



Oman's Relations with Bahrain and Kuwait (1744-1804)

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Abstract:

The paper presents the relationship between Oman and the States of Bahrain and Kuwait in the second half of the 18th century when Oman was ruled by Iman Ahmad bin Said Al-bú Saidí and his sons. Bahrain was annexed to Oman in 1717 and remained under its control for more than twenty years. It was lost as a result of the problems that Oman faced during the Y'áribah Imamate and its fall and the Nadir Shah's ambitions in the Arabian Gulf.

Imam Ahmad was elected as Imam in 1749 and he ruled for 34 years, a period which witnessed the settlement of Al Sabah in Kuwait and Al Khaliyfah in Al-Zubarah and then in Bahrain. It also witnessed the zenith of power of Karim Khan in Persia and his siege of Basrah for more than two years 1775 - 1777. Imam Ahmad bin Sáid played a role in helping the people of Basrah to lift the Persian siege. The relations between the Imam and the 'Utúb were positive and friendly.

After the death of Imam Ahmad in 1783 Oman witnessed a period of political instability and dissension among the Imam's sons. Oman's Affairs were entrusted to his son Sultán bin Imam Ahmad who based his authority in Muscat as his capital. Sayyid Sultán started to annex a group of the Gulf Islands. He captured Bahrain and threatened Kuwait, but Al Khaliyfah revolted against him with the help of the Saudis, and all his attempts to invade Bahrain failed.

This paper traces the change in relation between rulers of Oman and the 'Utúb (Āl Khalífah and Āl Sabáh) which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Friendly relations existed during the reigns of Imám Ahmad B. Sa'íd and were re-established during that of his grandson, Badr B. Sayf (1805-1806).

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However, tension and hostility supervened during the reigns of Imám Sa'íd⁽¹⁾ and Sultán b. Ahmad. The reasons for this change in relations are examined below.

The Āl bú-Sa'íd

In 1034/1624 the first Imám from Ya'áribah dynasty was elected in Oman. The Ya'áribah attained power by expelling the Portuguese from the coasts of Arabia and East Africa which had become Omani settlements. During the rule of the Ya'áribah dynasty, Oman had extended from the Hadramowt in the south to Bahrain in the north. Some islands on the Strait of Hurmuz and the coast of East Africa also belonged to Oman, but the civil war led to the intervention of the Persians in support of Imám Sayf b. Sultán against Bil'arab B. Hamayar in 1149/1737, and against Imám Sultán b. Murshid in 1155/1742. This divided the people of Oman into two factions, the Gháfirí and Hinawí. The provinces of Shamiyyah and Julfár in the north and Zafrah northwest became independent of Oman, but continued to be affected by its political affairs and sided with the Gháfirí faction. Oman also lost Bahrain and East Africa during this conflict. These events weakened the Ya'áribah dynasty. As a result, the Āl Bú-Sa'íd dynasty came to prominence and had ruled continuously without interruption until the present day. The fortunes of this family were founded by Ahmad b. Sa'íd b. Muhammad Āl bú-Sa'íd⁽²⁾.

The transfer of the government of the Ya'aribah to Ahmad b. Sa'íd took place in 1157/1744⁽³⁾. Four rulers ruled Oman between 1744 and 1804, two being Imáms and the others Sayyids. Ahmad b. Sa'íd was the founder of the Āl bú-Sa'íd state, and had seven sons. Sa'íd, Ahmad's second son, who succeeded as Imám in 1198/1783, proved to be a weak ruler. His son Hamad, therefore, was relied upon to manage the Imámate. Hamad settled in Muscat which he made the capital of Oman while Iman Sa'íd continued to reside at Rustáq enjoying the prerogatives of his religious office. Hamad died in Muscat in 1207/1792, and was replaced by his uncle Sultán b. Ahmad. The brothers, Imám Sa'íd and Sd. Qays disagreed with Sultán's occupation of Muscat, but this dispute was settled between them when they were reconciled with his brothers Imám Sa'íd and Qays, ruler of Suhár, in Barká' in 1208/1793.

