SLAVERY IN THE LATE ISLAMIC GULF

An Analysis of the History and Visibility of Slavery in the Arabian Gulf during the Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background of Study

The use of slaves and the concept on enslavement has existed for millennia, throughout most societies and throughout the history of time, even persisting into our modern-day society to an extent. Slaves were used for a multitude of reasons, depending on geography, the make-up of society and the main requirements for the community they were enslaved by. The main reason for the accruement of African slaves in the Middle East, throughout various time periods and holders of power, is for the purpose of enslaved labour. Mesopotamia employed a vast number of slaves for activities such as salt flat cultivations in southern Mesopotamia (Freeman-Grenville 1975, 117) being one such example. For this thesis, I will be focusing on and referring to the Arabian (Persian) Gulf region, or simply referred to as the Gulf, during the time period of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century specifically, during which there was an unprecedented demand for slave labour. The definition of 'the Gulf' and what I will be referring to, is often referred to as the Arab states bordering the Persian Gulf of Bahrain, Kuwait, Iraq, Oman, Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Fig. 1).

The presence of predominantly African slaves and enforced labourers, either as domestic slaves or for commodity procurement for trade, can be seen through many facets, with African slaves showing their identity and individuality through religion, with traditional African religious practices, exported to the Gulf with them (Insoll, 2003). When talking about culture and the concept of identity in the Gulf, some have described the archaeology to represent kind-of 'melting pot' within the region (Potts, 1990, 151) and while not all the Africans represented would have been slaves, it has been argued they were thought to be at least descendants of them, which as mentionied can be seen in the genetic make-up of populations. However, contrary to this, scholars argue colour classification in populations, the proportion of a black population in a community, cannot be solely contributed down to slavery. Although I will argue in this thesis that it does indicate that the Arabian Peninsula, including countries such as Oman and Qatar, had strong connections to these African nations indicated through their populations, not only in the nineteenth century, but to this day. Timothy Insoll discusses the idea of an

African identity within Arabia however it is not always the case that the slaves discussed are of African descent, although this is the majority. Matthew Hopper again indicates the conventional literature or Middle Eastern slavery tends to emphasise non-productive labour outside of the economic sector, although I will argue this does change over time.

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

The main focus and question I will be addressing is how visible slavery was in the Gulf in the Late Islamic Gulf, in particular the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. I will endeavour to do this through analysing the archaeological and historical record and try to determine what this tells us about the slave trade in the region during this time. Intertwined with its visibility, I will discuss and analyse what circumstances led to the dramatic increase in demand for slaves in the region during this time and how this presents in the archaeological and historical record. I will also discuss the evidence of identity, in particular African identity within the archaeological record and what we can interpret about the African diaspora to the Gulf and how it might connect to the slave trade thriving in the

Figure 1: Map showing the Arabian (Persian) Gulf.

region. Naturally, when asking these questions, it also poses those in contrast; what are the limiting factors to the visibility of slavery for the region, and in particular in slavery's case, how did the societal views of slaves at this time limit their visibility in the archaeological and historical record? In order to answer the questions I have raised, I will enable to analyse the sources and evidence for slavery available so far, such as historical documentation and the appearance of African influence on material culture in the Gulf, to determine what can be said about slavery during and how visible it is today in the record today.

The main topic to discuss throughout this thesis, will be what can be said archaeologically about slavery in the Late Islamic Gulf and its importance to the region. Matthew Hopper (2015) puts forth a strong argument, which will be discussed throughout this thesis, that the demand for slave labour, in particular African slave labour, was attributed to and was driven by the expansion of commodity production for global consumption within the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in the late nineteenth century. Archaeologically, as I will discuss in much more depth, we can see the evidence for this in the historical records available from the time, such as first hand manumission records from slaves to British Agency offices, as well as first-hand accounts of travellers in the region during this time, such as John Lorimer and his *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf*,

being one example, in which he discusses the role of slaves and records the numbers being utilised. Through the archaeological record we can also see the appearance of African items and the appearance of African culture in these countries, which can be used to discuss the African diaspora to the Gulf and the influence of African identity on the Gulf's material culture through aspects such as music and dance. Another area in which we can see slavery in the region from an archaeological perspective, is the appearance and proportion of African genetics within the Arabian population. Whilst it may be a new and possibly innovative avenue to use, I believe it can add another perspective to the archaeological picture created through material culture and historical records from the time.

