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# Shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia

Peter Lienhardt

Edited by

Ahmed Al-Shahi

*St Antony's College*

*Oxford*

palgrave

in association with  
Palgrave Macmillan



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First published 2001 by

PALGRAVE

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010

Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE is the new global academic imprint of St. Martin's Press LLC Scholarly and Reference Division and Palgrave Publishers Ltd (formerly Macmillan Press Ltd).

ISBN 978-1-349-42673-7 ISBN 978-0-333-98527-4 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780333985274

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lienhardt, Peter.

Shaikhdoms of eastern Arabia / Peter Lienhardt ; edited by Ahmed Al-Shahi.

p. cm. — (St. Antony's)

Revision of the author's thesis (Ph.D.)—Oxford University, 1957.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. United Arab Emirates—Social conditions—20th century.
  2. United Arab Emirates—Politics and government—20th century.
- I. Al-Shahi, Ahmed. II. Title. III. St. Antony's/Macmillan series (St. Martin's Press)

HN666.A8 L54 2000

306'.095357—dc21

00-066558

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01

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# Acknowledgements

In the 'Acknowledgements' of his D.Phil thesis ('Shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia') the late Peter Lienhardt (1928–86) thanked the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures for the senior studentship which enabled him to undertake his anthropological research in the Trucial States. He also thanked 'many members of HM Foreign Services and members of the British Communities in the Eastern Arabian Shaikhdoms both for their help and their hospitality'. Finally, he was 'grateful... to the rulers of the various shaikhdoms in which [he] stayed, to members of the ruling families, and to many private individuals from among the people of the shaikhdoms for their kindness and co-operation without which [his] research could not have been carried out'.

Peter Lienhardt received help from St Antony's College, Oxford University, while he was a Fellow and latterly a College Lecturer. I am sure that Peter would want me to thank those friends and colleagues who have read and made comments on some earlier drafts of the chapters of this book. Their contributions are belatedly rewarded in the publication of this important study of the Arab shaikhdoms of the Gulf. It was customary for the brothers to exchange their writings for comments and refinements, and I am sure Peter would have liked his late brother, Godfrey, to be thanked for his comments. My thanks to Mrs Clare Brown for her help over deciphering some of Peter's handwritten sentences, to Dr Eugene Rogan, the Director of the Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, for his comments and suggestions and to the Middle East Centre for its contribution towards the publication of the book. Finally, I am grateful to Dr Alison H. Black for her meticulous editorial advice, to Dr Maike Bohn for her interest and suggestions and to my wife, Anne, for her help and support.

The present volume is evidence of Peter Lienhardt's intellectual ability, scholarly contributions and sensitivity to the workings of a different culture. He was kind, sympathetic and accessible to those who sought his help and advice. This book is a fitting tribute to his memory.

AHMED AL-SHAHI  
*Oxford*

# Editor's Preface

The present anthropological study of the political and social institutions of the shaikhdoms of the Trucial States has been long overdue. Peter Lienhardt<sup>1</sup> intended to publish his anthropological study (conducted between November 1953 and February 1956) but he did not leave a complete manuscript in the form that appears in this book. Rather, he left chapters and notes, some typed and others handwritten, and no plan as to how they should finally appear in a finished form. As usual, Peter wrote his material in paragraphs, each beginning on a separate sheet of paper. There are numerous additions and reminders in the margin of the chapters which suggest that he was intending to revise the material for the publication, but for various reasons he did not complete his final revision. As Peter's Literary Executor, his former student and close friend, I have undertaken the task of assembling the available material and preparing it for publication with editorial notes. I have no intention to undertake any editorial changes either to the text of the manuscript or to the layout of each chapter. It is imperative that I should maintain the integrity of Peter's text. The only necessary exceptions to this policy are to his 'Introduction' and his notes for a conclusion. Both are unfinished pieces, and while I have included in my Preface some extracts from the 'Introduction', I give in my Epilogue the full text of the points Peter earmarked for the conclusion. I do not think it would be fruitful to speculate on how he might have ended the 'Introduction' or how he might have written the conclusion or what further data he might have incorporated in both pieces. It is a well-known practice with Peter that he used to revise his writings constantly, and hence the difficulty he found in completing any piece of his work.