The 'Utúb

The 'Utúb⁽⁴⁾ belong to the 'Unayzah tribe which used to inhabit the Aflaj district, south of Najd. During the second half of the seventeenth century there was drought for many years in Central Arabia. The 'Unayzah tribe had emigrated from Central Arabia to Syria and the western side of the Gulf. The 'Utúb moved to the western side of the Gulf, and arrived at Zubárah in Qatar which, at this time, was under the suzerainty of the B. Khálíd. During the 1710s, they moved from Qatar to the north of the Gulf, as a result of disputes with the Āl Muslim tribe in Qatar. They were scattered around various Gulf ports before coming to Kuwait. They lived in Khúr Al-Sabiyah, south of Basrah, but were driven out. They then proceeded southwards to Faylakah Island. They were permitted to land in Kuwait by the B. Khálíd. Kuwait⁽⁵⁾ was a summer residence for the B. Khálíd.

The 'Utúb settled in Kuwait under the immediate authority of the ruler of the B. Khálíd until the death of Sulaymán b. Muhammad Al-Hamaydi in 1166/1752. Then Kuwait became independent under the 'Utúb. They were sub-divided into three groups, Āl Khalífah, Āl Sabáh and Al-Jalahimah. According to Warden⁽⁶⁾, the B. Sabah were subjects at this time (1716) to Shaykh Sulaymán b. Ahmad, the B. Jalahimah to Jabír B. 'Utúb and the B. Khalífah B. Muhammad. Each group worked in a different field: political affairs, maritime and mercantile were controlled respectively by Āl Sabáh Al-Jalahimah, and Āl Khalifa⁽⁷⁾. This agreement continued till 1180/1766 when Al Khalífah separated themselves from the rest of the 'Utúb and moved to Zubárah in Qatar where they formed an independent state⁽⁸⁾.

Āl Sabáh settled in Kuwait and it was ruled during the eighteenth century by Sabáh b. Jabír Al-'Utubí (d. 1176/1762) and 'Abdallah b. Sabáh (1762 - 1815). Āl Khalífah settled in Zubárah between 1766 and 1796 and after that they moved to Bahrain which they occupied in 1197/1782. There were four rulers from Āl Khalífah who ruled Zubárah before they moved to Bahrain: Muhammad b. Khalífah (1179/1766 - 1197/1782) his son, Khalífah who died in Makkah in 1198/1783, Ahmad b. Khalífah Al-Fatih, who occupied Bahrain in 1782, died in 1209/1794, and Salmán (1794 - 1825) who moved to Bahrain in 1211/1796⁽⁹⁾.

Omani - 'Utúb Relations:

Oman's relations with 'Utúb during Imám Ahmad's reign were based on commercial, peaceful and mutual understanding and co-operation. Muscat was a very important trade centre in the Gulf during this period and Omani ships visited all the ports of Asia, Africa and the Far East. Muscat was the emporium of Arabia in the second half of the 18th century. Parsons described Muscat at this time as:

"A place of a very great trade being possessed of the large number of ships which trade to Surat, Bombay, Goa, along the whole coast of Malabar, and the Makha and Judda in the Red Sea. It is the great magazine or deposit for the goods which they bring from those parts. It is resorted to by vessels from every part in Persia, from Basrah and the ports of Arabia within the gulph (Gulf), and from the coast of Carmaina without the gulph, as far as the river India and many places adjacent to that river. Moreover there are at present (1755) such immense quantities of goods in this town that, as there are not warehouses to contain half of them, they are piled up in the streets, and lie night and day exposed, without any watch or guard, yet there never happens an instance that such goods are robbed or even pilfered of the port"⁽¹⁰⁾.

Only a fraction of this great flood of imports was absorbed in Oman itself, most of it being re-shipped elsewhere. Muscat's location, in the middle of the sea-route leading to the Gulf, made it an important place for the Gulf trade where fleets had to refuel on their way from or to the Gulf. This commanding position enabled the ruler of Oman to receive all Arab vessels bound to Muscat safely. Anyone who wished to do so might sail under the protection of the great Muscat coffee fleet, every summer, for Basrah.

