, on the east by Ghamid, on the south-west by Zobaid, and on the west by the Dhawi Barakat for a few miles and then the Dhawi Hasan.⁴ It is possible that they submitted to the Sa'udis about 1802-3. They could raise as many as fifteen hundred.⁵ Like Ghamid, a part of them submitted to Muhammad Ali's army while the chief and majority of the tribe continued to be loyal to the Sa'udis and participated in the battle of Basal in 1815 on the Sa'udi side.⁶

9 - Shomran.

Their territory was bounded on the west and north by the Ghamid, on the east by the Shahrān, and on the south by Bulqarn.⁷ According to Burckhardt this was a very strong tribe.⁸ They joined the Sa'udis towards 1802-3 and continued to acknowledge their authority until

(1) Op.cit. p.387. (2) Burckhardt, p.244. (3) Op.cit. p.274.

(4) Hand. of Arabia, vol.1.p.475. (5) Burckhardt. p.244.

(6) Ibn Bishr. p.171; Burckhardt, op.cit. p.395. (7) H.A. Op.cit. p.473.

(8) Ibid.

the Sa'udis were defeated in the battle of Basalin 1815. Burckhardt mentioned that the Shaikh of Shomran ibn Dahman took part in this battle on the Sa'udi side.¹

10 - Banu Sa'd, Nasira and Bujaila

Banu Sa'd, Nasira and Bujaila inhabited the area between Ghamid and al-Taif. As a result of the submission of al-Taif they may have come under the Sa'udi sovereignty; they continued to do so until they joined the Tusun's campaign against Turaba in 1813.² Banu Sa'd could muster five thousand infantrymen.³

The tribes of this section were pro-Sharifian.

As regards Ghamid, Zahran, Shomran, Banu Sa'd, Nazira and Bujaila we may say that their importance lay in the fact that they formed a line of defence in the southern parts of Hejaz.

11 - Buqum tribe.

This tribe occupied Turaba⁴ which is a very fertile region. They mustered seventeen thousand fighters.⁵ In 1797 they offered their submission. During the Sa'udi campaign against the Hejaz in 1802-3 Buqum participated.⁶ After the troops of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha had marched into al-Taif in 1813, Buqum defended Turaba against the Turkish expedition where they defeated Mustafa Bey in 1813 and, later on in the same year, Tusun. This tribe was ruled by a woman named Ghaliya.⁷ Burckhardt writes, "The Begoum Arabs, of whom some are shepherds and some cultivators,

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibn Bishr. pp.167,171. (3) Bassam, p.52.

(4) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.243. (5) Bassam, pp.58-9. (6) Ibn Bishr. p.119.

(7) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.360; Ibn Bishr. pp.168-9.

were headed by a widow named Ghalye, whose husband had been one of the chief men in Taraba. She herself possessed more wealth than any Arab family in the neighbourhood. She distributed money and provisions among all the poor of her tribe, who were ready to fight the Turks. Her table was open to all faithful Wahabys, whose chiefs held their councils in her house; and as the old lady was celebrated for sound judgment, and an accurate knowledge of the interests of the surrounding tribes, her voice was not only heard in council, but generally prevailed; and she actually governed the Begoums, although they had a nominal chief, or sheikh, called Ibn Khorshan. From the first defeat of Mustafa Bey, near Taraba, the name of Ghalye had spread over the whole country. The Turkish soldiers fears soon magnified her influence and importance; they regarded her as chief of the united Wahabys, and reported the most absurd stories respecting her powers as a sorceress, bestowing her personal favours on all the Wahaby leaders, who, by her means, were rendered invincible." ¹

They fought with the Sa'udis against Muhammad 'Ali in the battle of Basalin 1815. And following the occupation of Turaba, Buqum acknowledged the Turkish sovereignty. ²

They may be considered the key to the Hejaz. Thus having submitted to the Sa'udis, the whole area fell, one region after another.

12 - Banu Subai'.

The territory of Subai' was the Subai' Wadi, southwest

(1) Op.cit. p.371.

(2) Burckhardt, p.402.

Nejd, and the sandy strip of Irq. Subai' bordering it on the east. From here the Subai' had distributed themselves to the South and East. They occupied the oasis of Raniya on the West.¹ Banu Subai' were divided into eastern and western groups.

The eastern Subai' joined the Sa'udis in the early years, but not before 1762 because we find that 'Abd al-'Aziz organized a raid against a party of the Subai' Bedouin at the watering-place of al-'Atk, between the Sudair and Mahmal districts. He raided them again in 1762. It is possible that they submitted after this raid because, when they were attacked by an 'Ajman party, 'Abd al-'Aziz hastened to pursue the 'Ajman party. They had since remained loyal.² However, Ibn Bishr mentions that a party of Subai' swore loyalty to al-Dar'iyah in 1771.³ They took part in military operations such as their raid against the Dhafir Bedouin in 1780.⁴ In 1795 Subai' was ordered to join with Ibn Qarmala in order to resist the Sharif's attack.⁵ They also took part in repulsing Thuwaini's attack against the eastern territory of the Sa'udi dominion in 1797.⁶

The western Subai' occupied the oasis of Raniya and were partly cultivators. They offered their submission about 1798. They participated in the Sa'udi campaigns against al-Taif and Mecca in 1802-3.⁷ And finally they fought on the side of the Sa'udis against the Turkish invasion. Burckhardt states that their chief Ibn Qatnan was present in the battle of Basal in 1815.⁸

(1) Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, 3 vols. vol.2. p.100. (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.53,56.
(3) Op.cit. p.67. (4) Ibn Bishr, p.83. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.113.
(6) Ibn Bishr, p.116. (7) Ibn Bishr, p.131. (8) Op.cit. p.395.

The eastern Subai' provided two thousand and five hundred infantrymen and eight hundred horsemen. But Mengin states their number amounted to one thousand and two hundred infantrymen, and one hundred horsemen.¹

As regards the number of the western Subai', al-Bassam estimated that they mustered ten thousand infantrymen and eight hundred horsemen.²

With regard to the number of the whole tribe, Lam'al-Shihab states that they could reach twelve thousand men.

According to Lam'al-Shihab also this tribe accompanied the Sa'udis in their campaigns; it seems certain that they were loyal to the rank of the Sa'udi family.³

Their importance lay in their geographical situation - they occupied a vast area both inside Nejd as well as in the Hejaz.

13 - Banu Salim.

This tribe occupied the fertile Wadi of Bisha. They were partly cultivators.⁴ Following an expedition led by the chief of al-Dawasir in 1797 Bisha offered its submission, but it was forced to return to the Sharif's yoke in the same year.⁵ In 1798 the chief of al-Dawasir was authorized to lead an expedition against Bisha which was forced to surrender to the Sa'udi authority. They took part in subduing the Hejaz in 1802-3.⁶ They also took part in surrounding Mecca in 1805 until Ghalib offered his submission. Banu Salim participated in many

(1) Bassam, p.71; Mengin, p.164. (2) Op.cit. p.62. (3) Op.cit. pp.148-9.

(4) Burekhardt, op.cit. p.243. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.118. (6) Ibn Bishr. p.120.

expeditions such as against Najran in 1806. Finally Banu Salim fought on the side of the Sa'udis during the Turkish campaigns to Arabia between 1811-1815 until they were obliged to surrender.¹

According to al-Bassam Banu Salim could muster twenty thousand infantrymen and two thousand horsemen,² but on the authority of Burckhardt their number amounted to five thousand matchlocks.³

This tribe occupied the centre of communication linking Nejd with Asir and south-westwards as far as Najran. So it may be regarded as the gateway to the south as well as with the north.

(1) Ibn Bishr, pp.143,145,146,152,157,168; Burckhardt, p.395.

(2) al-Bassam, p.35. (3) Op.cit. vol.2. p.46.

B - The tribes of south-west (Asir and Tihama).

† - Banu Qahtan.

The territory of Banu Qahtan stretched from the lower course of the Wadis of Bisha and Tathlith, as far as the pilgrim-route, Mecca-al-Riyadh. In the west they had the Subai' and Shahran, in the east the Banu Hajir as neighbours.¹ They possessed a good breed of horses. According to Burckhardt Banu Qahtan were subdivided into two tribes: al-Sahama, whose chief Ibn Qarmala was a close friend of Sa'ud, and the tribe of al-Aasy, whose Shaikh Heshher was the most distinguished fighter in the whole country.²

According to Ibn Ghannam, Ibn Qarmala came to al-Dar'iya to offer his loyalty in 1787.³ He was ordered to attack the Mutair Bedouin who were concentrated in al-Janaih, a watering place in upper Nejd, in 1792.⁴ A Sharif's army was despatched in order to attack Qahtan in 1795, but it failed to defeat Qahtan together with other Sa'udi forces which had joined Ibn Qarmala.⁵ He organized a raid against the Buqum tribe in 1797.⁶ In the following year Qahtan took part in border war which ended with the occupation of Khurama and the detaching of the 'Ataiba and Subai' from Mecca side.⁷ They took part in compelling Bisha to submit.⁸ They participated in attacking the Hejaz in 1802-3.

It is possible that Qahtan did not take part in the fight against the Turkish invasion in 1813-1815, since there is no record.

Al-Bassam states their number to have been thirty thousand

(1) Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, vol.2. p.106. (2) Op.cit. p.243. The spelling Aasy is Burckhardt's. (3) Vol.2. p.130. (4) Ibn Bishr. p.99. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.113. (6) Ibn Bishr, p.118. (7) pp.120-21. (8) p.120.

infantrymen and seven thousand horsemen. Burckhardt says that they were the strongest and most numerous between the 'Ataiba and Hadramaut.¹

They had some influence over the southern parts of the Hejaz and the southern border of Nejd. For this reason their surrender was followed by continuous raids on a large scale against the Hejazi dominion until the Hejazis offered their submission to the Sa'udis one after another.

2 - The Asir tribes.

The territory of Asir extended as far north as Billahmir and Muhayil; in the south they had Banu Shi'aba, in the west al-Qahma and in the east the Shahrān as their neighbours.² This tribe was subdivided into: a) the tribes of Sarat. b) the tribes of Asir Tihama.

The tribes Sarat Asir were subdivided into (1) Rabia' and Rufaida, (2) Banu Mughaid, (3) 'Alqam, (4) Banu Malik.

The tribes Asir Tihama or Rijal al-Ma' were subdivided into the following tribes. A) Banu Qais, B) Banu Dhalim, C) Banu Juna, D) Banu Bakr, E) Banu Zaid, F) Banu 'Abd Shahb, G) Banu Qutba, H) Banu Shadida, I) Banu 'Abd al-'Aus, J) al-Bina.³ This is a fertile territory.

The Asir tribes offered their submission towards 1801.⁴ Burckhardt writes, "The Wahabys, during some years had extended their arms and faith among most of the mountain tribes southward of Taif towards Yemen, people of considerable strength, and Abu Nokta, Sheikh of Asir was appointed commander of all."⁵

(1) Burckhardt, vol.2.p.46; al-Bassam, p.36. (2) Al-Na'ami, Tarikh Asir, p.132.
(3) Ibid. (4) al-Na'ami, p.131. (5) Op.cit. p.326.

The chief of the Asir tribes was authorized to lead an expedition against the Sharif Ghalib at Jidda in 1804.¹ In the following year the Asir tribes took part in surrounding Mecca in an attempt to force Ghalib to surrender.² They also participated in an expedition against Najran in order to capture it.³ In addition to this they took part in preventing the Syrian pilgrims from entering both Mecca and Medina in 1807.⁴ The chief of the Asir tribes was ordered to march against Abu 'Arish whose chief had rebelled against the Sa'udi authority.⁵

Moreover, the Asir tribes led an expedition against al-Hudaida and Alluhaiya in 1810.⁶ The chief of Asir also attacked the Turkish force which had captured al-Qunfida,⁷ and in the following year they occupied it. Finally they fought on the side of the Sa'udis in the battle of Basal in 1815. Their chief was captured later on when Muhammad Ali occupied Asir.⁸

According to al-Bassam Asir mustered thirty thousand infantrymen and five thousand cavalry, but Burckhardt mentions that Asir could assemble fifteen thousand men armed with matchlocks. In addition to this al-Bassam states that Rijal Alma' could raise two thousand infantrymen and five hundred horsemen.⁹

However, Burckhardt states that Asir were the most numerous and warlike tribe of the southern tribes.¹⁰

This was the most powerful tribal group in the south of

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.142. (2) Ibn Bishr. p.143. (3) Ibn Bishr. p.145.
(4) Ibn Bishr, p.146. (5) Ibn Bishr, pp.152-3. (6) Ibn Bishr, pp.156-7.
(7) Ibn Bishr, pp.172-174. (8) Ibn Bishr, pp.186-7. (9) Op.cit.p.24;
op.cit. vol.2. p.48. (10)

the Sa'udi dominion. Furthermore, they held a strategic position by controlling a part of the Tihama of Asir together with a part of Asir al-Sarat. So they could link the Tihama with the rest of al-Sarat. Accordingly, the surrender of the Asir tribes was followed by the fall of Shahrān, Wadi'a, Sinhan, 'Abaida and Abu 'Arish, and above all the spread of the Sa'udi influence over the Yemeni dominion.

3 - 'Abaida.

According to the Handbook of Arabia the boundary of Abaida was well defined, but to the north their nomads wandered over a vast area and for almost 150 miles their western boundary adjoined that of the Shahrān. To the east lay Tathlith and the Yam tribes, to the south the Banu Bishr, and to the south-west the Rufaidat al-Yemen.¹ They engaged largely in trading.

There is no reference to the date of their submission to the Sa'udis, but presumably they joined the Sa'udis following the submission of the Asir tribes. However, the earlier references to this tribe in Ibn Bishr deal with their participation in an expedition directed against Najran; they also took part in an expedition sent to deal with Abu Mismar in 1809.²

'Abaida mustered twenty thousand footsoldiers and four thousand horsemen.³

(1) vol.1. p.442. (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.145,152-3. (3) al-Bassam, p.23.

4 - Wada'a.

Wada'a were bounded on the north and east by the Yam tribes of Najran and on the west by the Sinhan. They cultivated grapes which they converted into raisins and sold. They also engaged in trading in the coffee which was brought from Jabal Razah and Khaulan al-Sham.¹

We do not know when Wada'a joined the Sa'udis, but it is possible that they submitted after 1801. They took part in the expedition which was directed against Najran.²

According to the Handbook of Arabia Wada'a could raise 4,000 infantrymen and 300 cavalry.³

5 - Sinhan.

The Sinhan were bounded on the north by Yam, on the east by Wada'a, and on the west by the Banu Bishr.⁴

They, like Wada'a, joined the Sa'udis not before 1801. They fought on the Sa'udi side against Najran in 1806.⁵

According to al-Bassam Sinhan mustered ten thousand infantrymen and three thousand horsemen.⁶

The importance of 'Abaida, Sinhan, and Wada'a was that they constituted a line of defence for the Najran oasis. However, this oasis was, from the beginning of the Sa'udi movement, anti-Sa'udi.

6 - Shahran.

The territory of this tribe covered a large area. They

(1) Handbook, p.442. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.145. (3) p.449.
(4) Handbook, vol.1.p.447. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.145. (6) p.31.

possessed the country round Bisha and they followed the Wadi of Shahran as far as its beginning and thence to within 20 miles of Subai'. Their boundary extended from east to west of the Wadi Shahran. Their neighbours on the north were the Shalawah and Subai', on the east 'Abaida.¹

They may have joined the Sa'udis after 1801. They took part in the punitive expedition against Abu Mismar in 1809.²

They could raise fifteen thousand infantrymen and two thousand horsemen.³

(1) Handbook, vol.1. p.462. (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.152-3. (3) Bassam, p.33.

C - Central Arabia.

THE TRIBES OF NEJD.

This group may be divided into the following tribes:-

1 - Shammar (of Jabal Shammar).

According to the Handbook of Arabia the Shammar tribe did not spring from a single ancestor, but account for themselves by saying that they were a mixture of Taghlib, 'Abs, and Hawazin, the first a constituent of Rabia, the two last of Mudhar.¹ The Shammar tribe occupied the fertile Qasim province.

The Shammar fall into four subtribes: a) Sinjara, b) Tuman, c) 'Abdah and Aslam.

a) According to Musil Sinjara's territory lay between al-Ghuta and al-Hazul. The watering places of al-Habaka, al-Hubayki, al-Ray'a, and al-Rawz belonged to them.²

b) The Tuman encamped in the territory which extended from al-Shabasi, north of Wakisa, along the pilgrim route to Iraq. They had not any important watering-places.³

c) The territory of 'Abdah extended from Aja near Maugag eastwards as far as the old pilgrim road and along this to Lina. They possessed the watering stations of Lina, al-Khadhra, Zarud, al-Shauiba and al-Ajfar.⁴

d) The Aslam possessed the Salma with the villages of Sab'an and Taba and the former pilgrim station of Faid. They wandered from here to the Qasim and to al-Batin.⁵

(1) Op.cit. p.75. (2) Northern Nejd, p.31; Oppenheim, Die Beduines, vol.3.p37.
(3) Ibid.; Musil, p.33. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.

As to their number, Burckhardt states that they were able to muster from three thousand to four thousand men all armed with matchlocks. The chief of Shammar, Ibn 'Ali, was a man of considerable influence at the Sa'udi court.¹

It is most likely that the Shammar tribe joined the ranks of the Sa'udis immediately after the battle of 'Adwa, south of Hayil, where Sa'ud surprised and defeated them in 1791.² Since that date they remained loyal to the Sa'udi state until the fall of al-Dar'iya in 1818. They took part in many important campaigns. For example, they participated in the campaign against the oasis of Jauf in 1793.³

They held the Qasim province and above all controlled the main communication to Medina and Mecca from Iraq and that from Syria to Nejd. Thus their entering into the Sa'udi fold was of vital importance.

2 - Mutair.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Mutair belonged to Qahtan, but according to the Handbook of Arabia Mutair claimed descent through Mudhar from Ma'ad.⁴ The territory of Mutair extended from the Qasim province as far as Medina.⁵ They were camel-breeders.

As regards their number, Lam'al-Shihab states that they could raise fourteen thousand men, but Burckhardt estimated that the Mutair could enlist twelve hundred horsemen, and from six to eight thousand matchlocks.⁶

Mutair may have submitted after their defeat by Sa'ud at al-Shaqra, a watering-place near Jabal Shammar, in 1791-2, because from

(1) Op.cit. p.231. (2) Ibn Bishr. p.97. (3) Ibn Bishr, p.111.
(4) Op.cit. p.144; op.cit. p.83. (5) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.233. (6) Ibid.

then on they fought on the side of the Sa'udis.¹

Like the Harb tribe, the Mutair had also yielded early to the Turks, when they accompanied Tusun in 1815 on his march to al-Qasim province.²

However, after the Turks had withdrawn, 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud arrested and killed the brother of the Mutair chief.³ Thereupon, when Ibrahim Pasha reached al-Hanik'iya, Faisal al-Dawish, the chief of the Mutair tribe, sent to him a messenger informing him that he would join the Turks if Ibrahim Pasha promised the Mutair chief of the command of al-Dar'iya. Ibrahim agreed and therefore al-Dawish joined the former when he was in front of al-Rass in 1817. Hence Faisal gave his ally transport and supplies and Mutair became a part of the Turkish army.⁴

Mutair was a powerful tribe and its influence extended from al-Qasim as far as Medina. Thus its surrender to the Sa'udi cause probably increased the latter's power as far as the Hejaz, and also served as a line of defence against the Hejazi raids.

3 - The 'Anaza tribes.

According to Lam'al-Shihab the 'Anaza tribes claimed descent from Wayil of Rabi'a.⁵ They were the largest tribe of nomad Arabs. The 'Anaza occupied a vast area which extended as far north as Syria and Iraq, and in the south they took up their abode in Khaibar and al-Qasim.⁶

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.99. (2) Burckhardt, ibid. (3) Mengin, op.cit. vol.2.p.93.
(4) Mengin, p.97. (5) Op.cit. p.133. (6) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.231.

According to Lam'al-Shihab this group of tribes were divided into three groups, each subdivided into tribes and clans, (and 'Ashiras).¹ For example; from the 'Anaza were: (1) Banu Wahb which was divided into the following:

A) Walad Sulaiman which lived at the desert of al-Sham between Balqa and Huran. They were considered to be dependent on Damascus. It is interesting to point out here that they went down to encamp in the Wadis of al-Sirhan and Hamad during the Winter.²

B) Al-Manabiha, whose Shaikh was al-Fadhil, in the summer encamped at al-Shanbil in the neighbourhood of Halab, Hims and Hamat, but in the winter they went east of al-Iraq.³

Both al-Manabiha and Walad Sulaiman received a regular income from the governors of Damascus and Halab for protecting the Syrian border and preventing their people from committing any kind of offences against Syrian subjects, especially farmers.⁴

C) In addition to this there was a part of Banu Wahb settled in Khaibar where they possessed half the palm-trees of that place.⁵ This section roamed a vast area extending from the homeland of Shammar to Taima as far north as Hajar Thamoud, and to the south as far as Yanbu'.⁶

(2) The Jilas in summertime used to go to al-Qasim in order to buy dates and grain.⁷

(3) The Rawalla was the third branch of the 'Anaza federation. Their minor tribes were al-Qati'aisan, al-Dughama, al-Firaiqa

(1) Ibid. (2) Lam'al-Shihab, p.134. (3) Lam'al-Shihab, p.135.
(4) Lam'al-Shihab, p.136. (5) Ibid. (6) Lam'al-Shihab, p.137.
(7) Lam'al-Shihab, p.138.

and al-Nasair. The Rawalla tribe possessed numerous camels, so that an individual might have four hundred camels or even five hundred. In summertime al-Rawalla encamped in Busra, al-Azraq and Ahika and sometimes they encamped at al-Naqra (situated between Balqa and Huran). They sold their camels in Halab.¹

(4) Bishr: According to Lam'al-Shihab the Bishr tribe was divided into large branches such as a) al-'Amarat which subdivided into Saqur and al-Tarifa.² The 'Amarat's Shaikhs belonged to a well-known family called al-Hadhhal. Burckhardt states that Ibn Hadhal was a supporter of the Wahhabis. This man was present in almost every battle fought from the year 1812 to 1815 in the Hejaz against the army of Muhammad 'Ali. It was reported that through his efforts, Tusun Pasha was kept in check during his advance from Medina to al-Qasim in 1815.³ However, al-Hadhhal occupied the oasis of al-Hanikiya.⁴

b) The Dahamisha tribe was another branch of the Bishr tribe. They possessed al-Hayid and al-Huwayyid which in the past were called Fidk. Their fighting men were numerous and were armed with matchlocks.⁵ The Dahamisha tribe joined Ibrahim Pasha in 1816.⁶

c) There was a division of the Bishr tribe called al-Sib'a.⁷

d) The tribe of Walad Sulaiman belonged to the Bishr tribe.⁸

e) There was another tribe of Bishr called al-Bajayida.

f) And finally there was a clan ('ashira) of Shimla who

possessed half the land of Khaibar according to Lam'al-Shihab. They also

(1) Ibid; Burckhardt, p.218. (2) Lam'al-Shihab, p.139. (3) Op.cit. p.219.
(4) Lam'al-Shihab, p.140. (5) Lam'al-Shihab, p.139. (6) Ibn Bishr, p.
(7) Ibid. (8) Ibid.

lived in Nejd territory.¹

Burckhnarat states that most of the great 'Anaza tribes were entitled to passage money from the Syrian pilgrim caravans.²

According to Lam'al-Shihab all the tribes of 'Anaza were under the Sa'udi authority. They joined the Sa'udis without fighting.

With regard to the number of 'Anaza Lam'al-Shihab states that they could provide sixty thousand men. They were well-known horse riders.³

Their importance lay in the fact that they controlled the northern parts of Arabia and had some influence over Syria and Trans-Jordan. Consequently by subjecting this tribe to their cause, the Sa'udis armies and influence were spread to the Jordan and Syria. In addition to this, they served as a line of defence against any attack from Syria.

4 - al-Suhul.

According to the Handbook of Arabia the Suhul tribe were connected with the Subai' tribe of which they constituted a subtribe, but according to Lam'al-Shihab the Suhul tribe belonged to Rabia'. Al-Suhul were rich in camels and sheep. However, most of al-Dar'iya's samn came from al-Suhul.⁴

They occupied the fertile oasis of Jabal of al-'Ardh and they had a watering-place near al-Sha'ara, three days distant from al-Dar'iya on the Mecca side.⁵

(1) Ibid. (2) Op.cit. p.218. (3) p.141. (4) vol.1. p.73; p.149.
(5) Ibid.

On the authority of Lam'al-Shihab this tribe could raise ten thousand men, but according to al-Bassam they mustered only three thousand infantrymen and eight hundred horsemen.¹

Ibn Ghannam refers to the fact that al-Suhul came into conflict with the Sa'udis in 1784 for the first time.² They submitted early to the Sa'udis and remained loyal to them. From 1793 onwards they participated in many campaigns such as those which were organized against the Banu Hajir in 1793-4 and in resisting the Sharif's campaign in 1796.³

5 - al-Dawasir.

They occupied the fertile Wadi of al-Dawasir and had villages there.⁴ Wadi al-Dawasir extended as far as three dromedary journeys. As a result, the Wadi was well-watered. Most people of the Dawasir tribe were engaged in agriculture.

The Dawasir tribe offered its submission to the Sa'udis in 1787.⁵ Since that date they had remained loyal and taken part in many campaigns. They came into contact with the Egyptians only in the battle of Basalin 1815.

According to al-Bassam the Dawasir tribe could muster eight thousand infantrymen and one thousand and five hundred horsemen, but Mengin states that they could raise only five thousand infantrymen and a hundred cavalry.⁶

Its importance must be assessed in the light of its situation as a centre of communications between Nejd and Bisha, Tathlith

(1) Op.cit. p.150; p.69. (2) Rawdhat al-Afkar., vol.2. p.121.
(3) Ibn Bishr, p.110. (4) p.75. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.93.
(6) Bassam, p.69; Mengin op.cit. p.164.

and Najran. Their surrender to the Sa'udis served to increase the latter's power south-wards by using the territory of al-Dawasir as a military base against Bisha, Tathlith and Najran.

D - East North and east-south of Arabia.

1 - The tribes of al-Hasa.

Banu Khalid.

According to Lam'al-Shihab, Banu Khalid claimed descent from Rabi'a, an 'Adnani tribe.¹ The Banu Khalid occupied the fertile oases of al-Hasa as well as controlling trade to central Arabia from the Persian Gulf. They possessed the sea ports of al-Qatif and al-'Uqair through which sugar, coffee, spices and other goods from India and the Yemen passed to central Arabia. However, this tribe was subdivided into the following subtribes:-

(1) Al-Hamaid which was the chief subtribe of the Banu Khalid could provide one thousand fighters.²

(2) Al-Subaih which occupied the adjacent area of both Kuwait and Muntafiq tribe, could muster six thousand men, but according to al-Bassam this tribe mustered 1,500 footsoldiers and 300 cavalry.³ Lam'al-Shihab states that this tribe; since Banu Khalid took al-Hasa from the Turks, was the defensive line of Banu Khalid against the Turks, together with al-Muntafiq.⁴

(3) Al-Mahashir which possessed al-Qatif Revenue, could assemble seven thousand men. They were rich in camels.⁵ According to al-Bassam al-Mahashir could raise one thousand foot-soldiers and 500 cavalymen.⁶

(4) Al-'Amair who lived at Jannah and Abu 'Ali, amounted

(1) Op.cit., p.436; al-Qalqashandi, op.cit. p.242. (2) Lam'al-Shihab, ibid.
(3) Ibid.; al-Bassam, op.cit. p.80. (4) Op.cit. p.437.
(5) Lam'al-Shihab, p.438. (6) Ibid.

to 4,000 men, but according to al-Bassam they had 2,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry.¹

Lam'al-Shihab states that some members of this tribe during the Summer, engaged in sea-faring between al-Bahrain, Zubara and al-Kuwait, and some were engaged in the pearl fishery. In addition to this some of them possessed estates of palm-trees.²

The remaining subtribes of the Banu Khalid comprised three unnamed; each could raise 2,000 men.³

Mengin, however, estimates the whole number of the Banu Khalid as only 2,500 infantrymen, 2,000 cavalry.⁴

The Banu Khalid, before the first Sa'udi state, were the most powerful tribe of Eastern Arabia. They ruled a vast area which extended from the Persian Gulf as far as al-'Arid. Thus they opposed the rising of the Sa'udi state from the beginning and despatched expedition after expedition in an attempt to destroy the Sa'udis and bring back the whole area under their control, but in vain.

It is a matter of importance to point out that since 1745-1765 the Sa'udi policy had been on the defensive, but from 1765 onwards the Sa'udis began to attack them until they were defeated in 1793, 1795, and thereafter they submitted to the Sa'udis and remained loyal until they were driven back by Ibrahim Pasha in 1818.

They possessed the Hasa oasis together with the ports of

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Lam'al-Shihab, p.439. (4) Op.cit. vol.2.p.164.

Qatif and Uqair. Through the former, the interior towns of Nejd were supplied. Politically, they could threaten the stability of the Sa'udi state as long as they kept their independence.

2 - The Omani tribes.

A) The Tribe of NU'aim.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Banu Nu'aim were of Qahtani descent.¹ According to Lam'al-Shihab Banu Nu'aim lives to the west of al-Buraimi. Miles states that this tribe inhabited al-Buraimi, Dhank, Qabil, Sinana and Hafait.² They were a warlike tribe and at enmity with Banu Yas.

Both Lam'al-Shihab and Miles state that they could muster twenty thousand men.³

Banu Nu'aim offered their submission in 1799 and since that date they had fought on the Sa'udi side against Muscat and even against the Turks at al-Dar'iya in 1818.⁴

By controlling the Buraimi oasis Banu Nu'aim exercised a position of great importance. That oasis is to be considered as a centre of communication between the east and the west. So it may be regarded as the northern gateway to the Sultanates of Muscat and Oman. The tribe possessed the key villages and strongholds of Hamasa and Buraimi town and they controlled the towns of Dhank and Hafit.

B) Banu Qitab.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Banu Qitab belonged to Rabia',

(1) pp.461-2. (2) The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf, vol.2.p.432.
(3) Ibid. (4) Miles, p.323.

an 'Adnani tribe. They occupied a territory two days distant to the south-east of al-Buraimi.¹ We are informed by Miles that Banu Qitab occupied Dhank and Aflaj in al-Dhahirah. He says that the Batinah area was their favourite hunting ground, so much so that their name was a terror to the Batinah people.²

Banu Qitab could raise 8,000 men, but according to Miles Banu Qitab could assemble only about 2,000 men.³

They, like Banu Nu'aim, offered their submission in 1799, and took part in the Sa'udi military operations against the Sultan of Muscat and partly against the Turks in 1818.

This tribe held a commanding position across the entrance to Wadi al-Qaur. It is not possible at this stage in our knowledge of the area and period to evaluate the importance of the territory of this tribe.

C) Banu Dhawahir.

According to Miles the Dhawahir tribe occupied the country at Ain and Buraimi. Their number could reach 4,000 or 5,000 men.⁴

They, like the tribes of Banu Nu'aim and Banu Qitab, submitted in 1799.

Their possession of the villages of Jini, Hili, Qattarah, Mu'tiridh and al-Ain meant that they shared Banu Nu'aim's possession of the Buraimi oasis from which they could control the central communication with Muscat.

(1) Op.cit. p.462 (2) Ibid; Miles, op.cit. p.428-9. (3) Ibid.
(4) Op.cit. p.424.

D) Banu Duru'.

According to Lam'al-Shihab Banu Duru' claimed descent from Qahtan.¹

This tribe was widely scattered, the largest part of them being at Tinan in al-Dhahirah. Also the majority of them were Bedouin who possessed the largest breed of camels in Oman next to al-Wahaiba.²

According to Lam'al-Shihab the number of Banu Duru' could amount to twenty thousand men, but according to Miles they numbered only about 16,000 men.³ They may have submitted in 1800.

E) Banu Yas.

According to Miles Banu Yas immigrated from Nejd about the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴ Their territory included Abu Dhabi and Dubai on the Persian Gulf and extended inland as far as al-Buraimi. They were mostly engaged in pearl fishing.⁵ They could raise fifteen thousand men.

They submitted in 1800, but later on revolted against the Sa'udi state on account of the collection of Zakat.⁶

F) The Qawasim.

According to Miles the Qawasim tribe belonged to Ma'dh.⁷ They occupied the most important part of the south eastern coast of the Persian Gulf. Ras al-Khaima was their capital. They were engaged mostly in fishing and in piracy.⁸ Thus they had a large fleet which was said to

(1) Op.cit. p.465. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Op.cit. p.438.
(5) Ibid. (6) Badger, The History of the Imams. p.325. (7) Miles, p.430.
(8) Kelly, Eastern Arabian Frontiers, p.55.

comprise sixty three large vessels and over eight hundred smaller ones, manned by nineteen thousand men in 1808.¹

According to Miles the Qawasim tribe amounted to 20,000 men and had several small tribes in cliency to it.²

They joined the Sa'udis in 1799 and from then on they remained loyal to the Sa'udis. According to Lorimer the Qawasim of the south eastern coast sent seventeen war vessels with a large number of men to al-Qatif as a reinforcement for the Sa'udi state when Ibrahim Pasha's army came nearer to al-Dar'iya, but they arrived too late.³

The importance of this tribe may be regarded as lying in its maritime power. Their enmity with the Abadi al-Bu Sa'id rulers of Muscat, because they were Sunnis, caused them to offer their submission to the Sa'udis. However, they controlled the port of Ras al-Khaima, from which they could direct their campaigns against Muscat and interrupt the communications in the Persian Gulf.

(1) Wilson, The Persian Gulf, p.204. (2) Miles, ibid.
(3) Lorimer, Gazette of the Persian Gulf. vol.1. p.657.

Part 1. Internal Affairs.

11 - The Sa'udi Administration.

This subject may be considered under the following heads:

I - Central government.

II - Provincial administration.

I - For the study of the central government administration the following subjects require to be examined separately:

- a - Theory of the Sa'udi state.
- b - The Sa'udi government under Muhammad b. Sa'ud and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab.
- c - The System of succession.
- d - The army.
- e - The Diwan.
- f - Bait al-Mal.
- g - Justice.
- h - Religious Affairs (and Education).
- i - Diplomatic Affairs.

a - The supreme sovereignty of the Sa'udi government resided constitutionally in the Shari'a (divine law). In other words, there was no law or institution except the Shari'a, which the Sa'udi government carried out strictly without any modifications. So the Sa'udi chief, as Imam, was theoretically the head of the state. Hourani writes, "In this state the Shari'a was to be fulfilled in every detail, and no other laws

or customs were valid. Authority lay in the hands of the Imam, temporal leader and leader in prayer, but he exercised it with the advice of 'Ulama and community."¹

Burckhardt confirms the above facts in the following quotation: "The religion and government of the Wahabys (sic) may be briefly defined, as a Muselman (sic) puritanism, and a Bedouin government, in which the great chief is both the political and religious leader of the nation, exercising his authority in the same manner as the followers of Mohammed did over his converted countrymen."²

This means that the essential duty of the Imam was to see to the preservation of the principles and practices of religion. This was not the only object of the Sa'udi chief, for he had to establish law and order, suppress the local wars and private feuds.³

On the other hand, the duty of the community (Umma) was to obey God, His Prophet, and those who exercise authority. Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab comments on the latter item: "We teach that it is necessary to give proof of loyalty and entire obedience with regard to every Imam, whether he be an upright man or a wrong-doer, so long as he does not command us to disobey God."⁴

This was according to the practice of the early Islamic state which was based on the Qur'anic Surah iv, that commands the people to obey God, His Prophet, and those who exercise authority whether they

(1) Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age. 1798-1939. (2) N.B.W. pp.273-4.

(3) Lorimer, Op.cit. vol.1. p.1064.

(4) Majmu'at ras.naj. 111, p.63; Laoust, Doctrines Sociales et Politiques d'Ibn Taimiya, p.527.

act as they ought or not, one must still obey these orders which are in agreement with the commandments of God. "Believers, obey Allah and the Apostle and those in authority among you. Should you disagree about anything refer it to Allah and the Apostle, if you truly believe in Allah and the Last Day. This will in the end be better and more just."¹

2
' This view was also recorded in a saying of as early as the first century. The Prophet says, "Do not abuse those who bear rule. If they act uprightly, they shall have their reward, and your duty is to show gratitude. If they do evil, they shall bear the burden, and your duty is to endure patiently. They are a chastisement which God inflicted upon those whom He will; therefore accept the chastisement of God, not with indignation and wrath, but with humility and meekness."²

Thus in the interest of the Shari'a, there must be close co-operation between the ruler and the community. This co-operation between ruler and ruled was borne out by an observation of Burckhardt, in which he remarked that the Sa'udi government was an aristocracy, at the head of which stood the family of the Sa'uds, who, in spite of the fact that they were absolute masters, administered justice as powerful Shaikhs. Burckhardt writes, "The Wahaby's (sic) chief may seem an absolute master, but he knows too well the spirit of his Arabs to attempt governing with⁵ despotic sway. The liberties of individuals are maintained as in former times."³

(1) The Koran trans. Dawood, p.363.

(2) Abu Yusuf, Kitab al-Kharaj, p.11 (tr.Fagnan, p.14.)

(3) Ibid, p.294.

It is clear from the above facts that Wahhabism from the first placed authority mainly in the hands of the Imam, provided that he ruled constitutionally according to the Shari'a and with the co-operation of the 'Ulama. In this the movement not only showed its wisdom, but made itself eminently acceptable to the Bedouin tribes, who themselves were accustomed to being ruled by a Shaikh acting, not arbitrarily, but in accordance with long established tribal custom, as Burckhardt makes abundantly clear.

b - The Sa'udi government under Muhammad b. Sa'ud and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab.

According to the compact of allegiance between Muhammad b. Sa'ud the prince of al-Dar'iya and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab which was concluded in 1744, the two men pledged themselves to restore the religion to its ^{former} pristine purity and simplicity in accordance with the Qur'an and the Traditions, even if it were by force. Burckhardt writes that the Wahhabis propagated their doctrine with the sword. Whenever they purposed to attack a district of heretics, they cautioned them three times, and invited them to adopt their doctrine; after the third summons, they proclaimed that the time for pardon had elapsed, and they then allowed their troops to attack their enemies.¹ From this pact, which raised a Bedouin principality into a canonically instituted theocracy, dated the foundation of this state.

These two leaders divided between them the supreme authority,

(1) N.B.W. vol.1. p.102.

in which Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab reserved for himself the spiritual power, whilst Muhammad b. Sa'ud took charge of the temporal power.

Rousseau writes, "Scheikh (sic) Mohammad was declared supreme pontiff, and Ebn Sehous (sic) was appointed prince and supreme commander of the Wahabis (sic). From this stems the natural division of sovereign authority into spiritual affairs and temporal matters, a distinction which is conserved by the difference between the descendants of the two chiefs."¹

It is clear from the above statement that Muhammad b. Sa'ud administered the political and military affairs and that he sometimes led expeditions in person. Thus he led two important expeditions against Riyadh in 1749 and in 1750 which was, however, his last experience of fighting, while Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab exercised the ecclesiastical functions, such as leading the people in prayer and teaching the people the principles of the Islamic religion. Philby describes the Shaikh's classes as open to prince, peasant and pauper without distinction, all of them equally in need of spiritual comfort in the slough of despond, into which the Arabs had sunk through years of ignorance and neglect.²

In addition to this, he spent a part of his time writing letters to the various rulers, 'Ulama' and tribes explaining the principal ideas of the Wahhabi movement, inviting the people everywhere to accept the Wahhabi authority, but if they did not do so Jihad was to be declared against the enemies of the Wahhabis.³ Furthermore, Muhammad b. 'Abd

(1) Notice sur les Wahabis, p.135.

(2) Sa'udi Arabia, p.40.

(3) Ibn Bishr, vol.1. p.22.

WDS

al-Wahhab took an active part in the direction of military and political affairs.¹ For example Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad b.Sa'ud, having decided to depose Mishari b.Mu'ammara from ^{the} governorship of al-'Ayaina, and replace him by Sultan ibn Musin al-Mu'ammari, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab proceeded to al-'Ayaina in person to superintend the destruction of the family castle.² He also used to receive the ambassadors who brought the submission of the various towns and tribes and villages.

Here are a few examples. In 1761 Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab received a deputation of the village of al-Fara'a, which came to al-Dar'iyah in order to offer its submission.³ In 1763 Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab again received a deputation from the chief of Riyadh, who made a request for admittance into the Wahhabi faith.⁴ He was also in charge of the financial administration of which he, later on, transferred the executive responsibility to 'Abd al-'Aziz b.Muhammad b.Sa'ud.⁵ The latter, however, continued to consult him on all matters. Incidentally, it was reported that Muhammad ibn Sa'ud and his son 'Abd al-'Aziz acted in complete harmony during their lives. Thus Ibn Bishr states that Muhammad b.Sa'ud and his son 'Abd al-'Aziz did not undertake any enterprise or make any major decision without the approval of Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab.⁶

Even later on, the family of Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab also continued to play a major role. Thus Palgrave states that the whole family had constantly held the highest judicial and religious posts in

(1) Ibid., pp.101-2. Lam'al-Shihab. This author mentions that Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab gave instruction in the use of firearms, see S.E.I.(Wahhabiya.p.619)
(2) Ibn Bishr. p.52. (3) ibid. p.54. (4) Ibid. p.56.
(5) Ibid. p.23. (6) Ibid.

the Wahhabi empire; they exercised a predominant influence in the state, and though never decorated with the official titles belonging to purely civil or military authority, were yet, in reality, the rulers of the land, and their own masters of the Sa'ud dynasty never ventured to contradict them, even on matters of policy or war.¹

c - The system of succession.

The general rule was that, when a Sa'udi chief died, he would be succeeded by his eldest son. So it was that, when Muhammad b. Sa'ud died, his eldest son 'Abd al-'Aziz succeeded him to the throne.

On the other hand, before the latter died, he made particular arrangements to assure the succession of his heir, Sa'ud. This choice, however, was based on his outstanding achievement in the military and administrative spheres, because he had been for many years his right hand in the administration. Ibn Bishr alludes to the fact that Muhammad b 'Abdal Wahhab, as the representative of the religious authority, sent his orders to all the provinces, districts, and tribes, persuading them to acknowledge and accept Sa'ud as their future ruler; meanwhile, he asked the governors and the Shaikhs to take the Bay'ah (the oath of allegiance) and loyalty from their people.² Philby comments on this, "This must have been a very ancient practice, as the Sabaeen kings of old generally associated one, and in some cases even two, not only as princes regent, but with the actual title of king."³

(1) Op.cit. vol.1. pp.379-80.

(2) Ibn Bishr. p.83.

(3) Op.cit. p.77.

Subsequently, this system was employed by Mu'awiya, who appointed his son Yazid to be his 'Wali al-'Ahd, heir apparent. Gaudefray writes, "Mu'awiya, after having based his right to the caliphate on an arbitration which, accepted at Suffin by the unhappy 'Ali, took the place of an appointment by general consent, introduced into the method of handing on the caliphate the idea of heredity, a conception that was foreign to Arab tradition. In the course of a meeting of tribal chiefs and of the principal personalities of the empire, he secured the acknowledgement of his son Yazid as heir apparent."¹

In the same manner the Shaikhs and governors swore fidelity to 'Abd Allah b.Sa'ud, while his father Sa'ud was still ^{also} living.²

It is apparent that the advantage of these customary arrangements was to strengthen the authority of the state and ensure the continuity of power in the state in the case of the sudden death of the ruler.

It is clear from the above facts that the Sa'udis adopted the practice which was established by the early Caliphs, of putting forward the candidate of their choice for election, as successor to the throne, during their own lifetime.

It is worth mentioning that the Sa'udis used to give the successor, as a symbol of authority, a sword which had belonged to the

(1) Muslim institutions, p.23. The Abbasid state also followed the practice of the Umayyads. But this was frequently tempered by assassination. ²
Ibid. p.24.

(2) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.295.

great Sa'ud, a particularly fine sword, with a blade of Damascus steel, the handle covered with gold, and the scabbard inlaid with silver.¹

d - The Army.

According to Burckhardt the Sa'udi state had not any regular army or body of troops,² except that the chief had a bodyguard amounting to about three hundred men. Burckhardt says: "Of the bravest and most renowned warriors among his Arabs, Saoud (sic) has formed a body-guard, which he keeps constantly at Derayah (sic), and which are the only standing troops of his army."³

Inasmuch as all the Sa'udi subjects were soldiers, they were obliged to take up arms when the chief called them, and in addition to this to equip themselves at their own expense.⁴ Thus when the chief wanted troops, he would simply write to the different tribes and provinces, indicating the required number of men to be levied! Ali Bey writes, "These men present themselves upon the day appointed, with their provisions, arms, and ammunition, for the Sultan never thinks of giving them anything; such is the force of their religious ideas."⁵ As regards the poor soldiers, they were equipped by the rich with camels and weapons, or by the Bait al-Mal (central treasury).⁶

With respect to the payment of the army, all the subjects were expected to equip themselves with weapons and camels because they had to do so. Harford Jones states that: "No one is to be paid for his

(1) Armstrong, Lord of Arabia, p.44.
(2) N.B.W. p.311. See further part one, section 111. (3) Ibid. p.312.
(4) Ibid.; Ali Bey, vol.2. p.136. This fact was confirmed by Rainaud who visited al-Dar'iyah in 1799. Monatliche Correspondenz, p.241; Dahlan, p.337.
(5) Ibid. (6) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.312.

services in war, because properly there can be no other motive for war than religion - war then is the service of God and shall a man receive pay for serving God."¹

However, in compensation, they took their share of booty which would be divided into five parts; one would be sent to the state treasury and the remaining parts would be distributed among the troops, a cavalry soldier would have two shares while every foot-soldier would have one share.²

Concerning the commanding of the army, it is a general rule that the chief's (or the head of the state) were the commanders-in-chief of their army. So the common practice was that they led their army against their enemies in person, but in case they could not lead their armies in person, they would give the command to one of their sons or brothers or some distinguished Emir.³ According to Lam'al-Shihab the Sa'ud's did not give the command of the army to any person, other than them, except those who were of Bedouin origin.⁴

Arising from this rule, Muhammad b. Sa'ud was the commander-in-chief of his army. Thus he led his army in person several times, but when he became older and more absorbed in business, he left the leadership of his army first to the 'Ayaina chiefs, Uthman and Mishari, and only later to his son and heir 'Abd al-'Aziz,⁵ who, however, either used to lead his army himself or send his son Sa'ud. Most of 'Abd al-'Aziz's military

(1) The Whahaubees, p.10. (2) Burckhardt, op.cit. vol.2. p.151.

(3) ibid. p.315. (4) p.129.

(5) Philby, Sa'udi Arabia, p.58.

activities which he led in person, were directed against the local chiefs of Nejd, particularly chiefs of Riyadh and al-Kharj. The former, however, offered stubborn resistance which lasted for about twenty-seven years (1745-1773). It is to be noted that when Muhammad b. Sa'ud died in 1765, the influence of the Sa'udi state had not then extended to many part of Nejd, but during the course of 'Abd al-'Aziz's reign (1765-1803) the greater part of Arabia offered allegiance such as Nejd, al-Hasa and Asir, and part of the Hejaz, and Arabian states of the Persian Gulf.¹

On the other hand, Sa'ud b. 'Abd al-'Aziz devoted much of his attention to extending and consolidating his dominion all over Arabia. A memorandum of the government of Sa'udi Arabia states: "During Sa'ud's reign of over ten years the Sa'udi state reached the apex of its early career, nearly the whole of the Arabian peninsula coming under its authority."² He led his army in person against the Hejaz in 1803, in which year he captured Mecca. He captured the province of al-Hasa in 1793, and he also led an expedition to the Iraqi town of Karbala in 1802.³

By comparing these facts with those of early Muslim military administration, we find that the Prophet was the commander-in-chief of the Muslim army. This implies that he himself led and marshalled the forces in all important engagements and campaigns such as the battles of Badr, Uhud and Hunayn and the conquest of Mecca.⁴

If we consider the distinguished Emirs who were put in

(1) Dahlan, p.337. (2) vol.1. p.122. Parandier, the French Ambassador at Constantinople observes, "It was then that one could expect to see a new Arab monarchy arise, not as powerful as that of the Caliphs, but capable of acquiring in time a degree of grandeur which would place it on the level with the other sovereignties of Asia." (Quoted by G. Douin, Mohamed Aly, Pacha du Caire (1925) p.51.) (3) Ibn Bishr., pp.122, 108, 129-30.

(4) al-Hussaini. p.25

charge of leading expeditions in different directions, referring here to the more important ones, their major military activities may be noted.

(1) Sulaiman b.'Ufaisan, the governor of al-Kharj (1776-1792) was constantly called upon by 'Abd al-'Aziz and his son Sa'ud for military missions demanding bold leadership; accordingly he organized continuous raids against Qatar from 1788-1792, until it offered its submission.¹

(2) 'Abd al-Wahhab Abu Nuqta, the commander-in-chief of the Asir tribes and the province itself, was instructed to organize a raid against the Hejaz in 1803.² In 1805-9 he harrassed the Yemen by rapid incursions and frequent plundering expeditions. Ali Bey writes, "The person who appears to be the most powerful, and to possess the greatest influence after Saoud (sic) is Abounocta (sic), grand Schiek of Yemen, who has a great number of troops under his orders."³

(3) Mutlaq b.Muhammad al-Mutairi, the Emir of al-Buraimi, 1809-13, a man of great courage and ability, during his stay here won new adherents to the Sa'udi state. He defeated the Sultan of Muscat in the Ma'awal valley in 1811.⁴ He also received orders in 1813 from al-Dar'iya to attack the Sultan of Muscat and put an end to his intervention in the affairs of Ras al-Khaima; this campaign resulted in the Sultan being ^{forced} obliged to pay an annual tribute of about 40,000 Dollars.⁵ Shaikh Mansaur remarks: "He possessed a handsome person and a warlike air: united with some respect and affection for his followers.... without exaggeration, I

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.99.

(3) Travels, vol.2. p.138.

(5) ibid. p.319

(2) Ibid.

(4) Miles, The countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf. vol.2. p.317.

may declare him to have been the ablest politician and most skilful general, who has for a considerable space of time appeared, in the east."¹

(4) 'Uthman b.'Abdal-Rahman al-Mudhaifi the chief of the 'Adwan tribe, was commander-in-chief of the Sa'udi state in the Taif district, 1802-1812. He captured Taif in 1802, and took part in expeditions against Mecca in 1803, 1805, Asir Tihama, in 1809. He also intercepted the Turkish army communications during 1812.²

As has already been stated, the head of the state was commander-in-chief, he declared war and made peace, but in time of war he naturally consulted and co-operated with the governors of the provinces and the Bedouin chiefs. Burckhardt says, "In time of war, the chiefs of these provinces, as well as the great Bedouin shaikhs, form a council."³

In addition to this he might consult 'ugada' whom he frequently took with him to al-Dar'iya. According to Burckhardt these 'ugada' were the war-chiefs of the Bedouin tribes.⁴

e - The Diwan.⁵

According to information supplied by Ibn Bishr we presume that the function of the diwan was to draw up and issue the orders of the chief of the Sa'udi State and to control the administration of the public treasury. To explain this, the following examples will support the above facts:

1 - If a poor Nejdi man died, his family would come to 'Abd

(1) History of Seyd Said, pp.87-88.

(2)

(3) Op.cit. p.295.

(4) Ibid. p.316.

(5) According to the Encyclopedia of Islam ("diwan"), in administration, the term first meant a register of troops and then any register; only later it was used for an office. It seems that the idea is foreign, but the term itself was in use earlier.

al-Aziz asking him to look after them; 'Abd al-Aziz, in return, would give to them generously and sometimes would appropriate a salary for them in the Diwan.¹

2 - Ibn Bishr was told by one of Sa'ud's officials, who had worked for him as a Katib in al-Diwan, that the government used to send out over seventy parties to collect the zakat from many parts of Arabia.²

This data bears out the view that the Diwan was responsible for keeping the state treasury.

Syden? On the other hand, the custom of the Sa'udi chief to hold audiences every day receiving the Shaikhs, chiefs and the ordinary people among his subjects. Having listened to their complaints, he dictated the answers to his secretary (Katib al-Diwan).³ This fact also shows that the function of the Diwan was to register the orders of the chiefs.

f - Bait al-Mal.⁴

This was established, possibly, from the outset of the Sa'udi military activities. According to Ibn Bishr, Bait al-Mal was first under the control of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab who was obliged to borrow money when the treasury was empty, in order to keep his students alive and possibly to spend on the Sa'udi forces. Thus Ibn Bishr states that, on the capture of Riyadh in 1773, he was in debt to the amount of 40,000 Muhammadi.⁵ Not long after, Jihad was declared against heretics; so one fifth of all spoils of war was dispatched to the central treasury, from

(1) Ibn Bishr. vol.1.p.138.

(2) Ibid. p.177.

(3) Ibid. p.180. (4) According to Husaini, 'Umar I was the first to establish Bait al-Mal. He appointed 'Abdallah b. al-Arqam as the chief treasury officer. Arab Administration. p.44. (5) Op.cit. p.23..

which the government drew its needs. In addition to this the establishment of the Sa'udi's authority over many towns, villages and tribes was followed by the imposition of the zakat according to the shari'a.¹

But when the growth of the state began to take all the Shaikh's time, he transferred the executive authority of the financial administration to 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Muhammad b. Sa'ud.² So ever since that time Bait al-Mal was possibly under the control of the head of state, who administered through the Diwan as has been already suggested.

In addition to the above sources of income there were subsidiary sources, such as, confiscated goods from rebellious districts. Thus Burckhardt states that there was a rule that whenever any district or city rose in rebellion Sa'ud would plunder them for the first offence; for the second rebellion he not only would plunder, but confiscate their property, and all their land and deposit it in the public treasury.³

g - Justice.

According to Burckhardt, justice was carried out according to the Quran and the Sunna.⁴ The supreme judicial office, however, was held by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab himself, whose family, after his death, continued to exercise the judicial and ecclesiastical functions of the state. So when Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab died, his eldest son Hussain succeeded him in this post. It is interesting to note here Burckhardt's remark on the Shaikh's family: "These ('Ulama of al-Dar'iya) belong

(1) For detail see further part one section 1VB. (2) Ibid.

(3) Op.cit. p.306.

(4) Op.cit. p.296.

f.
Ibn
Khalid

principally to the family of Abdel-Wahhab, founder of the sect; they are numerous at Derayah (sic), and possess considerable influence. That family is called "Oulad es'Sheikh." I do not exactly know what positive rights or privileges they possess; but it is certain, that Saoud (sic) communicated to them every important affair before a final decision was given."¹

Even Palgrave as late as 1862-3 states that the whole family of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab had constantly held the highest judicial and religious posts in the Sa'udi states.² He also corroborated their influence, as we have already mentioned above.

Not only so, but judges were sent out by the central government to the various districts and tribes. The subjects were obliged to obey the law, maintain public peace, and in their dispute to abide by the decision of a tribunal, without any appeal to arms.³ Thus the people had to state their cases before the Qadis who had been appointed all over Arabia.

An appeal from the decision of local judges could be made to the supreme chief, possibly to Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab during his life, and it is also probable that against his decision there was no appeal.⁴

On the other hand, it is worth noting Burckhardt's observations on the law which the Sa'udi State employed.⁵ (1) A haramy (robber) was obliged to return the stolen goods or their value; but if

(1) Ibid. (2) Op.cit. vol.1. pp.379-80. (3) Burckhardt, ibid.
(4) Burckhardt, ibid. (5) Ibid. vol.2. pp.145-6.

the offence was not attended by circumstances of violence, he escaped without further punishment, except a fine to the treasury. (2) If a door was broken open in committing the robbery, the thief's hand was cut off. (3) Whoever killed his antagonist in a dispute with a dagger or pistol was condemned to death; if he killed him by a blow from a stick or stone, he would only pay the price of blood, as having not been armed with any deadly weapon. The price of the blood was fixed at one hundred she-camels, according to the rate established by Abu Bakr. However, Sa'ud valued every camel at eight Spanish Dollars. (4) The neglect of religious duty was always severely punished.¹ (5) To break the fast of Ramadan, without some legitimate excuse, made a man liable to capital punishment. 'Abu al-'Aziz once put an Arab to death for the offence.

h - Religious affairs and education.

Inasmuch as the intention of the movement was to reform abuses which had crept into Islam, and to disseminate the pure faith among Muslims, mainly Bedouin who were the most ignorant of the true faith.² Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab as the head of religious affairs devoted himself, on the one hand, to writing letters to the 'Ulama explaining his points of view concerning certain innovations which had invaded Islam, and on the other hand, composing books dealing with these innovations as well as

(1) Ibid. When Sa'ud captured Medina, he ordered the Mutawi'a to call out the names of all the grown-up inhabitants of the town every day after prayers in the Mosque; if anyone absented himself two or three times, Sa'ud would send some of his Arabs, probably of the Mutawi'ah to beat the man in his own house. Op.cit. p.147.

(2) Burckhardt, ibid. p.275.

the necessity of devoting worship to God alone. Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab writes, "The definition of our belief is the following: we describe God as He Himself and His Prophet did. We do not transgress the terms of the Koran and the hadith. We consider ~~/~~as infidels ~~/~~ those who compare God to His creatures, quite as much as those who refuse to accept the description that God has given of Himself through the voice of His Prophet. Muhammad has said of Him: 'God is not comparable to anything. He hears all and sees all. Glory to Him whose names none other may bear and who has none like Him, who is the One who knows Himself best and who best knows others, the One who puts the most sincerity into His words.'" ¹

To carry out this purpose Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab began to teach the people the principles of the true religion, punishing those who failed to attend to the mosque where he delivered his teaching. ²

As regards the provinces and towns and villages he gave orders to the scholars to teach and catechize the population daily in every mosque, particularly after the morning prayer and between the evening prayers, on the meaning of the three fundamental items which were: (1) the ^{topics} acknowledgement of the word of God, La Ilāha illā Allāh, (2) the principles of the Islamic religion, (3) the pillars of Islam, indicating the proofs from the Qur'an. They were also to teach them the history of the Prophet, his descent, his mission and his emigration from Mecca to Medina. ³

Moreover, they were commissioned to explain the

(1) Laoust, Doctrines Sociales et Politiques d'Ibn Taimiya, p.514.
(2) S.E.I. p. 619. (3) Ibn Bishr, p.101.

proclamations of God, i.e. 'There is no God but Allah', the Day of Resurrection, the conditions of prayer, its principles and practices, the duty of ritual ablution before prayer and the seriousness of its infringement.¹

Finally, they were to make the people understand that the following items are reserved for God only and not for saints: the sacrifice of animals, the invocation, consecration, the awe and fear of God and trust in God.²

Thus whoever kills an animal in any name other than that of God, or makes a vow to that being or puts trust in him hoping to be benefited or seeking to avoid being injured by him, or asks him for assistance in those things which belong to God alone, he is Mushrik. The Qur'an teaches: "Mushrik^{un}ins are not in a position to worship God, since they testify against themselves that they are infidels. Their acts shall not avail them, and they shall burn for all eternity."³

It is clear from the above facts that Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab was in charge of religious affairs. His family after his death continued to play the same role.

On the other hand, the Sa'udi authority established the system of the Mutaw'ah(who commended virtue and forbade vice). According to Ibn Razik, this system was established during the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz. Thus he states: "When his army increased and his banners waved over them,

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) History and Doctrines of the Wahhabis, trans. by O'kinealy, p.71.

he selected a number of unlearned men, who made great pretensions to learning, whom he styled Mutawaa'h, in consideration of their having flattered and deceived him by sanctioning his tyranny and approving of his charging those of the people of the Qiblah with Tashrik who might call in question any thing which he had written in his book, entitled the Solution of Difficulties."¹

The task of the Mutawi'ah was to enforce the people to attend the Mosques at the prescribed hours of prayer and to punish those who smoked in the public as well as those who broke the fast during the month of Ramadan.² Burckhardt writes: "At Makka, when the hour of prayer arrived, he (Sa'ud) ordered his people to patrol the streets, armed with large sticks, and to drive all the inhabitants by force into the mosque; a harsh proceeding, but justified by the notorious irreligion of the Mekkans."³

It should be said, with regard to educational activities, that Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, who exercised a wide measure of control over education as well as over religion, had no sooner moved to al-Dar'iyah than his pupils followed him and settled there. Ibn Bishr describes their conditions at this time by saying that they were in so straightened circumstances that they were, on one hand, obliged to work during the night in order to earn enough money to provide for their needs, and on the other, to be able to attend the Shaikh's classes during the day.

(1) History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman, trans., Badgers pp.247-8.
"The Solution of Difficulties" was written by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab.
(2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.149. (3) Op.cit. vol.2. p.147.

He gave them lessons in the Qur'an and the Traditions, as well as in his own works, such as Kitāb al-Tawhīd (the Unity of God), and Kitāb Kashf al-Shubuhāt, (in which he mentions that the belief in the intercession of prophets and saints alike is held to be polytheism). These classes were opened to princes, peasants and ordinary people without distinction.¹

Among learned men who studied under the Shaikh were²:

(1) his four sons, Husain, 'AbdAllah, 'Ali and Ibrahim. Ibn Bishr mentions that he observed their classes and religious assemblies at al-Dar'iya, which were attended by a large number of students who came from al-Dar'iya as well as the interior of Arabia. Furthermore, each one of the Shaikh's sons had a school near his house which was attended by emigre students whose expenses were drawn from Bait al-Mal. (2) Ahmad b. Nāsir b. 'Uthmān b. Mu'ammār who was a qādī at al-Dar'iya during the reign of Sa'ud. (3) 'Abd al-'Aziz b. AbdAllah al-Husain, who occupied the post of Qadi at al-Washm during the reigns of 'Abd al-'Aziz, Sa'ud and 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud., and many others.

This shows that the Shaikh's students became themselves teachers or judges who followed his practises in spreading knowledge among others.

Later on, Ibn Bishr asserts that Sa'ud used to go out together with his resplendent corps of servants and slaves, every day towards sunrise, in order to attend the religious assembly at al-Batin,

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.21.

(2) Ibid, pp.103-4.

the well-known markets in the valley bottom of Hanifa. This religious assembly was organized by the sons of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, at which the Quran, the Sunna and the interpretations of Ibn Kathir and other authorities were discussed.¹

i - Diplomatic affairs.

There is a scarcity of information on the subject of the Sa'udi State's management of diplomatic procedures. The data which follows may be regarded as examples. The external affairs may be consulted in connection with the State's relations with other countries.

AB! According to 'Ali Bey the Wahhabi government had no Wazirs or other ministers.² This assertion was confirmed by Reinaud who visited al-Dar'iya as a British agent.³ This was the first contact between the British and the Sa'udi chief; made in 1799; it was arranged by Samuel Manesty, the East India Company's Resident in al-Basra, who sent to al-Dar'iya J. L. Reinaud to negotiate with the Imam 'Abd al-'Aziz, about the protection of British desert mail in the Persian Gulf.⁴

Incidentally, Corancez states that following the concluded peace between Baghdad and al-Dar'iya, the British Consul, who resided at Baghdad, had wished to sound the attitude of 'Abd al-'Aziz. Therefore he had rich presents offered to him. In a letter filled with protestations of friendship the British consul asked safety and protection of 'Abd al-'Aziz for those of his messengers who, charged with despatches

(1) Ibid, p.176. (2) Travels..., vol.2.p.138. (3) Op.cit. p.241.

(4) Op.cit. p.235. A raid on the Company's desert mail was the cause of his own mission to al-Dar'iya.

from India, should cross the great desert from Basra to Aleppo. 'Abd al-'Aziz answered him in these terms: "I have received your letter. As long as I am at peace with the Pasha of Baghuad your messengers will pass through freely."

'Abd al'Aziz carried out his promises so strictly that precise orders were issued to the shaikhs of all concerned tribes to protect the march of the British messengers in the desert. They passed freely as long as peace prevailed between Baghdad and al-Dar'iyah under 'Abd al-'Aziz; but this protection ceased from the moment when the hostilities between Baghdad and al-Dar'iyah were resumed. Accordingly the despatches of the British were intercepted ~~and~~ both on the Persian Gulf and [?] (on) the great desert.¹

In 1813 came a second contact, when Bruce, the British political agent in Bushire, protested to the Wahhabi chief at al-Dar'iyah against the destruction of several British ships by the tribe of the Qawasimi, with the result that an envoy arrived at Bushire bearing letters from the Sa'udi chief in which he explained his disapproval of the conduct of the Qawasimi tribe and promised that he would deliver up such goods as were captured.²

On the other hand, 'Abd Allah b. Sa'ud despatched a letter to Bruce in which he protested against the British protection of the Turkish subjects, declaring, at the same time, his determination not to

(1) Op.cit. pp.49-50.

(2) Persia Factory Records: vol.32. p.

allow them or any others to be included in the provisions of any treaty he might conclude with the English government"; adding, "as for these Turkish dogs, they are my enemies, and wish to sow discord between us. All those who are of your tribe we will respect, and not allow our subjects to molest them in the slightest degree, but you must not mix my enemies with your people or give them passes."¹

It is clear from the above facts that as long as the aim of the Sa'udi state was to restore the primitive monotheism taught by the Prophet and to purify Islam of the heresies and corruptions which had threatened to destroy it, the Turks were bound to incur its condemnation and meet with its open hostility, and also the neighbouring peoples, most of whom were under Turkish authority. This subject will be dealt with later, in part two, section V(6).

According to Benoist-Mechin, the British government sent Lord Castlereagh to al-Dar'iyah to meet Sa'ud in order to persuade him not to make an agreement with the French. This envoy even went so far as to promise to get Sa'ud's sovereignty recognized by the Turkish Sultan if he would promise not to attack Turkey; however, we have no evidence to support this claim, which, on the face ^{of it}, seems highly questionable.²

With regard to the possibility of the Sa'udi French relations, Benoist-Mechin states that because of Napoleon's project to conquer India, the French government got in touch with the kingdom of

(1) Persia Factory Records: vol.32. pp.16-17.

