

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

1323195

COOPER, LEE DAVID

TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF
NINETEENTH-CENTURY WAHHABISM

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
University
Microfilms
International

M.A.

1984

300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY
OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY WAHHĀBISM

by

Lee David Cooper

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1 9 8 4

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: _____

Lee Cooper

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

William J. Wilson

W. J. Wilson

Professor of Oriental Studies

25-IV-1984

Date

PREFACE

The completion of this thesis could not have been accomplished without the cumulative cooperation of many. First and foremost, many thanks to my wife, Terri, for accepting all the responsibilities of the family while I spent my summer days in the library doing research and writing this thesis. Second, thank you to Dr. Wilson for taking me on as an advisee on such short notice. Last, but certainly not least, all my days at the University of Arizona have been a success primarily because of one individual who was a constant source of encouragement--Dr. Royce.

Note on transliteration:

As this thesis contains a significant number of foreign spellings, I have chosen the practice followed by the Encyclopedia of Islam when spelling personal names and Islamic terminology. As far as possible, place names have been spelled in the form used by the Rand McNally World Atlas since it is generally accessible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.	v
1. INTRODUCTION.	1
2. MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB AND THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL	3
3. ARABIA'S REACTION TO IMPERIALISM.	11
4. AGENTS, SOLDIERS AND ADVENTURERS.	19
5. TRAVELERS' PERCEPTIONS OF WAHHĀBISM	35
6. TRAVELERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF SA'ŪD.	46
7. CONCLUSION.	53
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	57

ABSTRACT

The religious revival founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb is one of obscurity. In order to discuss the developments of this revival during the nineteenth century when European colonialism was moving into the Arabian Peninsula we must evaluate the sources of information available. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the source of nineteenth-century travelers' accounts. While this study will show the travelers' accounts must be accompanied by contemporary, indigenous sources, it will also provide insight into the colonial attitudes which developed amongst the British in the early part of the twentieth century when the Wahhābī movement was manifesting itself into the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The interior of the Arabian Peninsula was relatively unknown to Western scholars for centuries after the decline of the Roman Empire. The full works of great Moslem geographers like Abū al Fidā' and al-Idrīsī were not translated into Latin until the beginning of the nineteenth century and, they, at best, contained scanty data on the interior of Arabia.¹ In fact, the great Moslem geographers, like the European travelers of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, did not travel beyond places like Makkah, Yemen, Dhofar, and Oman. The map of Asia done by D'Anville in 1755 exhibited a great deal of error. It did not indicate the existence of the Nafūd Desert and the Najd is devoid of detail.² Thus, as the above suggests, the dawn of European travel into the heart of Arabia was initiated in a climate of ignorance of the geography of the peninsula, which is larger than the Indian Peninsula, to say nothing of the knowledge of the inhabitants and their cultural patterns. This makes the information contained in nineteenth-century travelers'

1. For more details see: H.G. Hogarth, The Penetration of Arabia (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1904), p. 28.

2. Hogarth, p. 28.

accounts possibly vital to the study of the history of this region. Specifically, the objectives of this study are two-fold: one, to evaluate the travelers' perceptions of the religion of the followers of the Islamic revival begun by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb; and two, to evaluate the travelers' perceptions of the politics of the dynasty founded by Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd. The significance of this study, therefore, is that it will allow for a better understanding of the West's generalizations about the people of Central Arabia since the travelers were often the only sources western historians had of this, then, remote part of the world.

CHAPTER 2

MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB AND THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Ottoman Sultān continued to be the Servant of the Holy Cities.¹ Yet, the Porte's influence in the Arabian Peninsula was, at best, circumferential.² The area of Najd was relatively free of Ottoman suzerainty and continued to be broken up into small, warring shaikhdoms. At the same time as this politically unstable situation existed on the Peninsula, the force of Islam was on a decline. In fact, many Arabians had forsaken the religion of the prophet Muhammad and his companions and had reverted to the pre-Islamic practices of idolatry; they were worshipping stones, sacred trees, and the graves of saints. It was in this "Age of Ignorance"³ that the founder of the Wahhābī revival, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd

1. George S. Rentz, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703/04-1792) and the Beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 4. The Ottomans possessed the title (and obligation) since their defeat of the Mamluks in 1517. The holy cities are Makkah and Al Madīnah. The title in Arabic is Khādim al-Haramain al-Sharīfain.

2. The Porte established governorships in Yemen, Al Hasā and Baghdād in the sixteenth century.

3. As it applied to the situation which prevailed in Arabia in the early eighteenth century, the Wahhābīs used al-Jāhiliyah.

al-Wahhāb, was born in 1703 in the Najdī community of Al 'Uyainah.⁴ Thus, with this in mind the objective of this chapter is to develop a historical background of the founder of the Islamic revival which swept the Arabian Peninsula in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's father, Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Sulaimān, was a scholar of the Hanbalī school⁵ and very early recognized his son's gifted academic potential. It is said by Rentz⁶ that Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb memorized the Kur'ān before reaching the age of ten. By the age of twelve, Muhammad had shown competence in interpreting the Kur'ān and the Hadith. Thus, at this young age his father felt "he was ready to take his place in the congregational prayer" because of his knowledge of Islamic precepts.⁷ Also, due to this competence and his maturity, he was granted permission by his father to perform a pilgrimage to Makkah and Al Madīnah.

After performing all the rites of the pilgrimage, the

4. Followers of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb called themselves "Muwahhidūn" or "unitarians", but the term "Wahhābīs" is more commonly used by westerns and other Muslims opposed to their movement.

5. Since the third century A.H., Sunnī Islam has been divided into four madhhabs or schools of law: Hanbalite, Mālikite, Shāfi'ite, and Hanafite.

6. Rentz, p. 19.

7. Rentz, p. 21.

young Wahhāb returned home much impressed with what he had witnessed about the practice of Islam in Makkah and Al Madīnah. Yet, the conduct of the people of Najd bothered him upon his return. He saw the Najdīs taking refuge in idolatry instead of taking refuge in God. Even more disturbing to him was the fact that, while these polytheistic practices were violating the law of Islam, the "lords of the land knew nothing but impression of their subjects, wrongdoing, and fight-with each other."⁸ So, living in a martial environment and hoping to find answers to the problems of Najd, the young scholar traveled back to Al Madīnah.

In Al Madīnah Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb studied the traditions of the Prophet under Shaikh 'Abd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saif and Shaikh Muhammad Hayāt al-Sindī al-Madanī. It was under these Islamic scholars that the future grand shaikh of the House of Sa'ūd formulated a basic tenet of the Wahhābīs;⁹ the belief that all prayers should be directed to God alone and not to the Prophet. He later emphasized that it is polytheism (shirk) to worship other than God. In fact, this became the basis for his, later, general aim which was to do away with all innovations (bid'a) which had entered

8. Rentz, p. 24. Here Rentz is quoting the nineteenth-century, Arab historian, Ibn Bishr, I, 7.

9. Using shirk and polytheism, technically, may be a bit ambiguous as not all forms of shirk are polytheistic, i.e., the mere association of a companion to God is a form of shirk.

Islam after the third century A.H.

Later the young student traveled to Al Basrah where he studied under Shaikh Muhammad al-Maymū'ī who was renowned for his mastery of tauhīd, the unity of God.¹⁰ Likewise, it was in Al Basrah where Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb made his first contact with Shī'ism and its practices of saint worship. In fact, this busy port of trade and cosmopolitan metropolis did not, in the eyes of the young man from Najd, "provide a favorable atmosphere for religion to thrive in."¹¹ Thus, he began to denounce, publicly and privately, the practice of worshipping saints as an example of shirk and a corruption of Islam.¹² Soon he was perceived by people as "an upstart and a creator of disturbance."¹³ Furthermore, he received several attacks on his life, so he eventually rejoined his father in Huraymila in the Najd, where he spent the remaining years of his father's life "gaining adherents by quiet persuasion."¹⁴

Upon being banished from Al 'Uyainah in 1744, where

10. Rentz, p. 28.

11. Rentz, p. 28.

12. The intention here is not to imply that saint worship is unique to Shī'ism, as examples can also be found amongst Sunnī practices.

13. Rentz, p. 29.

14. Rentz, p. 35.

he had moved back to after his father's death, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb sought asylum from Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd in Ad Dir'īya. Rentz suggests the meeting of the two was arranged by Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd's bedouin wife, Maudā, who "was deeply stirred by what [she was told] of the shaikh's belief in the unity of Allāh."¹⁵

The momentous meeting between shaikh Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd was to give birth to a dynasty which endures today in Arabia. According to the nineteenth-century Arab historian, Ibn Bishr, this meeting was an instantaneous success. After the shaikh expounded his doctrines in depth and "dwelt upon the evils of Najd that needed correction,"¹⁶ Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd accepted the shaikh's doctrine as the religion of God and the Prophet and said he was ready to defend the religion against whoever denies the unity of God. But first, Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd informed the shaikh that he had two conditions to impose upon him. First, that he should pledge himself not to forsake Ad Dir'īya for another place, and secondly, that he should not deny Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd of his traditional practice of taxing the local agriculturalists at the time of the harvest.¹⁷

15. Rentz, p. 50.

16. Rentz, p. 50.

17. Rentz, p. 51. Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd later agreed to withdraw the second condition due to the large amount of "reward" he had received from Allāh as a result of success at war.

