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The Qaṣr al-Muwaijī: Dīwān of the Āl Nahayyān in the al-‘Ain / Buraimi Oasis

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Introduction

The Qaṣr al-Muwaijī in al-‘Ain is the birth-place of HH Shaikh Khalīfa b. Zāyid Āl Nahayyān, President of the UAE. Since 2009 ADACH has been working on a major conservation and development project at the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī that will include a permanent exhibition celebrating his life and times. The Historic Environment Department of ADACH has carried out archaeological investigations and monitoring throughout this project, as well as an assessment of the historical sources and archive photographs relating to the site. The results of this work will be presented within the permanent exhibition and will also be published in due course. In the meantime, this paper aims to provide a preliminary overview of the historical background, original function and subsequent development of the fort, with a particular focus on the historical and archaeological evidence for the period of occupation of the fort by the late Shaikh Zāyid b. Sulṭān Āl Nahayyān from 1946-66.

Muwaijī is the smallest and most westerly of the oases that constitute the al-‘Ain / Buraimi group around which the modern city has grown. It thus lies at the western edge of the al-‘Ain alluvial aquifer, in an area bounded by two major wādīs, and was originally also watered by one of the aflāj or underground aqueducts which are such a feature of the topography of al-‘Ain. The relationship of the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī to the oasis in the time of Shaikh Zāyid was described in 1948 by the English explorer Wilfred Thesiger:

“Muwaiqih (is) one of eight small villages in the Buraimi oasis. It was here that Zayid lived. As we came out of the red dunes onto a gravel plain I could see his fort, a large square enclosure, of which the mud walls were ten feet high. To the right of the fort, behind a crumbling wall half buried in drifts of sand, was a garden of dusty, ragged palm-trees, and beyond the palms the isolated hog’s back of Jabal Hafit about ten miles away and five thousand feet high. Faintly in the distance over the fort I could see the pale-blue outlines of the Oman mountains.”¹

The Muwaijī Oasis is an agricultural estate of the Āl Nahayyān and included a low-density settlement inhabited by the Banī Yās, ‘Awāmir and Manāṣīr tribes.² Moḥammed al-Fahim gives a rather nostalgic account of the place in his well-known autobiography, which provides a fascinating glimpse into the social life of the

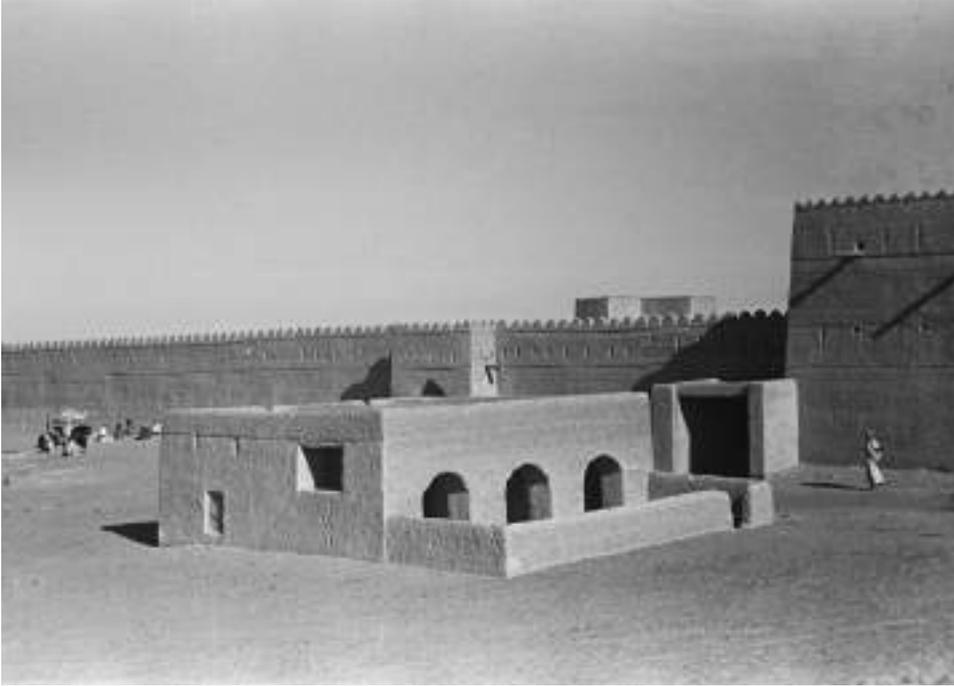


Fig. 1 – Muwaijī Fort photographed by Thesiger in 1948-49, with the mosque and the south-east tower in the foreground and the north-west tower in the background. The ‘carport’ built against the tower appear to have been one of the first additions by Shaikh Zāyid.

