

Why Unayza? Ulema Dissidents and Nonconformists in the Second Saudi State

Historians of the second Saudi state (1824-1837, 1843-1891) have concentrated on the efforts of rulers to establish and consolidate authority over central and eastern Arabia. Saudi, Egyptian, Russian and American scholars have mined nineteenth-century chronicles, Egyptian archives, and western travelers' accounts to craft detailed narratives about the various challenges that Saudi rulers confronted: fractious nomads, rebellious towns, ambitious vassals, dynastic succession struggles, imperial schemes hatched in Istanbul, Cairo, and Baghdad, and delicate diplomacy with agents of the British Empire. Because the interdependency of political authority and religious mission is commonly emphasized in treatments of Saudi history, it is peculiar that few historians have attended to the second Saudi state's religious dimension beyond a handful of generalizations: Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's descendants, known as Al al-Shaykh, continued to act as the realm's religious leaders and to endorse Saudi authority. In turn, the Saudi rulers set aside funds from the treasury for qadis (judges), teachers, mosque personnel, and religious pupils. In other words, the symbiotic relationship between Al Saud and Al al-Shaykh first created in the 1740s persisted in the nineteenth century.¹

The Arabian chronicles do not shed much light on ulema in that period beyond mentioning prominent shaykhs in the customary *tarjama* (biographical sketch) with place of birth, names of teachers, positions held, names of pupils, names of any written works, and date of death.² In the writings of European travelers, there appear sketches of stern personalities in the colorful pages of Wallin, Palgrave, Doughty, and others, but little else.³ But two kinds of sources do contain abundant information about religious scholars and their discourse. First, biographical dictionaries, a genre of literature familiar to Middle East historians, are useful for identifying significant

ulema and for detecting patterns in the religious estate.⁴ Second, the ulema's epistles and books express the era's religious discourse.⁵ These sources indicate that in addition to the struggle for political mastery, so thoroughly covered by historians, a less conspicuous, discursive struggle was waged in the peninsula's mosques to firmly anchor the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) as the correct understanding of Islam. Wahhabi, or salafi,⁶ ulema transmitted those teachings to pupils attending study circles and to townsmen at large on the occasions of the Friday sermon and public lessons. Arabian chronicles and European travelers give the impression that townsmen under the second Saudi state publicly conformed to those teachings. But in the biographical dictionaries and the religious epistles, we find an exception to that impression during Faysal ibn Turki's second reign (1843-1865) in one town, `Unayza, where we find a pocket of dissent and nonconformity. The number of ulema there who opposed or merely did not conform to the Wahhabi view was higher than any other town in Najd, and a significant segment of the town's ulema and notables hospitably received a visiting shaykh who openly disputed basic points of Wahhabi doctrine.

The visitor in question was Shaykh Daud ibn Jirjis al-Naqshbandi (1816-1882).⁷ It seems that Ibn Jirjis began his visit in innocent fashion with a period of study under the local Wahhabi qadi (Abdallah Aba Butayn), who issued him a certificate (*ijaza*) authorizing him to teach. Then, in the course of teaching, Ibn Jirjis vindicated certain verses of a famous poem of devotion to Muhammad, *al-Burda*, that the Wahhabis considered expressions of polytheism. The Baghdadi scholar also refuted certain Wahhabi tenets by citing passages from the works of the Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim, the most important medieval authorities for the Wahhabi mission. The upshot was a flurry of polemical essays by Wahhabi ulema, Ibn Jirjis, and his

supporters, and the division of Unayza's religious scholars and pupils into rival camps.⁸

In addition to the scholastic response to Ibn Jirjis, the leader of the Wahhabi establishment in Riyadh, Shaykh Abd al-Latif ibn Abd al-Rahman, sent an angry letter to the Unayzans to rebuke them. He wrote:

There occur among you matters that cause pain for the believers and joy for the hypocrites...most of you honor Daud the Iraqi even though he is famous for enmity toward monotheism (*tawhid*) and its supporters.

Shaykh Abd al-Latif enumerated the harmful arguments that Ibn Jirjis openly espoused in Unayza: Supplicating the dead is not a form of worship but merely calling out to them. Worship of graves is not polytheism unless the supplicant believes the buried saints have the power to determine the course of events. Whoever merely professes the testimony that there is no god but Allah and prays toward Mecca is a Muslim. He then wrote:

This man enjoys friendly relations with your town and is accustomed to going there. Among its nobility and dignitaries are some who honor, befriend, and support him, and who accept his specious arguments. The reasons for this are hatred, heretical tendencies, and refusing to accept Allah's light and guidance, which are known in al-`Arid [Riyadh's region].⁹

In a separate letter to a supporter in Unayza, Abd al-Latif urged this man to publicly recite the Wahhabi criticisms of Ibn Jirjis at Unayza's mosques and to advise Unayzans of their duty to show enmity toward him. He also requested the names of the men who had invited Ibn Jirjis so that Abd al-Latif could show them to the Saudi ruler, Amir Faysal, who had barred Ibn Jirjis from entering al-Qasim.¹⁰

This is one of the very few religious controversies that appears in the historical record of the second Saudi state. The doctrinal arguments themselves belong to a polemical tradition that began in the eighteenth century when Arabian and Ottoman ulema first noticed and responded to Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's teachings. As

such, the arguments merit separate treatment.¹¹ The question I seek to answer here is why it was Unayza that offered a haven for dissidents and nonconformists during the second Saudi state?

Background to the Second Saudi State

In the early eighteenth century, central Arabia's settled population lived in oasis towns ruled by local chieftains, or amirs. In one such town, al-Dir`iyya, members of Al Saud had ruled for several generations in the same manner as other small town amirs. In 1744, Muhammad ibn Saud made a pact with the religious reformer Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab whereby they would support one another: religious support for the amir, political and military support for the reformer's call to strict compliance with his interpretation of *tawhid*, the doctrine of Allah's unity. On this basis, the first Saudi state arose and expanded. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Saudi domain encompassed most of Arabia and extended into the Syrian and Iraqi deserts, where it encroached on Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basra. An Ottoman-Egyptian army invaded Arabia in 1811, and seven years later al-Dir`iyya lay in ruins and Saudi power was utterly crushed. The ruler, Abdallah ibn Saud, was captured, transported to Istanbul, and publicly executed. Most other members of Al Saud were exiled to Cairo. The catastrophe engulfed the religious leadership as well. Many members of Al al-Shaykh, and other Wahhabi qadis and teachers suffered execution and deportation; the more fortunate ones escaped the Ottoman-Egyptian army, some fleeing as far as Ra's al-Khaima.

In 1821, the Egyptians withdrew from Najd. Three years later, a Saudi refugee, Turki ibn Abdallah, rose to power in Riyadh, a few miles south of al-Dir`iyya. Surviving members of Al al-Shaykh rallied to the Saudi banner, as did ulema who had been qadis and teachers under the first Saudi state. Turki is therefore

considered the reviver of Saudi power and the founder of the second Saudi state. After his assassination by an ambitious relative in 1834, his son Faysal became the ruler for three years before a second Egyptian invasion in 1837 resulted in his capture and deportation to Cairo. The Egyptians left Arabia in 1840, and Faysal regained power in 1843. He managed an attenuated restoration of Saudi authority marked by declarations of loyalty and payments of tribute to the Ottoman sultan. He reigned over a fairly stable realm for the next quarter century until he died in 1865. There followed a long, ferocious, and debilitating succession struggle among Faysal's sons which led to the secession of one town after another, and, eventually, to Riyadh's fall in 1891 to a rival Arabian chiefly lineage, Al Rashid.

The Wahhabi Mission and the Second Saudi State

Political narratives of Saudi history incorporate the religious dimension with a few remarks about rulers' support for the ulema and the latter's endorsement of Saudi rule. Turki and Faysal issued occasional epistles urging their subjects to comply with the teachings of the Wahhabi mission¹² and they supported the ulema by appointing them to serve as qadis throughout the realm. Such political support is an obvious and crucial element, but it was not the only one. The Wahhabi mission's authority rested on other factors as well. One factor we may term its claim to represent an authoritative textual tradition. The ulema believed that a reasonable, informed, and sincere understanding of the Qur'an, the Sunna, and exemplary practice of the earliest Muslim generations (*al-salaf al-salih*) inevitably and logically led to agreement with their positions on religious belief and practice. In other words, a reading of an authoritative textual tradition comprised the foundation for the mission's discursive authority. It is not clear to what extent ordinary townsmen---traders, craftsmen, and laborers---villagers, or bedouin embraced this claim represent true Islam.

Nonetheless, the scarcity of religious dissent suggests a general atmosphere of acquiescence, if not enthusiastic affirmation.

In addition to political and discursive factors, there was a social factor underpinning the Wahhabi mission, namely, the status of its ulema: Al al-Shaykh, qadis, and scholarly families. As descendants of the movement's founder, Al al-Shaykh embodied the continuity of both lineage and message. When Turki ibn Abdallah established power in Riyadh, he urged Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's grandson Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan to return to Arabia from exile in Cairo.¹³ Abd al-Rahman then assumed a position similar to that held by his grandfather as head of the religious estate and adviser to the ruler.¹⁴ In addition, members of Al al-Shaykh who had fled to the Gulf gathered at Riyadh and served Turki as qadis there and in other districts. When Shaykh Abd al-Rahman became advanced in years, he summoned his son Abd al-Latif from Cairo to prepare him for assuming the religious leadership in Riyadh.¹⁵ Shaykh Abd al-Latif lived to see the succession struggle among Faysal's sons, and when he died in 1876, it was not immediately clear who would become the head shaykh in Riyadh, but three years later, his son Abdallah emerged in that position.¹⁶ Hence, leadership of the Wahhabi mission remained in the hands of Al al-Shaykh.