1.3 Organisation of Thesis

I will start by discussing the history of slavey in the Arabian Gulf region I have defined, after which I will then contextualise and describe the specific use of slaves and enforced labour in these areas during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. After this, the concept of African identity and the potential archaeological evidence of the African diaspora to the region will be addressed, as well as how this might relate to the visibility of slavery. After this, I will then analyse the potential evidence of slavery itself and its visibility within the general archaeological record of the region, while also giving specific examples from Qatar. As mentioned before, the limitations of this evidence and the social structure of society at the time will be raised and related to the visibility of slavery in the region during this time, to help conclude and possibly determine how visible slavery is for this period.

2 Slavery in the Arabian Gulf

2.1 The Gulf in a Global Context

Prior to discussing the history of slavery in the Gulf, we must contextualise the role of the Gulf region in the world at this time. Parts of the Gulf became global gateways due to their position between the powers in Europe and the Far East, including India. Similarly to other port cities around the world, such as Alexandria in Ancient Egypt, areas of the Gulf became and still are a living history of cross-cultural encounters, as Allen Fromhertz describes (2018, 2). Gulf towns in Arabia with such a thriving trade system have made this the fabric of their societies, shown by people from all over the world not only passing through, but settling in these areas (Mackintosh-Smith, 2017). Despite this, there is a lack of study into the connections between the Arabian Gulf and the world, with the connection between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean in particular remaining understudied, including the culture of the Gulf and Gulf towns themselves (Fromhertz 2018, 3). The lack of research into this area is despite it being viewed as famous and cultural, as well as an epicentre of major through routes of trade. The Arabian peninsula connected such peoples as the Romans to Babylon and then furthermore to Persia. However, the Gulf is often skipped over onto the Middle East and Asia, with research overseeing the region which has played such a pivotal role in these civilisations. It is important to state, that while the region facilitated trade and growth of the above-mentioned societies, and many more, it should not be seen as merely a shipping lane to promote the growth other societies but rather the exploited to create its own identity and culture.

A large focus does need to be placed on the life in ports and port cities in the Gulf as it was not only a place where people made their living, but settled to establish a life for generations to come, to the point where some would consider the boats on these shores to be their homes. The waters themselves were well lived upon, not just worked upon, and as the pearling season was so important to Arabian life and trade, during this season especially many men including slaves would live on their boats for months. It should be noted that this is dissimilar to the way in which the Mediterranean and the Indian oceans were treated and how they were spent time upon. These other oceans

comparatively, were seen as more temperamental, especially the Indian Ocean due to likelihood for monsoons and due to this did not encourage long term settlement which can be seen in the Gulf.

It remains clear that the Gulf played a large part in world history as a trade hub and an avenue for many travellers throughout time, an example of this is the discovery of evidence of Vikings in the Qatari desert (Isitt 2007). I would argue the Gulf can be seen as a transitory space and that the area has used this to its advantage, I would also have to agree with Allen Fromhertz, (2018, 10) that it can be viewed as a global space. Due to this, some could be inclined to say the Gulf has been purely a transitory space, nestled between bigger and greater civilizations, however through this process the region's own cultural identity was created, including a prominent slave trade leading into the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, peaking in the twentieth, eventually becoming an important chapter within Arabian history. Perhaps this view could be reason behind the lack of research into the region and the concept of slavery within it, despite the rich history of use of slaves in the Gulf states.

2.2 History of Slaves in Arabia

The presence and use of slave labour within Arabian society has been prevalent as far back as can be determined, with Bertram Thomas (1929, 7418) putting it the most succinctly stating, "It may be taken as a general principle that Arabs will not do any work of 'labouring' kind and from time immemorial have had slave to do it for them." Slavery in Arabia was seen as justifying the function of a civilised society and to many as a natural and timeless feature of Arab society, with many accounts suggesting it was an integral part of maintaining daily function. With slaves being used only or predominantly for labour during the Late Islamic Gulf, a strong stereotype existed prior to this that most in the region were elite or domestic slaves, although due to the growing demands, a great number of the enslaved population were part of a labour force geared toward export production, beginning in the late nineteenth century (Gordon 1989). The main products being exported from Arabia and the Gulf states during this time were dates and pearls, which grew to be in demand from global markets, producing the demand for an increasing work force, both enslaved and free. Slaves were sourced from surrounding

regions of the Gulf, which will be discussed in more detail later, however there is plenty of evidence to suggest the majority of the slaves used in the Gulf region were of African descent.