settlement before the advent of oil exploitation:

“My parents had a summer home in Muwayje, near the Al Ain oasis, but I spent the first three or four summers of my life in Sheikh Zayed’s palace with him and his wife and their only son Khalifa... Most of the neighbours in the small village in which we lived were Sheikh Zayed’s men, all of whom travelled with him wherever he went leaving the women and children on their own, sometimes for months at a stretch, to manage the affairs of the house and the village in their absence... Of course I still spent a lot of time in my father’s house and I remember the men of the village gathering in our majlis with Sheikh Zayed presiding and everyone contributing to the discussions that went on. Because the settlement was so small everybody knew, respected and cared for each other. We were like one large family to which all in the village belonged.”³

The origins of the settlement appear to go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries AD. Archaeological excavations in the area of the fort revealed some limited evidence for cultivation activity associated with Late Islamic I pottery types (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries),⁴ whilst oral history records that the area at one point belonged to a sub-section of the Zāwāhir,⁵ indicating that the settlement was not an entirely Āl Nahayyān foundation. However it is the Āl Nahayyān shaikhs who are most intimately

linked to the place. Among them was Shaikh Khalīfa b. Zāyid (the first), who is said to have established the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī in the early decades of the twentieth century. Upon his death, the fort passed to his son, Shaikh Moḥammed b. Khalīfa. The fort under Shaikhs Khalīfa and Moḥammed already appears to have functioned as a dīwān. It was used to distribute financial aid during the economic crisis of 1928, termed ‘the year of the (ration) card’ or ‘year of the catastrophe,’ and again in 1939 after the first oil concession was signed.⁶ Around the same time as Shaikh Zāyid b. Sulṭān was appointed Ruler’s Representative in the Eastern Province of Abu Dhabi in 1946, he married Shaikha Ḥaṣṣa bt. Moḥammed b. Khalīfa and moved into the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī, which served as his official residence and dīwān until he acceded to the emirate of Abu Dhabi in 1966. The present head of state, HH Shaikh Khalīfa b. Zāyid, was born there in 1948. The Qaṣr al-Muwaijī therefore represents the dynastic seat and dīwān of the Āl Nahayyān in the al-‘Ain / Buraimi Oasis.



Fig. 2 – The gate of Muwaijī Fort photographed by Thesiger in 1948-49.

Foundation of the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī

The fort occupies an area of 4000 m² some 500m to the north of the Muwaijī Oasis, now separated by the main al-‘Ain to Abu Dhabi road. It originally consisted of a square enclosure (65 x 65 m) with projecting square towers at the north-west and south-east corners and a gate set slightly to the east of centre in the southern enclosure wall facing the oasis. The walls are c. 5 m tall and c. 950 mm thick at the base, and were

provided with a firing platform, crenellations and gun-slots. It clearly had a more than superficial military aspect, described by one British observer around 1950 as “rather forbidding,”⁷ and would have provided adequate protection against lightly-armed tribal forces. Archaeological investigations found evidence for a limited number of intramural structures, including some rooms built against the enclosure walls inside the courtyard, and a free-standing suite of rooms facing the entrance. These last have been identified as the dīwān of Shaikh Zāyid b. Sulṭān, most likely developed from an earlier core, but their chronology is problematic given the shallow stratigraphy and extensive truncation of the sub-surface remains. Much of the courtyard may have been deliberately left empty, and like other similar buildings in al-‘Ain and the region, the fort may therefore have been conceived as a sūr, or temporary refuge for the surrounding population in times of trouble.