The principal entrepots for trade in the Arabian Gulf in this period were Muscat and Basrah. According to Parsons, Muscat was a large store for European and Indian goods which were shipped to Basrah and the 'Utubí ports by the Muscat and 'Utubí fleets⁽¹¹⁾. One may wonder whether there was a caravan route between Oman and the Arabian Gulf States. There is no information about caravans carrying goods from Muscat along the Arabian shore of the Gulf to Basrah at this period. It was not safe and very expensive. However, the desert express

from Muscat to Basrah was used by the East India company's agent in the former to announce the arrival of the company's ships at Muscat⁽¹²⁾, and this route, however, was used by camels to be sold in Central Arabia and Syria.

The majority of the goods to and from the Arabian Gulf were transported through the Gulf sea-route by Omani and 'Utubí ships. Muscat was a transport station and all the ships had to stop and pay a duty of about 5-6%⁽¹³⁾, though in the 1790's the 'Utubí ships started to sail directly back home for India to avoid paying duties to Muscat⁽¹⁴⁾. The duties were levied in return for the services which Muscat provided for the ships such as food, water coal, etc. It was a place for repair, and protection. According to Lorimer "foreign trade was on a scale corresponding with this large commercial navy; and it was carefully protected by the local government which showed every consideration for the interests of merchants, whether natives or strangers"⁽¹⁵⁾. The levy was of long standing. According to Miles "... this sea tax had for one and a half centuries been paid to Muscat by all craft, foreign as well as home, sailing through the strait of Musandam⁽¹⁶⁾. This means that the duty was imposed before the 'Utúb arrived at the Arabian Gulf, while they had still lived in the Haddar district in Central Arabia. Both the Omani and 'Utubí fleets controlled export trade of the ports of Arabia and Persia and were a familiar sight in the Arabian Gulf and India.

The Omani and 'Utubí ships used each other's ports and there was co-operation between the merchants of Oman and the 'Utúb.

During the 1740s, Imám Ahmad dedicated his energies to expelling the Persians from Oman, and also strove to unite the tribes under his authority. In addition, he was able to establish relations with the Arab tribes who ruled the major cities on the Persian shore. He made an alliance with B. Ka'b who inhabited Arabistan and also with B. Ma'in who dominated Qashim and Hurmuz⁽¹⁷⁾. His objective was to allow a free passage for the trade fleet in a secure Gulf. In 1775, he sent his fleets to Basrah in order to break the siege which the Persians had laid⁽¹⁸⁾.

In 1779 the Imám's fleet reached Zubárah on a friendly errand⁽¹⁹⁾. This visit was after the fleet had been attacked by the Shaykh of Bushehr and his allies Al-

Qawasim and the B. Ka'b. Imám Ahmad b. Sa'íd aimed to support the 'Utúb against their enemies. This action showed the kind of relationship which existed between Oman and 'Utúb; the Shaykh of Bushehr and Al-Qawasim were both against Oman and Zubárah during this time⁽²⁰⁾. The result of this visit was an encouragement to the 'Utúb to hold out against their enemies. They began to attack Bahrain in 1781 and occupied it the following year⁽²¹⁾. Bahrain had been ruled at times by Oman and at other times by Persia, during the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Imám Sultán b. Sayf (1059/1649 - 1091/1680), the second Ya'aribah Imám, captured Bahrain in the middle of the seventeenth century and his governor ruled it for more than twenty years⁽²²⁾. But subsequent Ya'arubi Imáms lost Bahrain because they were engaged in expelling the Portuguese from the coast of India and East Africa. In 1130/1718, however, Imám Sultán b. Sayf II (1123/1711 - 1141/1719) recovered Bahrain and appointed Násir b. Muhammad b. Násir Al-Gháfirí governor⁽²³⁾. According to Miles, however, Bahrain had been taken from the Persians by Imám Sayf in 1700, and it seems probable that Imám Sultán in 1717 re-occupied and garrisoned it⁽²⁴⁾.

