Contesting the Saudi State

The terms Wahhabi or Salafi are seen as interchangeable and frequently misunderstood by outsiders. However, as Madawi Al-Rasheed explains in a fascinating exploration of Saudi Arabia in the twenty-first century, even Saudis do not agree on their meaning. Under the influence of mass education, printing, new communication technology, and global media, they are forming their own conclusions and debating religion and politics in traditional and novel venues, often violating official taboos and the conservative values of Saudi society. Drawing on classical religious sources, contemporary readings and interviews, Al-Rasheed presents an ethnography of consent and contest, exploring the fluidity of the boundaries between the religious and political. Bridging the gap between text and context, the author also examines how states and citizens manipulate religious discourse for purely political ends, and how this manipulation generates unpredictable reactions whose control escapes those who initiated them.

MADAWI AL-RASHEED is Professor of Anthropology of Religion at King's College, University of London. She specialises in Saudi history, society, politics and religion. Her recent publications include *A History of Saudi Arabia* (2002) and *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf* (2005).

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A list of books in the series can be found after the index.

Contesting the Saudi State

Islamic Voices from a New Generation

Madawi Al-Rasheed University of London



| Cambridge University Press |
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| 978-0-521-85836-6 - Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation |
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> A prince is always compelled to injure those who have made him the new ruler, subjecting them to the troops and imposing the endless other hardships which his new conquest entails Niccolo Machiavelli The Prince

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Glossary

| ahfad al-sahaba | grandsons of the companions of the Prophet |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ahl al-dhimma | people of the book, Christians and Jews |
| ahl al-hadith | those who interpret the Prophetic tradition literally |
| ahl al-hall wa ʾl-ʿaqd | decision makers (lit. 'people who loose and tie') |
| ahl al-qibla | people who face Mecca for prayer |
| ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jama'a | Sunnis (lit. 'people of the tradition of the |
| 5 | Prophet and community') |
| ahl al-tawhid | people of monotheism |
| aimat al-daʿwa al-najdiyya | Najdi religious scholars |
| amir (pl. umara) | ruler, prince |
| amr bi 'l-ma 'ruf wa 'l-nahy | promotion of virtue and prohibition of vice |
| ʿan al-munkar | |
| ʻaqida | creed |
| asl | principle |
| <i>baghi</i> (pl. <i>bughat</i>) | usurper |
| bara' | dissociation from infidels |
| bay 'a | oath of allegiance |
| bid ʿa | innovation, heresy |
| bilad al-haramayn | the Land of the Two Holy Mosques |
| daʿif | weak |
| daʻiyya (f. daʻiyyat; pl. duʻat) | preacher |
| daʿwa | religious call, mission |
| dawla | state |
| dawlat al-tawhid | monotheist polity |
| dhal | one who has gone astray |
| dhalal | debauchery, obscurity |
| duʿat al-islah | reformers |
| fajir | sinful, despotic |
| fard 'ayn | an obligation incumbent upon every Muslim |
| viii | |

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| Glossary | ix |
|---|--|
| fard kifaya | an obligation performed by a sufficient number of Muslims |
| fasiq | debauched |
| fatwa | religious opinion issued by shari'a expert |
| al-fi`a al-dhalla | the group that has gone astray |
| fiqh | Islamic jurisprudence |
| fitna | strife, dissent |
| Hadith | tradition, saying of the Prophet |
| hajr al-mubtaʿdiʿ | ostracisation of innovators |
| hakim | ruler |
| hakimiyya | sovereignty |
| haraki | politicised activist |
| haram | forbidden |
| harb 'ala al-kuffar | a battle against the infidels |
| hayat al-amr bi'l-ma ʻruf wa | Committee for the Promotion of Virtue |
| 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar | and Prohibition of Vice |
| hijra | migration |
| hizb al-ghulat | radicals |
| hizbiyya | adherence to party politics |
| hizb al-wulat | loyalists |
| ʻibada (pl. ʻibadat) | Islamic rituals, worship |
| ijtihad | applying reason to reach a religious ruling |
| ʻilm | knowledge |
| ʻilmani (pl. ʻilmaniyyun) | secular, secularist |
| imama | state, leadership of the Muslim state |
| inkar al-munkar | disavowing the abominable |
| iqamat al-hadd | punishment |
| (pl. iqamat al-hudud) | |
| islah | reform |
| islahi (f. islahiyya; | reformer |
| pl. islahiyyin, islahiyyat) | |
| jahil | one who is ignorant |
| jahiliyya | the age of ignorance |
| ja'ir | despot |
| jamiʿat al-ʿulama | association of 'ulama |
| jazirat al-ʻarab/jazira al-ʻarabiyya | the Arabian Peninsula |
| jihad | exertion, struggle for the way of God |
| kafir (pl. kafirun) | unbeliever, blasphemous |
| khawarij al-'asr | contemporary Kharijites |
| al-khitab al-dini | religious discourse |
| khuruj bi 'l-sayf | violent rebellion |
| | |

