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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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# Seyyid Said bin Sultan BuSaid of Oman and Zanzibar: Women in the Life of this Arab Patriarch

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**ABSTRACT** *Seyyid Said bin Sultan BuSaid, ruler of Oman (1806–1856) and of Oman and Zanzibar (1836–1856) owed his Omani throne to his fraternal aunt. He married her daughter, his cousin, and cast a wide net for nocturnal partners—slaves from mainly the Black Sea and Abyssinia. He married two Persian royals, and courted the Queen of Madagascar. This paper covers the major events in Said's life from the death of his father, Sultan, in 1904 when his aunt stepped in to aid him (and a brother with whom he became co-ruler for a few years), until Said's death at sea in 1856. Suffering losses of territory his predecessors had gained in the Persian Gulf, Said created a domestic empire in Zanzibar.*

Many histories of Oman and Zanzibar that centre on or include the rule of the merchant monarch Seyyid Said bin Sultan BuSaid have been published, but references to the women in his life have been mainly limited to comments on the large numbers of concubines and their offspring. Several of his sons became rulers in their own right. Then there is the self-serving and often inaccurate memoir produced by his daughter Salme after her apostasy, marriage to a German merchant, and exile. Her book has been the source of information on family life in Zanzibar during his reign. But she was an embittered woman writing from the distance of several decades following her father's death.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Emily Ruete, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess of Zanzibar* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1888) (first English translation 1888). See also E. Van Donzel (ed.), *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1993); Sir John Grey, 'Memoirs of an Arabian Princess', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 37 (1954), pp. 49–70; Patricia W. Romero, 'Salme and Her Brothers', in Slaughter et al., *Sharing the World Stage* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2008), pp. 153–178. A hagiographic account of Said's life was written by Salme's son, Rudolph Said-Ruete, *Said bin Sultan 1791–1856* (London: Alexander-Onseley Ltd, 1929). Another short biographical study of Said bin Sultan was written in Kiswahili by the Chief Qadi of Kenya. This work is even more problematic. It ranges widely over many events, particularly those in East Africa. It reads like an oral tradition—from which most of the data seem to be drawn—although, in part, the author draws on Ruete's memoir as well as her son's biography. See Abdalla Saleh Farsy, *Seyyid Said bin Sultan* (Zanzibar: Mwongozi Printing Press, 1947). This work was later translated into Arabic by Mohammed Ameen Abdullah. See Sheikh Abdullah Bin Salih Al-Farsy, *Albusaidyyun Hukkam Zanzibar* (Muscat: Matabia' Sijil Al-Arab, 1982). Thanks to Ahmed Al Rawi for researching this publication in Oman. Ruete will be referred to throughout the text as Salme bint Said. Her memoir must be read with considerable scrutiny and/or scepticism. Nevertheless, I have relied on her for some aspects of material culture in Zanzibar, while I have also attempted to note omissions or errors.

An examination of the historical record reveals a more nuanced interpretation of the role of royal women within the family, as well as of marriage and concubinage in the life of Seyyid Said. This examination affords insight into the construction of power within a ruling family in this part of the Arab world. This in turn gives us an insight into the nature of power and its use, and the role of women in influencing both. As we shall see, 'women's power' in this context requires an understanding of the details of family alliances, marriage and concubinage under the requirements of Islamic law.

Although Said's first and most steadfast wife was a cousin, his many male progeny were born to a series of concubines, first in Muscat and later in Zanzibar. In accordance with Islamic law, he also married Persian women and proposed marriage to a queen of Madagascar. He loved his mother but left her behind in Oman after he moved his capital of Zanzibar in 1840 (although she may have preferred to stay in the familiar surroundings of home). Sailing back and forth between the two countries that he ruled, Said always carried a concubine or two for company and pleasure.<sup>2</sup> He also showered gifts on Queen Victoria in an attempt to maintain the Indian Ocean slave trade. But the woman who may have played the most important role in his life was his aunt, a sister of his father, Sultan bin Ahmed BuSaid.

A titled Englishman who visited Muscat in 1824 noted 'the patriarchal simplicity of the Arab character' which was 'strongly marked ... with this court'.<sup>3</sup> Said headed this patriarchal society in Oman and later in Zanzibar, but George Thomas Keppel, the Earl of Albemarle, would have been surprised to learn that one of the principal players in Said's successful struggle to win and hold the throne of Oman was his Aunt Seyyida Moza bint Ahmed.<sup>4</sup> The records suggest that Seyyida played a role that was, in some respects, equal to her two nephews, Said and Salim, as they fought opposing forces within the family on the death of their father in 1804. Both boys were in their mid-teens when an uncle attempted to wrest the throne from them. Seyyida acted for her nephews and in opposition to her brother, summoning tribal leaders and members of the extended BuSaid family who were their allies, to their support. Acting in the role of regent, 'the daughter of the Imam' not only helped to plan strategy, she also served as emissary to the enemy; she went 'to him by night to the house and adjured him to put an end to the war'.<sup>5</sup> The negotiated peace did not hold. Hostilities broke out again with factions on both sides attempting to take or hold Muscat. Again, Seyyida remained on the front line, directly approaching supporters and calling in others before, finally, in 1805 Salim and Said emerged as victors, at least over Muscat. Through negotiations, the two boys became co-rulers under a regent, their cousin Badr bin Seif.

But the regency proved to be tenuous. By 1806 Salim had retreated into the background, with Said the titular crown prince and with Seyyida at his side, when

<sup>2</sup> Ruete, *Memoirs*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> George Thomas Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Salil-ibn Razik, *History of the Imans and Seyyids of Oman*, trans. and ed. Reverend George Percy Badger (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1871), pp. 265–282. Badger transcribed the work of Salil ibn Razik from the original Arabic. Moza was a granddaughter of the founder of the BuSaid dynasty and a sister of Sultan bin Ahmed. Three brothers are mentioned in Razik's account. Hamed was probably by another mother, whereas Said and Salim were sons of Ghanee, as was probably the sister with whom Said remained close, bringing her to Zanzibar and take care of her throughout his life. Hereinafter this volume will be cited as Badger, *History*. See also Reda M. Bhacker, *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar: Roots of British Domination* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 52–53.

<sup>5</sup> Badger, *History*, p. 273.

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mi' al-barqīya fī riḥlat maulāna 's-Sulṭān al-mu'azzam Ḥammūd Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Sa'īd Ibn-Sulṭān bi'l-aqṭar al-ifriqiya as-ṣarqiya / ta'lif Nāṣir Ibn-Sālim Ibn-'Udayyim ar-Rawāhī. - [Masqaṭ]: Wizārat at-Turāṭ al-Qaumī wa'l-Ta-qāfa, 1983. - 42 S. - (Turāṭunā ; 47) Inhalt: Bericht über e. Reise d. Sultans Ḥammūd von Zan-zibar (regierte 1896 - 1902) nach Ostafrika. - Verf.: 1822 - 1920. - In arab. Schrift, arab. 7 E 5419

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This is the 'Road of the Cedars' which the Sultan Kaytbay used at the time of his journey of inspection (9th/15th century), and by which during the 18th and early 19th centuries, armed bands from the Biḳ'a, supported and helped by the Ottoman authorities, were passing on their way to harry the Maronites. These last had also to defend themselves against the Turkish governors of Tarābulus.

The little town to-day has 4,000 Maronite inhabitants whose houses are scattered over a hillock where vines and mulberries are cultivated in terraces. A little above Bsharrā, there is a clump of trees, a remnant of the famous cedars of Lebanon, which since 1843 has been placed under the care of the Maronite Patriarch.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**T BTEDDĪN** (a dialectal contraction of Bayt al-Dīn derived from the Syriac Bēth-Dīnā), a place with 800 inhabitants, situated 800 ms. above sea-level and 45 kms. from Bayrūt; the terraces surrounding it grow chiefly vines and olives. Bteddīn constitutes with Dayr al-Kamar, a Maronite administrative enclave in the Druze region of Shūf. It owes its fortune to the fact that the amīr Bashīr II Shihāb [q.v.] (1788-1840) chose it as his residence in 1807 and brought the water of the Safa there by means of a viaduct between 1812 and 1815. Hence a certain number of administrative buildings were constructed in the village as well as the palace, a remarkable oriental blend of styles, the work of an Italian architect and Syrian labourers. Built on a rocky escarpment dominating a deep ravine, this palace was from 1814 on a resort of poets (Nicholas the Turk), and Lamartine, who visited it in 1832, has left us a long description of it.

At the end of the Egyptian occupation in 1840, the palace fell into ruins and a serious fire damaged these in 1912; it was partly restored in 1940. In 1948 the ashes of the amīr Bashīr the Great were transferred there from Istanbul. To-day Bteddīn is the summer residence of the President of the Republic of Lebanon.

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○ **BŪ** [see KUNYA]

○ **BŪ ḤMĀRA**, a Moroccan agitator who got himself recognised as sultan in north-east Morocco from 1902 to 1909. His real name was Djalālī b. Idrīs al-Zarhūnī al-Yūsufī, and he was born about 1865 in the mountains of Zarhūn. He had been a member of the corps of engineering students which Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had tried to establish, and then he became a minor civil servant. He was accused of dishonesty and imprisoned, and then became an exile in Algeria. He returned thence in the summer of 1902, and thanks to frauds and alleged miracles managed to pass himself off as a *sharīf* and even as Maḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the elder brother of Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz [q.v.], who was then living in seclusion at Meknes. Many sections of the tribe of Ghīyāṭa in the Taza region recognised him as sultan, and were soon followed by other

tribes in the neighbourhood. He was installed at Taza, which he made the capital, in the autumn of 1902. He was generally known as Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥimāra) because it was his custom to ride a *she-ass*, or as al-Rūḡī, from the name of a pretender of the Ruwāga tribe who had been in revolt in 1862 and had been quickly captured. He incited a revolt against the sultan on account of his relations with Europeans.

'Abd al-'Azīz sent two expeditions against him which were beaten successively in the last weeks of 1902, when Fez was threatened. But the *Sharīfian* troops ended by beating him near Fez on January 29th 1903, and reoccupied Taza for a time on 7 July. Bū Ḥmāra, wounded and humiliated, reorganised his forces and retook Taza in November. From there he made contact with two other agitators: Raysūlī, who was active in the Tangier area, and the Algerian Bū 'Amāma, who was fighting against the French in the south of the department of Oran. With the latter he besieged Oudjda for many months from the end of 1904 to June 1905 without result. Beaten, he sought refuge near Melilla in the Kaṣbat Salwān and got into touch with the Spaniards, showing them the possibility of mining concessions in the region, which brought him discredit in the eyes of the neighbouring tribes. He however succeeded in reoccupying Taza in June 1908, and, taking advantage of the troubles at the time of the accession of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ to power, he threatened Fez yet again. The new sultan launched several expeditions against him, one of which succeeded in capturing him about 100 kms. north of Fez, on 22 August 1909. Shut in a cage prepared for this event, he was led into Fez and exposed to the scorn of the inhabitants, but after some days the sultan, weary of his bravado and fearing a European intervention in his favour, had him shot on 15 September 1909. His body was half burnt.