The qadis were official representatives of religious authority throughout the Saudi domain, where the qadi not only arbitrated disputes according to Islamic jurisprudence, but was also the *khatib* (preacher at Friday congregational prayer), *imam* (prayer leader), and teacher at a town's congregational mosque.¹⁷ In Ottoman lands, preachers, prayer leaders, and teachers usually came from the ranks of local ulema, but in the Saudi case, the qadi combined those roles at the congregational mosque and he presided over the appointment of religious personnel at lesser mosques.

Many qadis came from lineages with scholastic traditions. Such lineages first appeared in Najd in the sixteenth century; Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab belonged to the most prominent one.¹⁸ Underpinning this religious estate were control over revenues from endowments,¹⁹ landed properties,²⁰ and trade. Scholarly families would also have had high social status; indeed a fair number belonged to chiefly lineages.²¹ During the nineteenth century, some scholarly lineages perpetuated their standing, others fell into obscurity, and new ones emerged. It is worth noting that the components of the religious estate---Al al-Shaykh, qadis, and eminent ulema families---are not exclusive categories. Al al-Shaykh was the foremost ulema family in Najd and a number of its members served as qadis; by the same token, many qadis came from other eminent ulema families. All three components of the religious estate preserved and transmitted the Wahhabi mission to pupils in various towns.

Foundations of Nonconformity and Dissent

Members of the Saudi religious estate commanded formidable political, discursive, social, and economic assets. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century, ulema hostile to the mission left central Arabia when their towns came under Saudi rule.²² Consequently, the image of conformity with the Wahhabi mission in the nineteenth century is understandable and the concentration of dissent and nonconformity in Unayza requires explanation. Briefly, the same factors that buttressed the mission in most of Najd operated differently in Unayza to provide a hospitable milieu for dissent and nonconformity. First, in the political realm, a streak of particularism in al-Qasim---the region in which Unayza is located---colored the behavior of amirs in Unayza and its neighboring town, Burayda, and this diluted support for the mission. Second, the townsmen of al-Qasim were in more frequent contact with neighboring Ottoman lands than other Najdis. Perennial patterns of

long-distance trade, pilgrimage,²³ and travel in pursuit of learning provided ostensibly innocuous vehicles for what Wahhabi ulema regarded as doctrinal contamination by two categories of hostile ulema: Najdi émigrés residing in Iraq and Hijaz, and Ottoman ulema. Third, the religious estate of al-Qasim never entirely converted to the Wahhabi mission; instead, an independent, local scholastic tradition persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Representatives of this tradition benefited from the patronage of men engaged in long-distance trade and the tolerance of the autonomy-minded amirs. The cumulative effect of politics, economy, and scholastic traditions was to create a space where discursive opposition could survive.

Qasimi Particularism

The amirs of al-Qasim's two main towns, Unayza and Burayda, repeatedly defied Saudi authority during Faysal's second reign (1843-1865). Burayda's Amir Abd al-Aziz Al Abu `Ulayyan belonged to a lineage that had loyally served the Saudis for four decades under the first state, but he so frequently tested the limits of Faysal's authority that he was finally captured and put to death in 1861, and the amirate passed to a rival lineage. In Unayza, members of Al Sulaym rose to dominate the amirate for much of the nineteenth century, more because of their ability to triumph in local factional struggles than Al Saud's confidence in their loyalty, which was sporadic and opportunistic. The first sign of these amirs' independent spirit appeared in April 1847, when the Meccan sharif marched into Najd at the head of an armed force and entered Unayza without encountering any opposition from the "Saudi" amirs there or in nearby Burayda. The absence of resistance is in itself noteworthy, but even more remarkable was the presence of Khalid ibn Saud in the sharif's entourage. Khalid had briefly reigned in Riyadh as a puppet of the Egyptians between 1837 and 1841. The sharif spent two months in Unayza, evidently on good terms with the Al Sulaym amir.

Faysal gathered a large force and threatened to attack the sharif, but the latter agreed to withdraw in exchange for a pledge by Faysal to pay tribute to Istanbul.²⁴ Not long after the sharif left, Faysal dismissed Unayza's Al Sulaym amir, and appointed a man from a rival lineage.

Two years later, Unayza and Burayda launched a revolt against Faysal. In this instance, Al Sulaym supported the Saudi cause in the hope of regaining their former position. Once Faysal defeated the Qasimi forces, however, he tried a new approach to governing the region by appointing his brother Jiluwi amir of al-Qasim with his seat in Unayza.²⁵ This arrangement lasted until a general uprising in Unayza expelled Jiluwi in 1853. That revolt did not result in a conclusive military test, rather Faysal negotiated a settlement that restored Al Sulaym to the amirate.²⁶ A third Unayzan revolt erupted in 1861, after Al Saud had executed Burayda's amir. Faysal dispatched a large force to crush the uprising at the end of 1862. The humbled Amir Abdallah al-Sulaym went to Riyadh to obtain Faysal's forgiveness, and the Saudi ruler obliged.²⁷ But this did not mean that Unayza's amir had converted to the Saudi cause. An Italian traveler, Carlo Guarmani, met him in March 1864, described the amir as "the bitterest enemy of the Derreieh (sic) princes," and observed that he did not "even attempt to conceal" his hatred for Faysal ibn Turki.²⁸

All of this thrust and parry between overlord and vassal was commonly seen in Ottoman provinces, and perhaps these incidents were part of the redefined relationship between the Ottomans and the Saudis. The Meccan sharif's probe into Qasim reminded Faysal of Istanbul's claim to tribute at the same time it offered al-Qasim's amirs the opportunity to cultivate ties with an Ottoman representative, presumably as leverage against Faysal. In this context, the uprisings of 1849, 1843-54, and 1861-62 represented bids to redefine the towns' standing in Arabia's fluid

field of power relations. The independent streak displayed by al-Qasim's amirs implies they would have tolerated, if not encouraged, dissident ulema and their contacts with religious scholars in Ottoman lands.

Opposition to the Wahhabi Mission in Nearby Lands

Tracing the roots of nineteenth-century religious dissent leads time and again to connections between al-Qasim and a network of Najdi émigré ulema concentrated in southern Iraq around Zubayr, where religious and political adversaries to the first Saudi state formed an enclave in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Zubayr and Najd had longstanding economic and social relations. Najdi chronicles mention instances of emigration to Zubayr, Basra, and Kuwait during period of drought in the eighteenth century.²⁹ Early Saudi expansion then generated a new social component in relations between Najd and Iraq known as the *`Uqaylat*, Najdi immigrants to Baghdad, Zubayr, and Basra. They entered different niches in Iraq: Some joined Ottoman regiments in Baghdad; others participated in local trade; yet others prospered in long-distance caravan trade between Aleppo, Iraq, and Arabia.³⁰ The *`Uqaylat* attained prominence in Zubayr, where they soon dominated political and economic life.³¹ In general, the *`Uqaylat* handled overland trade among Syria, Iraq, and Arabia, and they profited from the increase in commercial exchange throughout the Gulf-Indian Ocean region. Therefore, historical patterns of communications, a burst of Najdi emigration, and the opportunities of participation in the expanding commerce of the Gulf and Indian Ocean made southern Iraq a powerful magnet for Najdi, especially Qasimi, traders. Part of the stream of travelers between Arabia and Iraq consisted of religious pupils and scholars following a custom of journeying to pursue knowledge (*al-rihla fi talab al-`ilm*). The distinctive aspect of this particular path between al-Qasim and Zubayr is that its origin was a region uneasy with Saudi

authority and its destination a town whose ulema brimmed with hostility to the Wahhabi mission.

In a sense, Zubayr's historical religious character made it a natural lightning rod for Muslims defying one of the Wahhabi mission's fundamental positions: condemning the supplication of dead holy men at their graves. The town grew up around the grave of an early pious figure, the Companion Zubayr ibn al-`Awwam. Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab disapproved of veneration for the Companion, likening worship at his tomb to Christian worship.³² Also in the town's vicinity were the graves of Zubayr's son Talha and of al-Hasan al-Basri. At the latter two sites stood the sort of domes so offensive to Wahhabis. Political sentiments compounded this religious aspect. Zubayr, whose population had long consisted mostly of Najdis, became a refuge for clans expelled from their towns for refusing to embrace the Wahhabi mission, therefore it was natural for the town to become a center of anti-Saudi sentiment.³³