(2) Ibn Seoud, p.97.

Sa'ud, and sent to al-Dar'iya a diplomatic agent, M. de Lascaris who arrived at al-Dar'iya at the end of 1811 and had a number of secret meetings with the Imam Sa'ud.¹

Benoist-Mechin writes, "Lascaris arrivait donc à Daraya précédé d'un"préjugé favorable". Lorsque l'émissaire de Napoléon demande à Séoud d'aider son maître à abattre la puissance ottomane et de faciliter l'accès des Indes aux régiments français, l'Imam des Wahabites l'écou⁵ta avec d'autant plus d'intérêt que ces projets correspondaient à ses visées personnelles." ²

However, according to Haddad, Lascaris was sent to Arabia in order to explore the routes, stations and water-places in the desert as far as the Indian border, to gain the friendship of the tribal shaikhs and unite them under one leader.³ That leader was Duray'i b. al-Sha'lan, chief of the Rawala tribe, and he had to dissociate them from the Ottoman,⁵ in order to insure the bedouin's (needed help) for the conquest of India with an army of some 100,000 soldiers. In return for their services, the Bedouin⁵ were to be liberated from Ottoman rule as well as Sa'udi tutelage and to profit from the wealth of India.⁴ Accordingly, a treaty was signed on November 2nd, 1811 between the shaikhs of the Euphrates region and Duray'i, recognizing his leadership and promising to fight against the Wahhabis and to break with the Turks. There is no evidence to support Lascaris' visit to al-Dar'iya except that Fath Allah b. Antun

(1) Ibid, p.96.

(2) Haddad, 'Fathallah al-Sayegh and His Account of Napoleonic Mission'. p.108.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p.110.

al-Sayegh al-Latini, who worked as a dragoman for Lascaris, states that he and Duray'i went to al-Dar'iyah where they could conclude an alliance with 'Abd Allah b. Sa'ud on the basis that Duray'i would become "the Sultan of the North", and Ibn Sa'ud, "the Sultan of the South".¹ During this visit Lascaris stayed behind in Syria.

This story was denied by Ahmad al-Habaly, who was a former Sa'udi minister and then was living in Egypt as an exile. Al-Habaly asserted that al-Sayegh never set foot in al-Dar'iyah. Moreover, al-Habaly affirmed that neither, ^{under} 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ud (1765-1803), nor under Sa'ud, nor under his 'Abd Allah b. Sa'ud, did there exist ministers by these names.²

Finally, the following letter presented by Burckhardt will give some idea of the Sa'udi documents, their introductory protocol, text and conclusion.³

*Compare with other
Arabic documents*

(A Letter from 'Abdallah Ibn Saoud to Tousoun Pasha, upon occasion of the latter's departure from Kasym towards Medinah.)

"In the name of the all-merciful God!

Perfect peace, salutation, and honour to the Lord of Mankind, Mohammed, God's mercy and best blessings be with him! and then to the noble Ahmed Tousoun Pasha, may God prompt him to godly works! And next, thy letter reached us, may thou reach God's good graces! And we rejoiced at the news of thy welfare and good health. As to what thou allegest in

(1) Ibid, p.110. (2) Fresnel, 'Lettre sur le recit de Path Allah Sayegh,' pp.165-183; Haddad, op.cit. p.115. (3) Op.cit., vol.2. pp.374-378.

justification of thy demands, thou possessest understanding and penetration; and thou surely knowest that thy demands are inadmissible, and contrary to peace. If we did not wish to preserve a permanent and sincere friendship, and to fulfil the promises we once made, we should have granted thy demand. But we are men of faith and of truth, and we do not recede from conventions; and we execute them, were we even convinced of having been deceived. With regard to thy departure, we trust thou wilt not think badly of us, nor lend thine ear to our enemies, and to intriguing deceivers. Ask the Bedouins who are with thee, if they choose to speak the truth they will tell thee, that were they even to kill one of Saoud's own family, and that I had promised them safe-conduct, they would never doubt of it, but trust to my word. We tread here upon our own ground; this is our own country. Let us advise thee not to suspect our intentions, and to trust to our good faith. By God, and the pledges he gave to mankind, I promise not to molest either thee or thy armies in any manner that might be disagreeable to thee. Thou art placed under the safe-conduct of God, and of myself. At the moment thou breakest up upon thy return, I shall likewise break up, and retreat with my army towards Aneyzy. But if thou believest the reports of thy enemies, and suspectest our sincerity, we shall even now break up forthwith towards Aneyzy; and do this for the deference we pay to thee and to thy father. But we require that thou shouldst send us a letter pledging therein the safe-conduct of God, and of the Sultan, and thy own,

to all the Arabs on our side, whether settlers or Bedouins. And a second letter of safe-conduct to the inhabitants of Shenanne, Betah, and Nebhanye, which we shall immediately forward to them. If it please God, we shall to-night receive thy answer; therefore do not cause our man to tarry with thee. If thou likest to send camel-riders about the affair Ahmed mentioned to us, we shall have no objection. For all this we pledge to thee our faith before God.

Whenever it shall come to an amicable compromise, nothing will set the hearts of the Moslims at rest, and tranquillize them, with regard to their whole party, but hostages to be sent to us. They will be under my protection; and at thy arrival at Dat, they shall be sent back to thee; and thou shalt be well and honourably treated. Ibrahim will tell thee the names of these hostages: they are Mohammad Daly Bashy, Othman the Selehdar, Ismayl the Djokhadar, and Ahmed Aga. God's safe-conduct, and my own, is pledged to them. We shall cause them to be accompanied by some of our own people until they arrive at thy quarters. If they are sent to us, we shall, please God, forthwith break up. If on the contrary thou shouldst like to depart before us, we shall send to thee from our side hostages, who will follow thee. It is now for thee to choose. Either send us these people, and we shall depart, or start thyself, and take our own hostages. Let us have an answer to-day. We hope to God it will be such as to cause us joy. Be assured that the hostages shall be under my special care. God's mercy and blessing be with Mohammed, his family, and his followers!

(L.S.)

From Abdallah Ibn Saoud."

II - Provincial administration.

This aspect of Sa'udi government may be considered under the headings of:

- a) Hadhr. b) Badw.

In connection with the former, attention must be given to the physical structure of the kingdom, and then to the administration of it.

i - The divisions of the Sa'udi dominion.

The Sa'udi dominion was divided into several provinces.

X According to Mengin there were 9 administrative districts called Agalim. The following 8 Agalim, which are listed here in order of importance and population, were in the north and centre of Arabia:- al-Hasa, Sudair, al-'Arid, al-Qasim, al-Washm, al-Kharj and Jabal. There was another province in the south, called al-Aflaj, and on the same side were 4 districts called Wadis. These were Wadi Shahran, al-Dawasir, Subai'a and Tathlith.¹

On the other hand, according to al-Bassam² Nejd fell into 6 parts (aqalim): (1) al-'Arid, (2) al-Qasim, (3) al-Washm, (4) Jabal Shammar, (5) Sudair, (6) the South.

Every Iqlim had its towns and villages. Thus al-Arid contained the following towns: al-Dar'iyah, the capital of all Arabia, al-Riyadh, Manfuha, al-'Ayainah and Huraimala.. These were the better known and more important towns. There were also villages, such as

(1) Histoire de l'Egypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammad-Aly. vol2.p.553.
(2) Al-Durar al-Mafakhir fi akhbar al-Arab al-Awakir, fol.34.

Huta Bani Tamim, al-Hariq, al-Dilam and Yamama. Al-Washm district comprised Shaqra, Wushaiqar, Thadiq, Tharmada and al-Qasab. Sudair had the following towns:- Harma, al-Majma'a, Jalajil, al-Raudha, al-Auda, al-Husun, al-Zilfi, al-Ghat, al-Dakhila and al-Ashaira.

Qasim consisted of the following towns:- al-Rass, Anaiza, Buraida, al-Khabra, Tanuma, Mudhnib and al-'Uyun. There were also many villages.

Jabal Shammar had the following towns:- Hail, Qafar, and Mauqaq. In Jauf al-Amr were 2 towns, both owning date-palms, namely al-Dawmat and Sukaka.

The South fell into 2 parts: al-Kharj and Wadi al-Dawasir. The latter had two towns called Aflaj.¹

But according to Ibn Bishr, who is more authoritative on the subject, the dominion was divided during the reign of Sa'ud (1803-1814) into the following provinces.

1 - al-Hasa, 2 - al-Qatif, 3 - al-Bahrain, 4 - Oman, 5 - Wadi al-Dawasir, 6 - al-Kharj, 7 - Asir and Tihama, 8 - Bisha, 9 - Raniya, 10 - Taif and the Hejaz, 11 - Mecca, 12 - Medina, 13 - Yanbu', 14 - Jabal Shammar and al-Jawf, 15 - Sudair, 16 - Qasim, 17 - Washm, 18 - Mahmal.²

ii - Provincial administration may be arranged under the following:-

(A) Hukkam.

(B) Qudat.

(1) ibid.

(2) Op.cit. p.182.

(C) Bait al-Mal.

(D) 'Ammal.

(E) Muhtasibun.

(F) Commandant. Umara'.

(G) Matawi'an (Religious Officials.)

(A) Having captured a district or town, the Sa'udi chief appointed governors over that district in order to keep order and to muster the levy when called upon. These governors were usually appointed from some local family. For example, Thaudiq having offered its submission, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud appointed Dakhil b.Swailim as their Emir.¹ Sometimes the chief might leave the small Emirs in their posts provided all the district would come under a governor appointed by the Sa'udi chief. Thus, when 'Abd al-'Aziz conquered al-Qasim province, he left every Emir in his post and then he appointed over the whole district 'AbdAllah b. Hasan as Emir of the whole.² This is confirmed by Lama'l-Shihab which mentions that in every province Al-Sa'ud used to appoint major governors whose authority was so extensive² that they controlled even the governors of the towns.³

However, sometimes the appointment of an administrator was in the hands of the major governors. Thus, having captured Bahrain, Fahd b.Sulaiman b. Ufaisan was ordered to go to the islands in order to take charge of affairs, and to appoint suitable officials to look after the

(1) Ibn Ghannam, vol.2. p.48. (2) Ibn Ghannam, op.cit. vol.2. p.94.
(3) Op.cit. p.106.

Revenue, (Bait al-Mal).¹

In case the people of the district were irtractious, the Sa'udi chief would appoint an outstanding ra'is supported by a strong garrison. For example, having captured al-Hasa, Muhammad al-Hamli was appointed governor of the province, and in addition other officials and garrisons were posted to the forts and guard-posts.²

On the other hand, if it happened that a Sa'udi district was surrendered to an enemy, and then was recovered; the Sa'udi chief used to take the governors to al-Dar'iya. For example, as soon as the Turkish army had left al-Rass's environs, 'AbuAllah b. Sa'ud went to 'Anaiza. He gathered the chiefs of al-Qasim province, sent them to al-Dar'iya and put others in their place. He punished the Turkish partisans and spread false reports amongst their Arab allies, arousing them against each other, according to Mengin.³

The function of the Emirs.

According to Burckhardt the governors of the provinces executed public justice, but not the judges (qudat) because the Sa'udi chiefs used to have everywhere their own judges who would be sent by the Dar'iya authority.⁴ Above all, their task was to keep order and to enforce obedience to the law by imprisoning the transgressor and fining him for non-compliance; but if they themselves committed injustice, an appeal would be made to the Sa'udi chief. Burckhardt writes, "Hence

(1) Philby, Saudi Arabia, p.115.

(2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.108.

(3) Mengin, op.cit. vol.2.p.55.

(4) Op.cit. p.294.

Derayah (sic) is constantly filled with Arabs coming from the remotest quarters to plead against their sheikhs."¹

Besides the execution of justice, the principal duty resting upon the Emirs was to recruit troops if need be and themselves to take part in the expeditions and to assist the tax-collectors.² Sometimes the most important ^{person} figure among them would be appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, as it has been mentioned before.

(B) The Qādi.

The Sa'udi state appointed a Qadi in every district. Thus Burckhardt states: "Abd el Aziz was the first who sent Kadhys (sic) into all the districts under his sway. He chose them among the most able and upright of his learned men, and assigned to them annual allowances from the public treasury, forbidding them to accept fees or bribes from contending parties."³

But this was not the case in the time of Sa'ud who appointed, in some districts, Qadis from the local 'Ulama! Thus, when he captured Mecca, he left its Qadis in their posts. He also appointed Ahmad Elyas al-Istanpoli al-Hanifi at Medina.⁴

According to Lam'al-Shihab however, Al-Saud used to appoint, in every big city, a Mufti and a Qadi.⁵

In addition to the above facts, the prevailing practice, in some provinces, was for a Qadi to serve for about a year; then he

(1) ibid.

(2) ibid.

(3) Op.cit. p.296.

(4) lbn Bishr. op.cit. pp.182-3.

(5) Op.cit. p.105.

would be replaced by another.¹

Gaudefroy-Demombynes states the functions of the Qadi by saying: "The Qadi is an arbiter who settles disputes between persons who appeal to him, and who pronounces sentence of the law on delinquents against whom charges are brought by private persons. He is assisted neither by a representative of the public prosecutor, nor by an executive officer, and he has personally no power to carry out a sentence. He is competent to decide any of the questions affecting the life of the community that may have been dealt with by the Canon law, the Shari'a, that is, marriage, dissolution of marriage, the care of orphans, successions, contracts of various kinds, and the punishment of criminals."²

The task of the Qadis in Sa'udi Arabia was to decide cases according to the Quran and the Sunna. Thus the people were to state their cases before them. If the decisions were not satisfactory an appeal might be afterwards made to the Sa'udi chiefs.³

(C) Bait al-Mal.

According to Burckhardt every city or village had its own treasury, into which the inhabitants paid their taxes; every treasury had a secretary who was sent by the Sa'udi chief.⁴ For the function of Bait al-Mal see part one, section IVB.

(D) 'Amnal.

According to Lam'al-Shihab the Sa'udi state appointed

(1) Ibn Bishr. Ibid. p.139,183.

(2) Muslim Institutions, p.148.

(3) Op. cit. p.307.

(4) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.296.

'Ammal in every district in order to collect the zakat. So they might appoint four in a small one, but in the case of a rich province, seven 'Ammal would be appointed. He also mentions that they were independent of the Hulkam.¹

On the contrary, both Burckhardt and Ibn Bishr state that 'Ammal were sent every year from al-Dar'iyā to various districts to collect the zakat. We, however, support the latter because Ibn Bishr was the more ^{reliable} authoritative on this matter for two reasons: (1) because he himself was a Nejdī who witnessed the machinery of the Sa'udi state administration in operation, and (2) because he obtained his information from the Sa'udi officials themselves.²

J.M.
(E) Muhtasibun.

According to Lam'a l-Shihab Al-Sa'ud used to appoint a Muhtasib in every town. His task, however, was to see that the people carried out the religious duty precisely and to see whether they were loyal to the Wahhabi doctrine. He was also to watch over the affairs of daily trade so as to prevent defective weights and measures and finally to prevent frauds of all kinds.³

Above all he was also to maintain peace, and to see that judges carried out justice according to the Quran and the Sunna, and lastly to prevent the judges and the Emirs from taking bribes.⁴

(1) Lam'a l-Shihab, op.cit. p.105. (2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. pp.137,180.
(3) pp.105-6. (4) Ibid. p.106.

(F) Umara' al-Murabitin (Commandants of the garrisons).

The Sa'udi state posted garrisons in some important districts such as al-Medina, al-Hasa and Oman.

Thus, according to Ibn Bishr, the common practice was for the garrisons and their commandants to serve for about a year, after which they would be replaced by another.¹ For example, in 1806 Sa'ud appointed Hamad b. Salim from al-'Ayaina, as the commandant of the forts and garrisons of al-Medina (al-Qulia ah and al-Jiyar).² He served for one year and was then replaced in 1807, by 'AbdAllah b. Mazru' from Manfuha, who was in turn replaced by another.³

Their function was to keep peace and order and above all to see that the population of these districts carried out the Wahhabi doctrine exactly. Our sources do not describe in any detail to what extent religious oversight was part of their duty.

(G) Mutawiah (religious teachers).

The Sa'udi state sent religious teachers to some villages, towns and districts. For example, in 1753 'Isa b. Jasim was sent to Riyadh in order to explain the basic principles of Islam.⁴ In 1756 Hamad b. Suwailim was sent to Thadiq for the same purpose.⁵ In 1792, having captured al-Hasa, Sa'ud appointed religious teachers in order to give the people of the province instruction in the obligatory duties of Islam.⁶

It seems clear from the above data that their task was to explain the principles of the Islamic religion and the conditions of the prayer and so on.

(1) Op.cit. p.149.

(2) Ibid. p.147.

(3) Ibid. p.148.

(4) Ibid. p.36.

(5) Ibid. p.43.

(6) Ibid. p.108.

b) Badw (Arab tribes).

Like the provinces the Sa'udi state was composed of several tribes such as: Banu Khalid, Juhainah, 'Ataiba, Banu Harb, 'Adwan, Banu Salim, Buqum Subai'a, 'Asir, Abaida, Banu al-Asmar, Sinhan, Zahran, Shahran, Ghamid, Dawasir, Banu Shammar, Mutair, Qahtan, Qawasim.

With regard to its administration it is helpful to arrange the subject under the following headings:

(i) Shaikhs.

(ii) Qadis.

(iii) Mutawi'ah.

(i) According to Lama'al-Shihab, Al-Sa'ud left the tribal Shaikhs of the conquered tribes to manage their own affairs as long as they acknowledged them as rulers, but if one revolted against the authority of Al-Sa'ud, he would be surely dismissed and replaced by his brother or his cousin.¹

On the contrary, Burckhardt states that the Wahhabis found that it was necessary to change the Shaikhs of almost every tribe which they subjected to their domination.² Commenting on this he states, "Well convinced that in leaving the main influence in the hands of the ruling family, the tribe would never become sincerely attached to the new supremacy. They, therefore, usually transferred the sheikhship to an individual of some other considerable family who, as might be supposed, had entertained secret jealousies against the former sheikh and was, from

(1) Op.cit. p.107.

(2) Op.cit. p.163.

private motives, inclined to promote and strengthen the Wahaby interest."¹

Such a policy was also adopted by Muhammad 'Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. Having subjugated the Hejaz, he replaced the ancient families and former Shaikhs in their long accustomed rights, and thus created a formidable opposition to the Sa'udi influence.²

On the other hand, every big tribe had also subordinate Shaikhs or chiefs. According to Burckhardt, the great Bedouin Shaikhs; to whom the minor tribes were obliged to pay deference, received from the Sa'udi chief the title of Emir al'Umara.³

In addition to the above facts, it is worth noting that some Shaikhs enjoyed the benefits of a decentralized authority. For example, although the 'Asir tribe was under the Sa'udi authority, at the same time it exercised a measure of self-government.⁴

Each Shaikh or chief of a tribe was responsible for the payment of the tithe ('ushr), and the presentation of the men for war,⁵ and in time of war the great Bedouin Shaikhs formed a council.⁶

(ii) Qadis were sent out by the central government to various tribes.⁷ Burckhardt states that Sa'ud sent to the Bedouin,⁸ in their place, from al-Dar'iya, well informed men, paid out of the public treasury, and acknowledged even by their enemies to be persons of incorruptible justice.⁸

(iii) The Sa'udi state sent to various tribes Mutawi'ah

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. p.293. (4) Al-Ne'ami, Tarikh Asir, p.132.
(5) Ali Bey, op.cit. vol.2. p.138. (6) Burckhardt, ibid. p.294.
(7) Lam'a al-Shihab. p.107. (8) Burckhardt, ibid. p.164.

whose function was to lead the tribe in prayer and to teach the tribesmen the main principles of the Islamic religion.¹ For example, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Muhammad b. Sa'ud sent 'Uthman b. 'Abd al-Muhsin Aba Husain to the Harb tribe in order to explain to them the basic principles of Islam.²

The relationship of the tribes to the central government was that the tribes were obliged to pay the zakāt, and to send the required number of men to take part in the expeditions, and finally to carry out the principles of ^{the} Islamic religion.

So the general rule was that if any tribe refused to pay the zakāt, the Sa'udi state would take strong action against that tribe;³ but Burckhardt states that some very strong and distant tribes had resisted the payment of tribute. Thus in 1810, although the northern 'Anaza refused to pay tribute, Sa'ud did not subjugate them by force, but continued to correspond with their Shaikhs who paid him a nominal obedience.⁴

As regards those who failed to attend the expeditions, the Sa'udi chief would punish them severely and also fine them heavily.⁵

Concerning the effective authority of the Sa'udi chief we have the following account of Ibn Bishr, which shows how far the control of ^{the} Sa'udi chief prevailed over the tribes.

In 1813 chiefs of the Mutair (Faisal b. Wathan al Dawaish) and 'Anaza (al-Hamid b. Abd Allah b. Hadhal) tribes, who had been bitter enemies in the past, met in his presence, at al-Rass. A quarrel began

(1) Lama' al-Shihab, pp.107-8. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.144. (3) ibid. p.137.

(4) Op.cit. p.314. (5) Ibn Bishr. pp.138,179.

between them in which one chief said to the other: "I praise God for the blessing of Islam and the peace established by this Imam, thanks to which God has granted you long life such as was never attained by your forefathers, for we used to kill them before that." The other chief said: "I praise God for the blessing of Islam and ^{the} peace established by this Imam, thanks to which God has increased your wealth and preserved your sons, for had it not been for this you would not have possessed what you have nor would you have come to this region and maintained yourself here." Sa'ud rose and reproached them both, reminding them of the blessings God had bestowed upon them in the religion of Islam, in community spirit and joining together for prayers and religious instruction and upholding the right and forbidding the wrong, as well as what God had granted them in wealth and numerous followers and security of travel, so that a man, either a Bedouin or townsman, might leave his horses and his camels anywhere he pleased, fearing none but God. Thereupon they gave up their disputes.¹

(1) Op.cit. pp.179-180; M.S., vol.1. p.138.

111 - The Sa'udi army.

Although our authorities, such as Burckhardt,¹ assure us that the Wahhabis possessed no regular army or body of troops, it is clear that the wahhabi army consisted of infantry,² camel-riders, foot-soldiers and cavalry which were derived from the inhabitants of the towns, villages and from the different tribes.³

The latter, however, could only be regarded as an irregular force not always readily available for joint action, particularly during the early stages of the Sa'udi revolt, and not always reliable because they would not take part in ^einterprises unless they were promised good returns in booty.⁴ At the same time the towns and villages were liable to contribute men for active service only in proportion to their population and to the gravity of their situation. Mengin⁵ mentions that the Wahhabis, before going to battle, taxed the provinces which were to furnish a contingent. The Emirs ordered the levying within their own sphere of jurisdiction. An important person from each city or province would lead the men to the place appointed for them.

If we are to consider the organization of such forces, we must divide the relevant information available to us into sections. By so doing as complete a picture as possible is painted. However, the material

(1) Burckhardt: N.E.W. p.311. (2) Ibid. p.395, he says: "But the Wahhabys depended chiefly on their camel-riders and matchlock foot-soldiers because they had few cavalry." (3) Mengin: vol.2. pp.163-4. See also the section on tribes above for examples and details. (4) Philby: S.A. p.71. (5) Mengin: vol.2. p.177.

available for some topics is scanty in the extreme and it is therefore necessary to let the facts, though few, speak for themselves.

- A) 1 - Military motives. 2 - Military policies.
 3 - Military strategies.
- B) 1 - Levying of the troops. 2 - Numbers.
- C) 1 - Organizations.
 2 - Defences.
 3 - Equipment and arms.
- D) 1 - Tactics 2 - Methods of siege.
 3 - methods of fortifications.
- E) 1 - Treaties.

A (1) To deal with the first point, it is advisable to say a few words about the political and religious conditions of the pre-Wahhabi Arabia in order to be able to draw a clear picture of the real motives of the Wahhabis for fighting. Burckhardt described¹ the political condition of Neja, which became the principal seat of the Wahhabi power, saying that it was divided into a number of small territories, cities, and villages, totally independent of each other, and constantly engaged in warfare. No law but that of the strongest was acknowledged either in the open country or within the walls of towns, and personal security was always purchased at the price of individual property. Besides this, the wild freedom of the neighbouring bedouin tribes, their endless wars and predatory expeditions,

(1) Notes on Bedouin and Wahabys: pp.285-6.

rendered Nejd and the surrounding country a scene of perpetual disorder and bloodshed.

Despite the picture presented by Burckhardt, we may presume that there was much more to Arabian society than the somewhat degenerate state of it described by him. Obviously, by all human social standards each community - village or town - had its own upper class as well as the lower class or classes to which so many Western travellers have referred.

With regard to religion conditions we may quote Ibn Ghannam as follows:¹ "The people were sunk in the abyss of paganism, imbued with shame and polluted by the taint of corruption, forgetting the pure Islamic doctrine of the unity of God, believing in saints and in the efficacy of prayer to rocks and stones and trees."

To amplify this statement and perhaps illustrate it, we may cite some detailed examples of the religious corruption prevalent in Arabia at that time. We obtain the following information² from both Ibn Ghannam and Ibn Bishr: A) al-Jubaila in Wadi Hanifa, site of the tomb of Zaid ibn al-Khattab whose eloquence was held capable of ameliorating the tribulations of his admirers, was frequently visited by pilgrims.

B) Wadi Ghubaira (Sha'ib Ghubaira), with its reputed tomb of Dharrar ibn al-Azwar, was another place visited for the same reason.

C) At the hamlet of al-Fida there grew a palm tree, familiarly known as 'Stallion' (al-fahhal), to which young men and maidens resorted in order to indulge in shocking practices said to be acceptable to

(1) Ibn Ghannam: Rawzat al-Afham..., vol.1, pp.5-6; Philby: Arabia, pp.4-5.

(2) Ibn Ghannam, op.cit., p.7; Ibn Bishr: 'Anwan al-Majd fi ta'rikh Nejd.
pp.17-18.

the tree God. Women too, would come to it, clamouring for husbands as they clasped the trunk to their bosoms, in an agony of hope deferred: shouting, "O Stallion of Stallions, we want husbands before the end of the season."

D) There was another tree known as 'Shajarat al-Trfiah' to which rags were attached at the birth of a male child in the belief that such a proceeding would circumvent the evil eye and save the child's life.

E) At the extremity of Dar'iyā there was a cave believed to have been created by God especially for a woman known as the Emir's daughter, who had shrieked for help under threat of outrage by some low fellows; the rock had split to receive her in a secure dungeon, and the superstitious tribesfolk made a practice of taking meat and bread to deposit in the cave.

In spite of the fact that the statements of Ibn Ghannam and Ibn Bishr might describe the actual conditions of religion in Arabia at that time as seen by them, it is more than likely that some puritan Muslims were found even in a polytheistic society.

It is obvious from the above-mentioned examples that the motive for fighting was to condemn such corruptions, which had crept into Islam, and to restore the religion to its early purity and simplicity according to the Quran and the Traditions. Burckhardt states¹ that the doctrines of 'Abd al-Wahhab were not those of a new religion; his efforts were directed only to reform abuses among the followers of Islam, and to disseminate the pure faith among the Bedouin, who although nominally

(1) Op.cit. vol.2. p.99.

Muslims, were as much ignorant of the doctrine and teaching of religion as they were indifferent to the many duties which it prescribed. As generally has been the case with reformers, 'Abd al-Wahhab was misunderstood by both his friends and his enemies.

The latter, hearing of a new sect which accused the Turks of heresy and held their Prophet Muhammed in much less veneration than they did, were easily persuaded that a new creed was professed, and that the Wahhabis were consequently not merely heretics, but 'Kafirs' (infidels).

However, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab retired to al-Dar'iya in 1744, where Muhammad b. Sa'ud who was the principal person of the town, and became his first convert. During the first two years in al-Dar'iya Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab spent much time composing letters to the rulers of other towns, judges and scholars in an effort to win them to his side,¹ but when he failed to gain any supporter he realized then that words and letters and books alone would not be enough, so that he would have to use another kind of weapon. The Prophet had made use of the armies of Islam: Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab could ask for nothing better than to do the same. So he adopted the obligation of Jihad or holy war which may be regarded as a form of religious propaganda than⁴ can be carried on by persuasion⁵ or by the sword, because the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said: "I am ordered to fight polytheists until they say: there is no God but Allah."² Winder writes: "In order to expand the community, and deepen its bases,

(1) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.22.

(2) Bukhari, Kitab al-Jam'a al-Sahih, vol.2. p.236.

Jihad, or crusading effort, is invoked. This effort must be exerted by every member of the group to the fullest extent possible. In Wahhabi theory jihad is by no means limited to the narrower concept of holy war. Domestically, it is invoked by the Imam to justify all those policies and regulations designed to bring the community closer to God's will. On the other hand, it certainly includes the idea of holy war, especially if waged against polytheists. It was this principle which justified the numerous Wahhabi military campaigns and which explains the modern Sa'udi Arabian government's department of ordering good and forbidding evil, (al-amr bi-al-ma'ruf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar)."¹

The Sa'udis carried out the war against all polytheists who resisted their instructions and persisted in their blindness. They were regarded as evil, as blasphemers who were deserving of death because they outraged God by associating Him with objects and human beings, i.e. as guilty of shirk. According to Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam the Wahhabi hostility is directed particularly against Shirk which, in their view, infects the whole of orthodox Islam in the form of the cult of Prophets, saints, and tombs.²

The second motive lay in the desire to establish a powerful state on the model of the first Islamic state. Thus Burckhardt writes: "A desire of reducing the Arabs to the state in which they were when the founder of their religion existed. Naturally induced 'Abd al-Wahab and

(1) Winder, Sa'udi Arabia, p.11.

(2) p.543.

his successors to alter likewise their political condition as soon as they perceived that their proselytees increased."¹

To carry out this desire, and to restore the Islamic religion to its early purity, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad b.Sa'ud concluded the following agreement, which runs as follows:- "As soon as Muhammad b.Sa'ud had greeted the shaikh Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab he exclaimed: I bring you tidings of a home that is better than your native home. The shaikh replied; and I bring you tidings of glory and power; whoever holds fast to this word of unity (there is no god but Allah) will by all means of it rule lands and men. The shaikh then explained his doctrines at length and dwelt upon the superstitious practices in Nejd which needed correction. Having listened attentively, Muhammad b.Sa'ud said: O shaikh, this is without doubt the religion of God and His Prophet, I shall help you and hold myself ready to take the field against whoever denies the unity of God. Then Muhammad b.Sa'ud informed Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab that he wished to impose two conditions upon him; first, that he (the shaikh) should pledge himself not to forsake al-Dar'iyah for another place, and secondly, that he should not deny the right of the ruler to his income from the harvest.

With regard to the first condition, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab held forth his hand and offered the following oath: 'Blood with blood and ruin with ruin.' With respect to the second, the shaikh said: 'Perhaps God had in store for you conquests and booty better than the share of the

(1) Op.cit. p.285.

harvest.' At the end Muhammad b.Sa'ud swore loyalty to the religion of Allah and His Prophet and promised the wage war in God's cause.¹

Incidentally, this oath was in use among the Arabs far back in pre-Islamic times, and it was the oath that the prophet swore with the Ansar, his allies at Medina, when he reached the end of the Hejira from Mecca.

A (2) Military policies.

According to Burckhardt, Raymond and Rousseau the Wahhabis made it a rule that an attack had to be preceded by an invitation to accept their doctrine, and only failure to offer their submission to the Wahhabi cause would necessitate fighting with the enemy.² This was in accord with the Quranic statement: "Nor do we punish a nation until we have sent forth an Apostle to warn them. When we resolve to annihilate a people, we first warn those of them that live in comfort. If they persist in sin, we rightly pass our judgment and utterly destroy them."³ (Quran.xv 11.18). In the Hadith the Prophet says: "I have been ordered to fight polytheists until they say, There is no God but Allah; if they say it they are secure in their blood and property."⁴ Thus an invitation should be extended first to the people whom the Wahhabis considered unbelievers, to find out whether they were ready to accept their conditions or fight. So the Sa'udi commanders arrived in the territory of the tribe or town which they wanted to conquer, and before attacking them one of their chiefs presented himself

(1) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.20; Rentz, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab, p.40; Philby, Sa'udi Arabia, pp.39-40.

(2) N.B.W. vol.1. pp.102-3; Memoire sur l'origine des Wahabys, p.8; Description du pachalik de Bagdad, p.137. (3) Dawood's trans. p.230.

(4) Bukhari, Kitab al-Jam'a al-Sahih, vol.2. p.236.

to the tribe or villages or district and announced to them the conditions which they would have to submit to, with the threat of using force if they dared to reject them. This envoy was often also the bearer of a letter from the Sa'udi chief, addressed to the Shaikh of the tribe or the chief of the town.¹

The following is a text of an official letter sent by 'Abd al-Aziz: "From 'Abd al-Aziz to the tribe of so and so, greetings. God orders you to believe in the Qur'an, such as I have explained it; do not be of the number of the infidels who have perverted the sacred text, and who attribute a companion to the sole creator, the ruler of all things. Do what I tell you and be converted, or else expect to die by the avenging steel which heaven has put into my hands to exterminate the idolaters."²

Thus before Sa'ud attacked Syria in 1808 he despatched a messenger to Damascus and to the Shaikhs and 'Ayans of Syria with letters in which he required his doctrine to be recognised, promising true believers safety and protection, threatening to destroy the city if it should offer any resistance to him. Similar letters from Sa'ud were addressed to the different towns of Syria. Their contents were the same except that he asked that the city of Aleppo should pay him a tribute.³

This was backed up by an army ready to crush the tribe or the town. For example, in the case of attacking Syria, it was alleged that the Wahhabis were marching to the number of 40,000 men to support their claim.⁴

(1) Rousseau, *ibid*; Raymond, *op.cit.* pp.8-9. He writes: "Those who listened to the words of Abdul-Aziz were well received, but those who refused to obey him were massacred and their riches became the prey of the victor."

(2) Rousseau: p.139. (3) Corancez; Histoire des Wahhabis depuis leur origine jusqu'a la fin de 1809, p.133; al-Dimashqi: p.23. (4) Corancez: p.133.

As a result of this policy the tribes and villages yielding one after the other embraced the doctrine of the Sa'udis, and soon all the vast desert of Arabia came under the Sa'udi rule.

Treatment of the enemy.

According to Burckhardt the Wahhabis established it as a fundamental rule to kill all their enemies found in arms, whether they were foreign heretics or Arabs themselves, who opposed the movement's teachings or rebelled against the Sa'udi authority.¹ Even in the case of the Bedouin camps the same practice was enforced; all who were taken in arms were mercilessly put to death. But the Sa'udi chief was easily induced to grant safe conduct (Aman) to his enemies if they voluntarily surrendered; it was never known that he had broken his word in this respect.²

So, if the threatened Arabs made their submission to the Sa'udi cause before they suffered attack, they usually gave to them the Aman Allah. For example, when Sa'ud approached Mecca in 1218 A.H. (1803), a deputation of Meccan 'Ulama paid a visit to Sa'ud and requested his Aman for the city; this was accordingly granted.³ The Sa'udi army thereupon entered the city in a disciplined manner and throughout behaved extremely well. Burckhardt states that the Meccan still remember with gratitude the excellent discipline observed by the Sa'udis on their entering the town.⁴

A (3) Military strategies.

When the Sa'udis planned to subdue any village or town,

(1) Op.cit. p.318.

(2) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.519.

(3) Dahlan, Khulasat al-Kalam fi tarikh Omara al-Haramain, pp.276-8.

(4) Burckhardt, N.B.W. vol.2. p.149.

or province, they requested its people to make their submission. If the people did not agree, a force would be despatched in order to deal with them. In the event that they offered stubborn resistance, the Wahhabis would besiege that village or town for some days, cutting down many palms in order to reduce their food supplies. Winder writes: "The cutting of palms by a besieging force is one of the most extreme measures that can be taken in Arabia."¹ For instance in 1755(1170) Abd al-Aziz besieged Thadiq for some days, cutting down many palms and ravaging the outlying territory, or setting fire to its crops.² Al-Bassam states that there were many palm trees in Nejd, and in this respect no land compared with Nejd. When (pasha) of Egypt came to Nejd and the population would not submit to him, he ordered the date-trees to be chopped down, for he knew they could not live without them. In al-Rass alone 50,000 date-palms were cut down. He, in fact, put a price of 2 Riyals on the chopping up of each tree, and the whole army vied to fell them: an eye-witness told al-Bassam that one man felled eight palm-trees in an hour. Thereupon, 80,000 date and other fruit trees were cut up in all.³ In 1759 (1173) Abd al-Aziz also attacked Manfuha and set fire to its crops.⁴

(1) Winder, *op.cit.* p.19.

(2) Ibn Bishr, *op.cit.* p.43. Thadiq was a town in al-Mahmal district. (Pelly, J.R.G.S, xxxv.p.175). According to Ibn 'Isa Thadiq was founded in 1079/1668 by al-'Awsaja from al-Dawasir. (Ba'ad al-Hawadith p.62).

(3) al-Durar al-MaFakhir, fol.34.

(4) *Ibid.* Manfuha was a town in the 'Aridh province, situated on the northern edge of Wadi Hanifa (Handbook of Arabia. vol.1. p.360). Sadleir mentions that it contained about two thousand families. (Diary, p.62).

They also permitted their troops to cut water canals and destroy water supplies in order to force the enemy to capitulate. For example, in their siege of Mecca in 1803, they cut off the supply of sweet water which the canal from 'Arafat conveyed to the town, and so the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of drinking from the brackish wells.¹

Furthermore, salt or any material that may spoil the drinking water may be thrown into the water wells in order to prevent the enemy from using them. Thus, when 'Ali Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, led an expedition against al-Hasa, a Sa'udi territory, he found that Sa'ud had been salting the wells which might be found on the route of the Iraqi army.²

As regards the rebellious village or town, the Sa'udis used to banish those who were a potential danger to the Sa'udi government and confiscate all the palm-groves of the town or village. Thus in 1779 'Abd al-Aziz organized a punitive expedition against the people of Harama³ who intrigued with S'adun b.'Arair for a concerted attack on Majma'a.^{3A} Thus Harma was besieged until it sued for peace, but the Sa'udi chief insisted that all persons who had been guilty of disturbing the peace

(1) Burckhardt: N.B.W. p.328. (2) Longrigg: Four Centuries of Modern Iraq, p.215. The term al-Hasa signifies "limestone", and is strictly applicable only to the limestone plain between the summan and steppe-desert and the eastern sandbelt, the western oasis alone bears the distinctive name of al-Hasa, a word which signifies "whispering" or "murmuring", i.e. of the streams which nature has provided for the irrigation of the fertile lands of the oasis. (Philby, The heart of Arabia. vol.1.p.26). (3) Harama is a town in the Sudair province; its foundation goes back to 770/1368. It was built by Ibrahim b.Husain b.Mudlidj al-Wayili. (Ibn 'Isa, op.cit. p.31). (3A) Majma' is a town in Sudair province. According to Handbook of Arabia Majma' situated on the south side of a wadi running into the Mishqar valley. (vol.1.p.368). On the authority of Ibn 'Isa it was founded in 820/1418 by 'Abd allah al-Shammari who belonged to Al-Maibar, a branch of 'Abda. (Op.cit. p.32)

should be banished, and that all the palm-groves of the town should be made over to the state treasury.¹

Later on the Sa'udis employed another method in their warfare with the Turks; that was the cutting off of the communications of their enemies. Thus, when Muhammad 'Ali was on his way to Basal, a messenger was sent to inform him that a considerable body of the Sa'udis were in position on the mountains overlooking Basal, between Taif, and Kalakh, to intercept the communications between these places; while another Sa'udi force had made an incursion eastward against the Arab allies of the Turks.

Burckhardt writes: "The intercourse between Djidda and Mekka was thus interrupted during a whole week (in September 1814); but the Wahabys, having accomplished their purpose, retreated to their homes. They had set out from a distance of at least fifteen days journeys to plunder on this road; and their exact knowledge of the country enabled them to take such a route as brought them suddenly on their prey."²

It is clear from the above-mentioned that the nature of the Sa'udi warfare depended on their rapid raids and rapid withdrawals. In addition, the Sa'udis in their attacks depended on their great mobility.

(1) Ibn Bishr. op.cit. p.81.

(2) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.39.

B(1) Levying of the troops.

MB | According to the Islamic religion the Jihad is the duty of every believer - "to fight in Allah's Path" - including women and children. "Believers! Shall I point out to you a profitable course that will save you from a woeful scourge? Have faith in Allah and His Apostle and fight for His cause with your wealth and your persons. That would be best for you, if you but knew it." ^{1A} Therefore, if Islam was threatened by a sudden attack, all had to rise up in arms in the defence of Islam. So we find that the Sa'udis employed the same system; all the Sa'udi subjects were obliged to take up arms, whenever the Sa'udi chief called them. ^{1B} Thereupon, all the males from the age of eighteen to sixty were, by law, soldiers, so that the Sa'udi chiefs might call upon them to serve at any moment. ²

However, according to Shaikh Mansour's account, after remaining with the army for a year, it was permitted to return home except in critical circumstances, in which case all the furloughs were refused, and every soldier was compelled to stay with the army until fortune became more favourable to the Sa'udi army. ³ In spite of the fact that they were obliged to serve without pay, because the Sa'udis said it was the duty of every person to fight in Allah's cause for nothing. ⁴ Moreover, all must find their own food and camels or horses and their ammunition and pay the fifth of the spoils to the Sa'udi chief. ⁵

In respect of the methods of collecting troops, the Sa'udi chief would send order to the different tribes, ⁶ indicating the required

(1A) Qu'ran, 61, 9-10. Dawood, p.104. (1B) Ali Bey, vol.2. p.136.

(2) Burckhardt, N.B.W., p.311. (3) P.42.

(4) MS: Lam'a l-Shihab. p.129. (5) Ibn Bishr: p.27.

(6) Ali Bey: ibid.

number, who then levied them by a kind of conscription from every village and camp under his control.¹

Mengin states² that before going into battle, the Sa'udi chief taxed the provinces which were to furnish a contingent. The Emirs ordered the levying under their jurisdiction; moreover, an important person from each city and province would lead the men to the place appointed for him. Thus we find that Abd al-'Aziz, when he had need of a tribe for some expedition, only had to write them a letter such as this: "Abd al-'Aziz to Sheikh ----- so many men must be found on such and such a day ----- at such and such a place."³

It is obvious from the previous passage that, if the chief planned an attack, he would order the Shaikhs of tribes and Emirs of districts to be on a fixed day at a certain spot, generally a well⁴ in the Desert. Sometimes he would request a certain number of men from the Shaikhs who levy them as has been mentioned above. Thus if one thousand men were required from the Shaikh of Qasim, every town of that province was obliged to contribute in proportion to its population. All those who possessed camels fit for the saddle were divided into two bodies - one ready for immediate military service, the other for a later summons.

(1) Ali Bey writes: "When the Sultan of the Wehhabites (~~sic~~) has occasion for troops, he writes to the different tribes and indicates to them the number of men they are to send him. These men present themselves upon the day appointed, with their provisions, arms, and ammunitions; for the Sultan never thinks of giving them anything; such is the force of their religious ideas." Ali Bey: vol.2. p.136.

(2) Op.cit. vol.2. p.177.

(3) Raymond, p.9; MS. Lam'a l-Shihab, p.128.

(4) Burckhardt, vol.2. N.B.W. p.163.

B.(2) The numbers of the army.

As we have already noted, all the Sa'udi subjects were so far soldiers that the Sa'udi chiefs might call upon them to serve at any moment. So all from the age of eighteen were required to do so.¹

Data as to the total number of the Sa'udi army ^{are} ~~is~~ scanty. So it is advisable to trace the historical events in order to enable us to form an accurate picture as to their real strength.

The expeditionary forces of the first campaign (1745) were weak in numbers, being a party of only seven camel-riders, unaccustomed to the speed of their mounts.² However, there was a steady increase in the number of the Sa'udi army over the next few years. Thus the number of the Sa'udis, who went out against Huraimala in the early part of 1755, was about 800 men, consisting of ² cavalrymen and foot-soldiers.³ In 1802 Sa'ud arrived under the walls of the town of Imam al-Husain with an army of 7,000 pairs of mounted soldiers (i.e. 14,000 men).⁴ This town was invested in an instant, because the footsoldiers were thus mounted with the cavalry.⁵ However, the town's guard offered a vigorous resistance, but had to yield before superior strength. Later on, the size of the Sa'udi army increased to thousands because the provinces and Arab tribes of Arabia yielded one after the other. Corancez comments on this fact that 'Abd al-'Aziz found himself at the head of a large army. So it was said that, in his later days, he became so powerful, that on his signal he could raise an army of

(1) Burckhardt: op.cit. pp.311-313. (2) Ibn Bishr: op.cit. p.23.
(3) Ibid., p.38. (4) Raymond: op.cit. p.17. It was customary for two men to ride on one animal. (5) Ibn Bishr: Op.cit. p.129.

100,000 men.¹

As a matter of fact, the Sa'udi chief sometimes had to send his orders to a certain chief of a tribe or territory to put down an uprising or to conquer new land. For instance, in 1806 Sa'ud issued orders to 'Abd al-Wahhab Abu-Nuqta, Emir of the 'Asir territory, and chiefs of Bisha and Wadi Dawasir to join the 'Ataiba and Sinhan in order to attack Najran and its districts. Thus a force of 30,000 men was said to have been assembled for this purpose.² In 1811, 'Abd Allah b.Sa'ud, who took up his position at al-Khaif, in the narrowest part of Wadi al-Safra half way between Medina and the coast, awaited the advance of the Egyptian army. His force was reputed to have been some 18,000 strong men, including about 800 cavalry.³ By the time of the battle at Basal (1814) the Sa'udis has 20,000 and there was a reserve of 10,000 men besides this army.⁴

To form a clear picture of their real number, it is necessary to point out the number of fighting men which the different provinces could muster as well as the tribes, because, in fact, the Arabian peninsula has been almost entirely subjected to the Sa'udi state since 1807. To the north the Sa'udis were alone masters of the great desert. To the south, the whole land of Nejd was in their power. They possessed Nejd, al-Hasa, al-Hejaz, 'Asir, 'Oman and all the villages and towns which lay in these territories. According to Lam'a l-Shihab, Nejd had 300,000 inhabitants, al-Hejaz (tihama) 400,000, Yemen 400,000, al-Yemen (Mashariq)

(1) Op.cit. p.12.

(3) Ibid, p.162.

(2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.145.

(4) Ibid, p.186.

200,000, al-Hasa 400,000, Badiyah-al-Sham 400,000, 'Oman 200,000.¹

It is not clear whether figures cited in this statement include Arab bedouin tribes or refer to the settled population only.

On the other hand, we cannot justifiably criticize the above-mentioned statement since we have not come across any other information on the subject.

As to the provinces, only Mengin gives a list containing the numbers of fighting men each district was capable of producing.²

Name of district	Fighting men
The province of Al-Hasa	15,000
Al-Arid	5,000
Al-Kharj	2,000
Al-Washam	2,400
Al-Sudair	6,000
Al-Qasim	3,000
Jabal of Shamar	2,000
Al-Aflaj	3,600
Al-Hariq	3,000
Wadi al-Dawasir	6,000
Bisha	7,000
Subai'a	800
The town of Dhurma	1,200
The village of Bassam	80

(1) Op.cit. pp.469-470.

(2) Op.cit. vol.2. p.163.

Name of district	Fighting men
The total of the last page	57,080
The village of al-Quai'iya	350
Nifi	70
al-Dawadami	140
al-Rawdha	150
al-Shara	80
al-Qassab	400
Thadiq	300
	<hr/>
	58,570

We see from this enumeration that the Sa'udi state was able to call upon more than 58,000 men from an area most of which comprised the centre of Arabia.

Furthermore, it is necessary to add the number available from the tribes, because, as we have already mentioned, the Sa'udi army was derived from the different tribes of Arabia as well as the settled population. This fact throws light on the real strength of the Sa'udi state.

However, every tribe was liable to contribute a fixed proportion of its members to active service, in proportion to the importance of the situation - such as the repelling of a serious threat or the throwing back of a dangerous enemy. For example, in 1806 Sa'ud sent his orders to

'Abd al-Wahhab Abu Nuqta and the Emirs of Bisha and Wadi al-Dawasir to join with the 'Abāda and Sinhan, branches of the southern Qahtan, and also the Wadi'a of northern Yemen to attack Najran and its districts.

Here we give the names of the Arab tribes and their fighting men according to the different accounts. (C = Cavalry, I = Infantry, M = with matchlocks).

Names of the tribes	Bassam		Burckhardt		Mengin		Lam'a 'lshihab
	I	C	I	C	I	C	
1 - <u>Hejaz tribes:</u>							
Juhaina	10,000	500	8,000M				15,000 ¹
'Ataiba	10,000	1,000	10,000	4,000	300	40,000 ²	
Hudhail	8,000		1,000				12,000 ³
Harb	40,000	10,000	30,000 to 40,000		1,500	200	40,000 ⁴
Sulul	4,000						5 ⁵
Banu Makhzum	10,000	1,300					6 ⁶
'Adwan	25,000	1,000					7 ⁷
Banu Salem	8,000	500	2,500				10,000 ⁸
Thakaif	3,000	800	2,000				13,000 ⁹

(1) Bassam, al-Durar al-Mafakhir, p.55; Burckhardt, op.cit. vol.2. p.23. Lam'al-Shihab, fol.110. (2) Bassam, p.56; Burckhardt, p.239; Mengin, p.161; Lam'al-Shihab, fol.75. (3) Op.cit., p.59; vol.2.p.43; fol.225. (4) p.60; op.cit., p.31; ibid; fol.225. (5) Fol.30. (6) ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Fol.31; p.34; p.451. (9) Fol.28; p.242; fol.226.

Names of the tribes	Bassam		Burckhardt			Mengin	Lam'a l-Shihab.
	I	C	I	C	I	C	
Banu Nes'ah	9,000 ¹						
Banu Sa'ad	5,000 ²						
Wold Sulaiman	3,000 ³						
Lihyan			250 ⁴				
Banu Fahaim			100 ⁵				
Quraish			300 ⁶				
Buqum tribe	17,000 ⁷						
Subai'a	10,000	800			2,000	250	12,000 ⁸
<u>2 - Nejd tribes.</u>							
Dawasir	8,000	1,500			5,000	200 ⁹	
Al-Suhul	3,000	800			2,000	250	10,000 ¹⁰
Shammar			3,000-4,000		3,000	600	20,000 ¹¹
Mutair			6,000 to 8,000	12,000	3,000	1,600	20,000 ¹²
Subai'a	2,500	800			1,200	100	12,000 ¹³
'Ataiba	2,000	800 ¹⁴					
<u>3 - Al-Hasa tribes.</u>							
Al-'Amair	4,000	700					4,000 ¹⁵
Al-Mahashir	1,000	500					7,000 ¹⁶
Al-Subaih	1,500	300			2,500	2,000	2,000 ¹⁷
Al-'Amour	2,000	200					2,000 ¹⁸
Aljabour	2,000	200					2,000 ¹⁹

(1) Fol.31. (2) Ibid. (3) p.65. (4) p.239. (5) Ibid. (6) p.240. (7) pp.58-9.
(8) Fol.31; Ibid.; Fol.74. (9) p.69; Ibid. (10) p.69; ibid.; fol.77.
(11) P.26; p.164; Fol.71. (12) p.233; ibid.; fol.77. (13) p.71; Ibid. fol.76.
(14) p.70. (15) p.79; fol.219. (16) p.80; p.437. (17) Ibid.; ibid.; fol.221.
(18) Ibid.; p.439. (19) p.81; ibid.

Names of the tribes	Bassam		Burckhardt		Mengin	Lam'a 'l-shihab
	I	C	I	C	I	C
<u>4 - The southern tribes.</u>						
al-Zaraiq	5,000	1,000 ¹				
Wadi Majran	20,000	5,000 ²				
'Abaida	20,000	4,000 ³				
Al-Ma'a	2,000	500 ⁴				
Asir	30,000	5,000	1,500			100,000 ⁵
Banu al-Asmer	3,000	1,000 ⁶				
Banu al-Asfar	6,000	5,000 ⁷				
Sinhan	10,000	3,000 ⁸				
Zahran	25,000	6,000	1,500 ⁹			
Abu 'Arish						20,000 ¹⁰
Ghamid	20,000	6,000	1,500 ¹¹			
Shahran	15,000	2,000 ¹²				
Banu Salim	20,000	2,000	5,000 ¹³			
Qahtan, Al-'Asim and Al-Qadir	30,000	7,000 ¹⁴				

We see from the above estimations that the Sa'udi state was able to dispose some 456,700 men according to al-Bassam, who was himself a Sa'udi soldier and fought against Tusun Pasha in the battle of al-Khaif in 1811.

According to Burckhardt, whose information was based on

(1) P.23. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) p.24; p.48; p.455. (6) P.30.
 (7) Ibid. (8) p.31. (9) P.32; p.128. (10) Fol.228. (11) Ibid; p.48.(12)p.33.
 (13) p.35;p.46. (14) p.19.

personal observations and statements of local inhabitants, the Sa'udi state was able to dispose some 83,750 men.

The estimation of al-Bassam probably includes all men who could bear arms because, as has been already stated, all the Sa'udi subjects were obliged to take up arms when the Sa'udi chief called upon them. Thus males from ^{the} age of eighteen to sixty were by law liable to army service if the Sa'udi chiefs should call upon them.

However, we believe that al-Bassam's estimate is over generous in the extreme, especially if we compare it with the estimate which Burckhardt gave. In spite of the fact that al-Bassam had the opportunity to know the Sa'udi soldiers, being himself a soldier in the Sa'udi army, he had only a vague idea of the numbers of the Sa'udi army. But we can find some excuse for al-Bassam, because he was obliged to guess his figures. As a matter of fact, al-Bassam did not intend to write a book, since he was himself illiterate. His work was compiled at the request of Mr. Rich, the British Political resident at Baghdad during 1808-1821.

On the other hand, Burckhardt gathered, extracted and summarized precise information from traders, pilgrims and merchants, because his object was to write up his material. In Jidda and Mecca, cities where he spent some nine months, Burckhardt met with Arabs of all tribes and all districts, and got in touch with Bedouin from Najd, Hejaz and elsewhere. Thus he was able to give an accurate account of the numbers of the large

tribes.

He began by enumerating Arab tribes according to how many matchlocks every tribe could possess. We must add to these estimated forces the number of people he had no matchlocks, but carried daggers, lances or sabres. For example, when the Sa'udis attacked Jidda in 1803 they were armed with plain lances and fuse rifles.

It is clear from the above-mentioned that Burckhardt estimated each tribe with regard to the quantity of matchlocks which they possessed.

The figures in the above tables show that the estimates of al-Bassam and Burckhardt are close approximations in regard to Juhaina 'Ataiba and the Banu Harb. But in respect to the rest we find that there is a big difference between them; al-Bassam's account being exaggerated, especially in regard to Hudhail, 'Adwan and the Banu Salim.

The figures presented by Mengin are very small in comparison with those of Burckhardt or al-Bassam. On the other hand, the figures presented by Lam'a l-Shihab are much larger than that of al-Bassam, especially in the account of the Asir tribe. But his estimates of Harb, Subai'a and al-Hasa tribes are much closer to those of al-Bassam. It is worth mentioning that the material of Lam'a l-Shihab was derived from what the author had heard, read or seen concerning Sa'udi history.

From the above we can say that Burckhardt is the most reliable authority concerning al-Hejaz because he was the only trained

write who had the opportunity to make enquiries on the spot. Al-Bassam is the best authority concerning Nejd because he was himself a Nejdî native. Lam'a l-Shihab is to be regarded the authority concerning al-Hasa because its author was a native of eastern Arabia.

C (1) Organizations.

Although both Burckhardt and 'Ali Bey state that the Sa'udis had neither ^a regular army nor military organizations,¹ an attempt may be made to draw a picture of their organizations, as follows:-

A) Constituents of the army.

1 The Sa'udi army consisted of:

a - Cavalry who were supplied with horse's food and a monthly salary.²

b - Camel-riders who did not receive any pay.³

c - Foot-soldiers who mounted on camels especially when crossing extensive deserts, two men mounted on one camel. However, it is interesting to note that the Sa'udis depended chiefly on their camel-riders and matchlock foot-soldiers because they had few cavalry.⁴

d - A Bodyguard who were chosen from the bravest and most well-known warriors among the Sa'udis subjects. They were kept constantly at al-Dar'iya, and were considered the only standing troops of the Sa'udi army. Burckhardt writes that whenever Sa'ud heard of any distinguished horseman, he would invite him to al-Dar'iya and engage him in his service, agreeing to furnish him and his family with an annual provision of corn, butter and

(1) Burckhardt: N.B.W. p.311; Ali Bey: vol.2. p.137.

(2) Mengin, vol.2. p.177.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Burckhardt: N.B.W. p.395.

dates.¹ Sa'ud would give to the man also a mare, or a good camel. This bodyguard constantly attended the Sa'udi chiefs on their expeditions. Burckhardt comments on this bodyguard: "The name of this bodyguard is dreaded by all enemies of the Wahabys, for they have never forfeited their high character for bravery."²

They were always kept as a kind of reserve in battle, a small party of them being detached in support of other troops.³

No information concerning the kind of uniform which the Sa'udis wore seems to be available. It appears, however, that since the Sa'udis had no regular army, as understood in European terms, there was no kind of uniform wear.

In addition to the bodyguard, the Sa'udi chiefs used to take with them to al-Dar'iyah many of the agids or war-chiefs of the Bedouin tribes. Burckhardt writes about their function: "It is a remarkable circumstance in Bedouin history and policy, that, during a campaign in actual warfare, the authority of the sheikh of the tribe is completely set aside, and the soldiers are wholly under the command of the Agyd."⁴

2 - The commander-in-chief of the army.

The Sa'udi chief was the commander-in-chief of the army. He often took the field as its commander, but in the event that he did not accompany an expedition himself, he would appoint one of his sons as

(1) Ibid. p. 316. (2) N.B.W. Vol. 2. p. 171. (3) Burckhardt writes: "They amount to about three hundred in number and for the greater part they fight in complete armour. Their horses are covered by the Lebs, (a sort of quilted woollen stuff impenetrable to lances or swords). As their service is quite voluntary, Saoud always placed great confidence in this body-guard." (N.B.W. p. 316). (4) N.B.W. p. 316.

commander, or some distinguished shaikh who acted as his deputy in the conducting of war.¹ For example, we find that 'Abd al-'Aziz ordered Sulaiman b. 'Ufaysam during the period 1784-92 to make a continual attack against the province of Al-Kharj until it offered submission.² He also organized raids in the eastern areas, at Qatar and Al-Ahsa, during 1787.³ 'Abd al-Wahhab Abu Nuqta was instructed to march on Jiddah in 1804, and his force was estimated at 6,000 men.⁴ And in 1809 he was ordered to crush the revolt of the Sharif of Abu 'A'rish, Hamud Abu Mismar, with a joint army drawn up from all parts of the country. In 1811 Sa'ud sent out his orders for the mobilization of his resources to resist the invasion of Muhammad 'Ali, placing his army under the command of his son 'AbdAllah, who took up his position at Al-Kha'if.⁵

3 - Next to the commander-in-chief come the war-chiefs, the so-called Agids, whose functions have been noted above. According to Burckhardt's account, the office of Agid is hereditary in a certain family, from father to son; and the Bedouin would rather submit to the command of an Agid whom they know to be ^edifficient both in bravery and judgment, than yield to the orders of their shaikh during the actual expedition.⁶ It is necessary to add that, when the Agid is dubious about the measures that should be adopted against the enemy, he would consult with the principal men of his army if he thought fit to do so.⁷

(1) Lam'al-Shihab: ms.p.129.

(2) Ibn Bishr. p.89

(3) Ibn Bishr. p.111.

(4) Ibn Bishr. p.142.

(5) Ibn Bishr. p.162.

(6) Op.cit. p.316.

(7) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.316.

4 - Furthermore, all the chiefs of the provinces as well as the great Bedouin shaikhs formed a council in time of war, but in time of peace the Sa'udi chiefs consulted none but the 'Ulama' of al-Dar'iyah.¹

B) The mass of people of each province formed a separate body, each under the orders of its Emirs, who had two writers (kuttab) and an Imam with him. The functions of the latter were the organization of the prayers in the camp, and mediation in any discussions or quarrels which might arise.² The role of the kuttab were to register the booty and to write the chief's correspondances. The practice of sending an Imam or Qadi with the army was employed by the early⁴ Abbasids. Husaini writes: "Each army had a Qadi who was in charge of the booty and distributed it according to the laws of Islam. There was also an advocate (ad-Da'iyah) to represent the cases of the soldiers and a Ra id whose duty it was to select proper camp-sites!"³ This practice was continued under the Mamluk period according to Ayalon who states that the main function of the Qadi al-'Askar was to accompany the military expedition in order to decide on such judicial questions as might arise during the march, i.e. the division of the booty, the inheritance of dead soldiers, etc.⁴

C) Transport: In the matter of transport the Sa'udis conveyed their soldiers, their baggage and supplies, on camels. Shaikh Mansour writes: "Each soldier rides a camel which is furnished by the state,

(1) Ibid: vol.2. p.133. (2) Mengin: vol.2. p.177. (3) Husaini, Arab Administration, p.226. (4) 'Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army' (S.O.A.S. vol.16 (1954) p.67).

should he by chance not have one of his own; this animal also carries his ammunition and arms.¹ But if camels were scarce, a man would share his mount with a companion (Mardouf) seated behind him. This practice was employed by the early Muslims. Husaini writes: "In smaller expeditions or when the despatch of reinforcement was very urgent, the cavalry took the foot soldiers on horseback."²

It is probable that these ships of the desert also acted as ambulances for the sick and wounded.

C. Ransom:

The Sa'udis employed three ways of getting ransom:

(1) They used to impose a ransom of money for letting somebody go free. For example, we find that 'Abd al-'Aziz met a raiding party of Subai' Bedouin at the wells of al-Hassi in the Maisiya pass leading up into the Tuwaiq plateau. They were defeated, and their leader, Ibn Faiz al-Mulaini was taken prisoner, but he ransomed himself at the price of 500 gold pieces.³

(2) Having reduced a village or a town to submission, the Sa'udis would sometimes impose on its inhabitants a ransom. For example, 'Abd al-'Aziz attacked the village of al-Qasab, in the Sudair province, in 1758. It was reduced to submission and he imposed on its folk a ransom of 300 gold pieces.⁴

(1) Op.cit., p.42. (2) Op.cit., p.140. It was an old Arab custom, and the additional rider was called al-radif.

(3) Ibn Bishr. p.43. (4) Ibid., p.51. al-Qasab is a village in the Sha'ib al-'Atk. (Philby. S.A., p.13.)

(3) If an enemy took refuge in some place, for instance a village, the villagers would, in that case, be asked to hand him over. But if they did not wish to hand him over, the Sa'udis would demand a ransom of money. For example, when 'Abd al-Aziz was invading al-Washm, he fell in with a small party of Tharmida warriors, who fled to take refuge in the hamlet of al-Huraiq near al-Qasab. So 'Abd al-Aziz demanded their surrender, but the villagers refused to hand over their guest and they offered instead to pay a ransom of 1500 gold pieces.¹

Furthermore, the Sa'udis employed the indemnity system. This was put into practice as terms for peace, such as when Sa'ud attacked Raudha in 1781, the people sued for peace which was agreed to on harsh terms; a large sum of money being demanded as indemnity.²

Or it was applied in the case of past offences; for example, we find that in 1797 Hamud b. Rubaian, the chief of the 'Ataiba sent a deputation to 'Abd al-Aziz offering the tribe's submission to the Sa'udi cause and the payment of an indemnity for their past offences.³ Also Dahham b. Dawwas, the chief of Riyadh, who had been engaged in a struggle with the Sa'udis for a long time, sent a deputation to Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad b. Sa'ud with a cash indemnity of 2,000 gold pieces and assured his loyalty to the Wahhabi faith.⁴

D. On the March:

During the march every Emir or shaikh had his flag carried in front of his people, as well as the Sa'udi chief colours.⁵ The Sa'udi

(1) Ibid. p.52. Tharmida is situated on south-east of Shaqra. (Handbook, op.cmt. p.367. (2) Ibn Bishr. p.86. (3) Ibid. p.98 (4) Ibid. p.56.
(5) N.B.W. Vol.2. p.173.

army was preceded by a vanguard of thirty or forty horsemen. Burckhardt mentions that they generally went a march of one day or perhaps of two days before the army.¹ In addition to this they chose another party as rear-guard.²

On the march the army was arranged in one or several columns according to circumstances. As we have already seen, the Emirs went in front of the people of their jurisdiction; the cavalry and dromedaries went on ahead in a line, while the centre was reserved for the artillery and infantry mounted on camels.³

When the army marched at night, the chief and all the great Shaikhs had torches carried before them. But the Sa'udis did not practice night marches except when a surprise attack made speed necessary, and they would cover in two days a distance that would normally have needed five.⁴

E. On Camp:

When the Sa'udi army encamped each one knew his proper place. The place of the general was in the middle, whilst the cavalry formed a circle around his tent. Infantry and cavalry posts had a password in order to recognize each other in the dark and they were relieved every 24 hours.⁵ The general had a special guard. In the night everyone was awake. During the day each man slept. The troops were to be seen only during the five daily prescribed prayers. At daybreak after prayer everyone rested.⁶

(1) Ibid.

(2) ibid., p.317

(3) Mengin: vol.2. p.178.

(4) Op.cit. p.179

(5) ibid.

(6) Ibid.

