

Sd. Thuwayni's Internal and External Policy :
1273 / 1856 - 1282 / 1866
(Analysis and Evaluation Study)

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1- Introduction:

The main aim of this paper is to analyze and evaluate the policy of Sd. Thuwayni to consolidate his power over the tribes of Oman and to find solutions for all his problems which emerged after his father's death. The paper discusses the affairs of Oman after the death of Sd. Sa'id b. Sultan in 1856, and sheds some light on the quarrels which faced Sd. Thuwayni with his brothers and others. The great difficult event which occurred in Sd. Thuwayni's reign was the division of the empire of Oman into the two Sultanates Oman and Zanzibar by the arbitration of the British government in India in 1861. The paper is concluded with the role of foreign policies in Oman and how Sd. Thuwayni accepted them.

The Al Bu Sa'id dynasty replaced the Y' aribah's rule (1034/1624 – 1162/1749), when Ahmed b. Sa'id Al-Bu Sa'idi was elected as Imam in 1162/1749, as a result of his successful leadership in resisting a Persian siege while he was the Wali of

Suhar⁽¹⁾. Imam Ahmed's rule remained in Al-Rustaq until his death in 1198/1783. His son Sa'id succeeded him, but the power was passed a year later to his son Hamad b. Sa'id who shifted the capital from Al-Rustaq to Muscat. When Sd. Hamad died in 1207/1792, his uncle Sd. Sultan b. Imam Ahmad replaced him⁽²⁾. The greatest ruler in this dynasty was Sd. Sa'id b. Sultan (1219/1804 – 1273/1856) who extended his authority to East Africa in 1832, when he used Zanzibar as a second capital for his throne until his death in 1273/1856⁽³⁾. Coupland sums up Sd. Sa'id b. Sultan's achievements as follows⁽⁴⁾:

“He had made Oman a greater, wealthier, stronger state than it had been since Dark Ages; he had given it a new place in international relations; and – a final achievement which makes him the central figure of the story is told in this book – he had recovered, unified, and extended the Arab dominion in East Africa and brought it back into close touch with life of the outer world”.

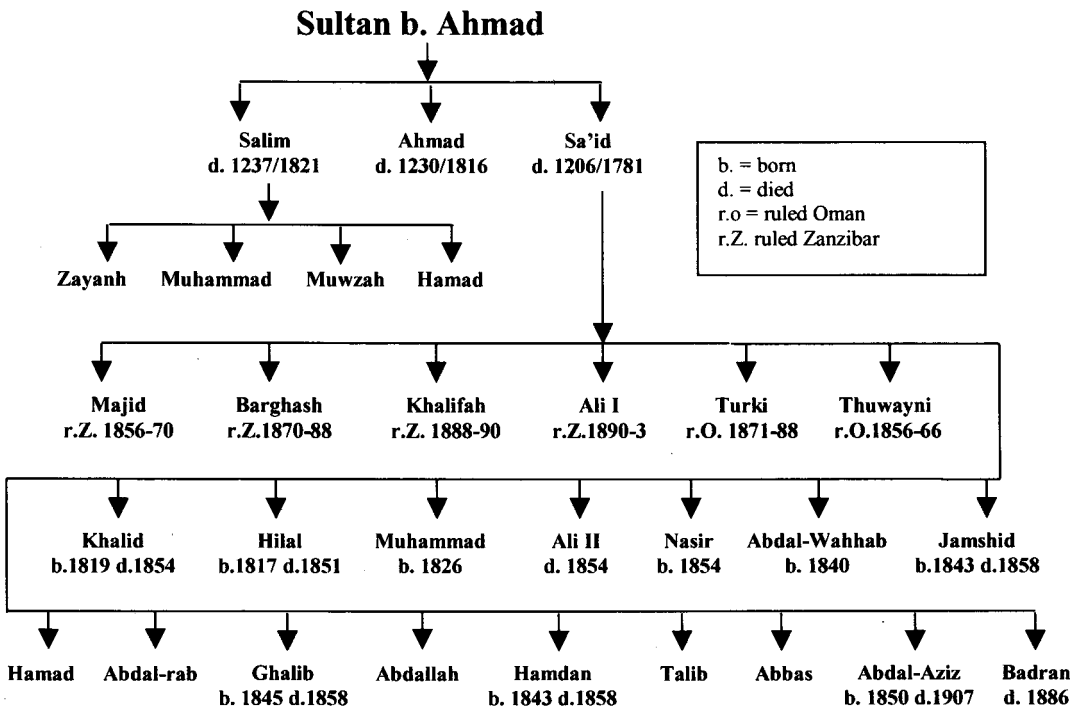
Stocqueler, who visited Muscat in 1831, described Sd. Sa'id as⁽⁵⁾:

“a mild gentlemanly looking man of about 40 years age a just governor and a chivalric lover. The people of Muscat hold the Imam [Sd. Sa'id] in great esteem. They affirm that he is just in his decisions and delusions liberal of reward, anxious for improvement and tolerant of the religion of other nation” and moreover “his government is of the mildest character of which despotism is susceptible: and the people who acknowledge his sway appear to be exceedingly happy”. And traveler spoke of him as:⁽⁶⁾ “in every way such a contrast to all Asiatic rulers that he [Sa'id] is decidedly the greatest in the East”.

Sd. Sa'id was the grandson of the founder of the Al bu Sa'id State. He was born in Sama'il in 1206/1791, and died on a voyage

from Oman to Zanzibar, only six days before he reached Zanzibar on 19 Safer, 1273/19 October, 1856⁽⁷⁾.

It was said Sd. Sa'id had a hundred and twenty six⁽⁸⁾ children by his concubines. According to his daughter Princess Salimah (Sayyidah Salme. Emily Ruete), when he died there were thirty six children alive⁽⁹⁾, but in fact it is known that there were forty one, twenty two sons⁽¹⁰⁾, and the rest were daughters⁽¹¹⁾. His autobiographies confirm that he was attractive with a strong influence not only on his adherents, but on others as well. His impact was felt by everyone with whom he had contact (see Sd. Sa'id tree below).