The main residential part of the early fort was probably a two-storey building set internally against the north-east corner of the enclosure, shown in an archive photograph reproduced as Figure 3, an arrangement familiar from other forts such as Jāhīlī in al-‘Ain and Qaṣr al-Ḥuṣn in Abu Dhabi. However, the brick typology used in the construction of the north-east tower is different to that used in both the enclosure walls and the projecting towers, suggesting that it was perhaps a later addition to the fort plan. The archive photographs demonstrate that the tower must have been built before 1948, possibly during the residency of Moḥammed b. Khalīfa, though this is unclear.

Another key element of the early fort may have been the mosque. The present structure is a recent construction that was restored by the former Department of Antiquities and Tourism in 2004. Archaeological investigations have shown that it stands on the site of at least two earlier mosques, attested in the archive photographs reproduced as Figure 1 and Figure 7. The Archaeological evidence suggests the earliest phase of the mosque is contemporary with the foundation of the fort. The location of the mosque, set outside the fort walls to the right of the main entrance, recalls similarly positioned mosques at a number of historic houses in al-‘Ain.

The exact date of the foundation of Qaṣr al-Muwaijī is unclear. Oral testimony, however, suggests an early twentieth century date. The sign erected by the Department of Antiquities and Tourism at the entrance to the fort stated that “this palace was built by Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed (the first). Sheikh Moḥammed bin Khalifa presented the palace to H.H. Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan President of the UAE, in the 1940s, then ruler’s representative in the Eastern Province.”

Archaeological evidence for the foundation of the fort is limited to a coin of the Omani Sultan Sayyid Faiṣāl b. Turkī (r. 1888-1913) dated to 1897, found in a post hole cutting the same deposit as the foundation trenches for the fort walls. However, it is not certain if this post hole is associated with the foundation of the fort or with the remains of an earlier structure incorporated into the enclosure wall. In either case the coin provides a terminus post quem for the foundation of the fort. Numismatic evidence should be



Fig. 3 – The north wall of Muwaiji Fort photographed by Thesiger in 1948-49. The north-east tower (left of centre) appears to have formed one of the living quarters of the fort prior to the occupancy of Shaikh Zāyid. The photograph also shows that no rooms had been added to the tower at this date, and thus that these were a later feature added by Shaikh Zāyid.

treated with caution, however, for coins may stay in circulation for a generation (or more) after they were minted. It is perhaps more significant that early twentieth-century visitors to the Oasis, including Zwemmer in 1901 and Cox in 1901 and 1905,⁸ did not mention Qaṣr al-Muwaijī, suggesting that the foundation date should be placed sometime thereafter.

There is some slight circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī may even have been built later still, in the 1920s. It may be significant that a letter dated 1925, now contained in the National Centre for Documentation and Research, from Shaikh Sulṭān b. Zayid (the first), to his wālī in the Oasis inquires as to the number of workmen serving in the aflāj of al-Jāhili and al-Muwaijī.⁹ Of course this might very well simply refer to the cleaning of existing channels rather than the excavation of new aflāj, but it provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the Muwaijī falaj.

The immediate historical context of the fort foundation is therefore to be sought in the early decades of the twentieth century. This period coincides with the rise of the Third Saʿūdī state. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd, known to posterity as Ibn Saʿūd (r. 1902-53), who ejected the Rashīdīs from Riyadh in 1902 and by 1906 had extended his authority through the southern Najd, from which position he drove out the Ottomans from al-Ḥasā’ in 1913.¹⁰ The supply of arms and munitions to Ibn Saʿūd during the First

World War made the Sa‘ūdī Ikhwān one of the best equipped tribal forces in Arabia. The conquest of the Ḥasā’ moreover left the Zāfra once again exposed and al-‘Ain / Buraimi Oasis vulnerable, to the extent that the ruler of Abu Dhabi, Shaikh Ḥamdān b. Zāyid (r. 1912-22), immediately began importing quantities of arms and ammunition.¹¹ An opportunity for Sa‘ūdī intervention in the affairs of Abu Dhabi came in 1920, when factional fighting between the Zāfra Bedouin resulted in one of the factions seeking protection of the Sa‘ūdīs in al-Ḥasā’, and another bout of feuding between 1922 and 1925 culminated with a Sa‘ūdī raid against the Banī Yās.¹²