F. Plans of campaign.

When the Sa'udi chief planned an expedition, the object of this expedition was known only to himself. He sent out his orders to all the chiefs of his dominion in order to assemble them at a certain place, generally a watering-place.¹ It was always selected in such a manner as to deceive the enemy whom he intended to attack. It is, however, interesting that the Sa'udis used to make their attack in any month of the year, even in the month of Ramadhan. Thus 'Abd. al-'Aziz attacked Riyadh during the Ramadhan Fast falling in May 1758.² In other words, they were allowed to attack at any time, there being no religious proscription.

On the other hand, Burckhardt mentions that Sa'ud's constant practice was to make two or three grand expeditions.³ When he went to battle, he used to leave Al-Dar'iya either on Thursdays or on Mondays.⁴ As we have already mentioned, the Sa'udi chiefs used to deceive their enemies by the strategem that if the expedition was intended to go north of Al-Dar'iya, their army would assemble at a place many days journey distant south of Al-Dar'iya. He then actually began his journey in a southern direction, but soon turned about, and by forced marches fell upon his enemies, who were taken by surprise.⁵

Burckhardt comments on the surprise attack: "This strategy is very necessary, for the news spreads like fire through Arabia,

(1) Burckhardt, p.315. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.49. (3) Burckhardt, p.315.
(4) Ibn Bishr, p.174. (5) Ibid. For example we find that 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud led his army by way of the Haisiya pass and the Hamada plain to create the impression that he was going to the Qasim. Then he doubled back to Harma where he arrived at night. He made the necessary dispositions inside and outside the town for a dawn attack. (Ibn Bishr. p.76).

What the Sa'oud had summoned his troops to meet at a certain spot; and if from the position of that spot any conjecture might be formed of the intended object of attack, the enemy would have time to prepare for resistance, or to fly."¹

Thus when the Sa'udis invaded the Hauran in 1810, the news of their approach only preceded their arrival by two days, but it was not known what part of Syria they would attack. Therefore, they plundered thirty-five villages of Hauran.²

G - Morale.

In propagating their doctrine the Sa'udis had taken as their motto Believe or die.³ Accordingly, Rousseau says that this was just what Muhammad (the Prophet) had said when he held the Qu'ran in one hand and a sword in the other.⁴ However, when they were fighting they used to say: Allah Akbar or some such phrase.⁵

If the threatened Arabs offered their submission to the Sa'udi state they would be given the Aman Allah (God's security) with some conditions.⁶ Sometimes, however, the Aman was given unconditionally

(1) Burckhardt. p.315.

(2) Op.cit. p.337.

(3) Rousseau, op.cit., 138. Raymond states that from the beginning, the Sa'udi chief made sure that his orders were carried out and occupied himself in organizing his troops. Hardened to fatigue, he subjected them to all the kind of exercises which would make them tougher. He accustomed them to bear hunger and thirst for two or three days, and to exercise a frugality which was inspired by the difficult climate and made necessary by the way they fought. Their usual mount was the camel which resisted thirst for four or five days. With such a method of discipline, it was not astonishing that the Sa'udi chief soon had a formidable army on foot, able to penetrate in a short space of time, the most distant parts of the desert. (p.8).

(4) Ibid. (5) Mengin, Histoire de l'Egypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammad-Aly, vol.2. p.179. (6) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.319.

and then extended over persons as well as property. Burckhardt writes: "All commanders of Wahaby (sic) troops have strict orders to accept any offer of submission from an enemy, and to observe inviolably the promised Aman."¹

H. The Sa'udi Intelligence System.

The Sa'udis had an espionage system, which was to report on their enemies' strength, their weak points, and to collect all such information as may prove useful to them against their enemies. Lam'a 'l Shihab states that it was their wont to have spies in other countries which had not yet been overcome. Thus it was related that they had an agent at Constantinople. As soon as he heard that the Ottoman Sultan had given his orders to the Viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, to attack Al-Sa'ud (the family of Sa'ud), he wrote to Sa'ud reporting the matter. As a result, Sa'ud took the necessary measures, such as fortifying the forts and collecting troops, to be ready to face the conquerors.²

Thereupon, when Tusun Pasha was advancing towards Medina in 1811, he found that the Sa'udis had been fully informed about his plan. He found that the Sa'udis had taken up their position at al-Khaif, in the narrowest part of Wadi al-Safra, waiting for their enemies.³ In addition, when 'Ali Pasha found himself so close to al-Hasa in 1798, he sent the corps of Lavender, which formed the advance guard of his army, to reconnoitre the forward posts of the Sa'udis. But his detachment was surprised and cut to pieces by the Sa'udis, who had spies everywhere, even in the inner councils

(1) Ibid.

(2) Op.cit., pp.129-130.

(3) Ibn Bishr. p.162.

(4) Op.cit., pp.129-130.

of those with whom they were at war.¹

Even the Sa'udi envoys had to collect all sorts of military information. Thus we find that 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud told his envoys to the court of Muhammad 'Ali to observe the Egyptian troops, calculate their numbers, and find out the preparations for Ibrahim's expedition against their country. Incidentally, Muhammad 'Ali had one of his court officers accompany them, and asked him to make them go to all the places where there were troops.²

It is worth mentioning that the Muslim commanders employed this system. Khadduri writes: "While Muslim commanders saw the value of spying and made use of this time-honored practice, they, like other nations, punished severely foreign spies."³

Later on, 'Abd al-'Aziz b.Sa'ud employed this system. Before he wanted to conquer any country, he would send his spies to obtain useful information. Armstrong says: "The first thing was to verify his information; so he sent his spies into the Hasa and to Hofuf, and they confirmed what he had heard; that the garrisons of Hofuf and the coast towns had been reduced; and that most of the troops had marched northwards in a hurry."⁴

(1) Raymond, op.cit. p.12. (2) Mengin, op.cit. vol.2. p.21.
(3) War and peace in the land of Islam, p.107.
(4) Lord of Arabia, p.77.

C) 2 - Sa'udi defences:

According to the author Lam'a al-Shihab the Al-Sa'ud made it a rule that, having subdued any large province or district, they used to build a husn, even if it already had one, and to dig a moat beyond it.¹ Afterwards they posted a garrison in it of about five hundred or a thousand men according to the importance of the district.² Thus, after the taking of Medina, Sa'ud found it necessary to maintain there a constant garrison of Sa'udis. Burckhardt comments on this: "No other instances of that kind occurred during his government. For he never thought it advisable to garrison any district that he had subdued, but relied upon the sheikhs whom he had placed over it, and the dread of his own name, to keep the vanquished in subjection."³

We shall discuss this later on, giving examples, but before we do it will be of value to explain the meaning of the Arabic words husn, qasr and burj. The forts are of two types: one given the name of burj which mean^s watchtower; the other called qasr or husn, which is a more substantial building, means fortress.

The purpose of these forts was: 1) to keep watch on the activities of opponents or maintain pressure on them. 2) to watch and defend the district from outside attack and to keep order in time of peace.

We may turn now to the mention of the Sa'udi garrisons.⁴

We know that the first fort was established in 1178 A.H. According to

(1) Pol.53. (2) Ibid. (3) Burckhardt. p.320.

(4) Ibn Bishr. p.49; Philby. S.A. p.52.

ibn Bishr 'Abd al-'Aziz gave orders for the building of the fort of al-Ghazwana in the valley of Wadi Hanifa west of Riyadh, as a jumping-off place for pin-pricking expeditions against the town and its outskirts. It is interesting to mention that the construction of the building was completed in only seven days.¹ And in 1780, after an attack on Dilam, Sa'ud turned his attention to the east, where he built the fort of al-Bida near Sulaimiya and posted a garrison in it under the command of Muhammad ibn Ghushaiyan, to keep a watch on the activities of the Yamama chief, Hasan ibn Rashid at Bijadi. However, the Dilam people appealed to Sa'dun ibn 'Urai'ar, the Banu Khalid chief, for help in an attempt to suppress this dangerous outpost of the Sa'udi influence, but they were repulsed.² After the people of al-Hasa had made their submission in 1792, Sa'ud left garrisons posted in the forts of al-Hasa as well as guard-posts.³ In 1805 Sa'ud placed strong Sa'udi garrisons in various forts at Mecca. And in 1805 he decided to build and garrison a fort in Wadi Fatima⁴ to maintain pressure on Ghalib.

It is worth adding that during Ibrahim b.s.b. 'Ufaysan's stay in 1793-4 (he was one of the high officials of the Sa'udi state in Buraimi), he built the fort called Qasr al-Subarah midway between Buraimi town and the town of Hamasa.⁵

Sometimes the Sa'udi government kept garrisons where they knew that the people were hostile to their religion, as when they garrisoned

(1) ibid. p.836. (2) ibid. p.84. (3) ibn Bishr. p.108; Philby. p.103.
(4) ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.142. (5) S.M. vol.1. pp.111-2.

Medina, an important strong-hold, where Sa'ud knew that the people were hostile to his religion and his person. He kept a garrison of Arabs from Nejd and 'Asir armed with matchlocks, paying to each man seven dollars every month, besides rations of flour and butter.¹

C) 3 - Equipment and Arms:

It will be gathered that the provisions of an ordinary soldier of the Sa'udi forces consisted of a skin of water and another filled with dried dates fried in butter and beaten into one mass, for each soldier from his own purse; but if he had none, his richer brethren should furnish him with it.² In addition to that there was a sack of wheat or barley for each camel or horse.

When a very distant expedition was proposed, such as that against Damascus in 1810, or against Oman, the Sa'udis would furnish themselves with one hundred pounds weight of flour, fifty or sixty pounds of dates, twenty pounds of butter, a sack of water or barley for the camels and a water-skin.³

As to the provision of the Sa'udi chief, Sa'ud's provision and baggage were carried upon two hundred camels. He used to take a considerable supply on distant expeditions, that he might be able to relieve those of his troops who would lose their own.⁴

The public treasury only furnished those necessaries which private individuals could not procure and in which powder and ball were generally included. On the other hand, the poor being furnished from

(1) Burckhardt, p.320.

(2) Shaikh Mansur, p.43; Burckhardt p.312.

(3) Burckhardt, ibid.

(4) Burckhardt, op.cit. vol.2. p.179.

the public treasury.¹

As regards their weapons, we find that in the earliest part of their career, the fighting forces of the Sa'udis were as ill equipped with arms as with men. Besides, their weapons were very bad; the fuse rifles the only ones they knew were rare among them.² They used in preference for fighting the sabre, the lances and the Kantarieh, a kind of dart made with a pointed stick and fitted with iron which they hurled against their enemies, as the Mamluks hurled the djerid.³ The tarse was their only defensive weapon. It was a small round shield made of willow branches which they covered with steel plate and to which was fitted inwardly a copper ring which they grasped with the left hand.⁴

After the first stages the chief weapons of the infantry were touch rifles which the soldiers loaded quickly.⁵ The soldiers carried also daggers. It is worth mentioning here that the matchlocks were obtained from Europe or Turkey in particular, according to 'Ali Bey.⁶ On the other hand, Lam'a l-Shihab mentions that a kind of fuse rifle, made in Nejd, was employed in Nejd and then its use spread all over Nejd as well as some parts of the Yemen and the Hejaz.⁷ With respect to the horsemen, they were armed with lances and sabres, and some also carried pistols.⁸

Later on, the Sa'udis employed cannon especially in defending their capital against the Turkish invasion. M. Vaissiere, a

(1) Burekhardt, op.cit. p.313. (2) Corancez, p.23. (3) ibid.
(4) Ibid. (5) Mengin, vol.2. p.179. (6) Op.cit. vol.2. p.137.
(7) Op.cit. pp.503-7. (8) Mengin, Ibid.

French officer who accompanied Ibrahim Pasha, mentions that al-Dar'iya was surrounded by a great rampart with bastions defended by 80 heads of cannon of which 50 were in action.¹ However, it seemed that this kind of weapon came into Sa'udi hands as booty from their defeated opponents - for instance, the Turkish army of Iraq or Sharif of Mecca. Ibn Bishr mentions that the number of guns captured in attacking Jidda in 1805 was said to have been 2,500, comprising matchlocks and small arms.²

On the other hand, M. Vaissiere mentioned that it seemed that the English were in correspondence with the Sa'udis during Ibrahim Pasha's expedition against Dar'iya to whom they had handed over cannons and ammunitions.³

As regards their powder and balls, it is interesting to observe that they manufactured their powder and balls themselves.⁴ But 'Ali Bey writes that they brought the balls and sulphur from Mecca and different maritime towns of the peninsula of Arabia, and they obtained nitre and saltpetre in their own country.⁵

It is interesting to add here Burckhardt's account of the coat of mail which he mentions that Sa'ud had great numbers of, and he constantly wore one under his shirts. Their prices fluctuated from two hundred to fifteen hundred piastres.⁶

(1) Driault, p.131.

(3) Driault, p.131.

(5) Op.cit. p.137.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.142.

(4) Lam'a 'l-Shihab, p.507.

(6) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.32; p.134.

D) 1 - Sa'udi tactics.

The ordinary method of fighting at the beginning of the Sa'udi state was that of the raid, in which a sudden attack was followed by prompt retreat and then a sudden return to the battle. The early Muslims employed ambush: *not a good authority* Musaini writes "In the battle of al-Walijah, Khalid placed an ambush on either side of the enemy. In the heat of the battle, the hidden forces emerged suddenly, and attacking the enemy on the flanks by surprise, turned the tables against him."¹ Besides, the Sa'udis employed the tactics of ambush (Kamin) in their early expeditions; for instance in 1746 at the battle of (the grey-beards) on the outskirts of Riyadh, where a party of Sa'udi soldiers sought to attack it. On reaching this place, however, the force was divided into two parts, one of which was to attack the outskirts of Riyadh, while the other would lie in ambush to deal with any sortie that might be made by the citizens to protect their property.² In 1748 the usual tactics were employed against Tharmida,³ in the Washm province where the people of the village were routed when they came out to fight. Also the Sa'udis used the same kind of tactics against the inhabitants of Tharmida in 1750.⁴ By 1755 we find that the Sa'udis deployed their troops in double ambush when they approached Huraimala. 'Abd al-'Aziz muhammed b. Sa'ud took charge of one in Sh'aib 'Uwaija, while mubarak b. 'Adwan with 200 men lay at al-Juzai.⁵ At dawn the main force advanced on the town, whose inhabitants came out to

(1) Op.cit. p.59. (2) Ibn Bishr. p.26. (3) Ibn Bishr. p.30.

(4) Ibn Bishr, pp.32-3. (5) Ibn Bishr. p.38.

fight, and the emergence of the first ambush party in the midst of the conflict was not sufficient to turn the scale, but the second ambush succeeded in cutting them off from the town.¹

In addition to that, the Sa'udis adopted another kind of tactic. We find that 'Abd Allah b. Sa'ud led the Sa'udis army against Huraimala in 1191 by way of the Haisiya pass and the Hamada plain to create the impression that he was going to the Qasim.² Then he doubled back up the Ghat Gally to the plateau, and arrived at his objective under cover of night to make the necessary dispositions inside and outside the town for a dawn attack. At dawn he ordered his men to fire a single volley so that the inhabitants were awakened.³

Later on, the Sa'udis adopted different kinds of tactics according to circumstances, perhaps because they had acquired some new military skills. Thus on advancing to attack Muscat, they divided their army into three columns, one commanded by Mutlak in person, and the other two by his son and by Sayyid Muhammad b. Nasir.⁴ One of these divisions marched along the shore, the second directed its course into the interior, while Mutlak himself took the middle road, and thus was able to overlook the movements of the whole.

On the other hand, 'Abd Al-'Aziz prepared the following tactics to meet the threat of the Turkish expedition in 1797. He prepared a large force to meet this threat. A part of this force was despatched

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.38. (2) Ibn Bishr. p.76. Huraimala was a town in al-Mahmal district (Pelly, J.R.G.S. vol.xxxv.p.175). According to Ibn 'isa it was in 1045/1635 inhabited by Al.abu Rabba' of Al-Hisni; who belonged to Bishr tribe a section of 'Anaza. (op.cit., pp.52-3.)

(3) Ibid.

(4) Shaikh Mansur, p.41.

to the watering-place of Qariya in the Taff district;¹ another was sent under the command of Sa'ud to Hafar al-'Atak.² In addition, he ordered all the Bedouin tribes, from Mutair and Suba'i and al-'Ajman and others, to move with their families and their flocks into the Banu Khalid country to occupy the wells and defend them against the invaders.

As to the Sa'udi military formation Burckhardt mentions that the army always divided, on approaching an enemy, into three or four corps,³ one behind another. The first to attack was composed of horsemen, as being the principal strength of the army. They were supported by the second line, consisting of camel-riders, who would advance if the horsemen were routed. For example, while Abu Nuqta was attacking Abu Mismar in 1802, he divided his army into right wing (Maymanah), left wing (Maysarah) and centre (Qalb).⁴

On the other hand, they came to fight in battalion strength,⁵ each battalion being composed of people from men of the same tribes or districts or otherwise known to each other, commanded by their Emirs and their military leaders, who went in front of their people. The cavalry and dromedaries went on ahead in a line and the centre was reserved for the artillery and infantry mounted on camels. The lines were double, so that when one line became tired or lost many men, it was replaced by the one behind.

Yet 'Ali Bey writes:⁶ "The Wehhabites have no military organization. All their tactics consist in forming themselves into

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.116. (2) ibid. (3) Burckhardt: N.B.W. p.317.

(4) Al-Na'ami, Tarikh Asir, p.134. (5) Mengin, vol.2. p.178.

(6) Ali Bey, vol.2. p.137.

squadrons, under the direction of a chief, and in following his movements without order, and without forming ranks; but their discipline is truly spartan, and their obedience extreme; for the least sign from their chiefs suffices to impose silence upon them, and to make them submit to the greatest fatigues."

Rousseau comments on the Sa'udi tactics: "For the Wahhabis to be an invincible people, and for them to be able to conquer the whole of Asia, they would only need to join to their physical and moral qualities the knowledge of tactics and military discipline, which they have not gained even yet." ¹

That the Sa'udis, however, did have a disciplined organization and keen tactical acumen is shown by the fact that it was a favourite stratagem of Sa'ud to fly before the enemy, and then, rallying suddenly, to fall with his chosen horsemen upon the fatigued pursuers.²

Driault writes: "A mistake no less great on their part was to have not maintained the campaign unceasingly, where the speed of their horses and even that of foot-soldiers, would have given them superior advantage.

Nothing equals the speed of their horses. Abdul Ah's horse used to cover 48 caravan hours in 6 hours time. The folk on foot run in proportion with the same speed and a Turkish horseman has not been able to reach a Wahhabi pedestrian travelling on the plain. It was easy; therefore, for these people to avoid any action in which the superiority of Turkish arms was fatal to them and to deviate themselves solely to

(1) Op.cit. p.150. (2) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.318.

harassing their enemies, especially by intercepting their convoys."¹

If they were compelled to retreat under superior force, they would withdraw in order, even when the enemy were beaten the infantry would not follow them, but the cavalry and dromedaries would harass them from a certain distance.²

In the Sa'udi-Egyptian war the Sa'udis avoided approaching the Egyptian army too closely for fear of their cavalry. Thus the defeat of the Sa'udis at Basal may be attributed to their having descended from the mountain into the plain of Kalakh, where they had no means of resisting the enemy cavalry. Burckhardt, however, mentioned that Sa'ud, in the last words which he addressed to his son, cautioned him against such a proceeding.

In order to assess more clearly the status of Sa'ud and his successors tactical terms we may to advantage draw a comparison with the Egyptian tactics used in the Basal battle.

Having reached Basal, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha found that the Sa'udis had encamped on the side of the mountains which opened towards the plains of Kalakh.³ Thereupon Muhammad 'Ali realized that he would have no chance of success so long as the Sa'udis held the high ground of Basal. Thus he chose a body of Algerian troops as an advance guard for the purpose of drawing down the Sa'udis.⁴ The advance guard accordingly moved on, and

(1) *La formation de l'empire de Mohamed Aly...* p.131.
(2) Mengin, vol.2.p.179. (3) Burckhardt, *op.cit.* p.395. (4) Finati. *op.cit.* vol.2. p.14. (translated by Bankes). Basal Finati writes: "This is a level spot of ground, encircled by a natural rampart of hills, which, however, forming rather a chain than one continued ridge it leave narrow gaps betwixt, here and there, like so many entrances, but not one that is not well commanded, so that if the heights be properly defended, the area within is quite secure."

the whole army followed them at no great interval, presenting a front of about equal extent with that of the Sa'udis, but the orders given were that in going forward the whole should bear gradually to the right, so as to bring the Egyptian centre opposite to the Sa'udis left flank, and out-manoeuve them upon that side, while the cavalry, till such time as it should be necessary to bring the Sa'udis into action, were placed in the rear with orders to observe the same movement.¹

G. Finati, who served under Tusun and his father writes:

"Our advanced guard had gone forward from the centre of our line, but owing to our subsequent movements, was now partly in front of the left wing, and partly extending beyond it, and opposed to the right of the enemy, to which it was able to make but a feeble resistance. Meantime the centre of each army was opposed to the right wing of the other, our left extending beyond their line, and being, for the present, quite out of the action.

The enemy, not at all aware of the object and effect of these dispositions, finding so little obstruction upon their left from the advanced guard, whom they outnumbered, and drove back, pressed rapidly forward in that quarter; but as this was not at all the case with the remainder of their line, which could make little or no impression upon ours, that flank became detached from the rest, and following in pursuit of the Algerines (sic), was soon engaged with our cavalry from behind, our

(1) Ibid. (vol.2.p.67)

infantry continuing in perfect order all the while, though in hot and close conflict. The heat of the battle lasted no less than five hours; and the Arabian army was losing the day without being at all aware of it; for, so soon as the pasha saw that the enemy's wing, which had gone forward, was sufficiently separated, and run into disorder, he directed that our right, which outflanked their line, and was still fresh, should close round upon it, so as to cut them off from their mountain-post; and all that was disposable of our cavalry was employed to shut up every other way from them, and especially any that might have led to our camp at Ciulla."¹

Although the Egyptian tactics and manoeuvres just described are manifestly superior to those of the Sa'udis in Arabia (and it is to be noted that the former had the advantage of European technical advice and weapons), it is obvious that the same basic military sense was present in the latter.

(1) Finati, op.cit. pp.17-19.

D) 2 - The Sa'udi Methods of Siege:

For the attack on fortresses and walled villages and strong points in general the early Sa'udi expeditionary force used to besiege the place which they planned to conquer for several days. At the siege of Harma in 1779 a Sa'udi force attacked it vigorously day after day until the population was driven back to their fort and closely besieged.¹ Therefore they decided to sue for a peace in which Sa'ud insisted that all persons who had been guilty of disturbing the peace should be banished, and that the revenue of all the palm-groves of the town should be made over to the state treasury.

Later on, at the siege of Karbala in 1802, the Sa'udis climbed its wall and opened the gate.² This was a method employed by the early Muslim state. Husaini says: "To take Damascus by storm, the Muslim soldiers swam the moat on inflated skins, and, flinging on the turrets ropes with running nooses, climbed the walls and opened the gates."³

At the siege of Mecca in 1804 they employed different methods. They fixed their headquarters at al-Hussainiya, where many of the richest Meccans had summer houses, only an hour and a half's ride to the south of the city. Their light troops harrassed the eastern suburbs, occupying the quarter of al-Mu'abda, and they entered and took possession of the Sharif's palace there, from which they raided the city itself. The Sharif bravely kept up resistance and laid mines to drive out the enemy

(1) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.81; Philby, op.cit. p.69.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.130.

(3) Arab Administration, p.144.

and prevent their incursions. In reply to this action the Sa'udis cut off the sweet-water supply from 'Arafat and reduced the inhabitants to rationing the brackish well-water.¹ After two months the people began to suffer severely from the lack of provisions and good water. As a result of this the inhabitants decided to make their surrender to the Sa'udis.

However, from Mecca Sa'ud turned his army against Jidda which was besieged for eleven days, but all his attempts failed because the inhabitants fought bravely and its wall was so strong that the Sa'udis decided to withdraw.² Corancez comments on this event: "Up to now the Wahabis (sic) had always been conquerors. They had actually only found open cities undefended; and the superiority of numbers had given them in the open country an advantage so marked that their enemies had hardly tried to resist them. But in the case was not the same at Jeddah (sic): this city is surrounded by walls which Rhaleb (sic) and Scherif-pacha (sic) had repaired. The Wahabis were checked in front of this city, being armed with plain lances and fuse rifles which they did not know how to use; they were without discipline, or any knowledge of the art of siege. They attacked without due precaution enemies entrenched behind the battlements, from which they were able without danger to choose the victims among them. Thus there remained to the Wahabis no other course to be taken than that of raising the siege and withdrawing to the Dre'yeh (sic)."³

(1) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.328.

(2) Corancez, op.cit. p.33.

(3) Ibid. p.38.

It is clear from the above-mentioned that the Sa'udis had little knowledge of the arts of siege, such as cutting off sweet-water and climbing the walls of besieged places, and so on.

D) 3 - Sa'udi Fortifications:

The Sa'udis made it a rule that having subdued any large province or city, they would build a fort at a distance from the old one and dig a moat round about it. Afterwards they posted at it a garrison called al-Umana (the trustworthy) consisting of some five hundred to a thousand men, according to the importance of the district or the city. They supplied these garrisons with provisions and ammunitions which would suffice them for two or three years.¹

For example, when they captured al-Hasa province in 1793, they posted garrisons at its forts and guard-posts,² and after the taking of Medina Sa'ud found it necessary to keep there a constant garrison of Sa'udi soldiers. Burckharat comments on this: "At Medina, an important stronghold, where he knew that the people were hostile to his religion and his person, he kept a garrison of Arabs from Nedjd (sic) and Yemen armed with matchlocks, paying to each man seven dollars every month, besides rations of flour and butter."³

It is necessary to add to this that the Sa'udis paid a fixed sum of money to the soldier's families because these soldiers were appointed to keep peace and order. According to the author of Lam'a l-Shihab,

(1) Lam'a l-Shihab, pp.102-3. It also states that Tusun employed the same practice. Thus having occupied a place, he would set up a fort, then he would garrison it with provision and ammunition. (P.307)

(2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.108. (3) Op.cit. p.320.

the yearly income of each family might amount to 300 or 400 gold pieces.¹

This practice was employed by ^{the} Umayyads. Husaini states: "Strategic fortifications were built on the frontiers. Soldiers who settled in these military stations and garrisoned the outposts and the border fortresses received regular annuities and family pensions and were provided against war risks."²

In respect to the administration of the Sa'udi garrisons the author of Lam'a l-Shihab mentions that they were governed by ten men, one of whom was an Emir.³

In addition to the above fortifications the Sa'udis built walls round their villages and cities to protect the population from enemy attacks. For example, when 'Abd al-'Aziz heard that 'Arai'ar b. Dujain, the chief of al-Hasa and the Banu Khalid tribe, was proceeding to attack al-Dar'iyah in 1758, he gave his orders to the whole nation to make the necessary fortifications. He also built two walls round al-Dar'iyah surrounded by towers in order to stop any who would attempt to scale them.⁴

In the more strongly fortified cities date trees were also put to use as an additional defence.⁵ Burckhardt mentions that since the Wahhabi wars with Sharif Ghaib of Mecca, Turaba had fortified it with a wall and a ditch, and the thick forest of date trees in which it was

(1) Op.cit. p.104. (2) Op.cit. p.136. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ibn Ghannam, vol.1. p.54. (5) Burckhardt says: "the town of Taraba, distant from tayf (sic) about seventy or eighty miles, in an easterly direction, was one of the principal strongholds that connected the Wahabys (sic) of Nedja (sic) with those of the Yemen mountains." p.358. (op.cit.)

situated served as an additional defence.¹

Later on, the Sa'udis employed new and different kinds of fortification in defending the passage of al-Safra in 1811. Finati states that the Wahhabis had made such good use of their time in building up rude breast-works of loose stones on the side of the precipice to protect them as they fired, that they were very little exposed to the Turkish musketry, and as for their artillery, because of the nature of the ground the Turks could not make use of that, or bring it at all to bear upon them.²

As regards the Sa'udi fortifications of al-Rass, men capable of holding arms were part of the garrison of al-Rass. Old men, women and children withdrew with their beasts to Shaqra. It was also strengthened by a force sent to their aid by 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud, the Sa'udi chief.³ Thus Ibrahim Pasha arrived before al-Rass on July 9th, 1817, to find the people in no mood for surrender. So he besieged it, the artillery being employed in the action. The guns began firing on the city wall. Breaches effected during the day were tirelessly repaired during the hours of darkness, and mines were set up by the defenders inside the fort in order to reduce the advantage gained by the attackers whose mines posed a threat. After 3 months and 17 days of the siege the inhabitants of al-Rass agreed, together with the Sa'udi governer to an armistice.⁴ It was estimated that

(1) ibid. (2) Narrative of the life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati... who made the Campaigns against the Wahabees, vol.2., vol.1. p.158. Finati says: "For jedeed Bogaz is a defile of very uncommon natural strength, the passage through it being not wider in some parts than just sufficient to let about ten men pass abreast betwixt the bases of two high and steep mountains, so that a very small number might maintain it against a whole host." Op.cit. p.157. (3) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.192; Philby. p.134.
(4) ibid., p.193.

the Turks has lost 3,400 men during the siege, whilst the garrison and people lost 160 dead and some injured. In spite of the fact that the inhabitants of al-Rass were without supplies and were ignorant of the art of war, they managed to repel the Turks and defend themselves courageously.

With regard to the Sa'udi fortifications Mengin observed that the people of Nejd knew the Turkish tactics and so they placed part of their troops inside the cities with all the necessary equipment, thinking that a foreign army coming with provisions for a short siege only, would not be able to resist. They thought that those who were inside the walls of a city had a distinct advantage, whilst those outside had to fire against the stones, not thinking of the Arab proverb 'a blockaded city is a taken city'.¹

On the eve of the fall of al-Rass 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud was making arrangements for the defence of 'Anaiza and its forts against Ibrahim Pasha's advance. So a garrison under Muhammad b. Hasan Mishari b. Sa'ud was stationed at the important Safra fort which was also provisioned and supplied with ammunitions for a long siege. While the fort in the town and the town itself were similarly garrisoned and supplied with ammunitions for a long siege.²

In respect to the Shaqra fortifications, the Emir put the citizens to work on the moat protecting the town, which had begun to resist the advance of Tusun some two years earlier, but had been left unfinished on the signing of the truce between Egypt and the Sa'udis. Even the

(1) Op.cit. p.103. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.193; Philby p.134.

palms along the moat were stripped of their large fronds to avoid the effects of musket fire.¹ This indicates that the Sa'udis were improving their military methods.

Further, regarding the fortification of al-Dar'iyah,² according to Ibn Bishr, Ibrahim Pasha moved down the valley of Wadi Hanifa on 11th March 1818, where he set up his own headquarters at 'Ilb. Facing the Pasha in the Wadi was the main body of yeomen from Al-Dar'iyah itself and other Nejd settlements under the command of 'AbdAllah's three brothers, who had only three mortars with which to confront the powerful artillery of the enemy. On their right, north eastward, lay two other brothers of 'AbdAllah, with their Dar'iyah troops covering the mouth of Shaib Mughaisiba, while next to them was the Manfuha contingent under its chief. Between this defence line and the Hariq contingent, covering the Samhan gate at the north end of the citadel, 'AbdAllah himself took up his position inside the wall with some heavy artillery. All these positions formed the front line of defence, directly confronting the similar dispositions of Ibrahim Pasha's army, while behind them, right back to the lower end of the oasis,

(1) Ibid; Philby, p.135.

(2) Philby says: "The Dar'iyah oasis lay in the deep valley of Wadi Hanifa, some 500 yards wide on the average and extending about four miles from north to south, with dense palm-groves on either side of the flood channel to the 100 foot cliffs on both banks. In the groves lay a number of hamlets or villages occupied by the bulk of the permanent population, while above them towered the citadel of Turaif, perched on a projection of the cliff on the right bank and occupied by the palaces and mansions of the Sa'ud family and their retainers, the mosques and other amenities of an Arab town. The citadel was separated from the adjacent right bank by a deep gully, on the other side of which sprawled a suburb of mean huts and buildings in which lived the artisans and other folk of low degree. Outside this suburb a wall, dotted with towers and turrets, ran across the base of a wide eastward bulge of the wadi, while a similar and considerably longer wall followed the cliff line of the eastern or left bank of the valley in a shallow arc." Saudi Arabia., p.138.

every strong-point, turret and ditch was manned by the grey beards and other elements of the population unfit to bear the brunt of battle.

The hillock of Qurain was strongly held with artillery by another first cousin of 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud.

On the western bank of the Wadi and in the front line of defence, 'AbdAllah b.'Abd 'l-'Aziz held the Samha fort with a fixed force; next to him and covering the mouth of Shaib al-Hariq, lay another brother of 'AbdAllah and several princes. Farther up stream the mouth of Shaib Ghubaira was held by Turki's son. Behind these positions (still on the right bank), lay 'AbdAllah's brother Mishari, occupying the 'Id prayer-ground on the encampment behind the western suburb. The banks of Shaib Safa were held by Sa'ud b.'AbdAllah to prevent any attempt of the enemy to come in by the rear on that side.¹

(1) Ibn Bishr, pp.198-202; Philby, pp.138-139.

E. - Treaties.

The treaty is a form of 'aqd (a contract) signifying an agreement on a certain act which has the object of creating peace.¹ Thus the Sa'udis made a variety of treaties and contracts which may be arranged under the following headings:

- 1 - Examples of treaties with villages and towns.
- 2 - Cases in which they faced a dangerous situation.
- 3 - Payment of annual tribute.
- 4 - Frontiers to be inviolable: pilgrims to be allowed to go to Mecca.
- 5 - If either side could not defeat the other, special arrangements were to be made.
- 6 - The treaty regarding ransoming prisoners.
- 7 - The Turco-Sa'udi treaty.
- 8 - Subordinate leaders to be authorized to make treaties.

To begin with that which was concluded with the villages and towns. For example, when the people of the Mahmal district offered their submission to Shaikh Muhammad b. 'Abdal-Wahhab and Muhammad b. Sa'ud in 1172 A.H. (1758), it was accepted on condition that they should give up half of their field crops and the income from the product.² In another case, 'Abd al-'Aziz made a raid against al-Qasab in 1172 A.H. which resulted, after useless resistance, in the population making their submission to the Sa'udi state, provided that they paid 300 Ahmar, in consideration of their date-palm estates.³

(1) M. Khaduri, p.203. Op.cit.
(3) Ibid. p.56.

(2) Ibn Ghannam, vol.1. pp.55-6.

In consequence of the apostas² of the people of al-Sudair and Munaikh in 1191 A.H., Sa'ud led an expedition in order to subdue them. However, after the usual skirmishes, they agreed to surrender to the Sa'udi yoke, Sa'ud, in return, excused them from any exemplary punishment on condition that responsible persons such as Juwaiser al-Husaini were exiled.¹

Another kind of peace treaty was concluded with their bitter enemy Dahham b. Dawas who sent a messenger to al-Dar'iyah in 1753-4, with gifts of horses and firearms in order to suggest a truce to stop the fighting and to assure the Sa'udi chief of his loyalty to the Sa'udi faith. He also asked that a teacher be sent to Riyadh.²

2 - Muhammad b. 'Abdal Wahhab and Muhammad b. Sa'ud concluded a treaty with the lord of Najran by which they were to pay him a sum of money to ward off attack, because the Sa'udi state was still weak at the beginning of its rising.³ The circumstances were as follows:-

The ruler of Najran advanced against al-Dar'iyah in 1764. Reaching the village and oasis of al-Hair al -Subai' in Wadi Hanifa, where he set about besieging the villages, news arrived of 'Abd al-'Aziz being on the march with a large force of Sa'udis. The Najranis immediately deployed to meet the Sa'udis, and the desperate battle which ensued resulted in the discomfiture of 'Abdal-'Aziz and his force, who fled in disorder, suffering heavy casualties. Philby comments thus: "Nevertheless this

(1) ibid. p.101.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.36.

(3) ibid., p.57.

triumphant challenge to the Wahhabi cause, coming as it did from the despised and detested schisms of Najran and al-Ahsa, must have been a bitter blow to the founder of Wahhabism; and the shadow of the tragedy must have darkened the last days of Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, who was now near the end of his long and honourable career. Their immediate reaction to the dangerous situation which had developed was perhaps rather surprising. Instead of girding up their loins to avenge the humiliating defeat, they decided to negotiate a settlement with the victor, who had indeed reached the neighbourhood of Riyadh in his advance on the capital."¹

3 - Another type of treaty forced the enemy to pay annual tribute to the Sa'udi state. For example, the Sultan of Muscat concluded a treaty with the Sa'udi state in 1808 in the following terms:-²

First, that Sayyid Baar should possess, without molestation, the kingdom of Muscat, but should send annually to al-Dar'iyah a tribute of 50,000 dollars,

Second, that a consul from Sa'ud should constantly reside at Muscat, to take care that the citizens duly observed all the rites and ceremonies of the Wahhabi sect.

Third, that 400 Sa'udi cavalry should occupy the neighbourhood of Burka, to prevent any infraction of the treaty.

4 - The Sa'udis concluded a treaty with the Sharif Ghalib in 1797, for a variety of reasons; first, in order to allow the Sa'udis

(1) Saudi Arabia, p.58

(2) Shaikh Mansur, pp.5-6.

to go on pilgrimage, secondly to stop frequent violations of the frontiers.¹

5 - A treaty was concluded between the Sa'udis government and the Iraqi Pasha in consequence of the fact that 'Ali Kaikhiya was retreating from al-Hasa, halted at the wells of Shibak nearby, and was attacked by Sa'ud. However, after some days had passed in desultory skirmishing by both sides, they came to an agreement to the effect that the Turks should return home unmolested.²

On the other hand, Raymond says that the Wahhabis were surprised to see themselves besieged by ten or twelve thousand men and asked for an armistice of one month to decide whether to give up the castle. But they only wanted to gain time and flatter 'Ali Pasha; for when the time limit expired, they did not keep their promise and the siege began. The cannon fired at the castle, the shells did much damage, and seeing how things were going, and ^{that} the fall of the castle was imminent, 'Abd al-'Aziz, realizing the danger which threatened him and the impossibility of a long resistance, tried to stave off with gold what he could not hold back by force of arms. To do this, he communicated with Muhammad al-Shawi, whom he knew to be a man entirely devoted to his own interest and with whom he had had a very active correspondence all through the siege. 'Abdal'Aziz gave him large presents to persuade 'Ali Kaikhiya to desist from the siege.³

6 - This kind of treaty was concluded during the reign of

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.128.

(2) Ibn Bishr. p.127.

(3) Op.cit. p.13.

Muhammad b.Sa'ud, with the lord of Najran, namely Fida (ransom).¹ The purpose of this treaty was to release the Sa'udi prisoners of war by paying a certain amount of money.

7 - Sa'udis concluded the following treaty with Tusun Pasha in 1815. First, that the Sa'udis should give up their new maxims and follow the parties of the true believers. (Turks and Egyptian).² Second, they were to submit to the Porte's commands and if 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud was called to Constantinople, he ought not to refuse to go there.³

Third, to give al-Dar'iyah to whomever Muhammad 'Ali Pasha should appoint.⁴

Fourth, they were to give back all they had removed from the Prophet's tomb.⁵

Fifth, they were to guarantee communications and the pilgrims' passage.⁶

Finally they were to obey the governor of Medina.⁷

Mengin comments on 'AbdAllah's surrender to this treaty. " 'AbdAllah's conduct here is characterised by its ignorance and faint-heartedness. He could see before his eyes the last of his enemies dying; far from profiting from the advantages of his position, he put himself under the yoke by a shameful treaty."⁸

8 - The treaty making power rested in the hands of the

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.57.

(2) Mengin, vol.2. p.44.

(3) Al-Rafa'i, p.151

(4) Ibid, p.151; Mengin, ibid.

(5) Al-Rafa'i, ibid.

(6) Ibid, p.152.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Mengin, vol.2. p.48.

Sa'udi chief, but this power was frequently delegated to the commanders in the field, who were empowered to negotiate treaties with the enemy. So we find that Mutlak al-Mutairi concluded the following treaty with the British (Bombay Government).¹

First, that neither the Sa'udis, nor their tributaries, should in future molest any British ship or subject.

Second, that the British government should offer no assistance to Sayyid Sa'id, the Sultan of Muscat, in the unjust war he had provoked, by throwing off his allegiance and refusing to pay the stipulated tribute.

Hence the general purpose of these treaties was to force various villages and towns to the Wahhabi faith, and furthermore to reduce the powers of their enemies.

Owing to the fact that no actual treaty is known to have survived in writing and the reports of contemporaries are meagre, we still lack much information about the actual provisions of these treaties and about the writing materials used, the phraseology, the modes of address and the divine invocation and so on.

(1) Shaikh Mansur, p.67

IV - A. 1 - Commerce in the Hejaz in the age of the Wahhabis.

The subject of commerce may be divided into two parts as follows:-

A) Internal trade. B) Foreign trade.

To start with, we deal with the internal trade which was nearly all in raw materials, primary agricultural produce such as dates, honey, sea-salt, rock-salt, wheat, barley, fruits, vegetables and butter. The dates were brought by the 'Ataiba tribe. - Burckhardt states that the importation of dates is uninterrupted during the whole year.¹ The sea-salt was collected near Jidda, while the rock-salt was brought by the Bedouin from some mountains in the neighbourhood of Taif.² The wheat and barley were produced in the mountains of Taif and also the honey.³ Fruit and vegetables were brought from Taif and Wadi Fatima.⁴

But the quantities in question were so very limited that they did not cover the necessary needs of the inhabitants, as well as the pilgrims who came here every year.

With regard to the foreign trade, we can divide it into the following categories:

First - raw materials, Second - manufactured goods.

The raw materials can be arranged according to the importing countries.

1) The Yemen: Grains, coffee-beans, coffee, dried grapes and corn were imported from the Yemen.⁵

(1) Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia. vol.1.p.157.p.56. (2) ibid. p.65.
(3) Ibid., pp.156-7. Burckhardt writes: "The Hedjaz abounds with honey in every part of the mountains. The best comes from those which are inhabited by the Nowaszera Bedouins, to the south of Tayf". ibid., pp.53-4.
(4) Ibid. p.225. (5) Ibid., pp.61,204.

2) India: Sugar, rice, tea, teak-timber, cocoa-nut oil, cocoa-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and turmeric were imported from India.¹

3) Egypt: Sugar was imported in small quantities. Rice was imported from Egypt, but the inhabitants preferred the Indian rice because it was cheaper.² Apart from these, all provisions such as butter, biscuits, onions, wheat, barley, beans, lentils, dhura, and tobacco were imported from Egypt.³ Burckhardt states that the Mejaz might truly be said to depend upon Egypt for corn.⁴ Wellested writes: "As the barren soil of Arabia produces but few supplies of grains, and is utterly incapable of supporting the crowd of pilgrims that flows to Mecca during the Hajj season, Egypt, from an early period, has contributed to supply its wants."⁵

4) Syria: Soap came from Syria, and Burckhardt mentions that very little Syrian tobacco found its way across the Red Sea.⁶

5) Sawakin: Dhura and butter were imported from Sawakin.⁷

6) Muscat: Dates, carpets and spices were imported.⁸

According to the above-mentioned facts it is clear that the importations from Egypt and the Yemen were basic needs, whilst the importations from India contained a good deal of luxury goods.

(1) Ibid., pp.61,204; Wellested, Travels in Arabia, vol.2.p.273; Von Neimans, The Red Sea and the Coastal Lands in the year 1857 etc. p.398.

(2) Burckhardt p.68. (3) Ibid.,p.62; Neimans, ibid.,; The Red Sea at the close of the Seventeenth century, p.63. (4) Ibid. p.62.

(5) Ibid.,p.277. Also Varthema (p.37) notes the dependence of Mecca and Jidda upon Egypt for food, and Burton supports these facts: "This is still correct. Suez supplies Jeddah with corn and other provisions." Vol.2.,p.347.

(6) Burckhardt, pp.66,50.

(7) Ibid., pp.61,52.

(8) Neimans, p.398.

Secondly, the manufacturing materials:

Division in terms of the originating country may be followed for the raw materials.

1) Egypt: the following sorts of manufactured goods were imported from Egypt: woollen cloaks (abay), sheets (mellay), cotton, quilts, linen for shirts, slippers, shoes and copper vessels. We observe that they contain basic needs, such as linen for shirts.¹

2) India: The importations from India were: China-ware, pipe-heads, wooden spoons, knives, glass beads, rosaries, mirrors, and cards.² It is clear that they largely comprised luxury goods.

3) Turkey: from Turkey were imported the following: Turkish dress, swords, English watches, copies of the Qur'an and Turkish carpets,³ which we note largely consisted of luxury goods. Burckhardt mentions that all the Meccan and Jiddan merchants wore watches, many of which were of good English manufacture. They were brought either from India or by the pilgrims from Constantinople.⁴

To these it is necessary to add the silks, mixed materials, cotton materials, dates and tobaccos and cloths coming by caravan from Syria and Egypt.⁵ In addition to this, practically all of the pilgrims started out with the merchandise of their native countries so as to sell them in the Hejaz. Burckhardt mentions that few pilgrims, except the mendicants, arrived without bringing some products of their respective countries for

(1) Burckhardt, pp.35,78,76; Neimans, p.398. (2) Burckhardt, p.69.

(3) Ibid, p.212. (4) ibid., p.80. (5) Neimans, p.398.

sale, and this remark was applicable to the merchants, with whom commercial pursuits were the main object, as well as to those who were actuated by religious zeal; for the latter, the profits derived from selling a few native articles at Mecca diminished, in some degree, the heavy expenses of the journey.¹

For example, the Maghribin brought their red bonnets and woollen cloaks; the European Turks brought shoes and slippers, hardware, embroidered stuff, sweetmeats, amber, trinkets of European manufacture, knit silk purses; the Turks of Anatolia brought carpets, silks and Ankara shawls. The Persians brought cashmere shawls and large silk handkerchiefs; the Afghans, toothbrushes and coarse shawls manufactured in their own country. But the Indians brought numerous products of their rich and extensive region; the people of the Yemen, smakes² for the Persian pipes, sandals, and various other works in leather, and the Africans brought various articles.²

However, the pilgrims were often disappointed in their expectation of gain, because their want of money made them hastily sell their little possessions at the public auctions, and often obliged them to accept very low prices. (It should be noted here that no official statistics are available on the exports and imports of the Hejaz.)

Customers:

Customers may be grouped into: 1) Locals, who may be classed as a) Settlers of towns, b) Bedouin. 2) Pilgrims.

Town settlers seem to have bought a good deal of the imported goods. No doubt the requirements of more sophisticated life placed a new emphasis on luxury goods, hence there would have been a growing demand for

(1) Burckharat, vol.2. p.21.

(2) Ibid, p.22.

the wares of other regions and countries.

With respect to the Bedouin, we find them buying coffee, woollen striped cloaks, glass-beads, dresses, and copper vessels. Also there was intercourse between Nejd and the Hejaz, since the inhabitants of Nejd were in want of Indian goods, drugs and articles of dress, which they procured either from Medina or at a cheaper rate from Mecca.¹

Pilgrims purchased at Mecca the spices, pearls, coffee of Arabia, shawls and pepper imported from India, and copies of the Qur'an. Besides, the coffee ships from the Yemen took a few articles of Egyptian manufacture in return, as Mellayes, linen stuffs for shirts, and glass-beads.² Burckhardt states that the important sales were mostly for cash money.

Traders.

These may be divided into three kinds: 1) Indians. 2) Turks.

3) Natives. To begin with the Indians, we find that all druggists in the Hejaz were natives of East India. In addition to the fact that they dealt in all kinds of drugs, they sold wax-candles, paper and sugar. Thus Burckhardt states that the shops, where small articles of Indian goods were sold, dealt in nothing but Indian piece-goods.³

On the other hand, we find, according to Burckhardt, that many shops in Mecca, especially at Masa'a, were kept by Turks from Europe or from Asia Minor, who sold various articles of Turkish dress and swords, English watches, and copies of the Qur'an.⁴

(1) Ibid. vol.1. pp.345-6.

(2) Ibid. p.35.

(3) Ibid. p.69.

(4) Ibid. p.212.

In addition to Indians and Turks there were the natives.

However, it appears that almost all the principal merchants in Jidda carried on a retail business in their houses, while we find that the other merchants of Jidda, except Indian merchants, engaged in every branch of commerce.¹

With regard to the merchants of Mecca, we find that they also engaged in every branch of commerce, but the people who were not sufficiently opulent to trade in Indian goods employed their capital during the interval of the pilgrimage, particularly in the traffic of corn and provisions.²

Communications.

The means of communication may be divided into:

- a) Inland traffic (by means of animals like the camel and donkey).
- b) Marine traffic.

In dealing with the first part it is advisable to point out that the Hejaz had commercial intercourse in its own territories as well as with its neighbours. Therefore, we may say that the intercourse between the Hejaz and its territories was carried on as follows:-

- 1) The transport between Jidda and Medina in the course of which the caravans departed for Medina, principally with goods and drugs; however, the intercourse between Jidda and Medina was more commonly carried on by the intermediate route of Yanbu' by sea.³
- 2) The transport between Jidda and Mecca: the caravans departed for Mecca almost every evening with goods and provisions.⁴ Burckhardt mentions

(1) Burckhardt p.72. (2) Ibid. pp.345-6. (3) Ibid. pp.45-7. He also states that these caravans consisted of from sixty to one hundred camels, and were conducted by the Harb Bedouins.

(4) Ibid.

that the loaded camels took two nights to perform the journey.

In addition to these caravans there was a small caravan of asses which started out also every evening, and performed the journey of fifteen or sixteen hours in one night, arriving regularly at Mecca early in the morning.¹

3) The transport trade to Medina from Yanbu' occupied many people, and all the merchants of the former had their agents among the people of Yanbu'.²

In addition to this it is possible that there was transport trade to Taif from Mecca and from Taif to Mecca.

With regard to intercourse with its neighbours, we find that there was transport trade from Nejd to Medina, especially in time of peace. So caravans arrived at Medina from Nejd especially from Qasim.³ As to the south Burckhardt mentions that caravans were occasionally met with on the sea coast towards the Yemen whence goods were imported.⁴

b) Communication by sea may be discussed in terms of internal and external, the internal between Jidda and Medina, as we have already mentioned.

The external communications may be described under three heads:-

(1) Ibid., He writes about the transport charges: "When camels abound, the hire of one for Djidda to Mekka is from twenty to twenty-five piastres. In time of scarcity, or at the approach of the Hadj, from sixty to seventy piastres are paid. During my stay, the hire of an ass from Djidda to Mekka was twenty piastres. These prices would be considered enormous in any other part of the Levant. Only fifteen piastres are paid for a camel from Cairo to Suez, which is double the distance between Djidda and Mekka."

(2) Ibid., vol.2. p.333. (3) Ibid., vol.2. p.251. (4) Ibid., vol.1. p.45.

1) With India: the fleet of Indian goods, principally from Calcutta, Surat and Bombay reached Jidda at the beginning of May, when they found the merchants already prepared for them, having collected as many dollars and sequins as their circumstances permitted, so that they might effect wholesale bargains at the very moment of the arrival of the ships.¹ On their return they took off a considerable quantity of the paste (Masawik), which was sold at great profit among the Muslims of Hindustan.²

2) There was intercourse between Jidda and Egypt by sea in order to carry the Egyptian products and the Yemeni coffee.³ On their return to Egypt the traders took off goods. William Daniel says: "To which port belongs about 40 sails of ships, who trade every year between that place (Suez) and Judda (sic); Their outward merchandise being little or nothing but provisions and pieces of eight, and their return all sorts of spices, muslins, silks, precious stones, pearls and amber-grease, musk, coffee vessels which come yearly from India to Mocha and Judda, and transported by land on camels to Cairo and Alexandria."⁴

3) There was intercourse between Yanbu' and Egypt which was frequently by sea. In addition to this there was further trade with the Bedouin of the Nejaz.

Commercial Centres.

We shall begin with Jidda because of its importance.

(1) Ibid. vol.1.p.32. (2) ibid.p.57. This (Masawik) is a small stick (the tip of which is softened by chewing or heating) used for cleaning and polishing the teeth. (3) Ibid. vol.2. p.330.

(4) The Red Sea. pp.63-4. It was reported that Egypt served as the main channel through which these goods were flowed to the Ottoman Empire and to Europe. Relations between the government of India and the Sharif of Mecca. J.R.A. parts 1,2. April 1965. p.33.

1 - A - The Commercial position of Jidda.

The people of Jidda were almost entirely engaged in commerce. They were all either sea-faring people, traders by sea, or engaged in traffic with Arabia. Thus Burckhardt mentions that Jidda derived its opulence not only from being the port of Mecca, but it might also be considered as that of Egypt and of Arabia.¹ According to the Handbook of Arabia² Jidda, as the port of Mecca, is the trading centre of the Hejaz, and has become in consequence the most considerable place on the coast of the Red Sea. In normal times it maintains a regular volume of commerce, not only with other Arabian ports and with the Persian Gulf, but also with India, Egypt, and Africa.³ As we have just mentioned, Jidda might be considered as the port of Egypt. We notice too, that all the exports for Egypt first passed through the hands of the Jidda merchants. Moreover, the merchants of Jidda used to send Indian goods to Cairo to be sold for their own benefits. Burckhardt says: "Large sums also were sent hither by Cairo merchants to purchase goods on their account; but the cargoes for the greater part are bought up by the merchants of Djidda, who afterwards send them to Cairo to be sold for their own advantage".⁴

(1) "The foundations of Djidda's importance were laid in 26/646 by the Caliph 'Uthman, who chose it as the port of Mecca in place of the older port of al-Shu'ayba a little to the south. As the focus of the Muslim world, Mecca became a great importing centre, its supplies coming from Egypt and India via Djudda. By the 4th/10th century Djudda was a prosperous commercial town and its customs were a considerable source of revenue to the rulers of al-Hidjaz. In addition, taxes were levied on pilgrims at Djudda, for it was here that those who came by sea landed on Arabian soil. With the decline of the 'Abb'asid Caliphate, much of the trade formerly going to al-Basra was diverted to Djudda, where ships from Egypt, carrying gold, metals and woollens from Europe, met those from India carrying spices, ayes, rice, sugar, tea, grain, and precious stones. Djudda exacted about ten per cent ad valorem on these goods." El. New. vol.1. p.572. Op.cit. vol.1.p.29
(2) Compiled by the Geographical section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty, London. vol.1. (3) Vol.1.p.101. (4) Op.cit. p.33.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the number of ships belonging to the merchants of Jidda was very great. According to Burckhardt, Jidda had two hundred and fifty ships belonging either to merchants of the town, or to owners, who navigated them and who considered the port as their principal home.¹ It is interesting to add that even Sharif Ghalib had two ships which were engaged in Indian trade, and many smaller vessels in the coffee trade to the Yemen.²

B. As regards the principal merchants of Jidda, Burckhardt states that the two greatest merchants in Jidda were Djeylany and Sakkart, both of Moroccan origin, and whose grandfathers first settled here and were known to possess from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand pounds Sterling. In addition to this, several Indians acquired capital nearly as great, and these were upwards of a dozen, possessing from forty to fifty thousand pounds Sterling.³

C. It is necessary to say a few words about ^{the} system of sales and purchases. According to Burckhardt sales and purchases were made of entire ship's cargoes in the course of half an hour, and the next day the money was paid down. Thus the greater part of the merchandise was shipped for Suez, and sold at Cairo, whence it would find its way to the Mediterranean.⁴

2 - Mecca: This town owed its importance to its position as a commercial centre of exchange because it possessed the Ka'aba.⁵ So in spite

(1) Ibid., pp.42-3. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid., pp.29-30. (4) Ibid., p.35.
(5) Traditions show that even before the advent of the Prophet Mecca was noted for its mercantile activity. Thus the shorter Encyclopedia of Islam says "on examining closely the picturesque literature of the Sira and Hadith, one receives the impression of an intense (370) business activity bursting out of the narrow and striae valley of Mecca." S.E.I. p.369-70.

of the fact that its soil was unproductive, goods were imported from all parts of the Muslim world. Thus, for example, we might see rice, drugs, spices and other goods from India, grain and other Egyptian products in its market.

In addition to this the traders from all parts of the Muslim world brought their goods to Mecca in order to obtain a good profit. Thus according to a report on the commerce of Arabia and Persia, some of the pilgrims were rich merchants of Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other cities, who furnished themselves with valuable investments of goods proper, for the consumption of Arabia, and for the Indian markets and with large sums of money in Venetian and German crowns, and, repairing to Damascus, there joined the caravan, which annually proceeds to Mecca, with commercial aims.¹

As a result of this prosperous trade the Meccans obtained a good deal of profit, which Burckhardt estimated from twenty to thirty per cent during the pilgrimage. But if the goods sold in retail they might receive fifty per cent. Therefore it is not surprising that all the people of Mecca were merchants.²

Those who were not sufficiently opulent to trade in Indian goods employed their capital during the fair of the pilgrimage, in the traffic of corn and provisions.³

(1) Report, *vol. 4; Egypt and the Red Sea*, vol. 6. The pilgrimage was not merely an occasion of religious devotion but also one of the main commercial events in the Ottoman Empire.

(2) Burckhardt, vol. 1. p. 345.

(3) ibid.

3 - Yanbu': As Jidda was considered to be the port of Mecca, Yanbu' may be considered the port of Medina. Daniel says: "Jembo is the sea port town of that famous city Medina."¹ Thus it is not surprising that the transport trade to Medina occupied many people, and all the merchants of Medina had their agents among the people of Yanbu'.² It is worth noting that Yanbu' possessed about forty to fifty ships engaged in all branches of the Red Sea trade.³ For example, there was frequently intercourse between Yanbu' and Egypt.

In addition to this there was other trade with the Bedouin of the Hejaz and Nejd.

(1) The Red Sea, p.67. Burton writes: "Yambu' being the port of El-Medinah, as Jeddah is of Meccan, is supported by a considerable transport trade and extensive imports from the harbours on the western coasts of the Red Sea; it supplies its chief town with grain, dates, and henna." Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah. p.157.

(2) Burckhardt, vol.2. p.330.

(3) Ibid.

The organization of commerce.

According to Burckhardt, the Indian merchants had clerks in Jidda;¹ with regard to the rest of ^{the} merchants of Jidda and Mecca, we have not so much information, but we can assume that the great merchants of both towns had clerks, without whom they could surely not have administered their business.

On the other hand, it is necessary to point out that banking concerns and bills of exchange were wholly unknown among the locals,² but there were money changers. Burckhardt writes: "The price of dollars and sequins fluctuates almost daily, and the Serafs are always sure to be gainers."³

In addition to the above-mentioned facts there was credit, but it was not common, because the Islamic law forbids riba (usury) in any shape or form, and is consequently opposed to the charging and taking of interest on loans. This is based on the following Qur'anic Verses:- "Believers, devour not the riba with continual doubling; fear God, perhaps it will go well with you" (Sura iii.130). "Those who devour riba shall only rise again as one whom Satan strikes with his touch; This because they say, Selling is like usury; but Allah has permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who receives a warning from his Lord and abstains shall have pardon for what is past and his affairs is with Allah; but they who relapse to usury are the people of Hell; they shall remain in it for ever. Allah abolishes usury and makes alms bring interest; Allah loveth

(1) Op.cit. vol.1.p.72

(2) ibid. p.74.

(3) Ibid. pp.81-2.

no sinful unbeliever.... Believers, fear Allah and remit the balance of the riba if ye be believers. But if ye do not, be prepared for war from Allah and his apostle. If ye repent ye shall receive your capital without doing an injustice or suffering injustice. If anyone is in difficulty, let there be a delay till he is able to pay, but it is better for you to remit if ye be wise" (Sura ii. 275-280.)¹

There was also at Mecca and Jidda a public officer (Muhtasib), whose task was the supervision of the sale of provisions, and the prevention of extortionate price charging.² Tritton writes: "He was inspector of markets and censor of morals. It was his duty to see that public worship was duly maintained, public order was not disturbed, that traders used correct weights and measures, and sold pure and unadulterated goods."³

In respect of the system of consignment it appears, however, that when a merchant consigned a considerable quantity of goods to a place, he would send a partner with them, or perhaps a relative if he had not a partner resident in the place.⁴

The Income of the Hejaz.

According to Burckhardt the public revenue of Jidda arose almost entirely from the custom dues, called 'ushr or tithes. This was a legal charge of ten per cent upon all imported goods.⁵ This was also employed in Yanbu'.⁶ In addition to this Sharif Ghalib also levied a

(1) S.E.I. p.471. (2) Burckhardt, op.cit. vol.2.p.250. (3) Islam, p.113.
(4) Ibid. vol.1.p.74. (5) Ibid. p.93-4. (6) Wellsted, op.cit. vol.2.p.215.

tax upon all cattle and provisions carried from the interior of the country into Jidda and Mecca, Taif, and Yanbu'.¹

Some idea of the amount of revenue coming from tax may be gained from the following price list published by Burckhardt.² Since there are no percentage figures for the income by the 'ushr', this list may be regarded as our only source of information.

The current price of provisions at Mekka in December, 1814,

was as follows:-

	Piastres.	Paras.
1 lb. of beef	2	10
1 lb. of mutton	2	0
1 lb. of camel's flesh	1	0
1 lb. of butter	5	0
1 lb. of fresh unsalted cheese	3	0
A fowl	6	0
An egg	0	8
1 lb. of milk	2	0
1 lb. of vegetables, viz. leek, spinach, turnips, radishes, calabashes, egg-plants, green onions, petrosiles.		30
A small, round, flat, loaf of bread		20

(1) Burckhardt, op.cit. vol.2.p.436. (2) Op.cit.vol.1.pp.450-2.

	Piastres.	Paras.
1 lb. of dry biscuits		32
1 lb. of raisins from Tayf	1	20
1 lb. of dates	0	25
1 lb. of sugar (Indian)	2	10
1 lb. of coffee	2	20
A pomegranate	0	15
An orange	0	15
A lemon (the size of a walnut, the same species as the Egyptian lemon)		10
1 lb. of good Syrian tobacco	6	0
1 lb. of common tobacco	1	30
1 lb. of tombact, or tobacco for the Persian pipe	3	0
1 keyle of wheat	3	0
1 keyle of flour	3	20
1 keyle of Indian rice	3	0
1 keyle of lentils from Egypt	2	30
1 keyle of dried locusts	1	0
A skin of water	1	20
As much wood as will cook two dishes	0	20
A labourer for the day	3	0
A porter for going in town the distance of half a mile	1	0
Common wages of servants, besides clothes and food, per month	30	0
Wages of craftsmen, as smiths, carpenters, per day, besides food.	5	0

The Hejazi Currency.

According to Burckhardt the Hejaz had no currency, but the current coins in the Hejaz are Venetian and Hungarian sequins, Spanish dollars, and money coined at Constantinople, such as: The Para, or a small Turkish coin called Diwany in the Hejaz which was circulated all over the Hejaz and was in great demand because it was of more intrinsic value than the Piastre.¹

As regards the value of the dollar, Burckhardt mentioned that it fluctuated between twelve and nine piastres,² but during the Saudi rule Ali Bey states that its value was four and a half piastres. As to the Para, Burckhardt also stated that forty Paras made a piastre; but in the time of the pilgrimage, when small change was necessary for the crowded pilgrims, the price fell to twenty five paras only in change for a piastre.³

(1) Op.cit., Vol.1.p.82. (2) Ibid. p.451; Ali Bey, trav. vol.2. p.97.

(3) Ibid., p.83. This practice in another Semitic area is well known from the New Testament - John ii. 14 ff.

Conclusion.

According to the above scanty information, it is obvious that the Hejaz did not produce enough provisions to cover the necessary needs of the inhabitants; therefore, it depended on importation from outside.

Thus the principal importers were Egypt and India; from the former the basic goods, such as food and clothes, were imported, whilst from the latter the imported goods were largely luxury goods such as spices, sugar, rice and various kinds of perfumes.

Arising from the fact that the Hejaz is the region of the holy cities of the Muslim people, it is not surprising that most of the inhabitants were engaged in trade, either by retail or wholesale, because the Hejaz is the rendezvous of pilgrims from all over the world, who buy some articles as presents in order to present them to their relatives and friends, when they return to their homelands.

The following is a summary of the above-mentioned facts:-

1) Importations were from:

a - Egypt. b - India. c - Turkey. d - The Yemen.

2) Customers were: A) Locals who may be divided into:

i - Bedouin. ii - The settlers of towns. iii - Pilgrims.

3) The traders were: (1) Indians. (2) Turks. (3) Others (locals).

4) Means of transport were: (A) By caravan - i - Yemen. ii - Nejd.

iii - Mecca and Medina.

(B) By sea. (a) Jidda with the following:

India, Egypt, the Yemen, Sudan.

(b) Yanbu', with Jidda and Egypt.

- 5) The trading centres were Jidda, Mecca, and Yanbu'.
- 6) Organization of business: the great Indian merchants had clerks; some of the merchants had agents.
- 7) Specialization. There were big merchant houses which sold by wholesale, but the small traders usually by retail only.
- 8) Cash money was confined to the Indian goods.
- 9) There was no banking or cheques.
- 10) Credit was not common.
- 11) There was a public officer to watch over the sale of provisions.
- 12) The custom was fixed at ten per cent.

A)2 - Economic Conditions of Nejd.

These may be divided into the following types:

I) A - Agriculture and B - Livestock.

A - Cultivation in Nejd is dependent partly on the local rainfall and partly on the wells. So if the rain did not fall, the food would be scarce, and obviously prices would be high. For example, owing to the failure of the winter rains in 1783, the whole of Nejd was in the agony of a severe drought, destined to continue well into the year 1786, with scarcity, high prices and sickness in its train. But when the drought broke with the seasonal rains of 1786, their effect was felt in the bountiful crops which followed, and prices fell rapidly.¹ In 1809 economic conditions were appreciably improved as the result of a rainy season. The price of wheat, which was 4 Sa'⁴per Riyal,² fell to 10 Sa' per Riyal, and dates from 11 Wazna per Riyal to 30 Wazna⁵per Riyal.³

The principal products were dates, corn, wheat, barley, lucerne, dhura; minor crops included pomegranates, citrus fruits and many vegetables. The dates were extensively cultivated in most parts of Nejd.⁶ For example, Sadleir mentions that both Manfuha and Riyadh were amply supplied with water from deep wells. In addition to this the cotton plant

(1) Ibn Bishr, pp.87-9; Philby S.A. pp. (4-5) (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.148-52; Philby pp.116-7.