Subsequently, an alliance in the name of religion was born when Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb agreed to the conditions and said, "Blood with blood and ruin with ruin."¹⁸ Ultimately, this pact became the ideological basis for the formation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Ibn Bishr wrote that the shaikh was the senior ruler in the young theocracy. He said of the shaikh, "No camels were mounted and no opinions were voiced by Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd or his son, 'Abd al-Azīz, without the shaikh's approval. He was the supreme judge in matters of religion and religion ruled the state."¹⁹ It was not until 1773, when the shaikh was about seventy, that he transferred his temporal responsibilities, including the management of the public treasury, to Abd al-'Azīz.²⁰ The remaining twenty years of his life were spent in worship and instruction of doctrine.

There was nothing original in the creed of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb.²¹ His solution to the problems of contemporary Arabia was to go back to the religion of the Prophet and his companions. Thus, the aim of his teachings

18. Rentz, p. 52. This is the same oath sworn by the Prophet with his allies, the Anṣār at Yathrib (Al Madīnah) at the end of the Hegira.

19. Rentz, p. 173.

20. Rentz, p. 173. With Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd's death in 1765, his son, 'Abd al-'Aziz, controlled matters of politics and war.

21. Rentz, p. 40.

was to rid the world of two types of sinful actions: shirk and bid'a, which he and his followers strived towards with much vengeance.

As mentioned above, shirk is the association of any being or thing with God, "Who in His oneness can have no associates."²² Thus, Wahhābī literature is full of denunciations of the mushrikūn (those guilty of shirk). In fact, the accusations leveled against the mushrikūn exceed those leveled against the kāfirūn (the unbelievers). Likewise, bid'a (innovation) was equally detested by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers. As mentioned earlier, practices introduced into Islam after the third century A.H. were considered an obloquy by the shaikh.

In his polemic on the community, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb aimed primarily "at the cult of saints, as exhibited in the building of mausoleums, their employment as mosques, and their visitation."²³ For example, contrary to what many historians suggest, the shaikh did not oppose visitation to the Prophet's tomb in Al Madīnah. Rather, he opposed the worship of the tomb and the mortal man. Furthermore, the shaikh attacked as shirk the practice of introducing the name of a prophet, a saint, or an angel into a

22. Rentz, p. 41

23. D.S. Margoliouth, "Wahhābiya", Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden: B.J. Brill, 1953), p. 618.

prayer, or "to seek intercession from any other than God."²⁴ Likewise, it was treated as kufr (unbelief) to profess knowledge not based on the Kur'ān, the Sunna or the Six Books of tradition. Also, the same as the denial of Qadar (predestination) was considered heresy.

While Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers are Hanbalī, they tended to be much stricter in their rituals. Wahhābīs believed ṣalāt (prayer) was obligatory. They strongly abhorred smoking of tobacco. They considered the shaving of the beard and the use of abusive language contrary to law and subject to the kādī's (judge) discretion. Furthermore, unlike other Hanbalites who believed zakāt (alms) was to be paid on only manifest produce, the Wahhābīs stressed the payment of zakāt on secret profits, such as those of trading.²⁵ Likewise, when performing prayer, the rosary was forbidden and the act of counting was to be done on the knuckles. Finally, Wahhābī mosques were built with simplicity. No minarets nor ornaments were allowed in the architectural design of the structure. With this background of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his revival, we proceed to a historical backdrop of the century of our travelers.

24. Margoliouth, p. 618.

25. Margoliouth, p. 618

CHAPTER 3

ARABIA'S REACTION TO IMPERIALISM

By the end of the eighteenth century the Wahhābi movement under the leadership of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muhammad had developed beyond the scope of a religious revival; it had evolved into an ebullition of political manifestations. The movement was unfolding into a distant precursor of Arab nationalism.¹ As the movement expanded it found itself facing external encroachments on Arabia. Specifically, the House of Sa'ūd found itself facing a two-dimensional challenge; one dimension being that of imperialism and the other dimension being that of Arab tribalism in the peninsula. Thus, the intent of this chapter is to introduce a brief, historical overview of the Arabian Peninsula in the nineteenth century as it relates to the House of Sa'ūd.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century, the tenets of the Islamic revival of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb had gained many followers amongst the maritime Arabs of the Persian Gulf. The House of Sa'ūd was becoming a threat to the Sublime Porte's position of leadership in the Islamic World as well as a challenge to the Porte's entrepot of

1. R. Bayley Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 14.

east-west trade in Mesopotamia and Syria. For example, repeatedly the tribes loyal to 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Muhammad were able to successfully pull off ghazw (raids) in the vicinities of the far-off cities of Baghdād and Damascus. In fact, by the end of the eighteenth century many of the tribes of Mesopotamia and Syria paid tribute to the House of Sa'ūd. In 1801, the forces of Sa'ūd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz were able to plunder successfully the city of Karbalā' and the shrine of Imām Husain, which the Wahhābīs considered idolatrous, leaving in their wake much destruction and a death toll exceeding 5,000.² Thus, as the power of the Porte was waning in the Persian Gulf due to her preoccupation with more urgent affairs in Egypt, the House of Sa'ūd was spreading its influence.

In the Hijāz hostilities had begun between the House of Sa'ūd and the Sharīf of the Holy Cities, Ghālib ibn Musā'id. Likewise, in Oman the forces of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz subdued the Sultān of Oman, Sa'id ibn Sultān, forcing him to pay tribute to their Wahhābī amīr. In fact, by 1806, the forces of the House of Sa'ūd had defeated the Sharīfain forces at At, Tā'if, Al Qunfudhah, Makkah, Yanbu', and Al Madīnah, forcing Ghālib to recognize the suzerainty of Sa'ūd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. With these military successes

2. Harford Jones, "An Account of what in these times happened to Immaum Hossein", in Sir H.J. Brydges, An Account of the Transactions of the Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia (London: J. Bohn, 1834).

and the Sa'ūdīs,³ newly gained realization of the maritime importance of Bahrain, the young dynasty was on the track to an eventual confrontation with British power in the Persian Gulf.

In the late 1700's Great Britain renewed her interest in the Persian Gulf for two reasons. One, she felt a new challenge from France and Russia; and two, the rise of importance of steam navigation added a new dimension to her colonial designs. Yet, "prior to the third decade of the nineteenth century, British authorities were little concerned about conditions in Arabia proper."⁴ British policy was primarily concerned with preserving peace at sea and maintaining security along her trade routes. The British had little comprehension that the disorder, piracy at sea with maritime Arabs, "was common in the Gulf or indeed that they were mixed up in a trade war..."⁵ Furthermore, it does not appear the British perceived that the Sa'ūdīs were allied with most of the maritime Arab shaikhdoms north of Muscat. In fact, the British authorities were confident their "pro-Turkish policy and pro-Persian policy in the Gulf served to contrast the designs of the French and Russians in the

3. The term Sa'ūdī is used synonymously with the House of Sa'ūd.

4. Winder, p. 38.

5. Winder, p. 38.

Region."⁶ Thus, it is apparent the British did not feel it necessary to establish diplomatic relations with the House of Sa'ūd during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. This is best supported by the fact that in both 1811 and 1814⁷ the British refused to receive a Sa'ūdī emissary sent to the British Resident in Bushire. Of course, this policy vis-a-vis the Sa'udis made sense because Napoleon Bonaparte was no longer a problem in Egypt and the forces of the Ottoman Viceroy in Egypt, Muhammad 'Alī, had successfully invaded the Hijāz and defeated the Wahhābīs.

With the Sharīfain forces' defeat by the Sa'ūdīs in the Hijaz, Hajj revenues had declined considerably. Thus, the Sublime Porte decreed to the Viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad 'Alī, that the holy cities of Makkah and Al Madīnah must be returned to the possession of the Sultān. So, in 1811 Muhammad 'Alī sent Egyptian forces under the command of his son, Tūsūn Pāshā, to the port of Yanbu'.⁸ One year later Makkah, Al Madīnah, and At Tā'if were under Egyptian control, and by 1813 Egyptian forces under the guidance of Muhammad 'Alī, himself, had subdued the Sa'ūdī forces in Al Qunfudhah and Taraba. By 1815, after the losses in the Hijāz

6. Halford L. Hoskins, "Background of the British Position in Arabia", Middle East Journal, 1 (1947), 137-47.

7. Kamal Salibi, A History of Arabia (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1980), p. 160.

8. For more details see Salibi's A History of Arabia.

and a defeat in Oman, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz signed an ephemeral truce with the Egyptians recognizing Hanakiyah⁹ as the boundary between their respective political spheres. But, the truce was ended as the Egyptian forces, led by Muhammad 'Alī's competent son, Ibrāhīm Pāshā, advanced eastward capturing 'Abd Allāh and completely destroying the capital of Ad Dar'īya. Thus, by 1818 the House of Sa'ūd had been toppled, and "until 1840, Egypt kept hold of the Hijāz and maintained a watch over Najd."¹⁰ While Britain, having just signed a treaty of friendship with the Sultan of Oman and on good terms with the Porte, was beginning to develop some anxiety over the Egyptians.