Throughout this period, Ibn Sa‘ūd was continuously expanding his kingdom, taking Jabal Shammar in 1921, seizing the Ḥijāz in 1925, and annexing the ‘Asīr in 1926. The appearance in 1925 of a Sa‘ūdī mission to the village of Ḥamāsā in the al-‘Ain / Buraimi Oasis to collect zakāt caused no small amount of agitation. Delegates from Abu Dhabi, Dubai and the Imāmate of Oman met at Qābil, just south of the Oasis, for the purpose of “strengthening the cord of union and laying down the course of joint action in case anybody attacked the country.”¹³ The Sa‘ūdī nā‘ib of al-Ḥasā’ responded by despatching an indirect threat via the shaikh of Dubai concerning these attempts to defend the oasis: “our brother Sulṭān... does not know we are stronger than him in men and materials... sooner or later our power shall prevail upon him and others.”¹⁴ The situation remained tense throughout the late 1920s. Sa‘ūdī agents continued to arrive every year between 1926 and 1930 to levy zakāt, until Shaikh Shakhbūṭ b. Sulṭān made an official complaint to the British.¹⁵

Between 1933 and 1937 ultimately unsuccessful negotiations between Ibn Sa‘ūd and the British attempted to delineate the borders between Abu Dhabi and the newly created Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (est. 1932), a process articulated through conflicting claims to tribal allegiances and the inheritance of the defunct Ottoman empire. The requirement to define the borders of the new state was given greater urgency by Ibn Sa‘ūd’s 1933 concession to the Standard Oil Company of California, later ARAMCO, of an area for prospection comprising “the eastern portion of our Saudi Arab Kingdom, within its frontiers.”¹⁶ The unresolved issue of the eastern border between Abu Dhabi and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was later to culminate in the Buraimi Dispute of 1952-1955.

The Dīwān of Shaikh Zāyid

The present appearance of the fort owes much to Shaikh Zāyid b. Sulṭān, who was Ruler’s Representative in the Eastern Province between 1946 and 1966, during which time the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī was his official residence. The architectural development of the fort through this period is shown in a series of archive photographs. Wilfred Thesiger stayed at Muwaijī several times between 1948 and 1949, and his photographs capture the appearance of the fort at the very beginning of the modifications initiated by Shaikh Zāyid (Figs. 1 – 4). The photograph of Peter Clayton, a Captain in the Trucial Oman Levies, was taken in April 1955 and shows the changes that were in progress or had taken place by that time.¹⁷ (Fig. 5). An aerial photograph taken by the Royal Air



Fig. 4 – Shaikh Zāyid b. Sulṭān Āl Nahayyān photographed by Thesiger in 1948-49.

Force (RAF) in 1968 represents the earliest evidence for the post-occupation aspect of the fort (Fig. 6). Finally, photographs taken by the (National) Centre for Documentation and Research (NCDR) in the 1970s, after the fort had gone out of use, show the final appearance of the fort resulting from Shaikh Zāyid’s architectural program (Fig. 7 & 8). Three phases of building work subsequent to the original fort may be adduced from these photographs:

(i) Before 1950 – Figures 1 to 4 show that the north-east tower and the ‘carport’ adjacent to the south-east tower were built after the original foundation of the fort but before 1950. These modifications probably belong to the occupation of Moḥammed b. Khalifa and the very first of Zāyid’s numerous alterations to the fort respectively.

(ii) Between 1949 and 1955 – Comparison of Thesiger’s photographs with Clayton’s panorama from 1955 (Fig. 5) shows that dismantling of the upper part of the north-west tower and construction of a two storey suite of rooms abutting its interior had been completed in the intervening period.