(3) The word Riyal is from Spanish real, eight of which made up a Spanish peso (piece of eight) or dollar. The designation of the word was transferred by the Arabians from the smaller unit, the real proper, to the larger, the peso or dollar. (Winder: Saudi Arabia, p.89).

(4) According to Doughty, vol.2. p.132, The capacity of the Sa' varied from two to five pints. According to Mengin (11, p.172) the Sa' would be approximately equivalent to six pints.

(5) The word Wazna means weight. It was approximately equivalent to a pound and thirteen ounces (Mengin. vol.2. p.172., Winder, p.90).

(6) Diary p.64.

was to be found in the gardens of the neighbourhood of Riyadh and Manfuha.¹ In irrigated gardens surrounding the cities of central Nejd, the peach, grape, fig, pomegranate, apricot and lemon were cultivated, besides the prevailing date-palms. Thus Sadleir specifically mentions that the gardens of al-Dar'iyah produced apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates; and dates were of a very fine quality, citrons are mentioned as well as many other fruit trees.²

B - With regard to Livestock, we find that Nejd produced the following: A) Sheep and goats which were numerous in almost every part of Arabia.³ B) Horses. C) Camels, which were used throughout Arabia in every kind of territory.⁴

II) Trade:-

The people of Nejd had commercial dealings among themselves and with their close neighbours. Thus Niebuhr says, "I have, however, learned that the inhabitants of Nedjed (sic) carry on a considerable trade among themselves and with their immediate neighbours."⁵

The subject of Trade may be arranged under the following headings:-

(a) internal trade.

(b) Foreign trade.

To begin with internal trade, it is clear from the agriculture and livestock section above that they exchanged (i) their primary agricultural products such as dates, corn, wheat, barley, fruit and vegetables. (ii) their livestock such as camels, horses, sheep and goats.

(1) Ibid., p.62-3.

(2) Ibid., p.66.

(3) Western Arabia, p.504.

(4) Ibid., p.499.

(5) vol.2. p.129.

(iii) their raw materials, such as wool, butter and leather.

Second, foreign trade, which may be considered under:

(A) Import trade, (B) Export trade.

With regard to import trade, we find that the Wahhabis imported articles from the following countries:-

1) The Yemen, from which they imported coffee, gum, and chewing-gum.¹ Less frequently they imported Indian goods from the commercial centre or emporium of the Yemen, such as: sugar, cardamum, pink, cenella, curcuma and spices.²

2) Syria:- They imported from Aleppo silk and raw material such as copper, iron, and lead.³ And in case of a rainless year they (especially the inhabitants of Hail and Qasim) sought for food and provisions in Mesopotamia.⁴ This detail is based on the information of Wallin who visited Arabia in 1845.

3) The Hejaz: They obtained Indian goods such as drugs, articles of dress, silver, oil from Medina or (at a cheaper rate) from Mecca.⁵

4) Iraq: They received from Baghdad and Basra the following articles:- lances, picks, rifles, cannon, lead and cloaks ('Aba'a').⁶

5) Muscat: The businessmen received through Muscat Indian goods such as spices and probably domestic materials.⁷

6) The ports of al-Qatif and al-'Uqair were the harbours of central Arabia through which sugar, coffee, spices, and other goods from India and Yemen found their way to central Arabia.⁸

(1) Lam'a l-Shihab, p.512. (2) ibid., p.514. (3) ibid., p.511.
(4) Narrative of a journey from Cairo to Medina and Mecca. p.187. (Wallin)
(5) Burckhardt, Travels. vol.1.p.345; Mengin, vol.2.p.174.
(6) Mengin, ibid. (7) ibid. (8) India Record Factory, Persian Gulf.
vol.21. p.237.

On the other hand, they exported camels and horses to Damascus and Baghdad, and finally to Mecca and Medina, during the pilgrimage.¹ Wallin mentions that the average price of camels was from 10 to 40 Spanish dollars, whereas that of horses varied from 20 to 3000 Spanish dollars.²

Nor was this all. They exported dated to the Yemen and to Damascus.³ Thus the author of Lam'al-Shibab mentions that he was told that some merchants from Nejd (particularly from Qasim) were observed selling dates at the market of Damascus.⁴ In addition to this they used to send to Mecca ostrich feathers, dromedaries, sheep, wool and possible samn (clear butter).⁵

The Commercial Centres of Nejd.

The following are the important commercial centres of Nejd:-

(1) 'Anaiza: This was considered to be the principal commercial town of Nejd, possibly because of its geographical situation, being conveniently sited with respect to Medina, the Red Sea, and Jabal Shammar.⁶ It has always been the centre of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Sadleir says that the caravans from Basra, Kuwait, Qatif and al-Hasa used to pass through it annually. In 'Anaiza he met several merchants of the 'Ataiba tribe from Kuwait and Zubair.⁷ Later on, Doughty described the commercial life at 'Anaiza: "The salesmen are clothiers in the Suk, sellers

(1) Lam'a l-Shihab, p.511; Wallen, p.189.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Mengin, vol.2. p.174.

(4) Op.cit. p.512.

(5) Mengin, p.174.

(6) Sadleir, Report, p.474., Diary, p.71.

(7) Ibid.

of small wares (among which are raw drugs and camel medicines, sugar-loaves, spices, syrian soap from Medina, coffee from the Meccan caravans) and sellers of victuals."¹

(2) Buraida: According to Doughty Buraida was a commercial centre of Arabia. It provided a link with the northern settled countries through the trading caravans. Doughty maintains, "A great number of the well-faring sort in Boreyda (sic) are Jemmamil, camel-masters trading in the caravans. They are wheat carriers in Mesopotamia; they bring down clothing and temn. (better temns=river rice) to Nejd; they load dates and corn of Kasim (when the prices serve) for Medina. In autumn they carry samn, which they have taken up from the country nomads, to Mecca; and from thence they draw coffee." ²

(3) Shaqra: This was another commercial centre. Sadleir mentions that he met here several merchants of the 'Ataiba tribe, from Kuwait and Zubair, and he found Indian rice and other articles in their bazaars.³

(1) Ibid., p.401.

(2) Ibid. vol.2.p.323.

(3) Diary, p.72. report, p.474.

The currency of Nejd.

Although Burckhardt states that the Wahhabis had no particular coin,¹ Rousseau asserted that they had their own copper money, which was established by Ibn Saud; it consisted of two hooks, fastened together, and was worth 240 piastres.²

On the other hand, Palgrave held that the Wahhabis had not, nor ever had, a mint of their own. The Wahhabis mostly used the Maria Theresa or riyal, and a variety of other currencies also circulated.³ These included the English sovereign, and Ottoman, Venetian, and various Hungarian coins.

For small change the inhabitants of Sudair, 'Arid, and Yamama, for example, availed themselves of what they called a jadeedah, a piece of debased silver, about the size of a full-size sixpence, its value being equal to two ordinary garsh.⁴ However, the smallest currency in Nejd bore the name of khordah; it consisted of small irregular copper bits.⁵ Thirty of these were considered equivalent to a jadeedah.

Furthermore, Burckhardt states that articles of little value were estimated by measures of corn, or purchased with old copper money issued by the Imams of the Yemen.⁶

(1) N.B.W. p.304.

(2) N.B.W. p.152. (3) C.A., vol.2.p.179.

(4) Palgrave says "it seems to have issued from the Egyptian mint at a date far anterior to the Mohammed Ali dynasty.

(5) "These are the melancholy productions of the Basra mint, at a date of two or three hundred years back. The inscription, which gives the names of the local governors who issued this coinage, is almost Cufic, so coarse and so angular are the letters." Palgrave, op.cit. p.179.

(6) Op.cit. p.304.

A) 3 - Al-Hasa: Economic Life.

Al-Hasa was abundant in water, as it had between twenty and thirty springs. According to Vidal, al-Hasa probably contains a little over 30,000 acres of cultivated land. First in importance among all the items of al-Hasa's agricultural complex was the date grove, called Nakhil.¹ Sadleir says, "This valley (al-Hasa oasis) may produce in ordinary seasons a sufficient supply for its inhabitants, but the Bedouins (sic) require the whole produce of the date harvest, which, together with the supplies sent into the interior, gives rise to a profitable trade, through the medium of the port of Anjeer, with Bahrein."² Niebuhr, who visited al-Hasa in 1765, mentioned that the people of this province, and especially those who lived in the interior parts of this province, lived much upon dates.³

In addition to dates, al-Hasa produced other items, such as wheat, barley and rice, as well as indigo, cotton, sugar-cane. Palgrave writes about the last items: "Indigo is here cultivated, though not sufficiently for the demands of commerce; cotton is much more widely grown than in Yamamah; rice-field abound, and the sugar-cane is often planted, though not, I believe, for the extraction of the sugar; the peasants of Hasa (sic) sell the reed by retail in bundles in the market-place and the purchasers take it home to gnaw at leisure in their houses."⁴

(1) The Oasis of al-Hasa; p.159. (2) Diary, p.54.

(3) Travels in the Arabia. vol.2. p.125.

(4) Central and Eastern Arabia, vol.2.p.170.

But the presence of indigo was denied by Lorimer.¹ The growing of sugar-cane was also denied by Cheeseman, Philby and Lorimer.² Vidal mentions that some cotton was grown in the oasis, but not in any quantity. The local produce is used mostly to stuff pillows and hassocks.

The less extensively grown agricultural products in al-Hasa oasis³ included the following:- Among the fruits: figs, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, citrons, lemons, sweet and sour limes and grapes.⁴

Moreover, the gardens of al-Hasa produced several kinds of lemon, watermelon, pumpkin, squash, onions, garlic, radishes and vetches.⁵ A small kind of beans, a variety of spinach and a small carrot were also grown, but not in quantity.

With regard to the methods of cultivation, we have no record, but it is possible that it was based on the plough. As regards irrigation, gardens in al-Hasa were of two kinds: those where the water flowed down the natural slope of the terrain, and those where the water had to be provided by other means. To explain the latter Vidal writes, "In order to raise the water from the spring or from the irrigation canal, when the gardens are higher than the water level, the people of al-Hasa have developed two different devices, one operated by hand and the other using donkey-power."⁶

Livestock.

According to Vidal animal breeding is carried on in al-Hasa, not as a primary economic pursuit, but only as an adjunct to agriculture.⁷

(1) Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia. 1918.p.656.

(2) in Unknown Arabia. p.69; Philby, vol.2.p.153; Lorimer, p.656.

(3) Op.cit. p.157. (4) Vidal,p.156; Sadleir, p.466 and p.459.

(5) Palgrave, vol.2.p.156; Vidal, p.157. (6) Op.cit.p.143.(7) Op.cit.p.170.

On the contrary, Niebuhr mentioned that its asses and camels were esteemed to be of an excellent breed; and of the latter, some thousands were usually sold into Syria.¹ Donkeys were the most important and well-known animals bred in al-Hasa.

Trade.

This may be divided into: (1) internal trade. (2) external trade.

(1) al-Hasa's internal trade was based on fairs or markets of varying importance which existed all over the oasis. Palgrave says: "A custom unknown in Shamer and Nejed (sic), but very common in other parts of the east, fixed certain days of the week for holding public fairs in such and such localities, whither the inhabitants, and more particularly the villages, of all the neighbourhood round repairs, to sell or to buy, while auctions, games, recitations, races, and similar inventions of man's busy levity, keep up the animation."² Thus the weekly fair of Hufuf was held on Thursday, that of the great village of Mubarraz to the north on Wednesday, and so on.

(2) Foreign trade: This may be divided into (A) importation
(B) exportation.

(A) Al-Hasa's commerce was chiefly confined to the importation of coffee and of such Indian and European mercantile articles as had been found necessary for their own consumption and for the consumption of Nejd.³ However, they imported the following items:-

(1) From Surat, "blue and other piece goods and Cambay Chauders, Guzarat piece goods and chintz shawls, Bamboos and many less important mercantile articles."⁴

(1) Op.cit. p.125.

(3) India Record, vol.21.

(2) Op.cit., p.170.

(4) ibid.

(2) From Surat by the way of Bahrain:- They imported coffee, sugar, pepper, peas, spices, Bengal, soosies, iron, lead, tin, oil, ghee, rice, and many less important mercantile articles.¹ Sadleir says: "The trade of Katif is at present trifling, and is carried on principally with Bahrein, through which goods from Surat, and spices, sugars, etc., from other parts of India are supplied."²

From Basra they imported dates and grain.³

According to the report on the commerce of Arabia and Persia, the importations were retained at Jebarra and Qatif for the consumption of these places, and the remainder was conveyed by land by means of camels at moderate expense, and without any considerable risk, to al-Dar'iyah.⁴

(B) Exportation:- In respect of exportation items, there were pearls and dates, both of which principally concerned the eastern province. The usual pattern of pearling was for the gems to be shipped to Bombay for shipment to Europe.⁵

Dates were another important item in al-Hasa province. Thus Lorimer estimated the provincial production at 75,000 tons. Their markets however, were Bahrain, The Red Sea areas, Qatar, 'Oman, Iran, and India.⁶

Other export items were donkeys and camels, which found their way into neighbouring countries. Niebuhr mentioned that some thousands of camels were usually sold in Syria.⁷

(1) India Record, Persian Gulf. vol.21.

(2) Report, p.459.

(3) Ibid., India Report.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Winder, Op.cit. p.215.

(6) Lorimer, 1. pp.2294-2307.

(7) Niebuhr, Op.cit. p.125.

The communications were carried out (1) by sea, via Qatif.
(2) Inland by camels with central Arabia.

Revenue.

As for duties which were levied on the imported and exported goods, they were the same as fixed for all time by the Prophet himself, eight per cent ad valorem on all goods, with a fixed rate of one dollar per maund or tin in the case of dates and Samn.¹

We have not available figures for the exact revenue of al-Hasa province, but we do have for Qatif. However, according to Sadleir the revenue of Qatif amounted to about 75,000 or 86,000 German crowns, and consisted of the following items:-²

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (1) Tax paid by villagers and townsmen, to be excused from taking the field. This was paid in cash, and did not vary. | 20,000 |
| (2) Land tax, one-tenth of gross produce: paid in kind. | 50,000 to 60,000 |
| (3) Sea customs, anchorage fees, a trifling duty. | 50,000 to 69,000 |

(1) Philby, Heart of Arabia, vol.1.p.6.

(2) Op.cit. p.459.

The Currency of al-Hasa.

Al-Hasa had an entirely original and local coinage, namely, tawilah, a copper coin mixed with a small proportion of silver.¹ It consisted of a thin bar, about three inches long, folded over so that the ends did not meet and were slightly opened. It looked altogether like a compressed Y.² Along one or both sides of the coin ran a Kufic inscription, indicating the name of the Qarmatian prince under whose auspices choice production of Arab numismatics was achieved; 'nothing else was to be read on the Tawilah, neither date nor motto.'³ Three of these were worth a garsh, and every copper nail separately might equal about three farthings. The bent coins (larins) of the tawilah were usually silver coins, and only the Hasa mint struck copper ones.⁴ Winder says "At one time larins were the standard trade currency from the Persian Gulf to Ceylon."⁵

A further fact is that the Persian toman, gold or silver, and the Anglo-Indian rupee, anna, and pie, were prevalent in al-Hasa as well as the jadeedah and the khordah.⁶

(1) Palgrave, op.cit.p.179; Winder, op.cit.p.214. (2) Palgrave, ibid.
(3) ibid. (4) Winder, ibid.
(5) ibid. (6) ibid.; Palgrave, ibid.

B - The system of Sa'udi state finance.

The Sa'udis adopted the financial practices of the early Caliphate which were based on the Shari'a. Thereupon the sources of the Sa'udi revenue consisted of the following types:

1) Spoils of war (al-Ghanima).¹

The term of 'spoil' is applied to property taken by force from the heretics. S.E.I. says: "By Ghanima Muslim scholars mean the weapons, horses and all other movable possessions taken in battle from unbelievers. Four fifths of the booty are to be divided among the troops who have been present at the battle, whether they have actually fought in it or not."² This spoil belonged to those who took part in the battle, according to the following verse, "Allah promised ye much booty which ye may take and He hastened this for you." (Quran xLv111, 20.)

According to the Shari'a,³ one fifth of all booty taken from heretics had to be set aside for the state treasury, whether the Sa'udi chief himself was present on the expedition or one of his men; therefore, the sheikh^a of the most distant tribe was answerable for sending the share of state spoil, however small or considerable the amount might be.

For example, Hadi b. Qarmala, Emir of Bisha in 1796, who defeated the Sharifian army and gained much booty, sent one fifth of this booty to the Sa'udi chief.⁴ And in 1797 Hujailan b. Hadad, the Emir of al-Qasim, was ordered to organise a raid against the Bedouin of the Shararat⁵ on the

(1) According to Encyclopaedia of Islam the term Maghnam denotes either the mass of the booty or that part of it which goes to central government. (N.E. vol.2. p.1005). (2) p.110. (3) Ibn Bishr, 'Unwan al-Majid, p.23. (4) Ibn Bishr. op.cit. p.113. (5) Ibn Bishr. p.119.

Syrian border, the result of which was that he captured an enormous booty which he divided between the state and the victorious army in the above-mentioned way; as one fifth should be for the state and the remainder should be divided among the combatants.

The booty or spoil was to be sold to the highest bidder immediately after the battle. The money thus obtained was to be distributed among the troops and the state as following: a cavalry soldier had two shares, while every foot-soldier had one share. Burckhardt writes: "A cavalry soldier has three shares (one for himself, and two, as the Arabs say, for his mare); every camel-rider has one share (before Sa'ud's time he had two)."¹

Thus in 1781,² Sa'ud advanced against the Dhafir tribe concentrated in the neighbourhood of Mubaidh, where he captured about 17,000 sheep, 5,000 camels and 15 mares. He took one-fifth of that booty and divided the rest - two shares for a cavalry soldier and one share for a foot-soldier.

And in 1791,³ Sa'ud captured a large quantity of booty from the Bedouin of Shammar and the Mutair allies of the Sharif of Mecca, which amounted to 100,000 sheep, and 11,000 camels, which were distributed among the troops in accordance with the usual custom as above mentioned.

Moreover, if any shaikh belonging to the Sa'udi state organised a raid, he would send the state's share of the booty. For example, we find that

(1) Burckhardt, N.B.W. vol.2. p.151. (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.84-5.

(3) Ibid, p.98

Hadi¹b. Qarmala, having defeated the Sharif Ghalib's army near al-Khurma and having captured everything in his camp, including a sum of money of about 18,000 gold pieces, sent the state's share to Dar'iya.

2) Zakat (tax).

The imposition of this tax is based on the following verse: "Take from their property alms (Sadaqah) in order thus to purify them (tuzakki-him) from their sins" Quran, chap.87, verse 14. In addition, The Prophet said to Mu'ad, "Tell them that God has prescribed for them sadaqah, to be taken from the rich among them in order to be given to their poor. But wealthiness results only from the possession of a definite quantity of wealth, and this quantity is the nisab."²

Payment of the zakat was to be voluntary, as a sign of obedience, but whoever did not pay it voluntarily, was to have it taken from him by force because he is counted as refusing obedience to the Imam.³

With regard to the Sa'udis, Burckhardt mentions that the Muslim law has minutely fixed what property is; and the Wahhabis have not made any alteration in this arrangement.⁴ Thus the sums paid as taxes in proportion to horses, sheep, and camels were according to the precepts of the Sunna.

a - In consequence of the above mentioned statement the zakat was levied on animals (sawa'im).

i) Camels: The minimum number of camels required for a

(1) Ibid. p.113. (2) Mahsut, p.149. (3) M.S. vol.2. pp.330-6.
(4) Burckhardt, N.B.W. vol.2. p.15.

levy of zakat was five.¹ Therefore, the zakat on 5 camels was one goat (shat). From 5 to 9 the zakat was one jadha'² (six months old lamb) or a thinni (one year old goat) and so on, up to 24. When the number reached 25, the zakat was collected in camels³ and not in goats. So from 25 camels and more, up to 35, the nisab was one bint Makhad⁴ (one year old she-camel). From 36 camels and more up to 45, the nisab was one bint labun (two years old).

From 46 to 60, the nisab was one haqqah⁵ (three years old). From 61 to 75, the nisab was one jadha'ah⁶ (four years old). From 76 up to 90, the nisab was two bint labun.⁷ From 91 to 120, the nisab was two haqqah. After 120, the amount required for every 40 was one bint labun, and for every 50 one haqqah was collected.

ii) Oxen and cows.

No zakat was due upon fewer than 30 head of cattle (baqr), and upon 30 and more up to 39, the zakat was one tabia' or tabia'h (six months old male or female).⁸ And upon 40, the nisab was one musinn or musinnah (one year old). There was no zakat on any excess until 60 was reached, and then from 60 up to 69 the zakat was two tabi'a. For 70 up to 79 the zakat was one musinnah and one tabi'a. For 90 up to 99 the zakat was 3 tabi'a. For 100, the zakat was one musinnah and two tabi'a. And so on - after this number, for every 30 there was one tabi'a and one musinnah for every 40 heads of cattle.⁹

(1) Zad al-Mustaqna'a, p.51; al-Mujtahid, vol.2. p.250. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid. (5) Zad al-Mustaqna'a, p.51. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid.; al-Mujtahid, vol.2. p.253. (9) Ibid.

iii) Sheep and Goats (Ghanam).

For 40 sheep the zakat was one sheep, and upon 40 and more up to 120 head the zakat was one sheep. On 120 and more up to 200 the zakat was two sheep. On 200 or more up to 300 the zakat was 3 sheep. And so on, at the rate of one sheep for every additional 100 head beyond 300 sheep.¹ In reckoning the rate (nisab) the sheep and goats were treated alike.²

b - The Zakat on the produce of the earth.

The zakat on land produce was collected at the rate of one tenth (tithe), if the land was watered by a stream or rain.³ Harford writes: "On property inland watered naturally and without labour 1 in ~~20~~ of the produce."⁴ In the case of the land being watered by means of buckets or of fountains, only one-half of one-tenth was levied.⁵ Harford states: "on property in land watered by wells or with labour 1 in 20 of the produce."⁶ The nisab requirement in this case amounted to 5 wasq. The wasq is 60 sa'a, each sa'a being 4 mudd of the kind used by the Prophet.⁷

The tithe was due only when a produce that might be preserved for a year, such as dates, grains (i.e. wheat (hintah) barley (sha'ir). In other words the tithe was levied only on such produce of the earth as might be conserved for at least a year without much care and management, and was subject to nisab.⁸

(1) al-Zad, p.52; al-Mujtahid, vol.3. p.252. (2) Ibid. (3) Al-Mujtahid, vol.2. p.256. (4) The Whahaubees, p.2.(see Appendix No.1.) (5) al-mujtahid, ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) al-Mujtahid, ibid. The sa'a seems to be the same term as the ancient Hebrew seah, the seah being a corn measure - 1 of an Ephah (cf.gen. xviii 6, etc.). According to Husaini the mudd (Modius), was Greek in origin and measured 1.15 litres. It could contain 52 tolas of wheat, i.e. 1 pounds of that grain. (Arab administration, p.90). (8) al-Mujtahid, ibid.

Dates and grapes were appraised by the state as soon as they became ripe and fit for eating; and the owners were required to pay their tithe later in dry dates.¹

The zakat on honey: the minimum taxable amount of (honey) is ten rirq (a medinan measure), each rirq being equal to sixty iraqi ratl (one pound weight) and the tax on it is one tenth.²

c - The zakat on trade, i.e. the zakat on commercial capital (zakat al-mal).

This includes gold, silver and other articles of trade.

With regard to gold and silver, the nisab of the former was 20 mithqal and the nisab of the latter was 200 dirham.³ The rate of zakat was both in gold and silver. In other words, the merchants paid yearly two and a half per cent on their capital, and were obliged to state its amount upon oath to the collectors.

According to the Memorial the rate of Zakat on merchandise, which is good taken for commerce, or, what is called in the parlance of the present day, goods in demand, which are moved from hand to hand with the object of increasing the value by this transfer, is reckoned at a quarter of the tithe ($2\frac{1}{2}\%$) of the capital and its increase together. So, if an individual has articles whose value is £10,000 at the beginning of the year and he gains £500 at its close, then the zakat is at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the original sum and the gain together.⁴

(1) ibid. (2) S.M. vol.2. p.330. (3) al-Mujtahid, ibid.
(4) M.S. vol.2. p.293.

Here Burckhardt's account is worth mentioning; he states that distant tribes had frequently revolted on account¹ of the taxes, and driven away the collectors. It was, however, well known that they seldom returned an account of more than one-fourth of their property.² For example, a merchant of Khadera in the province of al-Qasim had been robbed of three thousand Dollars in cash. He then applied for assistance to Sa'ud, who directed the clerk of Bait al-Mal (the treasury) to ascertain how much the merchant had reported his property to be worth; and it appeared that he had only stated it as being one thousand Dollars. So for this false statement, Sa'ud confiscated the mares and camels of the merchant.³

Accordingly there must be a presumption that most of the merchants did not tell the truth about their real wealth, in order to deceive the collectors. If they had been truthful the latter would then have charged them more than they would otherwise have done.

In respect of the Sa'udis, we have not come across any detailed information concerning the required number of every kind but it must be borne in mind that the central theme of the Sa'udi reformation called for a return to the original practices of the Prophet and his successors.

i) Ibn Bishr gives us an account of the economic resources of the state in the days of 'Abd 'l-'Aziz b. M. Sa'ud; he writes,

(1) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.306. (2) ibid. (3) ibid.

according to Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mudlji, who was a clerk to the collectors of zakat of the A'laway, a branch of the Mutair, that the taxes paid by them amounted to 11,000 riyal in one year.¹ On the other hand, Ibn Bishr was told that the Bariyah, a branch of the Mutair, paid a sum of money of about 12,000 riyal and 7,000 riyal of the Hutaim.² The total of the taxes paid in that year by the whole tribe of Mutair amounted to 30,000³ riyal, while the Bedouin of the Syrian desert paid 40,000 riyal.⁴

On the other hand, we find that the income of the state in the days of Sa'ud was as follows: the zakat paid in one year by the Fada'an, a branch of the A'naza Bedouin, amounted to 40,000⁵ riyal, in addition to the payment of the collectors.⁶ As for the Yemen, we find that the emporium of al-Hudaida used to pay 150,000⁷ riyal yearly. On top of this the emporium of Al-Luhaiya in the Yemen used to pay about the same amount yearly.

With regard to al-Hasa, Ibn Bishr states that it used to pay to the central treasury, about 80,000 riyal yearly.⁸

In addition to the above-mentioned there were other sources such as:

i) Sa'ud used to take one⁹ Dollar for every camel belonging to his own people whenever they transported provisions for the caravans of the Syrian Pilgrims.

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.137. (2) ibid. (3) ibid. (4) ibid. (5) ibid. p.181.
(6) ibid. (7) ibid. (8) ibid. (9) Burckhardt. N.B.W. p.299.

ii) Fines¹ levied for breaches of the law. The crime of disobedience was generally expiated by pecuniary fines. Burckhardt writes: "It is a maxim in the Wahaby courts that an Arab who falsely accuses another must pay a fine to the treasury."

There is an account of Burckhardt's about the total incomes in one year:² he was told by some well-informed Meccans, who enjoyed frequent access to the person of Sa'ud and to his family, and had the best opportunities of knowing the truth and no reason for concealing it, that the greatest amount ever received by Sa'ud into his own or the public, treasury of Dar'iyah in one year, was two million Dollars, but that in general it did not exceed one million Dollars annually. However, this amount did not include the incomes of districts and towns, which, however, were generally expended locally, leaving no surplus at the end of the year.

The condition of the payment of the zakat was the lapsing of a whole year (hawan-al-hawl). Thus if one possessed a thing in full ownership for a year, the article coming under the description of sawaim (articles) which one intended to trade in for profit, one paid the zakat for those articles at the end of the year, regardless of whether or not they had been actually productive.

To compare the Sa'udi's financial system with that of the contemporary Turkish financial system, the dues and taxes payable to the Turkish state may be classified in two categories, those levied on the

(1) Ibid. p.307.

(2) Burckhardt N.B.W. vol.2. p.161. It is to be noted that under the Turkish administration Sa'udi subjects were exempt from all taxes except the zakat.

holding or its produce, and those levied on the peasants personally.¹

The former category may again be divided into taxation on stock-breeding and taxation on cultivation. The principal dues levied in connexion with stock-breeding were the sheep² custom (adeti agnam), the sheep-pen custom (agil resmi) and various pasturage dues. In fiefs the sheep custom was levied in kind at the lambing season (originally at the rate of one akce for every two sheep; while the sheep-pen due was payable when the sheep were folded for breeding.³ The latter, however, was not current in all fiefs, and was considerably lighter than the sheep custom, only 5 akce being exacted for every 300 sheep.⁴ As for pasturages, the landowner was authorized to levy dues on any peasants who made use of the areas in his fief or property set aside for summer and winter grazing. Apparently they had to pay according to the number of animals so pastured, but how, whether in cash or in kind, or on what scale, is not stated in available records.

The principal impost on cultivation was the tithe⁵ (ushr); this tithe, which was, of course, a contribution in kind, was appropriated by the collectors at the time of harvest before reaping. It is, however, noteworthy that the peasants were obliged to bring their whole crop for threshing to the landowner, and to transport that part of the grain taken as tithe either to the nearest weekly market or to the village granary.⁶ The proportion of any crop taken by way of tithe varied from province to

(1) Islamic Soc. Part 2, p.240. (2) Islamic Soc. Part 2. p.240.
(3) ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

province, from one tenth to as much as one half.¹

The landown²er was also entitled to collect tithe on wheat, barley, and rye straw; likewise on fruit and vegetables grown by peasants on miri soil.

The expenditure of the revenues.

Before dealing with the expenditure of the Sa'udi revenues, it is helpful to take note of the Islamic religious law concerning the subject. As regards the zakat, according to the rules of the Shari'a it had to be applied to specific objects. In accordance with the Qur'an, the various revenues from the zakat tax were based on the following verse: "Verily the Sadaqahs are for (li) the poor, the indigent, the respective public agents, the mu'allafah qulubihim, and with respect to (fi) the slaves (riqab) and the debtors and with respect to the way of God and the wayfarers." (Surah 9, verse 60).

And according to the Zad al-Mustaqnac³, which consists of a summary of the principal theories of the Hanbali doctrine, the beneficiaries are as follows:-

1 - The poor (fugara') are those who do not own anything or those who do not own enough of basic necessities.

2 - The unfortunate (masakin) are those who have some of the basic necessities, but are not able to work, either because they are ill or aged.

3 - The collectors ('ammal 'alaiha) are the persons appointed by the Imam for the collection of the zakat. Their salaries are paid from the

(1) ibid.

(2) ibid.

(3) pp.55-57.

zakat¹

4 - Al-riqab means that the slaves should be aided in acquiring the price of their manumission.²

5 - The 'wayfarer' (ibn al-sabil) is regarded as one who is cut off from his property, and who must therefore be given something in order to complete his journey.³

6 - The people called Mu'allafah Qulubihim were of three classes: one class was given a share in order that they might be encouraged to enter Islam; another group were weak in their faith; hence they were given a share from the zakat in order to strengthen them in the faith; a third class were those who were given a share in order to deter them from doing harm.⁴ how?

7 - The way of God (Sabil Allah): this expression refers to persons who by reason of poverty were unable to join the army of the Muslims for the purpose of jihād (holy war). So the government would furnish them with weapons and other necessities.⁵

8 - The debtors (ghurama') are those who do not own a nisab (rate) over and above their debts and basic necessities. Thus debtors are paid from the zakat in the event that they cannot settle their debts by their own means.⁶

This term includes the persons who incurred debts in the public interest by becoming surety or by composing feuds and differences (islah dhat al-bain).

(1) M.S., vol.2. p.294. (2) Mad...; Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.
(6) ibid.

As for the expenditure of booty revenue, the fact remains that in the time of the prophet, a fifth of the spoils was divided into five¹ shares, namely, one share to God and His Prophet, one to the relations of the Prophet, one to the orphans, one to the indigents, and finally one share to the wayfarers. This practice was based on the following verse of the Quran: "And know ye, that whatever thing you have taken as booty, a fifth part of it belongeth to God and to the Prophet, and to the near of kin, and to the orphans and to the indigent and to the wayfarer." (Surah 8. verse 41).

However, S.E.I. states that from ancient times Arab chiefs had been accustomed to receive a certain portion of the booty and it was thus nothing new when the prophet had one fifth of the ghanima granted him in God's name in this verse of the Kur'an to defray the expenses of the state.²

Later, after the Prophet's death, the Caliph Abu Bakr divided it into three shares, namely the portions for orphans, the indigent and wayfarers.³ So did the Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Omar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali, none of the companions objecting to this practice. Husaini says: the shares of the Prophet and that of his relatives were spent on the weapons and equipment of the army and nothing out of the khums was given to the heirs of the Prophet or his relatives.⁴

As regards the Sa'udis we find that a sum of money was

(1) S.E.I. p.110. (2) S.E.I. p.110. (3) Mabsut, p.238. (4) Op.cit. p.36.

disbursed for the purposes of general utility to the Muslim community, such as the stipends of the learned men ('ulama'), judges (quddat), public inspectors, teachers, students, collectors, and, in general, persons who exerted themselves in doing some work for the Muslims in consideration of a reward such as Muezzin, and imams, and furthermore the payment of appointees of the central government such as clerks, governors.¹

According to Lam'a l-Shihab, a sum of 50,000 gold pieces was fixed yearly, in Bait al-mal, in the early stage of the Sa'udi state, for the expenses of Shaikh Muhammad b. 'Abu al-Wahhab and his sons, and an amount of money about 200,000 gold pieces was appropriated for the expenses of Al-Sa'ud. But having conquered the land of the Banu Khalid tribe, and the Hejaz, some parts of the Yemen, and Oman, the family of the Shaikh received 80,000 gold pieces yearly and the Sa'udi family 300,000 gold pieces.²

The Sa'udis also used to expend sums of money for the benefit of poor soldiers³; so as to furnish them with camels and provisions, and also for the entertainment of strangers.⁴ A sum of money was given to the collectors of zakat (called mazakki or Ammal), for their trouble and expenses on the journey. Thus every collector sent from Dar'iyah to the Bedouin of the Syrian desert received seventy-five dollars.⁵

A sum of money was spent on sadaqa; for example, 'Abd al-'Aziz

(1) Alusi, Ta'rikh Najd, p.96; Brydges, The Wahabauby, p.123.

(2) pp.111-112. (3) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.312. (4) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.307.

(5) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.308.

one day had a headache, and he therefore ordered his clerk to distribute a sum of 90,000 riyal among different villages and districts as follows: 500 Riyals for Manfuha, 500 Riyals for 'Ayaina, 700 Riyals for Huraimala, 1,100 Riyals for the district of Muhmal and so on.¹

We also learn that the Sa'udis used to disburse a great deal of money to poor, indigents, and orphans². Thus, in the event of a poor man dying, his family would come to the Sa'udi chief in order to ask him for help; he would treat them generously, so that they might be granted a regular payment in the Diwan³.

Administration of State Revenues (Bait al-Mal).

According to Burckhardt all the revenues except⁴ the zakat from the Bedouin were deposited in the public treasury (Bait al-Mal), because the Sa'udi chief divided the tribute from his subjects into two parts:

- 1 - that from the Bedouin flowed into his private treasuries.
- 2 - that from inhabitants of towns and cultivators was appropriated by the public treasury.⁵

On the other hand, every city or village had its own⁶ treasury into which the inhabitants paid their quotas. Every treasury had a clerk sent by the Sa'udi chief with orders to prevent the Shaikhs of the place from partaking an illicit gain from the revenue; even they were not allowed to collect or to account for the money paid.

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.138. (2) Ibn Bishr. pp.138,178. (3) ibid. p.138.

(4) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.307. (5) Ibn Bishr. p.23; Burckhardt p.305.

(6) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.307. (7) ibid.

However, it is significant that the revenues of any city or village or district were divided into four parts:-

- a - One fourth¹ was sent to the treasury of al-Dar'iyā.
- b - One fourth² was allocated to the paupers in the district of the Bait al-Mal; to the 'U'lama' and to keeping the mosques in repair, digging public wells, etc.
- c - One half³ was assigned to furnishing the poorer soldiers with provisions and camels and also for the entertainment of guests.^{3a}

According to Burckhardt, the money thus allowed for guests was paid into the hands of the shaikhs⁴, who kept a sort of hostel, where all strangers might halt and be fed without charge; it was thought just that the whole community should contribute towards their expenses. Thus Ibn 'Ali, the Shaikh of the Banu Shammar, in Jabal Shammar, had every year from the treasury of his province two hundred camel-loads of corn, two hundred loads of dates, and one thousand Spanish Dollars⁵; with this money he purchased meat, butter and coffee; and the whole was expended in the entertainment of guests, from two to three hundred strangers of every description, who were received and fed every day in his hostel.

As regards the Dar'iyā treasury, sums were applied to

- 1) the relief of faithful Sa'udi subjects⁶, whose property was taken by the enemy,
- 2) to the Arabs who had lost their cattle⁷, through disease or

(1) ibid. (2) ibid. (3) ibid. (3)a. Harford Jones says "The general revenue of each particular town or district on being collected is to be divided into five parts; one of which is to be transmitted to the general treasury, and the remaining four to be detained in the town or district where it is collected for the purposes of paying various expenses of Government, relieving the poor and entertaining travellers!" (4) ibid. p.308. (5) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.308. (6) ibid. (7) ibid.

accident, 3) to the Shaikhs of districts, towns or villages, for the entertainment of guests. Besides, the Bedouin Shaikhs received annual presents from the Sa'udi chief. These donations would vary from fifty to three hundred Dollars.

We may now pass on to deal with the methods of collecting these revenues. As has already been mentioned, the collectors were sent every year from al-Dar'iyah to the different districts or tribes to determine what was due on agricultural produce, and the collectors responsible for the zakat on commercial transactions,¹ etc. Thus every party of collectors had an Emir, a secretary, or in other words a clerk² who was employed to write a statement of the sums payable, and another employee (keeper of the tax register), who collected those sums. Moreover, we find that the collectors of the zakat of camels and sheep, in the time of Sa'ud, consisted of more than 70 parties,³ every party consisting of 70 employees, while each party had its Emir, clerk, registrar and treasurer,⁴ and three servants, the treasurer being in charge of the money received from the sale of the camels and sheep and goats paid in kind. This did not include the collectors of the tithes and the zakat on articles of trade.⁵

The collectors gave receipts⁶ to the district or tribe for the amount that had been paid. The collectors and the Shaikhs agreed in appointing a certain spot, some watering place, where all Arabs of

(1) S.M. vol.2. p.139. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.180. (3) ibid. (4) ibid.
(5) Ibn Bishr, p.180. (6) Burckhardt, N.B.W. p.309.

the tribe were directed to repair. Thus in the year 1812 Sa'ud collected tribute from the Bedouin around Baghdad at the watering-place called Hindye, two or three days' journey distant from that town. In the same year the Jelas Arabs paid their tribute at a watering-place twelve hours' distant from Aleppo. ¹

(1) Ibid.

Part two - External Affairs.

V.

1 - Relations between the Sa'udis and the Sharifs of Mecca.

According to Dahlan the Sa'udis had approached the Sharifs of Mecca during the reign of Mas'ud (1733-1751), by sending a delegation of 'Ulama to the court of the Sharif in order to ask him for permission for the Najdians to make the pilgrimage, and possibly to explain their doctrines, even on payment of a fixed sum of money every year; but the Saudi request was refused.¹

On the other hand, 'Abdul-Bari states that Sharif Mas'ud noticed that the Wahhabis had already offended the 'Ulama by their supposed heretical beliefs, and the people of the holy cities had a very confused idea about their teaching and doctrines. He therefore lost no time in exploiting to his own advantage the popular unjustified hatred towards the Wahhabis, and by dint of diplomacy had them declared Kuffar by the Qadi of Mecca. The next step was then inevitable, and assuming the role of the guardian of the faith, he banned their entry into the holy cities.²

However, according to the Sa'udi historian Ibn Ghannam, the first contact between the Sa'udis and the Sharifs came in 1771 during the reign of Sharif Ahmad b. Sa'id.³ Accordingly, on an invitation from the latter, the Sa'udis sent 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Husain, a well-learned man, to Mecca in order to explain the principles of the movement. No sooner had al-Husain arrived in Mecca than discussions took place between him

(1) Khulasat al-Kalam ri Bayan 'Umara' al-Balad al-Haram, p.228.

(2) "The early Wahhabis and the Sharifs of makkah", JPHS, 111, p.93.

(3) Vol.2. p.80.

and the Meccan 'Ulama regarding three issues: (1) the condemnation of the practices of other Muslims, such as idolatry, (2) destroying cupolas of tombs, and (3) the rejection of saints as intercessors.¹

With regard to the first question, al-Husain denied that they accused all people of idolatry; concerning the second, he substantiated his views by giving them proofs from the Traditions; and thirdly, he stated the principles which forbid intermediaries between God and human beings.²

The upshot of the discussions was that the Meccan 'Ulama tentatively expressed satisfaction with the wahhabi doctrine.³ 'Abdul Bari mentions that Sharif Ahmad was very much impressed by the delegation and for this reason it was reported that Sharif Ahmad was removed from office;⁴ if such was the case, it is hardly credible that the 'Ulama were in fact as favourable as the Sharif himself.

Later on, in the reign of Surur, they got in touch with Mecca. Ibn Ghannam states that in 1782 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ud sent to Surur, the Sharif of Mecca at that time, horses and camels as presents, hoping that the Sharif would allow the Sa'udis to make the pilgrimage from which they had been debarred for years. As a result of this, permission came through, and to seize this opportunity about three hundred people went to perform the pilgrimage.⁵

It is clear from the above facts that the Sa'udi-Sharifi relations were confined to seeking permission for the Sa'udi subjects to

(1) Ibn Ghannam, Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Op. cit., p.94.

(5) Ibn Ghannam, pp.119-20.

make the pilgrimage. This kind of liaison continued up to 1790; but when Sharif Ghalib, who had succeeded his brother Surur in the Emirate of Mecca on Surur's death in 1788, he came into open hostility with the Sa'udis. Thus he prepared an expedition against Mejd, the reasons for which Burckhardt explains in the following terms: "Their (Wahhabis') increase of power, and the assiduity with which they propagated their doctrines, seem first to have excited the jealousy of Sharif Ghalib. Under his authority, and partly under his influence, were placed all the tribes settled in Hedjaz, and several on the frontiers of that country. The attempts made by 'Abdel-Azyz (sic) to gain over these latter to his party, after he had subjugated their neighbours, could be viewed with indifference by Ghaleb, whom we may consider rather as a powerful Bedouin sheikh than an eastern prince; and the same causes that produce constant wars between all great neighbouring tribes of the desert, sowed the seeds of contest between him and Wahabys (sic)." ¹ Musil also states that the primary reasons which induced Sharif Ghalib to begin a decisive struggle with the Wahhabis were not religious but political.²

However this may be, in 1790 Sharif Ghalib's troops were led by his brother 'Abd al-Aziz; the army, estimated at 10,000 men and twenty guns, was joined on the way by various tribes of the Hejaz, Shammar and Mutair, and also other elements from the other tribes.³ Their aim was to capture the capital, al-Dar'iyah, and destroy the Sa'udi power. Arriving at the well-known Sirr, they attacked Qasr Bassam, whose population was

(1) N.B.W. p.322.

(2) Northern Ne'gd. p.264.

(3) Ibn Bishr, op. cit., p.96

thirty men, but it offered so stubborn a resistance that they could not capture it, and the Sharif Ghalib, who had joined his forces, decided to withdraw to the Qasr of al-Sha'ara, a village in the Nejd uplands, which they attempted to capture by storm, but their efforts were without avail and thus Ghalib gave up the seige and went back home.¹

Nevertheless, Ghalib's attack on the Sa'udi state served only to emphasize the strength of the new state within Nejd, and to some extent outside, especially in the southern Taif where some of the Hejazi tribes had embraced the Wahhabi doctrine.²

Thus Ghalib resolved to take positive action against the Sa'udis who were threatening the integrity of his dominion. On this ground he organized in 1791 an expedition against Turaba, Ranya and Bisha, in order to bring them under his authority.³

In response to Sharif Ghalib's attack the Sa'udis for the first time organized a raid on the Raqba, on the Hejazi frontiers ('Ataiba tribe), in 1793; and in the following year Sa'ud led an expedition against Turaba, which was ^{which came} under the Sharif's sovereignty, having exchanged the usual skirmishes, they came to an agreement with Sa'ud, who afterwards returned to al-Dar'iya.⁴

On the other hand, according to Dahlan, the Sharif of Mecca in 1794 organized a raid on the Qahtan tribe of Hadi b.Qarmala, under the Sa'udi authority, who was encamping at Raghwah, but the Sharif's force found that the Qahtan tribe had been warned.⁵ Thereupon the Sharif's forces went to Raniya whose chief was arrested; but after a

(1) Ibn Bishr, ibid. (2) Abdul Bari, p.97. (3) Dahlan, pp.262-3.
(4) Ibn Bishr, p.111 (5) Op.cit., p.264.

while he was released on condition that he would support the Sharif's side; but no great advantage resulted from this campaign because all the tribes remained faithful to the Sa'udi state.¹

This being the case, in 1795 Sharif Ghalib sent an expedition, under the command of Nasir b. Yahya, in order to destroy the Sa'udi influence in the southern parts of the Hejaz. 'Abd al-'Aziz, however, had no sooner received the news of this expedition than he issued orders to the chiefs of the 'Ataiba, Mutair, Wadi al-Dawasir, Suhul and Suba'i tribes, to gather in force round Hadi b. Qarmala at the watering-place of al-Jamaniya in the uplands of Nejd, where a battle took place between the two sides in which the Sharif's forces were heavily defeated.² In defiance of the facts, Dahlan states that the Sharif's army was successful,³ he being, of course, a prejudiced opponent of the Wahhabi cause.

The Sharif Ghalib continued to press his threatening^{to} of the Sa'udi dominion, so he sent an expedition in 1797 against the Qahtan tribe and others who had joined the Sa'udis, where a battle took place at the watering-place of 'Uqailan, north of Bisha, the Sharif's army being again defeated.⁴ This, however, was followed by the submission of Bisha to the Sa'udi cause.⁵

No sooner had Ghalib heard this news than he sent another expedition under the Sharif Fuhaid b. 'Abdallah who attacked Bisha and Raniya vigorously, until they offered their submission.⁶

(1) Dalan, ibid.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.113.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Op.cit., p.262

(5) Ibn Bishr, p.118.

(6) Ibid.

On the other hand, in 1797, the Sa'udi struggle with the Sharif of Mecca was strengthened by the Submission of the 'Ataiba and Bugum tribes¹ who were under the Sharif's sovereignty. This was followed by an expedition of revenge in the following year, led by Ghalib himself, against the south-western oases, such as the Raniya, Bisha and Qahtan tribes, in which he did not achieve a satisfactory result, except in Bisha where he gained a number of friends. On receiving word of this development Sa'ud sent his orders to the chiefs of the Dawasir and Qahtan tribes, to gather with some contingents from other parts of Arabia, in order to repulse Ghalib's attack. Thus the joint force attacked Ghalib who was encamping at Khurma, near Turaba, where Ghalib and his force were badly defeated.²

As a result of his successive defeats, Sharif Ghalib came to an agreement with the Sa'udi state, by which the Sa'udis were allowed to *perform the* make pilgrimage and which fixed a territorial demarcation between the two states. According to Dahlan, the tribes which were appointed to be under the Sharif's control were the tribes who were in Mecca, Medina and Taif together with the tribes of Banu Sa'ad, Nasirah, Bujailah, Ghamid, Zahran, Bariq and Muhail.³

However, the truce did not last long, because, as Dahlan and 'Abd al-Shakur state, the Sa'udi chief in 1799 came into secret correspondence with many Shaikhs, who were under the Sharif's authority, such as Sa'ad b. Shawir the chief of Muhail, Ahmad b. Zahir Shaikh of Bariq, in order to persuade them to throw off the Sharif's authority.⁴ In

(1) Ibid, p.119. (3) Dahlan, p.267; Abd al-Shakur, Tarikh Ashraf Mecca

(2) Ibid, p.120. (4) Dahlan, p.268; Abd al-Shakur, p.94.

MS, p.83.

addition to this 'Abd al-Shakur asserts that Salim b. Shakban, the chief of Bisha, was authorized to set his people at enmity with the Sharif's tribes.¹

Accordingly, Ghalib wrote letters to 'Abd al-'Aziz and Sa'ud, asking them to fulfill their commitments, but they denied that they had infringed the concluded agreement; meanwhile they asked him to send somebody to investigate the situation. In compliance with this request, he sent Fakhir Ibn Sultan to the Zahran district to make the necessary investigations, which duly confirmed the Sharif's suspicions.²

For this reason, in 1801 Ghalib sent a delegation consisting of his brother-in-law 'Uthman al-Mudhaifi, 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Harith and Ibn Hamid Shaikh al-Muqatah, to al-Dar'iyah in order to renew the truce. Having met Sa'ud, al-Mudhaifi came to a secret agreement with Sa'ud, in which, on the one hand, al-Mudhaifi offered his loyalty to the Wahhabi faith, and on the other Sa'ud appointed him as Emir of the tribes of Taif and Mecca.³ Arriving at al-Taif, he began to press his attacks against the surrounding tribes and al-Taif itself. On receiving word of this development, Ghalib led a formidable army against al-Mudhaifi at al-'Ubaila, but the latter had received reinforcements from Bisha, Buqum, Raniya, Qahtan, as well as elements of the 'Ataiba tribe; in view of these reinforcements Ghalib decided to return to Mecca and al-Taif was captured by the Sa'udi forces in 1802.⁴

(1) *Op.cit.*, p.95. (2) Abd al-Shakur, p.95. Dahlan, pp.268-9.

(3) Abd al-Shakur, pp.96-7; Dahlan, p.271.

(4) Abd al-Shakur, pp.97-105; Ibn Bishr, p.131.

On the other hand, Sa'ud seized this opportunity to press his operations against Mecca itself; he therefore sent out his summons for a general muster of the Sa'udi forces. Arriving with these forces at Wadi al-'Aqiq, Sa'ud encamped, awaiting the time when the pilgrims should leave Mecca. Meanwhile the Sharif Ghalib asked the assembled pilgrims at Mecca for help, but none agreed to his appeal, in all likelihood because they saw no hopes of defeating the Sa'udis.

Be that as it may, Raymond and Rousseau state that Ghalib was alarmed at the danger which threatened him, came to seek 'Abd Allah Pasha, governor of Damascus and Emir al-Hajj, and begged him to act as mediator between Sa'ud and himself and to negotiate, if that was possible, his reconciliation with the proud Sa'ud because the latter had sworn to kill him. The Pasha listened to Ghalib, and wrote to Sa'ud, offering himself as intermediary, to end the quarrel. Sa'ud rejected his proposition and replied that he had no business to interfere in affairs which had nothing to do with his men, and that he ought to be satisfied to have received permission to enter Mecca. He had not forgotten that his correspondent must not stay in Mecca more than three days. When the time expired, Sa'ud would come himself with his army to look for the Sharif Ghalib, whose head alone could satisfy him.¹

According to 'Abd al-Shakur, 'Abd al-Mu'ain, who had been left in charge of Mecca, sent a messenger to Sa'ud offering his submission, as well as that of the population of Mecca, on condition that Sa'ud would promise him that he would treat the people kindly.² Thereupon, Sa'ud sent

(1) Raymond, op. cit., p.23; Rousseau, op. cit., p.163.
(2) Ibid., p.112.

the following Aman. "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful, From Sa'ud b.'Abd al-'Aziz to all the inhabitants of Mecca as well as the Aghawat, 'Ulama and the Qadi al-Sultan, peace be with those who follow the right path! Now then, you are neighbours of God's House and the inhabitants of his Haram are in God's protection, except that we invite you to profess Islam. Say: "People of the book, let us come to an agreement, that we will worship none but Allah, that we will associate none with Him, and that none of us shall set us mortals as good besides Him". If they refuse, say: "Bear witness that we have surrendered ourselves to Allah." Thus you are under the protection of God and of Emir al-Muslimin Sa'ud b.'Abd al-'Aziz and your Emir 'Abd al-Mu'ain. Hear and obey him and obey the commands of God. Greetings." ¹

However, the pilgrims having left Mecca, Ghalib fled to Jidda, leaving Mecca wholly in the power of the Sa'udis, and Sa'ud entered Mecca without any opposition. ^{2(A)}

On the other hand, during Sa'ud's stay at Mecca, Ghalib communicated with him for the purpose of coming to an agreement; but Ghalib was not candid in this, inasmuch as he wanted time to fortify Jidda. ^{2(B)}

Before leaving for Jidda, Sa'ud appointed the brother of Ghalib, 'Abd al-Mu'ain, at the head of Meccan government. From Mecca Sa'ud turned his forces against Jidda, which they besieged for eleven days, but they had to raise the siege and withdraw to al-Dar'iyah;³ and this for three reasons: (1) because its wall was so strong that they could not

(1) Op. cit., pp.112-4; The Koran, (Dawood Translation) p.402.

(2A) Ibn Bishr, p.132; Corancey op.cit., p.36. (2B) Ibn Bishr p.132.

(3) Burckhardt, op.cit., p.330.

breach it,¹ (2) the spread of plague and smallpox in their army (this was the most immediate cause for their retreat),² (3) Burckhardt avers that the Sharif Ghalib induced Sa'ud to retire by offering him a bribe of fifty thousand dollars.³ This assertion is entirely without supporting evidence, and, having regard to Sa'ud's aggregate strength, utterly inconceivable.

Nevertheless, on Sa'ud's return to al-Dar'iyah, Ghalib dismissed Sa'ud's garrison and seized the Sharifate from his brother 'Abd al-Mu'ain in 1803. Thus, with further perseverance and zeal, Sa'ud issued his orders to Abu Nuqta, the chief of the Asir tribe, as well as to the Hejazi tribes with a view to marching against Jiddah.⁴ Reaching the watering-place of al-Sadiyah, Ghalib surprised them, but in spite of the fact that his army was much superior in numbers, it was put to flight leaving the guns, ammunition, small-arms, and provisions in the hands of Abu Nuqta's men.⁵ But Abu Nuqta for some reason did not pursue his opponent. Mengin comments on Abu Nuqta's conduct by saying that he did not understand why Abu Nuqta had returned home, at this time, especially as he had won the war;⁶ but it seems that Abu Nuqta was afraid of facing the Sharif Ghalib alone.

As a result of the capture of Mecca the chiefs of the Harb tribe, Badi and Bedai b. Mudhaiyan and Ibn Jubbarah of the Juhaina tribe, offered their submission, and Yanb'u followed the Banu Harb and Juhaina in surrendering to the Wahhabi cause.⁷ Medina soon followed, but not.

(1) Corancez, p.38.

(2) F.O. 78/40.

(3) Op.cit. p.330.

(4) Ibn Bishr, op.cit. p.140; Raymond, ibid. (5) Ibn Bishr, ibid. p.142.

(6) Op.cit. vol.2. p.531. (7) Burckhardt, ibid.; Ibn Bishr, ibid., p.144; Wahlan, op.cit. p.284; 'Abu al-Shakur, p.140.

without a long siege by the Harb tribe who blockaded it for some time. In 1804 Ibrahim Pasha, Emir al-Hajj, found that Sa'ud was keeping Medina blockaded by checking all the provisions which were drawn usually from Arabia.¹

As a result of this long blockade, Medina was obliged to open its gates to the Sa'udis. Corancey states that Sa'ud summoned in general assembly all the great Shaikhs and 'Ulama addressing them in the following words, "Recognise my laws," he told them, "and stay subject to me; then my protection is assured for you. But if you go back under the yoke of the sublime porte, expect from it alone the means of subsisting."²

On the other hand, Sa'ud pressed his operations against Ghalib; so in 1805 orders were sent out to Abu Nuqta and al-Mudhaifi to direct a new expedition against Mecca and its environs as well as to check the Syrian pilgrims if they intended to fight. On reaching Mecca, Ghalib asked for peace, accordingly peace was concluded on the basis of the submission of Ghalib and acceptance of the Wahhabi faith.³

Thereupon, the whole of the Hejaz came under the Sa'udi sovereignty and Ghalib was re-installed in the governship of Mecca. Burckhardt states that although the Hejaz was now conquered, the Sharif's power continued to be very great. For instance, his authority at Jidda continued in full force, a garrison being kept in that town, which the Sa'udi troops never entered.⁴

(1) Corancez, op.cit., p.76. (2) Ibid., p.77. (3) Ibn Bishr, p.144.
(4) Op.cit., pp.333-7.

2 - Relations between the Sa'udis and Abu Mismar.

Towards 1801 the chief of Asir, surnamed Abu Nuqta,¹ went to al-Dar'iyah to offer his loyalty to the Sa'udi cause. Having promised 'Abd al-'Aziz to take the necessary steps in order to suppress Hamud Abu Mismar, the chief of Abu 'Arish, he returned to his country.² At that time Hamud governed the coast of the Yemen from Qunfida, eastward to Bait al-Faqih, a country which he had wrested from the Imam of San'a.³ Thereupon Abu Nuqta descended from the mountain road called Dhila' with a numerous contingent of his army given as 20,000 men, marching towards Abu Mismar.⁴ Having captured Sabya in 1802, he marched on Dhamd, the capital of Abu 'Arish district, which was surrounded by the Sa'udi army.⁵ Meanwhile, the mediators, such as Muhammad b. Mahdi al-Na'ami, pursued their efforts to persuade Abu Mismar to give up without fighting,⁶ but he, relying on his defences and on five or six hundred cavalry in his service, refused to embrace the Wahhabi faith.⁷ As a result, Abu Nuqta ordered his troops to attack the town vigorously. It is interesting to observe here that Abu Nuqta and Abu Mismar divided their armies into right wing, (Maymanah), left wing (Maysarah) and centre (Qalb).⁸ After a vigorous fight, the defenders were compelled to sue for peace on condition that they would offer their submission to the Sa'udis.

As a result of this event the richest towns on the Yemen coast, Hudaida and Luhaiya were taken and plundered. Salt who was

(1) This refers to the fact of his having but one eye - Playfair, A history of Arabia Felix or Yemen, p.127. (2) Al-Na'ami, Tarikh Asir, p.131.
(3) Burckhardt, N.B.W., p.333. (4) al-Na'ami, p.133. (5) Op.cit., 134.
(6) Ibid. (7) Burckhardt, ibid. (8) al-Na'ami, p.134.

resident at Mocha in 1805 writes, "The weakness of the old Imam, Ali Mansoor, and the incapacity of his minister, had occasioned the loss of some of its most valuable possessions, particularly Loheia and Hodeida, which, from the want of timely support, had been obliged to submit to the power of the Wahabee, and nothing but the walls of Macha prevented their gaining absolute dominion of the sea coast together with the control over the commerce of the country."¹

Abu Nuqta did not remain long in the Tihama, but returned to his province, whence he kept the greater part of the coast of the Yemen in check.² During the whole of the succeeding year, Abu Nuqta continued to harass the Yemen by rapid incursions and frequent plundering expeditions;³ San'a, however, was never made the object of his attack.

Since Hamud announced his adhesion to the Sa'udi cause, matters were going well with Abu Nuqta for some time, but unexpectedly misunderstanding arose between them, as a result of which Sa'ud summoned all the parties concerned to a conference at al-Dar'iyah.⁴ Having made a friendly settlement, Sa'ud ordered them to go back to their own provinces.

Nevertheless, Hamud, who had been forced to join the Sa'udis, was in reality averse to the principles of the Wahhabi doctrine, and therefore only waited for the first favourable opportunity to throw off the yoke.⁵

With this in view, he entered into arrangements with Saidi Ahmad,⁶ the eldest son of the Imam of San'a, by which the latter was induced

(1) Voyage to Abyssinia... in which are included... a concise narrative of events in Arabia Felix, p.123.

(2) Playfair, op.cit., p.128; Burckhardt, ibid. (3) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.336.

(4) Playfair, ibid. al-Na'ami, op.cit. pp.138-9; Philby, S.A.p.113.

(5) Salt, op.cit., p.124.

(6) Playfair, ibid.

to throw aside his father's authority and to take the reins of government into his own hands.¹

Immediately after this development, which happened in 1809, Hamud broke off his connection with the Sa'udis, and returned to his allegiance to the Imam of San'a,² to whom he restored the sovereignty of Luhaiya, mudaiqa, Bait al-Faqih and Zabid, of which, in conjunction with the Sa'udis, he had gained possession, under a stipulation that he was to be retained in the government of those provinces.³

As a result of this defection Sa'ud sent a powerful army estimated at 50,000 men to crush Abu Mismar's revolt. On hearing of this, Abu Mismar advanced to meet the Sa'udis at Wadi Baish, where a battle took place between Abu Mismar and the Asiri contingent in which Abu Nuqta together with several of his principal men fell in the engagement.⁴ Burckhardt writes, "Hamood sallied forth at night from that town with about forty horsemen, dressed as wahaby Bedouins and taking a circuitous route, arrived by dawn of day in the rear of his enemies; whose camp they entered without having excited any suspicion, for they were supposed to be friendly mountaineers. But in front of Abou Nokta's tent they shouted their war-cry, and Hamood killed that chief with his own hands as he was starting up from his mat, and was fortunate enough to escape in the general disorder."⁵ But the rest of the Sa'udis hastened to attack Abu Mismar whereupon he suffered a signal defeat and was compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Playfair, op.cit., p.129.

(3) Salt, op.cit., pp.124-5.

(4) Ibn Bishr., p.153; al-Na'ami, p.143.

(5) Op.cit., p.337

Salt comments on this by saying that, "This failure produced great alarm throughout the provinces; and the inhabitants and merchants of Loheia and Hodeida began to embark their property through fear of the ravages which the Wahabee were likely to commit in following up their conquest."¹

Having recruited his army, Hamud was once more on the war-path. Thus 'Uthman al-Mudhaifi was despatched to deal with him and a battle was fought at a place called al-Wahla in which Hamud was defeated. Meanwhile, Tami b. Shu'aib, the new governor of Asir, penetrated into Luhaiya which was taken by storm and he confiscated all the valuables and merchandise found in the customs house and the merchants' store.³ From here Tami advanced on Hudaida and it was captured too.⁴ However, the Sa'udis and Abu Mismar got tired of fighting; therefore in 1811 they came to an agreement providing Abu Mismar should give up Sabya, al-Darb and Baish to the Sa'udis. In addition to this he was to pay annual tribute; on the other hand, the Sa'udis should stop any further threat to Abu 'Arish's dominion.⁵

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.156. (3) Ibn Bishr, p.157; Philby, S.A.p.117.

(4) Ibid.

(5) al-Na'ami, p.147.

3 - Sa'udi-Omani relations.

According to the Memorial of the government of Saudi Arabia some parts of Oman offered their submission to the Sa'udi faith about 1794. In consequence of this development, Ibn 'Ufaisan was sent to be the Sa'udi representative in Oman with headquarters at Buraimi.¹ In 1799 also the Sa'udi government came to an agreement with the Qawasim chiefs who held the strongest power on the south-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf.² Accordingly, the Sa'udis won over many adherents on the coast as well as in the interior of Oman.³

In 1800 Salim b. Bilal al-Hariq, one of 'Abd al-'Aziz's Nubian slaves, was despatched to al-Buraimi as Emir, with the object of subduing the warlike seafaring tribes, namely Nu'aim, the Dhawahir, Bani Yas and Bani Qitab, and others in al-Dhahirah renewed their pledges of allegiance to the Sa'udi state, and the new Emir collected zakat from them.⁴

With respect to the reasons for the conquest of Oman Miles states that in 1800 the Wahhabis had already overrun and conquered nearly the whole of the rest of the Peninsula, and the Emir, 'Abd al-'Aziz, eager to expurgate the heresy of Ibadhism from the land of Oman, was now preparing to turn his arms eastward and spread his interpretation of the

(1) Vol.1, p.111; Ibn Bishr makes no mention of Ibn 'Ufaisan's having been sent to Buraimi in his account of the year 1795 (A.H.1209-10).

(2) "The Qawasim, a Sunni and Ghafiri (sic) tribe, were bitter enemies of the Ibadhi Al Bu Sa'id rulers of Oman, who had several times chastised them severely for raiding across the neck of the Oman promontory." (Kelly, Eastern Arabian Frontiers, p.55).

(3) The Memorial, p.113

(4) Ibid., p.115; Badger's translation of Salil b. Raziq, p.230.

true religion by the sword.¹

However, on receiving news that the Sa'udis had completed the subjugation of the tribes on the coast, the Sultan of Muscat hastened to stop their advance; but he failed to defend them and was obliged to make a truce with al-Hariq.²

Notwithstanding, war broke out again between them because of the Sultan's despatching a force to the Hejaz. Miles writes: 'But when the news of its arrival at Mecca reached the ears of the Amir Abdul-Azeez (sic), he became so exasperated at the Sultan's action that, after his return from the campaign, he declared war against Muscat, and despatched orders to Al-Bahrain, Kuwait, and Ras al-Khaima to fit out their fleets to scour the Gulf against Omani commerce.'³ Thus the news of the Sa'udi intention of declaring war against Muscat forced the Sultan to make agreement with them in which he undertook to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 Dollars and to see to the establishment of a Sa'udi agent.⁴

As a matter of fact, the Sa'udi chief had no intention of giving up his object. Therefore, shortly after having reinforced al-Hariq, he gave his instructions to attack the Sultan's dominion, but on al-Hariq's reaching al-Suwaïq, the Sultan was told of al-Hariq's movements; as a consequence of this, the former ordered Muhammad b. Hamid al-Wahaby, with his

(1) Op.cit., vol.2, p.289. According to Tritton the Ibadis considered themselves the only true Muslims. They asserted that there can be no argument about faith which does not need proof and there is no individual interpretation. A commonplace list of virtues is preceded by these; a believer must let relatives, neighbours, and wayfarers have their rights, give back deposits, act as a witness, act justly and reasonably, do right, not look at what is forbidden, lead a chaste life, and avoid lies. (p.70) Islam. (2) Miles, ibid., p.294.