A second destination for ulema opposed to Wahhabism lay in al-Ahsa' (today's Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia). Its leading religious scholar, Muhammad ibn Fayruz (1724-1801), composed epistles bristling with barbs directed against the Wahhabis, and around him gather dissident ulema from Najd.³⁴ The two most influential were Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Sullum (1748-1831) and Ibrahim ibn Jadid (d. 1816). Ibn Sullum traveled from Sudayr (a sub-region of Najd) to al-Ahsa' in order to study under Ibn Fayruz and later became the most prominent figure among the Najdi émigrés gathered at Zubayr.³⁵ He served as prayer leader at one of the town's two congregational mosques, al-Najada, a center for the town's residents from Najd.³⁶ His circle of students included men who reproduced criticisms of the Wahhabi mission well into the nineteenth century. Ibrahim ibn Jadid's ancestors may

have been political refugees from the Saudi conquest of Sudayr who emigrated to Zubayr, where he was born. He studied in al-Ahsa' under Ibn Fayruz, and like Ibn Sullum, he became a renowned teacher in Zubayr and the imam at al-Najada mosque.³⁷ His doctrinal position is evident from a report that a Wahhabi shaykh composed satirical verse labeling him an unbeliever for rejecting the mission.³⁸ The sources on Ibn Jadid establish that his pupils brought Zubayr's anti-Wahhabi tradition to Mecca.³⁹

Ibn Fayruz and his students emigrated to Basra and Zubayr between 1785 and 1793, when the Saudis conquered al-Ahsa'. Even before their migration, Najdi dissidents had been showing up in Zubayr and Basra. Sulayman ibn Muhammad ibn Suhaym (1718-1767) was the chief religious scholar at the court of the Saudis' most stubborn foe, the amir of Riyadh. Ibn Suhaym debated Ibn Abd al-Wahhab in an exchange of epistles, and his correspondence with ulema in Hijaz, al-Ahsa', Basra, and various towns of Najd roused them against the new religious movement.⁴⁰ After Riyadh's surrender, he emigrated to Zubayr, where he died.⁴¹ Another Najdi emigrant to Iraq, Abd Allah ibn Da'ud, moved from Sudayr to Basra, studied in Damascus, and then returned to Basra, this time to study with Ibn Fayruz, before finally settling in Zubayr.⁴² Shaykh Abd Allah's harsh polemic against the Wahhabis won the praise of ulema in al-Ahsa', Syria, and Iraq.⁴³

Zubayr's mood of religious enmity to the Wahhabi mission harmonized with its disposition to support Ottoman efforts against the Saudis. The town leader in the 1790s and early 1800 was himself a political refugee expelled from his native Najdi town, Huraymila.⁴⁴ Zubayris assisted Ottoman-inspired raids against the Saudis in 1785 and 1797;⁴⁵ religious and political leaders solicited Ottoman assistance for the construction of fortifications against Saudi attack.⁴⁶ In 1803, Saudi forces stormed

Zubayr, leaving many dead, and razing the structures at Talha's and al-Hasan al-Basri's graves (Zubayris constructed new embellishments after al-Dir'iyya's fall fifteen years later). The attack could only have deepened the rancor harbored by its survivors, such as Shaykh Ibrahim ibn Jadid, and hardened their determination to impart their antagonism to the next generation of religious students.⁴⁷ The Zubayri tradition of hostility toward the Wahhabi mission, fed by springs of political and religious resentment, proved important for later Saudi history because commercial contacts ensured that the tradition would intersect with a dissident scholastic tradition centered in Unayza.

The long-distance traders of Unayza prospered in commercial ventures connecting al-Qasim with the Red Sea, the Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. Its wealthiest merchant lineage, Al Bassam, had first gained renown in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as religious scholars in Ushayqir, a town located in a region south of al-Qasim.⁴⁸ Members of Al Bassam established commercial agencies in Jedda, Basra, and Bombay, and they used their wealth to patronize religious pupils and shaykhs in Unayza. The extent of their commercial interests is well represented by Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Bassam (1824-1907), whose trading interests took him to Baghdad, Basra, Bombay, Zanzibar, and Mauritius.⁴⁹ Bassam's friend Abdallah al-Khunaini spent much of his life at Bombay and Basra. When Charles Doughty met him in Unayza in the late 1870s, he told the English traveler that he preferred to reside at Basra because he did not like living in the shadow of "Wahaby straitness and fanaticism."⁵⁰ Not all of Unayza's long-distance traders shared this outlook. Doughty mentions a branch of Al Bassam, also widely traveled, that hewed to the Wahhabi mission.⁵¹ Nonetheless, contact with merchants and attendance at

mosques outside Najd exposed Unayzans to religious perspectives that reinforced their own independent scholastic tradition.

Scholastic Traditions in al-Qasim

The Eighteenth Century Local Tradition

A scholastic tradition first took root in Unayza at the end of the seventeenth century. The neighboring town of Burayda does not seem to have had such a tradition before it came under Saudi rule in the late eighteenth century, when al-Dir`iyya appointed one of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's students as qadi. A third town, al-Rass, produced its own line of ulema in the eighteenth century. Unayza's scholastic tradition began in 1698/99 when the town's amir invited Shaykh Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn `Udayb to settle there.⁵² Before that time it seems that the town's religious personnel consisted of men who led prayer, provided elementary religious education, and recorded documents. Shaykh Ibn `Udayb had studied at Ushayqir, the most important center of religious learning at that time, and taught in a nearby town (al-Midhnab). In Unayza, he was the qadi for about twenty years, and for the next fifty years the town's qadis came from the ranks of his pupils.

While the biographical dictionaries say little about the attitude of Unayza's eighteenth-century ulema toward the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the evidence consistently points to a reluctance to embrace them, and, sometimes, to open opposition. An ambiguous but suggestive example is Dukhayl ibn Rashid, who belonged to a chiefly lineage and succeeded his father as amir in 1760-61.⁵³ He later abdicated that position in favor of his brother and traveled to Damascus to pursue religious learning. By the time he was ready to return to Unayza, it had come under Saudi control, so he went to Mecca instead. Perhaps Shaykh Dukhayl rejected Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's doctrine, but he may have moved to Mecca for political reasons: He

belonged to a chiefly lineage that resisted Saudi power until it was completely defeated.⁵⁴ A second scholar, Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Isma`il, immigrated to Unayza from Ushayqir, where he had some difficulties with Wahhabi ulema.⁵⁵ We find a clearer instance of opposition to the revivalist movement in Shaykh Humaydan ibn Turki. Wahhabi ulema called him an unbeliever and Saudi persecution caused him to move to Mecca.⁵⁶ Shaykh Salih ibn Sa'igh was the last qadi from the ranks of Ibn `Udayb's pupils. His critical stance toward the Wahhabis is evident from polemical verse he wrote against a well-known elegy to Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab.⁵⁷ Only one of the fifteen Unayzan ulema of this era for whom we have information clearly embraced the Wahhabi doctrine. Mansur ibn Muhammad Aba al-Khayl came from a wealthy clan,⁵⁸ and his father, Muhammad ibn Ibrahim (d. 1756/7) had served as qadi.⁵⁹ While his teachers included three well-known opponents to the mission (Ibn Turki, Ibn Isma`il, al-Sa'igh), he embraced it and became the Saudi-appointed qadi for al-Khabra', a nearby town, when it first came under Saudi authority in 1769. Shaykh Mansur was killed in an anti-Saudi uprising in 1782.

The establishment of the Wahhabi mission in al-Qasim

The sources offer few details about the first three qadis appointed by Al Saud after their conquest of Unayza in 1788, but it is notable that none of them were local townsmen whereas other towns in al-Qasim provided qadis from local candidates.⁶⁰ In both Unayza and Burayda, the Saudi ruler appointed as qadis men from the Ibn Suwaylim lineage, which had been associated with the mission since Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's arrival in al-Dir`iyya.⁶¹ There did emerge a local Wahhabi tradition in al-Qasim's third major town, al-Rass. The first religious scholar in al-Rass came from the lineage, Al Hisnan, which had settled and developed the town in the sixteenth century.⁶² His grandson, Abd al-Aziz ibn Rashid ibn Zamil Al Hisnan (d.

1817), is the first man identified as a qadi in the town. His nephew Qirnas ibn Abd al-Rahman (1777-1846) played a pivotal role in establishing the Wahhabi mission in al-Qasim. Shaykh Qirnas studied in Burayda with the Wahhabi qadi (Abd al-Aziz ibn Suwaylim), and in 1801 he traveled to al-Dir`iyya to study under Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's sons. Saud ibn Abd al-Aziz made him qadi for the Saudi garrison in Medina (1812) after which he returned to his native town, where he served as qadi for the next three decades.