(iii) After 1955 – Figure 5 also demonstrates that the main gate of the fort was not remodelled until after 1955. Figures 7 & 8 show the second-floor rooms and balustraded terrace of the north-west tower and the remodelled gate were amongst the last of Zāyid’s modifications. It may be significant that the parapets of both the gate and the terrace employ similar brick lattice work, implying that they were built during a single phase of building. Likewise the use of gypsum plaster on the facades of the gate and the second floor rooms of the tower may indicate they form part of a single phase, to which the photographs suggest the rebuilt mosque also belongs. The same gypsum plaster found on the internal walls of the two upper floors of the north-west tower was also noted in some of the dīwān buildings, and similarly may form part of the same final phase of refurbishment of those parts of the fort still in use. The good condition of this plaster in the NCDR photographs, particularly when compared with the condition of the south-east tower, suggests these were modifications that took place towards the end of Shaikh Zāyid’s residence at Muwaijī. The same photographs confirm archaeological evidence for a rebuilding of the mosque in this final period (Fig. 7).

(iv) After 1961 – The RAF aerial photograph of 1968 (Fig. 6) shows that the intramural structures of the fort had already been demolished at some point previous to this time, possibly when Shaikh Zāyid acceded to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi in 1966.

However, the end of occupation at the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī may have taken place in the early 1960s. The marriage of Shaikh Zāyid to Shaikha Faṭīma bt. Mubarak al-Kitbī in 1961 and the provision for her of a new palace – today known as al-‘Ain Palace Museum – perhaps marks the point of departure. It seems that Shaikha Ḥaṣṣa moved into more modern living quarters in 1964. Jocelyn Henderson remembers visiting her in a new house in 1967, suggesting that no one was actually living in the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī by that time:



Fig. 5 – Panoramic view of Muwajī Fort taken from the south-west by Peter Clayton, probably between 1954-55. The photograph appears to show the mosque, gate and south-east tower unchanged from the time of Thesiger's visit in 1948-49. The upper part of the north-west tower had been dismantled by this time, and the photograph shows the addition of a two storey suite of rooms abutting its interior. The photograph suggests work on the north-west tower may have been ongoing at this time, and that the rooms shown in figure 7 & 8 may have been added shortly after.

“(It was) little more than a block of grey concrete set away from the souk and the old walled fort (at Muwajī) ... When the sheikha came out from behind the curtain that divided the room into the sleeping and reception areas, she took my hand and proudly showed me around the house room by room. I remember being amazed at seeing a proper bathroom. It was large, with gold-plated taps and porcelain basins. I admit I was envious. Such luxury seemed miraculous...”¹⁸

Archaeological investigations in the fort courtyard provide further details of life within the *dīwān* of Shaikh Zāyid between 1946 and 66. Rooms abutting the western enclosure wall were transformed into kitchens, and a circular tin tray used for serving food was retrieved from the uppermost occupational layer. A sizeable ash dump was found in the south-western corner of the courtyard, producing quantities of faunal remains during the archaeological work. The *dīwān* complex itself was doubled in size, with two sets of three rooms facing each other across a corridor running parallel to the eastern half of the southern enclosure wall so as to form an internal courtyard leading off the entrance. Thesiger's description provides a lively account of a *majlis* held inside the fort, plausibly in the *dīwān* complex:

“We were hungry before we arrived at Zayid's fort and were looking forward to eating meat that evening... Just before dinner four Banu Yas visitors were brought in to share the meal with us... After dinner the room filled up with Zayid's retainers, several of whom had falcons on their wrists... The room was packed with people, some disputing over ownership of a camel, others recounting a raid or reciting poetry. The air was thick with smoke from the coffee hearth and from guttering lamps, and heavy with



Fig. 6 – RAF aerial photograph of Muwaijī Fort (upper centre) showing its relationship to the surrounding settlement and Muwaijī Oasis (lower centre) in 1968. The photograph shows that the intramural buildings of the fort, including the north-east tower had been cleared by this. Figure 5 shows that the rectangular enclosure abutting the exterior south-west corner of the fort, not present in Thesiger's photographs, had already been added by 1955.

the pungent reek of locally grown tobacco... A little later Zayid came in, everyone rose, and after we settled down again and Zayid had been served coffee (the majlis got underway).¹⁹