(3) ibid., p.297.

(4) ibid., p.298.

men to encounter the Sa'udis. A battle took place in Wadi al-Haimaly in which the Omanis were routed and only a few of their number escaped.¹

As a result of this, the Sultan summoned all the heads of Oman, especially the Banu Sa'id, addressing them in the following words, "It is known to this assembly of Sheikhs and tribes how many of our people were slain in the Wadi of al-Haimaly, since which occurrence I have been like a hand without fingers. War threatens us on all sides, while those who have heretofore been friends have become our enemies, and those on whom we relied have, under the impending difficulties, proved themselves untrustworthy. The dagger's point is at our breasts, and I ask your opinion of the situation!"² Meanwhile, they were told of the advance of al-Hariq on Suhar; so they were ordered to go and bring their forces and join the Sultan at al-Khabura in order to meet the Sa'udi threat. But no battle took place because al-Hariq, on hearing of 'Abd al-'Aziz's assassination, decided to retire to al-Buraimi, and from there he set out for Nejd.³

However, the situation in Oman changed in favour of the Sa'udis because of the death of the Sultan in 1804, which was followed by a struggle for power between, on one hand, the Sultan's brother Qais and on the other, his sons, Salim and Sa'id. Thus the latter, having failed to deal with Qais, were obliged to send an envoy to al-Dar'iya in order to ask Badr b.Saif b.al-Imam to come to them.⁴ On receiving this invitation,

(1) Badger's translation p.234. (2) ibid., p.235 (3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., pp.262-266. Badr's father Saif b.Ahmad was the fourth son of Ahmad b.Sa'id who was the Sultan of Oman (d.1783), finding his claim to the Sultanate overlooked, went to East Africa where he died in exile in Lamu, leaving a son, Badr. The latter on hearing of his uncle, the Sultan's absence at Mecca in 1803, went to Muscat in attempt to usurp the supreme power in Oman. When he failed he was obliged to leave to al-Dar'iya to seek its help.

Badr went to Muscat where the Sultan's sons and the Imam Ahmad's daughter handed over the management of affairs into his hands.¹ Badr had no sooner learnt the situation than he urged his friends the Sa'udis to threaten Qais's base by descending upon Suhar. The plan was successful, and Qais forthwith came to terms. He gave up all claims to the Sultanate, but was allowed to retain power over Suhar.² Miles comments on the Sa'udi support for Badr by stating, "But the Amir Saood, in making this demonstration in favour of Bedr, had no intention of giving his protege too great an ascendancy. His object was rather to let the two rivals, Bedr and Kais, exhaust their strength in contending with each other, until he could find leisure to establish his own despotism."

In 1805, Badr having stabilized the political situation of Oman, Sa'id³ planned to get rid of the former. To do so Badr was invited to a conference at Barka. At the fort of a small village called Nu'man, Badr was met by Sa'id and Muhammad b.Nasir al-Jabri; and in the midst of a friendly conversation, Sa'id stood up and struck Badr with his sword.⁴ At the news of Badr's assassination, the Sa'udi force at Barka went and surrounded the fort, demanding that the persons who were responsible for this action should be delivered to them.⁵ Sa'id protested his innocence and told them to go in pursuit of Muhammad b.Nasir, whom he declared to be the only regicide. Sa'id, moreover, wrote to the Emir Sa'ud accusing Muhammad b.Nasir of killing Badr, and promising to pay the annual tribute and to receive back the army of occupation at Barka.⁶ But Sa'ud was not

(1) Badger, p.266.

(2) ibid., Miles, p.305.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Badger, p.290.

(5) Shaikh Mansur, p.13.

(6) Miles, p.310; Shaikh, ibid.

deceived by Sa'id's words because he had been informed by his agent at Muscat of the real role of Sa'id in this crime.¹

However, Miles explains the real reasons behind Badr's assassination by saying that the people of Oman beheld with dismay the humiliating and increasing submission of Badr to the dictates of the Wahhabis' agent at Muscat and the payment of tribute and maintenance of 400 Wahhabi cavalry at Barka to overawe the country. The observance by all ranks of the Wahhabi doctrine, with regular attendance at prayers, was strictly enforced, while the minarets of the Ibadhi and Sunni mosques were everywhere broken down and removed.² The latter observation of Miles is undeniably exaggerated as it was no part of the Wahhabi's intention to destroy mosques.

On the other hand, the Dar'iyah court did not take immediate action, perhaps because they were engaged in consolidating their influence in the Hejaz province. Nevertheless, in 1808, when some local rulers were disturbing the peace of the area, Sa'ud determined to restore peace and order in the area; therefore he authorized the chief of Ras al-Khaima to deal with the situation. A battle took place between the Sa'udis and the Omanis at Khaur Fakhan in which the latter was defeated and obliged to sue for peace on condition that they offered their submission.³

This did not last long, because Sa'id b. Sultan in 1809 threw off his allegiance to al-Dar'iyah and called in the British to attack the Sa'udi stronghold at Ras al-Khaima.⁴ The British for various reasons

(1) Miles, *ibid.*; Shaikh Mansur, pp.16-17.

(2) Miles, pp.306-7.

(3) Ibn Bishr, p.150.

(4) *Ibid.*, p.153.

were concerned with their own commercial protection in the Persian Gulf and were pleased to assist the Muscat government in resisting the Sa'udi power. Thereupon a British expedition was despatched from Bombay, arriving at Muscat, ^{where} it was joined by the Omanis, whence it marched on Ras al-Khaima which was destroyed. Burckhardt writes: "The greatest loss which the Wahabys (sic) ever experienced was, in the course of that year (1809), the destruction of their fortified harbour on the Persian Gulf, called Ras al-Kheyma (sic), which was laid in ashes by an English expedition sent from Bombay, as its piratical inhabitants of the Gowajim or Djowasim tribe had committed numerous depredation upon the English commerce in that sea."¹

On receiving the news of this expedition Sa'ud hastened to despatch a force under the command of Mutlak al-Mutairi to the relief of Ras al-Khaima, but when al-Mutairi arrived Ras al-Khaima had been already ruined.² Thus he marched northward to the relief of Shinas and then attacked Suhar with the help of the tribes of Mu'aim, Dhawahir and the Banu Qitab, and all the Arabs of the neighbourhood of al-Buraimi as well as Muhammad b. Nasir,³ (who had joined the Sa'udis) and the result of this campaign was that the Sultan's force was defeated in 1811 in the Ma'awal valley.⁴

In consequence of these circumstances, Sultan Sa'id turned his attention to Persia, by ensuring that his brother Sayyid Salim was despatched as an envoy to the court of Persia in order to ask for its help against

(1) Op.cit. pp.336-7.

(2) Shaikh Mansur, p.58.

(3) Badger, p.298.

(4) ibid, p.314.

the Wahhabis. Shaikh Mansur states that the Shah had been for some time engaged in hostilities against the Wahhabis.¹ Thus Persia supplied Muscat with a force consisting of 3,000 men.² As soon as this force arrived at Muscat the operations started against the Saudis, and the fort of Nadhl was surrounded by the allied forces until it sued for peace; from there they marched to Semail which likewise surrendered to them.³

On hearing this news Muhammad b. Nasir immediately contacted al-Mutairi, who raised levies from the Banu Nu'aim, Qitab and al-Dhawahir tribes; he also collected many from Dhank and al-Ghabby and these were joined by others from the Janabah and Duruwa tribes. A battle took place between the Sa'udis and the Persian-Omanis near Saddi and the former gained complete victory over the Omanis together with the Persians.⁴ Then the Sa'udis and their allies went to Semail, where the Muscati Persians were attacked and completely routed near this town.

According to Shaikh Mansur, Mutlak, after this victory, instead of proceeding to the relief of Ras al-Khaima, which the Sultan had been attacking, marched directly to Muscat, burnt Mutra (one of its suburbs) and took up such a position as to intercept all supplies from the surrounding country. The Sultan had no sooner heard of the defeat of his army and the imminent danger to his capital, than he returned with all possible speed to its assistance, but he could only arrive in time to see its dependancies in flames.⁶ Thus the Sultan Sa'id, unable to defeat

(1) Op.cit. p.80.

(2) Badger, p.314; Ibn Bishr, pp.160-161.

(3) Badger, p.316.

(4) Ibid., p.317. Dhank situated in the district of al Zharirah, ibid., p.57.

(5) Shaikh Mansur, pp.84-5. (6) Ibid.

Mutlak, decided to come to an agreement with him, by which the latter retired on condition that the Sultan should pay him 40,000 Dollars.¹

Miles writes: "With this amount Mutlak returned to Nejd, where his action in abandoning the campaign would appear to have been disapproved of by the Amir Saood (sic)."²

After this event Mutlak went back to al-Dar'iyah and Ibn Ghardaqa, who had replaced him in Oman, was killed immediately because trouble resulting from his improper administration of the collection of the zakat led to a revolt by some people of the Banu Yas against the Sa'udi government.³ Accordingly in 1813, Mutlak was ordered to move against Oman in order to restore law and order and to put an end to the interference of the Sultan in the affairs of Ras al-Khaima; but when he was fighting in the territory of al-Hajariyin he was cut off from his men by the tribe of Hajariyin and killed; and his force retired to al-Buraimi. Miles writes; "Mutlak's arms and coat-of-mail were carried to Muscat, and the dark cloud of Wahabee (sic) dominion over Oman was scattered, while the hopes of the Wahabee Amir attaining to conquest of Oman were lost. To this able and dashing generalship the success of the Wahabee invasions had been chiefly due, and the Amir had no one of similar capacity to replace him."⁵

However, at the same time that the head of Mutlak was brought

(1) Miles, p.319; Shaikh Mansur, p.70. (2) ibid.
According to Badger this amount seems highly probable, from certain statements made in the sequel, was paid as Zakat, or obligatory alms for religious purposes, and that it was stipulated on the same occasion what amount of such tribute should be paid annually by 'Azzan b.Qais for Sohar, and by the Seyyid Sa'ida for the remainder of Oman.p.1xxvii.

(3) Badger, p.325. (4) ibid., p.327. (5) ibid., p.320.

to Muscat, Sultan b.Sakar, the former chief of the Qawasim tribe, who had been dismissed and arrested by the Sa'udi authority, escaped from al-Dar'iya to Mecca and placed himself under the protection of the Ottoman authorities, by arriving at Muscat. He was entrusted with a mission to the Sultan of Oman by the Viceroy of Egypt, namely to propose an alliance against the Sa'udis.¹ Thereupon the Sultan despatched a ship to Jidda, loaded with provisions and ammunition, assuring Tusun Pasha that he might depend on all the assistance which Muscat could afford as long as the aim was the destroying of the Sa'udi power.

On the other hand, on hearing of Mutlak's death, Saud sent Ibn Mazru' to replace him at the same time as he was ordered to suppress the Omani territory.² Reaching al-Buraimi he collected a large force with the intention of marching against al-Bediah, but no battle took place between him and the Omani forces because sudden developments in al-Batinah brought the campaign to an end, the ruler of Muscat being more interested in the Affairs of the coast than in those of the interior.³ Beyond this we cannot trace the activities of Ibn Mazru' for lack of material.

Later on, according to Miles, Abd Allah b. Sa'ud, who had succeeded his father, appointed a new agent at Muscat in 1816, with instructions to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Oman rulers and to come to a permanent peace.⁴ The agent's negotiations at Muscat at first promised success, but the question of Ras al-Khaima proved an

(1) Shaikh Mansur, pp.88-90.

(2) S.M. p.142.

(3) Ibid.; Badger, p.329.

(4) ibid., p.322.

insurmountable obstacle, and the state of war continued.¹

On the other hand, Ibn Mazru' was succeeded by Battal al-Mutairi who continued to hold this post until the fall of al-Dar'iyah and the end of the reign of 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud.²

However, as a result of the heavy demand for men in order to encounter Ibrahim Pasha's campaign, 'AbdAllah b.Sa'ud was obliged to withdraw the Nejd force in Oman. As a matter of fact, not only the Nejd men but also other Arabs of Oman hastened to defend al-Dar'iyah, Miles states: "It was at this time that Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, was contemplating the final destruction of the Wahabee Empire, and the Amir Abdulla, foreseeing the coming blow, had need of every available man to aid in the defence of his country, and not only was every Nejdian soldier withdrawn from Oman, but the Arab spirit of clannishness, or perhaps the ingrained hatred of Arab against Turk, induced a large contingent from the Ghafiri or Maaddic tribes of al-Dhahireh to flock to the standard of the Amir at Deraya."³

(1) Miles, p.322.

(2) S.M., p.143.

(3) ibid., p.323.

4 - Sa'udi-Iraqi relations.

According to Burckhardt, the Pasha of Baghdad exercised influence over numerous Bedouin tribes in his neighbourhood. Several of these were already at war with the Sa'udis, whose expeditions were dreaded all along the banks of the Euphrates.¹ However, the Sa'udis came into contact with the Iraqi tribes in 1785. According to Ibn Ghannam and Ibn Bishr the war broke out between the Sa'udis and Thuwaini, the chief of the Muntafiq tribe which was under the Iraqi sovereignty, because Sa'dun b. 'Arai'ar, the chief of al-Hasa, fled to al-Dar'iyah, presumably to obtain its support against a local rebellion which was supported by Thuwaini b. 'Abdallah the chief of the Muntafiq tribe.²

To avoid any friction with Thuwaini, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ud asked Sa'dun not to come to al-Dar'iyah, but the latter did not listen. Consequently 'Abd al-'Aziz assured Thuwaini that al-Dar'iyah would not support Sa'dun and they would like to live in peace with him. But Thuwaini did not accept al-Dar'iyah's excuse and decided to declare war against it.³

On the other hand, Musil states that Ibn 'Arai'ar was unable to maintain himself in al-Hasa and in 1784 fled to Ibn Sa'ud in al-Dar'iyah where he died. Ibn Sa'ud occupied the southern part of his territory, while the chief of the Muntafiq held the northern part in the name of the

(1) N.B.W. p.323.

(2) Ibn Ghannam, al-Rawdat, vol.2.p.124; Ibn Bishr.90.

(3) Ibn Ghannam, pp.124-5.

Ibn Bishr writes, "In 1200 (1785) the battle of Jadh'a took place in which two sections of the Banu Khalid (Mahashir and al-Subaih) conspired with two members of its princely family, 'Abdal-Muhsin b. Sardah al-'Ubaidallah and Thuwaini b. 'Arai'ar to revolt against the rule of Sa'dun. Thuwaini b. 'Abdallah, the chief of the Muntafiq, responded to their request for support and the confederates confronted Sa'dun in overwhelming force." Op.cit. p.90; Philby, S.A. p.75.

Turkish government.

And so, war broke out between Ibn Sa'ud and the Turkish government. At the end of 1786 Turkish troops with artillery, 700 camel-loads of military provisions, led by the Muntafiq chief, marched into the Sa'udi territory of al-Qasim.¹ On reaching Tanuma, a village in the Qasim district, he and various contingents of the Shammar and Tay tribes besieged this village for some days, bombarding it with heavy artillery. Then it was taken by storm and pillaged.² Afterwards the Turkish troops marched on Buraida where they made their preparations for its besieging, but Thuwaini received new^s of trouble at home. Thus he had to abandon the siege and hastily returned to al-Zubair where he arrested the governor of Basra, and then Thuwaini went forward to Basra where he usurped the governorship.³

The second contact took place in 1796. It was occasioned by the fact that various detachments of the Sa'udi forces went so far as to plunder some villages in Iraq, and also that the inhabitants complained to the governor of Baghdad and aroused his suspicions, claiming that the Sa'udis were planning to occupy Basra and even Baghdad.⁴ Accordingly in 1797, Sulaiman Pasha, governor of Baghdad, provided Thuwaini with arms and men. With this force as well as volunteers from Kuwait, Zubair and his own tribe, together with the Dhafir tribe, advanced towards al-Hasa. No sooner had 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ud received news of this development than he ordered provincial contingents from al-Kharj, al-Far'a, Wadi al-Dawasir, al-Aflaj, Washm, Sudair, al-Qasim and Jabal Shammar to meet this threat,⁵

and appointed Muhammad b. Mu'aqil as the commander-in-chief of these forces,
(1) Musil, Northern Nejd, p.260. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.91. (3) ibid; Philby, op.cit. p.76.
(4) Ibn Bishr, pp.115-6; Brydges, a brief history of the Wahaby, pp.10-11.
(5) Ibn Bishr, ibid.

which left al-Dar'iyah for the watering place of Qariya in the Taff district. Simultaneously orders were given to the Bedouin tribes of Mutair, Subai', 'Ujman, Suhul and others, to choose their winter encampments in the Banu Khalid district in order to occupy the different watering places and defend them against the enemy. In addition to this, Sa'ud marched to Raudhat al-Tanha, with contingents from al-'Aridh and other districts; then he moved to Hafar al-'Atk where he stayed for two months.¹

However, no fight took place because Thuwaini was assassinated by a slave in July 1797. Longrigg comments on this, "The army, possessed of no bond or discipline save in his personality, instantly dispersed into fifty contingents, each eager for the safety of their homes. Thus in treachery and panic flight ended the last and better-deserving effort of the great Muntafiq Shaikh, and the first counter-stroke of Iraq against the Wahhabi power."² They were pursued by the Sa'udis as far as the environs of Kuwait.³

In spite of the Turkish-Iraqi government⁵ failure, Sulaiman Pasha would not give up his object of threatening the Sa'udis.⁴ He therefore despatched a new expedition in 1798, under the Turkish commander 'Ali Kaikhiya. It possessed a formidable train of artillery and it contained five thousand janissaries, mercenary regulars and divisions of the 'Uqail, 'Ubaid, Shammar, and other tribes. Muhammad al-Shawi accompanied the campaign so as to aid 'Ali Kaikhiya by his advice and to direct him in

(1) Ibn Bishr., p.116.

(2) Four centuries of Modern Iraq, p.215.

(3) Ibn Bishr, p.117. (4) Brydges says: "During my absence in England from 1795-1798, the porte had sent repeatedly the most pressing order to Suleiman Pasha, to undertake an expedition, on a sufficient scale to justify reasonable hopes of entirely subverting the Wahabi power; an evident proof how much the uneasiness of the Ottoman government, respecting these sectaries had increased and how greatly their power and reputation were augmented." Oncit, pp.16-17.

his transactions.¹ On reaching al-Hasa the people of the Hufuf, Mubarraz and the villages of the oasis, joined the Turkish troops, but the garrisons of the forts at Hufuf and Mubarraz resisted the invaders for two months; but when they failed in their task, they decided to raise the siege and go home.² Meanwhile news arrived that Sa'ud was on his way to defend his dominion, therefore 'Ali Kaikhiya hastened to leave al-Hasa.³ On hearing of this development, Sa'ud proceeded to the watering place at Thaj in order to intercept the retreating army. Meanwhile the Turkish army encamped at the wells of Shibak, near Thaj.⁴ After some days skirmishing, they came to an agreement on the understanding that the Sa'udis should stop raids against the Iraqi territories, and pay the costs of the expedition.⁵ But according to Ibn Bishr, 'Ali Kaikhiya proposed peace providing the Turks should return home unmolested.⁶

The failure of 'Ali's expedition was attributed to the fact that Muhammad al-Shawi, who had large territorial possessions in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, entertained a secret understanding with the Sa'udi chief Al-Shawi and the chief of the Muntafiq tribe promised the Sa'udi chief that they would persuade 'Ali Kaikhiya to conclude a peace with him.⁷

However, the real reason for 'Ali's expeditionary failure was that which Brydges explains in the following quotation, "The failure of the expedition was entirely owing to the improper, spiritless, and cowardly manner in which Aly commenced the attack on el-Hasa. I was assured by a

(1) Ibn Bishr, pp.125-6; Longrigg, ibid. (2) Ibn Bishr, p.126.
(3) Ibn Bishr, p.127; Longrigg, ibid. (4) Ibn Bishr, ibid.
(5) Lam'al Shihab, p.361. (6) ibid. (7) Lam'al Shihab, pp.354-5.

person who accompanied the expedition, that the battery with which the Kiah pretended to breach the fort was in the first instance so placed, that had a breach been effected, the Turks would have had the river to cross in the face of the enemy; and in the next, that the batteries were erected at so great a distance from the walls of the fort, that most of the shells and balls never reached; the former exploding in the air, and the latter, if any of them did reach thither, producing no effect."¹

The concluded peace between Iraq and the Sa'udi state did not last long because a caravan of Persian pilgrims was attacked and plundered, between Hillah and Mashhad 'Ali; also the neighbourhood of Basra was attacked by a party of the Sa'udis.² Accordingly 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Shawi was sent on a mission to the Sa'udi court, but he returned to report that peace was not desired.

This was followed by an attack against Karbala. They chose the 2nd of April 1801 because the city would be almost deserted. They presented themselves suddenly, and easily attacked the town. After a short siege it was taken by storm and all the people, who were found, were massacred without mercy. Having accomplished this, pillaged, demolished the tomb of Imam Husain and taken everything of value such as weapons, money, and other valuable things, they withdrew to al-Dar'iya.³

No sooner had Sulaiman Pasha heard of the arrival of the Sa'udis than he sent 'Ali Kaikhiya in great haste with some cavalry to stop them, but it was too late because they only took five hours to besiege the

(1) Op.cit., pp.22-3.

(2) Op.cit., p.27; Longrigg, p.216.

(3) Ibn Bishr, pp.129-30; Longrigg, p.217; Rousseau, op.cit., p.156

town of Karbala.¹ Accordingly the Shah of Persia wrote to Sulaiman Pasha a letter full of bitter reproaches, wherein he expressed his indignation over the weak conduct that 'Ali Kaikhiya had shown in the expedition to al-Dar'iya. And he threatened himself to send a numerous army to exterminate the wahhabis if he did not promptly take measures to do so.²

Sulaiman Pasha conveyed to the Shah of Persia his extreme grief and admitted his guilt in not having^{had} the foresight to prevent it. He added that he had not been able to foresee or prevent it, because of the rapidity^{speed} with which it had been launched; and he promised to keep a closer watch on the movements of the wahhabis in the future and to act against them with vigour.³

The Sa'udis stopped attacking Iraq for a while because they had been engaged in their operations against the Hejaz. Following 'Abd al-'Aziz's assassination, his successor's aim was to avenge his father.⁴

So from the end of the year 1803 a detachment of the Sa'udis advanced against Iraq, probably to show the Pasha of Baghdad that if he had managed to get rid of his enemy by crime, 'Abd al-'Aziz lived on in his son.

At the beginning of 1804 the Sa'udis appeared in force in the area of Zubair, a town situated on the Euphrates some distance north of Basra. From here Sa'ud sent his men to plunder the outskirts of al-Basra, and besieged Zubair under cover of night. After a fruitless siege of twelve days, Sa'ud drew off his troops and returned home.⁵ This

(1) Raymond, Memoire sur l'origine des Wahabys, p.17.

(2) Rousseau, op.cit. p.156.

(3) Rousseau, p.157.

(4) He was assassinated by a Shi'ite who had become a Wahhabi through the desire of vengeance. This false Wahhabi was of the town of Imam Husain, and had lost his three sons in the general massacre of the town. Ibn Bishr, p.134; Rousseau, p.168.

(5) Ibn Bishr, p.140.

was because the town was very well fortified. Corancez writes, "The walls which surround the city, fourteen cubits high, are of earth soaked in water and dried in the sun. Nothing is commoner than this kind of fortification in Egypt, and, in all cultivated places which are exposed to the Arabs raids."¹

As a result of the successive orders which were pressed by the Porte, the Pasha of Baghdad, at the head of a powerful army, set off for Hillah and then to al-Dar'iyah.² Harford Jones writes, "The Pacha is at present encamped near Hillah, and it is given out he means, after the present month of Ramazan, to march against the Wahaby. From what I know of the situation of this Government, of the Pacha's resources and of the state of his army, I cannot bring myself to suppose he will attempt any such thing."³

But this expedition did not march against al-Dar'iyah and contented itself with some raids on the frontiers of the Sa'udi dominion.

On the other hand, Sa'ud made his annual excursion against Iraqi territory in 1806. Reaching al-Mashhad he tried to attack, but in vain because its walls were surrounded by a protective moat. Therefore he decided to retire to Hindiya and Hillah, which were attacked, but nothing was achieved.⁴ From here he moved to Basra and Zubair and Samawa which were raided. He also led another expedition against Karbala in 1808, but he found that it was well fortified. Having tried to break the

fortifications of this town, he went to 'Athathah which was compelled to

(1) *Op.cit.*, p.53

(2) Longrigg, *op.cit.*, p.229.

(3) Letter to Lord Castlereagh, Baghdad, December 13th 1804, F.O.letter 78/36.

(4) Ibn Bishr, p.145.

surrender, and so Sa'ud made his way to Basra and Zubair, whose outskirts were raided and pillaged.¹ But these attacks were ineffectual. This kind of raiding continued until 1810.

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.149.

5 - Syrian-Sa'udi relations.

According to Raymond the first contact with Syria came in 1803. While 'AbdAllah Pasha, the governor of Damascus and Emir al-Hajj was proceeding to Mecca, he was interrupted by a party of the Sa'udis under the pretext of demanding the usual charges passing through.¹ 'AbdAllah Pasha would not pay, and he wrote to Sa'ud asking him for permission to make the pilgrimage. Sa'ud replied to 'AbdAllah Pasha that the caravan could freely enter Mecca provided that it should stay there three days, and he himself would guarantee the safety of the pilgrims and would prevent any harm being done to them.²

The second contact came in 1805, when the Syrian pilgrims obtained a passage on condition that the caravan of pilgrims should no longer come under the protection of the Turks, or bring the Mahmal which the Porte used to send every year to the Holy city.³ In short, Sa'ud required that the whole caravan should be composed absolutely of pilgrims alone, without troops, arms, flags, or any other ornaments, and without music.

This was followed in 1807 by Sa'ud's instructions to his commanders at Medina that the Syrian pilgrim caravans should not be permitted to enter Medina or proceed to Mecca.⁴ The reason for this was Sa'ud's fear that Ghalib might be given support by the Turkish escort which accompanied the pilgrim caravans.⁵

-
- (1) Mémoire sur l'origine des Wahabis, p.22. (2) Raymond, p.23; Rousseau, p.162.
(3) al-Damasqi, Tarihk Hawadith al-Sham and Labenon, p.17; 'Ali Bey, Travels, vol.2.p.135. Mahmal is a richly worked chest covered with a green cloth, which contained the pious offerings which the Porte sent to be placed on the Kaa'ba; Rousseau op.cit., p.170. (4) Ibn Bishr, p.146.
(5) Ibid.

Accordingly, on the approach of the Syrian caravan to the sacred area, the Sa'udi authorities informed the caravan's Emir that they would not be allowed to go ahead and make the pilgrimage.¹ Burckhardt explains the reasons for this: "In refusing to let the caravans pass, the Wahabys appear to have acted from religious motives, for they knew that the soldiers who accompanied them would not attempt any hostile measures in a country where they might be at once cut off from all supplies and reinforcements. But the hadjys, or pilgrims, composing those caravans, had always acted in so indecorous a manner, their chiefs had so openly sanctioned the vilest practices, and the ceremonies of the hadj itself had been so polluted by the conduct of the devotees, that the Wahabys, who had long insisted upon a reform of these disorders, resolved to terminate them."²

It is clear from the above facts that the Sa'udis objection was on religious grounds because, as we have already mentioned, the caravan was accompanied by music and other innovations which had nothing to do with religion.

In 1808 Sa'ud despatched a messenger to Damascus and the Shaikhs and A'yans of Syria with ^a letter in which he required his doctrine to be recognized, promising true believers safety and protection, threatening

(1) Ibid. Here is an extract from a letter from Aleppo, dated 14th March 1807. "I am hastening to give you the important news of the misfortune which befell the pilgrims. These set out from Damascus to go to Mecca, having as usual at their head, the Emir-el-hage, Abd allah Pacha. They were stopped in the middle of their journey by the Wahabis and exposed to new vexations. The sect had dictated last year to the same pacha, rigorous conditions, which forbade the convoy showing any form of exterior decoration. Annoyed to find that this had not been conformed with, they ordered him to suspend, and return with, the whole caravan, threatening him with complete pillage, if he showed the least form of resistance." (Rousseau op.cit. p.178).

(2) Op.cit., pp.327-8.

to destroy the city, if it should oppose any resistance to him. Similar letters from Sa'ud were addressed to the different towns of Syria.¹ Their contents were the same except that Sa'ud asked that the city of Aleppo should pay him a tribute.² It was alleged that the Sa'udis were marching to the number of 40,000 men to support their claim.

It is clear from this that the Sa'udi wars were to a great extent based on their interpretation of Islam.

However, Yusuf Pasha made some half-hearted preparations in 1809 for an attack against the district of Jauf, which was under the Sa'udi sovereignty. It was only a vain demonstration of his zeal, and never took place.³

On the other hand, Sa'ud made his attack against the neighbourhood of Damascus with about six thousand men in 1810. According to Burckhardt, Sa'ud's arrival was unexpected, and Yusuf Pasha's army was unable to check his progress, so that they plundered thirty-five villages in the Huran district during three days, and burnt all the corn wherever they passed.⁴ As to the lives of the inhabitants and peasants, Sa'ud spared them. Burckhardt comments on Sa'ud's action by saying, "But his plan was, undoubtedly, to make frequent plundering visits, so that Damascus at least would have been induced to surrender voluntarily."⁵

(1) Corancez puts this event in 1807 (op.cit., p.133); see al-Damashqi, op.cit. p.23.

(2) Corancez, ibid.

(3) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.336. Al-Jauf district consisted of several villages on the road from Damascus to Nejd, twelve days distance from Damascus.

(4) Op.cit. p.337. These villages were two days distance from Damascus.

(5) Op.cit. pp.337-8.

According to Ibn Bishr, the object of Sa'ud's expedition was directed against the Syrian tribes, from 'Anaza and the Banu Sakhr who had concentrated in Nugrat al-Sham, but when he arrived there, he found that they had already left this place, and so he attacked Huran.¹

This was the last contact between the Sa'udis and the Syrian dominions.

(1) Ibn Bishr, p.156

6 - Ottomani/Egyptian - Sa'udi relations.

The increasing power of the Sa'udis and the spread of their influence to the neighbouring countries, namely the Hejaz, Iraq, Oman and finally Syria, created the impression that the Sa'udis were infidels. Burckhardt states that Ghalib, the ruler of the Hejaz, who provoked the Turkish government to opposition, represented them as infidels.¹ Moreover, the Pashas of Baghdad made statements similar to that of Ghalib and to them the Porte listened.² Thus from 1795 onwards the Porte had sent his orders to the Pasha of Baghdad in order to subdue, or even destroy the Sa'udi power, but all his attempts failed to achieve their aim.

Accordingly, the Porte decided to approach the Sa'udis by sending some legal expert to the Sa'udi Court in the hope of coming to terms with them. Elgin writes, "The affairs of the Wahaby next engaged the most serious attention of the Ottoman Council (which was held on 20th October, 1801). The conduct and the strength of those sectaries, the interests in opposition to them, and the difficulties in attacking them by force, were all fairly canvassed. And, in the failure of the endeavours now to be made at accommodation with them, a uniform system of measures against them will be traced, and orders given to pursue it, from the governments in Syria, from Mecca and Baghdad, in combination with any plans which may be concerted with the King of Persia."³

(1) Op.cit., N.B.W. p.322.

(2) ibid.

(3) From Earl Elgin, the British Ambassador at the Porte, to Mr. Harford Jones, Resident at Baghdad. Oct.21, 1801. (F.O. Letter 78/36).

However, this suggestion was not confirmed either by Ibn Bishr or Burckhardt, and it is possible that the Porte tried to approach the Sa'udis because Burckhardt states that the Sharif of Mecca, who had always been a determined enemy of the growing Wahhabi power, had an interest in widening the breach between them and the Turks, and therefore artfully and unremittingly spread reports of the Wahhabis being really infidels, in order to render abortive all attempts at negotiations with them.¹

Suffice it to say that, according to Corancez, Adam-Effendi, formerly Qadi of Jerusalem, was sent by the Porte on a mission to the Wahhabis in order to present to them evidence of the favourable attitude of the Porte.² Before proceeding, Adam-Effendi had, moreover, long discussions at Constantinople with the Mufti and legal advisers. They had for a long time been in agreement with him as to the means of bringing the principles of their religion closer to those of Shaikh Muhammad.³ Thereupon, in 1806 Adam-Effendi accompanied AbdAllah Pasha, the Emir of the Syrian pilgrims; since his arrival at Mecca there had been no news of him. Corancez writes, "No news has since been heard of that unhappy Effendi who doubtless perished a victim of the politics of the Porte and the intolerance of the new prophet."⁴

Yet, seeing that we have no available information, this statement can neither be substantiated nor refuted.

(1) Ibid.
(3) Op.cit. p.35.

(2) Op.cit., p.34.
(4) Ibid.

However, consequent on the taking of Mecca and Medina, the Porte transmitted his orders to the Pasha of Baghdaad to march against the Sa'udis;¹ but his attempts proved unavailing.

On the other hand, Mecca and Medina having yielded to the Sa'udis, Sa'ud came into direct hostilities with the Turkish government. Valentia states, "Suud (sic) to Selim. I entered Mecca on the 4th day of Maharem, in the 1218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs which they idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and half per cent. I confirmed the Cadi, whom you had appointed to govern in the place agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I desire that, in the ensuing years, you will give orders to the pachas of Shaum (sic), Syria, Misr, and Egypt, not to come accompanied by the Mahamel, trumpets, and drums, into Mecca and Medina. For why? religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us, and may the blessing of God be unto you. Dated on the 10th day of Mohareme."² Moreover, Sa'ud declared in 1805 that the caravans of the pilgrims should no longer come under the protection of the Turks.³ Above all he also forbade the people to pray in their mosques for the welfare of the Sultan as was usually done on Fridays.⁴ Accordingly the Porte issued his orders to the Pashas of Baghdaad and Damascus to do their best to attack the Sa'udis and recapture the Holy Cities, but in vain.

(1) Letter from Jones Harford to Lord Caslereagh, Baghdaad, July 31, 1803.
(F.O.Letter 78/36)

(2) Voyages and travels, vol.2. p.390.

(3) Ali Bey, Op.cit., p.135; Corancez op.cit. p.92.

(4) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.336.

Since all the attempts which the Pashas of Baghdad and Damascus had undertaken to destroy the Sa'udi power had failed, the Porte now turned to the Egyptian Pasha. Burckhardt explains the reasons for this choice by saying that all parties knew that from Egypt only could the Hejaz be conquered, because the immense desert extending between that country and Damascus rendered impossible the transport of sufficient provisions and ammunitions for a regular campaign with an enemy, whose first measure would be to cut off all other communications,¹ and because the Hejaz depended almost exclusively upon Egypt for every necessity of life.² In consequence, Muhammad 'Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, was ordered to take such steps as might be necessary to re-occupy the Holy cities and crush the Wahhabi movement. To do so he began to make the following necessary preparations during 1809-1811. (1) The construction of a fleet of twenty eight vessels large and small.³ (2) Large magazines of corn, biscuits and other provisions were formed about the same time at Suez.⁴ (3) The castles on the pilgrimage road, between Cairo and Yanbu', were all repaired and strengthened by new walls, and garrisoned with Maghribi foot-soldiers who were accustomed to dealing with Bedouin customs and tactics.⁵ (4) He sent to the Hejaz Sayyid Ahmad al-Mulla to make sure of the dispositions of the country, examine the Saudi forces, the situation of the Arab tribes, and to ascertain the plan of the Sharif of Mecca.⁶ (5) He also entrusted the task of all the necessary

(1) Op.cit., p.338

(2) Op.cit., p.339.

(3) Op.cit., p.343.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Mengin, op.cit.,
vol.1.p.373.

arrangements with the Bedouin of the Red Sea to Sayyid Muhammad al-Mahrouki. Burckhardt writes, "To the first merchant of Cairo, Seyed Mohammed el-Mahrouky, who had himself often been at Mekka and was deeply concerned in the Red Sea trade, were entrusted by Mohammed Aly the political conduct of the war and all the necessary arrangement with the Bedouins of the Red Sea; and it cannot be doubted that he had a considerable share in the final success of this enterprise." ¹

On the other hand, on hearing the news^s of this expedition, Ghalib immediately entered into secret correspondence with Muhammad 'Ali, telling him that he would throw off the yoke of the Sa'udis at the first appearance of the Turkish forces on the shores of the Hejaz.²

Muhammad 'Ali, having finished these preparations in 1811 sent an expedition to the Hejaz under his son Tusun Pasha, in the course of which Yanbu' was occupied after a feeble resistance.³

As a result of this, Sa'ud sent a force under the command of his son AbdAllah with the purpose of resisting the invasion. The latter took up his position at al-Khaif, the narrowest part of Wadi al-Safra, about half-way between Medina and the coast, awaiting the advance of the aggressors. In this wadi a battle took place between the two sides which lasted for three successive days and during which the Turkish army was put completely to rout. Hereupon Tusun retreated with the remainder of his army to Yanbu'.⁴ Fortunately for the Turkish, the Saudis did not

(1) Op.cit., p.344.

(2) Burckhardt, ibid.

(3) ibid., p.345.

(4) 16th January, 1812 to the Marquis of Wellesley, Missett, F.O.letter 24/4.

follow up their success. Weygand writes, "Les forces de souhoud ne surent pas exploiter leur succès pour jeter sur Yanbo. Leurs chefs eurent meme l'impudence de croire qu'ils avaient infligé a Toussoun une defaite irremédiable. ils se contentèrent de renforcer l'effectif de la citadelle de Medine et de confier aux habitants la defense des positions de Safra, puis ils rentrerent dans l'interieur du Nedjd."¹

Muhammad 'Ali had no sooner received the news of Tusun's defeat than he prepared to send reinforcement together with large sums of money to his son, for the purpose of distribution among the neighbouring Bedouin, in order to detach them from the Sa'udi side.² Understandably, this policy succeeded in gaining over the Banu Salim and Banu Subh, who occupied the Wadi al-Safra.³ Missett, the British Consul in Egypt, reported this event by saying, "It appears certain that the Arabs of Judeda (the defile), to the number of fifty chiefs, have joined Toossun Pasha, and put several hostages into his hands."⁴

In 1812 on receiving reinforcements, Tusun gave his orders to march on Medina, which surrendered after having been invested and bombarded.⁵ On the contrary, Missett states that the commandant of al-Medina, following the example of other Arab chiefs, had invited Tusun Pasha to take possession of the town.⁶ This was followed, in 1813, by the surrender of Jidda, Mecca and Taif. And as a result of the surrender of the latter, the subjects of 'Uthman al-Mudhaifi who live in the region.

(1) Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils, vol.1.p.75.

(2) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.352. (3) Ibid. The Banu Salim and Banu Subh were powerful branches of the Banu Harb tribe.

(4) 4th November, 1812, Missett, F.O.letter 24/4.

(5) Ibn Bishr, p.165. (6) Ibid.

of this town offered their submission to the Turks, as well as the Zahran and Ghamid provinces.¹

Meanwhile, Sa'ud had no sooner lost the Hejaz than he set out in person towards Hanakiya, an important oasis and settlement on the main road from Medina to the Qasim province, whose fort was already in Turkish hands. It was surrendered after some skirmishes and its garrison was allowed to go not to Medina, but to al-Iraq.²

On the other hand, Mustafa Bey, the Pasha's brother-in-law, accompanied by Sharif Rajih, pushed on towards Turaba, about seventy or eighty miles distant from Taif to the east, but was repulsed and obliged to retreat to al-Taif.³ Consequently al-Mudhaifi organized several attacks against the forts of al-Taif, cutting off communications with Mecca. Having accomplished this, he retired to Basal, four or five hours eastward from al-Taif, where Sharif Ghalib had been informed of his presence. Thus he detached a strong force to pursue al-Mudhaifi, who was arrested and handed over to the Ghalib who had him put to death.⁴

As a result of the failure of all the attempts which Tusun had made to defeat the Sa'udis, Muhammad^lAli decided to visit the Hejaz in order to direct the operations personally. Burckhardt points out, "The Turks whenever they encountered the Bedouins in the open country, were always defeated; and the sharif's conduct by no mean inspired his allies with confidence. Under these circumstances, Mohammad Aly Pasha

(1) Ibn Bishr. p.167. (2) Ibn Bishr, pp.167-8; Philby, S.A. p.124.

(3) Ibn Bishr, p.168; Burckhardt, p.358.

(4) Burckhardt, op.cit. pp.358-9; Ibn Bishr, ibid. p.169; Philby, p.125.

thought it necessary to visit in person the scene of action, and strike a signal blow that might establish his authority on a permanent footing in Hedjaz, and enable him to claim for himself the whole merit of the conquest."¹

Having arrived at the Hejaz, Muhammad^cAli's first task was to provide for the transport of necessary supplies from Jidda to Mecca and al-Taif. Accordingly all the ships of the ports of Jidda and Yanbu' were employed for this purpose. In addition to this, he hired twenty ships from the Imam of Muscat. Moreover, he tried to obtain as many camels as possible for carrying the provisions between Jidda and Mecca and then to al-Taif.² Having finished preparing this, Muhammad Ali in November 1813 despatched his son Tusun with two thousand men to Turaba in an attempt to capture it, but he was attacked by the Banu Sa'ad, al-Nasira and 'Ataiba, who inhabited the country between Turaba and al-Taif.³ On reaching Turaba he had but three days supply of provisions remaining. Thus, after useless skirmishes, he decided to withdraw to al-Taif.⁴ This was primarily due to the exhausted state of his army and the want of provisions. As a result of this incident, Muhammad^cAli realized that he had to win over the rest of the Hejazi tribes.⁵ In addition to this he sent to Syria and Egypt for more supplies. Thereupon, in August 1814, he succeeded in winning over the tribes of Hudhail, Thakaif, the Banu Sa'ad and a part of 'Ataiba who came into alliance with him.⁶

(1) Op.cit. p.360.

(2) Op.cit. p.361.

(3) Ibn Bishr states that these tribes accompanied Tusun (p.171); Burckhardt

(4) Ibn Bishr;p.171; F.O.letter 24/5. p.372.

(5) Burckhardt, op.cit.p.373.

(6) Burckhardt, op.cit.p.379.

On receiving supplies of men and provisions Muhammad Ali declared his intention to conduct his army in person against Turaba, the stronghold of the Sa'udis in the south of al-Taif.¹ Thus on the 7th of January, 1815 Muhammad Ali collected his infantry, which had been fully equipped for this purpose, and proceeded, together with his cavalry to Kalakh.² While he was on his way to that place, Muhammad Ali was informed that the Sa'udis under the command of Faisal b. Sa'ud and other distinguished Shaikhs, had seized Basal, twelve hours journey from Turaba on the road to Kalakh.³ Thereupon, he hastened his march towards Basal in order to attack the Sa'udis. Arriving there he found that the Sa'udis had encamped on the heights of the mountains of Basal.⁴

For this reason after he had examined the situation, Muhammad Ali decided to despatch a strong detachment of Dhalul (Cavalry) in order to draw down the Sa'udis.⁵ The latter had no sooner seen this than they came down in order to deal with them.

However, on the approach of the night, Muhammad Ali deployed his army, and next morning at the break of day he marched with all his cavalry and three head of cannon, to meet the Sa'udis, whom he found in the plain and a conflict followed which lasted for several hours and ended in complete victory over the Sa'udis.⁶ Al-Bassam and Burckhardt and Missett all state that the defeat of the latter may be wholly attributed to their descending into the plain.⁷

(1) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.392. (2) Missett, F.O. letter 24/6; Burckhardt, ibid.

(3) Burckhardt, op.cit. p.395. (4) Finati, vol.2. pp.16-7.

(5) Mengin, op.cit. p.12; F.O. letter 24/6. (6) F.O. letter 24/6.

(7) Al-Bassam, op.cit., p.49; Burckhardt p.399; F.O. letter 24/6.

Accordingly the Turks marched on Turaba, while everything collapsed before them, and they captured it without opposition.¹ From there they proceeded in the southern direction towards Ranya and Bisha which shortly submitted.² Meanwhile, on receiving news of Tami's intention of attacking the Turks, Muhammad 'Ali directed his march towards the Asir territory. A battle took place in which Tami and his men were defeated.³ Having occupied this territory, Muhammad 'Ali descended the mountains towards Qunfida, which had been a military base against the southern parts of the Sa'udi dominion, he then embarked to Jidda.

On the other hand, having subdued the Hejaz and Asir territories, the Turks started new operations against Nejd itself. Tusun Rasha gathered his forces at Medina and proceeded to al-Qasim province where he captured al-Rass and al-Khabra without resistance, because they had been in correspondence with Tusun since he was in Medina.⁴ On hearing of this development 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud summoned his men and marched towards al-Mudhnib, a village in al-Qasim province, whereupon he set out to al-Ruwaidha near al-Rass. After 'AbdAllah had made the usual demonstrations, he returned to his base at al-Mudhnib.

However, the skirmishes and exchanges continued for several months without any achievements. As a result of this and the Tusun's critical position in which he lacked every kind of supplies, he decided to make terms with the Sa'udis.⁵ A treaty was concluded between them, providing that the Sa'udis retained possession of the districts situated to the north and

(1) Burckhardt, p.403; Ibn Bishr, p.186. (2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, pp.404-5; p.187. (4) Ibn Bishr, p.187; Philby, p.130.

(5) Mengin, p.36.

east of Medina, and between Medina and Mecca, with full authority over the Bedouin inhabiting them, but without any control or jurisdiction whatever over the tribes stationed in these parts of the country occupied by the Turks.¹ Ibn Bishr adds that the freedom of the pilgrimage for all Muslims was also guaranteed.²

Accordingly the Turks left al-Rass for Medina in August 1815 accompanied by two Saudi deputies carrying the treaty for confirmation by Muhammad 'Ali, which he subsequently ratified.³

Unfortunately, this did not last long because Muhammad 'Ali sent a new expedition against Arabia under the command of his son Ibrahim Pasha in 1816. Missett traces its cause to the fact that the Egyptian government received information that a chief of a powerful tribe, which had submitted to the Pasha of Egypt, was put to death, or driven into exile, together with his adherents. Moreover, the Turkish commander in Arabia admitted his inability to deal with the situation.⁴ Thereupon, Muhammad 'Ali gave orders that a strong reinforcement should be sent without delay to the Hejaz, placing his son in command of this expedition. Meanwhile, he sent a letter to all the tribes in Arabia which were under his authority, reporting the matter and asking them to give his son all the assistance he might require.⁵

Arriving in Arabia, Ibrahim Pasha set up his advance base of operation at Hanakiya. The surrounding Bedouin in the area did not obey his request to supply him with camels and provisions, because they

(1) Missett to Bartholomew, 13th January, 1816. F.O.letter 24/6.

(2) Op.cit., p.189

(3) Ibid.

(4) 8th March, 1816. F.O.letter 24/6.

(5) Ibid.

were under the Sa'udi authority.¹ So he organized successive raids against them until some of them came into an agreement with him, such as Mutair, Harb, 'Ataiba and 'Anaza (al-Dahamisha).²

On the other hand, Mengin states that 'AbdAllah had planned to defend the cities, to allow the Arabs to scour the country and to harass the enemy by removing their convoys; but the tribes were disunited; the Arabs asked for help, but they were not fit to face troops protected by artillery.³

While Ibrahim Pasha was encamping at Hanakiya, the condition of his army worsened for several reasons, among them being that the heat became more unbearable, the bad water gave rise to illness such as dysentery, and fever developed seriously in the camp. In spite of this, he spared no pains to make friends with the Arabs and to lessen the number of the allies of 'AbdAllah, who was planning to destroy him in due course.⁴

However, 'AbdAllah organized a raid against the Bedouin who had joined Ibrahim Pasha.⁵ On hearing this from his spies, Ibrahim set out with a force to repulse the Sa'udi attack and to win over those who were in the desert on the pretext of neutrality.⁶ Moreover, to protect his allies, Ibrahim decided to occupy Muwiyah; but 'AbdAllah was informed of these movements and a battle took place between the Turks and the Sa'udis in which the latter were defeated.⁷ This defeat and the defection of his allies forced 'AbdAllah to rally his forces around 'Anaiza and al-Rass.

(1) Mengin, op.cit., p.84.

(2) Ibn Bishr, op.cit., p.191.

(3) Op.cit., p.86.

(4) Mengin, op.cit. p.90. (5) Ibn Bishr, p.191.

(6) Mengin, op.cit. p.91.

(7) Ibn Bishr, p.192.

On the other hand, Ibrahim decided to follow up his victory. Thus after he had collected his army, he marched in 1817 on al-Rass which was reached on 9th July 1817. After four months of siege, its inhabitants sued for peace.¹ This was followed by the capturing of 'Anaiza as the result of the explosion of the powder magazine.² Mengin comments on the prompt surrender of 'Anaiza which forced 'AbdAllah to retreat to al-Dar'iya to fortify it. In the end all the tribes and towns of al-Qasim province submitted to Ibrahim Pasha so that there was no resistance.³

From there Ibrahim proceeded to Buraida which offered its submission after a four day fight. As an effect of this, many Arabs rallied every day to join Ibrahim Pasha,⁴ but Ibrahim, having received reinforcements at Buraida was able to continue his advance on Shaqra on 28th December 1817.⁵ Meanwhile the villages of al-Mudhnib, Fara'a and Ushaiqir offered their submission to Ibrahim Pasha.⁶ On reaching Shaqra in January 1818, and after some fighting, Shaqra offered its submission following an eight day siege.⁷ Philby comments on this: "The fall of Shaqra meant the capitulation of the rest of Washm; and Ibrahim sent a force under Rishwan Agha to subdue and ravage Sudair and Majma'a, where there was little or no opposition."⁸ Thereupon, this development gave the invader control of the strategic road which led to al-Dar'iya. Before proceeding to al-Dar'iya itself, Ibrahim Pasha thought it proper to besiege Dhurma, 4 hours distant southwards from Shaqra, which was captured after

(1) Mengin, p.95.

(2) Ibn Bishr, p.193.

(3) *Op.cit.*, p.105.

(4) Mengin, p.107.

(5) Ibn Bishr. p.194.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Driault, *La formation de l'Empire de Mohamed Aly de l'Arabie au Soudan,*

(8) *S.A.* p.136.

1814-1823.p.131.

6 days bombardment.¹ From here Ibrahim Pasha marched against al-Dar'iyah which he besieged for about 6 months. And finally at the end of his strength, he was forced to surrender on condition that (1) AbdAllah should go to Constantinople to hear the Sultan's decision as to his fate; (2) a pardon for the troops who had remained faithful to 'AbdAllah and the pardon for the Sa'udi family; (3) finally the safety of al-Dar'iyah should be guaranteed.² Accordingly, the first Sa'udi State came to an end because the surrender of al-Dariyah meant the surrender of the rest of Arabia.

At Constantinople 'AbdAllah was loaded with chains, forced to march for three days through the city and was then decapitated in front of the mosque of Saint Sophia.³

(1) Driaut, ibid.
(2) Sadleir, Account, p.489
(3) ibn-Seoud, p.99.

7 - British-Sa'udi relations.

The Qawasimi tribe who became Sa'udis in 1799, had come into conflict with the ships of the Bombay Marine since 1797, and following that, many battles took place between the British ships and that of the Qawasim.¹ Incidentally, having adopted the Wahhabis' doctrine, the Qawasim for a long time only attacked the crews of native trading vessels. Low writes, "According to their invariable custom on such occasions, they gave the crews the option of forthwith conforming to their religion or suffering a cruel death."²

In 1797, the Qawasim captured a British vessel called Bassein, carrying public despatches⁵; but it was released after being detained for two days. In the same year they tried to capture the East India Company's brig Viper, of fourteen guns, lying in Bushire Roads.³

As a result of this, the Company's resident at Bushire wrote to the Qawasimi chief demanding explanation for these actions, in which he replied that the Qawasim had no dispute with Britain but with the Imam of Muscat.⁴ In addition to this the Qawasim attacked two British merchant ships in 1805, while they were on the voyage from Bombay to Basra.⁵ Accordingly the Company's ships were ordered to deal with the situation together with the Imam of Muscat who was in disagreement with the Sa'udis. Low states that the combined forces proceeded in 1806 to Qishm where they blockaded the Qawasimi fleet until the latter were obliged to sue for peace, providing they should give up the two British merchant brigs and to

(1) Low, History of the Indian Navy (1613-1863) vol.2.p.310. (2) Op.cit. p.313.
(3) Ibid; Wilson, Persian Gulf.p.201. (4) Low, op.cit.p.314. Wilson, p.202.
(5) Op.cit. p.317.

respect the flag and property of the East India Company and their subjects. This was concluded at Bandar Abbas on 6th February, 1806.¹

For a while the Qawasim carried out this treaty, the reason for this being probably a fear of the consequences, because there was a powerful squadron of warships in the Persian Gulf during 1807.²

But in 1808 the Qawasim broke off the treaty of 1806, by appearing on the coast to the north of Bombay. Captain Seton reported that this action should be considered a serious threat instigated of the Wahhabis.³ This was followed by the capturing of the British ship *Minerva*, which was on its way from Bombay to Basra. The Qawasim made raids against other British ships also.⁴

To stop the Qawasim activities, and at the same time to protect their friend the Imam of Muscat, the Bombay government prepared an expedition against them. Low writes, "The Bombay Government, having determined to relieve the Imam (sic) from the power of the Wahabees, and at the same time, to suppress the Joasmi pirates, organised an expedition which proceeded to the Persian Gulf in 1809. The instructions, dated the 7th of September directed to Captain Seton, in political charge of the expedition, were drawn up with a degree of caution and forbearance towards the Wahabees, which appeared to denote an intention to truckle to them, and which resulted in rendering nugatory the fruits of the expedition, notwithstanding that it was notorious that the Joasmi chiefs and people were acting under Wahabee compulsion in engaging in piratical depredations."⁵

(1) Low, pp.317-318. (2) See Low, op.cit.p.318. (3) Low, p.319.

(4) Low, p.324; Wilson, op.cit. p.202. (5) Low, p.325.

repair to you, ought in like manner to be in safety.'" ¹

But following the return of the British ships to Bombay, the Qawasim destroyed and captured several ships.² Thereupon Bruce, the British agent at Bushire, protested to the Sa'udi chief at al-Dar'iya and to his Vicegerent at Ras al-Khaima, Husain b. Rahma, who replied that such property as might be forthcoming would be restored and in future he would issue instructions to his tribe not to molest any ship under the British flag.³ In the October of 1814 an envoy arrived at Bushire carrying letters from the Sa'udi chief and his deputy at Ras al-Khaima on which they came to an agreement.⁴ This agreement was for the stopping of any further attacks upon vessels under the British flag and restoring their properties. It is worth mentioning here that Ibn Bishr, the Sa'udi historian, does not refer to British-Sa'udi relations at all.

However, in 1814 some vessels were captured off Porebunde. Therefore, Bruce remonstrated against this act, but in vain. And in 1815, the Qawasim's activities were carried out over a wide area, including the Red Sea and Indian Waters.⁵ Miles writes, "The Joasmees now, in 1815, turned their attention to the Red Sea, having raided Hasek and Dhofar and other ports, they began to intercept the trade between India and Mocha, and on one occasion four Surat pattimars, with cargoes valued at twelve lakhs of rupees, were taken and their crews massacred."⁶ They also.

(1) Low, op.cit. p.335. (2) Low, p.337. (3) Low, op.cit. p.337.

(4) Persia Factory Records, vol.32. (Document dated May 1814) "The Vakeel on this occasion expressed the anxiety of his master to be on terms of friendship with the British government and gave the strongest assurances that any engagements we might enter into would never be infringed. But he stated, at the same time, his hopes and expectations that we should not insist on his discontinuing hostilities against those states with which his tribe were at enmity, and upon this sanguinary prosecution of which their credit and character depended." Ibid, dated February 1815. (5)

(6) Op.cit. p.321.

The expedition sailed to Muscat, and then proceeded to Ras al-Khaima which was captured and burnt and all its war vessels destroyed as well as other Qawasimi ports.¹

On hearing of this expedition, Sa'ud sent a force under the command of Mutlak al-Mutairi in order to relieve Ras al-Khaima, but it was too late. Thus he decided to harass the territory of the Imam of Muscat by successive raids.²

On the other hand, after the commanders of the British expedition had accomplished their task, they thought it proper to communicate with the Sa'udi chier concerning the possibility of concluding a treaty of peace. Low writes, "A communication was opened with Saood advising him to prohibit the piracies of his dependants, and in answer, the wahabee chier observed:- "The cause of the hostilities carrying on between me and the members of the faith, is their having turned away from the book of the Creator, and refused to submit to their own prophet Mahomet. It is not, therefore, those of another sect against whom I wage war, nor do I interfere in their hostile operations, nor assist them against anyone; whilst under the power of the Almighty, I have risen superior to all my enemies..... Under these circumstances, I have deemed it necessary to advise you that I shall not approach your shores, and have interdicted the followers of the Mahomedan faith and their vessels from offering any molestation to your vessels; any of your merchants, therefore, who may appear in, or wish to come to my ports, will be in security; and any person on my part who may

(1) Low, op.cit. pp.326-335.

(2) Miles, The Counties and Tribes of the Persian Gulf, vol.2.p.317.

attacked the Imam of Muscat who fell in with him at the Persian Gulf. Bruce again protested against this event. Thus 'AbdAllah b. Sa'ud pointedly protested against the British protection to the Imam ^{of} Muscat and other Turkish subjects, stating that they would not be included within the provisions of any treaty he might conclude with the British Government.¹

But, there was no treaty concluded, because the Sa'udi state was engaged in repulsing the Turkish invasion, and with regard to the Qawasim activities we find that they continued in their past policy of despoliation until they were obliged to sign a treaty with the British Government in 1820, in which they agreed to co-operate with the British government in suppressing the piracy in the Gulf.²

It is clear from the above facts that the relations which were established between the Sa'udi state and the British government were mainly concerned with the Qawasimi raids against the British ships in the Persian Gulf.³

-
- (1) Persia F.R., Document dated 1815.
 - (2) Kelly, Eastern Arabian Frontiers, p.58
 - (3) There seem to be no other readily available documents to help us in further assessment of the status of British-Sa'udi relations.

CONCLUSION.

The Sa'udi military activities which were carried out against the neighbouring countries were wholly based on religious motives because, as we have already mentioned, the aim of the Sa'udi state was to restore the Islamic religion to its purity and simplicity according to the Qur'an and the Traditions. In this sense, the Sa'udis condemned innovations, saint-worship, vows, and pilgrimage to shrines because these are partly Shirk and partly Bid'a.

Shirk means the association of any kind of things or beings with God, principally in the worship of Him. Thus, whoever kills an animal in the name of other than God, or makes a vow to him or puts trust in him, hoping that this thing or person would help him, is a Mushrik and accordingly his blood shall be shed, and his property confiscated unless he repent. The Qur'an says, "Polytheists are not in a position to worship God, since they testify against themselves that they are infidels. Their acts shall not avail them, and they shall burn for all eternity."

Bid'a refers to anything which has been introduced to Islam by way of innovation and has nothing to do with the Qur'an and the Sunna.

Moreover, their aim was to establish an Islamic state on the model of the first Islamic state which was set up under the first orthodox Caliphs, and to adopt its system of administration particularly in respect of the systems of finance and justice.

To do that they began to propogate their doctrine among the Najdi provinces by asserting their point of view about the abuses which had crept into Islam, but they were misunderstood and the result was that they failed to convince the majority of people. Thereupon Holy War had to be declared and energetically waged against the heretics. As a result of this, their opponents realized that the Wahhabi movement was so dangerous that it should be destroyed before it could be extended beyond al-Dar'iyah. So, from the beginning it was attacked by Banu Khalid and the chief of Riyadh. However, having gained ground in Nejd in 1773, they managed to organize raids against al-Hasa. It is interesting to mention that wherever they carried their arms they destroyed all the domes and ornamented tombs because these represent Bid'a.

The underlying motive of the Sa'udi wars against the Hejaz was almost entirely religious, because the Sharifs of Mecca would not allow the Sa'udis to make the pilgrimage on the ground that they were infidels. Although the Sa'udi party who went to Mecca convinced the Meccan 'Ulama, the Sharifs continued to consider the Sa'udis as infidels. In spite of this, they did not begin the war against Mecca, but the Sharif Ghalib did. As regards their wars with Iraq, we find that the latter carried arms first.

In respect to the Sa'udi Turkish relations we observe that, as long as the Sa'udi activities were confined to the Nejd territory, they remained without any importance to the Turks, but when the Sa'udis began

to spread their influence over the Holy cities and the neighbouring countries, mainly Syria and Iraq, the Porte became aware of the gravity of the situation - in particular, after they had captured Mecca and his name had been removed from the Friday prayers. This meant that the Sultan who claimed the title of Khalifah of the Muslim world no longer had the title. Accordingly he gave his orders to the Pashas of Baghdad and Syria to march against al-Dar'iyah in an attempt to destroy the Sa'udi power, but in vain. Finally Muhammad 'Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, attempted to crush the Sa'udis. Consequently, he despatched expeditions one after the other until he succeeded, but not until after suffering heavy losses did he capture al-Dar'iyah and destroy the Sa'udi state. This success is attributed to the large scale of his expeditionary preparations and the distribution of a large sum of money among the tribes of Arabia, by which he was able to win over many of them. Finally, it was attributed to the patience and determination of Muhammad 'Ali and his son Ibrahim.

In spite of the fact that the Turks succeeded militarily in destroying the first Sa'udi state, its religious teachings survived among its adherents. These adherents and their children were to await the advent of a new leader and inspirer who would continue the work of purifying Islam and extending the influence of the purer religious regime over other Muslims lands. Indeed, there was to be a second Wahhabi movement which succeeded in completing the task almost entirely throughout Arabia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A. India Office Records.

1 - Volumes of Factory Records, Persia and the Persian Gulf.

- Vol. 18 (1784-1792).
- Vol. 19 (1792-1799).
- Vol. 21 (Misc.1764-1799).
- Vol. 23 (1798-1801).
- Vol. 24 (1803-1805).
- Vol. 25 (1807-1808).
- Vol. 26 (1809-1810).
- Vol. 27 (1791-1811).
- Vol. 31 (Misc.1806-1822).
- Vol. 32 (1815-1821).
- Vol. 33 (1817-1819).

2 - Egypt and the Red Sea, Volumes.

- Vol. 3 (1714-1815).
- Vol. 5 (1786-1799).
- Vol. 6 (1787-1807).
- Vol. 7 (1819-1825).

B. Public Records Office.

1 - Turkey (F.O.78).

- Vol. 19 (1798) Jan-Aug.
- Vol. 21 (1799) Jan-March.
- Vol. 35 (1802) Jan-March.
- Vol. 36 (1802) March-Dec.
- Vol. 39 (1803) Jan-May.
- Vol. 40 (1803) May-Dec.
- Vol. 41 (1803) Nov.-Dec.
- Vol. 42 (1804) Jan-July.

- Vol. 43 (1804) July-Dec.
- Vol. 46 (1805) Sept.-Dec.
- Vol. 48 (1805) Jan.-July.
- Vol. 49 (1806) Jan.-April.
- Vol. 50 (1806) May-Aug.
- Vol. 59 (1807).
- Vol. 61 (1808).
- Vol. 62 (1808).
- Vol. 67 (1809)
- Vol. 72 (1810)
- Vol. 75 (1811) Jan.-May.
- Vol. 78 (1812) Oct.
- Vol. 80 (1812).
- Vol. 83 (1814-1815).
- Vol. 84 (1815).
- Vol. 87 (1816).
- Vol. 89 (1817).
- Vol. 91 (1818).

2 - Egypt (F.O.24).

- Vol. 1 (1785-1796)
- Vol. 2 (1803) Aug. (1806).
- Vol. 3 (1807-1810).
- Vol. 4 (1811-1813).
- Vol. 5 (1814).
- Vol. 6 (1815, 1816 and 1818).

C. Archives des Affaires Etrangères.

- 1 - Série Mémoires et Documents: Turquie: vols. 16, 31 and 111.
- 2 - Correspondance Politique - Turquie: vols. 202-232.

D. Arabic and European books.

'Abd al-Shakur, 'AbdAllah, Ta'rikh Ashraf Wa Omara' Mecca al-Musharafa.

(From the library of al-Haram al-Makki, Ms.143).

'Abd al-Wahhab, 'AbdAllah. Fath Mecca al-Mukarrama. British Museum Or.

6631. English translation by J. O'Kinealy. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.43, part 1, Calcutta, 1874, pp.68-82.

Abir, M. "Relations between the government of India and the Sharif of Mecca during the French invasion of Egypt, 1798-1801."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Parts 1, 2. April 1965.

'Abdul Bari, Muhammad. "The early Wahhabis and the Sharifs of Makkah,"

Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, 111 (1955),pp.91-104.

Abu Hakima, Ahmad Mustafa. The 'Utbi State in Eastern Arabia in the second half of the eighteenth century. Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of London, School of Oriental and African studies. June, 1960.

History of Eastern Arabia the Rise and Development of Bahrain and Kuwait. Khayat, Beirut, 1965.

Abu 'Izz al-Din, F. Mustafa, Al-Sa'ud Fi al-Ta'rikh. Beirut.1353/1934.

Abu Yusuf, Kitah al-Kharag. Cairo, 1346/1927.

Aitchison, C.U. A collection of treaties, engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries: relating to Persia, the Arab principalities in the Persian Gulf and Oman, Calcutta,1909.