*Bibliography:* The principal source is: Dr. Louis Arnaud, *Au temps des Mohallas*, Casablanca 1952, 153-214 and 269-285; then: E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904, 108-131 and 402-19; G. Saint-René Taillandier, *Les origines du Maroc français*, Paris 1930, 104 and 140; Dr F. Weisgerber, *Au seuil du Maroc moderne*, Rabat 1947, 131-3 and 195-8; W. Harris, *Morocco that was*, London 1921; finally the novel by M. Le Glay, *La mort du Rogui*, Paris 1926\*, which is based on a solid knowledge of the facts.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

× **BŪ SA'ID**, the reigning dynasty of 'Umān and Zanzibar, of Azdī origin. The founder, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, became Wālī of Ṣuḥār under the Ya'rubī Imām of 'Umān, Sayf b. Sulṭān II. He defended Ṣuḥār successfully against Nādir Shāh's general, Muḥammad Taqī Khān Shīrāzī, who came to terms. Within a few years, by force, diplomacy and treachery, Aḥmad made himself master of 'Umān. The Shāh was preoccupied with a Turkish war and did nothing to retrieve his position. The date of Aḥmad's formal assumption of the title of Imām is uncertain; it cannot be 1154/1741 as usually stated, and there is some evidence for 1163/1749. He naturally favoured Turks against Persians and helped the former to defend Baṣra in 1189/1775. He fostered commerce and helped to suppress Indian pirates. His son Sa'īd succeeded him in 1198/1783 but was unpopular and withdrew to al-Rastāk, leaving power to his son Ḥāmid, but retaining the title of Imām. No subsequent member of the dynasty used this title; later rulers were called Sayyid, though

# THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AFRICA

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## MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST

By the middle of the eighteenth century a number of well-organized states had emerged in the interior, the rulers of which were able to provide protection for caravans to travel to distant markets. It is likely that it was about this time that the Nyamwezi began to engage in trade over long distances. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were trading as far as the copper belt of Katanga and modern Zambia. The opening by the Nyamwezi of the caravan routes to the coast about the beginning of the nineteenth century was merely an eastward expansion of their flourishing trading network. Pioneer traders, like princes Mpalangombe and Ngogomi, are said to have carried iron from their kingdom of Usaguzi to be sold in Ugogo. They are believed to have heard of the existence of the Indian Ocean when they reached Uzaramo and to have decided to see it for themselves. At the coast they found beads and cloth and discovered that ivory was in high demand. According to Nyamwezi tradition, this opened the Nyamwezi country to external trading, for the adventurers returned home and began to gather ivory to be carried to the coastal markets for sale. Kafuku, the son of Imaliza, chief of one of the Sumbwa states to the north-west of Unyamwezi, imitated the Usaguzi pioneers and so became the first of the Sumbwa traders to travel to the coast. By about 1840 Swahili-Arab traders had begun to travel to Unyamwezi and other parts of the East African interior in search of ivory and slaves.

-Bo Said Honedan

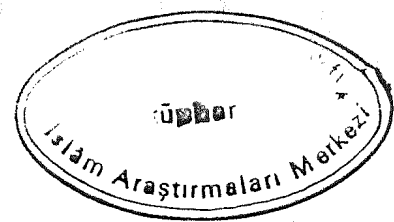
SAYYID SA'ID

Although the coming of Nyamwezi traders provided the impetus for Swahili-Arab penetration inland, there was another vital force that made this penetration more systematic. This was the personality of the *imam*, Sayyid Sa'id b. Sulṭān, who came to power in Oman about 1806. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Omani rulers had regarded the East African coastal towns as part of their political domain. Their claim derived from Omani military assistance to the inhabitants of the East African coast against the Portuguese. With the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Omani rulers had tried to establish their overlordship over East African peoples by setting up their governors in some of the important towns like Mombasa, Zanzibar, Lamu, Pate and Kilwa. But Omani overlordship remained nebulous for more than a century. The rulers were too preoccupied with local problems in Arabia and the Persian Gulf to be able to enforce their authority over the East African coastal settlements. The Omani governors therefore pursued indepen-

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Das Land, von dem hier zu sprechen ist, wurde seinerzeit Persien genannt, obwohl die Eigenbezeichnung, damals wie heute, Iran war und ist. Das komplizierte Verhältnis, in dem die beiden Bezeichnungen zueinander stehen, soll hier nicht erörtert werden. In unserem Zusammenhang wird „Persien“ gewöhnlich für den in der Endphase des Safawiden-Reichs geltenden Territorialbestand verwendet, „Iran“ für den Ausstrahlungsbereich der persischen Sprache und Kultur, besonders wenn er über das persische Staatsgebiet hinausgeht.

Entstanden ist diese Arbeit im Orientalischen Seminar der Universität Freiburg, zu dessen Direktoren der Verfasser von 1963 bis 1983 gehörte. Eine ganze Anzahl einschlägiger Einzelprobleme konnte er in Dissertationen und Magisterarbeiten seiner Studenten untersuchen lassen, wofür er sich in jedem Fall zu großem Dank verpflichtet weiß. Desgleichen betrachtet er es als eine angenehme Pflicht, seinen Mitarbeitern und nachmaligen Kollegen, besonders den Professoren Bert Fragner, Erika Glassen, Ulrich Haarmann und Hans Müller sowie in der Schlußphase Frau Dr. Monika Gronke, für fördernde Gespräche, manchen Ratschlag und wohlthuendes Interesse zu danken. Daß das Buch auf die Initiative des früheren Direktors, Professor Dr. Anton Heinen, hin in den Veröffentlichungen des Beiruter Orient-Instituts erscheinen kann, erfüllt den Autor mit Freude und Genugtuung.

Freiburg, den 29. Juni 1989

Hans Robert Roemer.

ARALIK 1995

MADDE YAYINLANDIQTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

HANS ROBERT ROEMER

PERSIEN AUF DEM WEG IN DIE NEUZEIT

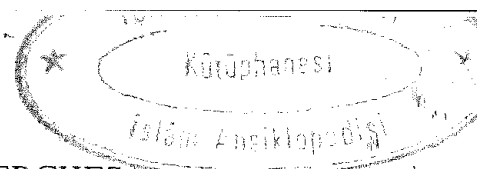
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Aix-en-Provence



*Bu Said Ahmed*

# LA PÉNINSULE ARABIQUE D'AUJOURD'HUI

sous la direction de Paul BONNENFANT

## Tome II ETUDES PAR PAYS

par

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### L'avènement des Âl Bû Sa'id (1749).

Les auspices sous lesquelles s'ouvrit le règne de cette nouvelle dynastie furent, d'une part, les séquelles d'une guerre civile qui avait profondément divisé le pays, d'autre part, une puissance maritime incontestée.

Masqat devint le principal entrepôt et le premier port commercial du Golfe. A la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les cinq huitièmes du commerce international de cette région transitaient par Masqat (26) qui avait supplanté Basra et Bûshir.

Pour attirer commerçants et navigateurs, les autorités de la ville offraient protection contre les pirates qui sévissaient alors sur les routes maritimes, et traitement de faveur en matière de taxes douanières. L'émergence d'une classe de marchands, entreprenante et habile, accentua la prospérité de la frange côtière au détriment des provinces intérieures, scellant un clivage encore visible aujourd'hui. Les Âl Bû Sa'id assirent leur pouvoir sur leurs entreprises maritimes et marchandes. Hamad, petit-fils de Ahmad ibn Sa'id, premier *imâm* de la dynastie, fit de Masqat la capitale. « It was a change which symbolized the shift in the basis of ruling power in Oman from the land to the sea » (27).

Sur le plan intérieur, les fils et les parents de Sultân, dès lors pourvus du titre de *sayyid*, furent nommés à des postes de responsabilité administrative : gouverneurs des principales villes. Une armée permanente, modeste certes, formée d'esclaves et de mercenaires, fut créée (28).

Sultân ibn Ahmad, qui s'était réservé Masqat, laissa à l'un de ses frères Rustâq et le titre d'*imâm*, à l'autre le governorat de Suhâr. « C'était la première étape vers la décentralisation de l'autorité qui, depuis l'origine, était le principe directeur de la dynastie Âl Bû Sa'id et qui devait le rester » : Cependant, les ambitions et les rivalités personnelles au sein de la famille régnante furent telles que plusieurs sultans consumèrent une partie de leur énergie à tenter d'obtenir obéissance et fidélité de leurs propres fils, neveux ou frères. Le recours au meurtre pour s'emparer du pouvoir ne fut pas exclu.

L'intérêt que portaient les dirigeants à leurs possessions d'Afrique orientale, dont les revenus alimentaient généreusement leur cassette, devint croissant. Le sultan Sa'id ibn Sultân fit de Zanzibâr non seulement son lieu de résidence privilégié, mais aussi la capitale de l'empire omano-africain.

### L'expansion omanaise en Afrique orientale et la prospérité coloniale.

Au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'expansion omanaise sur la côte swahilie avait connu trois étapes de développement : une première étape où cette expansion était impulsée par l'unité politique retrouvée de l'Oman ; une seconde où l'unité intérieure rompue, les troubles de l'Oman retentirent sur les possessions africaines ; enfin, une troisième, où la faction gagnante en Oman renforça son autorité en Afrique orientale. Ce fut le début de la période la plus florissante de la présence

(26) LANDEN (R.G.), *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(27) KELLY (J.B.), *op. cit.*, p. 108.

(28) LANDEN (R.G.), *op. cit.*, p. 59.

# DER ISLAM

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FÜR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR  
DES ISLAMISCHEN ORIENTS

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des traditionellen Betriebes der *Šarī'a* und allgemeine Reformvorschläge hinaus hier die ersten praktischen Versuche wirklicher modernistisch-islamischer Gesetzgebung vorliegen. So ist diese Mischung von *Šarī'a* und *Qānūn* eine Übergangserscheinung — denn daß die Tendenz für die Zukunft in dem weiteren Vordringen des *Qānūn* liegt, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein —, aber eine wichtige und charakteristische, bedeutungsvoll vor allem, indem sie zeigt, wie stark sich die Anschauungen bereits gewandelt haben. Besonders beachtenswert ist, daß es schon im Lager der 'Ulamā' zwar noch wenige, aber an Zahl und Gewicht zunehmende Stimmen gibt, die dem modernistischen Streben in wesentlichen Punkten entgegenkommen. Jedenfalls ist Ägypten, wie ein vergleichender Blick auf Indien und die Türkei lehrt, in der geistigen Auseinandersetzung des modernen Islam auch auf gesetzgeberischem Gebiete führend.

## Die Al-Bu-Said Dynastie in Arabien und Ostafrika<sup>1)</sup>.

Von Rudolph Said-Ruete<sup>2)</sup>.

Die Dynastie der Al-Bu-Said, wenngleich eine der vielen, die der Völkerwiege Arabiens entsprungen, ist doch eine solche von ungewöhnlich markanter geschichtlicher Bedeutung, als sie in der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts ihren Machtbereich über die weiten Strecken des Indischen Ozeans nach der Ostküste Afrikas und tief in das Innere des Kontinents dehnte, auch zu gleichem Zeitpunkt weitverzeigte Handelsinteressen und politische Verbindungen mit England, Frankreich, den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Britisch- und Holländisch-Indien, Ägypten, Türkei, Persien und selbst China pflegte.

Oman und Zanzibar wurden erst durch die kühne Fahrt Vasco da Gama's zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts dem europäischen Gesichtskreise näher gebracht. Ein Jahrzehnt später hatten die Portugiesen bereits von den Küstenstädten Muscat und Sohar einerseits, von Zanzibar und den benachbarten Inseln Mafia und Pemba andererseits, Besitz ergriffen, ohne jedoch, im stetem Kampfe mit der eingeborenen Bevölkerung, ihre Herrschaft dort während der Dauer des 16. Jahrhunderts erheblich festigen zu können. Auch die Rivalität der Holländer und Engländer, die ihren politischen und wirtschaftlichen Einfluß am Gestade des Indischen Ozeans planmäßig und erfolgreich erweiterten, trug wesentlich dazu bei, die Stellung der durch die Bedrängnisse des fernen Mutterlandes zeitweilig isolierten portugiesischen Machthaber in zunehmendem Maße zu erschweren. Dem Erscheinen des ersten englischen Schiffes, der Edward Bonaventure, auf der Reede von Zanzibar in 1591 folgte bereits neun Jahre später die Gründung der machtvoll aufstrebenden, sich starken Rückhaltes erfreuenden Ostindischen Compagnie. So wurde die Lage der Portugiesen immer bedrängter und als in Oman die Dynastie der El Yaareba unter Nasir bin Murschid zur Macht gelangte, setzte

<sup>1)</sup> Vortrag gehalten in der Islamischen Abteilung des 18. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses zu Leiden, September 1931.

<sup>2)</sup> Dem Vortragenden wurde im März 1932 durch den Sultan von Zanzibar der Titel „Seyyid“ verliehen.

One could write a fair-sized essay on this subject, but I will desist out of respect for your valuable space, and for fear of an accusation of making heavy weather on a very simple issue. But I would point out for J. B. G.'s benefit that my work simply bristles with shocking examples of the same error: Ibn Rashid, Ibn Husain, and even Ibn Sa'ud.

On the more important issues raised in his review I am content to leave history to judge between his opinions and mine. So far events have been very kind to my rash prophecies.

I am, etc.,  
H. STJ. B. PHILBY.

### BOOKS FOR REVIEW.

The following books have been received for review:

- "A Century of Exploration at Nineveh," by R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 146 pp. Illustrations and plans. (London: Luzac and Co. 1929. 7s. 6d.)
- "Om Mani pudme hum" (Meine China u. Tibeterepedition, 1925-28), by W. Filchner. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 352 pp. 103 illustrations and a map. (Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1929.)
- "Rabi'a the Mystic," by Margaret Smith. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xxv+219 pp. (Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 10s. 6d.)
- "Modern Chinese Civilization." Translation from the French by E. M. Jones. (London: Jonathan Cape.)
- "The Arab's Place in the Sun," by Richard Coke. 6" x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 318 pp. Illustrations. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1929. 21s.)