2- Sd. Thuwayni:

Sd. Thuwayni was born in 1235/1820 in Muscat in Oman. He is the third son of Sd. Sa'id who helped his father, beside his brothers Sd. Hilal (1233/1817 – 1267/1851) and Sd. Khalid (1234/1819). He was taken care of by his mother, his father's aunt Sayyidah Muzah bint Imam Ahmad b. Sa'id and his grandmother Sayyidah Ghaniyyah bint Saif b. Muhammad Al- Bu Sa'idi. Deputizing his father, Sd. Thuwayni started running Oman's affairs in 1833 when he was thirteen years old. Two years later he got married to his cousin Sayyidah Ghaliyah bint Sd. Salim b. Sultan. Among the six children he had, two of them ruled. The first was Sd. Salim b. Sd. Thuwayni, who succeeded his father in ruling Oman after his father's death in 1282/1866, and the other was Sd. Hamad b. Thuwayni who ruled Zanzibar following the death of Sd. 'Ali b. Sa'id b. Sultan in 1893. Later Sd. Thuwayni's grandchildren continued ruling the Sultanate of Zanzibar as Sd. Khalifah b. Harib b. Thuwayni took over the throne in 1329/1911⁽¹²⁾ until the Omanis left Zanzibar in January 1964⁽¹³⁾ after a bloody coup d'etat that was staged by John Okell the leader of the revolution⁽¹⁴⁾.

When he was deputizing his father in Oman, Sd. Thuwayni had faced a lot of revolutions and oppositions. For example, the revolution of Sd. 'Azan b. Qays's sons in Suhar and Al-Rustaq, Al-Y'aribah tribe's revolution in Nakhal town, and the Ghafiri and Hinawi tribes opposition in the Interior and Sharqiyyah. In addition, the relation between Oman and Iran deteriorated because of some problems occurred relating to the rental of Bander Abass port⁽¹⁵⁾.

Sd. Thuwayni was interested in the educated people and scholars of Oman and took care of a lot of them. Therefore, he was praised by many of the poets of that time, for instance, he was praised by Amir b. Sulayman Al-Riyami and Humayyd b. Muhammad b. Ruzayq who wrote a "Diwan" called "Sulk Al-Farid fi Madh Al-Sayyid Al-Hamid Thuwayni b. Sa'id" which was full of poems praising him⁽¹⁶⁾.

Sd. Sa'id had usually appointed his sons as his deputies over the provinces of his empire during his absences. Since 1833 Sd. Thuwayni had been a deputy over Oman while his brother Majid b. Sa'id had been appointed by his father over Zanzibar after his son Sd. Khalid's death in 7th November 1854. Before his final departure from Oman to Zanzibar, Sd. Sa'id appointed his son Turki as Governor for Suhar in 1856⁽¹⁷⁾. After Sd. Sa'id death, his empire was divided into two principal parts, Oman and Zanzibar. The former was ruled by his son Thuwayni, and the latter by the other son. Majid b. Sa'id.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century Oman suffered conflicts between the descendants of Sd. Sa'id (d. 19th October, 1856) resulting in tribal rebellions, an increasingly inefficient domestic political administration and finally a large increase in British involvement in Omani domestic affairs. In addition to this there were disturbed foreign relations with Saudi and Iranian authorities⁽¹⁸⁾.

In November 1856 Sd. Sa'id b. Khalfan b. Sa'id Al-Bu Sa'idi, the Wali of Sur, arrived in Muscat, carrying the letters which gave the news of the death of Sd. Sa'id b. Sultan at sea on the 19th October, 1856⁽¹⁹⁾. The news spread throughout Oman and Sd. Thuwayni succeeded his father over Oman. Some of his brothers, other members of his family, commanders, notables of Muscat, and some tribal leaders supported him. All the provincial Walis announced their submission to him⁽²⁰⁾. W. G. Palgrave who visited Oman in 1863 describes Sd. Thuwayni as follows⁽²¹⁾:

"We stood before him. He was handsomely, even gorgeously, dressed in fine white robes, lightly embroidered with a flowered pattern, and wearing a large and white Cashmere turban, surmounted by a diamond, with a magnificent golden dagger in his jeweled belt. His personality is stout, and his face is handsome; its expression

clever but dissipated; he looks like what he is, a genuine follower of Epicures, but one who might have been something much better had be chosen. Shrewdness, good nature, and love of enjoyment make up his whole face, manner, and, it appears, character too. By his side sat a boy of dusky features, but splendidly dressed, his cap set with precious stones; this youth is his eldest son by an Abyssinian concubine”.

3- Separation of Zanzibar

During the first four years of his reign, Sd. Thuwayni b. Sa'id (1273/1856 – 1273/1866) faced the problem of the opposition of his brothers, Majid b. Sa'id in Zanzibar and Turki b. Sa'id in Suhar. They refused to submit to his control and proclaimed their independence ⁽²²⁾. In 1857 Sd. Muhammad b. Salim b. Sultan nephew of Sd. Sa'id b. Sultan mediated between Sd. Majid. The result of this mediation was that Sd. Majid agreed to pay \$MT 40.000 annually to his brother Thuwayni, and to be under his brother's authority ⁽²³⁾, but in the following year Sd. Majid withheld payment ⁽²⁴⁾, and refused to acknowledge his brother's sovereignty over Zanzibar. Some writers attribute this to the drop in the promised Zanzibar's customs receipt ⁽²⁵⁾, but this would not have been enough for Sd. Majid to sever relations with his brother and plan to divide his father's empire into two states ⁽²⁶⁾.

Sd. Thuwayni equipped an expedition of ten ships carrying 2.500 troops to attack and dispossess his brother Sd. Majid in the rule of Zanzibar ⁽²⁷⁾. On 11th February 1859, the expedition sailed to Zanzibar, but a steam frigate dispatched by the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, succeeded in overtaking Thuwayni's squadron at Ras Al-Hadd ⁽²⁸⁾. On reading the letter addressed to him by lord Elphinstone, Sd. Thuwayni agreed to submit the differences with his brother to the arbitration of the British Government, and ordered the return of his fleet to Muscat.