Guest rooms were built flanking the gate and opposite the *diwān*, so that the south-east quadrant of the courtyard appears to have functioned as a reception area for male visitors, well away from the residential blocks of the north-west and north-east towers. In another of his stays at Muwajīr, Thesiger describes the social life the reception area wherein Shaikh Zāyid made himself accessible to his people:

“Late in the afternoon a servant announced that lunch was ready, and we went into the fort. We passed through a wicket into a porch where armed men were sitting on a low earthen bench. A few months earlier they had been at war. They stood up as we came in. Beyond the porch was a sandy courtyard in which there was a tame gazelle and a bull camel that was rutting and dangerous. Zayid showed us into a large bare room on the left of the porch, lit by two small windows at ground-level opening on the yard. Our saddle bags had been brought in, and carpets laid on the earthen floor. Zayid fed with us...”²⁰

It seems significant that much of Shaikh Zāyid’s architectural program focused on the kitchens, *diwān* complex and guest rooms of the fort, for taken together these represent the infrastructure for the distribution of largesse. Of course, *ḍiyāfa* (hospitality) and *jūd* (liberality) were traditional Arab values, although they might very often have acquired a political sub-text, since “jealous and often hostile sheikhs relied upon the uncertain support of the Bedu to maintain their position. The sheikhs competed for the support of the tribesmen by the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts.”²¹ Indeed, the Sa‘ūdī intervention in *Hamāsā* between 1952 and 1955 may have underlined the political relevance of existing systems of patronage. Fahim’s account draws on memories of this period:

“Sheikh Zayed kept in constant communication with the heads of the tribes inhabiting the area... trying to convince them to back the ruler of Abu Dhabi in opposing the Saudis’ claims to Buraimi...” These efforts were not entirely successful “mainly because the Saudis were feeding everybody by cooking huge pots of food and inviting them for daily meals.”²²

This domestic policy, if it may be so termed, was complemented by a foreign policy cultivating British support. For their part, the British had cause to strengthen ties with the rulers of Abu Dhabi following the discovery of oil. In 1935 Abu Dhabi signed oil exploration agreements with the British and in the following year the Petroleum Development Trucial Coast Ltd. (PDTC) was formed, with a 75-year concession agreed in 1939 which was however delayed by the Second World War.²³ Then in 1953 the Abu Dhabi Marine Areas Ltd. (ADMA) obtained offshore concessions, providing for the first time an oil revenue to the emirate.²⁴ The threat of Sa‘ūdī annexation and the promise of oil exploitation bound Abu Dhabi and the British ever closer together. British officials maintained close political and often personal relationships with the rulers of Abu Dhabi