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CO-OPERATION AND THE RURAL PROBLEM IN INDIA. THE UNEQUAL TREATIES. THE ASSYRIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS. CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS. RABI'A THE MYSTIC. SHAHRYARÂN-I-GUMNÂM. OM MANI PUDME HUM. CONTEMPORARIES OF MARCO POLO. EARLY INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA. A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION AT NINEVEH. ZAKHA ULLAH OF DELHI. THE GREAT HORN SPOON. ATLANTIS.

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### CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A RECEPTION was given by this Society, jointly with the Royal Asiatic Society, on July 1 to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Lord Allenby and Professor Margoliouth received, representing the two Societies. The Sultan afterwards attended Mr. Said-Ruete's lecture on "The Al-bu-Said Dynasty in Arabia and East Africa." The Chairman, before the lecture started, welcomed the distinguished guest who had honoured the two Societies by his presence.

### THE AL-BU-SAID DYNASTY IN ARABIA AND EAST AFRICA\*

BY R. SAID-RUETE

THE dynasty of the Al-bu-Said, which I propose to discuss this afternoon, and of which so distinguished representatives have honoured us by their presence, did not originate in Zanzibar. It sprang up, in fact, in Oman, which is least known of all Arabian countries, situated on the south-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, and distant more than 2,000 miles from Zanzibar. In the beginning, therefore, it is necessary that we concentrate our attention less on the present seat of the African branch of the dynasty than on its ancestral home, and yet we shall find that Oman and Zanzibar are so closely knit by the ties of history that we shall suffer less inconvenience than might be expected in spanning the immense space which sunders the two countries.

And as we have referred to these ties it becomes, of course, essential that we should give some account, however slight, of their nature. In a short address of this kind it is difficult to decide exactly how far back to begin, and any period of time selected must of necessity be arbitrary; but, if only on the grounds of convenience, I may be pardoned for taking you back for a moment to the opening of the sixteenth century, when the region with which we are dealing was first opened up to European eyes.

The full realization of the extent and the possibilities of this east coast, as well of Africa as of Arabia, came only with the historic voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1498. This voyage was the crowning-point of almost a century of stern and relentless endeavour on the part of the Portuguese, of endeavour which was unremitting but slow. But after 1498 the pace

\* Lecture given to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic and Central Asian Societies on July 1, 1929, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ET DE RECHERCHES  
SUR L'ORIENT ARABE CONTEMPORAIN

Aix-en-Provence

*Zanzibar*

# LA PÉNINSULE ARABIQUE D'AUJOURD'HUI

sous la direction de Paul BONNENFANT

## Tome II ETUDES PAR PAYS

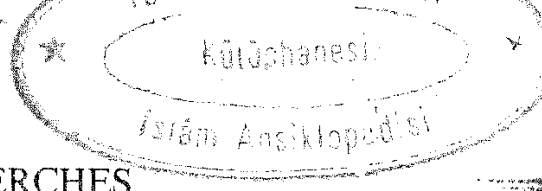
par

A. AUBRY, O. BLANC, P. BONNENFANT, A. BOURGEY, L. CHAMPENOIS,  
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1982



Des lettrés et les responsables des écoles vinrent souvent aussi d'Oman (22 bis). Ils pénétraient dans l'intérieur avec les commerçants et constituaient le cœur des petites communautés arabes, relais de trafic caravanier et foyers d'islamisation. La confrérie Qâdiriyya fut répandue, après 1880, le long de la côte et dans l'intérieur par les disciples de shaykh Umays, originaire de Brava. Elle s'opposa à la Sâlihiyya prêchée par Muhammad 'Abdallâh Hassan, le célèbre Mad Mullah de Somalie (23). Les rapports demeuraient complexes entre Zanzibâr et les différents centres de la côte où les représentants du Sultan disposaient de plus ou moins d'influence réelle et devaient compter avec les forces locales (23 bis). Il se créa ainsi un ensemble politique original, diversement décrit à l'époque comme « État colonial arabe » ou « Arab dominated colonial settler society » (24).

### ZANZIBAR, ENTREPÔT MARITIME DE L'EMPIRE OMANO-AFRICAIN

Cet empire, étendu du rivage d'Hormuz jusqu'au Mozambique, dépend de la mer. Les navires, sous le pavillon rouge de l'imâm de Masqat, commerçent avec tous les ports du Golfe, ceux de l'Inde et jusqu'à Singapour et Java, et, vers le Sud à Madagascar et Maurice (25). Les techniques de navigation entre Masqat, Matrah, Sûr et Zanzibar ont été bien décrites par Guillain (26). Les grands bateaux partent les premiers, appareillant à partir de la seconde quinzaine de novembre et surtout en fin décembre-début janvier. Ils font généralement relâche à Meurka-Brava et surtout Lamu et Mombassa. Ils descendent presque tous jusqu'à Zanzibar où ils arrivent à la fin février. Ils apportent des étoffes, des tapis, des peaux et surtout des dattes d'Oman. Les bateaux de la mer Rouge partent généralement plus tard, en fin janvier, apportant café et verroterie, encens et gomme et faisant escale au Benadir.

La remontée se fait au printemps avec le renversement de la mousson. Les navires emportent ivoire, opale, girofle et esclaves. Une partie des *dhows* fait le commerce triangulaire Masqat-Bombay-Zanzibar, pour les plus forts sortis des

(22 bis) MARTIN (B.G.), Notes on some members of the learned classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century, *A.H.S.*, IV, 1971, 2, pp. 531 sq. Les Omanis, ibâdites pour la plupart, étaient opposés aux confréries. La Shâdhiliyya était assez répandue à Zanzibar avant 1850 et à Kilwa. Elle était en liaison avec la Shâdhiliyya des Comores, cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.*, *The Journal of African History* 1960, p. 479. La Qâdiriyya se manifesta vers 1880 à Zanzibar par l'intermédiaire de musulmans de Brava. De Zanzibar, elle gagna l'intérieur jusqu'à Maniema (Congo oriental). Elle profita de l'appui du sultan Sa'îd Barghash, cf. CUOQ, *Les musulmans en Afrique*, p. 468.

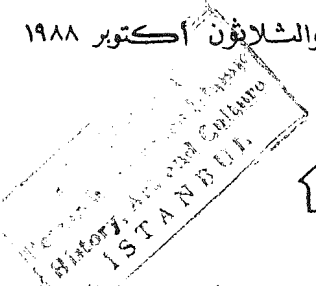
(23) A.G. MARTIN, *op. cit.*, in *J. Afr. Hist.*, 1969, 3, p. 480. Sur l'ibâdisme de Zanzibar, INGRAMS, *op. cit.*, chap. XVI.

(23 bis) Sur ces problèmes administratifs et la nature du pouvoir omani sur les différentes régions constituant l'ensemble politique omano-africain, voir les remarques de BENNETT, *op. cit.*, p. 52, et les nombreuses notes de BONTINCK.

(24) Terme repris par ALPERS.

(25) Mc CULLOCH, édition de 1867, article Mascate.

(26) GUILLAIN, *Documents sur l'Afrique orientale*, t. III, p. 359 sq. Pour les années 1860, bonnes analyses dans les rapports de FLEURIOT DE LANGLE (A.M.V.), NICHOLLS, *Swahili Coast : Politics, Diplomacy and Trade on the East African littoral, 1798-1856*, Londres 1971, pp. 262-3.



# العربي

مجلة ثقافية مصورة تصدر شهرياً عن وزارة الإعلام  
بدولة الكويت  
للوطن العربي ولكل قارئ للعربية في العالم

رئيس التحرير  
د. محمد الرميحي

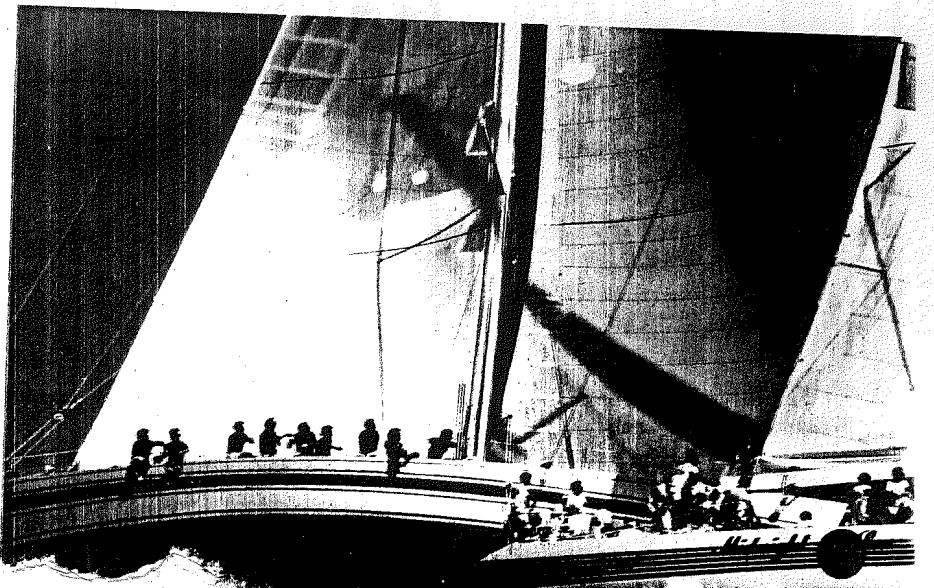


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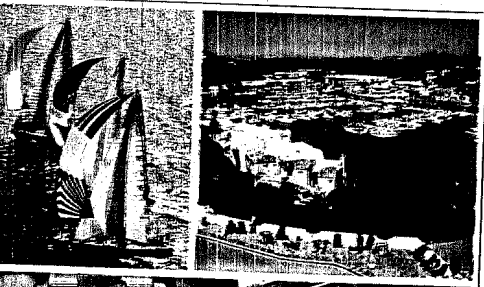
يُتفق عليها مع الإدارة - قسم الاعلانات

شُرسل الطلبات الى : قسم الاشتراكات - المكتب الفني  
وزارة الاعلام - ص. ب. ١٩٣ - الكويت  
على طالب الاشتراك تحويل القيمة بموجب حوالة مصرفية  
أوشيك بالدينار الكويتي باسم وزارة الاعلام طبقاً لماسبي :  
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أوروغواي ١٠٠٠ دولاران	قطر ٥ ريال	اليمن الجنوبي ٢٥٠ فلسا
فرنسا ١٥ فرنكا	سلطنة عمان ربع ريال	مصر ٢٠ قرشا
أمريكا دولاران	لبنان ١٥ ليرة	السودان ٢٠ قرشا



## خوت الطويلة : الكلاسيكات تحفل وثبات.



يخت "مكسي" طويل حلم يكرود جميع  
وت من الفضة المتنازة - فنهمة الريان تتطلب  
ات الملاحة بدقت لا تتعدى قيد شعرة - وما  
شهل، فكل ما يتعلق باليخت الطويل له شأن

دة يخت طويل بسرعة ٢٥ عقدة في الساعة لا  
تب فحش، بل انها مخنوفة بالمخاطر -  
دها تنزن ٢٥٠ باوندا، والجمال الذي تعريض  
كل بمفردها، انما يبلغ حكاها شلالاً، فلاغرابية،  
حت تأثير الإجهاد فيتناذى بعض أفراد طاقم