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khurui sivasi political rebellion khuruj 'ala wali al-amr/ rebellion against the ruler khuruj 'ala al-hakim kitab book kufr unbelief, blasphemy kufr bawwah/kufran obvious blasphemy bawahan maʻasi minor sins madhhab (pl. madhahib) school of jurisprudence meeting, council, study circle majlis majlis al-hiwar al-watani National Dialogue Forum mailis al-shura consultative council that which is known in shari'a maʿruf maslaha interest, public good muʿahadin infidels enjoying a protected contractual relationship with Muslims muʻamalat ja'iza permissible relations mufti jurisconsult, highest religious authority al-muhajirun the Muslims who migrated from Mecca with the Prophet **Jihadis** mujahidun *munafiq* (pl. *munafiqun*) hypocrite munkar evil murabitun 'ala al-thugur 'tied to the fortresses' mushrik (pl. mushrikun) polytheists, blasphemers mut 'a temporary marriage *mutawa* ⁽pl. *mutawa* [']a) religious specialist muthaqaf intellectual associated with acquiring Western knowledge muwahhidun monotheists naaidh lil islam that which removes a Muslim from the (pl. nawaqidh al-Islam) religious community and Islam nidham legislation nidham kufr a blasphemous regime hypocrisy nifaa nukhba elite al-nukhba al-fikriyya intellectual elite aadi iudge qa`idun those left behind (lit. 'sitting') deduction by analogy qiyas ra 'iyya subjects al-sahabiyyat early female companions

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Glossary

sahwa awakening al-salaf al-salih pious ancestors shabab vouth shari'a Islamic legal codes and rules sheikh tribal leader, religious scholar, notable shirk blasphemy, heresy, polytheism *shubuhat* (sg. *shubuha*) misguided opinions shura consultation sunna tradition of the Prophet (words and deeds) Quranic verse sura *taghut* (pl. *tawaghit*) despot, idol tajdid al-khitab al-dini renewing religious discourse excommunication takfir the excommunication of an individual takfir al-muʿayan takfir al-mujtama ' the excommunication of an entire society mass excommunication takfir al-⁵umum taraju ^cat going back on previous opinions, repentance tarajuʿat qasriyya forced repentance *tariqa* (pl. *turuq*) Sufi way repentance tawba tawhid doctrine of the oneness of God tawwali subservience through lovalty tawwali al-kuffar subservience to infidels movement, trend tayar tayar al-haraki organised Islamist movement tazkiyya an approval certificate 'ulama (sg. 'alim) religious scholar, scientist 'ulama al-sultan the religious establishment umami global the Muslim community итта wala' association, loyalty al-wala' wa 'l-bara' association with Muslims and dissociation from infidels wali al-amr (pl. wulat ruler, the one who is in charge of affairs al-amr) wasat (n. wasatiyya) centrist homeland watan wataniyya citizenship zaffat al-shahid celebration of a martyr zakat Islamic tax

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Foreign words and phrases

| ʻashʻash fiha al-shaytan | the abode of Satan |
|-----------------------------|---|
| ʿahd | oath |
| ahfad al-sahaba | grandsons of the companions of the Prophet |
| ʻahirat al-rum | 'Roman prostitutes' (Pejoratively American female soldiers on Saudi soil) |
| ahkam | rules |
| ahl al-dhalal | those who have gone astray |
| ahl al-dhimma | people of the book, Christians and Jews |
| ahl al-fiqh | people of jurisprudence |
| ahl al-hadith | those who interpret the Prophetic tradition literally |
| ahl al-hall wa 'l-'aqd | decision makers (lit. 'people who loose and tie') |
| ahl al-qibla | people who face Mecca for prayer |
| ahl-al-sulban | Christians (lit. 'people of the cross') |
| ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jama'a | Sunnis (lit. 'people of the tradition of the |
| 5 | Prophet and community') |
| ahl al-tawhid | people of monotheism |
| ahzab siyasiyya | political parties |
| <i>`aima</i> | religious scholars |
| aimat al-daʿwa al-najdiyya | Najdi religious scholars |
| ajnabi | foreigner |
| ʿajuz | old |
| akhtar ghaltha | more harsh |
| aman | peace |
| amir (pl umara) | ruler, prince |
| ʿamm | public |
| amr bi 'l-ma'ruf wa 'l-nahy | promotion of virtue and prohibition of vice |
| ʿan al-munkar | |
| ansab | genealogies |
| al-ansar | supporters of the early Muslim immigrants in Madina |
| ʻaqida | creed |
| ʻaql | reason |
| aqwal al-sahaba | sayings of the Prophet's companions |
| ʿaris | bridegroom |
| ʿarus | bride |
| asl | principle |
| °asr | captivity |
| | |