The Early Nineteenth Century Local Tradition

Ulema from established scholarly families carried Unayza's independent scholastic tradition into the early nineteenth century. A noteworthy change in this tradition is the tendency to travel to Iraq and Hijaz in pursuit of knowledge. In the eighteenth century, only two of fifteen men of al-Qasim identified as ulema and religious students traveled.⁶³ During the nineteenth century, by contrast, Unayzan religious students frequently traveled to Iraq, Syria, and Hijaz far more frequently than students from any other region. Abd Allah ibn Fa'iz ibn Mansur Aba al-Khayl (c. 1786-1835) illustrates both the continuation of the local tradition and the new tendency. His grandfather had been the Wahhabi qadi of al-Khabra' killed in an anti-Saudi revolt, but he himself opposed the Wahhabis.⁶⁴ Around 1817, Aba al-Khayl went to Mecca for study, reportedly because after the Egyptian invasion, Unayza had few teachers. In Mecca, he studied with two men who had come from the anti-Wahhabi milieu in Zubayr: Muhammad al-Hudaybi and Isa al-Zubayri. In 1824, after the evacuation of Egyptian forces, Aba al-Khayl returned to Unayza, and at the request of the town's notables became the qadi as well as prayer leader and preacher at the congregational mosque. He held the post for three years until Wahhabi ulema spread rumors to the effect that he considered Riyadh's ulema, presumably including

the leading figure among Al-Shaykh, Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan, to be deficient in learning. A second aspersion against him claimed that he corresponded with the noted adversary of the Wahhabis, Muhammad ibn Sullum, to obtain his assistance in setting a horizontal sundial (*mizwala*). The implication was that members of Al al-Shaykh lacked the expertise for the task.⁶⁵ Upon his removal from the qadi post in 1827, Aba al-Khayl returned to Mecca, but he may well have spent the next few years dividing his time between his hometown and Mecca. Another report about him has bearing on the role of the prominent merchant family Al Bassam in supporting the independent scholastic tradition in Unayza.⁶⁶ The first documented expansion and renovation of Unayza's congregational mosque, Masjid al-Jarrah, occurred in 1831-32, when a local notable took the initiative to improve one part of the building. That same year, one of the Al Bassam undertook the expansion of a different portion of the building and entrusted the supervision of the project to Shaykh Aba al-Khayl.⁶⁷ Perhaps the most meaningful aspect of the episode is its indication of a role for Al Bassam in patronizing a member of the independent scholastic tradition. Forty years later, Charles Doughty enjoyed the hospitality in Unayza of another member of Al Bassam who showed no enthusiasm for the Wahhabi mission.⁶⁸

Shaykh Aba al-Khayl's pupils included two men from an established family of scholars, Al Turki, whose ancestor Shaykh Humaydan had opposed the mission. Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Humaydan ibn Turki (d. ca. 1840)⁶⁹ studied under Aba al-Khayl, and then around 1818-1819 traveled to Baghdad and Zubayr, where he attended the lessons of the anti-Wahhabi scholar Muhammad ibn Sullum.⁷⁰ Ibn Turki became an authoritative teacher and mufti in Unayza for a time, but he departed, perhaps for Mecca, at the time of Saudi restoration in 1824. The local scholastic tradition and study in Zubayr with the Wahhabis' foes formed the outlook of an

unusual figure in Najd, a sufi. Uthman ibn Mazyad (1785-1863)⁷¹ first studied under Aba al-Khayl and Abd al-Wahhab ibn Turki, then in the early 1820s, he traveled to Zubayr to study with Ibn Sullum and with a Naqshbandi shaykh, Uthman ibn Sanad, a famous adversary to the Wahhabis. Ibn Mazyad's affiliation with the Qadiri and Naqshbandi sufi orders almost certainly took place during his sojourn in Iraq.

Apart from the names of shaykhs, their teachers, pupils, and travels, details about the local scholastic tradition are scarce, but an epistle by an Unayzan shaykh, Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Sinani (1793/4-1852/3),⁷² offers a bit of colorful detail. He wrote that when he was a religious student, opponents to the Wahhabi mission had urged him to avoid reading Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's books. Their term for Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's essay *Kashf al-shubuhah* (The Exposure of Specious Arguments) was *Jam` al-shubuhah* (The Collection of Specious Arguments). Sinani wrote that if someone had asked him to read it, he would have refused.⁷³

The Wahhabi mission in the early nineteenth century

The Wahhabi mission depended on support from ulema in al-Rass and on Riyadh's appointment of qadis for Burayda and Unayza. Shaykh Qirnas of al-Rass had served as qadi under the first and second Saudi states in his native town as well as in Unayza and Burayda. From his study circle emerged five Wahhabi qadis for Unayza, Burayda, and al-Rass.⁷⁴ Notwithstanding this core of support for Wahhabism, Riyadh's religious leadership regarded the situation in al-Qasim with suspicion---perhaps because of its amirs' dubious loyalty---as is evident from reports about the appointment of Sulayman ibn Muqbil (c 1805-1886/7) to be the qadi.⁷⁵ His predecessor, Ibn Saqiya, died in 1840, when Riyadh was under Egyptian control and the leader of Al al-Shaykh, Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan, had withdrawn to a region in southern Najd that lay beyond the reach of Egyptian troops. Nonetheless, a Wahhabi

succession to the qadi's post in Burayda transpired under the auspices of Shaykh Qirnas. His selection, Ibn Muqbil, had studied under Wahhabi teachers in Unayza and Riyadh, where he had attended lessons of Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan, but he had then gone to Damascus, where he spent ten years as a pupil to a well-known opponent to the mission, Hasan al-Shatti.⁷⁶ When Shaykh Qirnas nominated Ibn Muqbil to be qadi, a group of townsmen expressed doubts about his doctrinal correctness, but Qirnas succeeded in convincing them to accept his recommendation. In 1843, the Saudis returned to power in Riyadh, and Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan summoned Ibn Muqbil to ascertain his views on seeking the intercession of saints and visiting their tombs. The meeting dispelled any remaining reservations about a man who had spent so many years in the questionable company of Damascus's ulema and about the determination of Riyadh's guardians of doctrine to enforce their views.

In Unayza, the first step in reviving the Wahhabi mission after the first Egyptian invasion involved Turki's dismissal of Abd Allah Aba al-Khayl as qadi and the appointment of Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Qadi (1783-1845) in his stead as the first Wahhabi qadi from Unayza.⁷⁷ His appointment was part of an unusual arrangement whereby Turki designated his brother Salih the amir of Unayza and their cousin Uthman the treasurer. This situation lasted until 1832, when Turki sent one of the most important Wahhabi scholars of the era, Abd Allah Aba Butayn, to be qadi. Except for a brief interval, he would hold that post for over twenty years until 1853, when he quit in disgust at the Unayzans' propensity to rebel against Saudi authority. Aba Butayn played a central role in implanting the Wahhabi mission in Unayza. Even the mission's fiercest critics acknowledged his scholarly stature and his integrity.⁷⁸ The first generation of Unayzan religious students to support the mission came from his lesson circle in the main congregational mosque. His pupils included Ali ibn

Muhammad Al Muhammad al-Rashid.⁷⁹ After acquiring his basic religious education in Unayza, he traveled to Zubayr to study jurisprudence during the second Egyptian occupation (1837-1840). Upon his return to Unayza, he studied under Aba Butayn and eventually served as qadi for thirty years.

Al-Qasim's Scholastic Traditions in the Later Nineteenth Century

The independent local tradition continued in Unayza throughout the nineteenth century. Abdallah Aba al-Khayl raised his nephew Muhammab ibn Ibrahim ibn `Uraykan (1815-1854),⁸⁰ so it is not surprising that he studied in Iraq under Muhammad ibn Sullum and his sons. Ibn `Uraykan later settled in Mecca, where he became devoted to the famous sufi teacher Muhammad al-Sanusi. The best-known Unayzan dissident of the period was Muhammad ibn Humayd, whose maternal uncle Abd al-Aziz ibn Turki, belonged to the independent tradition.⁸¹ Ibn Humayd studied under prominent Wahhabi ulema in Unayza, then his pursuit of learning took him to Mecca, Yemen, Syria, and Egypt. In Mecca, he came into contact with the Zubayri trend through Muhammad al-Zubayri and with a Meccan shaykh, Ahmad Zayni al-Dahlan, the author of important historical and polemical works that are sharply critical of the Wahhabi mission. Ibn Humayd is best known as the author of a four-volume supplement to Ibn Rajab's biographical dictionary of Hanbali ulema. In this work, Ibn Humayd displays a clear bias in his selection and treatment of Najdi Hanbalis. With the exception of his teacher, Aba Butayn, Ibn Humayd vilified Wahhabi ulema, including Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, while he praised ulema who opposed the mission. Ibn Humayd also appeared as one of the defenders of Ibn Jirjis when he triggered the controversy in Unayza.

There are hints of a family tradition of nonconformity in Al Shibl. It is difficult to pinpoint the doctrinal position held by two brothers, Abd al-Karim ibn

Shibl (d.1878)⁸² and Abdallah ibn Shibl (d. after 1876),⁸³ grandsons of an eighteenth century shaykh of the local tradition,⁸⁴ but indications of nonconformity do crop up. First, the only teachers for either man mentioned in the sources are Ibn Humayd and a Shafi`i shaykh in Mecca. Second, Abd al-Karim was prayer leader at a mosque that appears to have been a stronghold of the independent tradition.⁸⁵ Third, Abd al-Karim's son Muhammad (1841-1924) openly opposed the Wahhabis. He studied in Mecca with Ibn Humayd,⁸⁶ and in Medina, Cairo, Damascus, Kuwait, and Iraq. When he became the teacher at the independent al-Jawz mosque, he did not offer instruction on the works of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, and he candidly declared that even though he knew Aba Butayn, he had never studied under him.⁸⁷ Because of his doctrinal stance, pupils who favored the Wahhabi mission did not study under him. It is noteworthy that even though he was prayer leader of a mosque and offered religious instruction for ordinary folk there, he held advanced lessons for religious pupils in his home, where he might more candidly express his doctrinal views. In other words, caution dictated that he restrict expressing his views to a private space.