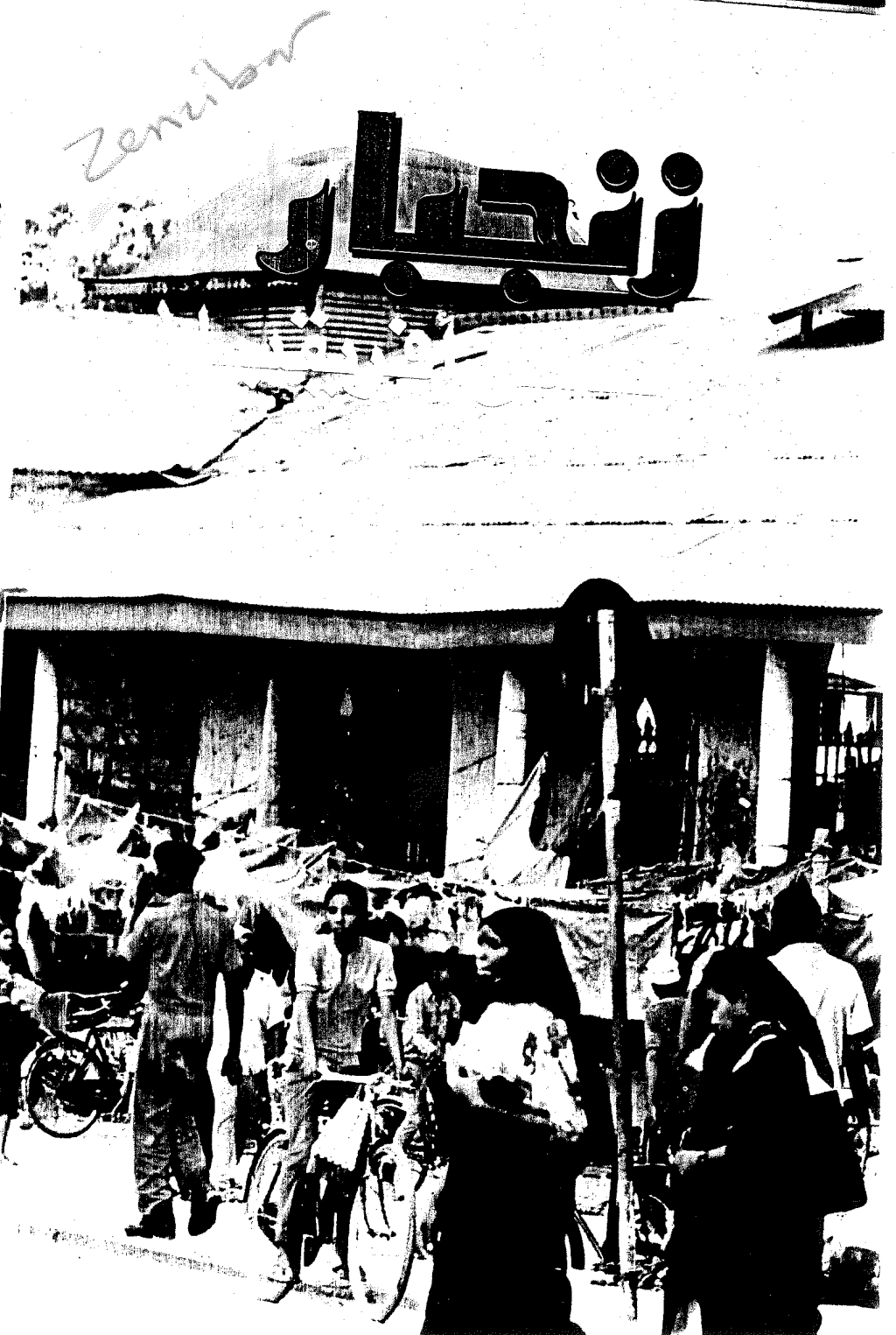
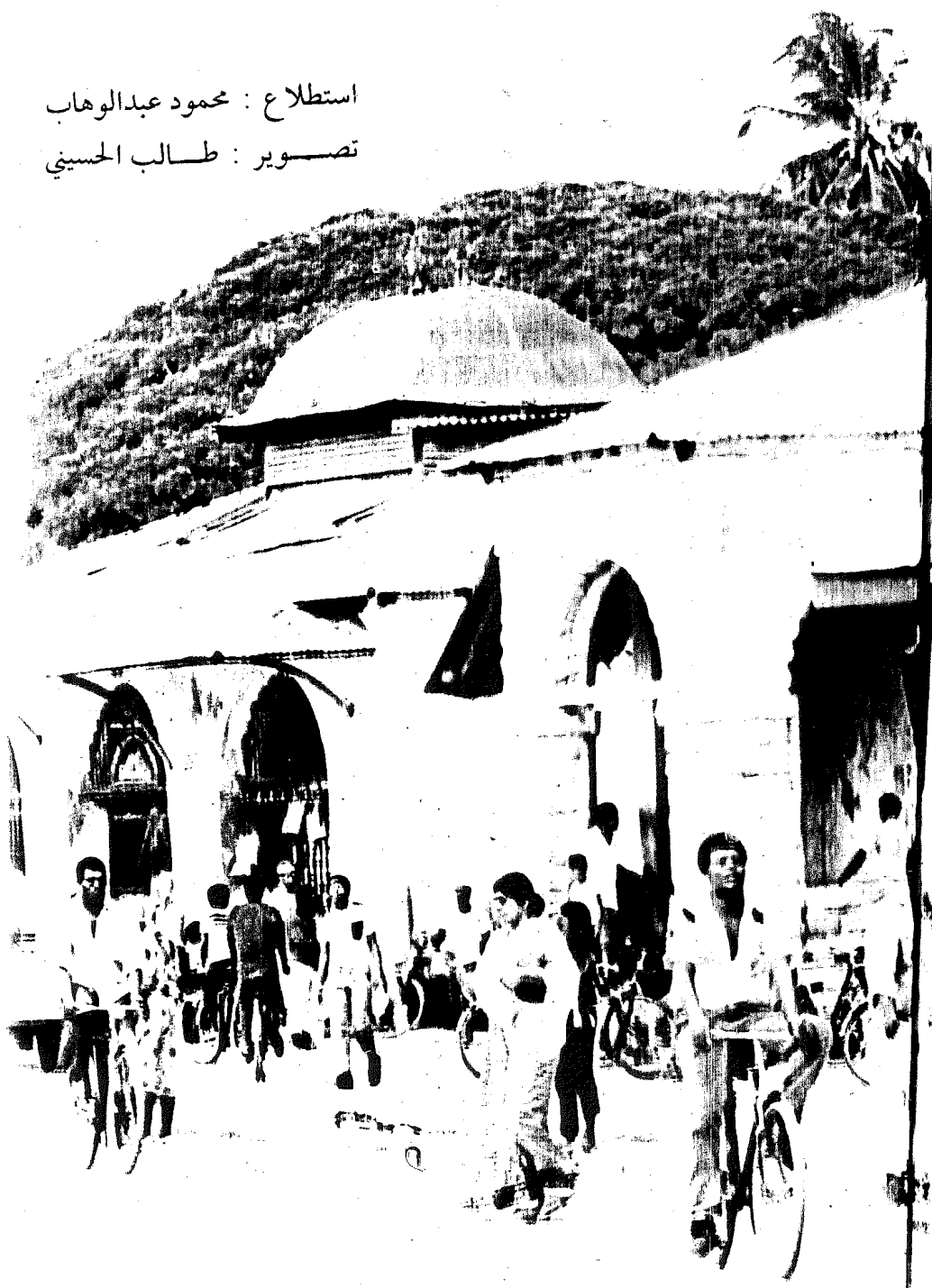
ة البديهة مقتربة مع روح العمل الجماعي  
ويتان لقيادة هذه اليخوت العملاقة عند

ما كان لسباق الزوارق الطويلة من إعتبار،  
وق مكانة سباق اليخوت الطويلة "الكابا"  
عالم عندما يبلغ أوجها في المرحلة الثانية  
انزة كأس رولكس التي منحت في "بورتو  
متردينياً.

يم كلاسيكي يعمل ضمن نطاق دقيق من  
تحتل... وهي مستقرات يعطيها المشتركون  
ة اليخوت الطويلة حق قدرها، وكذلك صانعو  
ساعة كلاسيكية دقيقة  
رولكس من جنيف.

رولكس من جنيف

استطلاع : محمود عبدالوهاب  
تصوير : طالب الحسيني





مشهد لمركز مدينة بوسطن

والطباعة والصناعات الحربية والمعدنية والاتصالات.

تُعد بوسطن مركزاً ثقافياً مهماً، فقد صدرت في بوسطن أول صحيفة يومية في أمريكا عام ١٧٠٤، وأسست فيها أيضاً أول مدرسة نظامية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في عام ١٦٢٥. كما أسست في العام التالي ١٦٣٦ أول كلية بضاحية كمبردج، تطورت إلى جامعة هارفرد. تضم منطقة بوسطن ٢٠ جامعة وكلية، أشهرها معهد مساتشوستس للتقنيات وجامعة بوسطن، إضافة إلى ٣٠ كلية صغيرة في ضواحي بوسطن، وعدد من أشهر مراكز البحوث الأمريكية، وخاصة في الطب وعلوم الطيران. وهي موطن آل كندي وغيرهم من مشاهير الأمريكيين.

مصطفى حمزة كوكو

ملحوظ وبلغ تعدادهم نحو ٥٧٤٢٨٣ نسمة في عام ١٩٩٨. وسكانها خليط من البيوريتان الأوائل والوافدين من الإنكليز والفرنسيين والإيطاليين، ثم من الزوج الأمريكيين وأقليات أوروبية. مع غلبة الطابع الإيرلندي على المدينة. اشتهرت بوسطن ميناءً لصيد الأسماك، غير أن وظائفها تطورت مع الزمن. ومع احتفاظها بوضعها ثالث أكبر ميناء بعد نيويورك وفلادلفية، فهي أيضاً مركز إداري وتجاري وصناعي وثقافي كبير. وتخدم المدينة ثلاثة خطوط حديدية ومطار لوغان الدولي، وعدد من الطرق السريعة. تعتمد الحركة التجارية فيها على كثير من المصارف والشركات والهيئات التي شجعت الصناعة فنشطت فيها صناعات الطعام والملابس

بوسطن ودفعتهم إلى الاحتجاج وإثارة القلاقل والاضطرابات. وكان رد السلطات البريطانية عليها جميعاً عنيفاً، وانتهى بما عرف بمجزرة بوسطن عام ١٧٧٠. مما دفع مواطني بوسطن بقيادة صمويل آدم إلى المزيد من المقاومة للحكم البريطاني. وفي عام ١٧٧٣ قامت جماعة من سكان بوسطن متتكرين في زي الهنود الحمر باقتحام ثلاث سفن بريطانية محملة بالشاي، وألقت حمولتها في البحر، فأرسلت بريطانيا تعزيزات عسكرية بقيادة الجنرال كيغ Cage. لكن المقاومة استمرت وحاصرت القوات الأمريكية الاتحادية المدينة قرابة السنة (١٧٧٥ - ١٧٧٦) حتى تحررت من البريطانيين وانضمت إلى الاتحاد الأمريكي في ١٧ آذار ١٧٧٦.

أخذ عمران المدينة يتسع منذ منتصف القرن السابع عشر في شبه جزيرة شوُنتُ Shawmut التلالية وعنق روكسبري Roxbury، واتجه غرباً حتى وصلت المدينة إلى صورتها الراهنة التي تزينها ناطحات السحاب والمباني الفخمة والحدائق الراقية. لكنها ما تزال تحتفظ بعدد من المباني الأثرية، مثل مبنى مقر الحكومة الاستعمارية الذي بني عام ١٧١١، وقاعة فونويل التي بنيت عام ١٧٤٢ وغيرهما. وقد جددت معالم المدينة عام ١٩٥٨، ومنها كثير من المعالم القديمة، وأعيد تخطيط جزء كبير من المنطقة فظهرت المباني العصرية وناطحات السحاب.

لم يكن عدد سكان بوسطن في نهاية القرن الأول من عمرها يزيد على ١٣ ألف مواطن، ولكن مع الازدهار التدريجي للحياة العامة والاقتصاد بالمدينة، نما عدد السكان بشكل

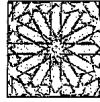
## ■ البوسعيديون

البوسعيديون أسرة حكمت عُمان وزنجبار وما يزال أحفادها يحكمون عمان حتى يومنا هذا.

عرفت الأسرة بهذا الاسم، نسبة إلى مؤسسها أحمد بن سعيد بن محمد بن سعيد الأزدي العُماني الإباضي المذهب. وتتنمي قبيلة أسرة بوسعيد إلى الحناوية، إحدى كبريات

بولاية صُحار، وهناك ذاع صيته بين الناس، وحُمدت سيرته، وقصده شيوخ القبائل ولاسيما الجبُور الذين وطَّد علاقته بهم بمصاهرتهم. وإزاء تنامي شعبيته، أوجس الإمام خيفة منه، فاستدعاه إلى مسقط حيث أعد مؤامرة للتخلص منه، إلا أن بعض الخُصص من أصدقائه حذروه مغبة ما ينتظره، وكان

العشائر في المنطقة، وكان مقرها أدم، بعمان الداخلية، حيث ولد أحمد بن سعيد سنة ١١١٢هـ/١٧٠٠م، ولما شب جذبته التجارة إلى ميدانها فمهر فيها، واستدعاه الإمام سيف ابن سلطان الثاني العربي حاكم عمان سنة ١١٤١هـ/١٧٢٨، وأسند إليه بعض المهام في ساحل الإحساء فحاز ثقته إثرها، وأنعم عليه



# Z

## ZAND, KARIM KHAN (c. 1705–1779)

Karim Khan Zand was the ruler of western Iran from 1751 until 1779. A chieftain of the minor tribe of the Zand, of the Lakk branch of the Lors, Karim Khan led his contingent from the debacle of Nader Shah's army in 1747 back to their inner-Zagros mountain ranges. In alliance with 'Ali Mardan Khan of the Bakhtyari, he established a puppet Safavid shah in Isfahan and consolidated the southwest under their rule. In 1751 he overthrew 'Ali Mardan, and subsequently defeated several other contestants for regional power among Afghan, Afshar, and Qajar leaders. By 1765 he had emerged as de facto ruler of the whole of Iran except Khorasan, with his capital at Shiraz.