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| al-awliya | pious men |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ayam al-dhalal | days of obscurity |
| azma | crisis |
| bagdha' | hatred |
| baghi (pl. bughat) | usurper |
| bara' | dissociation from infidels |
| bay 'a | oath of allegiance |
| bayn dhuhrani al-mushrikin | living among polytheists |
| bid'a | innovation, heresy |
| bilad al-haramayn | the Land of the Two Holy Mosques |
| burqaʻ | veil that allows only the eyes to appear |
| daʿif | weak |
| daʻiyya (f. daʻiyyat; pl. duʻat) | preacher |
| daʿwa | religious call, mission |
| dawla | state |
| dawlat al-tawhid | monotheist polity |
| dayuuth | pimp |
| dhal | one who has gone astray |
| dhalal | debauchery, obscurity |
| dhikr | devotional recitation |
| diya | blood money |
| duʿat al-islah | reformers |
| fajir | sinful, despotic |
| faqih (pl. fuqaha') | jurist, jurisprudent |
| fard 'ayn | an obligation incumbent upon every Muslim |
| fard kifaya | an obligation performed by a sufficient number of Muslims |
| faridha | duty, obligation |
| fasad | corruption |
| fasiq | debauched |
| fatwa (pl. fatawa) | religious opinion issued by <i>shari</i> 'a expert |
| al-fi'a al-dhalla | the group that has gone astray |
| fida`iyyin | soldiers, comrades |
| fikr shadh | perverse thought |
| figh | Islamic jurisprudence |
| fiqh al-halal wa 'l-haram | jurisprudence of the permissible and the forbidden |
| fiqh al-ʿibadat | jurisprudence of worship |
| al-firqa al-dhalla | those who have gone astray |
| fitna | strife, dissent |
| fitra | instinct, nature |
| | , |

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gafwa sleep ghadh al-basar lowering the gaze ghazu raid ghulat religious extremists ghulu radicalism ghutra white headcover hadith tradition, saying of the Prophet hafadhat Quran people who memorised the Quran hajj pilgrimage hajr al-mubtadi ostracisation of innovators hakim ruler hakimiyya sovereignty hakim ja'ir a despotic ruler hakim kafir a blasphemous ruler al-hakim al-munafiq the hypocrite ruler haraki politicised activist haram forbidden harb 'ala al-kuffar a battle against the infidels harbi aggressive hasad envy Committee for the Promotion of Virtue hayat al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar and Prohibition of Vice hayba aura, authority hijab veil migration hiira himla salibiyya a crusade hisba accountability hizb al-ghulat radicals hizbiyya adherence to party politics hizb al-wulat lovalists hudud punishments hukam al-riyadh (pejoratively) the rulers of Riyadh al-hukm al-jabri coercive rule hurra free woman 'ibada (pl. 'ibadat) Islamic rituals, worship breakfast iftar iimaʻ consensus iitihad applying reason to reach a religious ruling ʻilm knowledge *'ilmani (pl. 'ilmaniyyun)* secular, secularist iltizam commitment to the tradition imama state, leadership of the Muslim state

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inhizamiyyat al-umma inkar al-munkar igamat al-hadd (pl. *iqamat al-hudud*) islah islahi (f. islahiyya; pl. *islahiyyin*, *islahiyyat*) islah al-mawruth al-ijtima'i isti'ana istila istirahat al-muharib itisal iadwal zamani jahil jahiliyya ja'ir ja'iz iami'at al-'ulama jariyya jazirat al-'arab, jazirat al-arabiyya iihad iihad 'amali jihad daf'i iihad hadari iihad madani jihad nadhari jihad qitali iihad talab junun al-ʿadhama kaffara *kafir* (pl. *kafirun*) kahanut al-kalima khalʻ al-khassa khawarii al-'asr al-khitab al-dini khubth khuruj 'aqa'idi khuruj bi al-sayf khuruj siyasi

the defeatist attitude of the umma disavowing the abominable punishment reform reformer reform of social heritage assistance seizure of power by force a temporary period of rest communication timetable one who is ignorant the age of ignorance despot permissible association of 'ulama' a female slave the Arabian Peninsula exertion, struggle for the way of God practical *jihad* defensive jihad civilisational struggle a civil jihad theoretical jihad military struggle offensive jihad grandiose madness compensation in money or deeds unbeliever, blasphemous clergy 'the word' forcing a ruler to leave office an elite minority contemporary Kharijites religious discourse filth religious rebellion violent rebellion political rebellion