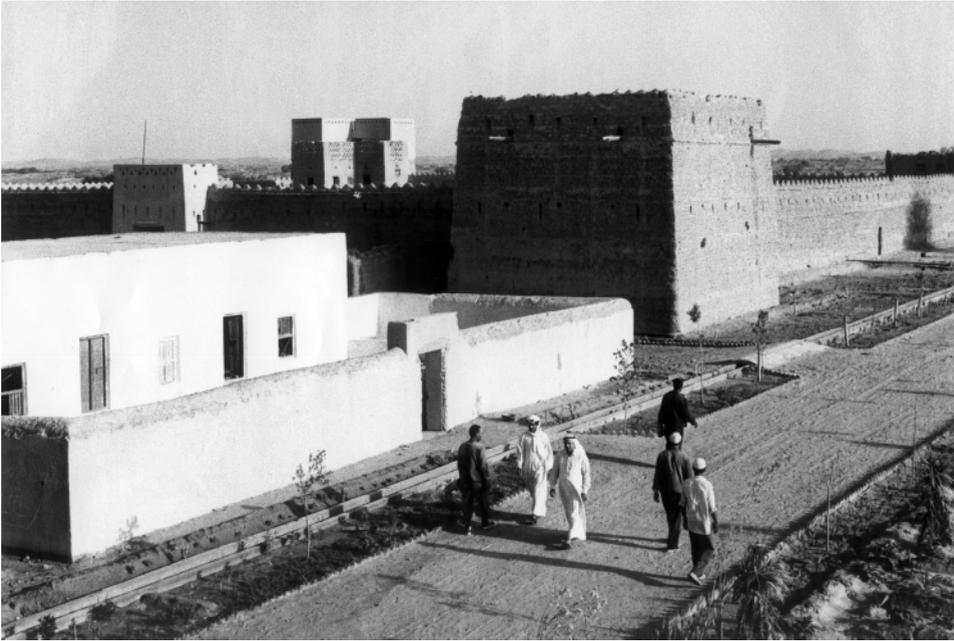


Fig. 7 – Muwaijī Fort viewed from the south east in a photograph from the NCDR archive probably dating from the mid-1970s. Compare with Thesiger's similar view from 1948-9 (Figure 1). The mosque in the foreground, the remodeled gate of the fort and the third storey of the north-west tower all appear to be features of the latest phase of works during the residency of Shaikh Zāyid.

and Oman, and British visitors to the Qaṣr al-Muwaijī now became quite frequent. Anthony Shephard, the Commanding Officer of the Trucial Oman Scouts detachment based at the Jāhili Fort, recalled in his memoirs:

“I went to see him every week at his own fort. He usually treated me with a masterly exposition of local politics. If I came with respect I left with greater respect. He was one of the few great men I have ever met. If we didn't always agree it was certainly due to my ignorance and grouchiness.”²⁵

A new intimacy grew up between the British and the Āl Nahayyān. Edward Henderson, the Political Officer at the time of the Buraimi Dispute, later dedicated his memoirs to Shaikh Zāyid, “as an expression of my gratitude and his friendship and encouragement over so many years.”²⁶ He recalled a visit to Muwaijī:

“Two days later we called on Sheikh Zayed at Al Muwaiqi fort. This was a rather forbidding square fortress with crenellated towers. To exclude the heat, the rooms inside were necessarily rather dark and had no furniture but the colourful rugs and cushions on the floor... Sheikh Zayed showed a great friendship and cooperation towards us, and we had many pleasant evenings together while we were in the oasis.”²⁷

This intimacy extended to private lives. Henderson's wife Jocelyn later recalled in an interview:

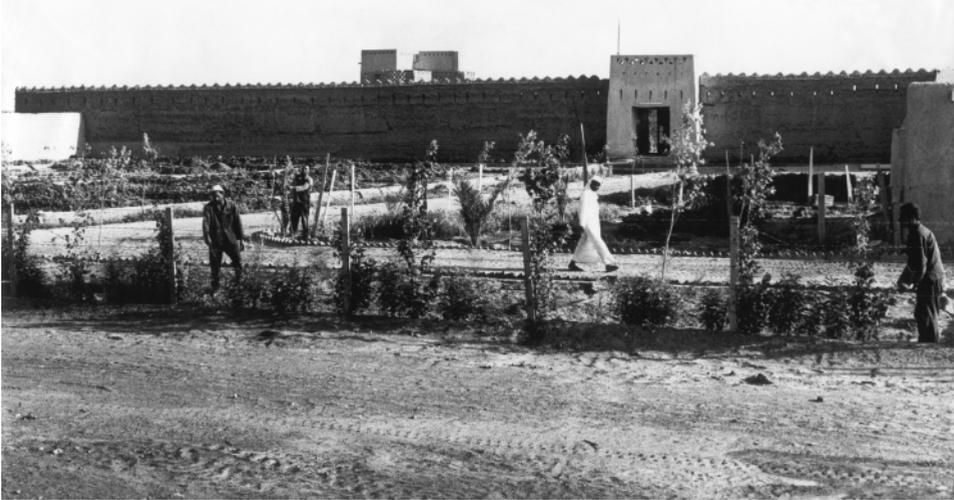


Fig. 8 – The main gate of Muwajjī Fort, with the north-west tower in the background, in a photograph from the NCDR archive probably dating from the mid-1970s. As shown also in Figure 7, by this time the area around the fort had been given over to cultivation.