Originally the 'Shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia' was successfully submitted as a D.Phil thesis at Oxford University in 1957. But since then and until his death in 1986, Peter reworked some chapters of the thesis, and the result of this revision is the present volume. He went to undertake research on these shaikhdoms not unprepared. Firstly, he studied Arabic and Persian at Cambridge University, and secondly, his anthropological interest in the Arabs began with earlier research for his B.Litt thesis (The Northern Arabs: an account of the social and political organization of some nomad and settled communities of Northern Arabia and greater

Syria), which was completed also at Oxford in 1953. The research was based on published sources, and some themes from this study were taken further in his fieldwork on the nomadic and settled people of the shaikhdoms of the Gulf.

Equipped with language and research abilities, Peter went first to Kuwait and then to other shaikhdoms of the Gulf. His extensive travel and long stay helped in shaping his perceptive understanding of the people of the area and their complex culture. Moreover, he became acquainted with the ruling families of the Trucial States, a situation which enabled him to make further important observations on the politics of these families. Among his powerful acquaintances was Shaikh Shakhbut who, on the basis of Peter's valuable experience, appointed him to be his adviser. Thus Peter went to Abu Dhabi in March 1961, with the hope of rendering useful advice to Shakhbut on future development. Of this episode in his career Peter wrote in his unfinished 'Introduction':

Presumably on grounds of personal friendship, the then Ruler of Abu Dhabi, Shaikh Shakhbut bin Sultan [1904–66], invited me to come to act as his adviser or, as we agreed it was better to call me, Secretary to the Government. Unfortunately – perhaps for him as well as for me – the Ruler and I soon found ourselves in considerable disagreement over what should be done and I left after only three months. This experience is . . . one which has added a good deal to the general content of this book, since through it I came closer to the inner workings of a family of ruling shaikhs than an anthropologist engaged in field research can normally expect to do. Moreover, it brought me, however briefly, into contact with the problems of modern development and dealings with foreign employees and companies, some of the things that anthropologists used occasionally to blame themselves or each other for neglecting in favour of the traditional and the primitive.

In an appraisal of the role of Shaikh Shakhbut in running his shaikhdom, Peter writes:

Many readers will remember that Shaikh Shakhbut's unwillingness to spend the increasing sums of money that he received from Abu Dhabi oil became one of the jokes of the world press in the later years of his rule. In Abu Dhabi itself, the fact that people were getting very little out of their oil caused increasing dissatisfaction among both the ruling family and the general public. It was clear

that the situation could not go on like that indefinitely. Indeed, when I discussed the position in Abu Dhabi with a shaikh from another state in the early 1960's, he asked me why I thought the British Government went on supporting Shakhbut. I said I did not think they were supporting him, but it would be difficult for them to depose him since gunboat diplomacy was now considered objectionable. He replied, 'There would be no need for the British Government to depose him. If the Government simply let it be known that it was not supporting him, the people would depose him in no time'. And his own brother [the present Ruler of Abu Dhabi] had told him that unless he spent more money the people would come and burn the palace down.

To clear the mystery and misunderstanding with regard to Peter's departure from Abu Dhabi only three months after his arrival, it is important to look at this in the context of the relationship between Peter and Shaikh Shakhbut. Through his research Peter came to know the way Shakhbut conducted himself to his family and to his people in the shaikhdom, as well as in his relationships with other rulers of the shaikhdoms in the Gulf. Peter frequently sat in Shakhbut's *majlis* and learnt a great deal about Shakhbut and the affairs of Abu Dhabi. Once Peter was appointed as adviser, then he assumed the role of suggesting to Shakhbut what was needed to improve conditions in his shaikhdom. The latter was reluctant to delegate some of his powers or let anybody share his authority, as he wanted total control over finance and policy. Within a short time, as Peter related to me, the relationship with Shakhbut changed from being friendly to being strained and frosty. Moreover, Shakhbut was, according to Peter, a very difficult person to deal with. He was suspicious, authoritarian and an unpopular ruler. Even official records hardly praise Shakhbut personally or appreciate his period of rule (1928–66). With disagreement over the nature and pace of development, Shakhbut would not take Peter's advice and decided to terminate Peter's contract. But the official reason given for Peter's departure was absurd, to say the least. The British Political Agent reported in his 'Trucial States Diary' under June 1961 that Shaikh Shakhbut