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| khuruj 'ala wali al-amr/ khuruj 'ala al-hakim | rebellion against the ruler |
|--|---|
| kitab | book |
| al-kitab wa 'l-sunna | the book and the deeds of the Prophet |
| kitman | concealing God's message as revealed in the Quran |
| kufr | unbelief, blasphemy |
| kufr bawwah/kufran bawahan | obvious blasphemy |
| maʿahid | institutes |
| maʻasi | minor sins |
| madhhab (pl. madhahib) | school of jurisprudence |
| madrasa | school |
| mafahim | understanding |
| mahram | male guardian |
| maharim | forbidden women (close relatives such as mother, sister etc.) |
| majlis | meeting, council, study circle |
| majlis al-hiwar al-watani | National Dialogue Forum |
| majlis nuwab | a parliament |
| majlis al-shura | consultative council |
| maqasid al-shariʻa | the objectives of shari'a |
| ma ruf | that which is known in shari'a |
| mashaykh al-haydh | 'the sheikhs of menstruation' |
| ma ^c siyya | sins |
| maslaha | interest, public good |
| mawada | affection |
| al-mawruth al-ijtimaʻi | inherited social tradition |
| millat al-kufr | the religion of blasphemy |
| mithaq | treaty |
| mu'ahadin | infidels enjoying a protected contractual relationship with Muslims |
| mu'amalat ja'iza | permissible relationship |
| al-mu'awal | interpreted religious discourse |
| mubdiʿun | innovators |
| mubiqat | grave sins |
| mufakir Islami | a Muslim thinker |
| mufaraqat al-hayat | leaving life |
| mufti | jurisconsult, highest religious authority |
| al-muhajirun | the Muslims who migrated from Mecca with the Prophet |
| mujahidun | Jihadis |
| mujtahid | scholar entitled to give individual opinions |
| | |

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| mukataba | writing (to the ruler) |
|--------------------------|--|
| mukhalafat | errors |
| mulhid | atheist |
| mulk | kingship |
| munafiq (pl. munafiqun) | hypocrite |
| munathirun | armchair theoreticians |
| al-munazal | revealed religious discourse |
| munkar | evil |
| muqalid | follower of a previous generation of |
| | scholars |
| murabitun 'ala al-thugur | 'tied to the battlefield' |
| murtadd | apostate |
| mush'awithun | charlatans |
| mushrik (pl. mushrikun) | polytheists, blasphemers |
| al-mustabid al-ʿadil | a just despot |
| mustahab | desirable |
| mustawtanat | (colonial) settlements |
| mut ʿa | temporary marriage |
| mutadayin | religious, observant |
| mutawa (pl. mutawa ʿa) | religious specialist |
| mutawwa`in | low-ranking Wahhabi preachers |
| muthaqaf | intellectual associated with acquiring |
| | Western knowledge |
| muwahhidun | monotheists |
| muwalat | an affectionate relationship with infidels |
| najs | impure, polluting |
| naqidh lil islam | that which removes a Muslim from the |
| (pl. nawaqidh al-Islam) | religious community and Islam |
| naql | tradition |
| nashid | songs |
| nasiha | advice |
| nidham | new legislation |
| nidham kufr | a blasphemous regime |
| nifaq | hypocrisy |
| nifaq 'amali | practical hypocrisy |
| nifaq 'aqadi | 'creed' hypocrisy |
| niʿma | grace |
| nukhba | |
| | elite |
| al-nukhba al-fikriyya | elite intellectual elite |
| | |
| al-nukhba al-fikriyya | intellectual elite |

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qawistqiyasdquburigal-quwa al-mutadhariratlrafidhararahatcra'iyyastrijal dincsabbinsad al-thara'i'pal-sahabiyyatesahwaaal-salaf al-salihpal-sha'btlshababyy