Karim did not assume the title of shah, even when the putative Safavid king predeceased him, but ruled as *vakil al-ra'aya*, "people's representative" (the term for a traditional local ombudsman). He encouraged internal and foreign trade, granting the East India Company a base at Bushire, and rebuilt Shiraz (many of his fine buildings are still standing). A nominal Shi'ite, he practiced religious toleration, and did not actively seek the endorsement of the ulema. In 1776, after a year's siege, he captured the port of Basra in Ottoman Iraq, but his death in 1779 brought a withdrawal.

The Vakil, as he is affectionately known, has left a reputation as a strong but humane and unassuming ruler who restored a measure of peace and prosperity to Iran. His successors were by contrast cruel, rapacious, and unpopular, excepting the last, Lotf 'Ali Khan (1789–1794), and soon succumbed to the rising power of the Qajars.

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John R. Perry

## ZANZIBAR, SA'IDI SULTANATE OF

The Omani dynasty of Zanzibar, under the able leadership of Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan (1791–1856), inaugurated a new era in the commercial life of East Africa. Zanzibar had steadfastly remained loyal to Omani rule whether under the Yarubi dynasty, which had driven the Portuguese out of East Africa by the end of the seventeenth century, or under the Yarubi successors, the Busa'idi dynasty, which came to power by the 1740s. Sayyid Sa'id was able to assert his sovereignty over much of the East African coastal strip but not over the Mazru'i of Mombasa (his major competitor) who held out until 1837. He eventually moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar by the 1830s. The sultan was a master of intrigues and was able to deal with potential rivals such as Kimweri, the Kilindi ruler of Usambara, by disbursing gifts to Kimweri's officials, who were urged not to lose sight of the sultan's interests.

Major changes took place in East Africa after the arrival of Sayyid Sa'id. In fact, East Africa experienced what can be termed as a commercial revival, brought about by expansion in trading activities, new agricultural ventures (introduction of clove plantations), reforms in currency and customs administration, and encouragement of people with trading skills, such as Indians and Omani merchants, to settle in Zanzibar. The expansion in the coastal economy confirmed Zanzibar's privileged position as the hub of the international trade with its control of coastal ports through which products such as ivory and slaves filtered from the interior. The sultan's aggressive economic policies encouraged the trading

(forthcoming); 'Abd al-Ghanī Mīrzāyif, Badr al-Dīn Kashmīrī va ishtibāhātī dar ta'yīm-i ta'lifāt-i ū, *Vahīd* 12 (1974), 700–13; 'Arif Nawshāhī, Aḥwāl va āthār-i Badr al-Dīn Badrī Kashmīrī, trans. Najm al-Rashīd, *Nāma-yi Pārsī* 3 (1337sh/1998), 19–27; Thurayyā Panāhī, Badrī Kashmīrī, *Dānīshnāma-yi zabān va adab-i Fārsī*, ed. Ismā'īl Sa'ādāt (Tehran 2005), 1:737–8; Dhahībhallāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Irān* (Tehran 1985), 5/2:713–7; Dhahībhallāh Ṣafā, Badrī Kašmīrī, *Elr.*

PAUL E. LOSENSKY

## Barghash

**Barghash** b. Sa'īd al-Bū Sa'īdī (1837–88) was the second Bū Sa'īdī sultan of Zanzibar (Zanjibār). After the death of Sulṭān Sa'īd b. Sulṭān al-Bū Sa'īdī (r. 1804–56), the sultanate of Muscat and Oman was divided into three parts, ruled by sons of Sa'īd b. Sulṭān: Muscat by Thuwaynī, Ṣuḥār (Sohar) by Turkī, and Zanzibar by Mājīd. Mājīd's succession and rule in Zanzibar was contested by both Thuwaynī and his younger brother Barghash, who supported the reunification of the sultanate under Thuwaynī. Thuwaynī's effort to gain control over Zanzibar with his fleet was stopped by a British naval intervention in 1859, and Barghash's subsequent rebellion against Mājīd in Zanzibar, supported by the al-Ḥarthī and al-Barwānī families, both of Omani background and firmly established in Zanzibar, was also thwarted with British support in July 1859. As a consequence, Barghash was exiled by his brother Mājīd to Bombay. Although he was allowed to return to Zanzibar in 1861, he was kept under house arrest. Despite British opposition, he became the new sultan of Zanzibar after the death of Sulṭān Mājīd in October 1870. After taking power, he initiated reforms inspired by the movement of the *muṭawwa'ūn* ("those

who enforce obedience"), an Ibādī reform movement that strove to reunite Oman under the leadership of Imām 'Azzān b. Qays al-Bū Sa'īdī (r. 1868–71). In Zanzibar, Barghash fought against corruption, revoked a number of Mājīd's legal decisions that were not based on Ibādī principles, and nominated new Ibādī *qāḍīs* who supported the *muṭawwa'* movement. Also, Indian traders (often British subjects) were blocked from trade outside the town of Zanzibar. His anti-Indian and anti-British policies started to change in 1871, when Imām 'Azzān b. Qays demanded his submission. At the same time, the British authorities, already effectively in control of Zanzibar, nominated a new consul general for Zanzibar, John Kirk, who replaced his controversial predecessor, Henry Churchill. Barghash's efforts to strengthen Zanzibar's autonomy suffered a setback in April 1872 when a cyclone destroyed Zanzibar's navy and merchant fleet, as well as 85 percent of the clove plantations on the island of Unguja. In 1873, Sulṭān Barghash also had to accept the end of the Indian Ocean slave trade, imposed by the British. Zanzibar's military weakness became obvious when an Egyptian fleet under the command of Henry Frederick McKillop Pasha sailed down the East African coast in 1875 and took control of the northern parts of the Swahili coast. Only British intervention forced the Egyptians to turn back.

The effects of the cyclone and Zanzibar's increasing dependence on Britain motivated Sulṭān Barghash to start a programme of modernisation of the sultanate, which was inspired by visits to Great Britain, Egypt, and Syria in 1875. From Syria, he imported Zanzibar's first printing press, which was put into action in 1879 and subsequently used to print Ibādī compendia imported from Ibādī centres of learning as far away as the Algerian

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2003 NISAN 9

## A Study of Titles of Rulers of the Āl Bū Sa'īd Dynasty

Britain's 19th Century Legitimization of Oman's  
Dynastic History

MATSUO Masaki

- I. Introduction
- II. Problematic Issues
- III. Titles Used by British Officials for Rulers of Muscat, prior to 1861
- IV. Titles Used by British Officials for Rulers of Muscat, after 1861
- V. Conclusion

### ブー・サイード朝の君主の称号

松尾昌樹

本稿はイギリス東インド会社ならびに英領インド政府によるブー・サイード朝の君主に対する称号の適用方法の変化を明らかにすることを目的とする。イギリス側は1861年まで「イマーム」の称号を適用したが、この称号を冠せられた支配者達は、イバード派の教義に則ったイマームではなかった。このような誤用の原因には、イギリス人がイバード派の教義やブー・サイード朝の歴史に関する知識を持たなかったことだけではなく、ブー・サイード朝の君主達がこのような使用法を黙認することによって、イギリスからオマーンの君主と見なされる効果を期待していたことが考えられる。1859年から1871年にかけて、英領イ

## دولة بو سعيد في عمان وزنجبار

منذ تأسيسها حتى انقسامها

( ١٧٤١ - ١٨٦١ )

رسالة ماجستير في الآداب

للسيد / جمال زكريا قاسم

بإشراف الأستاذ الدكتور أحمد عزت عبد الكريم

تنسب دولة البوسعيد ، إلى قبيلة بو سعيد ، وهي قبيلة من عرب الجنوب ، أصبحت في خلال القرن التاسع عشر من أكثر القبائل شهرة في الجزيرة العربية .

ويعزى تأسيس تلك الدولة ، إلى الإمام أحمد بن سعيد الذي تزعم حركة وطنية ضد الفرس الذين احتلوا عمان (١٧٢٨ - ١٧٤١) ، وتمكن من طردهم ، والقضاء على الأسرة التي كانت تحكم في البلاد ، والتي كانت مسئولة عن الغزو الفارسي وهي أسرة اليعاربة ، وأسس دولة جديدة قام هو على رأسها ، وهي دولة البوسعيد التي لا تزال تحكم في مسقط وزنجبار حتى وقتنا الحاضر . ذلك أن دولة البوسعيد لم تقصر حدودها على إقليم عمان ، وإنما تمكنت من أن تضم إليها أجزاء كثيرة من الساحل الشرقي للقارة الأفريقية . وتوغلت في داخل القارة توغلاً كبيراً وعلى الأخص في النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر . ومن الملاحظ أن سيطرة تلك الدولة على ساحل أفريقيا الشرق كان يعد بمثابة إحياء للعلاقات القديمة التي ربطت بين الإقليمين منذ القديم .

وتبدأ الرسالة بتمهيد يتناول العلاقات بين عمان وشرق أفريقيا وكيف كانت تلك العلاقات مقصورة على المبادلات التجارية ، ثم كيف أحدث ظهور الإسلام تنظيم إمارات سياسية ومراكز تجارية حضرية على الساحل الأفريقي . ثم الصراع الذي قام بين تلك الإمارات الإسلامية وبين البرتغاليين الذين احتكوا بتلك الإمارات في أثناء رحلاتهم إلى

- Bu Said Homedani  
- Amman

جامعة عين شمس

البشير العلي

١٩٥٠ - ١٩٦٠

ملخصات رسائل الماجستير والدكتوراة التي  
منحتها الجامعة منذ انشائها حتى سنة ١٩٦٠

مطبعة هامة عين شمس

١٩٦١

IRCIQA: 9649

## Muslims in 'ZANZIBAR'

Location	:	East Africa	Zanzibar Sultanlig.
Area	:	1020 Square Miles	bk. Busaid Hanadani
Population	:	300,000 (Muslims 99%)	
Head of the State	:	Sultan Sayyid Jamshid bin Abdullah	
Capital	:	Zanzibar	

SEPERATED from the main land of East Africa by a gulf 20 miles wide at its narrowest, lies the fragrant and ever green island of Zanzibar which, together with its sister island Pemba makes the Sultanate of Zanzibar. The islands measure an area of 1020 square miles and contain a population of 300,000, composed of indigenous inhabitants, Arabs, Iranians, mainland Africans, Asians and some Europeans. The soil of the islands and the climate have the rare qualities needed for the cultivation of spices, particularly cloves. It is therefore, no wonder that the islands produce 80% of the world supply of cloves. The soil is fertile, the climate tropical and rainfall averages at 70" a year.

December 10, 1963 marked the most auspicious day in the history of Zanzibar since November 4, 1890. For this was the day when Zanzibar attained independence, amidst volleys of gunfire and cannon booms, after having been a British protectorate for about three quarters of a century.

But what a Zanzibar it was that re-emerged into existence as a free state! Bereft of its former vast dominions it is but a shadow of the early 19th century Sultanate of Zanzibar, which held sway over the entire East African coast, as far west as Lake Victoria. It was a familiar saying in those days "When they whistle in Zanzibar people dance around the great Lake."

The history of Zanzibar is closely connected with that of the East African mainland, so much so that it is impossible to deal with one independent of the other.

Zanzibar is a corrupt form of Zanj-Bar or the land of the African Muslims. These African Muslims had set up, by the 10th century A.D., a vast Zanj Empire along the East African coast composed of a number of city states.

The East African coast, including the islands of Zanzibar and Pamba, was known to the Arabs even before

the rise of Islam. The direction of the monsoons was also favourable for their voyage to and fro. Trade relations, therefore, had been established between them since quite a long time but the actual migration of the Arabs to East Africa took place in the 7th century A.D. They soon conquered the whole coastal strip as far south as Mombasa and set up their several Kingdoms. With these Arab emigrants entered the rays of Islam in the dark continent from the east.