The independent local scholastic tradition complemented the cosmopolitan commercial and cultural interests of prosperous Al Bassam merchants, who patronized religious pupils and scholars. Eight members of Al Bassam studied under Muhammad ibn Shibl.⁸⁸ His successor as imam, preacher, and teacher at al-Jawz mosque, Abdallah ibn `A'id (1833-1904),⁸⁹ depended on the patronage of Al Bassam.⁹⁰ He studied in Unayza with Wahhabi shaykhs, then he went to Mecca, where he attended the anti-Wahhabi Ibn Humayd's lessons. Ibn `A'id's pupils included five members of Al Bassam, including three who also studied under Muhammad ibn Shibl. In addition to a clear association with the independent local tradition, members of this lineage displayed cultural interests that fell beyond the

scope of Wahhabi teachings. Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Bassam (1824-1907)⁹¹ was a respected authority on history, genealogy, and the pedigrees of horses. Another member of the clan, Abdallah ibn Muhammad (1858-1927)⁹² read widely in history, literature, and politics. These two men and their relatives used their wealth to purchase rare manuscripts and amass large book collections.⁹³

While the independent trend continued in Unayza, the Wahhabi mission became more firmly entrenched. Abdallah Aba Butayn represented the mission as the qadi and leading scholar for nearly twenty years (1835-1853), and his pupils became the town's Wahhabi leaders in the later nineteenth century. These included his disciple and son-in-law Muhammad ibn Mani' (1795-1874),⁹⁴ who moved with him from Shaqra in 1835, and remained in Unayza when Aba Butayn left in 1853, and Ibn Mani's own son, Abd al-Aziz (1847-1890),⁹⁵ who served as qadi (1886-1890). Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Sinani, whose early association with dissidents has been noted, became a firm Wahhabi shaykh and earned the confidence of Aba Butayn, who recommended Sinani assume the post of qadi when Abu Butayn left Unayza. Another staunch Wahhabi, Ali ibn Salim al-Julaydan (1824-1892)⁹⁶ became the imam and teacher at al-Maskuf mosque. His zeal for the mission is illustrated by an anecdote about his wielding a cane to disperse a circle of sufis chanting their litany in Mecca.

Burayda's religious tradition became more complex in the course of the nineteenth century as a dissident strain emerged to challenge the dominant Wahhabi ulema. The two most important pillars for the mission were the cousins Muhammad ibn Abdallah al-Salim (1824-1907)⁹⁷ and Muhammad ibn Umar al-Salim (1829-1890).⁹⁸ They studied under Wahhabi ulema in Burayda and Unayza, then under Al al-Shaykh in Riyadh. For several decades, these two men were the leading Wahhabi authorities in Burayda. Nonetheless, there emerged a dissident trend that included

some of their former pupils. The leader of this trend was Ibrahim ibn Hamad ibn Jasir (1825-1919).⁹⁹ Even though he was roughly the same age as the Salim cousins, he studied under them, but he also traveled to Damascus, where he attended the lessons of Hasan al-Shatti. It is not clear exactly when the Salims and Ibn Jasir grew apart, but when they did, the town's religious pupils polarized into two camps.¹⁰⁰ A second noteworthy Buraydan dissident, Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn `Ajlan (c. 1821-1898)¹⁰¹ embodies the relationship among trade, travel to study, and religious doctrine. Ibn `Ajlan's family lived in a small Qasimi town and engaged in the camel and livestock trade with Iraq. He studied in Burayda with Wahhabi ulema, and then accompanied a relative to Baghdad on a commercial venture. There he studied under Daud ibn Jirjis. It is reported that when he returned to Burayda and began to teach, most pupils felt alienated from him because they heard that he had studied under Ibn Jirjis and other ulema hostile to the mission.

Scholastic Traditions in Sudayr

The distinctive character of al-Qasim's scholastic tradition is evident from a survey of the nearby region, Sudayr, which is more typical of other sub-regions in Najd. Its towns had a scholastic tradition before the Wahhabi mission, and the region's ulema divided in their response to it during both the first and second states. The biographical dictionaries identify ulema from five different towns before the mid-eighteenth century. In the major town, al-Majma`a, men from Al Shabana were known as religious scholars since at least the late seventeenth century. When the area first came under Saudi authority in the 1770s, ulema from the Al Shabana lineage served as qadis.¹⁰² Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tuwayjiri (d. 1780), was another local scholar who served the first Saudi state as qadi.¹⁰³ On the other hand, members of Al Suhaym opposed the mission. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Suhaym composed an

essay against it, and his son Sulayman he became the imam at Riyadh's princely court of Dahham ibn Dawwas, one of Al Saud's bitterest and most durable foes.

Sulayman's son would continue the dissident tradition in Zubayr.¹⁰⁴

A second town in Sudayr, Harma, harbored more ulema opposed to the Wahhabi mission than any other town in Najd: at least five, perhaps six, of seven ulema in that town. Abdallah ibn Isa al-Muwaysi (d. 1761)¹⁰⁵ was one of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's best-known adversaries. He had studied in Damascus and become the qadi of Harma upon his return. Four of his fellow townsmen were opponents who emigrated to al-Ahsa' and Zubayr, where they planted the anti-Wahhabi tradition.¹⁰⁶ The only individual in Harma to support the mission, Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-Busaymi (d. ca. 1780), studied in al-Dir`iyya with Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his son Abdallah, and permanently settled there, perhaps because of hostility toward the Wahhabis in his native town.¹⁰⁷

In other parts of Sudayr, the picture is mixed. In Hawtat Sudayr, a prominent scholar endorsed the mission and taught its doctrine to his pupils,¹⁰⁸ but it seems that Julajil's main religious scholar opposed the mission.¹⁰⁹ The overall impression in Sudayr, even with the ardent enemies in Harma and al-Majma`a, differs from the situation in al-Qasim, where support was so scarce that the Saudis had to appoint outsiders as qadis, except for the town of al-Rass.

During the early nineteenth century, the Wahhabi tradition continued in al-Majma`a, and emerged in other towns at the same time we find traces of dissent and nonconformity among ulema who studied in Iraq. Local men served as qadis in al-Majma`a, Julajil, and al-Zilfi in the first years of the Saudi restoration.¹¹⁰ What happened to Harma's dissident tradition? When the Saudis conquered the town, they exiled notable clans¹¹¹ and dissident ulema emigrated to Zubayr. Harma's decline,

however, did not spell the end of dissent in Sudayr. The most important Najdi dissident in the second Saudi state came from that region. Uthman ibn Abd al-Aziz ibn Mansur (1796-1868) studied in al-Dir`iyya and initially embraced the mission, but after the Egyptian invasion of 1818, he traveled to Iraq, where he studied with Ibn Sullum and Ibn Sanad.¹¹² Nonetheless, when he returned to Najd, he had the confidence of Turki and Faysal, both of whom he served as qadi at a number of towns. Furthermore, his commentary on Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's foundational Wahhabi text, *Book on the Unity of God*, was considered outstanding by the era's guardian of correct doctrine, Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan. After his study in Iraq, however, Ibn Mansur apparently maintained the appearance of adherence to the mission while concealing his new conviction that it represented a revival of Kharijite sectarianism.¹¹³ Indeed, he composed a polemical work that likened the Wahhabis to the Kharijites.¹¹⁴ This work triggered rebuttals by members of Al al-Shaykh. His influence in Sudayr is hard to trace, but a few ulema did study with him.¹¹⁵

During the later nineteenth century, the Wahhabi mission remained strong in Sudayr, particularly at al-Majma`a, whose qadi became responsible for the entire area.¹¹⁶ Glimmers of an independent tradition are detectable in instances of travel to study in Iraq and emigration from the region. Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Ubayd (d. 1864/5) studied in Zubayr with Ibn Sullum and Ibn Jadid.¹¹⁷ He returned to Julajil, where he was prayer leader at one of the mosques. Salih ibn Hamad Mubayyad (1820-1897) settled permanently in Zubayr after his studies there, and he eventually became the qadi in 1882.¹¹⁸

Comparing Regional Scholastic Traditions

A few points of comparison and contrast emerge from the review of

scholastic traditions in al-Qasim and Sudayr. Both regions had scholastic traditions before Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The ulema of al-Qasim generally opposed his mission whereas Sudayr's ulema divided between supporters and opponents. During the first Saudi state, the rulers could not find men in either of al-Qasim's main towns to serve as qadis whereas Sudayr's towns supplied their own Wahhabi qadis. In the nineteenth century, al-Qasim's independent, at times dissident, tradition persisted, nurtured by contacts with ulema in nearby Ottoman lands. Indeed, a new feature of al-Qasim's scholastic tradition in the nineteenth century is the more frequent tendency of religious pupils to travel outside Najd in pursuit of learning.¹¹⁹ The Saudis stamped out the dissident faction in al-Majma`a and Harma, but dissidents and their pupils found sanctuary in Zubayr, where they transmitted their enmity toward the Wahhabis to Najdi pupils, most of them from al-Qasim, but still a few from Sudayr. The stronger presence, or the fuller record, of dissent in al-Qasim stemmed from its political milieu and its social and economic connections to Iraq.

Conclusion

Explaining dissent and nonconformity in Unayza requires a consideration of political, economic, and cultural factors. Al-Qasim lay at the intersection of two poles of political power: the Saudis at Riyadh, and Muhammad Ali and then the Meccan sharifs and Ottomans in Hijaz. This location provided the space for Unayza's amirs to resist Saudi control. The region also lay astride pilgrim and commercial caravan routes connecting Hijaz and Najd to Iraq and Syria. Given the competition among several parties for influence in and authority over this crucial crossroads of pilgrim and commercial traffic, it is natural that its political affairs were complex. Participation by Qasimis in long-distance overland trade exposed the region to influences from Hijaz and Iraq, including influences in the area of religious thought.