On 28th February Sd. Thuwayni delivered to Colonel Russell his reply to Lord Elphinstone's letter, stating his claims to East Africa as follows ⁽²⁹⁾:

1. "That there shall be one consolidated state without any division, Zanzibar being subordinate to Muscat; and that the interests of the one shall be identified with those of the other, as during the time of our father and forefathers"
2. "his reference to a settlement effected by Muhammad b. Salim between us, with the common consent of all parties, that he (Majid) should pay me annually a sum of forty thousand French Dollars ⁽³⁰⁾. In the event of Oman being involved in any hostilities, Zanzibar shall afford assistance, as it has always been the practice for Zanzibar to assist Oman"
3. "that the property of the orphans shall be given up by him (Majid) and deposited with a trustworthy person, in whose custody all parties may feel satisfied that it will be safe"
4. "that Sd. Majid shall indemnify me for all the losses entailed upon me on account of the expense of dispatching an army in consequence of his opposition and disobedience"

It appears that Sd. Thuwayni had no confidence in the arbitration of the British Government ⁽³¹⁾, because he felt that the British political Agent at Zanzibar, captain Rugby, was supporting his brother, Sd. Majid and encouraging him to sever his relations with him (i.e. Thuwayni lacked this support and did not have good advisers ⁽³²⁾). For this reason, in March 1859, he sent his cousin Hamad b. Salim b. Sultan to Zanzibar, where Hamad spent five months trying to persuade Sd. Majid to pay \$MT 40.000 in order to avoid the arbitration of the British Government, which threatened to divide their empire, but Sd. Hamad's attempt failed. Meanwhile Sd.

Majid encouraged his brother, Sd. Turki b. Sa'id, the ruler of Suhar to attack Muscat ⁽³³⁾.

On the 2nd April 1861. Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India, announces the terms of the arbitration, which were as follows ⁽³⁴⁾:

1. "That His Highness Sayyid Majid be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of his late Highness Sayyid Sa'id b. Sultan"
2. "That the ruler of Zanzibar pays annually to the ruler of Muscat a subsidy of 40.000 Crowns ⁽³⁵⁾"
3. "That His Highness Sd. Majid pay to His Highness Sd. Thuwayni the arrears of subsidy for two years or 80.000 crowns"

Lord Canning, added ⁽³⁶⁾:

"The annual payment of 40.000 crowns is not to be understood as a recognition of the dependence of Zanzibar upon Muscat, neither is it to be considered as merely personal between His Highness Thuwayni's respective successors, and is to be held to be a final and permanent of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances derived from their father".

On May, 15, 1861, the Viceroy of India wrote to Sd. Thuwayni and Sd. Majid ⁽³⁷⁾:

"I am satisfied that these terms are just and honorable to both of you; and as you have deliberately and solemnly accepted my arbitration, I shall accept that you will cheerfully and faithfully abide by them, and that they will be carried out without unnecessary delay".

The award of Lord Canning disappointed Sd. Thuwayni's ambitions, but he nevertheless professed his contentment with the arbitration ⁽³⁸⁾, because he found himself in difficult circumstances. His relations with Zanzibar were not more important than his problems in Oman ⁽³⁹⁾ on the one hand, and on the other hand his

brother Turki in suhar had already collected troops to attack Muscat, and the inhabitants of Nakhal had revolted and killed the Sultan's Wali, Sawiylim b. Salimyin, while the tribe of Yal Sa'd had captured the fort of Al-Sawayq after the murder of Sd. Hilal b. Muhammad b. Imam Ahmad (d. 1278/1861), the ruler of Al-Sawayq. Besides this there was the problem of ever-decreasing trade revenues and loss of most of Sd. Sa'id's warships and merchant vessels which had been captured by Sd. Majid (they were anchored at Zanzibar when their father died). These were the circumstances which obliged Sd. Thuwayni to declare his acceptance of the arbitration of the Government of India. Whether in making his arbitration, Lord Canning intended to destroy Sd. Sa'id's empire as a power to be reckoned with, or whether he had no such intention, such was the result. Omani history for the next decades degenerates into a record of dynastic struggles and betrayals⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Sd. Thuwayni spent his whole reign attempting to assert his sovereignty in Oman, an aim he never fully accomplished⁽⁴¹⁾ but he succeeded in dealing with the political differences of most of the parties in Oman.

4- Independence of Sd. Turki b. Sa'id

Sd. Turki b. Sa'id was born in 1247/1832 in Zanzibar. He is the fifth son of Sd. Sa'id. He lived in Zanzibar until 1854 when his father took him to Oman and he appointed him as the ruler of Suhar. Sd. Turki ruled Oman between 1870 - 1888, and he died in 1305/1888 in Muscat⁽⁴²⁾.

After having settled his disputes with his brother Sd. Majid by arbitration in 1861, Sd. Thuwayni turned to his problems with his domestic opponents. He prepared an expedition against Nakhal, but it failed. He then mustered an army against Suhar,⁽⁴³⁾ where his brother Turki b. Sa'id refused to consider himself subject to his

brother Thuwayni, because he was appointed as its Wali when father left to Zanzibar in 1856.

Regarding the relation between Sd. Turki b. Sa'id and his brother Sd. Majid b. Sa'id in Zanzibar, where he was born brought up. He had a friendly relation with his brother and the people of Zanzibar. He found himself in an independent position since he received a financial support from Zanzibar equal to that of his brother Sd. Majid, besides that Suhar and al-Rustaq were both independent Sd. Thuwayni submitted Suhar after he arrested its governor Sd. Humud b. 'Azan b. Qays and put him in jail until he died in 1850. Hatred was then arisen between Sd. Turki and Sd. Thuwayni thus Sd. Turki refused to be under the authority of his brother⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Another reason for the announcement of Sd. Turki the independence is represented in the British role as the political agent at Zanzibar Captain Rugby encouraged Sd. Turki to declare independence from Muscat. Moreover, he also threatened to occupy it. This hindered the plans of Sd. Thuwayni to face his brother Sd. Majid in Zanzibar. For the above mentioned reasons the relation among the three brothers was aggravated. Thus Sd. Thuwayni prepared a military campaign to submit his brother Sd. Turki in Suhar. Shortly after, the conflict between him and his brother Sd. Majid in Zanzibar was settled by the British Government at India in 1861.

But before Sd. Thuwayni's departure to Suhar, the British political agent at Muscat, Lt. W. M. Pergelly, volunteered his medication between the two brothers, who both accepted it⁽⁴⁵⁾. Lt. W. M. Pergelly appointed Al-Sib for the negotiation, which was to be under his protection. On the 4th July, 1861 Sd. Turki arrived at Al-Sib accompanied by about 30 armed followers. In the following day his brother Sd. Thuwayni arrived, escorted by two hundred cavalry and one 12 pr. howitzer⁽⁴⁶⁾. After Sd. Thuwayni's arrival,

Sd. Turki immediately wrote to Lt. W. M. Pergelly to defer the meeting until the morning of 6th July ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

This note caused confusion for Lt. W. M. Pergelly who realized that Sd. Turki b. Sa'id had decided to return to Suhar at night. He considered his duty as a mediator to terminate the proceedings. He thereby withdrew his "aman" (pledge) or safe conduct which he had granted to Sd. Turki. Sd. Thuwayni then asked Lt. W. M. Pergelly whether he was at liberty to arrest his brother. Lt. W. M. Pergelly replied that Sd. Turki had broken faith with him ⁽⁴⁸⁾. Thereupon Sd. Thuwayni was appointed its Wali (he was 22 years old) ⁽⁴⁹⁾.