The Arab emigrants married native women and the alliance resulted into the birth of the Swahili people, mainly Arab in character.

In 975 A.D. a fresh wave of emigrants from Southern Parsia swept East Africa. It was led by one Hasan bin Ali who brought 7 shiploads of emigrants to East Africa, 6 of the ships under the commands of his six sons and the seventh under his own command. Each ship load founded a separate settlement of which Kilwa, Mombasa, Pemba and Johanna were the most powerful. The state of Kilwa, founded by Hasan bin Ali himself, was by far the most powerful of them and exercised considerable influence over all of them including Zanzibar. Thus was laid the foundation of the Zanj Empire which flourished until the inauspicious arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498 A.D.

The Zanj Empire represented a harmonious blend of the Arab, Iranian and African characters. The civilization that thus emerged into existence was predominantly Arab. The economy of the Empire was based mainly on trade with the interior. Their caravans penetrated deep into the interior and occasionally they also had to fight to keep the caravan routes open.

By the end of the 15th century Portugal was dreaming to establish a vast empire in the East. Her agents were busy in the Indian Ocean searching for opportunities to

establish new colonies. In 1498 Vasco de Gama landed at the East African coast and visited Mombasa and Malindi. The Sultan of Malindi gave him a hearty reception and proved very helpful. He also provided him with an able pilot to help him sail to India.

What was the Portuguese reaction to this generous treatment?..... In 1502 Vasco da Gama returned to East Africa with a strong Portuguese fleet, equipped with the up-to-date weapons of war and forced the Sultan of Kilwa to pay yearly tribute. In 1503, another Portuguese naval officer, Ravasco, attacked a number of merchant ships near Zanzibar and seized their cargo. When the news was conveyed to the Sultan of Zanzibar he sent 4,000 soldiers in canoes to punish the offenders but the Portuguese opened their cannons and murdered the defenceless creatures. In 1505, a fleet of 20 ships under the command of d' Almeida, new Portuguese Viceroy for India, captured Sofala, Kilwa and Mombasa. The town of Mombasa, which had 10,000 inhabitants, put forth a heroic resistance. The Portuguese captured it after a hard fight and set it on fire. With the fall of Mombasa, the Portuguese were the masters of East Africa which they ruled with an iron rod for almost two centuries.

But East Africa proved a thorn in their bed. Despite all their cruelty and barbarism the Portuguese did not succeed in subduing the native population into slavery. The people of Mombasa were specially the most untamed of them all and they grasped even the slightest opportunity to organise a revolt against the Portuguese. Twice they succeeded in driving out the Portuguese, once with the help of a Turk merchant and at another occasion with the help of an Imam of Oman. But the Portuguese always came back equipped with new ideas of cruelty.

Finally in 1698, Iman Saif bin Sultan, the ruler of Oman, sailed to

# Sayyid Sa'id

*Tarikh 1/1  
Nigerin 1965*

R. J. Gavin



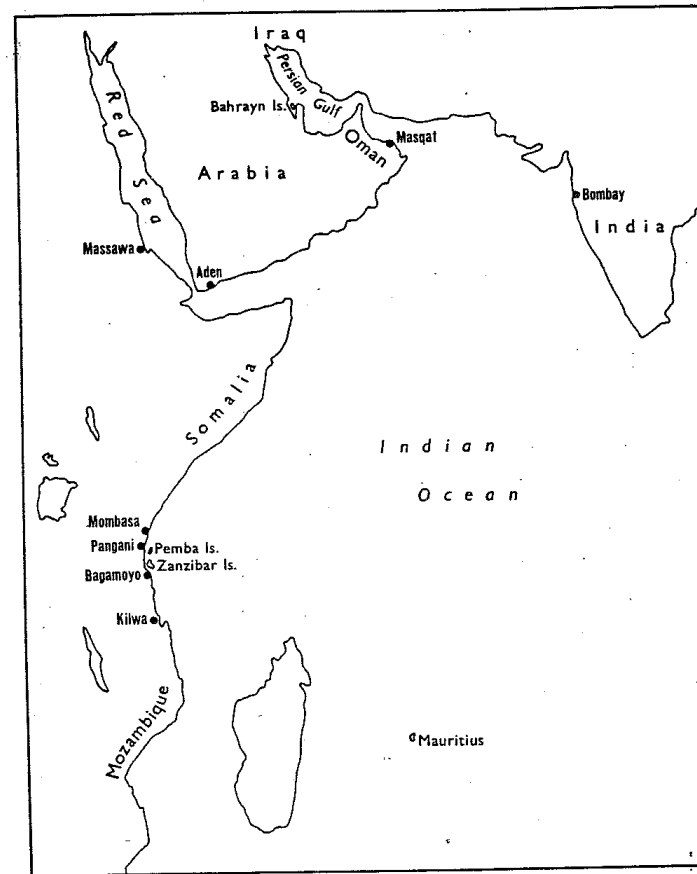
Sayyid Sa'id of Zanzibar

## More than a Merchant

Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan, ruler of Zanzibar from 1806 to 1856, has been kindly treated by historians. 'Vigorous', 'wise', 'enlightened', these are the qualities usually ascribed to him. No history of East Africa in the mid-nineteenth century fails to accord him a place of prominence and most make him the central figure of the period. This is not altogether surprising since, as if anticipating the future, Sa'id maintained excellent public relations with all those whose records of his rule have passed down to our time. Yet, looking beyond the testimony of contemporaries to the facts of his career one is still impressed by the versatility and wide ranging vision of the man. His own disarming description of himself as a 'mere merchant', conveys a quite wrong impression of his life's work. True enough, he engaged in trade and sent

*-bk. Busaid here*

ships laden with cloves to France, but he spent little of his time buying and selling. He was as much a man of war as a man of business. He came to power at the age of twelve by killing his uncle with his own knife. During his youth his navy was one of the largest in the Indian Ocean and in practically every year between 1820 and 1850 he led armies, sometimes of several thousand men, against one or other of his enemies. As a military conqueror however, Sayyid Sa'id was a complete failure—none of his important vic-



The Indian Ocean at the time of Sayyid Sa'id

tories was won by force of arms and most of his attempts at military conquest ended in disaster. His reputation was built upon his ability as a diplomat rather than on his skill as a soldier. He was one of those clever politicians who manage to serve themselves while keeping others happy. All spoke well of him—British, French, Americans, Indians and the slaves of his own



سلطنة عمان  
وزارة التراث القومي والثقافة

تراثنا

# البوسعيون

## حكام زنجبار

الفه بالانجليزية

الشيخ عيسى بن صالح الفارسي

( قاضي قضاة كينيا )

Türkiy - Diyanet Vakfı  
İslam Ansiklopedisi  
Şifresi

Kayıt No. : 15513

Tasnif No. : 967.81  
FARE

الطبعة الثانية

Bo Satd Flaredam

BAŞBİ YATIRILANDIRYAN  
SONRA SELEN DÖKÜMÜN

21 TEMMUZ 1993

endured it. Considerable and well-tabulated statistical information is expertly interpreted in the text (which is illustrated also by the author's own pen-sketches). De Waal has mastered a complicated subject. *Famine that kills* leaves the reader with admiration and unease.

M. W. DALY

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE: *The Swahili Coast, 2nd to 19th Centuries: Islam, commerce and Christianity in Eastern Africa*. (Collected Studies.) xvi, 268 pp. London: Variorum Reprints, 1988.

The merit of the work under review lies not only in the fact that it contains 17 collected papers exclusively connected with the history of the East African Swahili coast (a civilization which, in spite of its vital role in the various events of the whole region of East, South and Central Africa, is still starved of published material on its history) but also because the papers themselves were written by one whose academic interest in the region goes back more than three decades. Furthermore, since it is increasingly difficult to locate relevant material from the older periodicals, mostly buried in specialized libraries, the reprinting of these papers in a single book is a welcome boon to students and historians with a keen interest in Swahili peoples and their region. Archaeologists, numismatists, epigraphists, geographers, philologists and linguists will no doubt be quite grateful also. But since the title might, in fact do, give a false impression not only of the content but of an apparent historical continuity, the listing here of the articles, written between 1957-85, should not be out of place.

I: 'An apology for the chronology of world history'; this has very little, if anything, to do with the Swahili Coast, but is nevertheless a useful 'overview of world history'; II: 'The times of ignorance: a review of pre-Islamic and early Islamic settlement on the East African coast' traces the earliest connexion of the Swahili Coast with the outside world, a theme which has recently reasserted itself after the findings of Mark Horton (cf. number V below); III: 'Tanzania: problems of a toponym', is an etymological study of the name 'Tanzania' (Tan. = Tanganyika, Zan. = Zanzibar, both of which have a historical connexion with Azania). The latter 'appears to be the name for all the coast south of the Gulf of Barbaria' (III, p. 5); IV: 'The coast, 1498-1840', challenges the notorious question of slave trade from the Swahili Coast prior to the arrival of the Omanis during the late eighteenth century to these shores (but fails to address properly the question of 'zanj/zinj' slaves in the Iraq of the 'Abbasids); V: 'The Kenya coast revisited: archaeology, archives, history', discusses some important recent developments in the region, such as those associated with the work of the young scholar, Mark Horton, and with my own work on Arabic MSS in the Zanzibar National Archives (forthcoming catalogue); VI: 'Islam and Christianity in East Africa before the mid-nineteenth century', shows not only who tried to replace whom, but also who has in a real way

helped whom to establish a footing in the region; VII: 'Some aspects of the external relations of the East African coast: before 1800', is a stimulating discussion on the nature of relationship between the Swahili Coast and other external regions before the eighteenth century A.D. and is a genuine call for more research on the subject: 'There is thus much to be done; there is no reason to be content with the present state of knowledge', to which call Horton's research is perhaps one of the most positive responses; VIII: 'Some thoughts on Buzurg ibn Shahriyar al-Ramhormuzi [sic]: *The Book of the Wonders of India*', was written in honour of James Kirkman's 70th birthday and his extensive archaeological works on eastern Africa; IX: 'From Africa to Australia: a find of coins from Kilwa, Tanzania, and from the Netherlands, in the Wessel Islands', traces the possible links between the shores of the islands.

X: 'Some aspects of Portuguese-Swahili relations, 1498-1698', discusses mainly personal, political and diplomatic relations between the Swahili Coast and the Portuguese. However, while both archaeological and architectural links (the main subject of the follow paper) do figure here, 'Ngome Kongwe' of Zanzibar (The Old Fort), which is definitely known to the author, fails to appear among what are termed '... only six buildings [sic] on the Swahili coast that can be ascribed to the Portuguese'. The Portuguese vestiges in Zanzibar, however, do feature in the following paper (XI, p. 1), but are identified as 'The Omani Fort in Zanzibar, [sic]' (in XVI, p. 227 the same remains are called: 'The Arab Fort' [sic]); XI: 'The Portuguese on the Swahili coast: buildings and language'; XII: 'Coins from Mogadishu, c. 1300 to c. 1700', a guide-list to various coins found in Mogadishu belonging to 21 rulers of whom 18 were new to numismatists up to the publication of the article; XIII: 'Shīrī rulers at Kilwa', argues on rather flimsy grounds, that the religious identity of the Kilwa Rulers was Shīrī as opposed to Ibādī; XIV: 'Numismatic evidence for chronology at Kilwa', is part of an ongoing debate between Chittick and Freeman-Grenville on the subject; XV: 'A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast', was written in collaboration with B. G. Martin; XVI: 'Husani', suggests that until some excavation has been undertaken we are unlikely to know more about Husuni—the two buildings on Kilwa Island known as HUSUNI—(cf. Hisn pl., Husūn = castle), in particular about their origin and date. The author, however, reminds us of a type of 'ordinary' building in South Yemen (Ḥaḍramaut) which is called ḥuṣn, pl. ḥuṣūn. In the absence of other evidence, is there any etymological link? And, finally in XVII: 'The Sidi and Swahili', a very restricted vocabulary is amusingly presented to 'pledge' (not unreasonably however) the inclusion of the language of the Sidi to the dialects of the Swahili language.