By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the dynamics of international politics had taken a turn. The French were renewing their colonial furor but in the direction of the New World, and the British were on the threshold of gaining a trade monopoly in the Gulf. While Muhammad 'Alī had visions of a new Caliphate and "had armies along the Euphrates, Central Arabia, Yemen, the Hijāz, and was known to be conducting secret negotiations with the Shah of Persia."¹¹

9. Hanakiya is a village located approximately 75 kilometers northeast of Al Madīnah or approximately 25 degrees north latitude and 40 degrees east longitude.

10. Salibi, p. 175.

11. Hoskins, p. 141.

Thus, it became obvious that Fayṣal ibn Turkī's¹² ceding of territory to Muḥammad 'Alī in 1838 was of no economic design but rather more of strategic value. Control of Arabia would allow Muḥammad 'Alī to unite with Syria, the coffee markets of Yemen, and the rich ports of the Gulf.¹³

As a result of the Egyptian gains and the threat they represented to the Ottomans, the British developed a more aggressive role in the region. In 1840 combined Ottoman and British forces defeated the Egyptians in Syria forcing an Egyptian withdrawal from Arabia. Thus, during the period of 1843-65, due to a "balance of influence between the Ottomans in the Hijāz and the British in the Gulf,"¹⁴ there was a minor revival of the House of Sa'ūd when during the second reign of Fayṣal ibn Turkī ibn 'Abd Allāh, Hā'il and Al Hasā were conquered and pro-Wahhābīs were installed as their allies. This resurgence seems to have been done with the blessing of the British because it kept the Ottomans out of Eastern Arabia and "frightened the rulers of Bahrain, Abu Zaby, and Oman into accepting increasing measures of British

12. Fayṣal's first reign was from 1834 to 1837. In between his reigns Khālīd ibn Sa'ūd (1837) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Thunayyān led the House of Sa'ūd due to their pro-Egyptian sympathies.

13. Salibi. p. 177. It is interesting to note that when Muḥammad 'Alī gained control of Al Mukhā in 1834, he broke the British trade monopoly by demanding that half the coffee crop go to Cairo and the other half was to go to American interlopers.

14. Salibi, p. 191.

protection."¹⁵ In addition, the British recognized a new threat being manifested by the government of Napoleon III.

In 1856 the Egyptian Pasha, Sa'īd, granted a ninety-nine year concession to the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, to build the Suez Canal. This concerned the British as their traditional concern in the region derived from the necessity of securing the trade routes to the "jewel" of the empire--India. Thus, both Britain and France began to develop more vigorous policies with the "unknown quantity" of inner Arabia--the House of Sa'ūd. While this is an interesting subject, it is not within the parameters of this paper to go beyond the mere recognition of these significant policies. More important, we must be aware of the policies and the effect they may have had on travelers' perceptions.

In 1865, with the death of Faysal ibn Turkī, the quarrels of his sons, 'Abd Allāh and Sa'ūd, resulted in a decline of Sa'ūdī influence. Thus, Talāl ibn al-Rashīd, with the support of local tribes of Jabal Shammar, broke away from the hegemony of the Sa'ūdīs and developed the most powerful force in the Najd. In fact, the Ibn al-Rashīd dynasty succeeded in winning the support of the Ottomans, who were about to enter into an alliance with the Germans, and were able to extend their suzerainty over the Syrian Desert as far north as Palmyra. With this accomplished, the Al-Rashīds were able

15. Salibi, p. 191.

to contribute to a further decline of Riyadh¹⁶ the Sa'ūdi capital, by "diverting most of the caravan trade and pilgrims¹⁷ of central and southern Najd to their own territory."¹⁸ Finally, in 1887, the Al-Rashīds occupied Riyadh and placed it under a Rashīdī amīr. In 1890, 'Abd al-Rahmān, leader of the House of Sa'ūd, was forced to flee to Kuwait under the protection of the Sabāh family and Shaikh Mubārak. The Sa'ūdīs remained in Kuwait until 1902, when under the leadership of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān the Sa'ūdīs quietly regained Riyadh and within a year were, once again, masters of central and southern Najd.

At this juncture of the study it is imperative to keep in mind that the Wahhābī movement was more than a religious revival. I suggest it was an ethnic as well as religious manifestation of the Najdīs reacting to the humiliation they felt towards the Ottoman and, later, European encroachments on Arabia. The movement, with religion as its tool, was a means of self-preservation of what the inhabitants perceived as their way of life.

16. Ad Dar'īya was completely destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pāshā's forces in 1818. In 1821, while Egyptian security was tight in the Hijāz, Najd remained of less importance to Egyptian security. Thus, a cousin of Sa'ūd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, led a revolt and chose Riyadh as his new capital, which it has remained to this day.

17. Pilgrims from Iraq and Persia usually followed this route.

18. Salibi, p. 193

CHAPTER 4

AGENTS, SOLDIERS AND ADVENTURERS

In 1503 the Italian, Ludovicodi Varthema, successfully penetrated the holy city of Makkah and the Hijāz "ceased to be unknown".¹ By the end of the sixteenth century the western Europeans had broken the Ottoman monopoly of east-west trade. Yet, prior to the landing of Carsten Niebuhr and his Danish party at Juddah in 1762 "little else [aside from the general features of the Holy Cities] had been learned of the Hijaz but a string of place-names..."² As European pilgrims did not provide narrative about the interior of Arabia until the nineteenth century, the objective of this chapter is to introduce the most significant travelers to Arabia during the period from 1800 to 1899. Concurrently, the intent is to describe each traveler's possible motives for travel, and describe what subjects their narrative concentrates on and how it contributes to our study. Specific

1. Varthema, also, accomplished the goal of traveling through Yemen. "All later European pilgrims, who have known his narrative, have borne witness to its succinct fidelity in as far as concerns Mecca... All the prospects, passes, and valleys which Varthema noted have been recognized." In: Hogarth, p. 65.

2. For more details on travel in Arabia, also see: Robin Bidwell, Travellers in Arabia (New York: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1976).

details from each account as they pertain to this thesis will be treated with greater depth in chapters four and five. Also, for organizational purposes I have separated the travelers into the categories of agents, soldiers and adventurers. The segregation of the travelers into these groups cannot always be absolute. The travelers, who entered Arabia overtly as military personnel of a nation, can be categorized as soldiers. Likewise, those, who traveled covertly as spies for a government which had political designs on Arabia, can be labeled as agents. Similarly, some of the travelers had seemingly political motives but were not employed at the time of their sojourn by a government; while others had romantic reasons for accepting the challenge of traveling in Arabia. Yet, my research suggests some of these romantic travelers had rather dubious backgrounds prior to their travels. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that some of these dubious personalities had been traveling for the sole purpose of promoting a political ideal. But, as the evidence on these questionable adventurers is not conclusive, I have chosen to classify these mysterious wayfarers as adventurers. Thus, it is imperative at this juncture to keep in mind while reading the descriptions of each traveler the arbitrary manner in which I have placed each traveler in the categories.

Agents

Our first traveler journeyed across North Africa "determined at last to visit the Muslim countries; and while engaged in performing a pilgrimage to Mecca, to observe the manners, customs, and nature of the countries which [he] should pass."³ Entering Makkah in 1807, 'Alī Bey el-Abbāssī "was the first to give the West a systematic account of Mecca...and the first to fix its exact position."⁴ Also, his account provides us with valuable information of the Hijāz, when the Holy Cities of Makkah and Al Madīnah were under the suzerainty of the House of Sa'ūd. Thus, he provides us with vital perceptions of the Wahhābī movement. On the other hand, his narrative shows a copious amount of embellishment which, seemingly, was the result of his ignorance of the subject he wrote about.

Who was 'Alī Bey? No where in his writings did he divulge information about himself. He was a Spaniard named Domingo Badia y Leblich who had studied Arabic in Valencia.⁵ Evidence suggests he was employed by "Napoleon whose interest in the Muslim world is well known."⁶ In fact, he was known

3. Bidwell, p. 27.

4. Bidwell, p. 31.

5. Zahra Freeth and H.V.F. Winstone, Explorers of Arabia (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 101.

6. Bidwell, p. 29.

to have been received by Bonaparte several times and in 1818 he died, according to French sources, as the result of poison given to him by the British Secret Service.