summoned Mr. Lienhardt and told him he was disappointed in the lack of progress since the latter's arrival in Abu Dhabi. Mr. Lienhardt told him that if money were spent more freely, progress might follow. On 21st the Ruler accused him of disloyalty and (in veiled terms) of taking bribes from Halcrows. On June 22nd he gave him a month's

notice. Mr. Lienhardt replied that he would rather be paid up and go; this was agreed and on June 25th he was paid and went.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after his departure Peter was vindicated on two counts. Firstly, in his 'Persian Gulf: Annual Review' dated 28 December 1961, the British Resident in Bahrain reported to the Foreign Secretary:

The Ruler [Shaikh Shakhbut] . . . did not embark on any major development scheme, and hopes that he might establish the necessary basic administrative structure were disappointed when his British Secretary [i.e. Peter Lienhardt] left after three months as a result of unjust accusations by Shaikh Shakhbut.<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, after realizing his mistake, Shaikh Shakhbut sent an apologetic hand-written letter in Arabic to Peter in which he hoped that the latter would change his mind and resume his post. After the hurtful false accusation, Peter thought that there was no further trust between them and that it was pointless to return. Shakhbut's action wounded Peter deeply and left him with a feeling of justifiable dislike towards a man who had questioned his integrity. However, this incident did not change Peter's respect and regard to the people in the shaikhdom, and a year later he took an active role in trying, with the knowledge of the Foreign Office, to help Shaikh Shakhbut's son, Sultan, while the latter was studying in England. In fact Sultan came to stay with Peter in Oxford in order to discuss his problems and affairs despite the fact that Peter refers to himself, in his correspondence with the Foreign Office, as 'persona non grata' with Sultan's father, Shaikh Shakhbut. After this episode Peter went back once to Kuwait but never to the other shaikhdoms of the Gulf, even when Shaikh Shakhbut was deposed by his brother, Shaikh Zayid, the present Ruler.

So what enticed Peter to undertake his anthropological research in the shaikhdoms of the Gulf in the first place? In his unfinished 'Introduction' he states:

My first interest in anthropology was in politics – not so much politics in the day-to-day sense of current affairs or even the year-to-year sense of foreign relations, but rather politics in the sense of structures in terms of which political behaviour could be related to the way in which people lived, their physical circumstances and their values, though it was clear to me then and now that in order to understand the lasting [sic] one must, among other matters, inquire



*Fig. i* Peter Lienhardt and Shaikh Shakhbut bin Sultan of Abu Dhabi in 1961. From the author's photographic collection.

into the things of day-to-day. My linguistic qualifications were in Arabic and Persian. These were the two reasons why I chose the shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia – Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the states of the Trucial Coast – as the area for my first anthropological fieldwork. . . . Politically these shaikhdoms were of special interest. They were not colonies or protectorates with foreign administrators. They had neither adopted representative forms of government from Europe nor military rule and . . . it was possible to enter them and move about freely. Moreover, the traditional circumstances of the various shaikhdoms had enough in common for some comparative study to be possible.

Peter's reflections on the circumstances and problems of conducting anthropological fieldwork in these shaikhdoms constitute an important contribution to the research methodology in Arab/Muslim communities. For example, he writes:

As anyone knows who has done anthropological fieldwork in more than one area, not only the circumstances of the anthropologist's life but the circumstances of gathering information vary very considerably with local conditions.<sup>4</sup> For this reason alone, it is desirable for the anthropologist to say something of the circumstances in which he worked. In the case of the Gulf<sup>5</sup> there is an added reason, since the circumstances of life for the foreign visitor, whilst they have become much more comfortable physically have become much less so socially, assuming that is, that the foreign visitor is interested in knowing the local people, for as the people get richer they often get busier and less accessible. Moreover, as the number of foreign visitors increases they cease to have the interest of being curiosities, so that much company which was formally open and easy-going becomes remote and formal. Up to a point, this was the case in Kuwait even in 1953, but it was not so at all in the Trucial Coast until oil was discovered.