5- Struggle with the ruler of Al-Rustaq and other tribes

Before we discuss the events in Al-Rustaq during the reign of Sd. Thuwayni, the local power structure at the time needs to be analyzed. Al-Rustaq city is one of the important cities in Oman ⁽⁵⁰⁾. It was the capital of Al-Ya'aribah Dynasty (1034/1624 - 1162/1749) and also of Al Bu Sa'id. It lasted as a capital of Oman until 1786, when Sd. Hamad b. Imam Sa'id (d. 1207/1792) considered Muscat as the second capital of Oman Sd. Hamad was the assistant of his father at that time. Al-Rustaq lasted as the capital of Imamate until the death of Imam Sa'id in 1225/1810. Then it became the second capital submitted to one of the branches of the Royal family. Since that time Al-Rustaq became fully independent from Muscat until 1916. Here is the list of the governors of Al-Rustaq during the 19th century ⁽⁵¹⁾:

- (1) Imam Ahmad b. Sa'id 1749 - 1782 the founder of Al-Bu'sa'id dynasty
- (2) Imam Ahmad b. Sa'id Ahmad: 1783 - 1810
- (3) Sd. Ahmad b. Imam Sa'id
- (4) Sd. Talib b. Imam Ahmad
- (5) Sd. Sa'ud b. 'Ali b. Saif b. Imam Ahmad (d. 1248/1832)

- (6) Sd. Humud b. Badr b. Saif b. Imam Ahmad
- (7) Sd. Humud b. 'Azan b. Qays b. Imam Ahmad
(d. 1850)
- (8) Sd. Qays b. 'Azan b. Qays b. Imam Ahmad
(d. 1861)
- (9) Imam 'Azan b. Qays b. 'Azan b. Imama Ahmad (1861 -
1871)
- (10) Sd. Ibrahim b. Qays b. 'Azan b. Qays b. Imam Ahmad (d.
1899)

The relation between the rulers of Al-Rustaq and Sd. Tuwayni was not good, since many wars occurred between them. These wars were supported by both the tribes and the religious men. Both of them considered that the rulers of Al-Rustaq represented the religious weight the ruling of Oman, while those at Muscat only inherited the throne without any religious support.

The problems of Sd. Thuwayni were too numerous for him. Not long after that the Yal Sa'd tribe in Al-Sawayq captured the fort of Al-Sawayq after its Wali Sd. Hilal b. Muhammad b. Imam Ahmad was assassinated in 1861. The conflict between them began after Sd. Thuwayni revoked a Zikah exemption that his father had forgiven the Yal Sa'd tribe. The Yal Sa'd tribe contacted Sd. Qays b. 'Azan b. Imam Ahmad at Al-Rustaq, and they offered to submit to his rule⁽⁵²⁾. Sd. Qays agreed with the view of the Yal Sa'd tribe and travelled to Al-Sawayq to discuss the matters with its Wali, Sd. Hilal b. Muhammad, but the latter refused to sever his relations with Sd. Thuwayni and join them. As a result of this argument both Qays and Hilal lost their lives⁽⁵³⁾. Then the Yal Sa'd tribe besieged the fort of Al-Sawayq, where Sd. Hilal's sister, Sayyidah Jukhah bint Muhammad resisted for 18 days⁽⁵⁴⁾. She appealed for aid from her cousin, Sd. Thuwayni who was occupying Suhar. But the fort fell under the control of the Yal Sa'd tribe by December 1861, before the assistance of Sd. Thuwayni reached Al-Sawayq. At the beginning of 1862 Sd. Thuwayni collected his troops and moved

towards AL-Sawayq. to which he restored by negotiation with the Yal Sa'd tribe ⁽⁵⁵⁾ on condition that Sd. Thuwayni issued a new Zikat exemption to them ⁽⁵⁶⁾. According to Al-Salimi's account ⁽⁵⁷⁾ when Sayyidah Jukhah asked aid from her cousin Sd. Thuwayni, the latter delayed his assistance for her because he preferred that the fort of Al-Sawayq to be under the control of the Yal Sa'd as it would be easier to take it from them than from Sayyidah Jukhah in order to bring the fort under his direct control.

In 1861 Sd. 'Azzan b. Qays b. 'Azzan b. Qays replaced his father at Al-Rustaq. During the years 1862 and 1863 there were skirmishes between him and Sd. Thuwayni, but these did not sever relations between them. In 1864 Sd. 'Azzan b. Qays threw off his allegiance to Sd. Thuwayni who attacked Al-Rustaq at the end of this year, but he found it difficult to take it back because his supporters refused to fight with him on the one hand, and on the other hand the Amir AL-Wahhabi at Buraymi, Turki b, Ahmad Al-Sudayri and the Bani Ghafir of Al-Zahirah supported Sd. 'Azzan b. Qays while the tribe of Yal Sa'd threatened to cut off communications between him and his vessels ⁽⁵⁸⁾. Sd. Thuwayni suspected his supporters' attitude towards him, and retreated to his capital.

6- Thuwayni's relations with the Wahhabis

In 1865 hostilities were renewed between the Wahhabis and Sd. Thuwayni. As mentioned above, the former supported Sd. 'Azzan and threatened Sd. Thuwayni's troops. In august 1865 they sent their envoy carrying the letter which set out the increase of the customary annual tribute four times. Sd. Thuwayni refused their demand, and agreed to pay the ordinary annual tribute. In the meantime the Wahhabis captured Sur. According to the local account, the aims of the Wahhabis were to assist Sh. Nasir b. 'Ali Al-Wahibi who disagreed with Sd. Thuwayni, because the latter appointed his brother Sh. Khalifiyin b. 'Ali Al-Wahibi as a leader of

the Al-Wahibah tribe. Sh. Nasir failed to get permission to discuss his position with Sd. Thuwayni, and then decided to make trouble for Sd. Thuwayni. He visited Buraymi for this purpose ⁽⁵⁹⁾ and accompanied the Wahhabis to Al-Sharqiyyah, and they occupied Sur.