In 1845 the first European traveler entered the city of Hā'il. One Georg August Wallin, a Swedish national of Finnish extraction, was an Arabist who passed through the Jabal Shammar as a doctor and vaccinator. He was "sent by the Egyptian viceroy, [Mohammad 'Ali], to estimate the worth of the Al-Rashīd rivalry [with the Al Sa'ūd] in the Najd."⁷ Ultimately, his objective was to travel to south Najd and the Yemen to study the ancient language of Himyaritic.⁸ Unfortunately, on neither⁹ of his trips to Arabia was he able to go further south than Hā'il because of the insecurity of the roads to Riyadh in 1845 and because in 1848 he was suspected of being a Christian while in Hā'il.

Wallin "examined with greater care, and recorded with more scientific precision, than anyone who has followed him, the constituents of the population of Jabal Shammar."¹⁰ Yet, his narrative is rather short and contains very little data on the Wahhābīs. This is a great loss to history in light of

7. Hogarth, p. 160.

8. M. Trautz, "G.A. Wallin and 'The Penetration of Arabia'," The Geographical Journal, 76 (August 1930), 248-52.

9. Unfortunately, the narrative of Wallin's second sojourn in Arabia was unavailable.

10. Hogarth, p. 166.

the fact he was such a capable Arabist¹¹ and was the only western traveler to go directly from Hā'il to Al Madīnah. Thus, prior to the next traveler, Lieutenant Richard Burton of the Indian Army, the secrets of Arabia Deserta, of the Nafūd and Najd, had been revealed only fleetingly to the West.

Sir Richard Burton was a man of vast talents. He spoke a dozen languages fluently; he was a master of disguise; and he was a traveler with courage, tenacity and a lively curiosity in people, their politics, and their religion. Yet, he was a paradox. "His pride in Englishness and passionate concern with England's glory could not reduce the distance which his continental upbringing and unusual temperament had put between him and his countrymen."¹²

Burton's travels were financed by the Royal Geographical Society and the Government of India provided him with a year's leave from his military duties to study Arabic. His objective in 1853 was to make a successfully disguised pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of the Hijāz, and, I suspect, to gain strategic information for the Crown. Unfortunately, as great a traveler, observer, and Arabist as Burton was, his

11. Wallin did his dissertation on the differences between classical and modern Arabic.

12. Kathryn Tidrick, Heart-beguiling Araby (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 65. Also see: Thomas J. Assad, Three Victorian Travellers (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

narrative is a copious amount of notes and descriptions of superb quality which provide very little insight on the Wahhābīs since his sojourn took place in the Hijāz only which at the time was under Ottoman hegemony. In fact, the impression one gets from his writings is that he was longing for personal fame by promoting the interests of imperial England. But, he was not "English" enough to understand the feelings that his English prestige was damaged by his accommodation to foreign customs.¹³ Contrarily, the next agent sent to Arabia in 1862-63 did penetrate the Nafūd and Najd, but his book is filled with impressions as he was unable to take many notes during his journey while under the disguise as a Syrian doctor because of the dangers of suspicion of being a Christian.¹⁴

William Gifford Palgrave met with the Pope and Napoleon III while giving lectures to raise money in Europe for Lebanese Christians.¹⁵ He said his goal was "the desire of bringing the stagnant waters of Eastern life into contact

13. Tidrick, p. 66.

14. Many later travelers questioned the authenticity of Palgrave's narrative. It must be remembered that Palgrave's entire book is based on reflections of his travels. Also, he claims to have lost his notes due to a shipwreck off the coast of Oman.

15. After a brief military commission in Bombay, he resigned to become a Jesuit missionary and later spent two years in Beirut. In Syria he was known as Father Michel Cohen.

with the quickening stream of European progress."¹⁶ Thus, in reality Palgrave was an agent of the French. Yet, like Burton his perception of his national identity was scarred. Unlike Burton, who was English by race but not in his upbringing, Palgrave was English in his upbringing but not wholly by race due to the fact his father had been a Jew who converted to Christianity. Seemingly preoccupied with race during his travels, Palgrave's nationalism appears to have been allied with a sense of cosmopolitanism.¹⁷ This made it possible for him to serve any nation which to him seemed worthy of devotion. So, one can only assume his previously mentioned desire to bring the stagnant waters of the East in contact with European progress was in support of the Napoleonic vision of two Arab empires; one empire east of the Suez and the other west of the Suez with both, of course, under French hegemony.

Since no traveler had been to Najd since Captain George F. Sadlier¹⁸ in 1819, Palgrave provided Europe with the first accounts of the tribal politics of inner Arabia due to his visits with Talāl ibn al-Rashīd of Hā'il and 'Abd Allāh ibn Faysal ibn Sa'ūd of Riyadh. Furthermore, his narrative provides in depth descriptions of Wahhābī practice.

16. Bidwell, p. 76.

17. Tidrick, p. 90.

18. Sadlier's travels across the width of the peninsula will be covered below.

Also, as he believed he had discovered the "pure Arabs" in the settled Arabs of Najd, his loathing descriptions of the Bedouin challenged the traditional portrait of the noble savage. Thus, while many travelers who followed Palgrave were skeptical of his writings, he does provide this study with valuable data on the inhabitants of the Najd and Jabal Shammar.

An Italian, who lived in the Levant for over a decade working for the French Postal Service, was sent to Jabal Shammar two years after Palgrave. Carlo Guarmani wandered with the tribes and became a specialist on Arabian horses and tribal structure. While his book is invaluable to horse enthusiasts, it makes very little contribution to this study. On this blank note, our discussion enters the category of the travelers who went to Arabia overtly as military personnel.

Soldiers

When Napoleon Bonaparte's army was occupying northern Italy in the early years of the nineteenth century, a young Italian educated according to the wishes of his family to be a Roman Catholic priest was conscripted by the French. Opposed to performing military duty in the service of Napoleon, Giovanni Finati escaped from his duty on the eastern shores of the Adriatic to become a Muslim and a member of the Albanian Corps. After a short term in Albania, the

young soldier¹⁹ escaped to Egypt where he came under the good graces of Tūsūn Pāshā and became, again, a member of the Ottoman forces. Thus, in 1811, when the Egyptian forces invaded the Hijāz to subdue the Wahhābīs, Finati was member of the infantry as a mercenary.

Finati's short narrative is suspect. His claimed fluency in Arabic is, likewise, questionable as he relies very heavily on the recordings of 'Alī Bey for information on the local manifestations and his historical information is quite unconvincing. Yet, as an active participant in the Egyptian-Wahhābī battles, he does provide a rare, first-hand account of the Egyptian enemy.

Following the news of Ibrāhīm Pāshā's crushing defeat of the Sa'ūdī forces at Ad Dir'īya in 1818, the British dispatched Captain George F. Sadlier to congratulate the son of Muḥammad 'Alī. What they initially intended to be a short trip in Al Hasā, eventually took the captain across the width of the Arabian Peninsula until he, finally, caught up with the young pāshā near the Red Sea coast. But, in the process, due to his dedication and persistence, Sadlier not only accomplished the goal of presenting the gift of a sword and discussing a possible British-Egyptian alliance,²⁰ but,

19. Because he saw a dim future for himself in Albania due to the low status he had with the local pāshā, he fled to Egypt.

20. Ibrāhīm told Sadlier he was not at liberty to discuss such a possibility without first discussing the matter with the Pāshā of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī.

ultimately,²¹ provided Europe with its first "longitudinal intervals between the principal points in Central Arabia."²² Consequently, his narrative provides a picture of the destruction of Arabia in the wake of the Egyptian army's victory. Unfortunately, Sadlier's blitzkrieg and his contempt for the natives resulted in his book contributing very little to this discussion.

Thus far, none of the travelers have entered Arabia from the east or the south, but as the result of the signing of the Treaty of Peace in 1820 with Sayyid Sa'īd ibn Sultān of Muscat, the British became more concerned with the activities of the maritime Arabs north of Muscat who were in alliance with the House of Sa'ūd or at least sympathetic to the Wahhābī doctrine. In 1835-36, a British naval officer, James R. Wellsted, was encouraged by Sayyid Sa'īd to travel into the hinterlands of Muscat. Regardless of the fact that Wellsted, admittedly, knew little Arabic and often made mistakes in understanding what people said to him,²³ he contributed to our knowledge of Oman. Furthermore, while he failed in his objective to reach Najd, his encounters with

21. His book was not published until 1866 when the Bombay government released his notes.

22. Hogarth, p. 115.

23. Bidwell, p. 208.

Wahhābīs under the realm of Al Buraymī²⁴ provide this study with data on the parameters of Sa'ūdī political spheres of influence.