Glossary

shabab al-sahwa al-shahada al-sha'n al-'am shari'a sheikh shirk shirk asghar shirk akbar shirk jadid shubuhat (sg. shubuha) shura sunna sura ta'asub *taghut* (pl. *tawaghit*) tahkim al-sharʻ

tajdid al-khitab al-dini takfir takfir al-mu'ayan takfir al-mujtamaʻ takfir al-ʻumum tamasuh tanbih taraf fikri strong deduction by analogy grave-worshipper those who are hurt by reform rejectionists crowd subjects clergy insult prohibition of acts that might violate the law (lit. 'blocking the means') early Muslim women awakening pious ancestors the people vouth the youth of the awakening the Muslim declaration of faith public affairs Islamic legal codes and rules tribal leader, religious scholar, notable blasphemy, heresy, polytheism 'the minor association', a lesser blasphemy 'the great association', a major blasphemy new blasphemy misguided opinions consultation tradition of the Prophet (words and deeds) Quranic verse fanaticism despot, idol application of shari'a the appointment of a successor by the current ruler (hereditary rule) renewing religious discourse excommunication the excommunication of an individual the excommunication of an entire society mass excommunication touching to alert intellectual luxury

ta'iyyin

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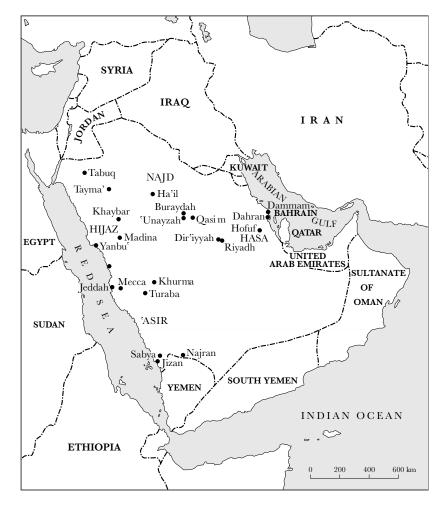
| tarajuʿat | going back on previous opinions, repentance |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| tarajuʿat qasriyya | forced repentance |
| tarasubat wa tarakumat ijtima'iyya | social norms |
| tari' | temporary, accidental |
| tariqa (pl. turuq) | Sufi way |
| tarikh | history |
| tashabuh bi 'l-kuffar | imitating infidels |
| al-tatarus bi 'l-nisa | using women as human shields in time of combat |
| tatbiqat | application |
| taʿtil faridhat al-jihad | suspending the obligation of <i>jihad</i> |
| tawba | repentance |
| tawhid | doctrine of the oneness of God |
| ta'wil | interpretation |
| tawwali | subservience through loyalty |
| tawwali al-kuffar | subservience to infidels |
| tayar | movement |
| tayar al-haraki | organised Islamist movement |
| tazkiyat al-hakim | praising the ruler |
| tazkiyya | an approval certificate |
| thaqafat al-jihad | a culture of <i>jihad</i> |
| thawb | male robes |
| thulathi al-takfir | trinity of excommunication |
| tughyan | oppression, despotism |
| turath | heritage |
| 'ulama (sing. 'alim) | religious scholar, scientist |
| ʻulama al-sultan | the religious establishment |
| uli al-amr | those charged with authority |
| ʻulum shariʻyya | religious knowledge |
| ʻumala | traitors |
| umami | global |
| итта | Muslim community |
| al-umma al-muntasira | 'the victorious party' |
| ^c umra | minor pilgrimage |
| al-'unsor al-da'if | the weak element |
| ^c unsoriyya | racist |
| ʻuqal | head-rope |
| <i>'uyub</i> | faults, shameful behaviour |
| wala' | association, loyalty |
| al-wala' wa 'l-bara' | association with Muslims and dissociation from infidels |

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| wali al-amr (pl. wulat al-amr) | ruler, the one who is in charge of affairs |
|--------------------------------|--|
| warathat al-anbiya' | heirs of the Prophets |
| wasat (n. wasatiyya) | centrist |
| watan | homeland |
| wataniyya | citizenship |
| wilaya 'ama | high leadership |
| yahsum al-khiyar | a final resolution |
| zaffa | wedding celebration |
| zaffat al-shahid | celebration of a martyr |
| zakat | Islamic tax |
| zawaj al-misyar | 'visiting marriage', a marriage without formal obligations |
| ziyara | visit |

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Map 1. Saudi Arabia, main regions and cities.

Source: F. Clements, *Saudi Arabia, World Bibliographical Series* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1979; reprinted 1988). Courtesy of Clio Press.