Sd. Thuwayni then equipped an expedition against the Wahhabis. His brother Turki sailed to Sur, while he himself proceeded to Al-Sharqiyyah by the Wadi Sama'il pass. In Badiyah Sh. Nasir met Sd. Thuwayni who forgave him on condition that he persuade the Amir of the Wahhabi to withdraw his followers from Sur. While at Badiyah, Sd. Thuwayni succeeded in collecting a large number of troops from the Hinawi tribes of Al-Sharqiyyah under the commander of Sh. Salih b. 'Ali Al-Harithi, the tamimat of the Hinawi faction in this province and the conservative Ibadi leader, who was in Sur when the Wahhbis attacked it ⁽⁶⁰⁾. Sh. Nasir succeeded in getting the Wahhabis to withdraw from Sur without any fighting at the end of 1865 ⁽⁶¹⁾.

In fact that the relation between the Wahhabis and Omanis was a hate relation, that started as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Wahhabis settled since that time at Al-Buraymi in the west of Oman as a result of the weakness of the Omani authorities on one hand and the support of some Omani tribes on the other hand. The Emir of Wahhabi ruled Al-Buraymi from 1800 until his rule collapsed by Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt in 1818. In 1841 Al Sa'ud managed to take over Al-Buraymi again, Emir Faysal bin Turki bin Sa'ud of Riyadh prepared to send an expedition consisting of 700 soldiers under the leadership of Sa'd bin Mutlaq Al-Mutayri. This expedition was sent in 1845 and it threatened Muscat asking the annual tribute from Sd. Thuwayni. He accepted to pay 5000 \$MT and another amount to Sa'd to avoid the war. However, troubles occurred in Al-Buraymi in 1847 and a new Emir was appointed in Al-Buraymi. The new Emir did not manage to put a end to the troubles in it as a result of the coalition between the

governor of Suhar and the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi. Emir Sa'd returned back to Al-Buraymi, where he managed to avoid facing Sheikh Sa'id bin Tahnun the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi in 1848. He signed a treaty with Sheikh Sa'id bin Tahnun. Despite all of these efforts, troubles never ended in the area. Imam Faysal bin Turki of Riyadh (d. 1282/1865) sent his son Emir 'Abdallah and Emir Ahmad bin Muhammad Al-Sudayri, the Ruler of Al-Hasa' ⁽⁶²⁾ in 1269/1853 to put an end to the troubles. Soon after Emir 'Abdallah arrived at Buraymi, he made a kind of allegiance between the Sheikhs of Omani coast and the leaders of Al-Buraymi to support the Sa'udi authority in the area, when he succeeded to that he sent to Sd. Thuwayni asking him to resume the payment of annual tribute. After consultation with the Resident in the Gulf Sd. Thuwayni signed an agreement with the envoy of Emir 'Abdallah b. Faysal to pay the tribute. When he received the payment, Emir 'Abdallah returned back to Riyadh, while Emir Ahmad bin Muhammad Al-Sudayri was appointed as Ruler of Buraymi but after few years Emir Ahmad returned to his position in Al-Hasa' and his son Turki became Emir of Al-Buraymi for twelve years ⁽⁶³⁾.

Foreign accounts give different details about the cause of this raid and how it ended. They stated that Sd. Thuwayni 'bribed' the Wahhabis with one payment of \$MT 10.000 and another of 6.000 rupees ⁽⁶⁴⁾. In fact Sd. Thuwayni at this time had a large number of troops, and it was not necessary to pay any bribe; the money was in the form of an ordinary annual tribute.

The truth which was not found in the Omani sources on the English reaction regarding the occupation of Wahhabis (Al-Sa'ud) is that they first encouraged Sd. Thuwayni to attack both Al-Hasa' and Al-Qatif. Sd. Thuwayni allied at that time with Sheikh Muhammad b. Khalayfah, the ruler of Bahrain (1843 - 1868) to attack Al-Hasa' and Al-Qatif. The Political Resident in the Gulf, Colonel Pelly accompanied the Omani Navy which was under the

leader Sd. Turki b. Sa'id. Moreover, colonel Pelly encouraged the Sheikhs of the Omani Coast to participate and cooperate with Sd. Thuwayni's forces against the Sa'udi Al-Hasa. The campaign which reached Bahrain at the end of December 1865 failed to fulfill its target because the Ruler of Bahrain Sheikh Muhammad gave up his promise, thus the campaign returned back home⁽⁶⁵⁾. At that time Sd. Thuwayni prepared another expedition against the Sa'udi headquarters at Al-Buraymi supported by the Omani tribes and the English who supplied the Omani forces with two huge guns reached Suhar in December, 1865. The Sa'udi emir at al-Buraymi, Turki b. Ahmad Al-Sudayri knew this reaction that he sent military force consisting of Omani tribes raiding both Suhar and Saham (twenty five km. South of Suhar). Their immediate concern in these raids were robbing and attacking British India subjects in the two cities. As a reaction colonel Pelly sent a warning to Imam Faysal b. Turki, the Emir of Riyadh, and since he did not receive any response, he attacked Al-Dammam and some ports on the coast of Al-Hasa to seek revenge from the Sa'udi. The plans of Sd. Thuwayni to attack Al-Buraymi and the Sa'udi fortress after 'Eid Al-Fater was not fulfilled since Sd. Thuwayni himself was assassinated at the forts of Suhar on 27th Ramadan, 1282/13 February 1886.

7- Thuwayni's foreign relations

Sd. Thuwayni's external relations were amicable. He obtained British recognition as Oman's Sultan. The Anglo-French declaration to respect the independence of the Sultanate of Oman on 10th March, 1862,⁽⁶⁶⁾ and finally the continuation of the Zanzibar subsidy. Besides this he concluded two agreements with the British government: the first was for a British service of mail steamers in 1864⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the second was for the carrying out of a British telegraph project in 1865⁽⁶⁸⁾. In 1863 Oman faced the claims of the government of Persia in Gwadir and Chahbar, but these claims were ended by the government of India⁽⁶⁹⁾. Sd. Thuwayni held firm

amidst disorder and was killed just as it appeared that Oman was about to enjoy a period of inner unity⁽⁷⁰⁾.