I had become friendly with some Kuwaitis in England and they and their families remained kind and helpful in Kuwait. I spent a lot of time sitting with one group of friends outside a bicycle shop and in the mornings was able to sit in two or three offices of the civil service. These offices were places to which people, as well as coming for business, made purely social calls, just like going round the shops in the market. The civil servant's desk was at one end and the rest of the walls were taken up with sofas and easy chairs packed in with their arms touching so that there should be ample room for visitors. It was possible to meet many people there, but not everyone was readily admitted or, when admitted, invited to sit down. Probably most Kuwaitis were, but some of the people to be seen waiting outside for hours on end were people who stayed or worked in the hotel. One frequent difficulty they had was that they were illegal immigrants wishing by some friendly influence to obtain residence permits.

He continues:

Helpful as my Kuwaiti friends were, I found it impossible to find a house, even a little mud house, that I could afford the rent of, because the rents were too high. It was out of the question to try to rent a room in a Kuwaiti house, since the women were strictly segregated from unrelated men. At that time I never met the wife or the mother of any Kuwaiti friend. Moreover, Kuwait proved to be a much more complicated place to begin a study than I had expected.

The Kuwaiti people were already somewhat withdrawn from foreigners, be they Arabs from other countries or English people. It was much easier to meet them in semi-public circumstances than to have lengthy private conversations and so the questions one could ask had to be few and general. Had I wished to change the subject of the study, it would have been very easy indeed to study some group of Arab immigrants, for these were usually men who had left their families at home and had an endless desire for company and talk. There were already as many adult men who had immigrated to Kuwait as there were adult Kuwaiti men in the city. Their interests and outlook, and their privileges, were a good deal different from those of the Kuwaitis. They came to Kuwait to make a living and needed the employment which Kuwait provided, whilst Kuwait needed labour in its massive construction work and its growing commerce as well as the civil service, the health service and education. . . . Kuwaitis criticized the immigrants for ingratitude and sometimes for greed and dishonesty. It was not possible to mix easily in Kuwaiti and immigrant society since the two themselves did not really mix.

As for the choice of place to undertake anthropological research, Peter writes:

I decided that it would be better to go to a simpler place to start methodical research. I should have preferred the Jahrah Oasis, which is the main bedouin centre in Kuwait territory, but it was made clear to me that this would not be acceptable to the Kuwaiti Government, and so I went to the Island of Failakah which lies outside the Bay of Kuwait. The population was about three thousand and the main occupation was fishing. Even Failakah was a slightly tricky question because the late Ruler of Kuwait, Shaikh 'Abdullah Al-Salim (1895–1965), was very fond of the island, but I was given permission to go there on condition that I did not try to measure people's heads or dig up their graves (neither of which, fortunately, I had the slightest wish or competence to do). . . . Many of the people living in Failakah village were immigrants, but apart from three or four Palestinian school-teachers they were all from the Gulf. Apart from the Palestinians, no one there spoke English and so it was much easier to practise colloquial Arabic than it had been in Kuwait where even little boys in shops had been eager to practise their English, however little they knew. And it was in Failakah that I first became aware of one of the basic traditional patterns of life in the Gulf, for I came across a group

of forty or fifty people, sailors and their families, who had moved as a corporate group from place to place in the Gulf with a family which owned three or four deep sea dhows. I also became aware at first hand how people could be forced to the hazards of the sea by debt, another theme in the traditional life of the people of the Gulf.