Lorimer claims that when Imám Sultán captured Bahrain in 1718, most of its inhabitants fled and it became deserted, and so the Omanis returned home⁽²⁵⁾. There are three indications, however, that in fact an Omani ruler still ruled Bahrain until Nadir Shah took it in 1152/1739:

- (i) Captain Robert Taylor stated that Sultán, the son of Imám Sayf, held the forces of the Bahrain resistance captive until he was driven out by Nadir Shah⁽²⁶⁾.
- (ii) Nabhani states that Nadir Shah took Bahrain from Oman in 1152/1739⁽²⁷⁾.
- (iii) In his account of the relations between Imám Ahmad and Násir b. Muhammad Al-Gháfirí, Ibn Ruzayq confirms that Násir was the last Omani governor in Bahrain⁽²⁸⁾.

Oman thus ruled Bahrain from about 1717 to 1739. Násir Al-Gháfirí sent to Oman for help, but the civil war there between the Hinawi and the Gháfirí factions created too unstable a situation for Oman to help him. Helpless and desperate, Al-Gháfirí was forced by Nadir Shah to give up Bahrain. When the fleets of

the Persians surrounded Bahrain, Násir had no choice but to leave, giving up Bahrain on condition that it should be ruled by the Shaykh of Hawlah⁽²⁹⁾. Oman was therefore in control of Bahrain during the second half of the 17th century, and also from 1717 to 1739.

The 'Utúb occupation of Bahrain:

In Oman the situation was difficult because both the sons of Imám Ahmad b. Sa'íd and the B. Ghafir agitated against Imám Ahmad who had become senile. Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad displaced his nephew Hamad in Muscat in 1792. After the reconciliation between Sd. Sultán and his brothers, he occupied Hurmuz, Qashim, and Bandar 'Abbas. Subsequently the 'Utúb occupied Bahrain in Dhu Al-Qa'dah 1196/November 1782⁽³⁰⁾ because Násir Al-Madhkur, Shaykh of Bushehr and ruler of Bahrain, frequently attacked Kuwait and Zubárah. He also threatened the fleets of the 'Utúb. Then the 'Utúb and some tribes of Qatar attacked Bahrain while Imám Ahmad was engaged in his sons' rebellion; a few months later, he died. Imám Sa'íd b. Imám Ahmad, who succeeded his father, was engaged in internal affairs because his brothers, Sd. Sultán and Sd. Sayf, rebelled against him. The rulers of the 'Utúb were unsettled in Bahrain because they were threatened by Imám Sa'íd who was unable to attack them⁽³¹⁾. In 1796 the Wahhábís⁽³²⁾ expelled Āl Khalífah from Zubárah⁽³²⁾ to Bahrain where they settled finally⁽³⁴⁾. The Āl Khalífah began to get rid of the people of Bahrain who had migrated from Al-Hasa⁽³⁵⁾.

The inhabitants of Bahrain sent letters to Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad of Oman, requesting for help against Āl Khalífah. They complained about the behaviour of Sh. Salmán b. Ahmad (1796-1825), the Āl Khalífah ruler towards them. It seems that their letters encouraged Sd. Sultán to capture Bahrain. One may question why the people of Bahrain chose an Omani ruler to save them from the 'Utúb, and why they did not contact the Shaykh of Bushehr, despite the fact that both of them were Shi'i. The answer is that Oman had held Bahrain in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Násir b. Imám Muhammad Al-Gháfirí had abdicated Bahrain on condition that Bahrain should be ruled by the Shaykh of Hawlah. In fact, Bahrain was always ruled indirectly by Persia. Both the Hawlah and Al-Mutarish be-

longed to the tribes of Oman. Secondly in Oman there was religious toleration. Neibuhr records that in 1765 Imám Ahmad had reigned sixteen years to the full satisfaction of his subjects. He saw justice promptly and uprightly administered, without partiality to rank or religion⁽³⁶⁾. Finally Oman forces were the only power thought capable of blocking the Wahhabi expansion⁽³⁷⁾.

Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad responded to the request of the people of Bahrain, but this was not the only reason for his expedition. There were other political and economic factors. One was that the ruler of Oman had held supremacy over Bahrain since the reign of Imám Sultán b. Sayf in the 17th century. The Persians had indirectly ruled Bahrain between the reigns of Imám Sultán b. Sayf and his grandson, because the Imáms of Oman were engaged with the Portuguese.

Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad was afraid of the Wahhabi power which might dominate Bahrain⁽³⁸⁾. Lorimer claims that the chief objective of Sd. Sultán's attack on Bahrain "was probably to obtain control of the most valuable pearl market in the Gulf"⁽³⁹⁾. Sd. Sultán was apprehensive about this valuable area being put under the control of the Wahnábís, particularly because the Wahnábís had already captured Zubárah and their second step was to occupy Bahrain⁽⁴⁰⁾. If the Wahnábís did that, the area of the pearl fishery would be under their power. After two years the Wahnábís used⁽⁴¹⁾ this position to force the 'Utúb of Kuwait and Bahrain to attack Oman, if they wanted to dive for pearl. The second reason for the attack on Bahrain was that the revenue of the Imáms of Oman was derived from the duty on trade. When the 'Utúb ships changed route and traded directly with India, the income of workers at the ports was reduced, and trade with foreign countries was affected. Sultán made an agreement with Basrah to reduce the tax he had imposed on foreign ships. Lorimer points out that:

"the 'Utúb who were the most enterprising merchants in the Gulf and who had no love for Muscat, preferred after the first to begin and end their trading voyages at Basrah, a circumstance which secured to that port a good share of the direct wholesale trade with India and other foreign countries. Eventually Saiyid Sultán found it to his advantage to enter into close commercial relations with the Basrah authorities; and thereafter, by mutual arrangement, goods from either port were admitted into the other on payment of a reduced import duty of 3 per cent"⁽⁴²⁾.

Sd. Sultán substituted for the duty which the 'Utúb refused to pay an agreement with the merchants of Basrah to reduce the import duty to 3%. He did not take duty from the 'Utúb when he occupied Bahrain and no duty was stipulated in the agreement between Sultán and Salmán. In the view of the present writer, these were the main factors which made Sultán b. Ahmad attack Bahrain.

At the end of December 1799 Sd. Sultán attacked Bahrain, but he was unwilling to occupy it, and was content to capture three of their ships⁽⁴³⁾. He returned to Oman in January 1800. The consequence of this attack was that the 'Utúb offered to ally themselves with Persia and even paid one year's revenue as a guarantee of sincerity and good faith to Sh. Násir of Bushehr, and because of this act Sd. Sultán indemnified himself by occupying the island of Kharq in 1800; but Sh. Násir retook it in August 1800⁽⁴⁴⁾. During this year, Sd. Sultán was engaged in battles against the Wahnábís on the western frontier of Oman⁽⁴⁵⁾. At the close of the year 1800, Sd. Sultán contacted the Persians to discuss his authority over Bahrain. It seems that the Persians agreed with Sultán's views. Bahrain surrendered to Sultán on 10th Muharam 1216/24th May 1801⁽⁴⁶⁾. He appointed his son Sálím as Governor over Bahrain⁽⁴⁷⁾ and made Sh. Muhammad b. Khalf Al-Shi'i adviser to Sálím⁽⁴⁸⁾. Sd. Sultán held the chiefs of twenty families of 'Utúb and sent them, including the brother of the ruler of Bahrain, Sh. Muhammad b. Ahmad Āl Khalífa, to Muscat as prisoners. Al-Nabhán⁽⁴⁹⁾ states the conditions of the agreement between Sd. Sultán and Sh. Salmán:

- (i) Sh. Salmán had to allow Sultán to keep Sh. Muhammad b. Ahmad in Muscat so that Sd. Sultán b. Imám Ahmad could guarantee that Sh. Salmán would not revolt against him in Bahrain.
- (ii) He had to abandon Bahrain to Sd. Sultán.
- (iii) Salmán's possessions had to remain in Bahrain.