As mentioned above the British government in India played a major role in both internal and external affairs of Oman. They succeeded to mediate between the sons of Sd. Sa'id when they managed to reach a compromise between Sd. Thuwayni and his brother Sd. Majid in Zanzibar through arbitration, which resulted in the division of Omani Empire. The British also mediated between Sd. Thuwayni and his brother Sd. Turki in Suhar. First the British Political Agent at Muscat invited the two brothers to meet at Al-Sib, however, this meeting failed to fulfill any positive result, which pushed Sd. Thuwayni to send a military expedition to Suhar, arresting his brother and putting him in jail. This stimulated the British, who arranged a compromise between the two brothers and to exile the Political Agent in Muscat, who allowed Sd. Thuwayni to arrest his brother.

Sd. Thuwayni has always sought help and negotiated with the British, particularly after they became responsible of Cinning engorgement and also supervising the payment of the financial refund to the government of Oman. According to Landen "the British became having a positive impact in Oman internal policy"⁽⁷¹⁾.

The English support was clear at the side of Sd. Thuwayni against Sa'udi (Wahhabis) interfering in the internal affairs of Oman, particularly after the British Indian subjects were attacked by the Sa'udis. The English not only politically supported Sd. Thuwayni, but also sometimes supplied him with money and weapons. Thus, Sd. Thuwayni did not hesitate to extend the telegraph line communication to the Omani at the Persian side. He signed two agreements regarding that matter, the first in November 1864 while the second in January 1865. The two agreements are as following⁽⁷²⁾:

1- The first agreement of 1864

Articles of Agreement agreed to before lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Pelly, Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Disbrowe, Her Majesty's Political Agent in Birka, Muscat, by His Highness Syed Thoweynee Bin Saeed Bin Sultan, the Sultan of Muscat, under date this 17th day of November 1864.

Article 1.

My ancient and faithful ally, the British Government, is at liberty to construct one or more lines of telegraph communication anywhere within the territories appertaining to the State of Muscat.

Article 2.

The British Government is further at liberty to construct one or more lines of telegraphic communication in any territories which I may hold in lease from the Shah of Persia.

Article 3.

I engage for myself, my heirs, and successors, to respect and abstain from all and every interference with telegraphic operations carried on by the British Government in or near the territories of Muscat.

Article 4.

And in the event (which God forbid) of any my subjects or dependents committing an act of aggression or trespass on the said telegraphic lines and stations, or other telegraphic materials, I will immediately punish the offender, and proceed to afford full redress upon the same being brought to my notice.

Article 5.

Nothing in these Articles shall be held as conferring any dominion or sovereign right on the part of the British Government over the territory of Muscat through which the line may pass,

neither of any additional dominion or right on my part as Sultan of Muscat, over territory which I may hold in lease from the Shah of Persia.

Article 6.

In like manner nothing in these Articles shall be held as invalidating or derogating from the title of the British Government to the station of Bassadoore, that station having been freely granted to the British Government by my late illustrious father of blessed memory, the late Imam Syed Saeed bin Sultan, on behalf of himself, his heirs, and successors.

Article 7.

Nothing in these Articles shall be held as invalidating any Article of any Treaty entered into by myself or forefathers with our ancient and faithful ally, the British Government, from the year 1798 downwards.

Dated Birka, Muscat, 17th November 1864, Signed in our presence by Syed Thoweynee bin Saeed, Sultan of Muscat, this 17th day of November 1864, and sealed in our presence by His Highness's Minister, Hajee Ahmad, at Muscat, this 18th day of November 1864.

Lewis Pelly, Lieut-Col., H. B. M.'s Poltl. Resid., Persian Gulf.
Herbert Disbrowe, Lieut-Col, H. B. M.'s Polit.. Agent, Muscat.

2. The second agreement of 1865

Convention between the British Government and His Highness Syud Thowaynee Bin Saeed bin Sultan, the Sultan of Muscat, for the extension of the Electric Telegraph through the dominions subject to the sovereignty of His Highness in Arabia and Mekran, 1865.

Article 1.

That the British Government shall be at liberty to construct one or more telegraphic lines, and to erect Telegraphic Stations, in any portion of territory subject to the sovereignty, both in Arabia and Mekran, which shall be most convenient to them.

Article 2.

That the cost of materials, landing charges, labour, housing, provisions, etc., etc., shall be paid by the British Government, who will make any arrangement they consider most convenient regarding their own supplies, labour, etc., the Sultan of Muscat undertaking that no impediment of any sort shall be thrown in their way in collecting them; on the contrary, that every protection and assistance shall be given on his part.

Article 3.

That His Highness the Sultan of Muscat shall afford protection to the best of his ability to the lines of Telegraph, the Telegraph Stations, and the persons employed in their construction and maintenance.

Article 4.

Should any disagreement arise in the possessions of the Sultan of Muscat, situated near Arabia, between the Telegraph officials and the subjects of His Highness, the said disagreements shall be referred to the assistant British Political Officer at Muscat, if they cannot be satisfactorily settled on the spot.

Article 5.

In like manner, should any disagreements arise in the possession of the Sultan of Muscat, situated in Makran, between the Telegraph officials and the subjects of His Highness, the said disagreements shall be referred to the assistant British Political Officer at Gwador, if they cannot be satisfactorily settled on the spot.

Article 6.

This Convention, together with any supplementary Articles that may hereafter thereunto be added, is to be considered dependent for completion and effect upon the approval of the British Government.

Done at Muscat this nineteenth day of January in the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, corresponding with the twentieth day of the month Shaban of the hegira one thousand two hundred and eighty-one, day of the week Thursday.

Herbert Disbrowe, Lieut-Col, H. B. M.'s Polit..
Agent at Muscat, on the part of the British Govt.

The French role on the other hand was so weak. They attempted to send an envoy called Commander La Iscount A. fleuroit De Langle to Zanzibar to present consolation. He found that the political situation was not stable. He tried to compromise between the two brothers. He visited Muscat in January 1860, for this purpose, but his attempt was not succeeded, because he found a clear English plan to divide the Omani Empire ⁽⁷³⁾. However, the French succeeded to issue a joint statement with the British stressing on the independent of Zanzibar and Oman. Here are the French and English Declaration respecting the Independence of Muscat and Zanzibar: 1862 as following ⁽⁷⁴⁾:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the importance of maintaining the independence of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to respect the independence of these sovereigns.

Sa Majeste la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Ireland et Sa Majeste l'Empereur des Francais, prenant en conide 'ration l 'importance du Sultan de Zanaibar de l'autre, ont jugre' convenable de s'engager reciproquement a 'respecter l'indpendence de ces deux Princes.