Thus, though the papers do not add up to a continuous perspective of the history of the area, they nevertheless provide many suggestions and much information for specialist scholars. Typographical errors are few, and factual errors, other than those mentioned above, were not found by this reviewer. It is curious,

however, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Caliph in Medina, who was assassinated in 644, is, according to the local oral tradition the one who ordered the "conquest" of East Africa! The author neither challenges nor comments on the "grossly exaggerated antiquity"'.  
A. A. M. SHEREEF

MAX LINIGER-GOUMAZ: *Small is not always Beautiful: the story of Equatorial Guinea*. Translated from the French by John Wood. xx, 198 pp. London: C. Hurst and Company, 1988. £19.50.

Max Liniger-Goumaz has worked for more than two decades on the turbulent history of Equatorial Guinea. His current effort is most welcome. It provides a thorough and succinct introduction to the small Central African country.

Equatorial Guinea, formerly Spanish Guinea, has had a peculiar history. The country has less people than the Gaza Strip and less area than the American state of Maryland. Its boundaries represent what Spain was able to salvage of a projected colonial empire after 1898. The Bubi of the island of Bioko, who constitute about 15 per cent of the population, were not completely conquered until 1910. The Fang of Rio Muni were not 'pacified' until the late 1920s. Subsequently, the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1936-75) promoted the 'development' of the colony by paying artificially high prices for colonial cocoa and coffee. By the 1960s the colony had one of the highest literacy rates in sub-Saharan Africa and one of the highest per capita incomes.

Liniger-Goumaz provides information on the geography, people, history, and contemporary politics. The bulk of the book is very wisely devoted to post-independence developments. These developments have unfortunately been, in the main, disastrous. Spanish political withdrawal in 1968 was followed by the eleven-year dictatorship of Francisco Macias Nguema. As Liniger-Goumaz points out, the regime was one of the most sanguinary in Africa. Under it, the economy, largely based on cocoa export, collapsed. In addition, social services and education were discontinued. Most importantly for future developments, large numbers of the educated élite were liquidated.

In 1979 Macias Nguema was executed after a palace coup staged by his nephew, Teodoro Obiang Nguema, head of the security apparatus. Liniger-Goumaz argues strongly that the new government represents a continuation of the old. Power remains in the hands of the Esangui Fang based around the town of Mongomo in Rio Muni. In spite of the continuity of personnel between regimes, aid donors and some foreign governments have been able to convince themselves that rehabilitation is on its way. Spain and France have been especially eager to pump capital into the small state, which is known to contain petroleum deposits.

Many areas are probed in this work, but not always to the greatest depth. One area is background of the upsurge of state terror in the

immediate post-independence period. Recently this has been provocatively dealt with by S. Decalo in *The psychoses of power*. In *Small is not always beautiful* there is no detailed discussion of the root causes for the years 1968-79. Without this, there are few ways of gauging the magnitude of change in the last decade. If Macias Nguema was 'easy to manipulate because of his limited intellect and poor education', how did he maintain his bloody grip over the country for more than a decade? Could terror have been avoided? Could ethnic rivalry have been smoothed over?

Hope for the political future, in the analysis presented in this work, lies in the triumph of the democratic opposition, most of which is in exile. Its success 'depends to a large extent on the will of the Northern democracies'. In this the author, perhaps unwittingly, acknowledges the political, as well as the economic, dependence of the little state. The country receives one of the highest rates per capita of foreign aid on the continent. In spite of the flow of aid, Obiang Nguema has resorted to expedients like accepting toxic waste in an effort to increase government revenues. The need for funds has, also provided an opening for South African military and commercial interests, a development which has caused much alarm in Nigeria.

As Liniger-Goumaz clearly points out, human rights abuses continue. He is not hopeful about the future of the country under its present regime. On the other hand, he appears to be fully wedded to the idea of an independent micro-state. The work leaves a broader question unanswered: is this state viable and does it serve the broader interest of African development and stability? There is good reason for a book on Equatorial Guinea, but is there a reason for Equatorial Guinea?

IBRAHIM K. SUNDIATA

DOUGLAS RIMMER (ed.): *Rural transformation in tropical Africa*. [x], 177 pp. London: Belhaven Press, 1988. £24.

Contributors to this volume pursue an integrative approach to understanding rural transformations in Africa. Whilst drawing attention to the richness of existing research materials and their relevance for policy, contributors also expose areas of analytical weakness and uncertainty, before setting their agendas for future research. All are united in wishing to go beyond what are perceived to have been fragmented, single-shot approaches to the study of rural transformation, i.e. perspectives narrowly based on scholarly work conducted in relative isolation. W. T. S. Gould, the more outspoken critic of disciplinary single-mindedness, drives the point home by claiming that such partial research in the past (studies of migration, or terms of trade) has ill-served the policy makers.

Population growth, primary health care, domestic water supply, energy, relations between food producers and the state, urban-rural interaction, the plight of peri-urban communities, and Africa's 1982-86 food crisis constitute the various nodes of research selected to throw light on the processes of transformation.

be described as the detailed application of the method he used more generally in his major study *Arabic Thought and Islamic Societies* (1986). He identifies the processes and structures of the scientific disciplines prevalent at the time of the author — philosophy, exegesis, natural science, jurisprudence — and analyzes Ibn Khaldun's work in those terms, thus usefully complementing and developing the many studies which have concentrated on analyzing his thought rather than his method. The book concludes with an assessment of the reception of Ibn Khaldun's work by his contemporaries. Just one complaint: Professor Al-Azmeh's language is extraordinarily concentrated and therefore has a tendency to drift into jargon, which can make for very difficult reading.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES

J.S. NIELSEN

## REGIONAL

### Africa

**ZANZIBAR UNDER COLONIAL RULE.** Edited by ABDUL SHERIFF and ED FERGUSON. Eastern African Studies. London: James Curry, 1991. 278pp. Pb. £9.95. ISBN 0-85255-080-4.

The Historical Association of Tanzania has been active in arranging conferences for history teachers and providing a series of interpretative textbooks on the history of East Africa. Papers from the first conference were published under the title *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* ed. by M.H.Y. Kaniki (London: Longman 1980). The material in the present volume goes back to a conference on Zanzibar held in 1976. It deals with a period also covered by A. Sheriff's *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar* (London: J. Currey 1987) i.e. from 1873 with the abolition of the slave trade in East Africa until independence in 1963. The first part of the book deals with the transformation from the commercial economy established under Sayyid Sa'id b. Sultan (1804-1856) and his successors to the colonial economy of the twentieth century. The authors deal with the transition from slavery to colonial 'free' labour, the creation of a capitalist economy and its social implications.

The second part analyzes the social classes. It shows how the landlords and merchants who were dominant in the pre-colonial period had difficulties in adjusting to the new conditions under colonial rule. The situation was further aggravated by the lack of development of either capitalist farmers or a self-conscious working class. The administration was unable to resolve the tension between colonial capitalism and a growing national movement leading in 1964 to the insurrection.

Those with responsibility for teaching East African history will be pleased to have this long awaited analysis readily available. It should prove useful in deepening a general understanding of a neglected aspect of East African history.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES

S.v. SICARD

**ISLAM ET SOCIETES AU SUD DU SAHARA.** Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. No.4, November 1990. ISSN 0084-7685.

Islam in Africa occupies a peculiar position. Those who specialize in the Arab world tend to ignore it and the Africanists are taking their time in coming to grips with it. Yet Islam in Africa is on the march. It has been estimated, taking the whole continent into consideration that every second African is a Muslim. If one considers Africa south of the Sahara, the estimate is one in three. African Muslims represent the eighth largest Muslim community in the world.

It is against this background and with this concern that the *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* in Paris is publishing annual volumes bringing together the work of scholars concerned with Islam in Africa and drawing attention to ongoing research. The present volume is the fourth in the series. It contains articles on the Islamic reform movement in Kano, Nigeria; Islam and initiation masks in the Casamance region of Gambia and Guinea-Bissau; an introduction to the study of the history of Islam in Western Burkina Faso; the implications of Arab involvement in *madrasa* education in that country; and the political and national crisis in Somalia. There is also a valuable section on biographies of African Muslim leaders. The section on documentation draws attention to the Islamic press in Senegal and Niger and the Salman Rushdie affair. Attention is also drawn to bibliographical materials and forthcoming conferences including the one held at the School of Oriental and African Studies 18-20.4.91 jointly sponsored by the Centre for the study of World Religions at Harvard University on Islamic Identities in Africa.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES

S.v. SICARD

**TURABI'S REVOLUTION: ISLAM AND POWER IN SUDAN.** By ABDELWAHAB EL-AFFENDI. London: Grey Seal Books, 1991. xvi + 209pp. Hb. n.p. ISBN 1-85640-004-2.

The author, previously editor of *Arabia, the Islamic World Review*, has not only, as he says in his preface, undertaken 'a personal quest for self-clarification: about myself, my country, my religion, my world', but has also presented his readers with a thorough and clear exposition of movements and developments outside and inside Sudan in the recent past. His previous experience and his present responsibilities within the Sudanese foreign service have given him access to a large number of leading personalities within the movements described.

The book falls naturally into three parts. The first two chapters deal with the general context of contemporary revivalist movements in Islam with special reference to their development within the Sudanese environment. They are entitled 'The Islamic Revival' and 'Secularism in Sudan' respectively. The second part, consisting of four chapters, examines the *Ikhwan* movement from its inception to its emergence as a major political party in the April 1906 elections. This part includes the setting up of the Islamic Charter Front and the events up to and during the Numeiri years. The last part, three chapters, is an overview and analysis of the *Ikhwanī* ideological development and its interaction with the world beyond its immediate political field of action.

Although the author has concentrated on events up to April 1986, subsequent events have forced him to add a postscript where he draws attention to the setbacks suffered by the National Islamic Front. The book ends with the conviction that in spite of these setbacks, 'nothing that has happened in the past year in-

-Zanzibar  
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to discredit the sect with tales of divergent legal usages within the Azraqite camp. There seems little reason to doubt the sect's general scripturalist mentality, even if it is possible that some of the specific issues mentioned by the heresiographers are trumped up.

These internal legal issues are to be distinguished from polemic meant to highlight the legal status which the sect accords opponents. Here, the *Kāmil-Zīna* tradition (transmitted by at least some later writers) seems to preserve material not in general circulation among the earliest heresiographers. We hear in these texts of the specific implications of the group's cutting off all social intercourse with ordinary Muslims. These data must have been produced quite early (they are known to Sālim and to the later Ibādī tradition), but they make no appearance in Ash'arī or in the texts dependent on him. What Ash'arī does have from the pool behind *Kāmil-Zīna* is the obscure (and structurally intrusive) *hijra* statement. The passage in Ash'arī makes little sense on its own; its significance is apparent only when read alongside the accusations of lax behaviour preserved in these two sources (*Kāmil-Zīna*) and in the Ibādī tradition. Its own literary context is lost in Ash'arī, and without it a case could even be made (following Watt's original assumption) for the strictness rather than laxity of the sect.

It is thus possible to uncover several different polemical strategies within the standard *firaq* tradition, and within any one text participating in it. The tradition is far from an organic whole, but is instead a composite of distinct representations of the Azāriqa. Each of these representations presumably once possessed an internal coherence and unified polemical agenda. They were, however, broken to pieces before Ash'arī's time, and consequently appear only as fragments in the extant literature. The fragmentary nature of the material renders problematic any study which takes for granted the literary integrity of the extant presentations.

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## FAMILY STRIFE AND FOREIGN INTERVENTION: CAUSES IN THE SEPARATION OF ZANZIBAR FROM OMAN: A REAPPRAISAL

By M. REDA BHACKER

The nineteenth-century rise of Zanzibar under the ruling Albusaidi Dynasty of Oman owed its origins primarily to the solid foundations of commercial activity laid down in Muscat in the preceding century.<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent development of the Omani economy, in Omani territories in both Arabia and Africa where the dictates of the Omani political/tribal system did not allow for any centralization of authority,<sup>2</sup> local communities and tribal groups resisted the domination of the Albusaidi rulers as they strove to bring under their own control the benefits of burgeoning trade.

The opposition of the major Omani groups in East Africa, the Mazāri'a of Mombasa and the Banū Nabhān of Pate, to the Albusaidis and the eventual success of the Omani rulers in dismantling and neutralizing this opposition are fairly well documented.<sup>3</sup> However, the sustained challenge of Hilāl b. Sa'īd to the reign of his father Sa'īd b. Sulṭān, the Albusaidi ruler of Oman and Zanzibar and their dependencies from 1806 to 1856, has hitherto been neglected, despite the fact that Hilāl's resistance in East Africa was the greatest internal threat to Sa'īd after that posed by the Mazāri'a and had dire consequences for the subsequent course of Oman's history. The conflict between father and son set in train a course of events that led inexorably to the 1861 British-sponsored dismemberment of Oman into two Sultanates, one in Arabia and the other in East Africa.