Nearly thirty years after Wellsted, another British officer entered Arabia and traveled overland from Kuwait to Riyadh. Colonel Lewis Pelly, the British Resident of the Gulf in Būshehr, was motivated to visit Faysal ibn Sa'ūd in 1865 for a variety of reasons. One, he wanted to ameliorate the animosity against the British due to their anti-slavery proceedings in the region and the confrontations which had resulted with the maritime Arabs who were under the suzerainty of the House of Sa'ūd. Two, he wanted to add to his previous laurels²⁵ and prove wrong "the view of the Royal Geographical Society that no European could go safely to Riyadh."²⁶ Three, as practically little had been learned about the Najd since the days of Ptolemy, Pelly hoped to plot the critical geographical positions of Riyadh and its hinterland. Plus, it cannot be excluded that the British suspected the French of overtures in the area, and, as previously mentioned, they desired an alliance in Central Arabia to act as

24. Al Buraymī is located in southeastern Arabia on the present-day border between the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

25. Previously, Pelly traveled solo from Tehrān to India via Qandahār.

26. Bidwell, p. 144.

a buffer against the Ottoman presence in the Hijāz.

"Pelly seems to have spent most of his time questioning his escort"²⁷ as he gathered a great deal of information about the Sulaib, the gypsies of the desert. Likewise, with his visit to the Wahhābī capital, his report provides information on internal politics. Yet, Pelly's ethnocentric attitudes and deficiency in Arabic deprived him of recording the very astute observations of our first idealist.

Adventurers

John Ludwig Burckhardt went to London²⁸ in 1805 where he met Sir Joseph Banks, a promoter of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Africa.²⁹ Upon offering his services to Banks, Burckhardt received a grant to study at Cambridge where he took courses in Arabic, chemistry, astronomy and medicine because it was believed all these subjects were vital to his preparation as an explorer. When he finished at Cambridge, he was sent to Aleppo for two years

27. Bidwell, p. 145

28. Burckhardt was born in Lausanne in 1784 and received his higher education at German universities. Later he became well known in the West for his discoveries of Petra and Abu Simbel.

29. Also known as the African Association. In the English Encyclopedia of Biography it is stated that "all the voyages of discovery which were made under the auspices of [the] government for the last thirty years of Sir Joseph Bank's life had either been suggested by him" or organized by him. This suggests the possibility that Burckhardt was a covert, British agent.

where he mastered his Arabic by studying Arabic Literature, memorizing the Kur'ān and frequently traveling with the badw into the Syrian Desert.

The initial goal of Burckhardt, prior to entering the Hijāz, was to travel up the Nile and overland to Timbuktu, but having an apparent fascination with the East and believing the title of "hajji" would later benefit him on his travels into the interior of Africa, the hearty traveler changed his disguise of a Syrian beggar to that of an Egyptian gentleman and his itinerary to include the Holy Cities. Since he was in the Hijāz during the occupation of Mohammad 'Alī and his forces, much of his narrative of the Wahhābīs is second-hand. Nonetheless, his excellent descriptions of everyday-life, as the result of his excellent linguistic skills are unsurpassed. Specifically, his perceptions of the Wahhābīs and their practices is a major contribution to this study. In fact, even the usually critical Burton praised the work of Burckhardt.

Charles Montague Doughty was of a much different composition than his predecessors but of equal capabilities. Driven by his earlier failure to be accepted in to the Royal Navy, he was motivated by a deep devotion to serve his country to the best of his ability and to remain loyal to the Christian faith. Thus, unlike earlier travelers, he did not travel in disguise; he openly claimed his Judeo-Christian heritage. Likewise, he was not subsidized nor employed by

anyone during his sojourn. Entering Arabia with images which were those of the Bible, his goal was to be the first European to see and describe the ruins of Madā'in Sālih. But, as he pointed out in the preface to the second edition of Arabia Deserta, his travels in Arabia were, also, "a logical extension of his interest in the 'Story of the Earth'..."³⁰ In time, Arabia became a land which he began to associate with the beginning of things--of Christianity.³¹ Yet, his motives for penetrating deeper into Arabia and enduring the hardships of life with the Bedouin have never been clearly explained.

Since Doughty's sojourn took place in the Nāfud and northern Najd contemporaneously with the decline of the power of the House of Sa'ud, his narrative provides valuable data on Al-Rashīd and Al-Sa'ūd. Likewise, because Doughty spent most of his time, unlike many of the other travelers, living amongst the Bedouins, he paints a picture of tribal relations and the parameters of Sa'ūdī hegemony amongst the various tribes. Thus, he provides a contrast with respect to possible differences of Wahhābī practices between the nomadic mode of production and the agriculturalist mode of production.

30. Tidrick, p. 138.

31. Tidrick, p. 139.

"Nine months after Doughty, the Blunts entered Hā'il..."³² The last of our travelers, their account is no less unique. First, Lady Anne Blunt was the first European woman to enter the heart of Arabia. Second, she provides our only female perspective. Third, the Blunts were the only husband-wife combination amongst our travelers. Initially, one is left with the impression their motives for travel were romantic in nature.³³ Yet, research on Wilfred Blunt suggests he perceived himself as someone destined for a special mission to Arabia; a mission in which he would strike "a blow for the principal of aristocracy" and by going to Arabia he would provide the leadership for a movement whose purpose would be that of restoring the Caliphate from Istanbul to Makkah.³⁴

As the Blunts spent a considerable amount of time as guests of Muḥammad ibn al-Rashīd in Ha'il, their descriptions provide perceptions of practices of Wahhābism which were not under the suzerainty of the Sa'ūdī dynasty suggesting that Wahhābī and Sa'ūdī are not synonymous. As this concludes the

32. Bidwell, p. 148

33. The Blunt's first love was Arabia. Wilfred had a deep appreciation for the poetry of the Arabs, and Lady Anne was said to have spoken classical Arabic without a flaw. Plus, Muḥammad ibn Aruk of Palmyra, one of their companions, was traveling to the Najd in search of a wife. Unfortunately, they did not travel south of Hā'il. They traveled to Baghdad with a caravan of Persians returning from the Hajj.

34. Tidrick, p. 124.

descriptions of the individual travelers, we now turn to the analysis of the travelers' perceptions.

CHAPTER 5

TRAVELERS' PERCEPTIONS OF WAHHĀBISM

Prior to the nineteenth century, Europeans knew very little about Islam and knew even less about Wahhābism. The reasons for this lacuna were twofold: One, for centuries many states of Christian Europe, possibly with the exception of the French and the Venetians, had hostile relations with the Ottoman Empire. Two, because of Ottoman hostility to the Islamic revival of the Wahhābīs and the geographical obscurity, Europe's knowledge of the revival was practically non-existent. Thus, at this juncture the objective is to evaluate how the travelers viewed the Wahhābīs.

As previously mentioned, most of the contemporary travelers came to Arabia for politically related motives. Some of them had a good, working knowledge of Arabic and even fewer had a knowledge of Islamic law and possessed the necessary academic tools for in-depth, cross-cultural observation. Yet, their perceptions of the Wahhābīs may possibly be the foundation upon which the West built its attitudes towards contemporary Saudi Arabia. So, a survey of the travelers' perceptions may provide possible explanations for the development of current Western attitudes towards this vital location in the world.

Throughout the travelers' accounts continual reference is made to the Wahhābīs' abhorrence of Muslims of the East. Many described this attitude as something characteristic of the Wahhābī by nature. Could it be that many of the travelers were unfamiliar with the historical animosity Arabs have been known to have towards, for example, Turks and Persians? Or, having first learned of the Wahhābī through Ottoman description, could the travelers have developed a tendency to associate all things negative with the Wahhābī? While we cannot generalize one way or the other, these are important considerations to keep in mind.

The first travelers to Arabia entered often having heard "the Wahhābīs have a new religion, and that, although they acknowledged the Kur'ān, they have abolished the pilgrimage to Mecca."¹ In 1807, 'Alī Bey described how Sa'ūd ibn Muhammad decreed that "all pilgrims and soldiers... belonging to the Sharīf, should quit Mecca...preparatory to their being sent out of Arabia."² Burckhardt, in his narrative viewed this as a vulgar viewpoint. To squelch this type of accusation being leveled against the revival, he said it was "false to assert as the Turks have done, that the

1. J.L. Burckhardt, Notes on Bedouin and Wahabys (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), II, 103.

2. Domingo Badia y Leblich, Travels of Ali Bey (London: Longman, Hurst, Fees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), II, 124.

pilgrimage to al-Madīna was abolished by the Wahhābīs."³

"[They] did not refuse to admit pilgrims from all quarters [of the world] into the holy cities [as long as] they behave in decorum and not assuming aims of supremacy in these countries."⁴ As the great Dutch Arabist, C. Snouck Hurgronje, wrote of the strict Wahhābī: "Mekka is gone to for the Pilgrimage, but to the Wahhābī Mekka had become [a] corrupt town into which the devil had imported all sorts of immortality under the name of culture."⁵ But, when 'Alī Bey was in Makkah, he noted that the "Wahhābīs were in the process of destroying the chapel upon the summit of Mount Arafat"⁶ which, according to Islamic traditions, is where Adam and Eve were re-united after a long separation and, subsequently, the chapel was built by Adam.