Sd. Thuwayni's Internal and External Policy : 1273/1856 - 1282/1866

(Analysis and Evaluation Study) - Dr. Sa'id B. Muhammad Al-Hashimy

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, and the Minister secretary of State of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare in consequence that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement. Witness whereof the undersigned have Signed the present Declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris,

The 10th March 1862.

Les Soussigne's, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiare de Sa Majeste 'Britannique, Pres la Cour de France, et Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres de Sa Majeste l'Empereur des Francais etant emmis de pouvoir a cet effect, declarent en consequence par le present Acte, que leurs dites Majeste prennent engagement, reciproquement l'indeique e-dessus. En foi de quoi, les Soussigne's ont signe en double la present Declaration et y ont oppose le cachet de leurs armes. Fiat A Paris, le 10 Mars 1862.

Cowley. De Thouvenal

8- Assassination of Sd. Thuwayni

After the withdrawal of the Wahhabis from Sur, Sd. Thuwayni visited it and then immediately sailed to Suhar to assemble his troops to attack the Wahhabis who had raided Saham in Al-Batinah ad Manah in Al-Dakhaliyah. But Sd. Thuwayni was killed by his son in the fort of Suhar on 27th Ramadan 1282/3rd Feb. 1866⁽⁷⁵⁾.

There is a long argument regarding the reasons and the motivations, which pushed the spoiled son Sd. Salim to assassinate his father, while he was sleeping in his bed. It seems that there were three powers behind the assassination of Sd. Thuwayni. The first are some members from Al Said Dynasty. Sd. Salim was at top of them. The second are the religious men under the leadership of Sheikh Sa'id bin Khalfan Al-Khalayli and Sd. 'Azan bin Qays, the ruler of Al-Rustaq. They both arranged to establish a ruling system of religious nature in Oman. The third power is the Sa'udi power in Al-Buraymi whom they were keen that the governor in Oman should protect their influence in Oman⁽⁷⁶⁾. Thus Sd. Salim

responded to all of the above-mentioned power as he found himself in an unusual political situation among those powers and killed his father. According to the account of Kelly that a man who encouraged and supported Sd. Salim to murder his father was Serif bin Sulaiman Al-Bishri, a Wahhabi accomplice in Oman. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ Kelly also described Sd. Salim as he is created by the Mutawwa (religious men) since the beginning of his rule ⁽⁷⁸⁾. He depended mainly on the support of the tribal collation under the leadership of Sd. 'Azan b. Qays, the Governor of Al-Rustaq. According to the report of Political Resident colonel Pelly at the Gulf dated in 9th July, 1866 to G. Gonne the secretary to government in Bombay, informing that Emir 'Abdallah b. Faysal, the Emir of Al-Riyadh knew the details of the assassination conspiracy one year before it occurred. Colonel Pelly was informed these details from Abu Isa, Palgrave's former companion in Najd ⁽⁷⁹⁾.

Although the British records describe him as a man of weakness and duplicity ⁽⁸⁰⁾, Sd. Thuwayni's administration was in fact very firm, in spite of his having to face rebellions, and economic troubles, he nevertheless, succeeded in winning over the Hinawi tribes in the face of these difficulties.

9- Conclusion

This study shows that Sd. Thuwayni was in a weak position regarding the separation of Zanzibar and east Africa led by his brother Sd. Majid b. Sa'id b. Sultan. The geographical distance and financial problems were the main factors in this respect. Sd. Turki b. Sa'id declared the independence of Suhar in order to distract Sd. Thuwayni from claiming Zanzibar. Eventually, he was forced to give in. Sd. Thuwayni suffered a great deal from the turmoil caused by the Wahhabis from Buraymi, because they the Omani tribes to rebel. Sd. Thuwayni also suffered from the support of the ruler of Al-Rustaq to Al-Sa'd tribe.

Sd. Thuwayni attempted to compromise between the internal pressures and the requirements of the external policy. The study makes clear that Sd. Thuwayni seeking the English assistant to dispose of Wahhabis from Al-Buraymi. So he – in a hurry – signed two treaties with the English to acknowledge their support against the Wahhabis.

The three conflicting powers against SD. Thuwayni terminated his plan of disposing of the Wahhabis from Al-Buraymi when they assassinated him.

End Notes

- (1) Al-Batash, Saif. Al-Tali Al-Sa'id, Nubad fi Akhbar Ahmad fk Sa'id. pp.44FF.
- (2) Ibn Ruzayq. Al-Fath Al-Mubin. pp.41 ff.
- (3) Burton, O. Zanzibar, city and coust. Vol. 1, pp.307f.
- (4) Coupland, East Africa and its invaders, p.107.
- (5) Ruete, Said. The Al Bu Said Dynasty in Arabai and East Africa p.158, quoting from Stocqueler, Fifteen Months Pilgrimage through Khuzistan and Persia, London, 1832 p.5.
- (6) Ruete, op. cit., p.158, quoting from Mignan, A winter Journey through Russia, the Caucasian Alps and Georgia, thence into Koordistan, London, 1839, vol. II, p.235.
- (7) For more details concerning his biography see: Heude, A Voyage up the Persian Gulf and Journey overland from India to England, p.26, Fraser, Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan, London, 1867, p.20; Owen, Narrative of Voyage to Explore the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, p.341; Keppel, Personal Narrative of the Journey from India to England, p.14; Roberts, Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin – China Siam and Muscat in the U.S sloop: of war Peacock, David Geisinger, commander, during the years 1832-3-4.
- (8) Ruete, Emily, Memoirs., p.117.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) Four sons who appear on the tree above died during their father's reign.
- (11) Ruete, Emily, op.cit., p.117; The number is given both by Low, C. History of the Indian Navy. Vol. II, p.332 and Badger, History of Imams and Seyyids of Oman p.xcvi, as fifteen.
- (12) For more information about Sd. Hamad b. Thuwayni and Sultan Al-Bu Sa'id in Zanzibar see Al-Mughayri, Sa'id bin