Ali Bey, al-Abbassi (Badia Y Lebllich, Domingo). Travels of Ali Bey.

2 vols. London, 1816.

- Alusi, Mamud Shukri al-, Ta'rikh. Najd. Cairo 1343/1924.
- Amir, Mustafa, "An Egyptian explorer in Arabia in the nineteenth century".
Bulletin de la société Royal de géographie d'Egypte, vol.18. pp.29-45.
1932.
- Anonymous, The First connection of the Honourable East India Company with Turkish Arabia. Calcutta, 1874.
- "Nouveaux Renseignements sur les operations militaires des Wahabis, depuis l'Année 1807 jusqu'a milieu de 1810." Anneles des voyages, de la Geographie et de l'Histoire. Tome Treizieme, Paris 1811.
- Armstrong, H.C., Lord of Arabia.
- As'ad, Muhammad, The Principal of State and Government in Islam, Berkely, 1961.
- Ashkenazi, T. "The Anazah Tribes", South-western Journal of Anthropology,
New Mexico, 1948, 222-239.
- Attar, Ahmad 'Abd al-Ghafur. Saqr al-Jazirah, Cairo, 1946.
- Avril, Adolphe d', L'Arabie contemporaine ... Paris, 1868.
- Auguste, M. de N xxx. "Notice sur les Arabes et sur les Wahabis." Annales Encyclopédiques, Vol. V. Paris, 1818.
- Ayalon, D. "Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army." The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Vols. 15 (1953) pp.203-228; 448-476 and Vol. 16 (1954) pp.57-89.
- 'Azzawi, 'Abbas al-, Ta'rikh al-'Iraq bayn Ihtilalayn, 8 vols. Baghdad 1935-56.
- Badger, George Percy. History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman by Salil b. Razik, from A.D. 661-1856, translated from the original Arabic and edited with notes, appendices and introduction containing the history

down to 1870, Hakluyt Society, No. 43, London 1871.

Bankes, W.J. Narrative of the life and adventures of Giovanni Finati, translated from the Italian. 2 vols. London, 1830.

Bassam, Muhammad al-, Al-Durar al-Mafakhir Fi Akhbar al-'Arab al-Awakhir, British Museum Ms. Add. 7358.

Batanuni, Muhammad Labib, al-, Al-Rihlah al-Hijaziyah, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1329/1911.

Batrik, Abdel Hamid, M.El-, Turkish and Egyptian Rule in Arabia, (1810-1841), Ph.D.Thesis, London University, 1947.

Benoist-Mechin, Ibn-Seoud ou la Naissance d'un Royaume. Paris, 1955.

Blunt, Anne Isabelle. A pilgrimage to Najd. London, 1881.

Bombay Selections. Bombay Presidency. Selections from the Records of the Bombay government, vol.24 (new series). Historical and other information, connected with the province of Oman, Muscat, Bahrein, and other places in the Persian Gulf.., compiled and edited by R. Hughes. Thomas, Bombay, 1856.

Breheir, Louis. L'Egypte, de 1789 a 1900. Paris, 1900.

Brockelmann, Carl, History of the Islamic peoples, London. 6 ed., 1959.

Browne, W.G. Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria (1796-8). London, 1806.

Bruce, John. Annals of the Honourable East India Company. 3 vols. 1810.London.

Bruce, James. Travels to discover the source of the Nile. 1768-73, 6 vols. Dublin, 1790.

Brydges, Harford Jones, An account of his Majesty's mission to the court of Persia in the years 1807-11. To which is appended a brief history of

the Wahauby, 2 vols. London, 1834.

Buckingham, J.S. Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia, including a journey from Baghdad by Mount Zagros, to Hamadan, the Ancient Ecbatana, researches in Ispahan and the Ruins of Persepolis, and journey from thence by Shiraz, Bushire, Bahrein, Ormuz, and Muscat. Narrative of an Expedition against the Pirates of the Persian Gulf, with illustrations of the voyage of Nearchus, and passage by the Arabian Sea to Bombay, 2 vols. London, 1830.

Bukhari, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ismail. Kitab al-Hami' al-Sahih, 4 vols.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, 1 vol. London, 1830 and 2 vols. London, 1831,

Burckhardt, John Lewis, Travels in Arabia. 2 vols. London, 1829.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, "Une ville de commerce en Arabie." Revue de L'Orient, vol. 2. pp. 236-48. Paris, 1843.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, Travels in Nubia, Second ed., London, 1822.

Burini, Ahmad Qasim al-, Al-Amarat al-Sab'a 'Ala al-Sahil al-Akhdar. Beirut, 1957.

Burton, Richard F., Personal Narrative of a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah. London, 1879 and in 2 vols., London, 1893.

Bury, G. Wyman, Arabia infelix or the Turks in Yemen, London, 1915.

Capper, James. Observations on the Passage to India, through Egypt and across the great Desert, with occasional remarks on the adjacent countries, and also sketches of the different Routes. London, 1784.

- Carruthers, Douglas. The Desert Route to India, being the journals of four travellers by the great desert Caravan route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-1751. Hakluyt Society, No. LXIII, London, 1929.
- Caskel, W. Altes. "Und neues Wahhabitentum". Ephemerides Orientales. Leipzig, No. 38, April 1929.
- Charles-Roux, F.J.L. Egypte de 1801 a 1882. Mohamed Aly et sa dynastie jusqu'a l'occupation anglaise. Series - (Histoire de la nation Egyptienne), 6 vols. Paris 1931.
- Cheesman, R.E. In Unknown Arabia, London 1926.
- Cheesman, R.E. "From Oqair to the Ruins of Salwa". Geographical Journal, vol. 62 (1923) pp.321-335.
- Cheesman, R.E. "The Deserts of Jafura and Jabrin". Geographical Journal, vol. 65 (1925) pp.112-141.
- Chodzko, Alexandre. "Le Déisme des Wahhabis expliqué par eux-mêmes", Journal Asiatique, 9 (4^{eme} ser.) 1848, pp.168-186.
- Clot-Bey, A.B. Aperçu général sur l'Egypte, 2 vols. Paris 1840.
- Clot-Bey, A.B. Histoire de Méhémet-Aly, vice-roi d'Egypte. Marseilles, 1860.
- Corancez, Louis Alexandre Olivier de., Histoire des Wahabis depuis leur origine jusqu'a la fin de 1809. Paris 1810.
- Crabites, Pierre, Ibrahim of Egypt. London 1935.
- Crichton, A. History of Arabia Ancient and Modern. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1833.
- Crichton, A. History of Arabia and its people. London 1852.
- Dabbagh, M.M.al-, Qatar Madiha wa Hadiruha. Beirut, 1961.
- Dahlan, Ahmad b.Zaini, Khulasat al-Kalam fi Bayan Omara al-Balad al-Haram min

Zaman al-Nabi 'alaih al-Salah wa al-Salam ila Waqtina hadha bi-al-Tamam.

Cairo, 1305/1887.

Dahlan, Ahmad b.Zaini, Kitab al-Durar al-Sunniyah fi al-Radd 'ala

al-Wahhabiyah, Cairo 1347/1928.

Dakhil, Sulayman al-, Tuhfat al-Aba fi Ta'rikh al-Ahsa. Baghdad 1331/1912.

Damishqi, Mikha'il al-, Ta'rikh Hawadith al-Sham wa Libnan. Beirut 1912,

Dawood, N.J. The Koran (translation), London, 1966 (Penguin Books).

Dickson, Harold R.P. The Arab of the desert, a glimpse into Badawin life in

Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia. London 1949.

Dickson, Harold R.P. Kuwait and her neighbours, London 1956.

Dodwell, H.H. The founder of Modern Egypt. Cambridge 1931.

Doughty, Charles M. Travels in Arabia Deserta. 2 vols. 1946.

Doughty, Charles M. "Travels in north-western Arabia and Nejd". Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society (London), 6(1884), pp.382-399.

Douin, M. Mohamed Aly, Pacha du Caire. Paris 1925.

Driault, Edoward. Le formation de l'Empire de Mohamed Aly de l'Arabie au Soudan, 1814-1823. (Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte) Sociéte' Royale de Géographie d'Égypte. La Caire 1927.

Driault, Edoward. Mohamed Aly et Napoleon.(1807-1814). (Correspondance des Consuls de France en Egypte). Paris 1925.

Eccles, Capt. G.J. "The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, with a Description of a Journey into the Interior undertaken in 1925, Journal of the Central Asiatic Society, 14 (1927), pp.19-42.

Edwards, F.M. "George Forster Sadleir (1789-1859) of the 47th Regiment, the

- first European to cross Arabia", Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, 44(1957), pp.38-49.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam, the, .4 vol., Leiden (London) 1913-34.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam, New edition.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam, The Shorter. Leiden (London) 1953.
- Ettenghausen, Richard, A selected and Annotated Bibliography of books and periodicals in western Languages dealing with the Near and Middle East with special Emphasis on Medieval and Modern times. The Middle East Institute. Washington 1954.
- Euting, Julia. Tagbuch einer Reise in inner-Arabien, 2 vols. Leiden, 1896-1914.
- Eyries, J.B. "Notice de différents voyages en Arabie", Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, Paris 1833.
- Farouhy, 'Abbas, The Bahrain Islands. New York, 1951.
- Finati, Giovanni, see Bankes, W.J.
- Finati, Giovanni, "Extraits de ses memoires". Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, xix, 2e serie, p./2.
- Fleischer, H.l., tr."Briefwechsel Zwischen den Anführern der wanhabiten und dem Pasa von Damascus", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xl(1857), pp.427-443.
- Forster, C., Historical Geography of Arabia. 2 vols. London, 1844.
- Forster, C., The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the 17th century. The Hakluyt Society, London 1949.
- Freeman-Grenville, The Muslim and Christian Calendars. Oxford 1963.

Fresnel, Fulgence. "L'Arabie", Revue des Deux Mondes, ser.4, 17(1839)
pp.241-257.

Fresnel, Fulgence. "Lettre sur le récit de Fathh'-Allāh Sāyēgh, inséré dans
le tome quatrième des Souvenirs d'Orient de M.de Lamartine". Journal
Asiatique, 6^e série, Tome xvii. 1871, pp.165-83.

Gary, Jean. Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'Afrique et à l'Arabie.
Amsterdam, 1961.

Gaury, Gerald de-, Arabia Phoenix. London 1946.

Gaury, Gerald de-, Rulers of Mecca. London 1951.

Ghorbal, Shafrik, The beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of
Mehomet Ali. London, 1928.

Gibb, H.A.A. and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the west. Vol.1,
parts 1, 2. (Islamic society in the Eighteenth century) Oxford, 1962.

Gibb, H.A.R. Modern trends in Islam. Chicago, 1950.

Gibb, H.A.R. "Al-Mawardi's theory of the Khilafah", Islamic Culture, vol.xi
(1937), pp.291-302.

Gibb, H.A.R. "Some considerations on the Sunni theory of the Caliphate".
Archives d'histoire du droit Oriental, vol.111(1948), pp.401-10.

Gouin, E.L. L'Egypte aux dix-neuvième siècle. Histoire militaire et politique,
anecdotique et pittoresque de Mohamed Ali, Ibrahim Pasha et Suliman
Pasha. Paris 1846.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. Historical section. Arabia, London, 1920.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. Turkey in Asia. London, 1920.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. Persian Gulf. London, 1920.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. Naval staff. Naval intelligence division.

A Handbook of Arabia, 2 vols. Oxford, 1916-1917.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. Western Arabia and the Red Sea. Oxford, 1946.

Guarmani, Carlo. Northern Nejd, Journey from Jerusalem to Anaiza in Qasim, tr. Lady Capel-Cure. London 1938.

Guarmani, Carlo. "Itinéraire de Jérusalem au Neged septentrional", Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, November, 1865, pp.241-291.

Haddad, George M., "Fathallah al-Sayegh and his account of a Napoleonic Mission among the Arab Nomads". Studia Islamica. N.24. 1966.

Hamadani, Al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-, Sifat Jazirat al-Arab. Leiden, 1884.

Hansen, Thorkild, Arabia Felix. London 1965.

Hartmann, Richard. "Die Wahhabiten", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXVIII (Neue Folge, 111, 1924) pp.176-213.

Hasunah, Muhammad Ahmad, "Muhadara 'an asl al-Wahhabiyyin wa Nash'at al-Dawla al-Arabiya al-Sa'udiya". Societe Royale de Geographie d'Egypte.
Caire, 1352/1933.

Haydari, Ibrahim Fasih b.Sabghat Allah b.Muhammad As'ad al-, 'Unwan al-Majd fi Bayan ahwal Baghdad wa Basra wa Najd. British Museum.Ms.Or. 7567.

Head, C.F. Eastern and Egyptian Ruins, London, 1833.

Hess, Jean J. von Wyss. Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens, Zurich, 1938.

Hitti, Philip K. History of the Arabs. London 1960.

Hogarth, D.G. Arabia. Oxford, 1922.

Hogarth, D.G. The penetration of Arabia. New York, 1904.

Holt, P.M., Egypt and Fertile crescent 1516-1922. Longmans, 1966.

- Hoskins, Harford, L. British Routes to India. New York. 1928.
- Hourani, A. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age. 1798-1939. Oxford 1962.
- Howarth, D. The Desert King, A life of Ibn Saud. London, 1964.
- Huart, C. Histoire des Arabes, 2 vols. Paris, 1913.
- Huber, Charles, Journal d'un voyage en Arabie, 1883-4. Paris, 1891.
- Huber, Charles, "Voyage dans l'Arabie centrale." Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, ser.7^e, vol.5, pp.304-363. (1884); vol. 6, pp.92-148, (1885).
- Hunter, W.W. The Indian Musulmans. Calcutta 1870.
- Hurgronje, C. Snouck. Mecca in the latter part of the nineteenth century; daily life, customs and learning. Leiden, 1931.
- Husaini, S.A.Q. Arab Administration. Lahore, 1961.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad. Majmu'at al-Tawhid al-Najdiyyah, ed. Muhammad Rashid Rida. Cairo, 1343/1924.
- Ibn Bilalhid, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, Sahih al-Akhbar 'amma fi bilad al-'Arab min al-athar. 5 vols. Cairo, 1951-4.
- Ibn Bishr, Uthman b. Abd Allah, al-Hanbali al-Najdi, 'Unwan al-Majd fi Ta'rikh Najd. 2 vols. Cairo, 1373/1953. British Museum Ms.or.7718.
- Ibn Ghannam, Husain. Rawdat al-Afkar wa al-Afham li Murtad hal al-Imam wa ta'dad Ghazawat dhawi al-Imam. 2 vols. Cairo, 1368/1949; British Museum MSS.Add.23, 344-5 and Add.19, 799; 19, 800.
- Ibn Hdhlul, Sa'ud. Ta'rikh muluk Al-Sa'ud. Riyadh, 1380/1961.
- Ibn 'Isa, Ibrahim b. Salih, Ta'rikh Ba'd al-Hawadith al-Waqi'a fi Nejd, ed. al-Yamama, Riyadh, 1966.

Ibn 'Isa, Ibrahim b.Salih, 'Iqd al-Durar fima Waqa'a fi Najd, printed as supplement to Ibn Bishr's 'Unwan al-Majd.

Irwin, Eyles. A series of adventures in the course of a voyage up the Red Sea, on the coast of Arabia and Egypt; and of a route through the desert of Thebais, in the year 1777. With a supplement of a voyage from Venice to Latichea; and of a Route through the Deserts of Arabia, by Aleppo, Baghdad and the Tygris, to Busrah, in the years 1780, and 1781. 2 vols. London, 1787.

Ibn Sahman, Sulaiman al-Najdi, Al-Hadiyya al-Saniyya wa 't-tuhfa al-Wahhabiyya al-Najdiyya. Cairo, 1923.

Jomard, Edme Francois, Etudes géographiques et historiques sur l'Arabie, accompagnées d'une carte de l'Asyr et d'une carte générale de l'Arabie; suivies de la relation du voyage de Mohammed-Aly dans le Fazoql, avec des observations sur l'Etat des affaires en Arabie et en Égypte, Paris, 1859.

Jomard, Edme Francois, Notice Geographique sur le pays de Nedjd, an appendix to Mengin's histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed Aly. Paris, 1823.

Kahhalah, 'Umar Rida. Jughrafiyat Shihn Jazirat al-Arab. Damascus, 1945.

Kammerer, Albert. L'Abyssinie, La Mer Rouge, et l'Arabie. 4 vols. Royal Geographical Society of Egypt. Cairo, 1935.

Kelley, J.B. Eastern Arabian Frontiers. London, 1964.

Khadduri, Majid. War and Peace in the law of Islam. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 3rd ed. 1962.

Khatib, Abd al-Karim. Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab. Cairo, 1960.

Kiernan, R.H. The Unveiling of Arabia. London 1937.

Krajeuski, L. "Le Nedjd et les Wahabites". Revue Politique et Litteraire,
vol. 33, Paris, 1926.

Lam'al-Shihab fi sirat Muhammad b.'Abd al-Wahhab, British Museum. MS.Add.23,346.

Laoust, Henri. Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki al-Din
Ahmad b.Taymiyah. Cairo, 1939.

Levy, Reuben. The Social Structure of Islam. Cambridge, 1957.

Longrigg, S.H. Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. Oxford, 1925.

Lorimer, J.G. Gzette of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia. 2 vols.
Calcutta, 1915.

Low, Charles Rathbone, History of the Indian Navy (1613-1862). 2 vols. London,
1877.

Mackie, J.B. "Hasa: an Arabian Oasis". The Geographical Journal. LXIII (1924),
pp.189-207.

Macro, Eric. Bibliography of the Arabian Peninsula. Coral Gables, 1958.

Majmu'at al-Rasa'il wa'l-masa'il al-Najdiyya, Cairo, 1344-9. 4 vols.

Mansur, Shaikh, History of Seyd, Sultan of Mascat together with an account of
the countries and people on the shores of the Persian Gulf, particularly
of the Wahabees. London, 1819.

Maqdasi, al-, Zad al-Mustaqna'a. Cairo 1951.

Marston, Thomas, E. Britain's imperial role in the Red Sea area, 1800-1878.
Hamden, Connecticut, 1961.

Masson, Paul., Histoire du Commerce Francais dans le Levant au Dixseptieme

siecle. Paris 1896.

Mengin, Felix. Histoire de l'Egypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly.

2 vols. Paris, 1823.

Meulen, van Der, The wells of Ibn Sa'ud. London, 1957.

Miles, S.B. The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf. 2 vols. London, 1920.

Montagne, Robert. La Civilisation du Desert Nomades d'orient et D'Afrique.

Hackette, 1947.

Mouriez, Paul. Histoire de Mehémet-Ali, Vice-roi d'Egypte, 4 vols. Paris,
1855-1858.

Musil, Alois, Northern Nejd. New York, 1928.

Musil, Alois, Arabia Deserta. New York, 1927.

Musil, Alois, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York 1928.

Musil, Alois, Northern Hejaz, New York 1926.

Nabhani, Muhammad b.Khalifa al-, Al-Tuhfa al-Nabhaniyya fi Ta'rikh al-Jazirat
al-'Arabiyya, Cairo, 12 vols. 1342-68/1923-48.

Nallino, Carlo. A., L'Arabia Saudiana. Rome, 1939.

Na'mi, Hashim al-, Ta'rikh Asir. Jidda, 1964.

Neimans, R.F. Reih, "Das rathe meer und die Kustenlander in jahre 1857 in
handelspolitischer beziehung". Zentrolblott für Mineralogie, Geologie
und Palaöntologie, Stuttgart. vol. 12. 1858.

New Testament, The., Authorised King James Version.

Niebuhr, C. Travels through Arabia. Edinburgh, 1792.

Ohsson, I,M.d', Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman. 7 vols. Paris, 1808-1824.

Oppenheim, M.V. Die Beduinen, 3 vols. (2 vols. Leipzig, 1939); vol. 3,

Wiesbaden, 1952.

Palgrave, W.G. Narrative of a year's journey through central and eastern Arabia (1862-63), 2 vols. London, 1865.

Parsons, Abraham. Travels in Asia and Africa, including a voyage from Bombay to Mocha and Suez, in the Red Sea, London 1808.

Pavic, Th.M., "La mer rouge et le Golfe Persique". Revue de Deux Mondes, 1844.

Pelly, Lowis, "A Visit to the Wahhabee Capital of Central Arabia", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, lx(1864-5), pp.293-296.

Pelly, Lowis, "A visit to the Wahhabee capital, central Arabia", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, xxxv (1865), pp.169-190.

Pelly, Lowis, Report on a journey to the Wahhabee capital of Riyadh in central Arabia. Bombay, 1866.

Pelly, Lowis, "Report on the tribes, tradt, and resources around the shore of the Persian Gulf", Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, XV11, (1863), pp.32-112.

Perrin, N. Relation de la Campagne d'Ibrahim Pasha Contre des Wahhabites en 1818. Paris, 1833.

Philby, H.st.J.B. Arabia. London, 1930.

Philby, H.st.J.B. Arabia of the Wahhabis. London, 1928.

Philby, H.st.J.B. Arabian Highlands. Washington, 1952.

Philby, H.st.J.B. The Heart of Arabia, 2 vols. London 1922.

Philby, H.st.J.B. Saudi Arabia. London, 1955.

Philby, H.st.J.B. "Jauf and the North Arabian Desert". Geographical Journal, 62(1923) pp.241-259.

Philby, H.st.J.B. "Across Arabia: from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea".

Geographical Journal, 56(1920) pp.446-468.

Philby, H.st.J.B. "Southern Najd". Geographical Journal, 55(1920)pp.161-191.

Phoenix. "A Brief Outline of the Wahabi Movement". Journal of the Central Asian Society, XVII(1930), pp.401-416.

Pirenne, Jacqueline. A la decouverte de l'Arabie. Amsterdam 1958.

Planat, Jules. Histoire de la régénération de l'Égypte. Paris 1830.

Playfair, R.L. History of Arabia Felix or Yemen, Bombay (printed for the government, 1859, in the series: Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, new series. Number XLIX).

Political and secret department Library (India Office).

- (a) Historical and political material precis of Nejd affairs 1804-1904 (Persian Gulf Gazetteer). Simla, 1906.
- (b) East India company's connection with the Persian Gulf 1600-1800 (selections from Bombay state papers). Calcutta 1908.
- (c) Hasa and Katif Affairs. (Persian Gulf gazetteer). Simla, 1906.
- (d) Precis on commerce and communication in the Persian Gulf 1801-1905, Simla, 1906.
- (e) Precis of correspondence regarding the affairs of the Persian Gulf, 1801-1853. Simla, 1906.
- (f) Precis of Turkish Arabia affairs, 1801-1905. (Persian Gulf Gazetteer). Simla 1906.

Qalqashandi, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad al-, Nihayat al-Arab fi Ansab al-'Arab.
Cairo 1959.

- Qalqashandi, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad al-, Qalayid al-juman fi al-Ta'rif beqabayil Arab al-Zaman. (Ms. The library of the department of Semetic languages and literatures), University of Leeds.
- Qasimi, 'Abd Allah 'Ali al, Al-Thawarah al-wahhabiyya. Cairo 1936.
- Qasimi, 'Abd Allah 'Ali al, Al-Fasl al-hasim bain al-Wahhabiyyin wa-mukhalifihim. Cairo, 1934.
- Qurtobi, Abu al-walid Muhammad b.Ahmad b. Rushd.al-, Bedayt al-Mujtahid wa Nihayat al-Muqtasid. 2 vols. Cairo, 1935.
- Rafi'i, Abd al-Rahman al-, 'Asr Muhammad 'Ali, Cairo 1951.
- Rashid, 'Abd al-Aziz al-, Tarikh al-Kuwait, 2 vols. Baghdad, 1936.
- Raswan, Carl R., "Tribal areas and migration lines of the north Arabian Bedouins". Geographical Review, 20(1930) pp.494-502.
- Raymond, Jean. Mémoire sur l'origine des Wahabys. (La societe royale de geographie d'Egypte), Caire, 1925.
- Rehatsek, Eaward. "The history of the Wahhabys in Arabia and in India", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, XIV(1878-80), pp.274-401.
- Rentz, G.S. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/4-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia, Dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D., in history, The University of California, 1948.
- Rihani, Amin al-, Muluk al-'Arab. 2 vols. Beirut, 1960.
- Rooke, H. Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix and Thence by the Red Sea and Egypt to Europe. London, 1784; 1788.
- Roque, La-, A voyage to Arabia the Happy, by the way of the Eastern Ocean,

and the Streights of the Red Sea. Performed by the French for the first time, A.D.1708, 1709, 1710. together with a Particular Relation of a Journey from the Port of Moka to the Court of the King of Yemen, in the Second Expedition, A.D.1711, 1712, 1713. London, 1726.

Rosenthal, E.I.J. Political Thought in Medieval Islam. Cambridge, 1962.

Ross, E.C. Memoir of Nejd, in report on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Maskat Political Agency. Vol.159(1879-1880), pp.36-61. Calcutta, 1880.

Rousseau, J.B.L.J. Description du Pachalik de Bagdad suivie d'une notice historique sur les Wahabis. Paris, 1809.

Saab, Hasan, The Arab Federalists of the Ottoman Empire, Amsterdam, 1958.

Sabry, M. L'Empire Egyptien sous Mohamet Ali et la question d'Orient'.(1811-1849) Paris, 1950.

Sadleir, G.Foster. Account of a Journey from Katif on the Persian Gulf to Yamboo.... (Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, 111, (1823)), pp.449-493.

Sadleir, G.Foster. Diary of a Journey across Arabia from al-Katif in the Persian Gulf, to Yambo in the Red Sea, during the year 1819. Bombay 1866.

Sa'id, Amin., Ta'rikh al-Dawlah al-Sa'udiyya. 3 vols. Beirut, 1964.

Said-Ruete, Rudolph. Said bin Sultan (1791-1856) ruler of Oman and Zanzibar: his place in the history of Arabia and East Africa. London 1929.

Salt, Henry. A voyage to Abyssinia and travels London, 1814.

Sarakhsi, Muhammad b. Ahmad, al-., Al-Mabsut. Cairo, 1906-13.

Sa'udi Arabia. Memorial of the Government of Sa'udi Arabia. Arbitration for the settlement of the territorial dispute between Muscat and Abu Dhabi

on one side and Sa'udi Arabia on the other, 3 vols. Cairo, 1374/1955.

Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Trans-Jordan-Länder, Arabia petraea und unter-Aegyptum, 4 vols. Berlin 1854-9.

Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. An article in Monatliche Correspondenz. XXII. pp.234-241.

Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. "Mémoire pour servir à la connaissance des tribus arabes en syrie et dans l'Arabie déserte et pétérée". Annales des Voyages, VIII, 2e ed., Paris, 1810, pp.281-324.

Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. "Voyage de Seetzen sur la mer Rouge et dans l'Arabie". Annales des Voyagees, XXII. Paris, pp.309-333.

Shaw, Stanford, J. Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. Cambridge 1962.

Shaw, Stanford, J. Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. (Harvard Middle Eastern studies). Cambridge 1962.

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, Islam in modern history. Princeton, 1957.

Stoddard, Lothrop. The new world of Islam. London, 1921.

Storm, W.H. Whither Arabia? London, 1938.

Sulaiman b. Sahman. Al-Hadiyah al-Sunniyah...., 2nd ed. Cairo. 1344/1925.

Schacht, Joseph, "Zur Wahhabitischen Literatur", in Zeitschrift für Semitistik, 1928, pp.200-212.

Schacht, Joseph. An introduction to Islamic law. Oxford, 1964.

Tagher, Jacques. "Document inedit; La campagne de 1838 en Assyr (Arabie)", cahiers d' Histoire Egyptienne. 111, (1951), pp.255-262.

Tamisier, Mourice, Voyage en Arabie. 2 vols. Paris, 1840.

- Thesiger, W., "A Journey through the Tihama, the 'Asir and the Hijaz Mountains", The Geographical Journal, cx (1948), pp.188-200.
- Thomas, Bertram. Alarms and Excursions in Arabia. London 1931.
- Thomas, Bertram. Arabia Felix. Oxford, 1938.
- Tritton A.S., Islam Belief and Practices. London, 2nd ed. 1954.
- Tusun, Prince 'Umar, Safahat Min Ta'rikh M'Ali. Cairo 1359/1940.
- Valentia, Lord (later Mountnorris, Lord). Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802-6. London, 3 vols.1809.
- Varthema, Ladovico de., The travels, in Egypt, Syria, Arabia deserta and Arabia felix, Persia, India and Ethiopia, A.D.1503 to 1508. Tr. by J.W. Jones and ed. by G.P. Badger, London, 1863.
- Vidal, F.S. The Oasis of al-Hasa. Dhahran. 1955.
- Volney, C.F.C. Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant les années 1783, 1784, et 1785. 2 vols. Paris 1787. Trans. into English, New York 1798.
- Wahbah, Hafiz. Jajirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'ishrin. Cairo 1935.
- Wahbah, Hafiz. "Wahhabism in Arabia, Past and Present". Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society. vol.16. pp.458-67. 1929.
- Wallin, G.A. "Narrative of a Journey from Cairo to Medina and Mecca by Suez, Araba, Tawila, al-Jauf, Jubbe, Hail, and Nejd in 1845." The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, xxiv (1854), pp.115-207.
- wallin, G.A. "Notes taken during a Journey through part of Northern Arabia in 1848", ibid., xx(1850), pp.293-339.
- Wellested, J.R. Travels in Arabia, 2 vols. London 1838.
- Weygand, Le Général. Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils, 2 vols.

Paris, 1936.

Whitelock, H.H. "An account of the Arabs who inhabit the coast between Ras el-Kneimah and Abothubee in the Gulf of Persia, generally called the Pirate Coast", Transactions of Bombay Geographical Society. 1(1836-1838), pp.32-54.

Wilson, Arnold, T., The Persian Gulf. Oxford, 1928.

Winder, R. Bayly. Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century. New York 1965.

William, Kenneth. Ibn Sa'ud the Puritan King of Arabia. London, 1933.

William Vané, Charles, Correspondence, Despatches, and other papers of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry. (second series). Vol. v. London 1851.

Zaki, 'Abd al-Rahman, Al-Jaish al-Misri fi 'ahd Muhammad 'Ali Basha al-Kabir, Cairo, 1939.

Zwemer, S.M. Arabia the Cradle of Islam. New York, 1929.

Zwemer, S.M. "The Wahabis: their Origin, History, Tenets and Influence". Journal of the Transaction of the Victoria Institute.xxxiii (1901), pp.311-330.

STUP

1) The Whahaubees.

21

34

Extract of Letter from Sir Harford Jones
to Jacob Rosanquet Esq, Chairman of
the Honble the Court of Directors, dated
Bagdad the 1st December 1778.

1779
260
G

I have the Honour to enclose a
short account of a Sect of Puritans & Sects
which, for some years past, has been greatly
augmenting and which, if not suppressed, may
possibly, in the course of a few years, move,
in the occasion of considerable revolutions in
this part of the Globe. It is against
these Sectaries that the Persian Minister
leads the press which he commands; and as
they must infallibly be frequently mentioned
in the Dispatches you receive from
Souras, I flatter myself with the
hopes of this little Memoire on this subject
which I have now the Honour to transmit,
being not altogether useless.

Enclosure

Enclosure in the above Letter.

The 'Masha'ib.

It is about seventy years since an Arab from the Nedj Country, whose name was Mollah Mohammed, and who was the son of a person named Abdel Masha'ib or the 'Slave of the Jews', came to Aleppo and afterwards to Bagdad to study the Law under the most celebrated Mohammedan Doctors then residing at both those places. After finishing his studies at the latter place he, for the further prosecution of them, proceeded to Damascus, where it was first perceived he broached opinions which were considered as dangerous, and on account of which he was obliged to fly from Damascus and retire to Mosul.

During his residence at Mosul, Mollah Mohammed openly announced
as

as orthodox the doctrines which he held, and these were esteemed so dangerous by the Ecclesiastics and Men of the Law here that he was compelled to (nam. Mosul and, retiring from thence, he betook himself to Ajnath, a Town in the Nejd Country, where he again publicly made known the articles of his Faith, and has the good fortune to find a Count and Protector in Shaik Ibn Mahamer, the Governor of that place.

Shaik Ibn Mahamer, proud of possessing his new Sectary, gave Mollah Mohammed (his own Sister in Marriage), who, some time afterwards, under pretences that his Brother-in-law Mahamer, favoured justice and oppressed the tribe, murdered him with his own hands in the Mosque as he was at prayers, meaning thereby, (as he declares,) to give the People of Ajnath a proof that his love of Justice

was

was so great that neither the obligations which he had to, nor the ties of alliance which he had with Shaik Mahamer, could withhold him from punishing even in him what he conceived to be a deviation from it.

The People of Ajenah, however, seem to have had too much good sense to esteem as meritorious, so horrible a transaction, and they obliged Mollah Mohammed to abandon Ajenah, and he fled to Dergh, where he found an asylum, and Protector in Shaik Ibn Soud, the Governor of that Place, who also embraced his Doctrines. With this person Mollah Mohammed remained in the capacity of a spiritual and temporal Judge with unbounded authority, until he died, which event took place about ten years ago. These two persons, by force and other means, made their own Tribes and many persons of the neighbouring Tribes converts



converts to the Doctrines of Mollah Mohammed
and the sect soon became considerable enough
to be universally known by the name of
Whahauber. Within these last fifteen
years it has increased so much as to have
become an object of great jealousy & attention
to the Court of Constantinople. Muhi c Abd
Aziz has succeeded his Father Ibrahim
in the Government of the Tribe, and Pasha
Hojin has succeeded his Father Mollah
Mohammed in the Office of Cazi or
Judge of it.

The Religion they profess is
Mohammedism according to the literal
meaning of the Koran, following the
interpretations of Homballe.

The following are some of the
most remarkable of the opinions which
the Whahaubers entertain in contradistinction
to other Mohammedans.

1st That there is but one God, who has
with him partners nor Equal, and that
Mohammed is his Prophet: but to
profess that either Mohammed or
any of the Imams, have now the
least superintendance over or can give
the smallest assistance to the affairs
of Men, is to make them partners
with God; to invoke them, therefore,
is blasphemy.

2^{dly} That a Mohammedan, who deviates in
religious duties, in the smallest degree
from the literal, pure injunctions and
precepts of the Koran, is as much a
Kafir or Unbeliever as a Christian
or a Jew; and that, therefore, to
make war against him is the positive
duty of every Khorbahee or, as they
call themselves, all times Mujahidan.

3^{dly}

3th That all Titles of Honour and Respect
to Men are odious before God, who
alone ought to have the Titles of
Magnificent, Mighty, &c.

4th That, according to what is revealed in
the Koran, all true Musulmans
ought to join in waging continued
Wars against all Unbelievers until,
they oblige them to become either
Converts or Tributaries; that, in the
latter instance, the Tributaries should
be compelled to wear the coarsest and
most inferior sort of Cloths, should
not be allowed the use of Horses, nor
be permitted to build splendid houses,
but, in short, should be treated with
all the severity laid down in the
Koran.

5th That all Customs, Duties &c., except
the

the Tithes mentioned in the Statutes,
are unlawful to be levied on the
Goods of Muſſulmans.

The principal impositions for the public
Service which are lawful are the
following: -

On all property in Spain, an
offering of one in forty or 2/4^{ths}
of the Rent.

On property in Land watered naturally
and without labour 1 in 10 of
the produce.

On property in Land watered by Wells or
with labour 1 in 20 of the produce.

On Animals 1 in 40.

The Revenue or produce of all

Conquered Countries not embracing
the Faith, to belong to the Public.

Of Spoils taken in Wars to be set
apart for the public use, and the
remaining 2/3 to be equally divided
amongst the whole of the Soldiers, as well
those who were absent as those who were
at the Captures.

9

434

The general Revenue of each
 Town or District on being
 collected, is to be divided into
 five parts; one of which five
 parts is to be transmitted to
 the General Treasury; and the
 remaining four to be retained
 in the Town or District where
 it is collected for the purposes
 of paying different expenses of
 Government, relieving the poor,
 and entertaining Travellers.

6th That to swear by Mahomed, or Ally,
 or any particular person or thing, ought
 to be prohibited, since an Oath is properly
 calling a witness to our secret thoughts
 or intentions of which there cannot be
 any other witness than God.

7th That it is a species of Idolatry to erect
 magnificent Tombs to the Memory of
 particular Persons; but that to kiss with
 religious veneration any relics or any
 part of these Tombs is Idolatry itself;
 that therefore it would be an action
 acceptable

acceptable in the sight of God to
destroy ~~in~~ the rich Tombs, Mahomedan
Saints! in this Country and in Persia,
and to appropriate their precious and
valuable ornaments to better and more
worldly purposes.

8th That it is wicked to mourn for the
dead; for if they have been good
Musulmans their Souls are in
Paradise, at which we ought to rejoice.

9th If any Convert apostatizes and afterwards
repents he may be again admitted to
the number of true Musulmans by
paying such a fine as may be imposed
on him.

10th That no one is to be paid for his
Services in War, because properly there
can be no other motive for War than
Religion. War then is the service of God
'and shall a Man receive pay for
serving God?'

There are many other
less consequential opinions held by
these Musulmans, but which all revert to
some

STOP

11

434

some one or other of the foregoing. They consider every one of their Sect who falls in waring against the Infidels as being immediately permitted to enjoy the delights of Paradise. The Wahabees not only regard a regular War against their brother Mahomedans of a different Sect, as incumbent on them; but each Individual Wahabee, esteems it a meritorious act to plunder, rob & murder any other individual, whosoever he may meet with, and in consequence of this opinion the Wahabees have latterly been a terrible annoyance to the Caravans in passing the Desert.

It is said that the Sultan Azir can bring into the field a band of them enthusiastically amounting to near 50,000 Men mostly mounted on Camels.

(Signed) Haysford Jones.

Refrence

2) An extract from Report of the commerce of Arabia and Persia.

207

Report of the Commerce of Arabia and Persia.

The difficulties which have been encountered in the present attempt, to form an exact Report of the past and present state of the Commerce of Arabia and Persia, have been very numerous and highly discouraging. Particular Caution has been however made to collect every attainable Information of the Subject and therefore although the report must prove in many respects deficient and incomplete, yet it is hoped, that it will give an useful view of the Commerce in question and enable the British Government in India to form a Judgment, how far it may be expedient to engage therein. —

With a view of giving weight to the report it has been determined to prefix it under the following General Order.

Commerce.

Commerce of Arabia

Commerce of India

Remarks applicable to the Commerce
of both Countries -

Commerce of Arabia

It has been deemed
necessary, to separate the Information
which has been collected, on the Subject
of the Commerce of Arabia under the
following heads -

Commerce of Arabia concerning
the Persian Gulph -

Commerce of the Red Sea -

Commerce of Arabia concerning
the Arabian Gulph -

The want of the
Public Papers, and the difficulty of obtaining
satisfactory

satisfactory information of the Occurrences from the
Inhabitants of Arabia, concerning on the Persian Gulf
have unavoidably prevented, the formation of any
very precise Statement of the past general Commerce
of that part of the North, or of the Commercial
Intercourse which the British Nation has formerly
had therewith, and have given birth to a necessity
of commencing the information relative thereto,
which will be here submitted to the Public
Consideration, at the period of the removal of
the English Factory from the Strait of Gombroon.

Muscat is a small, situated
in Oman, a province of Arabia Felix. The decline
of the Commerce of Gombroon animated the State
of the Province of Oman to those exertions, which
in its extinction gave rise to the Commercial
Importance, which the East of's present, has lately
acquired.

acquired, previous to the above mentioned
Period, the Province of Oman naturally
sterile and unproductive, was a very
poor Country and the Commerce of Muscat
was confined within very narrow limits.
The pecuniary advantages, which accrued
to the Inhabitants of Muscat from their
first important mercantile adventures,
encouraged them, however, to the active &
enterprising prosecution of an extensive
commerce with India, with the West Sea
and with the different Ports of the Persian
Gulph. By degrees, the Ports and Vessels
belonging to Muscat, increased in number
and size, the Sultan of Muscat furnished
himself with a substantial Fleet, private
Merchants of that place, success upon

signed

rigged Vessels of different kinds and considerable
Barkens to be constructed for them in different parts
of India, and the Port of Muscat, became frequented
by the Vessels of European Nations - Commerce is a
never failing source of Wealth and it has rendered
Muscat a more rich and a more flourishing Port
than any of those bordering on the Persian
Gulph. -

Bahrain is an Island
of inconsiderable circumference situated on the
Arabian Shore of the Persian Gulph in the vicinity
of Schumra and Catiff. Bahrain was long under
the Jurisdiction of the Persians till, in the Year
1783, the Arabs of the Tribe of Bencullaba who
then held possession of the Ports of Schumra and
Ghair and who by their spirited resistance of the
frequent attacks made on their Ports by the Arabs
of the Chaul Tribes, and by the armed Vessels of
the British.

Persons were, ^{then} becoming respectable, in the
Persian Gulf made an action and
successful expedition to obtain possession
 thereof by force of arms - In the same
 year the late Sheriff Duffer, then Sheriff
 of Bushire, collected the remaining Persian
 force of Persia, proceeded to Bahrein and
 made an unsuccessful attempt to recover
 the Island from the Arabs - The loss
 which the Persians sustained, in an
 engagement with the Arabs, was very
 considerable and their remaining force
 returned to Bushire - Since that period
 the Arabs have held peaceful possession
 of the Island without any further attempt
 having been made by the Persians for its
 recovery, Bahrein remains unconquered.

and value from its ancient and extensive Pearl
 fishing which has yielded the finest Pearls, that
 have made their Appearance in the World and
 which in all times, has given Wealth to its
 Inhabitants - The Commerce of Bahrein independent
 of the Pearl Branch has till lately been very
 inconsiderable -

Califf is a Sea Port situated
 on the Arabian Shore of the Persian Gulph, and
 is in the Situation of the Coast of the Isle of
Benechah -

Adama is a Sea Port situated
 on the Arabian Shore of the Persian Gulph, and
 is has been already mentioned in the Situation
 of the Coast of the Isle of Benechah -

Adama is a Sea Port. The Sea
 Ports of Adama Califf and Adama have always
 been in the Possession of the

partaken but in an inconsiderable Degree
of the Benefits arising from the Improvement
of Soil & Husbandry and independent of that
Branch their Commerce has been in all
things chiefly confined to the Importation
of Coffee and of such Indian & European
Mercantile Articles, as have been found
necessary for their own Consumption and
for the Consumption of the West Indies of
the Planters and Merchants, who are
fully well supplied with the Commodities
of Life, and also inhabit the extensive
District which lie to the Southward and
Westward of that Part of the continent
of the Indian Continent, but within a few
Years past the duties and Congress duties
imposed on Tobacco and Spirits were

unpaid

conveyed from Muscat in a vessel belonging to
that Port to Califfe. The acquisition of the
last latterly however, encouraged the agents of the
State of Benecalla, who intreated that Island
to purchase vessels proper to perform Voyages
from Hence to Suva, and to employ them in
such Voyages. They have been thereby enabled
to convey Food in a direct Manner to Suva,
and annually to import at Suva and Califfe
a principal part of the necessary supplies of
Suva and Suva. Merchants likewise before
mentioned, without paying thereon the duties,
which they were liable, when conveyed through
the Channel of Muscat.

Yuan is a the Port, is
situated on the Western Side of the Indian Sea
and near the head of it. It has been long in

the possession of the Oracle of the Side of
Pencallaba, and it has occasionally been
a place of Commercial Importance. The
degree of its importance must ever depend
on the Prosperity or distress of Busora,
during the time, in which the Venetians
were in possession of that City, Grain was
the Port through which that part of the
Produce of India passed for the Kingdoms
Damascus, Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople
Markets which it annually brought to
Busora, found the way to these places.
Grain has always had a free Communication
by the Canal, with Bagdad and Aleppo
and very large and rich Caravans carrying
the aforementioned Goods frequently passed
to and from these Cities.

The City of Bassora is situated
in Arabia Deserta on the Western Banks of the
Great River, which is formed by the junction of the
Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, Situated
from the Sea, at the Head of the Persian Gulf
about seventy Miles. The Commercial Imports
of Bassora in former Periods, is generally known
even as late as the Year in which the English
Factory was removed from Cambay, and the
management of the Affairs of the Honourable Company
in the Persian Gulf, were confided to their
Chief and Council at Bassora, and from that
Period, to the Year 1779 when the States of Persia
and Arizum and the adjacent Countries were
afflicted with a most violent Plague, which
destroyed, the principal Part of their Inhabitants.
The Commerce of Bassora continued to be extensive

easy of access, and who uniformly show
a friendly attention to their Applications
and an active inclination to render them
Justice - They may therefore on all
occasions justly consider their Property
to be in the most perfect state of security,
and their Persons, exempted from every
species of Assault. -

The Commercial
Intercourse carried on between Moscow
the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, is
effected, by means of Ports D'Europe
and square rigged Vessels belonging
to the Empire, and the Commercial
Intercourse, carried on between Russia
and India, is effected in part, by means
of the steam navigation, and in

part

part by means of Vessels belonging to different
European Nations and to Indian & Muslim
Merchants. The first mentioned Vessels are
navigated by the Crews of Malabar, who are
active and enterprising, though not very skilful
Sailors, perform Voyages to the Coast of
Sindian Coast to Surat Bombay, the Coast
of Malabar and even farther to Calcutta they
annually convey to those places, considerable
Quantities of Pearl, Beak Salt, Brimstone,
Copper, Antimony, Galls, Stiffen, Raw Silk,
Dates, Dried Fruits, Assafetida, Opium, a
variety of other Drugs, many like important
Merchandise articles, and large sums of Money
in German Crowns, Rixdollars, and other Gold &
Silver Coins; and they usually import from
those places at a great, considerable quantity of

of the

STOP

200
225

The Vessels belonging to European

Nations which annually import at Muscat,
 convey to that Place, considerable Quantities of
 Rice Goods, the Manufactures of Bengal, and
 of the Commanche Coast, Sugar, Spice, Wine,
 Siam, Indigo, Iron Lead Steel, Tin, ^{Stal} ~~Stal~~
^{the} Lead, Small Cannon Balls and some Manufacture
 Items. The three last mentioned articles, are
 principally imported by the French. —

The Vessels belonging to

European Nations, which annually import at
 Muscat, convey from thence to the English, &
 Settlements in India, to Malacca and to the
 Mauritius, large Quantities in specie in Gold and
 Silver Coins, Lead and considerable Quantities of
 ✓ Brimstone, Iron Steel, Copper, Tin, and other
 many other important mercantile Articles. —

20

The Vessels belonging to
the Courts of Amoy which are annually
dispatched to the Ports of Amoy & Swatow
in the East Sea, convey to those Ports
considerable Quantities of Pepper, the produce
of the vicinity of Malacca, Part various
Kinds of Rice Goods, the Manufactures
of Bengal & the Coast of Coromandel and
Malabar, and of Great Britain Shalms,
China Ware, Sugar-candy, Pepper, Shalms
Wood, Ginger, Cardamom, Cloves, "
Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Capia Shalms, "
Musk, Camphire, Opium Sumatrah, "
Sulphur shalms, Turmeric, and many
other important mercantile Articles, and
bring in return to Amoy, very valuable
Cargoes of Yunnan Coffee, a variety of Spices

Small Piece Goods of various kinds, Malabar
Cloth, Cotton Yarn, Gujarat Piece Goods,
Chintz and Cullinets, Cambay Chaudou,
Wool and Spinning Cotton, Shawls, &
Bamboo China Ware, Spinal Piece Goods
Ginger Cardamoms, Nutmegs, Cassava
Casia Flowers, Musk, Camphire, Sumatra
Indigo, Iron, Lead, Steel Tin, Gallenaga
Black Lead, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.
and many other important & Mercantile
Articles.

The Article belonging
to Britain & London & Merchants, which
occasionally visit America, coming to and
from India, & Commercial Articles similar
to those imported at, and exported from
America, & the Article belonging to that, &c.

and considerable sums of money in Hindians and
Oceanian Circuits.

The Republic belongs to

the Arabs which navigates the Persian Gulf, and
to the different parts thereof, the principal part
of the Yunnan Office, and of the different Indian
and European Mercantile Articles, which are
annually imported as before mentioned at Muscat (which are
~~annually imported~~ and bring in return to that
place, principally however from Persia, consistent

Quantities of Dates, Copper, Arsenic, Galls, & other
Raw Silk, Bagdad and Aleppo, Citrones, Scarcely
Gardens, Tobacco, Medicines, Faint Smiths Iron
Cassafide, a variety of other Drugs, many less
important mercantile Articles, and large sums
of Money in various Gold Coins.

The remaining amount

part, of the Yunnan Office and the other different

Mercantile

Miscellaneous Articles, which are annually
imported at Muscat, is destined for
the Consumption of that Place, and the
other parts of the ^{Province of} Oman. It is circulated
through that Province, by Land Caravans
by the means of Camels, at a material
expense, and without any consequential
Risk.

The Duties collected
by the Government at Muscat, are 1/2
per Cent on all Importations, even provisions
not excepted.

From the foregoing
Information, relative to the Commerce of
Muscat, it evidently appears to be a very
important and extensive nation and on
a consideration of the advantages arising

to Muscat from local Situation, it may be fairly
concluded that its Commerce must ever flourish
even in the present State, which admits Language
and an increasing scarcity of specie. Besides in
the South of Persian Dominions, the Merchants
of Muscat are engaged in capital Commercial
Enterprize, and their sales and Purchases
are uniformly made for ready Money. The
wealth derived to them, from the valuable
Importations annually made at Muscat of
Coffee from the Ports of Mocha and Mecca, in
the Red Sea, and of Sugar from Batavia are
alone sufficient to render them rich & respectable.
The importations of Coffee, amount to near one half
of the Quantity annually consumed in Yemen
and is sufficient for the full Consumption thereof
in the Countries of Seide, Arabia & Persia, &c.
Muscat.

Mosipolamia, Candian, America, Georgia and Natalia, and in part to satisfy the demand for that article of Luxury in Syria, Turkey in Europe, Germany, Poland, Russia and other Northern Kingdoms. The importations of sugar are very large, and are sufficient for the supply, in that indispensably necessary article of the Countries of Asia Arabia Persia, Mosipolamia, Candian America Georgia and Natalia.

The Commerce of the many small islets, which are on the straits & bays of the Persian Gulf, between Muscat and the Kingdom of Bahrein is so very inconsiderable, as not to merit attention.

5102

231

It has already been remarked,
that independent of the rest of the Parish, the
the Commerce of the Island of Barbicon, has late-
ly been very inconsiderable. The great share,
which it possesses of the Salt Fishery although
it has not lately proved so productive as in
former times, is however in itself, a Commercial
Object of very great importance. It engages the
attention of many rich British Merchants who
reside at Barbicon, and it gives employment
to many industrious People of the lower Class
belonging to that place. The principal Fisheries
is carried on during the Months of May, June, July,
August and September, and in that Season generally,
fish of different kinds and sizes, to the
value of a Million of Money, equal to about eight
hundred thousand which are divided in
proportions

proportions settled by Agreement between
the before-mentioned Arabian Merchants who
are the Proprietors of the Vessels employed
in the Service, the People who navigate
them, and the Divers who are extremely
exped in that Art - The principal part of
the Pearl is conveyed from Bahrain direct
to Surat and from Bahrain to Mocha via
Muscat, Zebid, Sindh, Surat and Calcutta
from which four last mentioned Places, it
is circulated through Candabar, Malacca
India, Szechuan and China. The remainder
supplies the Markets in the Persian Gulf
and in part finds its way through the
Channels of the Red Sea to those of Europe.

Although the Commerce
of Bahrain independent of the Pearl Trade

5762

233

it even now inconsiderable, it has materially
increased since the Arabs obtained possession of
the Island and since they furnished themselves
with Vapour pipes for the performance of Voyages
from thence to India. It has already been re-
marked that in consequence thereof, the Arabs
have had it in their power to make a principal
part of their annual Importations of Indian &
European Mercantile articles at Sebana & Caffee
without their being landed at Muscat. These
Articles, in the present time, are however first
conveyed in a direct manner from Suval to
Mabruk and from thence to Sebana and Caffee.
The importations made from Suval to Mabruk
for the consumption of that Island, principally
consist of small quantities of Crystal Glass & other
Fine Goods, General Rice, Wax and Shirts, Country
Clothes

J Chandee, Swatze, Hambro, & Co, London
and Son - The Directors of the Company
in question belonging to Batavia, with
a view of rendering their Intercourse with
China, more beneficial to them, have lately
made consignments to that place, of various
Kinds Articles of Commerce, and have
engaged in small adventures of Cotton
Yarn, Shalms, Small Blue and other
Fine Cloths and General Piece Goods which
prove for the Aleppo, Bagdad, and Persian
Markets; Part of which has found its way
through the Channel of India, to the two
first mentioned places, and the remainder
has been sold at Batavia. The important
Trade
which has been found to consist of Coffee, partly
intended for the use of Batavia and partly intended
for the European Market and for quantity of
Sugar, Coffee, and pieces of Bengal Cloth, &c.

Of the said kind, necessary for the consumption
of the Island; and the Importations
made at Mahran, from the Government
of a quantity of date and Grain necessary
for the consumption of the Island, and
of small Quantities of Copper Annies
Galls, Samelle, Ors Cantarines Venetian
false Coral, & beads of different kinds, &
Rochmal and Saffron all which are
proper Articles for the said Market -

The late increase in the Trade of Mahran,
through small has proved, advantageous
to the Island, has awakened, in the
Merchants thereof a Spirit of Commercial
Enterprise, and will probably induce them
to endeavour by the purchase of larger
and better Vessels, and by the extension
of their present Intercourse with India, to
encompass

occupy a considerable Part, of the
Trade of the Arabian Shore of the
Persian Gulph. —

The Government of Bahrain
does not collect Duties of any kind
on Merchantile Articles. —

It has been already mentioned
that the Seaports of Sebacia and
Ratiffa, enjoy only an inconsiderable
Share of the Pearl Fishery, of the
Persian Gulph; and that their
Commerce is a confined one. The
Inventions which activate the
Merchants of those Places to
Commercial Enterprises, cannot
however materially vary. They
must ever possess their ^{fund} Share of
the Pearl Fishery, and their
annual Expectations of Great
Value

Blue and other Fine goods, Country
Chauden, Gujarat Fine goods and others,
Shawl Blankets and many less
important miscellaneous Articles from
Surat, by the way of Bahruv: of Coffee,
Sugar, Pepper, Raw Spices, Bonyal,
Sesui, Iron, Lead, Tin, Oil, Ghee, Rice,
and many less important miscellaneous
Articles from Surat, and of Dials and of
Grain from Buzura, must ever prove
in demand, as well at Sebava and
Califf, as in the Countries, inhabited
by the Arabs, of the Tribes of Bhatral
and of Benuhalid East of the
Antient Indian Indication is retained
at Sebava, and Califf for the Consumption
of these parts, and in this immediate
Vicinity, and the remainder is conveyed
by

by land by means of Camels, at a moderate Expense, and without any considerable Risk, to Dacca, the usual residence of the Shaikhs of the Tribes of the Tribes of Whahat, and to Hafia the usual residence of the Shaikhs of the Tribes of the Tribes of Beni-hatid, from which place, it is circulated through the Districts under the Jurisdiction of these Tribes. —

The Government of Califfe is extremely favorable to Merchants who there enjoy complete Protection in their Person and Property, and the duties collected at that place are very moderate, and are confined to the ports. It is likewise believed in a State of Prosperity, on Basis of
P. P. P.

Pepper, and about 1 per cent in Sices or all other Articles, except Provisions. —

The Government of Yebarra, does not collect duties of any kind on Mercantile Articles. —

Although Grain is has been already remarked, is a Seaport of unusual Commercial Importance, the annual Imports of Mercantile Articles usually made there are inconsiderable. The importations made at Grain from Calicut, Ceylon, Malabar, and Muscat consist of small Quantities of Surat Blue Goods, Bengal Blue white Goods, Benga Laccis, Coffee Sugar Pepper &c. Spice, Iron and Lead for the Consumption of that place and its immediate Vicinity, and of more considerable Quantities of Bengal
Pepper

New Goods, Surat Piece Goods. Cotton
Yarn Cambay Handess, Coffee
and Pepper from the Bay of Bengal and
Aleppo Markets, which arrive
part the property of the Merchants
of Patna, and in part the property
of the Merchants of Bussora and
The Importations made at Ginn
from Bussora, consist of a quantity
of Dates and Grain, necessary for the
Consumption of Ginn and its
immediate Vicinity. —

The Duties collected by the Government
of Ginn on Mercantile importations are
similar to those collected by the Government
at Aleppo. —

In order to avoid the Burden of the heavy
Duties collected by the Government of Bussora on
all Importations made at that place and on all
Exportations made from thence to Aleppo, many
of the Dealers, some of the Merchants of Bussora,
have lately found a part of their Merchandise
imported in the Aleppo Market, and conveyed from
thence to Ginn, and other Places, by means
of the Bussora to Aleppo, and the Aleppo to Ginn,
mentioned in the Account of Bussora, has
been found to be a means to convey the

STOP

the Merchandise in Question to Aleppo by the Caravans, which have occasionally departed from Bursa for that place, and have thereby defrauded, the Government of Bursa of 10 and 17 1/2 Cent on the whole of its value. —

The Conveyance of property from Grain to Bagdat or Aleppo in Caravans by way of the Desert is not attended with any consequential danger the Shaiks of the Caravans being careful to provide themselves, with Paschaks or Arabs of the different Tribes, who inhabit the Desert. Paschaks thus employed consider the Caravans under their Protection, and our meeting Parties of their own Tribes, have always sufficient Influence with them to prevent their committing any Act of Violence, provided the Shaiks of the Caravans make the customary presents which are trifling ones, to the heads of these Parties, and pay them the fixed Arab Levies or Duties due to their Tribes. In making the

several

usual Load of a Camel is in weight
about seven hundred English pounds,
and the Drivers of the Caravans well in
all times, by customary Agreement,
engage to convey from Grain to Aleppo
and to pay the Arab the Semaise or
Duties thereon, that weight of
Price Goods for a Sum of Money
equal to Bombay Rupees 130, and that
weight of Profit Goods for a Sum of
Money equal to Bombay Rupees 90,
the Consequence of Merchandize from
Grain to Bagdat, by Caravans is
staided, by a Noety of the Expenses
incurred, in the conveyance of
Merchandize from Grain to Aleppo
by Caravans. Caravans generally
proceed from Grain to Aleppo in
about eighty days, and from
Grain to Bagdat is about thirty
days. —

It has already been

remarked

STOP

243

remarked that Grain, Sebarra & Bahreen
belong to the Arabs of the Tribe of
Beneallaba, those places are united
under one Government, at the head of
which we should see *the Sheikh*, the Sheikh of
Bahreen and Abdulla ibn Suibah, the Sheikh
of Grain. The Sheiks are both
Men of established Characters, and
they have successfully exerted themselves
to give consequence to their Tribe, who
are now generally respected and feared
in the Persian Gulph and are
consequently become the most powerful
Arabs that navigate it. - Their
Galleys, and Boats are numerous
and large and they have engrossed
the whole of the Freight Trade
carried on between Muscat and the
Ports on the Arabian Shore, of the
Persian Gulph, and a principal part
of the Freight Trade, carried on
between Muscat and Dufora. - The
Government

يجل وقال ارفع من اخمرك بالمثل ووج الميل الاده
 سباع والقطيع بهذا الطباع فاضمن من جهرك
 واعرف قيمة دهرك وديك انقطت المشتري دل
 بتل لجواهرك مشتري فوالله لقد ايقضني من سنة
 واحسن الي اي حمنه وذاوت على نصيري اذ عرفت

مصري

الفصل الثالث

في معرفت عرب قامة وهم طوائف متعددة وبحثت
 حكم السيد الاعظم والامام الاقدم السيد الشريف
 جعفر بن محمد بن سوار الحسيني من ~~عراق~~
 المعروف من خياهم الفاني خيال واو بعة الاف سقاني
 وهم اهل شجاعه وهيبه وكرام الضيوف وارضهم الحما

12

ولا بارده ولبسهم من اكسف الملايس وهم اكثر
مولا لهم على حرمهم في الليل ومنها الزراف

خيالهم الف وستة ائيم خمسة الاف وافعالهم

بخانيس من قبائلهم ومنها سمرال مفيد الف خيال

والقنين سقاني وادي جيران على ما يتعلق

بم خمسة الاف خيال وعشرين الف سقاني و

منها ذوى رشيد من ورا جبل الطور القين

سببوا ابن حوله

خيال وعشرة الاف سقاني ومنها مرعبيد

اربعة الاف خيال وعشرين الف سقاني ومنها

الكع حنساير خيال والقين سقاني عسيدر

خسة الاف خيال وثلاثين الف سقاني وانما هم



هم يروا عسير على السبب جليل هم لما كنيته وهم اعظم
 اجناسهم بالرهي بالبنادق وكانوا حين تغلب عليهم
 الوقايي يكرههم في غزواته حتى انهم يمضون على
 ارجلهم طال المسير او قصر وكبير هم اسمه طامي وهو
 من الملوك الذين اسرهم الوزير الاسعد محمد على
 باشا عن طريق مصر والمالك له والمليك ليس الوزير
 بل انه بل اغا هو ابنه السيد بن السيد القادم الى مصر
 حمة الغزني لمحمد احمد طوسون باشا واسر غير طام
 هي المذكور عثمان المضاري خيله في ابيته الاف و
 سينا ابنه حصر حصر وشمس لاف ومن الاسرى ايضا
 السيد الشريف عظيم مكر المشرف نزارون الاسر قسريا

وتبينها

و تعظيما غالب واد مساعدا وسبب بطشهم فيه
 حال مع الوهابي في فترة من دولة بنو عثمان
 اذن الله بدوامها الى آخر الزمان ولم يتركوا من
 ابنايهم ولا ابناء عمه ولا من ادعى العلياء احد منهم
 ومن الاسرى المذكور بن مسعود ابن مضيان وهو
 من نواحي ايجاز وساكن المدينة المنورة على ما
 كثر افضل الصلوات وازكى السلمات والمذكر
 اعظم اقرانه في الجهاد وهو الذي هزم عسكرو
 من بني الحنفية له احمد بن مسعود باشا بن الوزير
 العزيز بن محمد بن علي باشا وهم اول عسكرو ورجع على
 من ايجاز متوجرا لقتال الوهابي فعدو العسكرو

٢٥

منه

رزقي معه سبعة الاف والعجايب من طاقته
 اليه حتى تغلب على ساير امراض الحجاز وباديتها
 جهز الملك الأعظم سعود بن عبد العزيز عساكر ما
 يتولى بحضرتها فاقم واقربائه عبد الله فيهم وانزل الى
 ملاقاته الى منزله المذكور حتى نزل بموضع من موا
 ضع الحجاز غربي المدينة المقدسة التي هي كنف قنطرة
 لعبد الله بمساكن واقام به منظر قدوم الوتر العاليه
 باهبة وما يرى قبائل الحجاز واليمن ونجد وغيرهم
 بقا العبد لله ولا والله تغلب عليهم طاجب مصر
 عن ضعف منهم وبعين بل خيانتهم من العربان ومرضى
 من ساكني البلادان فسال الوتر عساكر الى الوهابي

في نسبه

سبعة آلاف فلقية الوهابي بأربعين ألف مقاتل
قال المولى وأنا منهم ثم حفر الوهابي على عسكره الخنا
وقى وعمل المتاريس في ثلاثه أيام حتى توجهت سبعة
الآلاف إليه فاخذ الحرب بينهم ثلاثه أيام لم يجد
عسكر الوزير مدخل إلى عسكر الوهابي لأجل ان
السرايل خندق ولجبل متريس فضاعت الأرض بار
حبت على الوهابي وعساكره وكان مستعوى وابن مضيا
ن المذكور ما ياتى بالوهابي ان يخون عليه فلما انقضى
وخاير الوهابي واولئك من واحتاج إلى الرجوع النفس
بعث على ابن مضراني من مكان مبعود عنه فيه تجا
معه ألف راية فلما مر به عسكر الوزير بهزل الود

قال احد الوهابي الكبير يعنون سعود والذى في
اهل نجد وادم عبد الله فاذا بر عسكر الوهبي حيا
ثلاث ساعات كل على موضع يقال له بدر فلما اتا
على ابره ثلاث ايام اذ قد مر عليهم خال الوهبي واحد
طوسون واسم ابراهيم فابترقه ومعه ثلاثه الا
في والذى اقبل في عسكر سبعه الاف الذى مع
احد ثلاثه الاف فصار ثمانه مائه وكتب الوهبي واحد
الى العزيز يصف له اقدام الوهابي وشجاعته وعك
عساكر حتى ابصر العساكر التي فعلت ما فعلت وع
صلت الى اوصلت فصار الوهبي واحد الى المدينة المقل
سه فحاضر الوهابي بيه الذين ثم مجموع لاني فيها حل

من دأب من افتر عنها فقل لهم الوزيري بكم فنان ايم
 ذلك شهر اودني واعطاهم عهدا ودية السلطان
 فابوا الاضواء وفتوا فافوا واهوؤا غضب السور على البلاء
 مرت فلما برت ذمته منهم والشهد السور من سوله على عصبيا
 منهم اضرمهم بالنار فساوا العسكر اليها فاختصر في القلعه
 الصعيه واعطاهم الامان فخرجوا فافوا ثم خشي ايروم
 قبل اثن عشر الف واعطاهم الوزيري ابلا ويزاد وماء
 واكرمهم وتجب الرهايي كبر ووفاه فبقي مسعود ابن
 مصيان في قصره فخصه ايروم الافكار فخرج من بلاد امان
 وطلب الامان فامتنع الوزيري وقام ايروم نائبه
 وكتب له على لسان الوزيري انك آسن فاقبل واكرم الوزيري