It seems that these political and economic factors made it possible for al-Qasim to sustain an independent tradition of religious learning. In comparing the first and second Saudi states, the dynamics of discursive struggle remained constant in two respects. In both instances, the Wahhabi mission's local adversaries forged ties with Ottoman ulema, and discursive opposition required a hospitable political milieu in towns under amirs who resisted Saudi authority.¹²⁰ The primary change in the discursive struggle is that in the earlier period, opposition was widespread and open, while in the later period, it was muted, episodic, and confined largely to al-Qasim.

¹ Bayly Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 205, 213; Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 249-253; Abd al-Fattah Hasan Abu `Aliya, *al-Dawla al-sa`udiyya al-thaniya, 1840-1891* (n.p., n.d.), 166, 188-189. The exceptions to this focus on politics are Esther Peskes *Muhammad b Abdalwahhab (1703-1792) im Widerstreit: Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Fruhgeschichte der Wahhabiya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1993); M.J. Crawford, "Civil War, Foreign Intervention, and the Question of Political Legitimacy: A Nineteenth Century Saudi Qadi's Dilemma," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982): 227-248; and Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 175-179.

² Historians have mostly relied upon a handful of nineteenth century chronicles: Uthman ibn Bishr, *Unwan al-majd fi tarikh najd*, 2 vols. (Riyadh: Dar al-Habib, 1999); Ibrahim ibn `Isa, *Iqd al-durar fi ma waqa`a fi najd min al-hawadith fi awakhir al-qarn al-thalith `ashar wa awwal al-rabi` `ashar* (Riyadh: al-Amana al-`Amma, 1999); *ibid*, *Tarikh ba`d al-hawadith al-waqi`a fi najd* (Riyadh: al-Amana al-`Amma, 1999). Abdallah al-Bassam, ed., *Khizanat al-tawarikh al-najdiyya*, 10 vols.

(1999) contains several chronicles published for the first time. Documents in the Egyptian and Ottoman archives are another rich source for political, military, and fiscal matters. Abd al-Fattah Hasan Abu `Aliyya, *Dirasa fi masadir tarikh al-jazira al-`arabiyya* (Riyadh: Dar al-Marikh, 1979); Abd al-Rahim Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Rahim, *Min watha'iq al-dawla al-sa`udiyya al-ula fi `asr Muhammad Ali* (Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Jami'i, 1983); Imad Abd al-Salam Ra'uf, *al-`Iraq fi watha'iq Muhammad Ali* (Baghdad: Bayt al-Hikma, 1999).

³ Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1979); William Gifford Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-1863)*, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan and Co., 1866); Georg Augustus Wallin, *Travels in Arabia* (Cambridge: The Oleander Press, 1979).

⁴ The main biographical dictionaries for Najd are Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Humayd, *al-Suhub al-wabila `ala dara'ih al-hanabila*, 3 vols. Eds. Bakr Abdallah Abu Zayd and Abd al-Rahman ibn Sulayman al-Uthaymin (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1996); Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd al-Latif Al al-Shaykh, *Mashahir `ulama' najd*, 2nd ed., (Dar al-Yamama, 1974); Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman Al Bassam, *`Ulama' najd khilal thamaniyat qurun*, 6 vols. (Riyadh: Dar al-`Asima, 1417/1997); Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Salih al-Qadi, *Rawdat al-nazirin `an ma'athir `ulama' najd wa hawadith al-sinin*, 2 vols. 3rd ed., (Riyadh: Matba`at al-Halabi, 1410/1989); Salim al-Sulayman al-Umari, *`Ulama' Al Salim wa talamidhatihim wa `ulama' al-qasim* 2 vols. (Riyadh: Matabi` al-Ash`a`, 1405/1985); Sulayman ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Hamdan, *Tarajim muta'akhhiri al-hanabila*, ed. Bakr ibn Abdallah Abu Zayd (al-Dammam: Dar Ibn al-Jawzi, 1420/1999).

⁵ A significant portion of writings by nineteenth-century Wahhabi ulema are collected in Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Qasim, ed., *al-Durar al-saniya fi al-ajwiba al-najdiyya*, 12 vols. (Riyadh, 1995); Rashid Rida, ed., *Majmu`at al-rasa'il wa al-masa'il al-najdiyya*, 4 vols. 3rd ed., (Riyadh: Dar al-`Asima, 1996).

⁶ “Wahhabi” is the term most commonly found in discussions of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab’s movement, but it is offensive to his followers because it suggests that they are a sectarian movement. In their writings, they ordinarily use the terms *ahl al-tawhid* and *al-da`wa al-salafiyya*.

⁷ Unfortunately, the sources do not indicate exactly when this controversy erupted, but a few bits of evidence suggest that Ibn Jirjis visited Unayza not long after Faysal’s return to power in 1843. According to one Najdi source, he spent some time in Unayza en route to performing the pilgrimage. The source does not give any dates, but does state that he visited Unayza twice. The first time, he studied under the qadi Abdallah Aba Butayn, who was in Unayza from 1835 to 1853. The second visit took place around four years later; Bassam, 4:230-231. A Syrian source on Ibn Jirjis notes that he undertook three journeys to Mecca. After his first pilgrimage, he resided in the holy cities for ten years and then returned to Baghdad. Following his second journey, he went to Damascus, where he remained for two years. He undertook his last journey in the company of his son and then traveled to Cairo and Mosul before returning to Baghdad. Abd al-Razzaq al-Bitar, *Hilyat al-bashar fi tarikh al-qarn al-thalith `ashar*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Matbu`at al-Majma` al-`Ilmi al-`Arabi, 1961-1963), 1:610-611. An Iraqi source reports that Ibn Jirjis passed through Najd on his way to Mecca in 1864. Ali `Ala' al-Din al-Alusi, *al-Durr al-muntathir fi rijal al-qarn*

al-thalith `ashar (Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Guidance, 1967), 174, footnote 1, 224.

⁸ Aba Butayn composed an epistle refuting Ibn Jirjis's claims about Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim. Abdallah Aba Butayn, *al-Intisar li hizb allah al-muwahhidin al-radd `ala al-mujadil `an al-mushrikin* (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Sahaba al-Islamiyya, 1989); for a description of the work and a list of printed editions, see Ali ibn Muhammad al-`Ajlan, *al-Shaykh al-`allama Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman Aba Butayn* (Riyadh: Dar al-Sumay`i, 2001), 163-169. Aba Butayn next composed an epistle disputing Ibn Jirjis's defense of *al-Burda* and his argument for considering it permissible to seek the intercession of dead saints. Published in `Ajlan as "Radd ala al-Burda," 359-429. Aba Butayn composed yet another essay against Ibn Jirjis, *Ta'sis al-taqdis fi kashf talbis Daud ibn Jirjis* (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub, 1925/26). Then the anti-Wahhabi Hanbali mufti of Mecca and Unayzan native Muhammad ibn Humayd composed a refutation of Aba Butayn. Bassam, 4:230-231; 6:482-483; Hamdan, *Tarajim*, 133. A second Unayzan, Nasir ibn Muhammad ibn Turki, also sided with Ibn Jirjis. The controversy continued with essays by Riyadh's top religious leader, Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan, and his son Abd al-Latif. Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan's essay against Ibn Humayd is "Bayan al-mahajja fi al-radd `ala al-lajja," in Rashid Rida, *Majmu`at al-rasa'il*, 4:223-284; his book against Ibn Jirjis is *al-Qawl al-fasl al-nafis fi al-radd `ala al-maftari Da'ud ibn Jirjis* (Riyadh: al-Matabi` al-Ahliyya, 1985). The works by Abd al-Latif ibn Abd al-Rahman are *Tuhfat al-talib wa al-jalis fi kashf shubuh Da'ud ibn Jirjis* (Riyadh: Dar al-`Asima, 1990), and *Minhaj al-ta'sis wa al-taqdis fi kashf shubuhat Da'ud ibn Jirjis* (Bombay: Matba`at Dayrsat, 1891/2).

⁹ Ibn Qasim, *Al-Durar al-saniya*, 12:288-292.

¹⁰ Ibid., 12:282-287. A recent publication reproduces a photocopy of what appears to be this letter from Abd al-Latif ibn Abd al-Rahman to the people of Unayza reprimanding them for greeting and honoring Ibn Jirjis. Abdallah ibn Hamad ibn Muhammad al-`Askar, *Awraq wa rasa'il min hayat al-shaykh Hamad al-`Askar* (Riyadh: 1422/2001), 85. I thank Mr. Abdallah Munif, director of the manuscript section at the King Fahd National Library, for bringing this document to my attention.

¹¹ Briefly, the controversy turned on three issues. First, is it permissible for Muslims to seek the intercession of saints at their tombs? Second, did certain verses in a famous thirteenth-century poem of devotion to the Prophet (*al-Burda*) violate Allah's unity and express polytheism? Third, did Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim express views contrary to those affirmed by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab?

¹² Ibrahim Fasih ibn Sibghatallah al-Haydari, *Kitab `unwan al-majd bi bayan ahwal baghdad wa al-basra wa najd* (Cairo: Madbuli, 1999); for an epistle from Turki ibn Abdallah, 213-215; for two epistles from Faysal ibn Turki, 216-219.

¹³ One account has Shaykh Abd al-Rahman escaping from Cairo and making his way to Mecca. When Turki learned of his presence there, he urged him to continue to Riyadh. Before the shaykh would proceed, however, he insisted that Turki prove his loyalty to the principles of the mission. Aba Butayn, *al-Intisar li hizb allah al-muwahhidin*, 6, footnote 1.