- Jum'ah. Juhaynat Al-Akhbar fi Tarikh Zanjbar; Al-Maamiry, Ahmad Hamoud. Oman and sultans in Zanzibar (1832 – 1964). New Delhi: 1988; Qasim. Dawlat Al-Bu Sa'id fi Uman was Sharq Ifriqiya., pp.342 – 349.
- (13) Al-Maamari. Ahmad. 'Uman and Sharq Ifriqiya., p.106.
- (14) Ibid. p.107.
- (15) Fars, Ali Muhammad. Al-Alaqat Al-Umaniyyah – Al-Farisiyyah., pp.133ff.
- (16) Ibn Ruzayq, Humayd b, Muhammad. Diwan Sulk Al-Farid. This diwan was published in to 2 vols. by Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, Muscat: 1997.
- (17) Lorimer, Gazetteer, vol. I. pp.469f.
- (18) Al-Salimi, A. H. Tuhfat vol. II p.195ff.
- (19) Ibn Ruzayq, op.cit. pp.460f.
- (20) Al-Hasimy, Sa'id Misdaqit Sd. Majid b. Sa'id. The Arab States of Gulf Cooperation Council through the Ages. vol. 1, pp. 113 – 150.
- (21) Palgrave, W. G. Central and East Arabia. vol. II p.355.
- (22) Al-Hashimy, Sa'id. op.cit. p. 119.
- (23) Al-Hashimy, Sa'id. op.cit. p. 138.
- (24) Lorimer, op.cit. vol. I. pp. 470.
- (25) Lorimer, op.cit. vol. I. pp. 474.
- (26) Al-Hashimy, Sa'id. op.cit. p.142f.
- (27) Qasim. Jamal Za;arlyya and Al-Aqad. Zanzibar. p. 121; Kelly, J. B. Britain. p.535.
- (28) Records of Oman vol. I p.90; Lorimer, op.cit. vol. I. p.470; Landen, Oman since 1856, p. 274.
- (29) Records of Oman vol. I. p.91.
- (30) Sc. 40.000 Maria Theresa Dollars (\$MT). The erroneous description of thus originally Austrian coin as "French" is still used in Arabia.
- (31) For more detail about the arbitration of British Government in India see Records of Oman. vol. I, p.106 – 123; Al-

- Qasimi, Sultan b. Muhammad. Inqisam Al-Imbraturiyah Al-Umaniyyah: 1856 – 1861.
- (32) Sd. Thuwayni has the assistance of four advisers: Sd. Sayf b. sulayman, Sd. Hamad b. Ahmad b. Imam Said, Sd. Yarub b. Qahtan and Sd. Ali b. Salih See (R. O) vol. I p.222.
- (33) Al-Qasimi, Inqisam Al-Imbraturiyah. p.122f.
- (34) (R.O) vol. I. p.82 and p.122.
- (35) This term was some times used for Maria Theresa Dollars.
- (36) (R.O) vol. I. p.122.
- (37) Coupland, the Exploitation of East Africa. p.31.
- (38) Lorimer, op.cit. vol. I. p.471.
- (39) Landen, op.cit. p.279.
- (40) Philips, Oman a history. p.136.
- (41) Landen, op.cit. p.280.
- (42) Al-Salimi, op.cit. vol.2. p.293.
- (43) Suhar is a large city on the Batinah District in Oman. Its origins are prehistoric in the past. It was a capital of Oman during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad. For more information see: Historical and Cultural Dictionary of the Sultanate of Oman and the Emirates of Eastern Arabia by J. D. Anthony; Suhar, its political history and civilization from the rise of Islam to the end of the fourth century A. H. by Muhammad bin Nasir Al-Munthary, (M. A thesis unpublished 2000, Cairo University, Collage of Dar Al-Alum, Egypt).
- (44) Kelly, op.cit. p.551f.
- (45) Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 1. p.472.
- (46) (R.O) vol. 1. p.216.
- (47) (R.O) vol. 1. p.216.
- (48) (R.O) vol. 1. p.216.
- (49) (R.O) vol. 1. p.218; Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 1. p.472; Landen, op.cit., p.281.

- (50) Al-Rustaq is the largest town of the Western Hajar of Oman. It served as the capital of the Yaaribah dynasty (1624 – 1749). For more information see: Historical and Cultural Dictionary of the Sultanate of Oman and Emirates of Eastern Arabia by J. D. Anthony.
- (51) Al-Salimi, A. H. Tuhfat vol. II p.230ff; Landen, Oman.
- (52) Al-Salimi, A. H. Tuhfat vol. II p.231; Lorimer, op.cit., vol. I p.473.
- (53) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit. vol. II p.231f; Lorimer, op.cit., vol. I p.473.
- (54) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.232.
- (55) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit. vol. II p.232; Landen, op.cit., p.282.
- (56) Landen, op.cit., p.282.
- (57) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.232.
- (58) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.232; Landen op.cit. p.283.
- (59) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.233f.
- (60) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.233.
- (61) Al-Salimi, A. H. op.cit., vol. II p.233.
- (62) Abu 'Ulayyah', 'Abdalfattah, Al-Dawlah Al-Taniyah: 1841 – 1891. p.162.
- (63) Kelly. J. B. Britain and the Persian Gulf: 1795 – 1880. p.530.
- (64) Lorimer, op.cit. vol. I p.474; Landen, op.cit. p.284f.
- (65) Al-Rashid, Z. M. Saudi Relations with Eastern Arabia and Oman: 1800 – 1870. P.118.
- (66) Aitchison, C. A collection of Treaties. Vol. II. P.303; urewits, J. C. Diplomacy in the near and Middle East vol. I, p.168f; Lorimer, op.cit. vol. 2 p.740; Coupland, op.cit., p.33 – 36.
- (67) Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 2 p.739
- (68) (R. O) vol. VII p.509f; Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 2, p.739.
- (69) Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 2, p.925.
- (70) Landen, op.cit. p.286.

- (71) Ibid. p.252.
- (72) See the two Agreements in Records of Oman, vol.6.
- (73) Al-Qasimi, Sultan bin Muhammad. Al-Alaqa Al-Umaniyah – Al-Faransiyah p.148f.
- (74) About this declaration between France and Britain about the independence of Oman and Zanzibar see Aitchison, Treaties, vol.II, Appendix 6.
- (75) Al-Salimi, A. H. Tuhfat vol.II p.234; Lorimer, op.cit. vol.2. p.739; Landen, op.cit. p.286.
- (76) Kelly, op.cit. p.650; Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 2. p.739.
- (77) Ibid, see also Al-Salimi, op.cit. pp.234ff.
- (78) Ibid.
- (79) Ibid.
- (80) Lorimer, op.cit., vol. 2. p.739.

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- (5) Badral-Tamam. Muscat, 1977.
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- (38) Ruete, Emily, Memoirs.
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