اكرام سفرنا فلما انتهى الى ثلثة ايامه كل يوم اعظم اكرا
 ما مما قبله كما جاء في تاريخ اربع او ثلثوا فتوده وناقضوه
 في افعاله فما اجاب بحسن ولا سيئه لمعرفته بالهلاك
 ومنهم من حس قلمي ونابط الحجر الشريفه اجاب تطول ثم
 ساعد هم الغزو والنه حتى فطروا ما يعجز كسرى وفيصره
 همهم الآتيه تستهزؤ بالاصيه وحار هذا النار
 مريح اخذ في سفرهم عشرين سنين ولا شكوا اذا ولا
 نصب ولا وصب ولا فخصه في سبيل الله تعالى
 ولو قصد لهم نجد واهلها ما فطروا فقتلوا ولنرجع
 لما تركنا منها ابن الاثير فرسانهم الف وسبعمائة
 منهم ثلثة الاف وهم اعظم ما يكونوا هاجبا للحرب وحذر

ومنهم

ومنها سمر بن جبال اصغر الذين معروفون بالماكروا
 الخزع وهم اكرم امثالهم للطارق وعددهم
 اربعة الاف خيال وستة الاف سقاني ومنها سهم
 سخان خيلهم ثلثة الاف وسقانيهم عشرة الاف
 واسم كبيرهم فرحان ابو عسه صاحب تدبير ومعا
 نقات وفيه كرم وشجاعة نزيه ومنها سهم
 الخباب كبيرهم اسمهم رفة خيلهم خمسمائة خيال
 وسقانيهم خمسة الاف وهم معروفين بلالة الطرق
 وورد المياه واكثرهم حب الذرة يقضون قضيا
 واباسهم الاموية السود ونساءهم كما ينسب شيئا
 الامند بل اسود وطوله ذراعين وعرضه ذراع
 ثقبه الرءه على عورته ومنها سهم

از هر هزار و پنجاه و سه تا سه هزار و سیصد و
 الف فارسی و منتهی به ابن دهمان السباع السرو
 فی . والبطال ابو یوفی ستمائة الف واما
 خیاه فالفا خیاه و منتهی به ابن ستمائة الف
 خمسة وعشرون الف وخیاهم ستمائة الف و هم
 ذوی حجة و عقی و شذ و فیه و موصوفین با
 الحار و اکثر و هم ذوی عداوة و حروب بینهم فا
 اذا قام لهم حرب من غیرهم اصطلحوا ما بینهم
 واجتمعوا علی مذبح و منتهی به ابن ستمائة الف
 بنامه کبیر هم اسم ابن سطل ستمائة الف
 الف وخیاه ستمائة الف و هم عشایر متفرقة

و قبايل

17

وقبائل معدده ذو صبر الحروب وتفتيش الكروب
 وحلم عند الغضب و ايراد القصب ما بان جار
 لهم ما غبا ولا الى غيرهم عنهم راغبنا قال المؤلف احد
 ثني عنهم بعض العارفين بهم انهم اعرف اهل كفا
 جهنم في الاشياء ومعزة القبائل والسيج الانا
 و دلاله الطرق وهم رهاك ملايون وكجات عفا
 لبون مبارز يقصر عنهم لان الشجاعة تستار منها
 ومنها القبيلة السابقة الجليله المبرورون
 بشهران وهو لا يعدد سقا انهم خمسة عشر الف
 وخيام القان بلا خلاف كبير هم ابي مروان مقلد
 الاعناق بالاحسان وهم اشبه بالشجاعة من قلام

ولا احد في الحقيقة يدرك فضلهم ومنها
 ال كتاب ذي القدر والكتاب سيدهم عظيم الشأن
 المعروف بابن شكان خيله عشرة الاف وخيله
 الفين وسفانده عشرة الاف وقد فاقوا من قبلهم
 ومن بعدهم ولا وقف احد على حقيقة مجدوم وكبير
 هم المشار اليه والموقف الحضر عليه اسمع الناس نفسا
 واكثرهم انسا واكرم للضيف وعزمه اقطع من غير
 السيف ومنهم ^وم بن وايب ذوى البحر والساب
 والبيض القواصب وكبيرهم القويبة النسوب التنا
 اليه مرجلية عشرين الف واجل وفوار سهم ثلاثه
 الاف مقاتل ارضوا اعداءهم وبذلوا ابدانهم

فصا

فساد الرجال ووصول الآمال والقوا بين المتفرقين
وبذلوا افضلهم مغربا ومشرقا ومنها
ما يقض ابن شيبان الشاهد بحمد الركبان وهو لاء
كرام القنوس ثقال الرومي يكونون المنازل وبر
فنون المنازل ويحسون جادهم ويقيدون الصنالك
بنارهم متقافهم عشرين الف وخيلهم الفين بل اخلف
وجنات الفرع ذوى الرهبان لا ضلادهم
والفرع خيلهم الف وخيلهم خمسة الاف
بل اشكال كبيرهم المرفون شعلان المجرى في السر
والاعلان وهذه السنين التي افضلها الرجال
مستبين مولعون بطالب الشكر ومسالمة على اخبار

البر والبحر منهُ ~~سقطان~~ والقادر
 فبين هاجم كبير القادر وحشر العاصم كبيرهم حشر
 الجميع ثلاثين الف ستواني وعه سبعة آلاف خيال
 والمذكور من بوناء العهد مشهور مني واكرام النبا
 زال عندهم سنة لا الجمل عنها ابيددهم واخبارهم
 ما بلغتنا على التفصيل فاكفينا من اهل هذا القليل
 ومنهُ ~~سقطان~~ الحراف السرفون بالاشياض والسلف
 كبيرهم الصعيبي ذي البناشة والرياسة
 والعظم ستمائة خمسة الاف وفرسانه الف بلا خلاف
 وهم فيما هم فعلى ما اتفقت في احد مثلهم فيها انهم
 اذا طرهم نبي فاعظم ما يكون ان ياتق بالاختين

زادهم

15

زادهم وهو المعروف بالذم ولكن يجلونه اخيارا
كالمدبرات والرم والحضبة والالبان فدلهم ما تقدم مما
وهو **سأل** مسمى الموفون بالصدوق في الصدوق

تتالباهر والذم ولما تقدم الذي عنان المريب

بأيديهم والمصرفين ما بر على معاديم كبر المعروف

عرب الموصوف بالكرم والعون خسة الان سقا

نر والفا بالعدو فربانه وهو لاء المذكريين

على جميع افعالهم مكرهين اقدم من الضمغام و

اكرم من الغمام ولا عدوا فخرهم سوى اكرم الضيف

او الاقدام للضرب بالسبب وكفى بذلك فخر في

هذه الارب وفي الاخرى وقد عيتت ومنهم ووايتت ومنهم

قال المطرف انجز الله آماله ولا خيب في الدارين
 احواله هذه القبيلة المصنفة بغير تفرق اسما
 كثير فثقتهم طوائف بصل المعروف بابي نضرة ومنهم
 الاخرين وهم الذين يكون سواحل البحر والاخرين
 بصل السيد الشريف حموي ابو مسمار وقيل ان يكون
 بينهم الصلح لان كل واحد يرفع الفخار والعلباء
 بيده وهم المسمين ابو نضرة وابو مسمار فلما صار بينهم
 من المشاء والعلوة ماصار وبنين الغلب والقدر
 من لا ابو مسمار واليمن ابو نضرة بالبحر عن حريه
 انصبه مناز لندر وضمير مال لطاعة الوهابي و
 استعان به وحتى التقى ليدرا امره وكتايبه فقتل
 فقام عبد الوهاب ابو نضرة بجساكن وخيوله

البلاد

الى بلاد ابي سيار غازا على عهده و قوله فلما
 بلغ ابي سيار قريته اليه اضربنيون حمله و شمر عن
 عزابه صقاده عليد فالتمس ابي سيار و عساكر ابي نضير
 ولم يعلم الا واحد ثم بصر بالاشترية فكي له ابي سيار
 و نزل هو و عساكره في موضع محقق لان ابي نضير
 معه و هو قد تاهب و اعد قوت و كشف عن ساءه و كفى
 فاذا ابي نضير قد قرب منه و عسكره يسير نهض ابا
 سيار نهضه الا سئل بغيره من ابي نضير فاما ابي نضير
 النزول الا و خيول ابي سيار اقرب له من جبل الوتر بال
 قباد و ابي سيار الى ابي نضير ففرقهم و ضربهم سيفا
 في ارضه من خلفه طائفة فخر صريحا فنزل عليه و حنرا
 معه و اخذ بها اليه رجمه ففرقت عساكر ابي نضير

خبر الشريف بن الحسين

ثم عدوهم خصمه ولا ترون الا بين خيل وسفاحي
 واحا عسكر الشريف ابو مسعود وعشرة الاف وسابن نسيان
 من اخلاق هذا الشريف الاعظم واليهما الاقدار
 لكن منافيه الفينيلذ لا تحصى والخصم في جبره الزل
 خم وان جدد الحايض لا تستحق ملكا من غير الحرب على
 ما ابر انز فصرها والزم نفسه من ادم الاخلاق
 كأنها شرقا صبيته وغربا وابعد في ما يدني الطل
 وغربا ملاذ الطرب باصدا ناسترقت وجبل
 لم حته على بدل احسانه ففازت بانزوم من القاصد
 وترقت ان جاد اخل الحما او نطقا نزعها بفراد الحما
 وفا اقول فوهن جنت اصداده من عكس آراءه ومن

نور

حذر منه السوء وجره بالامر على عينه ما دونه
 اقبلت عليه الدنيا بياها وشرقها الزوال الغنا
 نية بوسايلها فاضحوا من حكامه ما كان داره
 وافصحوا بالباطل غيبه كل جوهر حجبها عن
 لولا الحذر من الاطالة والتوقي عن الاجترار والملاحة
 اثبت الرسل الطرا والفريضة الزهر التي كاسحت
 بثلمها البدلين القراج بلا قزع الاصباح من خاب
 لغناها والهازي بهول الراج وكفاه مغزوا جاداه و
 اكراما وتعزيرا ونزقا واحتراما ان ربنا الوصاله
 ومنشيتها في الموضع المذموم منها وحواسيرها من عيش
 دار الدنيا مرفح الاسلام الى الذرقة العليا والملك

مسالك الدنيا المأوى بقبض فأكبر الواقف
 تبع ونبخت نصر بغيا تم دون غايتها حسري من شخصت
 اعيان المشارق والمغرب لا واهم ووقفت الافلاك
 الرطاب يجر كانه ان مقاليد كاليه طابم العادل فما
 سواه وللخافل لمن ناواه من الواسين حله ولا
 تقى مر على اهل ارض ما نه بظلم مقام ظهر الاوهق
 السلطان الأعظم والناقان الافخا السلطان مجيد
 فان ابن السلطان عبد الحميد صاحب دامت مراقبي حلا
 فزاهم الصيوق والانسات الا تدار موافق لنواقد حكمه
 المطلب شامشوق فبعضه اليه تشرفوا واجلالا
 للبياره واجزل له موافق كثر التي انامها الخايفة ا

لا يدرك

اصل السوره

اصل السطادة وكناه فخر بلده الفضائل التي لم يدرك
 اول وقد منها فصير ولا طائل و مصر مصر مصر
 القبايل المذكورة السامية المشهورة الذي اشتق اسمهم
 من اسلمهم وقام لهم الاسم من زعماد يابا بن غزير بفضلمة
 هم المسمى بالبحران الذين هم من ارقاء بنو اسلمان
 واحبامهم مشغور وفي القراطين مشغور وذلك ان الملك
 الاعظم سيف بن يحيى بنى ما كان قتالها من بني فدي
 من الامم تنكر وخادوا ايامه ويا اليه عيشه منكم فإ
 انتم ببعلاكم وقبوروه وسلاط عليه سلطان ابيش
 جنوده فطار عليهم بكمه وكمه واطال ان كفاحه
 حاز لا تنفر في ارجاء البلد فآل اسمهم الندباء كما آل اسم

بنو سيف بن يحيى بنى

للتدبير فحين صافى عليه اللالك ولم يجد بدا من
 اقتسام الهالك خرج من جبال القيص الروم فقام مستعينا
 من مناه ومستعينا ان يلاءه في ايرم وان يصل آفاله
 بتكايب نصينه و يوده شاكرا الرقة على دينه فاوله
 شيئا من اطهر ولا يلاءه بقليل عن كثير من عمله فلما ابيان
 لسيف كذب اللانك وتحقق صفة الضبون آكب
 لكان زمانا مجددا اذ اناني فانزل حواجر بكسري
 ابرويز فوقف عاير ابني منها والبخير فااحضرها
 بنة ملكه واستنادهم حتى لم يظن المستعين بنشر مني نانا
 وهم وقالوا لاد الملك وامرهم بقرعة الفاك ان
 هذا الرجل مخالفك في دينك وقد يكون ان تدينه في
 مهاتره وحاشي ان يعيدك ومما قرء به نازحة عنك

ولو بهت عساكرنا في نيل ربه ما شكر ذاك مناه
 وذلك ان عساكرنا ما يبش عيشتهم ولا يصبر لدمهم الماء
 ولما آل صبر عيشتهم وتخشى ان يكون هذا نصر في دعوة
 فتقول ما ادواته فلما بين الملك خوضهم وتكر الاحسان
 بجوزهم قال علي بن ابي طالب فخذ في امتحانه وابالايه
 في ارضه فبين بيني وبينه كبري مرق سهامه وصرف كلا
 من اكرم اكرم ارقبه اذا عجزه مالا في به فانزل
 عليه من غمام حلال حار واردها بصبر الاقربين
 فتادم من عنده شاكر احبته الاولى شاكر في الاخرى
 وفق الذي ايقظوا على خدام الملك كسرى فاعجب من
 كرمه وتفريق الذهب وسائر الملك في تضييقه والروب
 فقال ايدي الله الملك وبقائه واسعه ولا اشقاه

ان الذي جُذِفَ به علي و جُدوف به بانك الراجحي
 ليس عندنا بغيرم ولا ذهابه عنا بغيرم فقال الملك وهل
 تعرف اسمه فتسويه فقال هو الذهب بالانجويه فنجي كسري
 لا حقتان الدنيا ندر بعدوها وكان ابن ترف معادن
 بلدهما فقال ان فالك ببلادنا ه كك الابل لا سجا
 لم يترك الابل ليجل فلان هم كسري مع الملح وهل
 ما عثني على بغيره صاكن على الحبش وطبع فلان بصر
 كالاير بغيره و تحسوا منه تصديني وهو قام رجل
 من الملاء المذكور فانطاب ببنيه للملك بالايدي
 ملك مشهور كصور فقال ادا ملك القدره وكان بابي
 الغني والخصير ان احسن الاخوان اخا من الدهقان
 وان الملك دام ملكه قد جمع في بجمه الوفاء مؤلفه واضل

مؤلفه

مؤلفه وكلهم مستوجب العقوبة والحوالم ينظر
 الملك اليهم بعين العفو فلا يحتمل معاملة ولا يصل
 بهم جناح امله واقتسامه ان ملكوا فبئس منك الى عقب
 عقبهم او هكذا اذ كان في قعدك بهم فاجب
 كسرى ابرويزين والراي والمييز فاظهر من في سجونا
 من الازسرى وقد مر عليهم من مناص عقاله وقومه في
 هذا اليوم اسد من بوا وقال له ان وجد ترصادقاني
 دعواه وان الملك ماكره ودار من عن اباه وافضحك
 مقديتي والكرهية فسلم اليه امينته وان كان كما
 ذاب في بانهم ولا له شجرة من قهر في حكم فانتاب مقديك
 جديك واجمع به والاه ووديك فالر العساكر فانتق

وعمره نحيم فاقمها فصار فرسها اقربها حتى
 اتوا الى البحر الفارسي فالقول من الزوال وابتداء عنها
 النيم الرضا فسارت بهم الريح كما فسار حتى اشرابا
 حل اليمن انلاكم غايبة الامراء فنهضت علىكم قات
 صدة البلاد فلقبها اجات الحبشي باسرها وبكثرة بلاد
 فكسفت الحرب عن ساقها وشحن للفقير عن الاجساد
 فراقها فانخذوا على ذلك ذلك ايام حتى قتل
 البحر علة البند من الاذقان ثم تفرقا احاد في سلا
 وليم يبي الحبشي بيد الظفر سوي الامم والافلاس فما كان
 اليمن والخراسان له وسما الى ارضه وبيد عن ملك قومه
 فقتلهم متدقا وعول في الزمان واب الرئس الكسري
 فخرها اولاد فبيد من الطماكر باليمن واستنسلوا

صورة الدرع من جن الخشن وكبيرهم الان اسير
 جابر بن مانع عسكر عشرون الف متقارع فاكتسبوا من
 الحرب افضالهم الكوبير وتختلف ايام اسلافهم التي لا يدرك
 لحادها يقهر ومنها ~~سمر بن امرئ~~ ذبي الكعاج
 والقزاع والجبولون عظمى الطباع الشاكين مسالك
 لده الاحاجد والفاريقين ضد هم منى اقامهم فراقده
 وروباها نبات حتى ادركوا الامنيات وعدد يوم مع ذلك
 قليل الا ان نزلهم ثقيل خيلهم مايتان وسقاهم الفان
 ومنها ~~سمر~~ المرفون مساوية المالكه للفضل وكاوية
 وكاهم الى احزم وتديرو ومعاون الكرم والكرو والتوير
 عدد يوم ثلاثه الان اذا المرجلو وان خيلهم فخيما يراوا
 امر قلوبا وهن لاده السمع من طاتم وانح في الطالب عن طاتم

ومنها **سُر المروفي** آل **أبا القرم** **ذبي الشهامة**
والخزم **والتصميم** في **البيضاء** **والخزم** **مكوف** في **ذراهم**
ضيقهم **أما السمسك** **بمراهم** **من عيهم** **عنه** **سقا** **انهم**
سنة **الاي** **وخيلهم** **خمس** **عشر** **راية** **وفي** **ذلك** **اضطان**
 ومنها **سُر المسمون** **ناصر** **ذبي** **البيات** **الراحم**
والجاذ **الفاخر** **المهندي** **بهم** **كجابر** **والمزور** **وغيرهم**
الجابر **السامون** **مجداد** **فخر** **والمسابقون** **دنيا** **وا**
مزي **حداد** **السبيوني** **في** **طول** **الروح** **شام** **الانق** **في**
لك **حال** **السراج** **سقا** **انهم** **الفي** **وخيلهم** **لأقارب**
والبابن **واسلخهم** **البنادق** **القناير** **وصي** **فيهم**
الغالب **بمراهم** **الرديني** **علا** **اكف** **لا** **ونيات**
ولادنيته **ومنها** **سُر** **بنو** **اسد** **ذبي** **العد**

والله

والهدد والصلوات والمكائد لا تطيش بهم ولا
 ينو احسانهم ولا يفتل اخلاتهم ولبائهم متمثلة
 للفاصد وكرامتهم لا تنجلي في المقاصد يلبون وبي
 المتقن ان دعي وبيس يعون اخبار المكرات في
 كمن وحي علي لا تترك الالف وحنون و
 فرسانهم غنما يراويزيد ومنه وبنو ذيب
 ذوالانجاد والبرحاب الماسين انفة المعروف وكما
 يربون من السن الواصلين ابى الواصلين بلادهم محو
 وكرادهم لا مضادة الفرج ولا يراهم محو
 عور الجبل واوجده البنادق وادى بهم ولبند
 في اللسان سقائهم خمسة الالف مصتة وخيلهم الف
 مؤمه طريقهم مقفود وشربهم مولود لا يربون
 هم على بعضه ولا يفارق قبيلهم في شرب ارضه

ومنها **عبد الشرف** ذي العز والشرف حيدري
 الفطال غريبي النوال كرمين النزال بلادهم حفت
 بكل شرف وحي صنيع عين القهقري ونساءهم غراب
 خفرت حُصنات مؤمنات هوى هم مرقى وهدم
 وبني وبقارهم في حرمهم يقول عدلهم
 عن فضائلهم فاقوا في الكرامات من لهم نعم
 ومنها **عبد الله** المودون وكما انظون
 لهم عدد الموزون عدد ستمائة عشرين الف الا
 ان خيري اوم ايمان ولا ينف ولا **عبد**
 برهان ذوى الظفر باعد لهم والدمغرام عدد هم ستمائة
 عشرة الاف واسم اميرهم سلطان ابن ربيع ذي الانصاف
 وهو السباني ومنه البصير والواقي برهان السباني

الصبيرة

27

بين المشايخ ومنها **س** بنو شداد الغلاظ
 الشداد الذين هم عيني الجعد والحجرات البلاد سقائهم
 خمسة الاف كبيرهم البندقاني ومنها **س**
 بنو جنب حواء الصاحب بالجنب والحمر فون بنفرا
 الذئب سقائهم عشرة الاف وخيلهم خمسا يرب الاضلاف
 ومنها **س** الحمر فون برادعه ذي الكرى الحروب
 والحوا وعه سقائهم اربعة الاف وخيلهم ثلثا يرب نعم
 ومنها **س** بنو اقر عينه الازييين بالبحر وفضله
 وهو لاء ابي عن عبيتهم وافرغ عن كائنتهم وارثنا
 ع عاداتهم وقد يعينني حصر فضائلهم والاقا
 بان اليم سقائهم ستة الاف مجالن وخيلهم خمسا يرب
 فارس مئاندي ومنها **س** آل مشاة كبيرهم ابي

فتأدان ستانم عشر الف وخمسم الفين وهـ
 فانهم اهل سبب الذي فطقي في سنانم القرآن
 الحبيب على الحان رسول الله الحبيب قال الله جل ثناؤه وقد
 ستم اسماء لقد كان لسباني صمكم ايزجنتان عن
 بيان وشمال الايات كني لم اعرف اسم القبيلة ولا اهلها
 وهم اربعين الف ستانم ولا يعنون بشيئ منكم
 اسمهم الحمد وهو لا معنى به بلقيس وهي البراءة
 الذي فطقي في شانها القرآن العزيز واسمات مع سببها
 ابن داود عليه وعلى من افضل الصلوة والسلام والتكريم
 وهذا اسم اهل النحر والمكلا شينهم عبد
 الحبيب ابن ماضي عدوهم ثلاثين الف ستانم وهي
 لاء اعظم اقراهم في الوقوف للرب والصبر على الكفاح
 والشرب وهم اكرم ما يكون الشريف ويروي في الوفاظ

السيف فضل

الفصل الثاني والثمانون

فهذه القبيلة الساسية اسمها والى افرقتمها والثنا
 بت في دواوين المال التي منها المصروف في مجيئته ذو
 المكار والنجاع والجدال والنزاع والنزال والقراع الذي
 بينهم كجات الحرب ونزوات الخطوب شرها ان يساد
 واكثر من الرج اذا جادو والطف من الذيب في الحجاج
 لا سيما الاخذلا اسم الحج واما عدوهم عساكر فمشرقة
 آلاف بلبي قاصر واما خيامهم فمخايبه قد اعدها اللها يرد
 منه **سُرْعَتِيْهٖ** ذي التروس والتعبيد والكلو
 ح والشبكه القول في هو اورد المبيحين للاهواء الهم
 امرق من السهام واعرف بفرق الصبح عن الظلام او هم
 مجبولون على سهر الليل وناو كين نزلهم يد عو بلهم

ذو اليل



واما عند سقايتهم فحشرة الافر واما خيلهم فالنفا
 وقد سجل ارفاق ومنها **س** ثقيف وفي العنقا
 العنيفة الا ان فاروسهم في الهباء مخيف وهو لاء
 بطاياتهم في حجاج ابن يونس الذي اخبان مشهوره
 وحكاياة مسطوره عددهم ثلاثه الاف وثمان مائة فارسي
 وهم اسد اهل الجاز امتناعا عن الاسلام واصبوا
 في اللام على وقوع السهام في الاجسام واكثرهم النازل
 ومنها **س** البقوم وكان لها كثر عليهم امرأة اسمها
 خالير ذات راي وتلقى بيرو حزم وبها اعترلم يد مر كها
 اسد الرجا و هذه المره التي كثره في الظلمه المسرات
 تربيته واما بلده اقلد واستدار زوقها تانيه من الطايف
 ومن مكره القوم واما جبر الير اللادع المنصوب السعيد
 الذي يدعى على بانها بنت الطاعنه والذخول تحت

خبر المره وهي كثره

امره

امر فبعثت الى الوهابي يستجده ويستعينه على ما
 دونه من الزجر وشره بجمته وعرضه وان لا بد من ان اها
 فبعث الوهابي اليها اخوه فيصل في اربعين الف و امر
 بجمع عسكره واغلب عسكره من اهل الجنوب الماشي وكرم
 فلما قدم فيصل اليها بعد ده فاذا ابي في اثم التاوهب
 و دخل فيصل البلاد و مكث بها ثلاثة ايام فاذا الوزير قبا
 و صر بالف مقاتل و قرب بعضهم من بعض فقال فيصل ما
 ترون في امرنا و تدبوا و حالنا صل بعد مرطبه قبل تد و صر
 علينا ام نصبر حتى يقدم همي و فعل المقاتل و الخراف
 فقال الوزير ما وقع من ان ذلك الوزير نفسه طرل و هو كسسته
 فلو مكثت اسبوعا لم تستر الا و صر على عسكرك اضعا فا
 و لكني بادرم ما لم نزل قائل العدو و الدر و انت عسكرك
 في اربعين الف فا استحسن و ايمهم فزمم الوزير حتى و ما

عن مريم البندق والحبل بينهم يقول فان ركبوا
 في اوطى ابراهيم عن قروب حتى اضررت بالوهاب في مضرة
 ما يمكن الصبر فيها فان اثار وعليه روء ما عسك ان ت
 حل من هذا الموضع العالي الى النزل منه وتستكن في مضرة
 الاطى بافاستس من ابراهيم عن الضرورة فامر خدامه فا
 انزلوا خيامه فلما ابصر العسكر بنزولها طاحوا صيحة
 كبرى وقالوا وهاهي انزوروا له اقبلوا ابراهيم وطع
 حتى خالطوه ولما عسكر الوهابي لما نظر النزول الخيام
 وغارة العسكر ايقنوا ان فيهم قتل فكل ضربوا واجهده من
 عسكره ولم يبق من عسكره المذكور الا عدد قليل فتوجه
 الى ثوبه فاضرب الرءه فلما اعطت بذله ونصرة الرءه عليه
 خلقت الابواب ووزر واخذت قوميته بايها ووق والاطوا
 بفتن الى اخن منزها واما هي فاخذت الاقوال عنها

فتيل

فبئس ما اخذت سوايها وهو من الرزق على نفسها
ومعها وكانها من الذل من خيل ورجال واسلحة
وانه اعطاه على ذالها وبقيت والقول الاخر انما لما
انزل من فيل وايضا بالفهر اخذت ما عزوت وتوهمت الي
بلد الوهابي السجدة بالمر عبير والاصح انها من بيت الية
وملك الوزيرة وارضها وديارها واحوالها وما عدو على
كروها فسبعة عشر الف ولم يتبعها منهم احد او احد اعلم
ومنها **سُرُودِي** ذى الخاق والويل مسكا
كنهم منى الجبال ولم يتكفى منهم احد الاخرهم وشدة
اصابتهم بالربح ومد انتهم للرب فيما بينهم وبني
اهل الجاز وقتلنا نصلح عشرتهم عن المي اخذوا البني
واما عدوهم فيما بينة الاف ستفاني ولم يكن لهم خيل

ومنها **حَرْبٌ** ذوى الطعن والضرب والكفاة
 فى الحرب وهم يفترون فى الامن مع فرق كل فرقة منهم
 بالاخري فالفرقة الاولى تعرف ببسوا على والاخري الفر
 ص والاخري للصايبين والذبيبة جملة عسكرهم ان يرى
 من الف حثا فل وعشرون الاف خيل وهم ساكنين من المدينة
 المشرفة على ساكنها افضل الامثلة الى احببى وخيبر ثلاثة
 ايام عن المدينة ومنها **حَرْبٌ** بنو سؤل استقام
 بهم اربعة الاف ولا خيل لهم ومنها **حَرْبٌ** بنو حنظلة
 ذوى الفضائل والعزيم واللازم الكوناق والمنازعة
 القول فيهم انهم اشدى من الخنم اذا جاد وادارت
 بناء للعباء اذا شادوا واعلم ببلانج اجيل والكر واه
 اظرفا ابناء الحرب فى الفروا كرى عدد وسقياهم عشرة
 الاف ولما فرماهم فالنق وللا ثمانية وفيهم اصناف

ومنها

ومنها **سمر بنو اسنبة** ستمائهم ستة الاف وثمانم
 خمسين ومئتين **سمر طاشند** وبكيل طابفة
 حله تقسم فرغانة وهم اهل بديل المروزي وعمره النفس
 واكرم التريل ووزيرة اعزوا اقدم واما عدد وهم
 فمئتين الف ستمائى والاف خمسين ومنها **سمر**
 عدوان كبيرهم عثمان المصابي الذي مسكه عن بزرخص
 اسير او قد مضى ذكره وخمسة وعشرون الف ستمائى و
 ثمان مائة الف خيال وبلد المسماة بالطائف عن مكة المشرفة
 يوم وفي ذات الجوار وانهار ورافضة الاقدم كفى
 غيرها ومنها **سمر زبيد** ثلاثة الاف ستمائى و
 خمسين الف خيال وهم ذكروا باذخ وعجود شايخ وسعاة
 معروفه وجزالة معروفه هذا كل واحد منهم وانقطع

بارك

ومنها **سبعة** النازلون بكل معترك والطا
 عنون اذ لا تخين ومفتونك المساعين في الوفا والحجرات
 للسيفنا الواهبين الميقات والاروق والمكرومين الطار
 هين من الضيوق في الوالم لا يبيع وفعالهم في جبر ولا تتبع
 عدوهم ستمائة عشرة الاف وفرسانا ثمانمائة فارس فضنا
 ومنها **سبعة** بنو اسالم الكرام الباطح والغزائم و
 رثو الجرد عن جرد بعد جرد ولم يقف احد على فضلهم في فعل
 ولا جرد معر وفون بالفتح وهم انزل العالمين بطون ركع
 ستمائة ثمانية الاف سلكي السلاح وفرسانهم خمسمائة فارسا
 ينظرون الكفاح ومنها **سبعة** بنو اشعة عدوهم
 من الاروق تسعة ولا هم اهل خيل ولا ركاب وانما هم
 اذ اركبوا اسرع من امر الحجاب وهو لاء المذكورون
 اصبر في الحرب ونوال الكرب والمعارك بينهم الكفاحات

عائز

عن قريش ومنها **سهم بنو اسعد ذى الوفاء** بالبراءة
والقدوق في الوعد عددهم **خمسة الاف** ستماني ومنها **سهم**
الشرايف ذى التفرج للكرويات اطول الناس باعاً واكثر
صمماً باعاً واوراقهم عنودا وابجزهم وعودا وارفعهم عما
عادا واوراقهم زياداً وسادوا بالبيانات وشادوا بيوتنا
المكوات وطبعوا على المكاتم واحتمال المغارم الكواي خيرة
اقربهم وعين زناهم عددهم **عشرون الف** رجل كلهم
تقى المراجل والف فارس لم يعادواها في حقيقتهم عظيم قاري
ومنها **سهم سليم** ويافع بها قبيلتان مشتهرتان
جوبهم **عشرون الف** او يزيدون ادركوا ايضا لهم غاير عدد
كما يزيدون ولا وقفتم لهم على عدد فرسان سواء ما يترقاري
او ايتان وكان هؤلاء المذكورين في جميع فعا لهم مشكورين

ومنهم **س** الرمثيين الفايونيه في كجاز مقام الناب
ظلم من العين عددهم ستمائة عشرين الفا ولا سمعت لهم
عددهم في انا سوا ما يزر نصف ومنها **س** الكروني
بكي ذوى الذكر العطل والفخر الجلي والذكاء المفرط والوفاء
المقسط والميل للخاص والطعن والجلال والعهد الوفي
والكروني الذين هم يواعد الجسد والحياة للبلد خير لهم
ظاهر وشرفهم قاصر احلامهم يندى بهم وندى انهم يقيدك
بهم عددهم ستمائة ثلثين الف مطلق وقرساتهم تسبعة
الف بطل ومنها **س** ذوى ترسيد الذين قامت
بتوضيح افهامهم الاضجاع والانا شيد الجايدون اذا الجود
عددهم والقتاد كونهم لغير اذا انهم يجد اهلها منصفهم سنا
ورعاهها واحبوا من السنة الثمها وجاهوا عددهم ستمائة
عشر الاف ولا ان من لهم من كحل مطاف ومنها **س**

في كجوز

بنوا مسعود الطبرية اخلوا قلوبهم على الجور فبوا انهم موافق
 قومه ونبأ انهم موجوده وسفاهتهم محجوره سلكوا بنا
 لك ام تملك وملكوا لك العالم تملك واجتمعوا على الاجتماع
 ع ويبلوا على كرم الطباع واوفوا بالعهود واجتنبوا العجز
 ووكثروا احودوا واتصلوا اكدوا اما عدد في الشمال
 الاثنا عشر واما الفريمان فثلاثون الف مكره و
 منه **سور** ولسليمان ينسبون الى عنزة عدد ستمائة
 منهم ثلثون الف وهم ساكنين خيبر وخيبر هذه قبل مساكن
 اليهود حتى شنت عليهم الاسلام ونفاهم عنها فنزلوا كل
 منق و**سور** الازدي ومنهم الشمالان يبيعون
 بقية الان وسبع مائة خيال والفقرا من عنزة كل هؤلاء
 سكان خيبر واديان ذات عيون ساكنين في الجوار

لا يشترط في موضع تفرق بالأصابع والأوهام ويجب أن

الفصل في تفرق

طول نجد شهر ونصف الجرد واما مدنها فاقسام تفرق
الى ستة وهي العارض والقصيم والوشم وجبل شمر وسدير
والجرب فالجرب ينقسم قسمان الخرج وواوي اللد اسرى
الجميع حفصلا لا يجعل اسم العارض فاللد غير ذي

ودينة الكوكب على الاطلاق والزايض ومنقوص حدر العينه
وحرمي الا هذه المدن التي عليها الاسم والاعتبار ولا حيلة
قري متعدده منهن احمر طبر بنو ابيهم والحريمي والذلم والجماعة
وقادي اللد واسرود نيبان يقال لهم الافلاج واسم

وسكان صفة الدرة
واهلها صورها
وعايرها
والسما
بهم

الذي ثم شقرا ووشقير وشادق وشردل وضرعا والقصب

واغلب من تفرق في بلاد الشام
وعلى ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام
وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام

وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام
وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام
وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام

وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام
وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام
وهو ما هو عليه في بلاد الشام

واما اسد بر فخره والمجموعه و جلابجل والروصنه
 والعوره والحسون والزلفى والفاط والداخلة وعشيره
 واما القسيم فالرأس وعينيه وورديه والحجرى والشق
 مكه والمذنب والعيون والوجه فري متصلا واما
 جبل شمر فثلاثه دلائل وقفار وموقى ولدا اربعه
 واما جوف ال عمر وفد بنين وان نخيل وهن ذوات
 وسكاكا واتباع لها هذا الدلائل المعرفه ما يجئى عليه
 اسم نجد وكل هذه المذكوره اقرب ما يكون بعضها من بعض
 فى المعنى والماء والبن برون حمة الابدان وصفاء هذا البدن
 وان كان الاجتهاد والنقص في اديانهم ومخالفة من فانا
 وانهم اوجه الفهم من بشرهم ومن الدلائل على اجتهادهم فى دينهم
 ان من اطاع حاكمهم فهو مسلم ومن عصاه فهو كافر وان كان
 ابي او احدواضه كايضا من كان وما الدلائل والنجارها

حاكم القسيم
 عماليه سنة
 اخوه والقبيل
 جندازان
 حاكم جبل اسمه محمد
 دعاه الوزير فاستغنى
 هذا الاثر وهو كرم
 شجاع كحل

فان جوارها اشجار الخيل التي لم يحاكمها مسرقا او مغربا
 ولاقدها العزير وخالفوا امره وانكر وطاعه امر عسا
 كره بقطع الخيل لعلمهم لا يطيقون الصبر ووزنها قالوا
 وقطع من الراس خمسون الف نخلة وعلى النخلة الواحد وارب
 لبي ابن اطوب حتى لم يبق من عسكره من لم يجرد في قطع
 الخيل لوزاوه الدرع وولة الشعب قال المولف حدثني
 بعض كاضرين وقايمهم ان الرجل يقطع في الساعة الواحدة
 الى ثمان نخلاف وسبب ذلك انهم مناهقين طابا الالف
 من الحديد يطعنوا به فيدخل في جنبها شبرا فيسير على
 بصلها ويستدبر برجلها او ياكلها منها فاذا حركها
 النسيم قايلا نزلت وعينها قطع منها والدمع يقطع منها
 جملتها ثمان الف نخلة واشجار الفواكه وغيرها من كل ما
 هو من جوفها على وجهها من النعم والبنيان والخرجا فظا

حافنا

وهو لاعا كبر الناس اخلاقا ووسعهم ارضاقا و
اطيبهم على الاطلاق فنفوسهم ابيه وعبادتهم حيا
فيه ذوق طين و نهب و تخرج لا كبر و منازلة للقب
طريقتهم لا بوزعي و جرمهم لا بجنح اجري لهم الجازي و محمل
و السامون سقا لهم ثلث الاف راتي و فوات سقم بجاء
مخافى و هذا و ~~سمر زعب~~ بالتحريف قبيلة ذات
كبر و ذوات مجد و نزل سطارهم لحلم و الكوا و نزل
هم مثل ناز على علم يقر لهم اعداءهم و يهد لهم نزلهم على
سقا لهم الف و خيلهم خمسين بالاختلاف و منى
عيبه غير المان كورى بالجاز اولو عزهم و عزهم و طلب الكور
مات و كزهم يهدى بهم الضال و محملهم الكمال و يسعا
ذوهم بل منهم يوم النضال الفيني سقا في عكروهم

و ثانيا

وثمانية فانس مدروم ومنها ^{سبع}
 ضد المذكور من ساكني الجوار طائفة طافت اخبارها
 ورويت آثارها ملكة قاليد الجود وادم كثر بالسرور
 للبد محمد الطارق وحين من السارق اعلى امان الفاضل
 وبادوه وانصفوا الضعيف على القوي حتى اسادوه اليك
 اخلاقتهم حياء وارثهم سدا في سبائهم الفنى وحيث
 سقاني وفسانهم ثمانية فانس معوان ومنها
 الكثير غير المذكور من انفا ولفا اشبهون في قبلم في ادراك
 فضلم وبادو ضد هم بالعوالي حتى انزل انفسهم العالي
 يحلف اذا غضبوا ويقفون اذا عتبوا واما عدوهم سقانا
 قتلاثة الاق افسانا والفق عدو الفرسانا واسد جانه اعلم
 ومنها ^{سبع} الغنول قبله مشهوره بقاء الصغر
 والكرم لهم واللما مانع للزفات اليم عدو سقائهم

ثلاثة الاف وضياع سبعمائة فارس من مضاف يضم لها
 ومنها ~~سبعمائة~~ مكيير ذى الفضل والخير الحامين نون
 يانهم والعاخرة الاقلام عن تقاصيلهم ذى الظعن
 والنزول والشدة والحلول والسبق فى الفايات وكذا
 الحق بالرايات أسود المعرك ووفود المدرك عد
 وهم سبعمائة سبعة الاف وفرسانا الفين بلا خلاف كما
 ومنها ~~سبعمائة~~ المعروفين بالادب والمجاهد القول فهم
 انهم عان السارى وقلوب الجارى اكنهم غام وعزيم
 احد هم حكام ليون المزدحم وعيون المشام طباعهم
 سلبهم ولبائهم قد يبدون فاضحهم ساجيه وجمارهم
 طاحيه عكروستهم اربعه الاف والفا فارس و
 هم بنيتون الى عتق كرام الفارس ومنها ~~سبعمائة~~

الظفير

ومنهم من الظهير المشهورين والتهات المذكورون
 ذي الطب كقلب الفاك والسقل من ملك الطالكان جيون
 نزلهم ويصفون جيلهم بحكم ساير وفترهم شاه وفضا
 بلهم لا تحصى وحامد لم لا تستغنى عدد وسفانهم سبعة
 الافي وقرسانهم الفاني بل اصناف ومنها
 عدوان غير السابق ذكرهم القول فيهم انهم جوه الباقية
 والطير الهادية ذي الاقدام على الحصى كبدل الجود
 المسمى والنزاد القاربه والكاتب الساربه افضل اولانهم
 بكسب لثنا وانرفع حتى شاد الاكروان بالبناء عدد وسفانهم
 الفاني راجح وقرسانهم خمسينة ساجي ومنها
 التقوى الناري مسايهم محضو رازكي القبائل القال و
 اصداقهم فمال واشد هم بساعد واعدم للاسد مسفانهم

وَهَذَا وَصْفُ الشَّرَافِ خِلافِ الْمَذْكُورِ مِنْ آخِرِ الْقَوْلِ
 فِيهِمْ أَنْهُمْ تَزَيَّنُّوا بِأَوَّلِ الطَّبَقِ وَاللِّمَامِ الصَّالِحِ بِالْبَيْتِ بِسَكَاتِ
 الْمُسْتَعِينِ بِهِمْ وَيُنْعَى الْمُسْتَعِينِ بِهِمْ أَنَا نَحْمُ مَعْرُوفٌ وَطَرَاكُمُ
 بِعَمَلِكُمْ وَالْوَفْرَاقَةَ مِنَ السَّهَامِ وَانْدَى مِنَ الْغِيَامِ وَفَضْلَهُمْ
 لَا يَنْكُرُونَ مِنْهُمْ لَنْ يَكْفُرَ نَسَبُهُمْ نَلَاؤُهُ الْإِنْفِ وَخِيْلَهُمْ خِيْلَهُمْ
 وَهُمْ قَبَائِلُ لَمْ يَجْرِي ذِكْرُهُمْ وَلَا احْتِنَانٌ عَلَيْهِمْ تَفْصِيلُهُمْ وَالْعَرَبِيُّونَ عَلَى الْكُرْمِ

فَقَالَ فِي ذَلِكَ حَالَهُمَا

إِذَا عَانَ فَمِنْهُنَّ السُّوْاحِلُ إِلَى قَطْرِ الْمَشْرِقِ مَرَّ فَمَرَّ بِبَلَدٍ بِأَبْوَابِهَا
 فِي حُلِيِّهَا إِذَا لَيْسَ فِيهَا إِلَّا يَنْفَعُونَ مَرَّ بِأَنْفِ الْبَلَدِ عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْهَا فَأَمَّا
 شَرْقِيَّهَا فَفِي قُبُورِهَا الْإِمَامُ السَّعِيدُ مُسْلِمَانِ الْمَاضِي وَيُنْعَى ابْنُ
 الْأَسَدِ فِي سَعِيدٍ وَفِي شَرْقِهَا مِنْ الْمَالِكِ وَارْفِ نَالِدٍ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِلَا

والامان والجهاد بوان سحر وكمر اللباع وحسن السبر و
 محامد الاخلاق ولم يفتن من نظام ابيه في تدبير المما
 لك التي واقام من حد الباطن الى قطر هذا متعلق بيده
 التي اسم المشهور بها واقام تحت عمان والسقط ورساق
 وسور وبركر ولبن اقباع مستعدة لا تحصى هذا التفتنه
 السيد المذكور فالابو ادي عمان قتل
 بنو اياس تبع للفقير قبيلة قور ذوات طين وحجبه
 صر لاء شعارهم الركاب العمانية والضرب بالبنانيات
 هو الطعن بالرد بنيات ولم يستعملوا ركب الخيل ولا يعرفون
 الاصافات حرمهم في الليل وعدوهم حستهم الان
 راكب اعنى في المهران من حد القواصب وفدا
 بنو اكتب ذى الطعن واليب والسيرو الحبيب فو قوق بال
 وضرو عملا ما شاخرو وماد را سخر ولم يعرفون ركبا

ايجاد

الجياد وسوى العارفات النابضات الجياد وودودهم
 سنانا خمسة الاف والبنادق لم يعرفوا لها اولاد الرحى سوا
 السيف والرجح ومنها وسر المناصب الكرام ذى العيضة
 والاقدام والطنى بالرجح والضرب بالحسام وما اشبههم
 بالماضى ذكرهم بجاهه فيل والبنادق ولكن استقامت
 بالسيف والرجح في الصيايق وسقائم نحو الفين سقاني في القا
 سوادق ومنها سمر بنو ظاهر ذى الجود الزاهر والملك
 السابري والكرم الباهر القوي فيهم انهم ليوفوا الحاجب
 في زمام الرجاء وقد في الخابري واقفة بايرم كما بهم كالتعاقب
 واكثرهم كالتعاقب ولم يكن كبريا غيلا سوى السركاب ولم يقابلوا
 بسوى السيف والرجح عددهم ثلاثة الاف صناديد كلهم
 في الحرب امضى من قواطع الحد يد ومنها وسر

قبائل لم تذكر عدوهم ولم تعرف بلادهم وكل هو لادوهم
المذكورين من اسم عمان بقبضة السيل ابن الامام وما
ما عدى بنى ياسي فهم نوح للقبول اسم اهل اس الخبيمة

وقيل الاحسا

مدينة عظيمة وهي من اعظم المدن ذوات اشجار وانهار
لم يشاهد بغيرها وانهارها عيوننا تتفرج من بطونها واشجارها
وتخيلها وفواكهها قلنا انك تذكر بسواها قال بعض السامري
كانها احسن في ذاتها وصفاتها وعيونها واشجارها
وهي امها ونسائها من البصر المشهور ذوات المدن الحرة
وهي بلد بني خالد اسمها السابق البصر والاحسا لكن
الان غلب اسم الاحسا على اسمها الاول وبني خالد سكانها
عن اب فاب حتى فرق ملكهم الوهابي وملكها بعدهم فلما

ظلال الزور

كما قال الفراء لجل و فرسانا خشمنا اية مناضل و منه و و
 الصبيح الاما جلد الطاضين على المكادم بالنو لجد و في الحجة
 الذابرة و الشيم الشابة اولى العزم و الخجدة و الخزم و الحجان
 يجيدون السوال و الداعي حي على القتال بنو انهم تشهد لهم
 بالاكرم و جدي انهم في اضع حرم جري بين الحجان حيتي
 اللان ان الحامل الطف بهم و البيداء اعرف بهم اما عدوهم
 فالفر و خشمنا اية و فرسانا اية معدودة لا اير و منكم
 الحمور و في الهباق الفوم و الطعن المشهور و البحر الزاخر في
 الحرب و في الفاخر لا هم عند الطعن و الا ضربا اقر بالجل من
 عين الى اجفن و ابقد عن اللوم من مصر الى عدن تحل بهم
 الكروان و هم اولها و يعلون في الطيبان و مير و انفسهم على
 فعلها اما عدوهم ستمانا فالافين و فرسانا ما بين و منهم

و منهم

ومنها **سورة الجود** في البيت الذي في الفخر الزهري
 كوردي لجمع الثقل والعدو والليل والمقدون بابا
 يحم القيس النور من بابهم سورة الضايح لردهم والبع
 الصبر والبسر اطرف من ركب الخيل واشرف من غشيه الليل
 فبا انهم ما في ذلك فالرنا من ابن زبير وكتابهم كالا
 سوي يوم النزال وعلاماتهم اشهر من بوق الخيال
 عدو ستم انهم كافيان واما فربانهم فاما ياتي فاك
 المؤلف انجز الله آماله وارشد للذين اعماله كل هؤلاء
 القبايل الماضية ذكرها والمكافاة في الطروس فمنها على الخيال
 طبقاتهم وتشابه لغاتهم في قبضة الملاك الاخير والصنك
 الاقدم سيدي العرب ورئيسها وفريدها ونفيسها صبا
 الواهب وسيد بها ونجم الكواكب وهاويها اعوانا

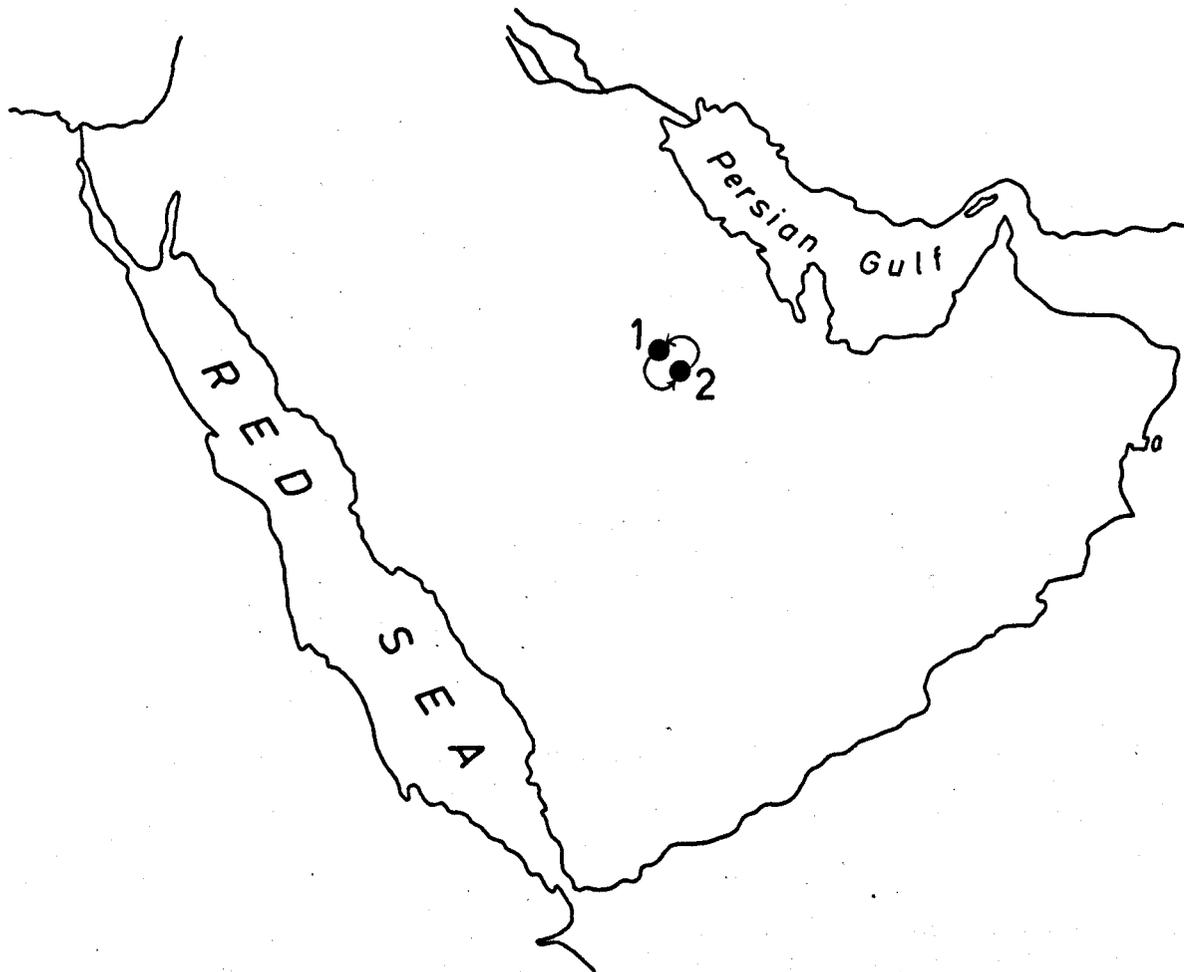
خير سورة واية

الزمان والحجة القاطعة والبرهان من عرب صينته
 وشرق وتلست في الدنيا بدمه وتالف كالحايز في صباه
 السبق عن اقرانه والفايز بالفتح المصالح عن كماله
 زمانه معدرة الدهر من ذنوبه وصدرة العاجز على
 استيفاء مطلقه ذي الغزوات المتواتره واليهانين
 الباقين مستحقى عداه بكون من الناس والمرقى بجلاء
 الرواس احمد الناس سيدهم وانورهم بصينهم واكرمهم
 طباخا واطولهم الى العلياء باعانا من لاؤ الزمان بجباله
 وتبرجت ايامه جمال ابن الامجاد لا نجيبين والكمالات
 الفالبيين في شبي الجمل ومنشبهه ومضرى نارهم ونما
 سنيه السليل السعيد والهام الفريد سعوى ابن عبد
 العزيز ابن محمد السعوى بر وادب وراه فانها ملكه

المالك

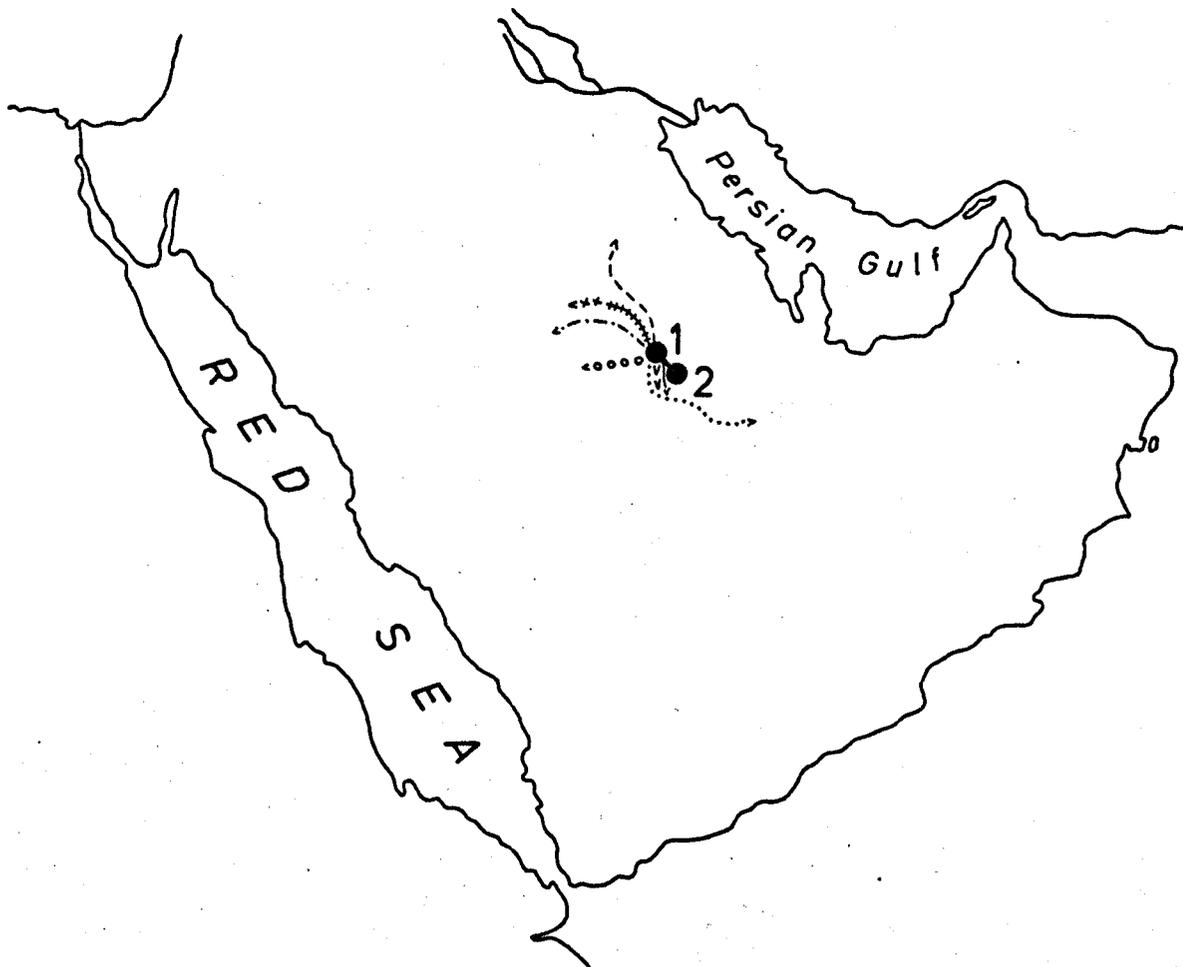
المالك هو طارضا عن ابيه وجهه ذلك الا انهم مختلفين
 في تياتهم متفاوتين في غاياتهم فالاولم وهو الذي تسمى
 هذه الطريقة واقام عزيمته في تامله على الحقيقة وجعلها
 دعوى ودينه لا دعوى ونزير ودعا اهل الارض لمؤلفها
 وكفر في ابدى مخالفة ما هو ابن عبد الوهاب فلما ابين
 بهذه الدعوى وكشف ما اسرد في البني حكم محمد بن سعود
 حتى اقام على محنته ذلك وبعد ذلك حكم عبد العزيز ابنه
 وقامت الامور باثر غاية الصيام وخدمته الليالي كما انما
 والايام ثم بعد ابنه سعود وابن عبد العزيز اما محمد و
 العزيز فطلبهم بذلك نشر الاسلام وبيبين شرعيه والاع
 علام وكفر من ابا عن طاعتهم وقائله بغاية استطاع
 عنهم واما سعود فعنه حقيقة ان الاسلام من جود و

في ما ابر المشارق والمطارب لكن لا يمكنه فهو ذوا امره في
 طلب ملك الادب عوي آباية ففعل قطعهم في الدعوى الذين
 هم اسسوها او بعدوا ابنه عبد الله ابن مسعود الذي ختمت
 بديونهم بقهر عزيز مصر حين علي بن ابي طالب وجميع ملكهم ما عدا
 ماية سنة وفي قول اخر ثمانين والاصح انه ماية فبجان
 من او جد واعلم وانفرد بالبقاء الا ودم حنسي للملوك و
 ما كان من مظهرها وملكها ذي الحكمة الباهرة والقدرة الباق
 والفضل الشديد لكل جبار عبيد ذي المن والكرم والعفو العظم
 وهداك ما ادواهم كم او جد وافني وافني وافني اخلق الذي
 جيني الذكر والاذني من فطنة اذ اعني فحتم على نفسه بالادوام
 وعلى ما ابر خلقه بالفناء جعلهم كابنهم مختلفين الا من سما
 واذالك خلقهم وقت كانه من ربي فبجان من عزيز الام و
 لا ابرام في مقادير لا يعجزه الانتقام فله الحمد الا وبعده والبقاء



RAIDS FROM 1745-1755

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1-Dar'iya | 2-Riyadh |
| 1747 - Riyadh | against Dar'iya |
| 1748 - Dar'iya | against Riyadh |
| 1749-52 - Dar'iya | against Riyadh |

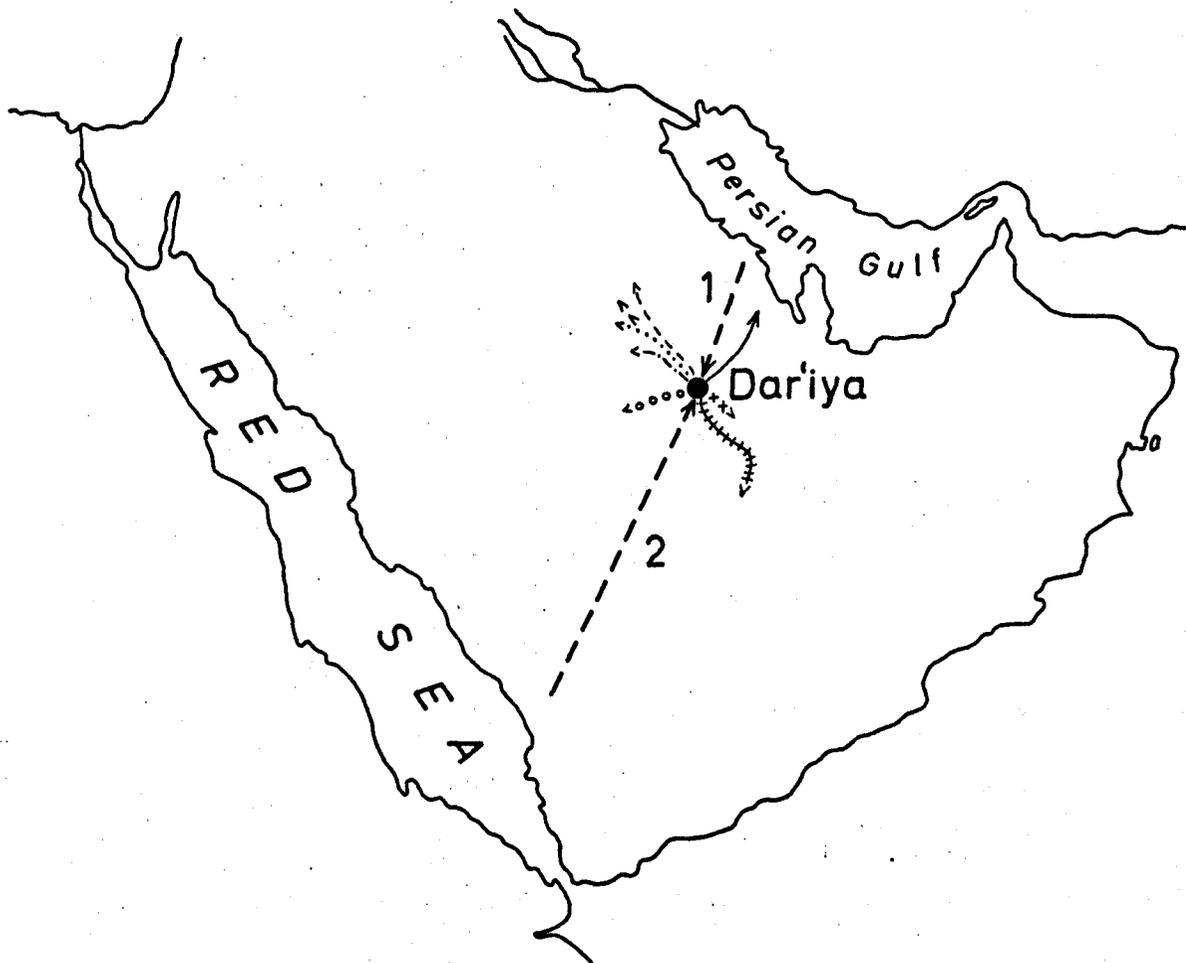


RAIDS FROM 1747-1757

1-Dar'iya

2-Riyadh

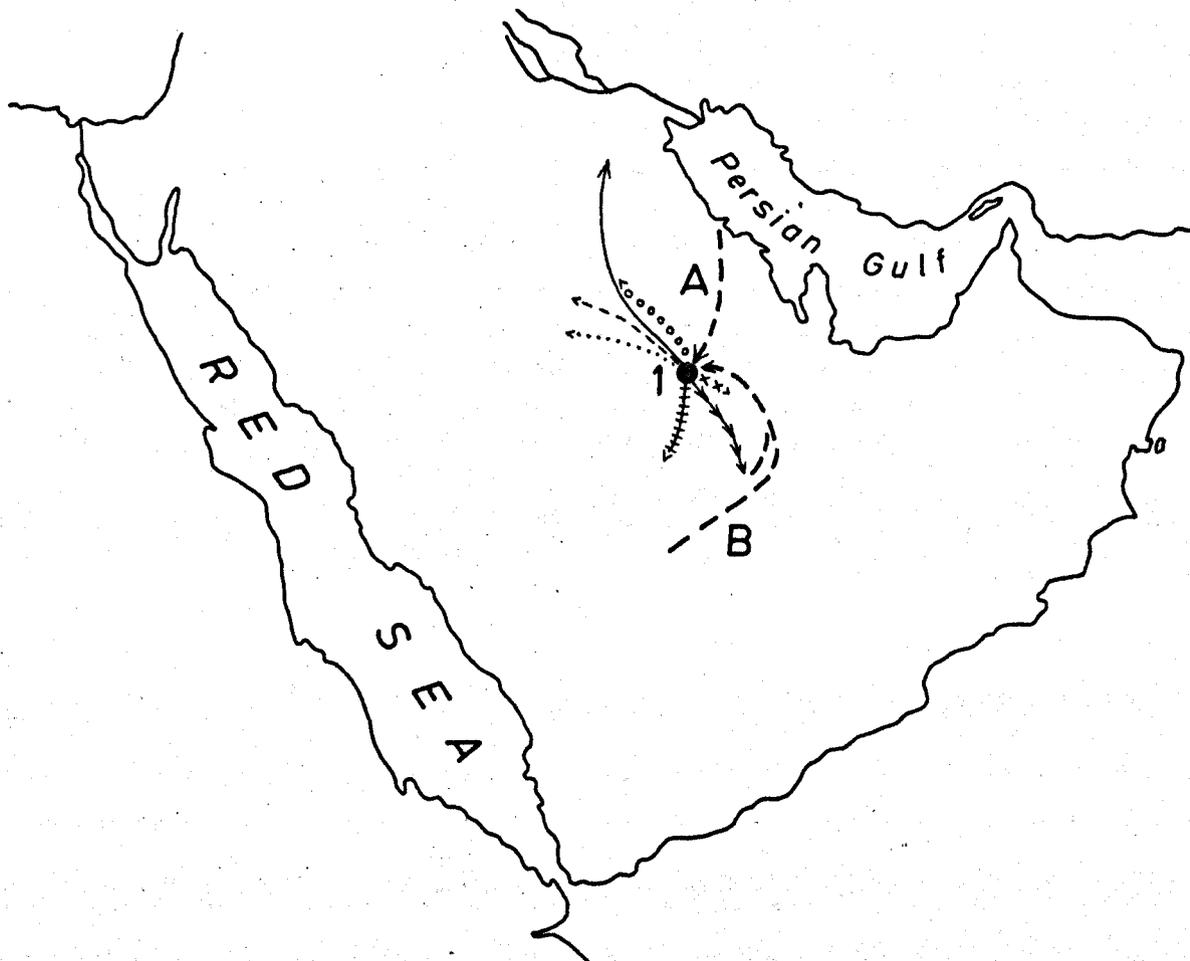
- | | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|
| ———— | Dar'iya | against | Riyadh and then vice versa. |
| ———— | Dar'iya | against | Manfuha |
| >>>> | Dar'iya | against | Dhurma |
| +++++ | Dar'iya | against | Huraimala |
| xxxxxx | Dar'iya | against | Zilfi |
| | Dar'iya | against | Dilam |
| | Dar'iya | against | Tharmida |
| ----- | Dar'iya | against | Sudair (Jalajil, Raudha) |
| ----- | Dar'iya | against | Washm (Ushaiqir) |