In his book Penetration of Arabia, Hogarth quotes Burckhardt as having said that Wahhābī action "was dictated by [a] sincere desire to put an end to abominable practices."⁷ In earlier years, 'Alī Bey commented on how "the Wahhābīs [looked] upon the annual present from Constantinople, the

3. Burckhardt, II, 200.

4. Burckhardt, II, 103.

5. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century (Leiden: n.p., n.d.), p. 6.

6. Badia y Leblich, II, 67.

7. Hogarth, p. 79.

carpet, for the sepulchre of al-Madīna as a sin"⁸ because Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb had viewed the Turks as heretics guilty of practicing shirk and bid'a. Yet, Burckhardt wrote that "the only difference between his [Wahhābī] sect and the orthodox Turks, however improperly so termed, is that the Wahhābīs rigidly follow the same laws which others neglect..."⁹ Forty years later, Burton wrote that the "Wahhābīs consider it blasphemy to assert that a mere man can stand the Creator and the creature on the last day."¹⁰ In conclusion, there was pretty much a concensus amongst the travelers the main objection the Wahhābīs had with other Muslims was the practice of saint worship. Many of the travelers discussed the hostile destruction of domes, shrines, and ornamental tombs by the Wahhābīs. Furthermore, they suggested this destructive practice served to inflame the fanaticism of the disciples which, if I may suggest, also, served to expand the Sa'ūdī political spheres of influence.

All of the travelers made continual reference to other practices which were considered sinful by the Wahhābīs.

8. Badia y Lebich, II, 66.

9. Burckhardt, II, 112.

10. Sir Richard Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madina and Meccah (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), I, 318.

Burton constantly made reference to smoking pouches, smoking shīshas (pipes), and other smoking paraphernalia as contrary to the Wahhābīs doctrine. Palgrave once asked Faysal ibn Muhammad why his sect prohibited tobacco. The monarch replied that the Kur'ān prohibited all intoxicating substances and the Prophet prohibited his followers from using anything that had been burned or singed with fire.¹¹ In fact, all suggested smoking tobacco was the principal means of inflaming the Wahhābīs against the Turks or infidels.

Yet, the travelers give different perceptions of the Wahhābīs' tolerance towards these acts of sin. Doughty suggests smoking was tolerated within the confines of the house in all the Najd.¹² Burckhardt made similar remarks. Yet, when Palgrave suggested to 'Abd Allāh ibn Faysal ibn Muhammad he chew tobacco for a tooth ailment, the prince refused, saying tobacco was absolutely forbidden. One suspects the travelers perceived some of the Arabs as Wahhābīs who may have, in fact, been strict Hanbalites, and the travelers were, either, unable to distinguish a Wahhābī from other Hanbalites¹³ or the Arabs professed Wahhābism out of

11. William G. Palgrave, A Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia (London: Macmillan and Company, 1873), p. 283.

12. Charles M. Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta (London: Bani and Liveright, 1923), I, 247.

13. Wahhābīs are followers of the Hanbalite school but not all Hanbalīs are Wahhābīs.

fear. Finati confirmed this notion, when in his description of the enemy at the battle of Taraba, he wrote that they were supporters of the House of Sa'ud in their battle against the Egyptians not necessarily because they were followers of Muhammed ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, but rather out of fear of the Sa'ūdī vengeance and their common hatred for the foreign invaders. Furthermore, 'Alī Bey said in describing the contradictory nature of the inhabitants of Yanbu':

"[They] have taken the name of Wahhābīs...because of fear... [Yet,] they smoke publicly in the streets, a dreadful sin in the eyes of their reformers, whom they curse openly."¹⁴

In the late eighteenth century representatives of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb were sent to Cairo to present the writings of their founder to the learned men of al-Azhar in defense of claims leveled against themselves as heretics. Upon the examination of the creed, the 'ulamā' viewed Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's writings as non-heretical. While many of the travelers quoted the 'ulamā' as having recognized the Wahhābī doctrine as the same as any orthodox Muslim; they made continual reference to offenses considered unique to the Wahhābī doctrine which distinguished the Wahhābī from other submitters to Allāh. 'Alī Bey said "all [Muslims] let a tuft of hair grow upon the crown of their

14. Badia y Lebllich, II, 161.

head," but a Wahhābī views this as sinful.¹⁵ In the description of a man of Hā'il, Lady Anne Blunt said the wearing of silk or gold ornaments was not tolerated.¹⁶ On the other hand, Palgrave pointed out that while it may be forbidden to use silk or gold as part of apparel, "it may be employed with [a] safe conscience in decorating weapons."¹⁷

With more depth than his contemporaries, Palgrave explained other offenses according to Wahhābism. He described the dyeing of the beard as forbidden as it was viewed as an unlawful encroachment on the rights of the Creator,¹⁸ and "a good Wahhābī can only eat onions with [the] precaution of [a] careful mouth-rinsing and hand-washing afterwards, especially if prayer-time is near."¹⁹ He went on to say having light in the house after night prayers, the singing or the playing of any musical instrument, strolling the streets at night or entering a house empty of men at night, and street games by children were all offenses in

15. Badia y Leblich, II, 52.

16. Lady Anne Blunt, A Pilgrimage to Nejd (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1968). Yet, when they were introduced to Amīr Talāl, his apparel was laced with gold.

17. Palgrave, p. 227.

18. Palgrave, p. 314.

19. Palgrave, p. 261.

Wahhābism.²⁰ Likewise, most of the travelers recognized the rosary which is demonstratably bid'a in Islam as forbidden to followers of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Were these offenses actually contrary to the religious law of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb or were they, merely, contrary to local customs?

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Sharīf Ghālib was forced to submit to the suzerainty of Sa'ūd ibn Muhammad, what religious changes did the Wahhābīs bring to the Haramain?²¹ 'Alī Bey wrote that the Wahhābīs changed the positions of prayer for the Hanbalī at the Grand Mosque.²² Furthermore, he said the Wahhābīs brought economic hardship to the Hijāz as the result of the religious restrictions they introduced.²³ Likewise, he said, that aside from slowing the pilgrim traffic from Syria because of their refusal to allow the Porte's troops to escort the caravans, the Wahhābīs attacked certain traditional rites of the pilgrims which they viewed as examples of shirk and bid'a. For example, they forbade the pilgrims to visit al-Jabal Nūr

20. Palgrave, p. 245. I found it interesting none of the travelers mentioned whether or not Wahhābī children were permitted to play with dolls.

21. Haramain refers to the holy cities of Makkah and Al Madīnah.

22. Badia y Leblich, II, 86.

23. Augustus Ralli, Christians at Mecca (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1909), p. 56.

where the Prophet was to have received his first revelations. Pilgrims were forbidden to visit the chapel where Muhammad was born, the home of Abū Tālib, and former places of prayer by the Prophet and his early companions. Likewise, the shrines of Fāṭima bint Muhammad and other saints were put off limits. Thus, 'Alī Bey felt it ironic the Wahhābīs forbid these "polytheistic" rites but allowed the pilgrimage tradition of throwing rocks at the devil's house at Mina!

Initially, 'Alī Bey, like some of his contemporaries, held a general dislike for the Wahhābīs, but upon their acquaintance and a discussion on their religion at Mount Arafat, he found good qualities and moderation in them. He suggested, in an ethnocentric manner, that "under suitable guidance they would be amenable to civilization."²⁴ He felt many misconceptions of the Wahhābīs and their practices were because most pilgrims fled the Wahhābī in fear.²⁵ Even after 'Alī Bey was robbed by what he described as recent converts to Wahhābism, he continued to admire the religious purity of the revival. He said, "These young Wahhābites are not yet as pure as their brothers of the East."²⁶

Obviously, Wahhābī practices differed throughout the peninsula. The travelers suggest the Wahhābī of the desert

24. Badia y Lebligh, p. 69.

25. Badia y Lebligh, p. 62.

26. Badia y Lebligh, p. 161.

was different from the city dwellers. Doughty, who spent more time with the Bedouins than any other traveler, suggested the sedentary Wahhābī was taught prayers and reading when the Bedouin were ignorant of the doctrine. Pelly said the tribes "went from idolatry to Wahhābism without passing through any intermediate phase" of Islam.²⁷ Also, in reference to the Bedouin, Burckhardt said, The "Bedouins...who accepted the new faith, were in general, wholly ignorant of its true import and doctrine."²⁸ Doughty described the Al-Rashīds as half-Wahhābīs.²⁹ Furthermore, upon entering northern Najd, Lady Anne commented that "the Muslims began to pray for a first time."³⁰ She wondered if this change in daily habits were due to their doubts of reaching the objective or "merely a want to get into training for Najd, where Wahhābism prevails and prayers are in fashion."³¹ In conclusion, it is apparent the travelers could not make a clear distinction between Wahhābīs and non-Wahhābīs.³² This is not meant to imply the travelers' observations are of no value.