“I certainly built strong friendships with the women. Edward wanted me to get to know Zayed’s wife. Of course, there was something (politically) useful in that but I believe he wanted me to find the (personal) rewards he had ... When (we visited Muwajjī) the sheikha gestured me to sit on her rugs, ... while many bowls of dates and other fruits were brought through ... I even saw her young son, Khalifa ... There were many moments of humour between us, about our husbands, and she was always pleased to see me...”²⁸

The policy of cultivating allies was not confined to relations with the British. The siger noted the range of visitors welcomed to the fort by Shaikh Zāyid:

“In the mornings, after we had breakfasted on tea and bread, a servant would come in and tell us that the Sheikh was ‘sitting’. We would go out and join him. Sometimes Zayid would be on the bench in the porch, but more often under a tree outside the fort. He would call for coffee and we would sit there chatting till lunch-time, though we were frequently interrupted. Visitors would arrive, Bedu from the Sands or from Saudi Arabia, tribesmen from Oman, or perhaps a messenger from Shakhbut in Abu Dhabi.”²⁹

The function of the Qaṣr al-Muwajjī during the residency of Shaikh Zāyid therefore shifted from being a militarily defensive *sūr* to a *Dīwān* for diplomatic negotiations. The Sa‘ūdī territorial claims and the climate of ‘cold war’ with the Āl Nahayyān, of which the Buraimi Dispute is the most well-known example, was intensified by the realisation of the potential oil wealth of Abu Dhabi and the rivalry for its exploitation between the British and Americans. Muwajjī now assumed a greater political importance, both

by functioning as a centre for the distribution of largesse amongst the local tribes who formed the power base of the ruler, and by playing host to the representatives of allies important to the survival of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi.³⁰

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Notes

1 Thesiger, 1994: 234.

2 Kelly, 1964: 46; Rentz & Mulligan, 1960: 1313.

3 Fahim, 2007: 59-60.

4 Power & al-Kaabi, 2011: IN PRESS.

5 <http://www.ansab-online.com/phpBB2/showthread.php?t=7185>

6 Ibn Ḥamm, ND: 89.

7 Henderson, 1999: 42.

8 Zwemer, 1902: 62; Cox, 1925: 207-08.

9 Letter from Sultan b. Zayid to Moḥammed b. Hilāl al-Zāhiri, 24th Dhū'l-Qa'da 1343 / 16th June 1925.

10 Al-Rasheed, 2002: 38.

11 L/P&S/20/E-84 Abu Dhabi, p. 337. Cited by Maitra & al-Hajji, 2001: 222.

12 Kelly, 1964: 115.

13 Sulaiman Baruni. Article in the Egyptian paper *al-Shūra*, 29th October 1925. Quoted by Kelly, 1964: 117.

14 U.K. Memorial, II, Annex B, No. 41, 'Abd Allāh b. Jiluwi to Sa'īd b. Makhtūm, 19 Jumāda I, 1344 / 27th November 1915. Quoted by Kelly, 1964: 118-119.

15 Kelly, 1964: 121.

16 Umm al-Qura (Mecca), 17 Rabi' I, 1352. Quoted by Kelly, 1964: 122

17 The photo was taken from a little knoll shortly before the riders arrived for major camel race in the district under His Highness Shaikh Zayid. The photo was taken during the Buraimi arbitration. A couple of days later there was also a horse race from the Jahili fort to Al Ain village. At the time there were also horse races organised by the Saudis south of Jebel Hafit. Clayton's response was to organise a "donkey derby" for the children of Al Ain with a 10 rupee prize for the winner.

18 J. Henderson interviewed by Tatchell, 2009: 84-85.

19 Thesiger, 1994: 251.

20 Thesiger, 1994: 235.

- 21 Thesiger, 1994: 245.
- 22 Fahim, 2007: 61.
- 23 Maitra & al-Hajji, 2001: 232. Cf. Hawley, 1970: 209-25.
- 24 Maitra & al-Hajji, 2001: 235.
- 25 Shepherd, 1961.
- 26 Henderson, 1999: vi.
- 27 Henderson, 1999: 42-43.
- 28 J. Henderson interviewed by Tatchell, 2009: 83-85.
- 29 Thesiger, 1994:235-36.
- 30 Cf. Fahim, 2007: 45; Maitra & al-Hajji, 2001: 246.