After Sd. Sultán occupied Bahrain, Āl Khalífa left Bahrain for Zubárah and Kuwait. Sd. Sultán proceeded to Kuwait.

Oman and the 'Utúb of Kuwait

What were the motives that led Sd. Sultán to proceed to Kuwait? First, Sd. Sultán probably wished to discuss with Sh. 'Abdalláh b. Sabáh (1762-1812) a

number of questions such as his aim in occupying Bahrain, and the duty which they had refused to pay. Secondly, he wanted to threaten the families which had escaped from Bahrain to Kuwait, and to obtain a guarantee from the 'Utúb of Kuwait that they would not help their brethren in Zubárah to re-occupy Bahrain, because Āl Sabáh had co-operated with 'Utúb of Zubárah in the occupation of Bahrain in 1782. Finally, Sd. Sultán regarded the Shaykh of Kuwait as the head of the 'Utúb. Warden claims that: "on the conquest of Bahrain in 1801 by Sultán, he demanded of Shaykh of Kuwait that he would personally pay his homage, which must have been complied with, as Sd. Sultán shortly after dismissed all his troops"⁽⁵⁰⁾.

It seems that the negotiations were successful. This is attested by the fact that the 'Utúb of Kuwait did not subscribe to the re-occupation of Zubárah by the 'Utúb in 1801. When the Wahhábís ordered them to attack Muscat, they refused to obey but the Wahhábís threatened them because Imám 'Abd Al-Aziz Āl Sa'úd used the position of the pearl fishery against them.

After Sd. Sultán left Bahrain, the 'Utúb sought help from the Wahhábís who readily cooperated with them. They drove the garrison of Oman out of Bahrain. There are conflicting views about the garrison of Oman in Bahrain. According to Ibn Bishr⁽⁵¹⁾ the Wahhábís killed more than two thousand Omanis in Bahrain, while Warden⁽⁵²⁾ claims that the 'Utúb attacked and retook Bahrain, having forced the Imám's governor and his son to leave the island with only their private baggage. Ibn Ruzayq, however, states that there was an agreement between Sálím b. Sultán and the 'Utúb to allow Sálím to leave with his forces with all their weapons⁽⁵³⁾ Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad immediately sent his army, under the command of Sayf b. 'Alí, to Bahrain. Sayf landed in Bahrain, but could not reach the fort of 'Arád because the Wahhábís had strongly fortified it.

In 1217/1803⁽⁵⁴⁾ Sd. Sultán b. Ahmad went on Pilgrimage⁽⁵⁵⁾. When he arrived in Makkah, he found the Wahhábís waiting for the pilgrims to leave Makkah to attack it. When Sd. Sultán arrived in Oman, he immediately sent a military force to help the Sharíf of Makkah, but his troops reached Makkah after the Wahhábís had taken it. The Emir of the Wahhábís had taken it. The Emir of the Wahhábís ordered the chief of the Wahhábís in Buraymí to attack Oman. He also

demanding of the 'Utúb and Al-Qawásim that they should attack Oman. However, the 'Utúb of Kuwait disapproved of 'Abd Al-'Aziz B. Sa'úd's order to attack. The latter threatened to prevent them from fishing for pearls unless they joined the Wahhábí campaign. The ships of Oman and merchants of Bahrain had the military power to attack by sea.

During the years 1803 and 1804 Sd. Sultán was engaged in fighting the Wahhábís who posed a serious danger to nearby Oman. Sd. Badr b. Sayf b. Imám Ahmad, the nephew of Sd. Sultán, escaped to Dar'iyyah, and urged the Wahhábís to displace Sd. Sultán and help him to rule Oman. He promised to accept their views if they helped him attain his ambition. Sd. Badr b. Sayf remained in Zubárah to win supporters for his plan. As a result, Sd. Sultán postponed the solution of Bahrain's difficulties while war broke out between him and the Wahhábís. After the death of Imám 'Abd Al-'Aziz (1765-1803), 'Utúb made peace with Sultán⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Conclusion