¹⁴ Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd al-Latif Al al-Shaykh, *`Ulama' al-da`wah* (Riyadh: Matba`at al-Madani, 1966), 42-43.

¹⁵ Bassam, 1:205-207.

¹⁶ Al al-Shaykh, *Mashahir `ulama' najd*, 129-130.

¹⁷ Bassam, 3:253.

¹⁸ Abdullah M. Mutawa, “The Ulema of Najd from the Sixteenth Century to the mid-Eighteenth Century,” doctoral dissertation, (University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), 142-177, 207-250, 280-282.

¹⁹ For instances of family waqf's, see Bassam, 2:84, 418.

²⁰ For agricultural properties belonging to ulema families, see *ibid.*, 3:151, 3:348, 4:260, 6:38.

²¹ For ulema from chiefly (amir) lineages in al-Qasim, see *ibid.*, 2:164-168, 3:546, 4:75, 5:454, 6:481, 6:492; in Sudayr, 1:110, 2:383, 4:6, 5:288.

²² A meticulous study of the sub-region of Washm concludes that the effect of Saudi conquest on its ulema was slight. See Michael Cook, “The Expansion of the First Saudi State: The Case of Washm,” in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, eds. C. E. Bosworth et al (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989), 675. For the more substantial impact in al-Qasim and Sudayr, see below.

²³ On al-Qasim's trade and the pilgrimage, see Muhammad ibn Abdallah al-Salman, *al-Ahwal al-siyasiyya fi al-qasim fi `ahd al-dawla al-sa`udiyya al-thaniya, 1238-1309/1823-1891* (Unayza: al-Matabi` al-Wataniyya, 1407-8/1987-88), 338-344, 348-349; Abd al-Aziz Abd al-Ghani Ibrahim, *Najdiyyun wara' al-hudud: al-`Uqaylat, 1705-1959* (London: Dar al-Saqi, 1991), 9, 47. References to the activities of Unayza's leading merchant family, Al Bassam, are in Bassam, 2:450, 495, 528 footnote 1, 4:426-427; Charles Doughty, *Travels*, 2:376-390. For the broader dynamics and context of trade, see Hala Fattah, *The Politics of Regional Trade: Iraq, Arabia, and the Gulf, 1745-1900* (Albany: SUNY, 1997).

²⁴ Salman, *al-Ahwal al-siyasiyya*, 163-168.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 177-186.

²⁶ Ibid., 187-198.

²⁷ Ibid., 199-213.

²⁸ Carlo Guarmani, *Northern Najd: A Journey from Jerusalem to Anaiza in Qasim* (London: Argonaut Press, 1938), 40-41.

²⁹ Ibrahim, *Najdiyyun*, 49.

³⁰ Ibid., 8-9.

³¹ Ibid., 40, 52.

³² Ahmad al-Bassam, "Min asbab al-mu`arada al-mahalliyya li-da`wat al-shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab fi `ahd al-dawla al-sa`udiyya al-ula," *al-Dir`iyya* 4:14 (1422/2001): 32.

³³ On immigration to Zubayr from Huraymila and Harma, see Muhammad ibn Khalifa al-Nabhani, *al-Tuhfa al-nabhaniyya fi tarikh al-jazira al-`arabiyya* (Bahrain: al-Maktaba al-Wataniyya, 1986), 224; Ibrahim, *Najdiyyun*, 40; immigration from Rawdat Sudayr, *ibid.*, 41; immigration from Unayza, *ibid.*, 44.

³⁴ Bassam, 6:236-245; Ibn Humayd, 3:969-980.

³⁵ Bassam, 6:292-302.

³⁶ Muhammad ibn Hamad al-`Assafi, *Masajid al-Zubayr*, ed. Qasim al-Samarra'i (Riyadh: Dar al-Faysaliyya al-Thaqafiyya, 2001), 56-57.

³⁷ Bassam, 1:423-427. He was imam from 1752 to 1772, before Ibn Sullum's arrival in Zubayr; `Assafi, *Masajid al-Zubayr*, 57

³⁸ Ibn Humayd, 1:71-76. Writings by a member of Al al-Shaykh in the later nineteenth century identify him as an influential adversary; Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan Al al-Shaykh, *al-Maqamat* (Riyadh: Dar al-Hidaya, nd.), 5.

³⁹ Ibn Jadid's anti-Wahhabi pupils included Muhammad al-Hudaybi (c. 1766-1841) and Isa al-Zubayri (d. 1832). Both men taught dissident Unayzan religious pupils in

Mecca. On Hudaybi, who studied with Ibn Fayruz in Basra, see Bassam, 5:508-511. On Zubayri, see *ibid.*, 5:345-346. On Unayzan pupils who studied under them, see below on Abdallah Aba al-Khayl and Muhammad ibn Humayd. Sayf ibn Ahmad al-`Atiqi (1694-1775) was an imam and jurist opposed to the Wahhabi mission in Sudayr who sent his son Salih (1750-1818) to al-Ahsa' to study under Ibn Fayruz; Bassam, 2:415-416, 474-477; Ibn Humayd, 2:417-418.

⁴⁰ The dispute between Ibn Suhaym and Ibn Abd al-Wahhab is summarized by Abdallah Uthaymin, "Mawqif Sulayman ibn Suhaym," in *Buhuth wa ta`liqat fi tarikh al-mamlaka al-`arabiyyah al-sa`udiyyah* (Riyadh: Dar al-Hilal, 1984), 89-113.

⁴¹ Bassam 2:381-382; 6:465; Ibn Suhaym's son Nasir was born in Zubayr in 1763, and traveled to al-Ahsa' to study under Ibn Fayruz before the latter's emigration. One source reports that when Riyadh's amir agreed to a truce in 1754, Ibn Saud demanded that Ibn Suhaym and some others come to al-Dir`iyya; Uthaymin, "Mawqif," 112-113.

⁴² Bassam 4:114-115; Ibn Humayd, 2:619-620.

⁴³ Abdallah ibn Da'ud, "al-Sawa`iq wa al-ru`ud fi al-radd `ala ibn Sa`ud," described in Abd al-Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn Ali al-Abd al-Latif, *Da`awa al-munawi'in li da`wat al-shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab: `Ard wa naqd* (Riyadh: Dar Tayyiba, 1981), 44-46.

⁴⁴ On Yahya ibn al-Zuhayr, see Nabhani, *al-Tuhfa al-nabhaniyya*, 225.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 405 on the 1785 raid led by Muntafiq tribesmen; 412-413 on the 1797 raid led by the governor of Baghdad into al-Ahsa'.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴⁷ Bassam, 1: 423-427.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:494-496. In the 1760s, Hamad ibn Ibrahim al-Bassam moved to Unayza, where the lineage became known for its prominent merchants; *ibid.*, 1:528-532.

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- ⁴⁹ Bassam, 2:258 footnote 1; Charles Doughty, *Travels*, 2:389.
- ⁵⁰ Doughty, *Travels*, 2:367-368.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2:402, 404, 482. He also encountered a Wahhabi merchant named Rashayd with agencies at Basra, Zubayr, Kuwait, Aden; 2:449, 470.
- ⁵² Bassam, 4:41-52.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2:164-170.
- ⁵⁴ On the expulsion of Al Rashid from Unayza in 1788, see Ibrahim, *Najdiyyun*, 44.
- ⁵⁵ Bassam, 4:19-21.
- ⁵⁶ Ibn Humayd, 1:380-384; Hamdan, *Tarajim*, 54; Qadi, *Rawdat al-nazirin*, 1:354.
- ⁵⁷ Bassam, 2:540-543.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6:443-445.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5:465-468.
- ⁶⁰ The ruler Saud ibn Abd al-Aziz appointed Abd Allah ibn Suwaylim, whose lineage enjoyed special standing because his father hosted and supported Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab when he first moved to al-Dir`iyya; *ibid.*, 4:211-213 The next two qadis, Ghunaym ibn Sayf (*ibid.*, 5:355) and Abdallah ibn Sayf (*ibid.*, 4:171) were brothers from Thadiq, a town in a district close to Riyadh.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3:443-444.
- ⁶² Zamil ibn Ali ibn Rashid al-`Ajmi. Personal correspondence from Qablan ibn Salih ibn Qablan, 25 September 2001.
- ⁶³ Shaykh Dukhayl ibn Rashid went to Damascus; Shaykh Mansur Aba al-Khayl studied in Mecca.
- ⁶⁴ Bassam 4:370-377; Ibn Humayd, 2:641-644.
- ⁶⁵ Hamdan, *Tarajim*, 94-95.

⁶⁶ Establishing firm dates on the movements of ulema depends on occasional discoveries of dated documents; in Aba al-Khayl's case, Ibn Humayd cites a document that locates him in Mecca in April 1832, 2:641-644.

⁶⁷ Bassam, 3:254.

⁶⁸ Doughty, *Travels*, 2:376-377.

⁶⁹ Bassam, 5:56-59.

⁷⁰ The second member of Al Turki to study under Aba al-Khayl was his cousin Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd Allah ibn Turki (d. ca. 1844); *ibid.*, 3:486-487. Another figure, Nasir ibn Muhammad ibn Turki, may have belonged to the same lineage. He supported the controversial Iraqi shaykh Daud ibn Jirjis; *ibid.*, 6:481-482.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 5:157-160.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 6:477-478; Qadi, *Rawdat al-nazirin*, 2:201-204.