He goes on:

It was an excellent thing for me that none of the Failakah people knew any English. Living in these circumstances, apart from the interest of one's work, the pressure of loneliness forces one to make the strongest possible effort to be understood and to understand. If one has no medium of communication excepting the language of a very foreign society, then one absorbs the representations of the society with the language. To take a simple example, the word 'uncle' in English has certain moral and emotional connotations (some of them quite complex if one thinks of the various jocular uses of the word). In Arabic, there is no word which would translate 'uncle' since the brothers of the father are distinguished from those of the mother. Hence there are two terms, '*amm*' for 'father's brother' and '*khāl*' for 'mother's brother'. These terms have different connotations, since one's relations with these two sorts of uncles are very different – as different, say, as the English relation with the father and with the grandfather. But the actual terms 'father's brother' and 'mother's brother' have very little moral or emotional connotation in English, since they are not normal terms for speaking of kin. It is only by thinking and reacting in terms of the very Arabic words '*amm*' and '*khāl*' that one can absorb their meaning. Such considerations as these cover a great deal of the anthropologist's work. In classical texts, every time the name of the Prophet Muhammed or the names of other prophets are mentioned, they are followed by certain honorific expressions. When we read these as students in Cambridge,<sup>6</sup> we read them purely mechanically. Hearing them spoken with piety in Failakah taught me that I had not been taking the religion of Islam as seriously as I should have. Though I had not realized it at the time, reading about Islam in circumstances totally divorced from the simple Islamic devotion, I had been thinking of the Prophet Muhammed far too much in terms of his old-fashioned Christian representation of the warrior and the authoritarian lawgiver, and far too little in terms of the most perfect human model of every virtue, including clemency and charity. And whilst sitting with the Governor of Failakah Island listening to the wireless one day, I asked

a question which caused me acute embarrassment. I asked what was the singing that was being broadcast, and the Governor replied with surprise 'It is not singing, it is the recitation of the Koran'. The Koran is intoned, but singing has no religious connotation in Islam, and my question was rather more inapposite than it would be if one confused the *Agnus Dei*<sup>7</sup> with a music-hall song. But it seems to me far better to have to learn a language with all the frustration and embarrassment that this takes, than to have the assistance of an interpreter who, however helpful he tries to be, is going to try to break down local concepts and associations of thought and re-form them into what he supposes to be one's own.

After his stay in Failakah, Peter moved from Kuwait to Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and other shaikhdoms of the Gulf. Out of these experiences he describes and analyses in the chapters of this book the complex political and social institutions of the people of the Trucial States. His marked sensitivity with regard to the portrayal of these institutions reflects his understanding of the language and culture of the area. It is not my intention to assess Peter's work or to update some sections of the book as this would unnecessarily lengthen an already long manuscript. It is hoped that these topics will be pursued by future researchers. Suffice to say, however, that Peter left behind a unique anthropological portrait of the Trucial States. I say 'unique' in view of the quality of the ethnographic coverage at the time and the depth of understanding of Arab/Islamic culture. I think he is one of a very few scholars who had a real grasp of the traditional institutions of this culture. Though each shaikhdom forms a separate political entity, they all share some similar historical processes and their societies have some common social patterns. Thus, to study one shaikhdom, one has to take into consideration the others. Peter has tried to do this as can clearly be seen, for example, in his successful and illuminating abstractions on the position and role of men and women in the Trucial States. From his extensive anthropological fieldwork Peter published a few articles on the Trucial States (see Bibliography). However, it is appropriate to emphasize one crucial point: the present book and the articles he published must be seen in the context of the time in which the fieldwork was undertaken.

The discovery of oil and consequent influx of wealth and people have transformed the economy and society of these states. The wealth of the Gulf states has become the envy of the Arab world and other developing countries. As a result of the high income of the people in this area, many are experiencing a comfortable style of living, international travel,

the desire for luxury material goods, education, modern health facilities, administrative and political changes. Moreover, the influx of foreign workers (Arabs and non-Arabs) has shifted the population balance in favour of the immigrants. Substantial sums of money are spent each year on health, education, social security and defence. Affluence has led to the near extinction of pearl fishing and to the nomadic population becoming sedentary. But such drastic economic changes are not without problems. The emergence of modern states in the Gulf has, to some extent, weakened the power of the shaikhs, and ordinary people are increasingly seeking the democratization of these states in order to have more say in their running. In comparison with other shaikhdoms of the Gulf, Kuwait has been relatively liberal and progressive with regard to the need for political and social changes. On 1 December 1999, the *Times* newspaper reported that in Kuwait:

The all-male parliament narrowly rejected a draft law granting women full political rights after seven months of debate in the conservative Gulf state. The vote was 32 against to 30 in favour. Two members abstained. Those opposed were mainly Sunni Muslim Islamist and tribal MPs; those in favour were mostly liberal and Shia Islamist elected MPs and government ministers.