In summary, we can say Oman and the 'Utúb were on friendly terms during the rule of Imám Ahmad. The two principal ports of foreign trade were Muscat and Basrah, and through one or the other passed the great bulk of goods that either entered or left the Gulf. It was calculated that half of the Indian exports to Bushehr, Basrah and Bahrain were received through Muscat. There were four important ports in the Gulf: Bandar 'Abbáás and Bushehr on the shore of Persia and Basrah in Iraq and Zubárah which served Al-Hasá and Central Arabia. Muscat was almost exclusively a port of transit. The transport of goods between India and the Gulf was carried by Omani and 'Utúb's vessels, in addition to the vessels of European merchants. The distribution of goods from Muscat was at first conducted by Muscat shipping. In the 1770s, however, the 'Utúb became successful in trade, securing a large proportion of that between Muscat and Basrah and even beginning to make their own voyages to and from India.

These relations were principally commercial, especially when the ports of 'Utúb grew in the 1770s after the entrepot was transferred from Basrah to Kuwait and Zubárah. This commercial growth made Zubárah a free trading station. The

neighbours of the 'Utúb were jealous of the latters' wealth, so they attacked Kuwait and Zubárah. This attack led to an extension of the hostilities between the 'Utúb and their neighbours who were also hostile to Imám Ahmad. Imám Ahmad supported the 'Utúb against their enemies. Then relations became tense between Oman and 'Utúb after the latter captured Bahrain in 1782. Thses events made Sd. Sultán b. Imám Ahmad attempt to capture Bahrain, but the menace of the Wahhábís prevented him from attaining his objective. His death put an end to tension in relations.

End Notes

- (1) Imám Sa'id b. Imam Ahmad was still alive at Rustáq. He died in 1811 or 1821.
- (2) For more details concerning the Y'áribah see: Ibn Ruzayq. Al-Fath Al-Mubin; Al-Izkawf, Kashf; Al-Shaqsi, Khamís, Minháj; Ibn Qaysar, Sírat Al-Imám Al-'Ādil; Ta'ríkh Ahl 'Umán; Al-Ma'walf, Qasas; Al-Sálimí, Tahfat Al-A'yán, Vol. ii, p. 115f.
- (3) Ibn Ruzayq gives different dates 1154/1741, Al-Fath Al-Mubín, p. 374.
- (4) Lam' Al-Shiháb, p. 76; Bomby Govt. p. 362.3; Abú Hakímah, Kuwait p. 3f.
- (5) In older English records and books Kuwait is generally called Grain or Grane; see Felix Jones; Bombay Govt., p.p. 51, 109, 295, and 575; Lorimer, Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia. Vol. viii, p. 1048; Abú Hakímah, op.cit., p. 1. Niebuhr referred to Koueit or Grane, as it is called by the Persians and Europeans'. p. 127.
- (6) Bombay Govt. p. 362.
- (7) Ibid, p. 362.
- (8) Lorimer, J. G. op.cit., p. 1001.
- (9) For more details concerning Āl Khalífah in Zubárah and Bahrain see: Abú Hakímah, The history of Eastern Arabia; Al-Watheiqah. Vol. 1, 8 & 10.
- (10) Abú Hákímah, Kuwait, p. 69.
- (11) Ibid. p. 98.
- (12) Ibid. p. 94.
- (13) Tahnúb, Ta'ríkh Al, p. 57.
- (14) Abú Hákímah, op.cit., p. 93.
- (15) Lorimer, Gazetteer. Vol. i, p. 436.
- (16) Miles, op. cit., p. 291.
- (17) Qásim, Al-Khalíf 1507 - 1840, p. 146.
- (18) Bombay Govt. p. 176.
- (19) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 788.
- (20) For more details concerning relations between Āl Khalífah and Sh. Násir