27. Lewis Pelly, Report on a Journey to Riyadh in Central Arabia (Cambridge: Oleander Press, n.d.), p. 29.

28. Burckhardt, II, 96.

29. Doughty, I, 596.

30. Blunt, p. 181.

31. Blunt, p. 181.

32. This is not meant to imply that this was unique to westerners. I doubt if Arabs or other Muslims could make the distinction in all instances.

Rather, first it must be recognized that many of the travelers did not have a great deal of knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence, hadīth, and the Kur'an.³³ Certainly, most did not have much, if any knowledge, of the legal differences between the four orthodox madhhabs, much less a firm understanding of the differences between a Wahhābī Hanbalī and a non-Wahhābī Hanbalī. Second, it needs to be recognized that these travelers, like most travelers, entered Arabia with sets of expectations and had an imposed reality of the environment and its inhabitants. Thus, the lacuna of perceptions is significant because they represented the West's basis for their present attitudes towards Wahhābīs.

33. Unfortunately, the skillful observer, Burckhardt, who was knowledgeable in these subjects died shortly after his sojourn to the Hijāz. Like the talented Burton, he never penetrated the Najd. Also, I doubt if men like Sadlier and Pelly or the Blunts had the necessary training for such astute observation.

CHAPTER 6

TRAVELERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF SA'ŪD

What were the parameters of Wahhābī¹ rule in the nineteenth century? How did the boundaries of Wahhābī suzerainty change during the century? What were the relations between the Wahhābīs and the other inhabitants of the peninsula? While it is doubtful² Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb intended to establish a new dynasty, the reality is the House of Sa'ūd evolved into a state in the twentieth century. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to evaluate the travelers' accounts as sources for further study of Wahhābī political manifestations in the nineteenth century.

In 1807 'Alī Bey observed the tension between Sharīf Ghālib and Sa'ūd ibn Muhammad. He wrote: "...notwithstanding the faults of the Sharīf and the sort of nullity to which the Wahhābites are daily reducing him...These conflicts resulted in the poor inhabitants not knowing who is their true master."³ A few years later Burckhardt described the rise to power of the Wahhābīs which resulted in the Porte

1. The connotation of the word Wahhābī in this chapter refers to those who were heirs to Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd.

2. Burckhardt, II, 116.

3. Badia y Leblich, II, 123.

ordering Muhammad 'Alī to take action in the Hijāz:

[The] Wahhābī chief...became the governor of the greater part of Arabia...[Wahhābī rule] was founded upon the system of a Bedouin commonwealth. [The chief] was head of all sheikhs of tribes whose respective politics he directed, while all the Arabs remained within their tribes completely independent and at liberty, except, that they were now obliged to observe the strict sense of the law, and liable to punishment...⁴

In describing Ghālīb's relations with the House of Sa'ūd after his defeat, Burckhardt wrote:

Ghālīb enjoyed...more favorable conditions than those usually granted...[He was] left in possession of his towns and their incomes [and] several tribes remained under his control. He was not required to pay tribute. But custom duties in Juddah were renounced of all true Wahhābīs.⁵

He later pointed out that Wahhābī suzerainty was wide spread on the peninsula during the first decade of the century. He explained the Sa'ūdī realm was divided into the eight governorships of: Al Hasā, Al Arad, Jabal Shammar, Al Haramain, Hijāz, and Yemen.⁶ Furthermore, Burckhardt was well aware of the geographical parameters of Wahhābī hegemony. He talked of the Sa'ūdī excursions into Syria, Mesopotamia, and Oman resulting in the forcing of the tribes from these areas paying tribute. Likewise, his suggestion that the Bedouin

4. Burckhardt, II, 119.

5. Burckhardt, II, 197.

6. Burckhardt, II, 133. Unfortunately, Burckhardt did not explain the exact geographical boundaries of the governorships.

suffered most from the wars in the Hijāz was in agreement with what Finati had earlier mentioned.

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of travelers' perceptions of the Wahhābīs' politics in the period from 1814 to 1862. Sadlier's account expresses very graphically the destructive nature of the Egyptian invasion in the Najd. Likewise, Wellsted had numerous experiences with the Wahhābīs while traveling in Oman, but his continual reference to tribes hostile to him as having been under the hegemony of Riyadh are not very convincing. While Burton's accounts in the Hijāz only suggest a decline of Wahhābī power in the region by the mere fact he had little to say about the politics, specifically, of the House of Sa'ūd. Thus, aside from the accounts of Burckhardt and 'Alī Bey in the Hijāz and Palgrave's visit to Najd, not a great deal of data pertaining to Wahhābī political manifestations is available in the travel accounts.⁷

Palgrave and Pelly, to a less degree, provide a picture of the Wahhābī revival under the second reign of Faysal ibn Muhammad from the period of 1843 to 1865. Palgrave suggested it "must not be [supposed] the Wahhabi government to be an unmixed wrong. Najd has the security it did not have before, but instead of 50 robbers to force on one's travels

7. Note: The Najd was under the hegemony of the Egyptians during the period of 1818 to 1840.

there is now one [monopoly]...the government."⁸ While after visiting with King Faysal, Pelly described in his typical, Victorian fashion that "the Imām, himself, was a sensible and experienced man, yet, he was surrounded by some of the most...dangerous and fanatical people."⁹ Both of these travelers seem to suggest the power of Faysal was not absolute and the Wahhābīs were forced to compromise some of their doctrine amongst the conquered. For example, in a discussion of the al-Murrah tribe, Pelly wrote that whenever the tribe was irritated with the Wahhābī policies, they would threaten to go over to a religion they called "Seyed".¹⁰ Likewise, Palgrave mentioned the Wahhābīs had "political success" in Al Arad, Al Sudair, Al Washem and Al Yemanah, but in Al Hasā and Qassim they were forced to grant religious concessions in exchange for political sovereignty: Silk was allowed in clothing but could not exceed a third; private vendors of tobacco were allowed in private confines; compulsory attendance at public prayer was not required; and roll call of names at mosques was omitted.¹¹

As for the political relations of the Al-Rashīd and the House of Sa'ud, Palgrave gives the most copious

8. Palgrave, p. 197.

9. Pelly, p. 51.

10. Pelly, p. 30.

11. Palgrave, p. 247.

descriptions. He reported Talāl ibn Rashīd attempted to placate Faysal's disappointment with him due to his failure to use capital punishment frequently by marrying one of Faysal's daughters, by prohibiting the "public" sale of tobacco, and by encouraging the attendance of his people at public prayers.¹² Also, he mentioned that 'Abd Allāh Talāl's father, during his lifetime had paid tribute to Faysal and was devoted to the cause of Wahhābism. Furthermore, this agent of Napoleon III described Wahhābī political economy similar with what Burckhardt had earlier described and with what Pelly later suggests.

They stated the principal duty of the Wahhābī amīr or the local shaikh was to execute justice,¹³ recruit troops, assist tax collectors,¹⁴ and maintain internal peace; but this system had its drawbacks. Palgrave said overtaxation and prohibition against adornment of metal work and clothing, the growing of tobacco in eastern Arabia, and the constant demand of conscripts hurt the local economies.¹⁵ In fact, a number of the travelers suggested the Wahhābī desired to settle the Bedouin and the attraction of booty through raids

12. Palgrave, p. 94.

13. The local shaikhs were not to act as judges. The House of Sa'ūd provided the judges.

14. The tribes usually paid in horses and kind; while the townsmen paid in money or trade.

15. Palgrave, p. 357.

were contrary to the prosperity of commerce and agriculture. In addition, added to these economic demands were, claimed Palgrave, the additional expenses of presents, bribes, and local extortions.¹⁶ While Doughty discussed the practice of usury which many have contributed to the economic woes mentioned by Palgrave, his travels were mainly amongst the badw and the Al-Rashīd which at the time were outside of the Sa'ūdī sphere.

The travelers to Najd, specifically, made reference to a tribunal of religious authorities who had regular weekly meetings with the king. In fact, during his visit, Palgrave described how "Every now and then zealous Wahhābī missionaries from Riyadh [would] visit [Buraydah] to reform...and disobedience to the customs of the Najdī sect [resulted] in referrals to the tribunal of the king."¹⁷ Thus, indicating, as had earlier been suggested in this study, the inter-relationship of religion and politics and the oppression of Wahhābī rule. Also, this gives reason for the decline of the House of Sa'ūd near the end of Faysal's reign along with Palgrave's vivid description of the quarrel which was taking place at the same time between Faysal's sons, 'Abd Allāh and Sa'ūd.