This is a radical change in the conservative attitudes of the people of the Gulf shaikhdom. The shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast, however, are nowhere near accepting, let alone implementing, the policy of women's participation in politics.

These changes have widened the horizons of the local people. Certainly, members of the present generation have not experienced the kind of life that their fathers and grandfathers lived and that Peter described in this volume. On the other hand, recent changes are seen by some people in the area as the cause of the erosion of traditional moral values and changing attitudes of the younger generation. One major concern in the area nowadays is to strike a balance between the demands of social traditions and the desire for modernity. So far the societies of the Gulf shaikhdoms have not experienced the political and social upheavals which have been encountered by other Arab/Muslim societies in the Middle East and elsewhere. The need for political and economic co-operation prompted the shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast to come together to form in 1952 the Trucial Council, the United Arab Union in 1968 and in 1972 the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This federation consists of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Umm Al-Qaiwain,

Fujairah, Ras Al-Khaimah and Ajman. But in 1981 Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain joined the UAE to form The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This political development is seen as a means of narrowing the inequalities that exist between them and unifying their laws in the long run. The GCC has proved to be a workable institution and, so far, there has been no opposition to its continuity by the constituent states.

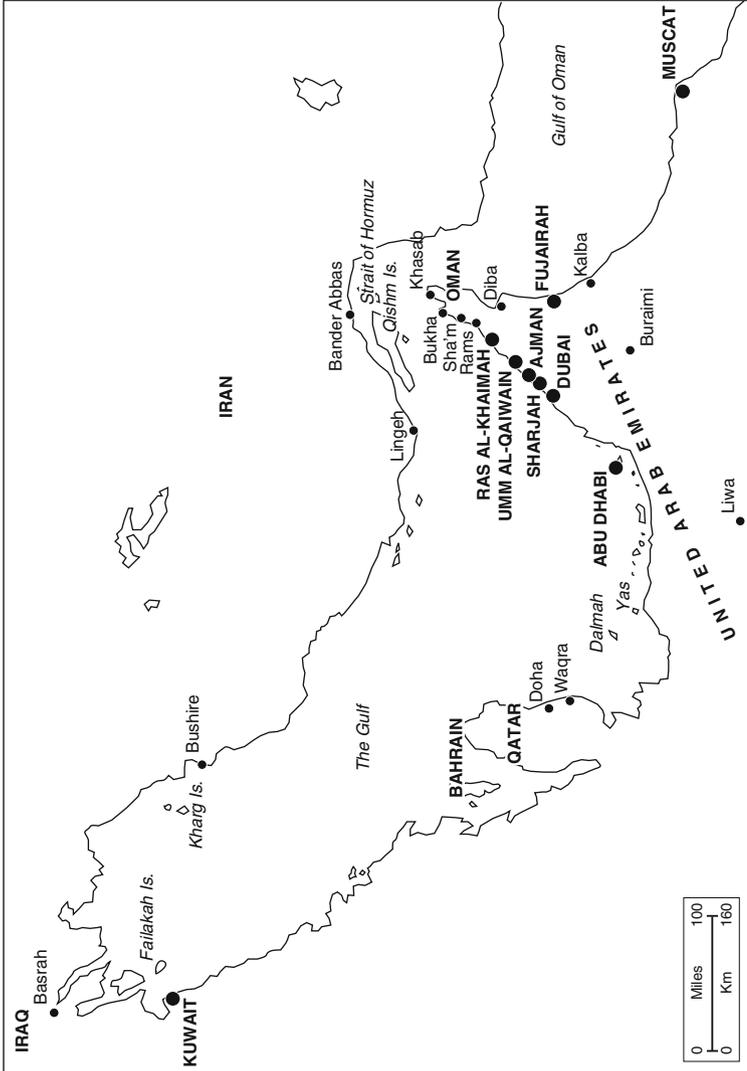
In preparing the text for publication, names of individuals, tribes and places have been given as they appeared in Peter Lienhardt's text. I give diacritical marks only to Arabic words, expressions and sayings which appear in *italic*. This is done in order to make the text less cumbersome in view of the many individuals, tribes and places cited in the text. However, in order to avoid confusion over the names of people, I have made use of two diacritical marks: the 'ain (◌ْ) and the hamza (◌َ), which will be given for names of people and for words in italic. Anglicized Arabic words have been left out of the conventional system of transliteration. Gulf colloquial Arabic words have been maintained as Peter has given them. In the Notes at the end of the book, and occasionally elsewhere, double quotation marks have been used to identify his original footnotes. My additions within these are enclosed in square brackets. All other notes are my own. Peter incorporated in his thesis a small map of the shaikhdoms; hence my larger and more detailed map of the area. Apart from minor technical changes to the text and the incorporation of editor's notes, the text of each chapter has been left as Peter wrote it. Anthropological monographs have a common layout: chapters are invariably divided into sections. However, Peter's style of writing in this volume is in the form of an anthropological narrative. He was not writing a monograph on a specific community within the shaikhdoms of the Gulf. Rather, he was making abstractions on the political and social institutions of these shaikhdoms as a collectivity. Hence, to break up the coherence of each chapter would interfere with the continuity of ethnography and analysis.