### *Hilāl's opposition to Sa'īd b. Sulṭān.*

Born in Muscat in about 1817, Hilāl had at various times during the 1830s occupied the post of *wālī* of Muscat or of Barka in Oman before becoming his father's *nā'ib* in Zanzibar in 1840.<sup>4</sup> However, in 1844 Sa'īd decided to disinherit Hilāl, his eldest son, and wrote to Lord Aberdeen, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in these terms expressing his wish that another of his sons, Khālid, should be his successor in Zanzibar instead.<sup>5</sup>

One hypothesis for this dramatic turn of events and the estrangement between father and son is that Hilāl had violated his father's *ḥarīm*.<sup>6</sup> Although

<sup>1</sup> See M. R. Bhacker, 'Roots of domination and dependency: British reaction towards the development of Omani commerce at Muscat and Zanzibar in the nineteenth century', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, introduction; A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the outside world* (Cambridge, 1983), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> For the Mazāri'a and Banū Nabhān opposition see al-Amīn b. 'Alī al-Mazrū'ī, 'Ta'rikh wilāyat al-Mazāri'a fi Ifriqiya al-sharqiya', n.d., MS in the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture [MNHC], Muscat.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥumayd b. Muhammad Ibn Ruzayq, '*al-Fath al-mubīn fī sirat al-sādāt al-Ālbūsa' ūlīyīn*', Cambridge University Library MS, Add. 2892, facsimile edition (Muscat, MNHC, 1977), 541; al-Fārsī, *Albūsa' ūlīyīn ḥukkām Zanjbār*, [translation of the Kiswahili original (1942)], Muscat, MNHC, 1981), 15; London, Public Record Office [PRO], FO/54/3, Hennell to Bombay, 31 July 1840.

<sup>5</sup> PRO/FO/54/6 and India Office Records [IOR], L/P&S/5/501, Sa'īd b. Sulṭān to Aberdeen, 6 Rajab 1260 = 23 July 1844.

<sup>6</sup> IOR/V/23/45; S. B. Miles, 'Biographical sketch of the late Seyyid Sa'eed-Bin-Sultan Imam of Muscat', in *Muscat Administration Report for 1887-8*, 34; C. Nicholls, '*The Swahili coast—politics, diplomacy and trade on the East African Littoral, 1798-1856*' (London: George, Allen and Unwin, 1971), 274; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 534.

Revue du Monde Moderne, Paris 1922, C.53

ZANZIBAR

Zanzibar bc. Busaid

Le protectorat britannique de Zanzibar comprend, depuis 1890, les deux îles de Zanzibar (1.660 km<sup>2</sup>) et de Pemba (980 km<sup>2</sup>), soit 2.640 km<sup>2</sup>, avec 199.462 hab. (1910), tous musulmans. La ville de Zanzibar a 35.262 hab.

#### L'ISLAMISATION :

Zanzibar, aux animistes jusqu'au xiv<sup>e</sup> s., puis aux Portugais (1505-1698), devint au xviii<sup>e</sup> s., un des points d'appui de la flotte musulmane 'omânienne (chefs *Maxroui* 1746-88 ; jusqu'en 1822 à Pemba) ; Seyyid Sa'id (1804 † 1856), d'Omân, en fit sa capitale en 1832. A sa mort, Zanzibar, devint autonome (avec tribut), sous Seyyid Madjid (1853-76), Seyyid Bargash (1876-87) et leurs successeurs.

#### GOVERNEMENT

Actuellement le Sultan est Seyyid Khalifa-ibn Haroûb (1911). Depuis 1891, le résident britannique fait fonctions de premier ministre.

Dès 1873, c'était le gouvernement britannique qui versait à l'Omân le tribut annuel dû par le sultan de Zanzibar et Sir John Kirk, le consul général pendant plus de vingt-cinq ans, exerçait une influence prédominante.

Les douanes côtières continentales de l'Afrique orientale, du 3<sup>e</sup> lat. N. au 10<sup>e</sup>42' lat. S. ont été affermées par le sultan, respectivement, aux puissances européennes installées là.

ADMINISTRATION CULTUELLE. — La justice (entre Zanzibarites) est rendue par la « cour sultanienne », composée de deux fonctionnaires britanniques et de deux *cadis* arabes, l'un *ibâdite*, l'autre *shâfi'ite*.

Il y a environ 6.000 *ibâdites* (rite *Khâridjite* de l'Omân), Arabes 'omâniens, des grandes familles propriétaires du sol ; 184.000 *shâfi'ites*, négociants arabes (4.000) et autres, et surtout métis *souahilis* ; et environ 5.000 *ismaéliens* (Khôdjas) venus de l'Inde (sur les 10.000 négociants hindous). Il y a des mosquées spéciales pour chaque confession.

On trouve à Pemba des survivances des initiations animistes (dances magiques des *Kibwengu*).

Les écoles indigènes (pour Zanzibarites, pour Hindous) avaient 1.738 élèves en 1918. Hôpital musulman à Pemba.

TRAVAIL ET PRODUCTION — Zanzibar est le centre mondial de la culture du *clou de girofle* (se vend par *frasila* = 15 kgr. 8). Il exporte également des noix de coco, du coprah.

INDUSTRIES LOCALES : poteries, savons, huiles, bijoux, nattes.

Importations : 2.356.390 £ (1918) ; exportation 2.133.597 £ (1918).

Zanzibar, un des meilleurs ports de la côte orientale, commerce surtout avec Aden, avec l'Inde, et avec Durban.

L'étalon monétaire est la roupie hindoue. Il y a des pièces de billon locales (*sayyidié*).

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## سياسة بريطانيا في مسقط وزنجبار

(١٨٥٦ - ١٨٧٣ م)

للدكتور مبارط

مدرس التاريخ الحديث  
بكلية الآداب - جامعة أسبوط

يعتبر انضمام عمان وشرق أفريقيا تحت حكم دولة البوسعيد تحديداً لقيام أول دولة آسيوية أفريقية في العصر الحديث . إلا أنه من ناحية أخرى كان من المستحيل أن تسيطر سلطنة عمان سيطرة فعلية على ممتلكاتها في شرق أفريقيا ، وكانت سياسة السيد سعيد بن سلطان القائمة على تأكيد سيطرته على ممتلكاته الأفريقية من أهم الأسباب التي دفعته إلى الانتقال بمركز حكمه من مسقط إلى زنجبار في عام ١٨٣٢ (١).

على أن السيد سعيد لم يلبث أن تحقق بنفسه من صعوبة الاحتفاظ بممتلكاته في الجزيرة العربية ، فإن بقاءه في زنجبار كان يعني الفوضى والاضطراب في عمان ، بل إنه كان يضطر كثيراً إلى أن يغادر زنجبار لكي يواجه الأمور في عمان .

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Dergi / Kitap  
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School: UNIVERSITY OF EXETER (UNITED KINGDOM) (5016) Degree: PHD

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This study of the role of education in the history of colonial Zanzibar (1890-1945) is an attempt to study the educational facilities of the main religious, ethnic and political groups and their role and influence in the development of education in Zanzibar within the broader framework of Zanzibari development. Economic, political, social and religious factors, severally and combined, are considered.

Muslims arriving in Zanzibar between the eighth and tenth centuries established Koranic schools. Koranic schools were the primary institution of early training among the people. 104

With the arrival of European Christian missions in the middle of the nineteenth century, Catholic, U.M.C.A. (Anglican), and Society of Friends' schools were established in the 1860s and 1890s. The political and religious factors in mission activities are traced.

In various ways the Christian missions combined secular and religious objectives in their educational endeavours. A natural affinity toward the British authorities underwrote broad mutual acceptance of educational objectives. However, both missions and government had to come to terms with the dominant and unchanging influence of Islam in Zanzibar society.

Schools were also established by the various Indian communities. Indian community rivalry was an important cause as was the influence of the Indian National Association and the various community leaders. Relations with the British colonial authorities were important. The thesis examines the special attitudes towards and policies in relation to the Indians.

The earlier disinterest of the colonial administration in education for the Arabs and Africans disappeared with the establishment in 1907 of the Protectorate Department of Education. In examining government educational activities three distinct periods are considered (pre-1919; 1920-38; 1938-45), pointing to the distinction in government policy between these periods and the responses of the people towards Government educational activities. Industrial, agricultural and commercial education became important.

The Government, in its early days, paid little attention to the religious, social or economic educational needs of rural areas. It was only when the Government realized that it was losing the support and confidence of the rural community that it changed its policy and attempted to conduct an educational policy acceptable to them. (Abstract shortened by UMI.)

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Abu Maslam's political inclination significantly impacted his narration. Finally, the tradition of 'Abdullah b. 'Amr, the grandson of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, presents a significant example of how a *matn* reflects the inclinations of its narrator. This is evident when we see how 'Abdullah praised his grandfather by presenting him as minister counseling the Prophet during this major event.

The fact that the *matns* of this tradition reflect the personal biases of their narrators shows the importance of analyzing any given *isnād* in relation to its *matn*. Schacht's theory rested on the claim that the *isnād* existed in order to create a historical dimension for second century traditions by attributing them to fictitious figures allegedly living in the first century. However, this claim is invalid unless we see an indication that the *isnād* has no influence on its *matn*. This study has proved the opposite; thus, Schacht's theory is unfounded.

24 MAR 2010

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Bu Said Hamedani

## Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Britain and the throne of Zanzibar

Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Gran Bretaña y el trono de Zanzibar

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### ABSTRACT

Prince Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi was an Arabian prince and an offspring of Al-BuSa'idi family who ruled Muscat and Zanzibar. His father, second ruler of Zanzibar, exerted great effort with the British in order to crown his son as his heir, but his effort met with failure. In 1890 Zanzibar was declared a protectorate and the British influence became more dominating in interfering in the internal affairs, as well as in the throne inheritance issue. Supported by Zanzibar people and coastal inhabitants, Prince Khalid led two attempts to seize the throne, the first of which was in 1893, but the British believed that the coronation should serve the higher British interests, and that the inheritance of the throne would be purely a British matter. At the turn of the twentieth century, he defied the might of imperial Britain at the height of its power and succeeded in the second attempt in 1896 in capturing the ruling castle and declared himself as the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British asked him to abdicate, but he refused. Their sword, therefore, took control and finally settled the questions of internal affairs and the throne inheritance. The Anglo-Zanzibar war, and the bombardment of the ruling castle forced the British deposed Sultan to take shelter in the German Consulate. A British candidate was placed on the throne. Sayyid Khalid was transferred to German East Africa and was not allowed with his family members to come back to Zanzibar. He lived a homeless and a miserable life until he gave up his claims. He was, therefore, allowed to live in Mombasa until his death in 1927.

**Keywords:** Zanzibar, Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi, British Protectorate, Anglo-Zanzibar war.

### RESUMEN

El príncipe Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi era un príncipe árabe y un descendiente de la familia al-BuSa'idi, que gobernó Mascat y Zanzibar. Su padre presionó a los británicos para coronar a su hijo como heredero, pero sus esfuerzos fueron infructuosos. En 1890, Zanzibar fue declarada protectorado británico y la influencia británica interfirió en mayor medida en los asuntos internos, así como en la cuestión de la herencia del trono. Con el apoyo del pueblo de Zanzibar y de los habitantes de la costa, el príncipe Khalid llevó a cabo dos intentos de ocupar el trono, el primero de los cuales en 1893, pero los británicos creían que la coronación debía servir a sus principales intereses, y la cuestión sucesoria debía ser un asunto puramente británico. A comienzos del siglo XX, desafió el poder imperial de Gran Bretaña y logró en el segundo intento, en 1896, capturar el palacio de Gobierno y declararse Sultán de Zanzibar. Los británicos le pidieron que abdicara, pero él se negó. Entonces tomaron el control por la fuerza y, finalmente, manejaron los asuntos internos y la herencia del trono. La guerra entre Gran Bretaña y Zanzibar y el bombardeo del palacio de Gobierno obligaron al sultán depuesto por los británicos a refugiarse en el consulado alemán. Un candidato británico fue puesto en el trono. El príncipe Khalid fue trasladado a África Oriental Alemana, y no se le permitió a él o a los miembros de su familia volver a Zanzibar. Vivió una vida miserable y cruel hasta que renunció a sus reivindicaciones. Tras ello, se le permitió vivir en Mombasa hasta su muerte en 1927.

**Palabras clave:** Zanzibar, Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi, protectorado inglés, guerra entre Gran Bretaña y Zanzibar.

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