16. Palgrave, p. 188.

17. Palgrave, pp. 246-47.

While traveling in northern Najd thirteen years later, Doughty wrote of the Sa'ūdī decline of influence. He wrote Buraydah paid a yearly tribute to the Ottoman treasury.¹⁸ While in Taymā,¹⁹ he made mention of the fact that the mosques were like those in Syria and, he felt, the area had never been under Wahhābī suzerainty. A few months later, the Blunts supported this view by emphasizing the strength of the al-Rashīd under Talāl. Lady Anne wrote "The greatness of Ibn Sa'ūd and the Wahhābīs had become a thing of the past²⁰ and it is not likely nor desirable that the old Wahhābī Empire should be re-established on a centralized basis..."²¹

18. Doughty, I, 361.

19. Taymā is north of Kaybar and south of Tabuk on the western rim of the Great Nafud Desert.

20. Blunt, p. 119.

21. Blunt, p. 272.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The importance of nineteenth-century travelers' accounts for the study of Wahhābism is paradoxical. The travelers' perceptions contribute very little towards a better understanding of the doctrine of the revival which was given birth to out of a pact formed between Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd. In fact, as more authoritative, indigenous sources have become available,¹ the importance of the travelers' accounts for the purpose of studying Wahhābism has decreased. Yet, the travelers' accounts constitute a major source in the study of the political history of the Arabian Peninsula. The travelers' accounts provide valuable insights into the evolution of Western attitudes towards the House of Sa'ūd in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. More specifically, the research in this study on the backgrounds of the travelers exposes possible

1. Two definitive indigenous, Arab sources on nineteenth-century Arabia are: Husain ibn Ghannam of Al Hasa who died in 1811 and Uthman al-Nasiri al-Tamini Shaqya of Najd who died in 1872.

explanations on the "psychology of colonialism"²-- particularly British.

Many of the nineteenth-century travelers examined in this study helped "to create the myth that the English 'knew the Arabs' as no one else did."³ As different as the personalities were of travelers like Palgrave,⁴ Burton, Doughty, and Blunt, they all possessed a common denominator. All possessed a national identity which they felt was a certificate of superiority. Each regarded his explorations not only as quests for knowledge and fame but as pathfinding ventures for the Empire. Even Wilfred Blunt, who later became an outspoken critic of imperialism, defended British policies. Like the other travelers "he retained some faith in England's ability and willingness to do good in the world."⁵ Furthermore, they all conceived imperialism simply in terms of being the top nation--an identification which appears to have suited their personalities well.

Out of these nineteenth-century travelers' notion of superiority and their own estimation that they knew the Arab

2. Kathryn Tidrick, Heart-beguiling Araby (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 2.

3. Tidrick, p. 142.

4. While Palgrave went to Arabia as an agent for the French, he was raised as an English gentleman and, also, he later served in the British Foreign Service.

5. Tidrick, p. 127.

well, came a sense of mission and a feeling that the West had the right to assume power over the Arabs. After all did not these travelers help to propagate the legend that certain Englishmen possessed the ability to pass as Arabs, and thus, the English assumed the right of rule over the Arab? As a result of the nineteenth-century travelers' narratives came the exalted notion from the Round Table suggesting a British genius for understanding and controlling native races.

By the time of World War I, the disciples of our nineteenth-century travelers had taken on a new function in the formation of British policy on the Arabian Peninsula. Men like Lawrence, Hogarth, and Philby had taken on the role of expert-adventurer; "the role of a colonial authority, whose position [was] in a central place next to the indigenous ruler"⁶ to promote Britain's colonial interests and those of the Arab aristocracy.

In summary, as most of the travelers were not able to penetrate the central and southern Najd, the home base of Wahhābism, first-hand perceptions of Wahhābī practices and politics were lacking in their accounts. This is especially true in light of the fact that the authenticity of Palgrave's narrative is under considerable scrutiny. Also, many of the

6. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 246.

travelers perceived little of the local cultural spheres they crossed, and more important for this study, many of the travelers seemingly knew very little in academic terms, of Islamic institutions. As a result, they contribute very little to our understanding of the differences between Wahhābīs and other Muslims. Consequently, while the nineteenth-century travelers' accounts contribute much to our understanding of the psychology of colonial forces manifesting themselves on the peoples of the Arabia Peninsula, they contribute very little to our understanding of the practices of the revival of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allan, Mea. Palgrave of Arabia. London: Macmillan, 1972.
- Antonius, George. The Arab Awakening. New York: Capricorn Books, 1965.
- Assad, Thomas J. Three Victorian Travellers. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Bent, James T. Southern Arabia. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900.
- Bidwell, Robin L. Travellers in Arabia. New York: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1976.
- Blunt, Lady Anne. A Pilgrimage Nejd. London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1968.
- Brent, Peter. Far Arabia: Explorers of the Myth. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977.
- Brydges, Sir Harford Jones. An Account of the Transactions of the Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia: with notes on the Wahabys. London: J. Bohn, 1834.
- Burckhardt, John Lewis. Notes on the Bedouin and Wahabys. 2 Vols. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831.
- Burton, Sir Richard F. Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah. 2 Vols. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964.
- Cottrell, Alvin J., ed. The Persian Gulf States. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Doughty, Charles M. Travels in Arabia Deserta. 2 Vols. London: Bani and Liveright, 1923.
- Wanderings in Arabia. 2 Vols. London: Duckworth and Co., 1908.
- Finati, Giovanni. Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati. Trans. W.J. Bankes. London: John Murray, 1826.

- Forder, Archibald. "Arabia, The Desert of the Sea", National Geographic, 20 (1909), 1039-62.
- Freeth, Zahra and H.V.F. Winstone. Explorers of Arabia. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978.
- Germanus, Julius. Modern Movements in the World of Islam. Lahore: Al-Biruni, 1978.
- Guarmani, Carlo. Northern Najd. London: The Argonaut Press, 1938.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. Victorian Minds. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.
- Hodgson, Marshall G.S. The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times. Vol. III of The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Hogarth, D.G. The Penetration of Arabia. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1904.
- Hoskins, Halford L. "Background of the British Position in Arabia", Middle East Journal, 1 (1947), 137-47.
- Hurgronje, C. Snouck. Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century. Leiden: n.p., n.d.
- Iqbal, Mohammad. Emergence of Saudi Arabia. Srinagar: Saudiyah Publishers, 1977
- Keane, John F. My Journey to Medinah. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881.
- King, G.R.D. "Notes on Some Mosques in Eastern and Western Saudi Arabia", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 43, 251-76.
- Knight, Charles, ed. "Sir Joseph Banks", English Encyclopedia of Biography. London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co., 1866.
- Locher, A. With Star and Crescent. Philadelphia: Aetna Publishing Co., 1889.
- Lorimer, J.G. Gazateer of the Persian Gulf. 3 Vols. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1915.

- Margoliouth, D.S. "Wahhabiya"; Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam. Ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J.K. Kramers. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953.
- Miles, S.B. The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf. Frank Cass & Co., Ltd. 1966.
- Niebuhr, M. Travels Through Arabia and Other Countries of the East. Beirut: Libraisie Du Liban, n.d.
- Palgrave, William G. A Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia. London: Macmillan and Company, 1873.
- Pelly, Lewis. Report on a Journey to Riyadh in Central Arabia. Cambridge: Oleander Press, n.d.
- Philby, H. St. J. Arabia of the Wahhabis. New York: Arno Press, 1973.
- Ralli, Augustus. Christians at Mecca. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1909.
- Raswan, Carl R. Black Tents of Arabia. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1935.
- Rentz, George S. "Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703/4-1792) and the Beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia." Diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1948.
- Sadlier, George F. Diary of Journey Across Arabia. New York: Oleander Press, 1977.
- Said, Edward W. Orientalism. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Salibi, Kamal. A History of Arabia. Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1980.
- Smalley, W.F. "The Wahhabis and Ibn Saud", Muslim World, 22 (1932), 227-46.
- Tidrick, Kathryn. Heart-beguiling Araby. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Trautz, M. "G.A. Wallin and the 'Penetration of Arabia'," The Geographical Journal, 76 (August 1930), 248-52.
- Taylor, Bayard. Travels in Arabia. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885.

- Upton, Major R.D. Travels in the Arabian Desert. London:
C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1881.
- Wahba, Sheikh Hafiz. "Wahhabism in Arabia: past and present",
Royal Central Asian Journal, 16 (1929), 458-67.
- Wallin, Georg August. Notes Taken During a Journey Through
Northern Arabia. London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1950.
- Wellsted, James R. Travels in Arabia. Graz: Adademische
Druck, 1978.
- Winder, R. Bayly. Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century.
New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965.
- Zwemer, Samuel. "Islam in Arabia Deserta", Muslim World, 33
(1943), 157-64.