- Al-Modkur the ruler of Busheher and Bahrain, see Bombay Govt. p. 27f.;
Abú Hákímah, Kuwait. p. 34f.
- (21) For Counquest of Bahrain by the 'Utúb of Zubárah and Kuwait see: Bombay Govt. pp. 27-29; Al-Nabhání, Al-Tuhfat. pp. 123 & 126; Abú Hákímah, Kuwait. p. 34f; Tarabín, Dawlat Al-Bahrain. p. 17.
- (22) Bombay Govt., p. 23.
- (23) Ibn Ruzayq, Al-Fath, p. 381.
- (24) Miles, Countries, p. 145; Wilson, The Persian Gulf., p. 145.
- (25) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 79.
- (26) Bombay Govt., p. 24.
- (27) Al-Nabhání, Al-Tuhfat, p. 78; Sinán, Muhammad Bahjit, Bahrain, p. 99.
- (28) Ibn Ruzayq, Al-Fath, p. 381.
- (29) Badger, History, p. 182; Bombay Govt. p. 24.
- (30) Abú Hákímah, History, p. 182; Bombay Govt. p. 364F2; Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 835.
- (31) Abú Hákímah, Kuwait, p. 35.
- (32) It should be noted here that the designation "Wahhábí" was used by Westerners and some Arab writers when referring to the followers of Sh. Muhammad b. 'Abd Al-Wahháb. His followers actually called themselves Muwahhidún.
- (33) For the conquest of Zubárah by the Wahhábís in 1796, see Lam' Al-Shiháb, p. 77f.
- (34) Lam' Al-Shiháb, p. 77f.
- (35) Ibn Ruzayq, Al-Fath, p. 430.
- (36) Niebuhr, Travels in Arabia, p. 122.
- (37) The aims of Sh. Muhammad b. Adb Al-Wahháb preaching to go back to the Qur'án and to put into practice the Word of the Prophet Muhammad and his pious Companions.
- (38) The history of the house of Sa'úd begins in 1158/1754 when Sh. Muhammad b. Sa'úd of Al-Dir'iyah in Najd agreed to accept the religious revival of Sh. Muhammad b. 'Abd Al-Wahháb as his creed and to be its political arm, see Ibn Bishr, Unwan Al-Majd; Ibn 'Isá, Ta'ríkh Ba'd Al-Hawádith; Philby H. St. b. Arabia of the Wohhabís.

- (39) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 423.
- (40) For more details about relations between Āl Khalífa and Āl-Sa'ud see: 'Abd Al-Rahmán 'Abd Al-Rahím, Al-Dawlah Al-Sa'údiyyah Al-Úlá; Ibn Bisher, Unwán Al-Majd; Abú Hakímah, History. Bombay Govt.
- (41) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 424.
- (42) Ibid, p. 436.
- (43) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 423; Miles, op. cit., p. 233; Bombay Govt. p. 173; Wilson, op. cit., p. 169.
- (44) Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 423; Bombay Govt. p. 173.
- (45) Ibn Ruzayq, op.cit., p. 431f. Kelly, Britain, pp. 161-4; Lorimer, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 424.
- (46) Ibn Bishr, 'Unwán Al-Maj, p. 127; Al-Nabhání, op. cit., p. 90.
- (47) Al-Nabhání states that Sultán appointed his brothers Sa'íd as governor in Bahrain. In fact, Sa'íd was the Imám and lived in Rustáq.
- (48) Ibn Ruzayq, op. cit., p. 429.
- (49) Al-Nabhání, op. cit., p. 90.
- (50) Bombay Govt., p. 174.
- (51) Ibn Bishr, op. cit., p. 122.
- (52) Bombay Govt., p. 366.
- (53) Ibn Ruzayq, op.cit., p. 430; ARAMCO, Oman and the Southern, p. 286.
- (54) Ibn Ruzayq states that Sultán went on Pilgrimage in 1218/1803, but this is incorrect; he went there before Makkah was occupied by the Wahhábís in Moharram, 1218/ May 1803.
- (55) Ibn Bishr, op. cit., p. 123; Miles, op. cit., p. 234.
- (56) Kelly, op. cit., p. 104.

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