⁷³ Bassam, "Min asbab al-mu`arada al-mahaliyya," 50.

⁷⁴ Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Saqiya, 1828-1840, a native of al-Rass, was Burayda's first qadi to come from al-Qasim; Sulayman ibn Muqbil in Burayda, 1840-1879, Ali ibn Muhammad in Unayza, 1855-1886. Shaykh Qirnas's two sons were qadis in al-Rass. The older son Muhammad (1794/5-1858/9) studied in Mecca in 1819 in the wake of the Egyptian invasion, and then in Egypt. This shows that Wahhabi ulema traveled outside Najd at times of instability; Bassam, 6:362-364. Another son, Salih (1837-1917/18) studied with Wahhabi ulema in Unayza and Burayda as well as with leading members of Al al-Shaykh in Riyadh and followed his brother as qadi of al-Rass; *ibid.*, 526-530.

⁷⁵ Bassam, 2:373-380; Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 1:196-199.

⁷⁶ On Hasan al-Shatti's career and anti-Wahhabi writings, see Itzchak Weismann, *Taste of Modernity: Sufism, Salafiyya, and Arabism in Late Ottoman Damascus*

(Leiden: Brill, 2001), 65-67.

⁷⁷ Al-Qadi came from a lineage with properties in Ushayqir, Harma, and al-Majma`a. He studied under Wahhabi teachers, the qadis Ghunaym and Abd Allah ibn Sayf, and under dissidents like Abd Allah Aba al-Khayl; Bassam, 3:150-152.

⁷⁸ He is the only Wahhabi shaykh whom Ibn Humayd praises, 2:626-633; Bassam, 4:225-244.

⁷⁹ His ancestors included the amir of al-Zilfi during the early 1700s; Bassam, 5:287-299.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 5:484-486.

⁸¹ Ibn Humayd, introduction by Abd al-Rahman al-Uthaymin, 1:11-70; Bassam, 6:189-204.

⁸² Bassam, 3:544-545, 6:122.

⁸³ Ibid., 4:182-183.

⁸⁴ Uthman ibn Salih ibn Shibl, d. 1784, studied with Humaydan ibn Turki and Salih ibn Abdallah al-Sa'igh; *ibid.*, 5:78.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6:121-130. Al-Jawz mosque had been constructed in 1238/1822; *ibid.*, 6:122, footnote 1.

⁸⁶ Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 2:469-470.

⁸⁷ This did not mean very much because Aba Butayn left Unayza when Muhammad ibn Shibl was quite young.

⁸⁸ Bassam, 6:129-130

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 4:184-192.

⁹⁰ Doughty, *Travels*, 2:383, 385.

⁹¹ Bassam, 2:528, footnote 1.

⁹² Ibid., 4:426-430.

⁹³ Salih ibn Hamad (1842-1919) is noted for his manuscript collection; *ibid.*, 2:449-456; Salih ibn Abdallah (1853-1890) gathered a huge private library; *ibid.*, 2:495-497.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6:212-217.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:522-523.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5:189-192.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6:150-158; Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 1:18-33; Hamdan, *Tarajim*, 134-135.

⁹⁸ Bassam, 6:340-348; Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 1:53-63; Hamdan, *Tarajim*, 138.

Their fathers had migrated from al-Dir`iyya to Burayda after Ibrahim Pasha's invasion.

⁹⁹ Bassam, 1:277-293; Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 2:203.

¹⁰⁰ It appears the Salim-Ibn Jasir rivalry erupted in the later 1870s and lasted more than a decade. The Salim camp included Abd al-Karim al-Jarbu` (1853-1921), Bassam 3:546-549; Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Mufadda (1854-1919), *ibid.*, 4:446-454; and Fawzan ibn Sabiq ibn Fawzan (1858-1953) *ibid.*, 5:378-383. The Ibn Jasir camp included Sa`b al-Tuwayjiri (1839-1920), *ibid.*, 2:563-564; and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saq`abi (1857-1908), *ibid.*, 6:64-65.

¹⁰¹ Bassam, 1:400-402; Umari, *'Ulama' Al Salim*, 2:209-210.

¹⁰² Hamad ibn Shaban, died around 1730s, Bassam, 2:77-79; Uthman ibn Abdallah ibn Shabana, probably a qadi before the first Saudi state, *ibid.*, 5:113-114; Hamad ibn Abd al-Jabbar ibn Shabana, qadi for the first Saudi state, *ibid.*, 2:80-81; Abd al-Jabbar ibn Hamad ibn Shabana, died around 1780s and was the father of two Wahhabi ulema, *ibid.*, 3:7-8.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1:533-534.

¹⁰⁴ Muhammad ibn Suhaym and his son Sulayman ibn Suhaym (1718-1767), *ibid.*, 2:381-382; Abdallah ibn Ahmad ibn Suhaym (d. 1761) criticized the Wahhabis, *ibid.*, 4:38-40.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:364-369.

¹⁰⁶ On Sayf al-`Atiqi, Salih al-`Atiqi, Muhammad al-`Atiqi, and Abdallah ibn Da'ud, see the discussion of emigration from Najd to Zubayr above. A sixth individual may also have rejected the mission: Ahmad ibn Abdallah ibn `Aqil (d. 1819) studied in Zubayr with Ibn Sullum and Ibn Sanad, and then settled in Medina; Bassam, 1:485-487.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 4:26-27.

¹⁰⁸ Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Tarrad al-Dawsari (d. 1810); *ibid.*, 6:147-149; `Ajlan, *al-Shaykh al-`allama Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman Aba Butayn*, 111.

¹⁰⁹ Muhammad ibn Ubayd may not have been from Julajil, but two men from Al Ubayd were ulema in that town during the nineteenth century. On Muhammad ibn Ubayd, see Mayy al-Isa, *al-Hayat al-`ilmiyya fi najd mundhu qiyam da`wat al-shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab wa hatta nihayat al-dawla al-sa`udiyya al-ula* (Riyadh: Dar al-Malik Abd al-Aziz, 1997), 349, 352 n. 27; on later ulema from Al Ubayd, see Bassam 1:476, 3:190-192, 4:166.

¹¹⁰ In al-Majma`a: Uthman ibn Abd al-Jabbar ibn Shabana, d. 1827; *ibid.*, 5:79-82, then Abd al-Aziz ibn Uthman ibn Shabana, d. 1857, *ibid.*, 488-490, and Abd al-Rahman ibn Hamad al-Thumayri, d. 1857, *ibid.*, 3:29-31. In Julajil, Abdallah ibn Sulayman Al `Ubayd, d. 1825, *ibid.*, 4:166, then Ahmad ibn Sulayman Al `Ubayd d. 1828, *ibid.*, 1:476. In al-Zilfi, Salman ibn Ali ibn Hamad Al Rashid, *ibid.*, 2:259-260, and Abd al-Muhsin ibn Salman ibn Ali Al Salman, 5:20-21. While some Saudi historians include al-Zilfi in Sudayr, its townsmen would assert it is a distinct region.

¹¹¹ Ibrahim, *Najdiyyun*, 39; on the exile of the historian Ibn La`bun's lineage, see Bassam, 2:108-112.

¹¹² Bassam, 5:89-106; Qadi, *Rawdat al-nazirin*, 2:104-108.

¹¹³ The Kharijites were an early Muslim sect that became known for extreme doctrinal views and condemnation of other Muslims as unbelievers.

¹¹⁴ Uthman ibn Abd al-Aziz ibn Mansur, "Manhaj al-ma`arij fi akhbar al-khawarij," Dar al-Kutub, Taymuriya 2144.

¹¹⁵ Muhammad ibn Fuhayd al-Dawsari is reported to have been one of Ibn Mansur's close students; Bassam, 6:355. Ali al-Qurashi al-Dawsari is identified as Ibn Fuhayd's study companion, and therefore also one of Ibn Mansur's pupils; *ibid.*, 5:523-525. In addition, Muhammad ibn Hamad ibn Mish`ab (c. 1795-1870) copied Ibn Mansur's controversial essay on the Kharijites. Ibn Mansur, "Manhaj al-ma`arij," last folio.

¹¹⁶ Bassam, 3:29-31, 4:488-490; Wahhabi ulema in other towns included Ibrahim al-`Atiqi (d. 1897) in Harma, *ibid.*, 1:398-399; and two men in Julajil, Uthman al-Mas`ari (1844-1902), *ibid.*, 5:162-163; Uthman Al Sa`id (d ca. 1880s), *ibid.*, 5:161.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3:190-192.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:445-446.

¹¹⁹ This table illustrates patterns in travel to study (*al-rihla fi talab al-`ilm*): region of origin, destination for study, and orientation toward the Wahhabi mission. The table pertains to ulema (born around 1800-1830) who came of age toward the end of the first and at the beginning of the second Saudi states. Seven of the nine men from al-Qasim who traveled outside Najd were dissidents or conformists.

	Number of ulema	Rihla outside Najd	Rihla to Riyadh
Najd	42	12	11
Qasim	18	9	3
Regions besides Qasim and Riyadh	17	2	8
Riyadh area	7	1	

¹²⁰ Both Abdallah al-Uthaymin, “Mawqif Sulayman ibn Suhaym,” and Ahmad al-Bassam, “Min asbab al-mu`arada al-mahalliya” emphasize the connection between religious opposition to the Wahhabi mission and political opposition to Al Saud.