RAIDS FROM 1758 - 1768

- o o o o o o Tharmida
- Hauta (Sudair)
- xxxxxxx Riyadh
- Janubiya (Sudair) — All raids from Dariya
- Qasab (Sudair) — Dariya
- +++++ Dilam, Naj'aan
- >>>> Fara'a
- Mubarraz

- 1 --- Al-hasa (Banu Khalid) against Dariya
- 2 --- Najran against Dariya

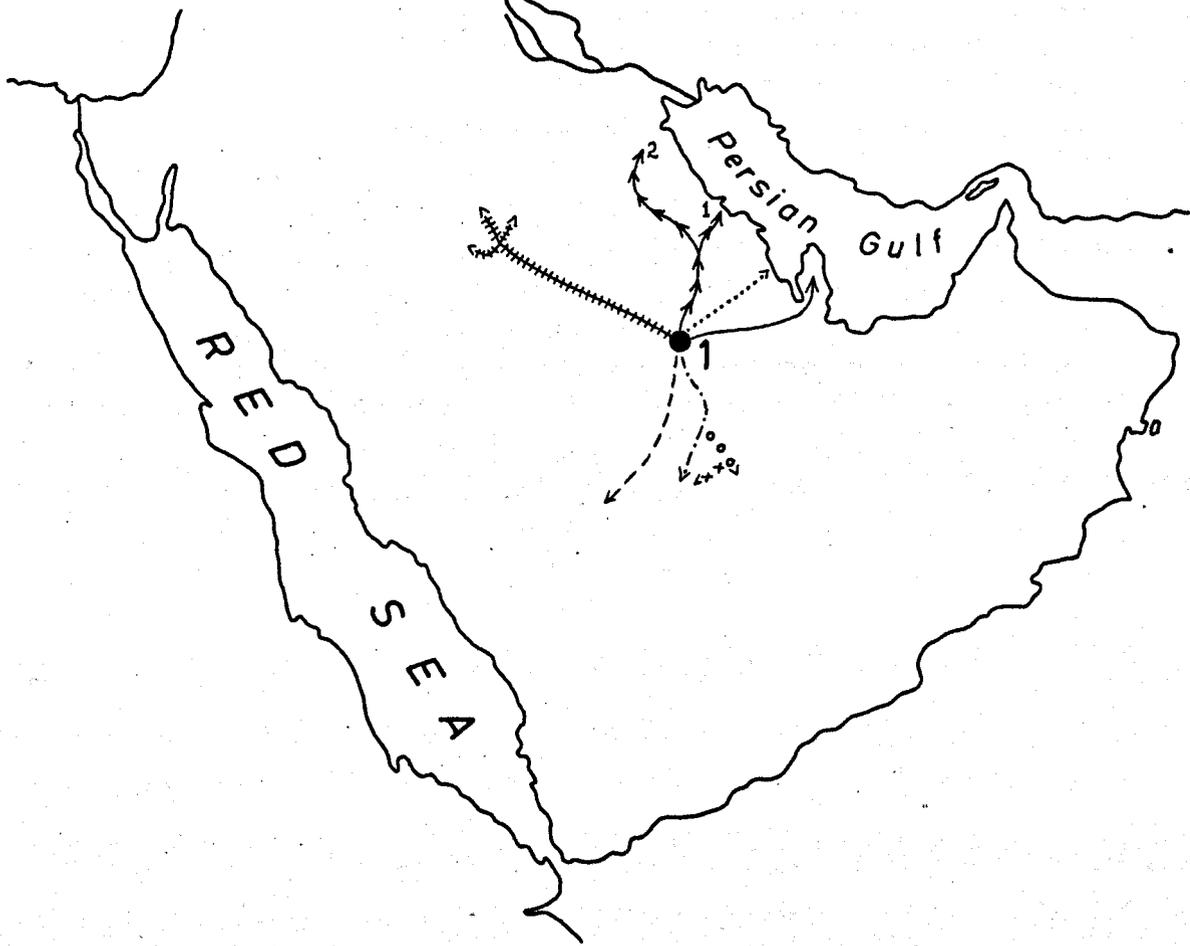


RAIDS FROM 1769 - 1779

1-Darīya against :

- Majma'a
- Hilaliya
- Beduin-al-Dhafir (Iraq border)
- + + + + + Hair-al-Subai'a
- Zilfi
- → → Kharj
- x x x x x Riyadh

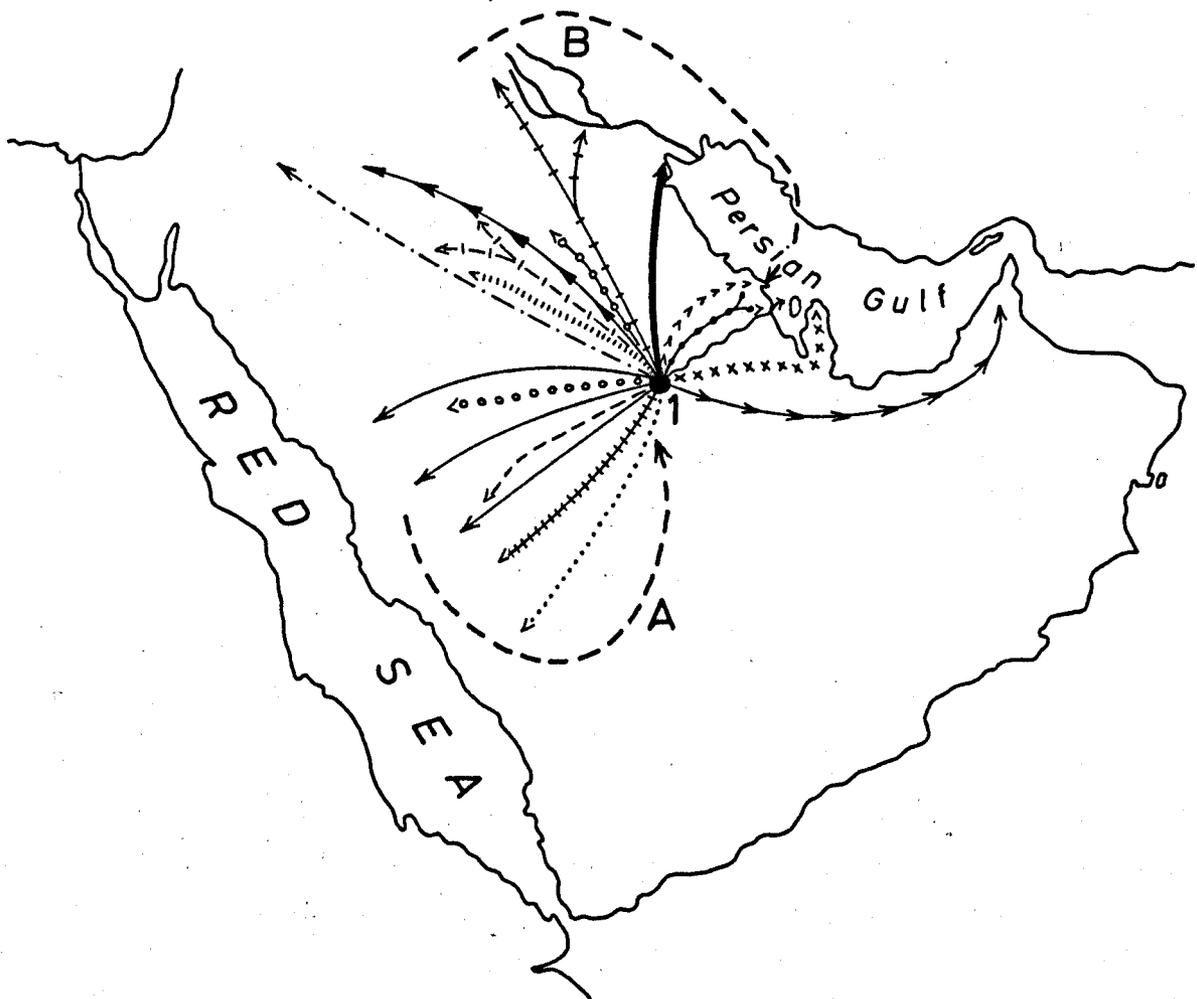
A--- Banu Khalid against Darīya
 B--- Kharj and Dawasir against Darīya



RAIDS FROM 1780 - 1790

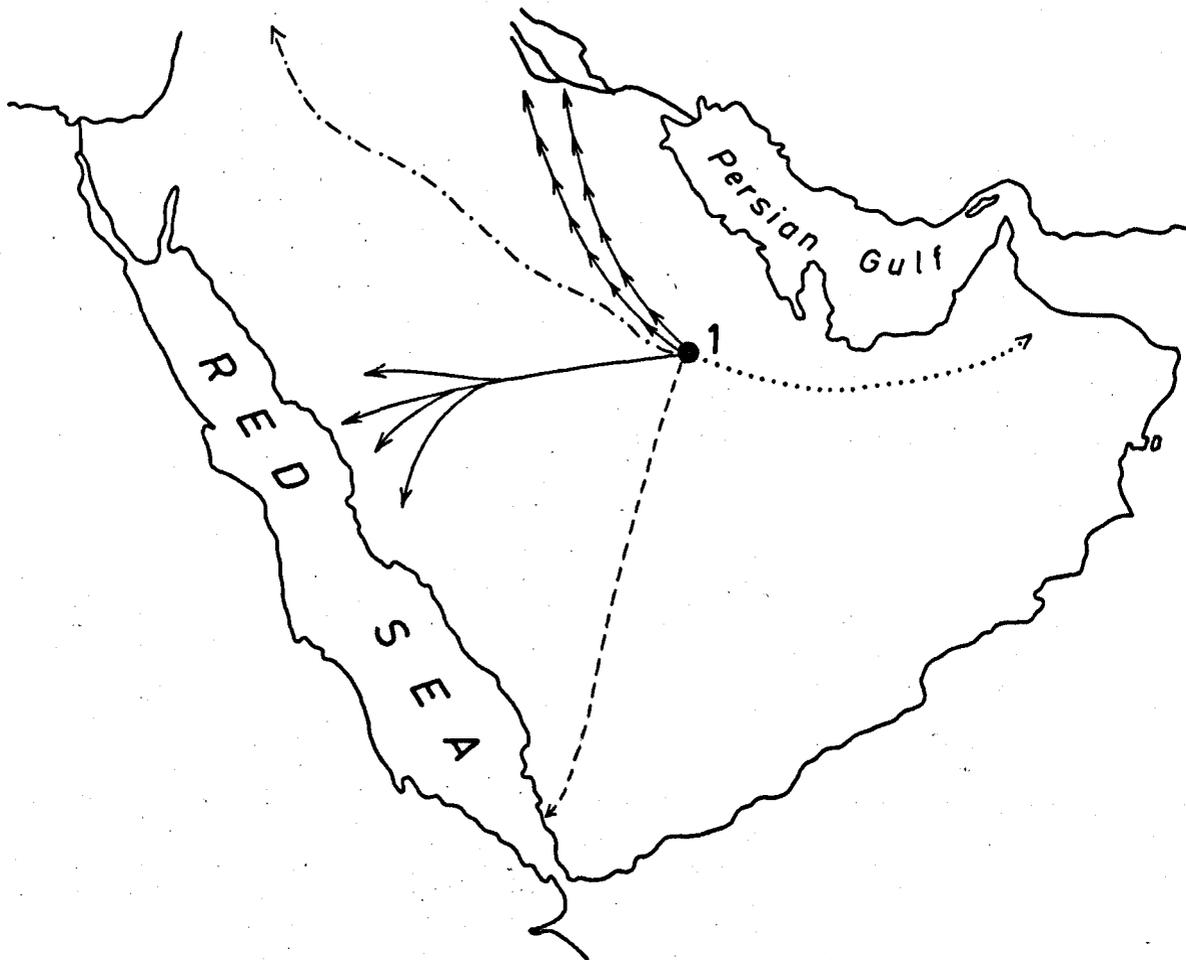
1-Dariya against :

- Hauta and Hariq (Kharj)
- Kharj
- xxxxx Dilam
- Qahtan (South Country)
- +++++ Jabal Shammar
- Qatar
- Jisha (Al-Hasa - Uqair)
- 1 Banu Khalid (Al-Hasa)
- 2 Muntafiq



RAIDS FROM 1791 - 1801

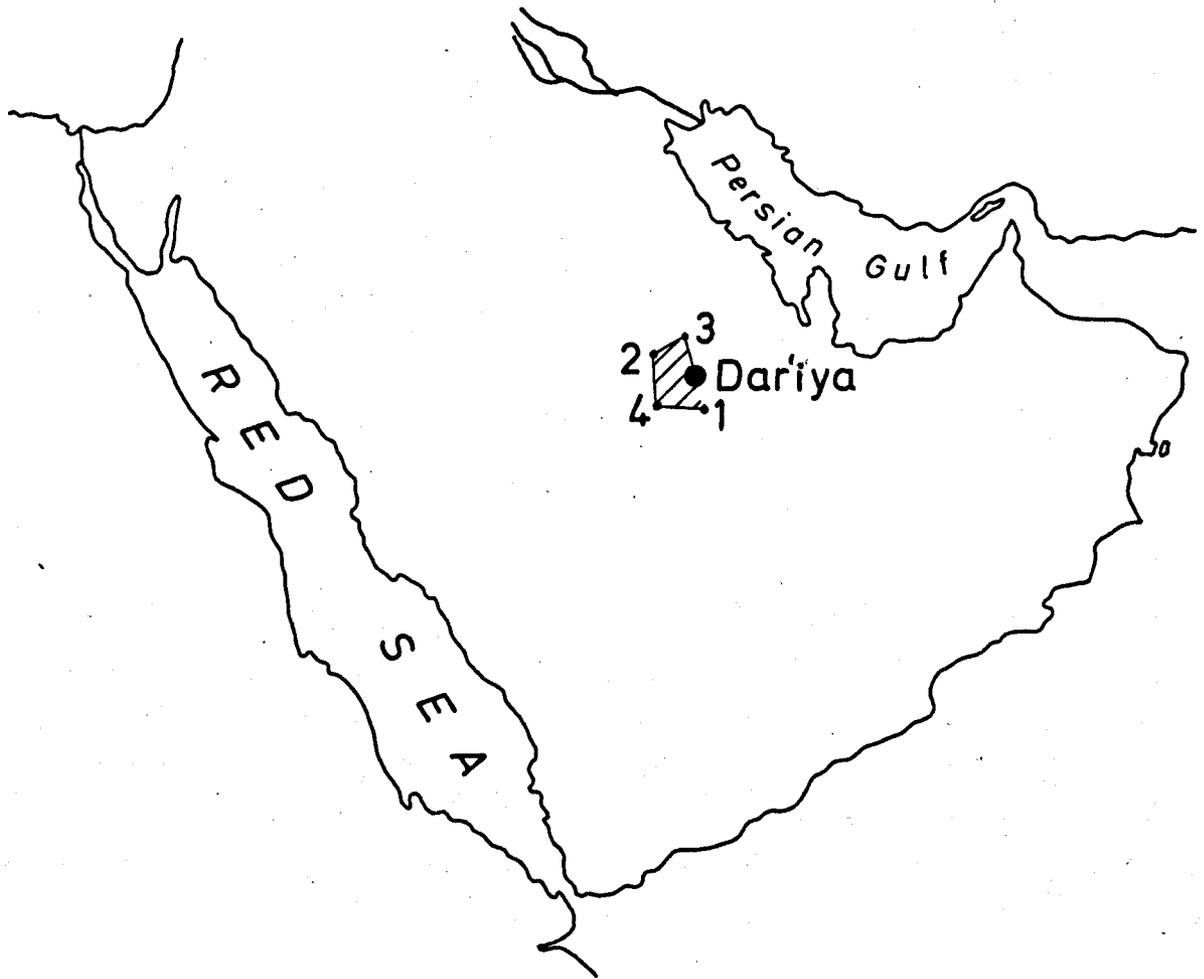
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 — Dariya against :</p> <p>○—○—○ Mutair tribe</p> <p> Shammar tribe</p> <p>—●—●— Saihat and 'Ank (Al-hasa)</p> <p>>>>> Qatif</p> <p> - - - Harb and Mutair</p> <p>————→ Kuwait</p> <p>xxxxxxx Qatar</p> <p>———→ Jauf</p> <p>●●●●● 'Ataiba</p> <p>+++++++ Turaba (Hejaz)</p> | <p>~~~~~ Amair (Bahrein)</p> <p>----- Buqum</p> <p>..... Bisha</p> <p>----- Shararat (Syrian border)</p> <p>1-Iraq border
2-Karbala</p> <p>Hejaz</p> <p>Ras - al - Khaima</p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 10px auto;"/> <p>A---- Hejaz against Nejd</p> <p>B---- Iraq against Al-hasa</p> |
|--|--|



RAIDS FROM 1801-1811

1-Dariya

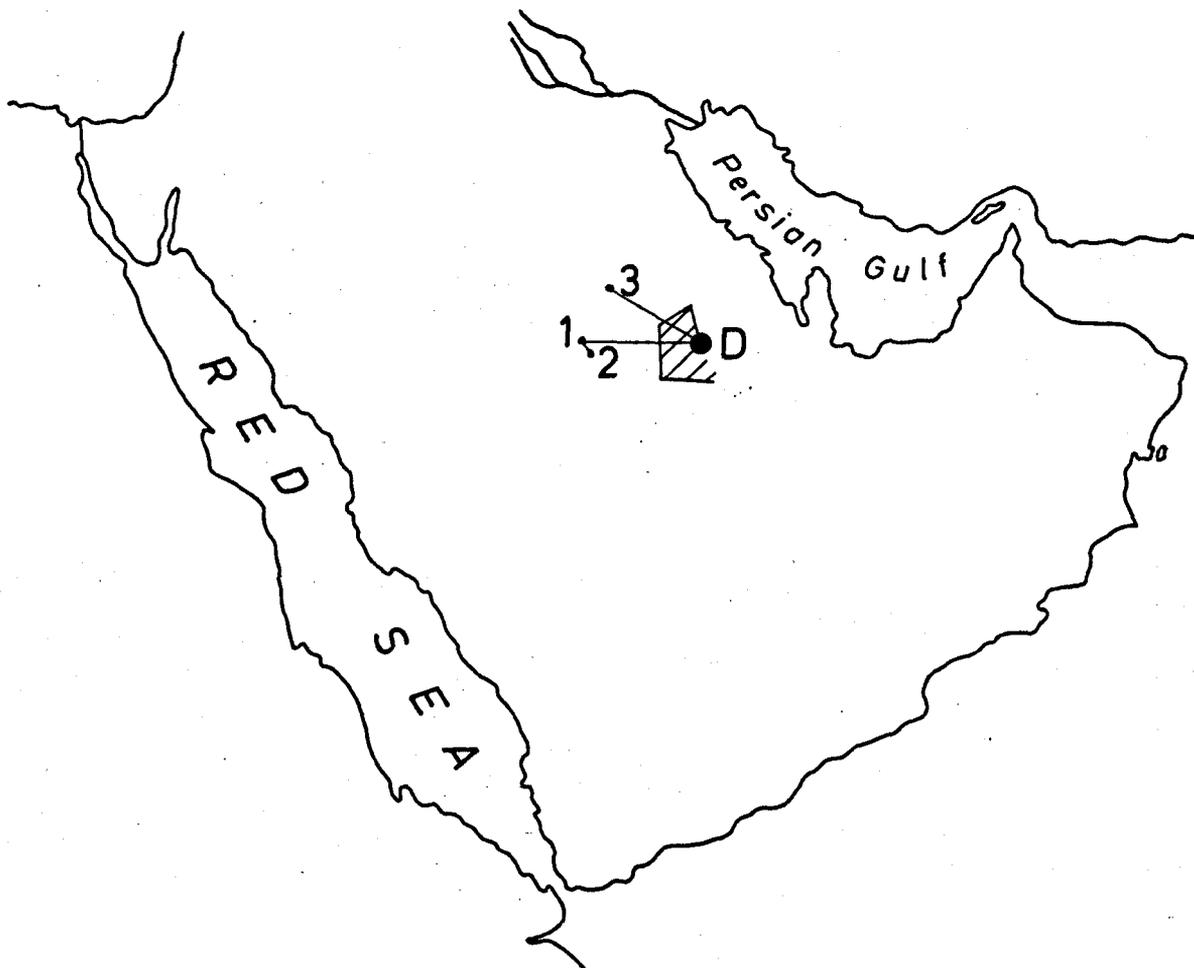
- Raids against Hejaz 1802-5. Taif-1802, Mecca and Medina-1803, Jidda and Mecca-05.
- Raids against Yemen 1806. Tihama - al -Yemen -1804
- Raids against Iraq - 1802, 1804, 1807-8.
- Raids against Mesopotamia - 1806-8.
- Raids against Oman - 1809.



FROM 1745 - 1755

Territory held by :

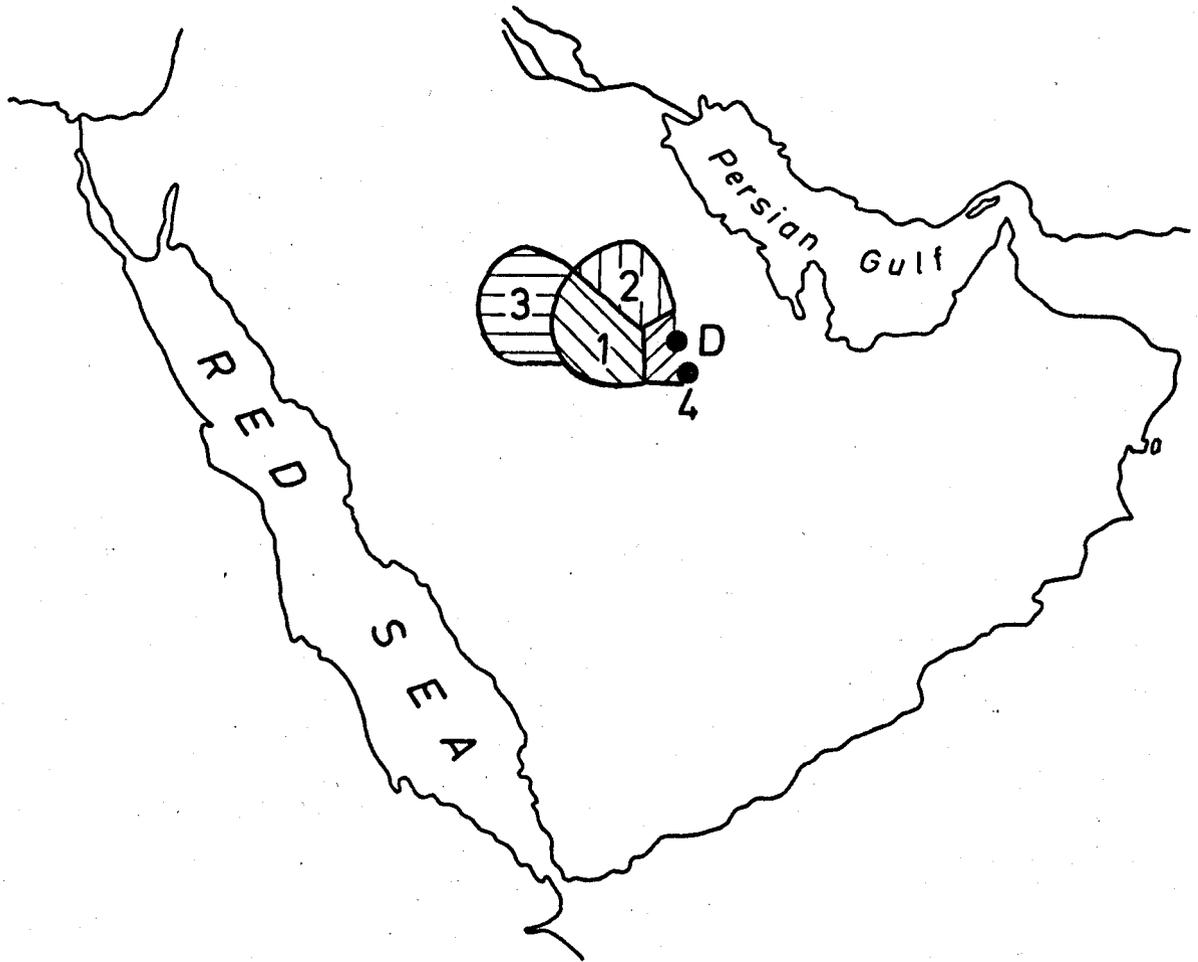
- 1 - Manfuha — held in 1747
- 2 - Huraimala
- 3 - Ayaina — held in 1748
- 4 - Dhurma



FROM 1755 - 1765

Territories held by:

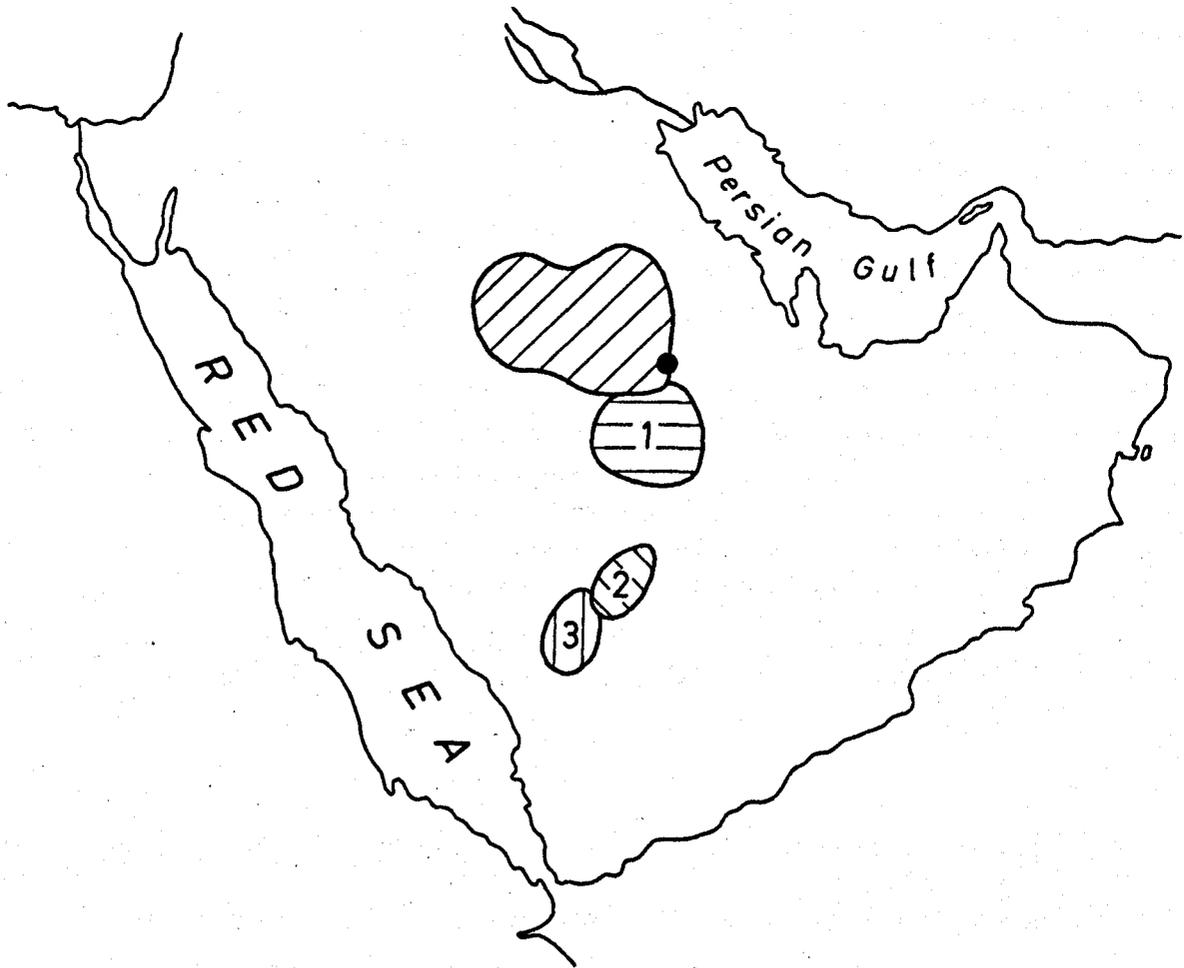
- 1-Shaqra held in 1756
- 2-Uthaihiya held in 1762
- 3-Jalajil held in 1763



FROM 1765 - 1775

Territories held by:-

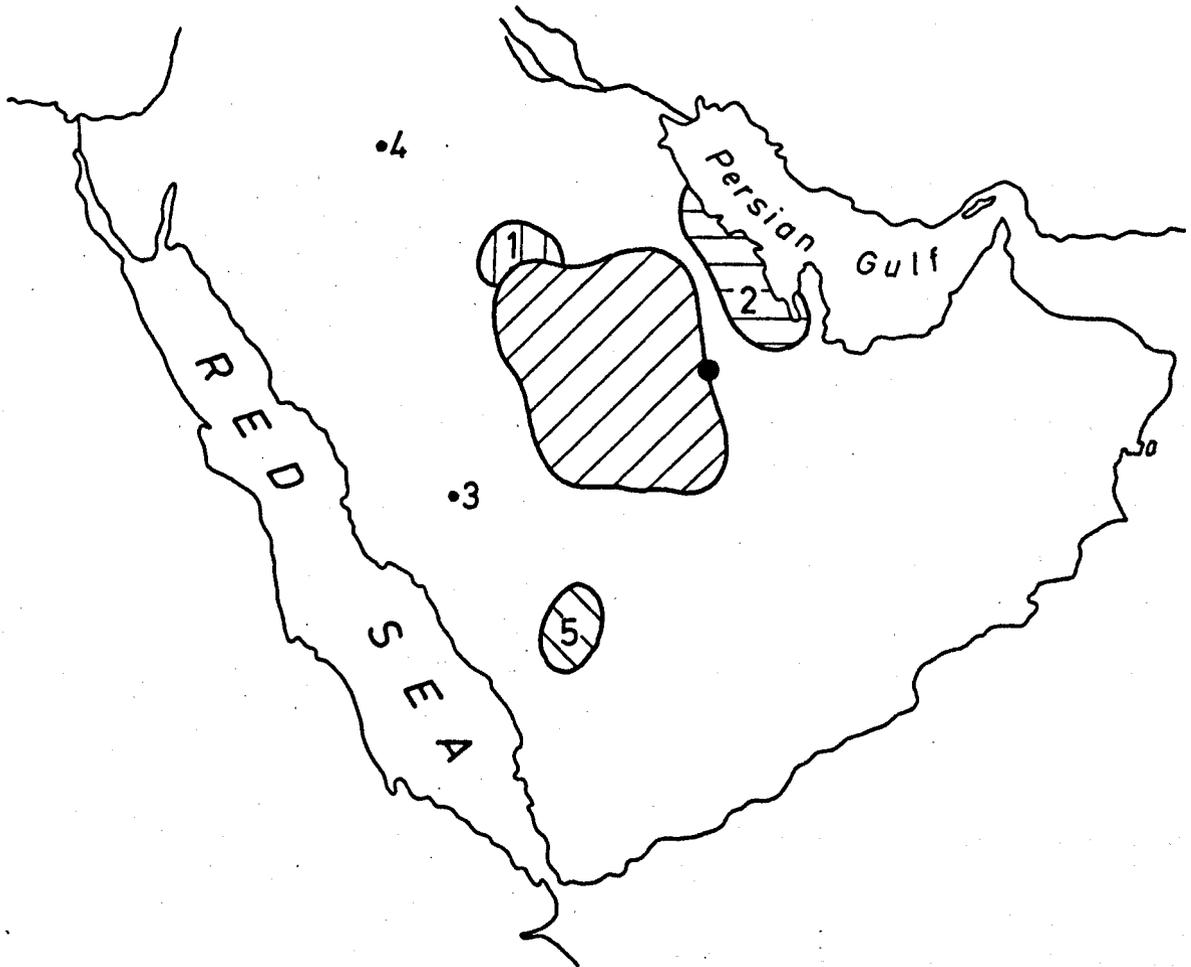
- 1-Province al-Washm held in 1767
- 2-Province Sudair held in 1767
- 3-Qasim held in 1769
- 4-Riyadh held in 1773



FROM 1775 - 1785

Territories held by :

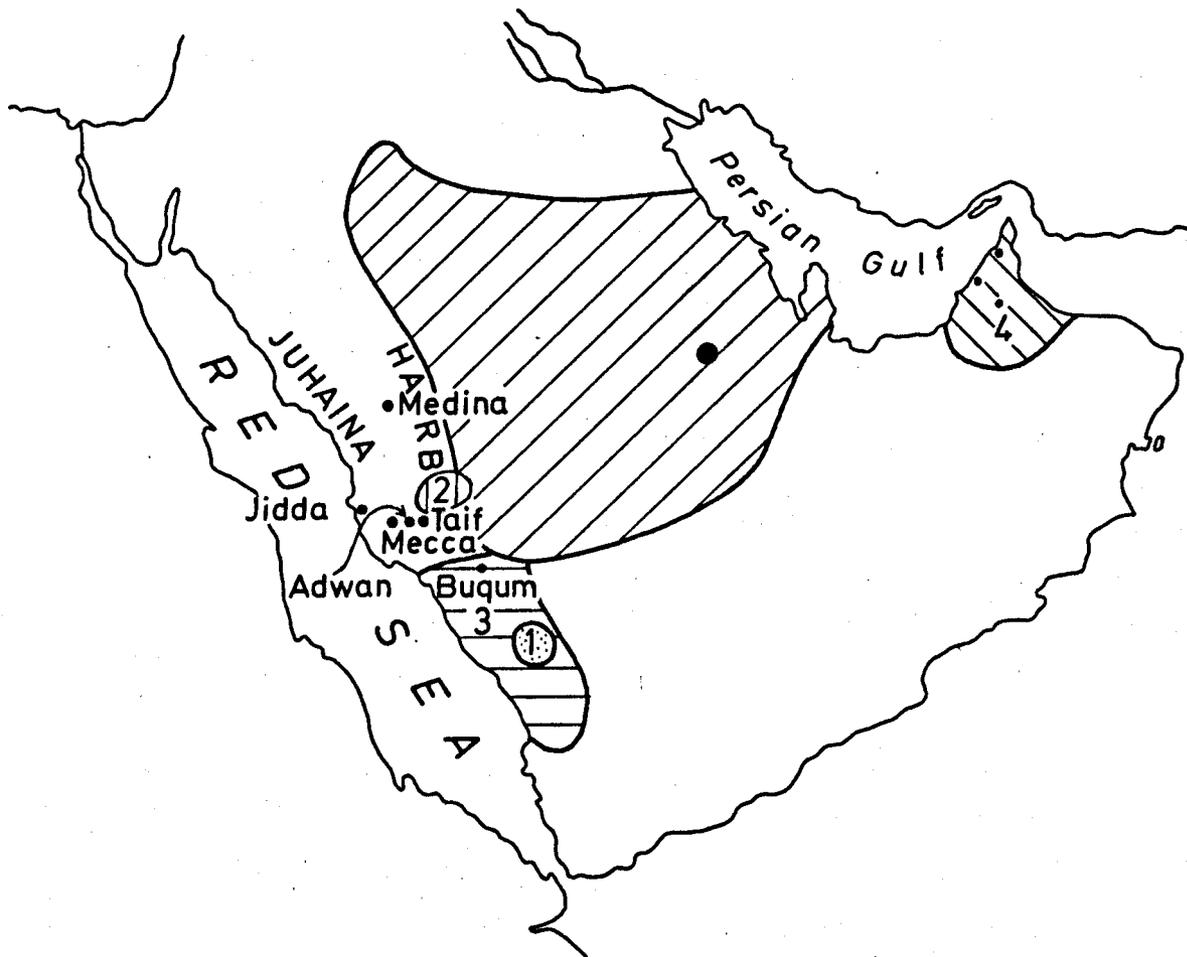
- 1-Kharj province held in 1785
- 2-Wadi Dawasir held in 1784-5
- 3-Qahtan held in 1784



FROM 1785 - 1795

Territories held by:

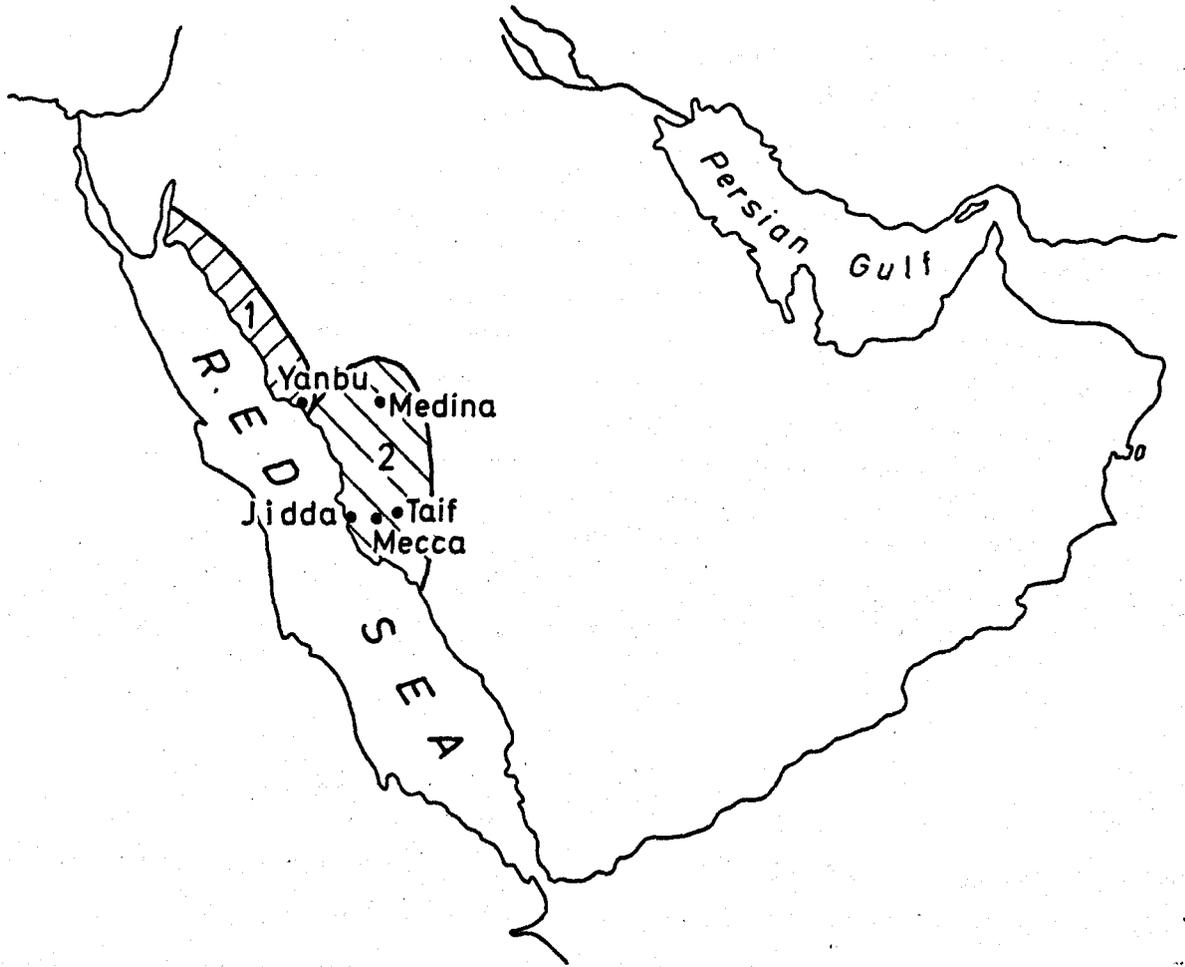
- 1-Hail held in 1787
- 2-Hasa held between 1792-3
- 3-Turaba held in 1795
- 4-Jauf held between 1793-4
- 5-Qahtan held in 1785



FROM 1795 - 1805

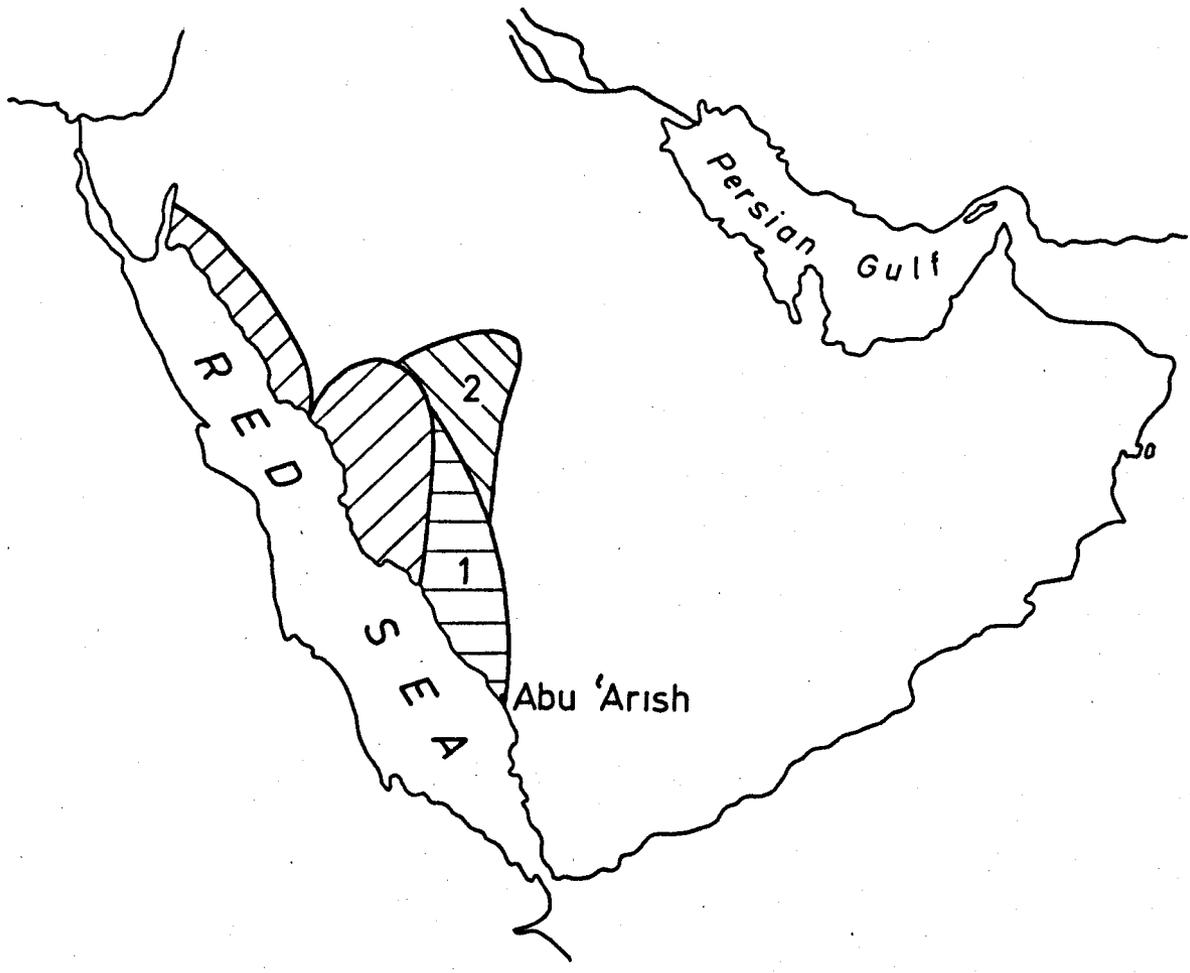
Territories held by :

- 1-Bisha oasis held in 1797
- 2-Ātaiba tribe surrendered in 1798
- 3-Asir and Southern Hejaz held between 1798-1800
- 4-Buraimi held in 1800. Also Banu Yas, al-Shariqah and Ras - al - Khaima.
- 5-Taif, Buqum and Adwan held in 1802
- 6-Juhaina tribe and Harb held in 1803
- 7-Mecca, Medina and Jidda held between 1803-5



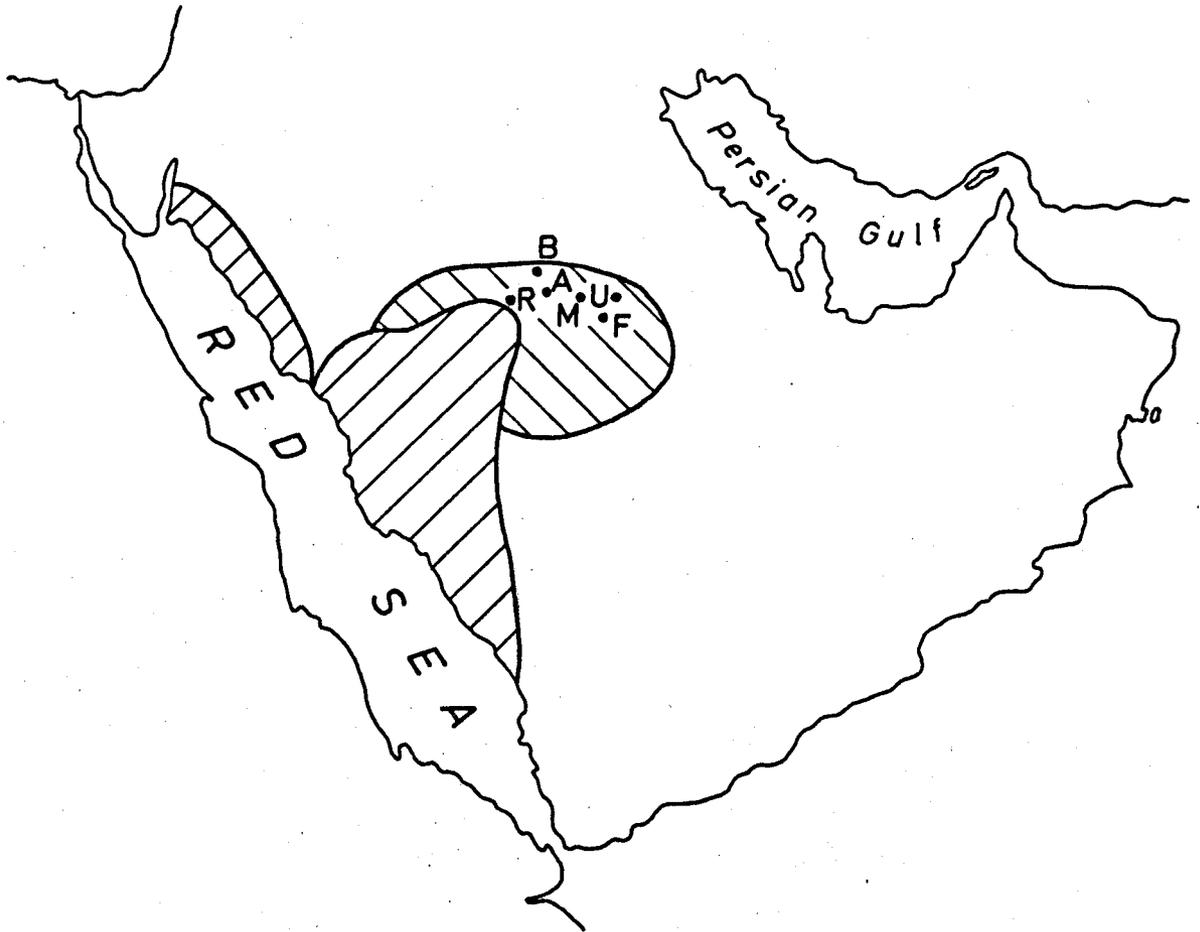
TERRITORIES LOST FROM 1811-1813

- 1 - Lost in 1811
- 2 - Lost in 1813



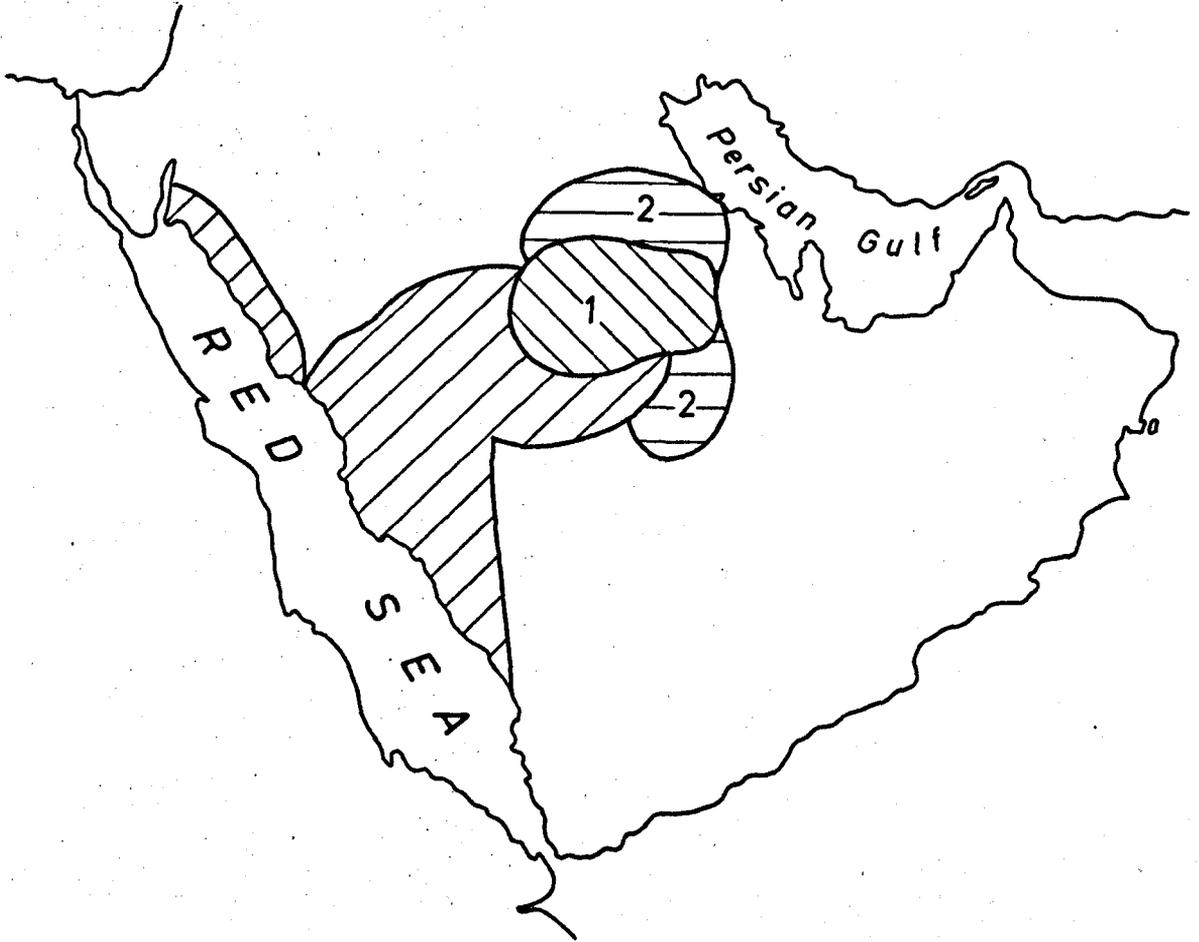
TERRITORIES LOST FROM 1813-1815

- 1 - Lost in 1814-15
- 2 - Lost in 1815



TERRITORIES LOST IN 1817

Rass, 'Anaiza, Buraida, Mudhnib, Fara'a and Ushaiqir

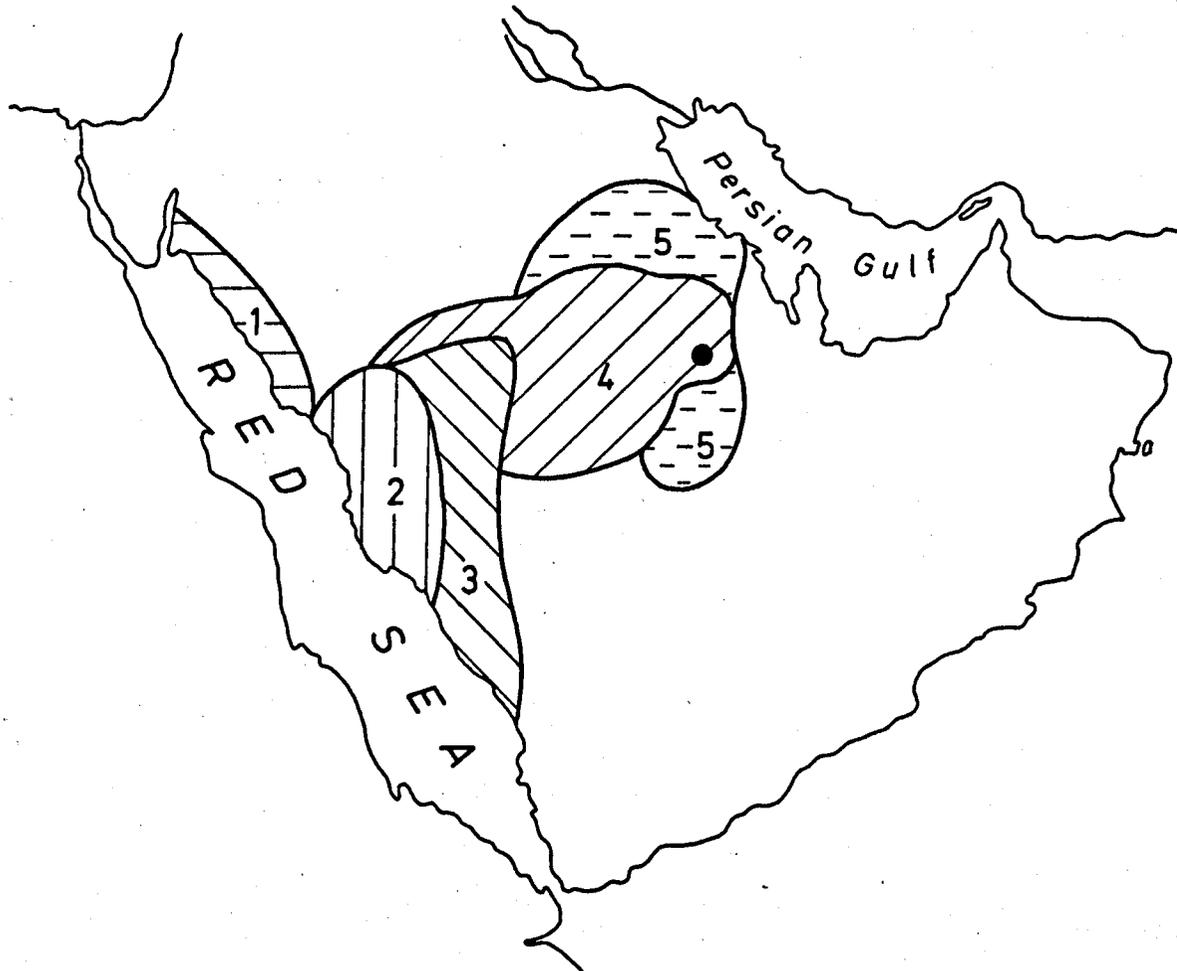


TERRITORIES LOST FROM 1818-1819

1 - Lost in 1818

2 - Lost in 1818-19

1 - Sudair, Washm provinces ; and al-Arid province.



TERRITORIES LOST FROM 1811-1819

- 1 - Territory lost in 1811
- 2 - Territories lost in 1813
- 3 - Territories lost from 1814-15
- 4 - Territories lost from 1817-18
- 5 - Territories lost in 1819

Orthographic Corrections to the Ms of Al-Bassam.

(The incorrect reading is followed by the correct reading, with oblique stroke between; thus جا / س = جا , read جاس . Words accompanied by an asterisk are included for the sake of completeness).

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
5	2,8	سائر / ساير
-	4	قاسم / قاسم -
-	8	قبائل / قبائل
6	9	دضاير / دضاير
6	10	فما / فما
7	2	فادير / فادير
8	3	فاذا / فاذا
8	6	فاذاهم / فاذاهم
8	6	فماية / فماية
8	7	هاير / هاير
10	2	النداع / النداع
10	6	زائدة / زائدة
10	12	لمرة / لمرة
11	7-8	فاذا / فاذا
11	11	عشائر / عشائر
12	1,5	قبائل / قبائل
12	6	صبايون / صبايون
13	9	الضمان / الضمان
14	2	طائفة / طائفة
15	1	الغاصم / الغاصم
15	7	الغصم / الغصم
15	11	باغشن / باغشن
16	1	بالذرة / بالذرة
16	2	كالمذرات / كالمذرات
16	5	بالميدوم / بالميدوم
17	3	طوائف / طوائف
17	9-10	واتقبه / واتقبه
17	10-11	واستعان / واستعان

Page	Line	
18	2,7,8	الو / الو سائر / سائر
19	6	نفراند / نفراند
19	10	باوامر / باوامر
20	1	سائلا / سائلا
20	2	برسائلا / برسائلا
20	3	باشجاوم / باشجاوم
20	4	باشجاوم / باشجاوم
21	1	الانبياء / الانبياء
21	4	صائرة / صائرة
21	11	الحائزة / الحائزة
22	1	الفضائل / الفضائل
22	2	ولاطائل / ولاطائل
22	3	القضايا / القضايا
22	5	بالعبان / بالعبان
22	5	سنو / سنو
22	8-9	فانزعه / فانزعه
22	11	ارجاب / ارجاب
22	11	فال / فال
23	3	يروم / يروم
23	4	بكتايب / بكتايب
23	7	فانزل / فانزل
23	7	هواجبه / هواجبه
23	8	صائر / صائر
23	8	فأضمر / فأضمر
24	5	ابتلايه / ابتلايه
24	6	فيمازعموه / فيمازعموه
24	7	فانزل / فانزل
24	10	فأعجب / فأعجب
25	4 *	سأله / سأله
25	5	ذلك / ذلك
25	9	بلاء / بلاء
25	9	فانصت / فانصت
26	1	مؤتلفه / مؤتلفه
26	5	فأظهر / فأظهر
26	9	ذلك / ذلك

Page	Line
26	9-10
26	11
26	11
27	2
27	7
27	10 *
27	11
28	2
28	2
28	3
28	4
28	8
28	11
29	4
29	4
29	6
29	7
29	9
29	9
29	12
30	4-5
30	6
30	7-8
30	10
30	11
31	5
31	9
31	10
31	11
32	1
32	5
32	7
32	8
32	10
32	11
32	11

فيما زعم	/	فهم ما زعم
فأمر	/	فأمر
فأستمرت	/	فأستمرت
الو	/	الو
ذله	/	ذله
ألوا	/	ألوا
فيما	/	فيما
ها برين مانع	/	ها برين مانع
فأكتبوا	/	فأكتبوا
بأضلاقهم	/	بأضلاقهم
بنوا	/	بنوا
فأنتا	/	فأنتا
فخصامة	/	فخصامة
عائته	/	عائته
ذله	/	ذله
الجائر	/	الجائر
الجائر	/	الجائر
مال	/	مال
ثلثمائة	/	ثلثمائة
بنو	/	بنو
فبين	/	فبين
خصامة	/	خصامة
الحائزين	/	الحائزين
البنارفة	/	البنارفة
المضائق	/	المضائق
فضائلهم	/	فضائلهم
ما شان	/	ما شان
باعدائهم	/	باعدائهم
سلطان بن	/	سلطان بن
بنو	/	بنو
خصامة	/	خصامة
ثلثمائة	/	ثلثمائة
الهازيبية	/	الهازيبية
فضائلهم	/	فضائلهم
يا وائلهم	/	يا وائلهم
خصامة	/	خصامة

Page	Line	
33	2	سبأ / سبا
33	2	شأنهم / شأنهم
33	7	برأة / برءة
33	8	شأننا / شأننا
34	1	قائل / قائل
34	4	جلائق / جلائق
34	5	الذئب / الذئب
34	7	محمساة / محمساة
35	1	فألف / فألف
35	5	شماغاية / شماغاية
35	9,10	برأة / برءة
35	11	الطائف / الطائف
36	5,6	فاذا / فاذا
36	5,6	القاهب / القاهب
36	7	بألف / بألف
36	10	رؤساء / رؤساء
36	13	فأستحسن / فأستحسن
37	1	فأركب / فأركب
37	2	بالوهابي / بالوهابي
37	3	فأشاروا / فأشاروا
37	3	رؤساء / رؤساء
37	5	فأمر / فأمر
37	11	البرءة / البرءة
37	13	فأضلقت / فأضلقت
38	3	ذلل / ذلل
38	9	رؤس / رؤس
38	10	بالرس / بالرس
39	2	شوزأ / شوزأ
39	3	منوا / منوا
39	4	الفضائيه / الفضائيه
39	9	الفضائل / الفضائل
39	13	ثلاثا / ثلاثا
40	1	منوا / منوا
40	2,11	محمساة / محمساة
40	2	طائفة / طائفة

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>
40	8
41	3
41	5
41	6,10
41	6
41	6
41	8
41	9
42	1
42	1
42	11
42	12
43	1
43	3
43	3
43	4
43	10
44	1
44	11
44	12
45	1
45	3
45	9
45	9
46	3
46	5,7,13
46	5
46	9
46	9
46	10
46	11
46	13
47	1
47	5
47	6

الطائف / الطائف
المئات / المئات
ثمانمائة / ثمانمائة
بنو / بنو
الطائف / الطائف
الغزاة / الغزاة
بالسماح / بالسماح
ثمانمائة / ثمانمائة
بنو / بنو
بالفرد / بالفرد
مائة / مائة
مائتان / مائتان
القائمون / القائمون
سوى / سوى
مائة / مائة
الوفاء / الوفاء
الجادون / الجادون
بنو / بنو
سبعماية / سبعماية
سائة / سائة
بالاوجاع / بالاوجاع
مدائنا / مدائنا
واسمائهم / واسمائهم
بنو / بنو
فارس / فارس
مدائن، مدائن، مدائن، مدائن
صائل / صائل
الهواء / الهواء
بناء / بناء
والذكاء / والذكاء
شرايقهم / شرايقهم
كائنا / كائنا
فأومرهما / فأومرهما
ابو / ابو
عولف / عولف

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
47	7	وقائهم / وقائهم
47	8	زاده / زاده
47	9	فقا هبهم / فقا هبهم
47	9	بالآت / بالآت
48	1	اه شاد لهم / اه شاد لهم
48	2	قبائل / قبائل
48	6	عسائيه / عسائيه
48	9	شماخايه / شماخايه
48	10	منو / منو
49	5	سبعائيه / سبعائيه
49	9	عسائيه / عسائيه
50	1,7	شماخايه / شماخايه
50	2	طائفه / طائفه
50	3	بالهزل / بالهزل
50	6	عسائيه / عسائيه
50	12	اللقاء / اللقاء
50	13	سبعائيه / سبعائيه
51	1	سائر / سائر
52	3	فضائلهم / فضائلهم
52	3-4	الكتائب / الكتائب
52	8	الساعة / الساعه
52	8	النساء / النساء
52	9	بالنبا / بالنبا
52	9	عسائيه / عسائيه
52	10	القبائل / القبائل
52	11	عسائيه / عسائيه
53	1	بالرايه / بالرايه
53	3	وطرائقهم / وطرائقهم
54	3-4	عسائيه / عسائيه
54	5	قبائل / قبائل
54	6	وسداينزا / وسداينزا
54	9	شي / شي
54	9	فالمسقط / فالمسقط
55	4	فاما / فاما
55	6	فاما / فاما

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
55	7	بنو / بنوا القائفة / القاييه
56	1	سوى / سوا
56	2	بالماضي / بالماضي
56	5	المضائق / المضائق
56	6	اللقاء / اللقاء
56	6	بنو / بنوا
56	7	السائر / السائر
56	8	الجائر / الجائر
56	9	الجائر / الجائر
56	9	كالغمام / كالغمام
56	10	قبايل / قبايل
57	1	مدائن / مدائن
57	5	والأصاء / والأصاء
57	10,11	فأب / فأب
57	12	مدائن / مدائن
58	5,7	للأصاء / للأصاء
58	5	فأما / فأما
58	5	الأصاء / الأصاء
58	6	العمائر / العمائر
58	7	سائر / سائر
58	8	سماوية / سماوية
58	9	عشيرة / عشيرة
59	1	بالكرم / بالكرم
59	5	عشيرة / عشيرة
59	5	عشيرة / عشيرة
59	7	عشيرة / عشيرة
59	7	عشيرة / عشيرة
59	12	بأبائهم / بأبائهم
60	2-3	بأبائهم / بأبائهم
60	3	بأبائهم / بأبائهم
60	3	بأبائهم / بأبائهم
60	5	فأب / فأب
60	5	معنى زائدة / معنى ابن زائدة
60	5	معنى زائدة / معنى ابن زائدة
60	5-6	كالاسود / كالاسود

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
60	7	فما تبيته / فماتتبه
60	9	القضايل / القضايل
60	10	وامائه / وامائه
60	12	الكفايب / الكفايب
60	12	انباء / انباء
60	12	تألف / تألف
61	2	الحائز / الحائز
61	2	الفايز / الفايز
61	3	
61	6	مكودس / مكودس
61	10	ومنته / ومنته
61	11	سودين / سودين
61	11-12	عبد العزيز / عبد العزيز
62	1	فانه / فانه
62	2	ذلك / ذلك
62	3	فاولام / فاولام
62	5,6	عزاجه / عزاجه
62	7	محمد بن / محمد بن
62	7	ذلك / ذلك
62	8	شاء / شاء
62	9	سودين / سودين
62	11	بذلك / بذلك
62	11	شرايعه / شرايعه
63	1,11	سائر / سائر
63	2	امائه / امائه
63	3	عبد النبي / عبد النبي
63	5	فاية / فاية
63	6	منشي / منشي
63	10	بالروام / بالروام
63	11	بالفناء / بالفناء
63	12	لذلك / لذلك