Peter makes frequent reference to the shaikhdoms as the Trucial States and to their geographical location as the Trucial Coast. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, it is appropriate to maintain the title of his thesis, 'Shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia', as this term covers the Trucial States and other Arab shaikhdoms of the Gulf to which Peter also refers. The six chapters in this book have gone through Peter's scrutiny many times as he was a perfectionist in his writing. I have read, as no doubt have others among his friends and students, some chapters of the manuscript during the 1960s and on re-reading them I have noticed changes and complete re-writing of some of the material. But no

manuscript of any chapter containing comments by anyone other than Peter has survived. He was careful as to who should read these chapters in view of the sensitivity of the material at the time. Finally, Peter did not include in his thesis any photograph from his collection. However, to give a contemporary visual perspective to the text I have included a photograph of Peter with Shaikh Shakhbut and a number of black and white photographs dating from the time of his fieldwork.

The Trucial States constitute an important economic and strategic area for Arab and Western countries. This importance was very much emphasized during the Gulf War. The defence of the shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast is seen as a factor vital to their stability and to the continuity of international trade and oil supplies. Many changes and issues have emerged since the writing of this book and these need to be given serious investigative consideration similar to that shown by Peter in his own research over forty years ago. I think he would have been pleased that, at long last, his major work on the Gulf shaikhdoms is in print and that anthropologists, Middle Eastern specialists and people in the region will be able to read and reflect on his work.

After his research on the shaikhdoms of the Gulf, Peter undertook two further pieces of anthropological fieldwork. Firstly, among the coastal islands (Zanzibar, Lamu and Pemba) of East Africa (1957–59) and, secondly, in the Persian city of Isfahan (1965–6). He was well-qualified in the languages of these areas and he was able to switch from one language to another with ease and within a very short time. His fluency and understanding extended to reading modern as well as old literary and historical texts. In particular, his command of the Swahili and Arabic languages is manifest in his scholarly work of translating and editing *The Medicine Man: Swifa Ya Nguvumali*, by Hasani bin Ismail. His linguistic ability, his perceptive anthropological fieldwork and personal friendships have given Peter an entry and an insight into the complex and varied cultural patterns of the Arabs, Persians and the people of the East African Coast. Sadly, he did not sufficiently relate to us in print the fruits of his rich and varied experiences and his scholarship. But future researchers will, when the time comes, delve into the richness of Peter's fieldwork observations. In the Arab World and Persia, Peter valued his time there and appreciated the friendships he formed with powerful as well as with ordinary people. But he was happiest in East Africa where he enjoyed the openness of people and the easy and relaxed social atmosphere.



Map The Shaikhdoms of Eastern Arabia