2.3 The African Diaspora in the Gulf and Beyond

The African diaspora accounted for nearly a fifth of eastern Arabia's population by the turn of the twentieth century. I would argue, a large part of trying to understand the slave trade and its visibility in the Arabian Gulf, is trying to understand the African diaspora and African identity within the region. The African diaspora and it's place in world history is a large and encompassing topic in itself and it must be noted that there were major differences between the diaspora in the Gulf compared to the concept of it in other parts of the world, such as the well-known trans-Atlantic trade and the internal diaspora within the African continent itself. Not as much is known of the internal slave trade, it appears to be on a more local scale (Gueye 1979, 150) and was often seen as a way of reintegrating drifters back into society. Similarly to this, historians have studied and produced volumes on the African diaspora in the Atlantic, yet studies on the dispersed Africans in the Indian Ocean and Asia as a whole has emerged much more recently and remains quite limited in scope, although Joseph Harris (1971) discusses the topic in more detail. The business of slave trade was only largely eradicated in the Indian Ocean by the British Royal Navy during the twentieth century, however it did endure in a more clandestine capacity beyond that and as is well known in history, held no monopoly over the trade and the British were involved in large parts of the American slave trade themselves.

Africans in the Gulf found ways to assert their independence and preserve elements of their culture, even if they embraced much of the culture of their masters. Whilst scholars have found differences in the Atlantic slave trade phenomenon, they do share much in culture within the global African diaspora. Despite this it is important to note the differences; Robin Cohen (2008, 162-167) states that many characteristics associated with diasporic identity, including memory and myth about the homeland and idealisation of the ancestral home, were absent from the African diaspora in Arabia compared to that for the trans-Atlantic trade. This was also accompanied with the lack

of return movement or intermittent visits to the homeland seemingly desired, meaning many slaves based on the Arabian peninsula would rarely, or never, return to their homelands, with this being seen as a normal adjustment in society. Pier Larson (1999) argues that although "experiences and memories of enslavement and racial oppression are key to African identities in the Americas, similar trauma has been purposefully forgotten or differently remembered in many other parts of the diaspora", in reference to the Gulf. This also coincides with the theory that all enslavement experiences are not uniform in historical memory and identity formation in the diaspora. It has also been argued that in the Gulf there was the absence of racial oppression, as can be found in America and the legacy of racial issues in politics in particular (Walz and Cuno 2010, 1).

It has been estimated the number of Africans caught up in the East African slave trade to this region approximated 20,000 to 25,000 a year, whilst the Atlantic slave trade did not exceed this magnitude until the eighteenth century (Curtin 1969, 266). While many slaves in the trans-Atlantic trade seemed to cling onto more aspects of their homeland and identity, in the aspect of the Middle East and Indian Ocean it has been suggested a kind-of historical amnesia has been employed (Larson, 1999). Another comparison which shows the contrast to the attitude of the discourse of slavery in the Gulf and the Americas comparatively, is that the Gulf has not produced a popular campaign of intellectuals who call for reparations for the slave trade, whereas this is a popular stance occupied in United States currently. However this is countered by Matthew Hopper (2015, 216), who argues "To say the history of slavery in the Gulf has been "silenced" is not simply to complain of a lack of attention in scholarly literature. Instead, the acts of silencing are, in Trouillot's words (1995, 48-49), "active and transitive." "Among states, these acts take the form of deliberate omissions, sanitized accounts, and convenient (if awkward) editing." This has also been compared with experiences in South America, where blackness was seen primarily as a discourse on skin colour rather than slavery (Golash-Boza 2011, 1-58). In summary, I would have to agree with various assertions that the discourse of slavery in Arabia and the African diaspora to the Gulf was fundamentally different from the trans-Atlantic and other slave trades globally, with the view it was tolerated as a more integral part of society. While there will be a large focus on African slaves and identity in the Gulf region and the visibility of them, it must be noted there were slaves from other origins present.

2.4 Alternative Slave Experiences in the Gulf

Africans did not constitute the Gulf's entire slave population—men and women from Baluchistan and Persian Mekran accounted for a significant portion of the region's enslaved population— however, the substantial African population stood out particularly by the nineteenth century (Hopper 2015, 22). Based on some manumission records, Baluchis were possibly treated more graciously then their African counterparts. An example of slaves from various regions is shown in particular in Muscat, where in the early twentieth century there was a population of around 10,000, and Arabs were vastly outnumbered by Africans and Baluchis. Paul W. Harrison (1924, 88) also stated, having spent 12 years in the Gulf "Most of these slaves are Negroes from Africa….A few are Baluchees from the Makran coast between India and Persia."

As is to be expected, slave experiences varied widely across the Gulf, although trends and similarities are able to be found. There were many roles for slaves in Arab societies, especially within the household , for example as domestics, retainers, soldiers, concubines, manual labourers and also markers of prestige within the family. Murray Gordon (1989, 14) argues that in Muslim society they had to perform household chores and to serve in harems. In addition to this, government leaders wanted slaves to fill in the ranks of their armies and to serve their systems. At first female slaves in particular played a large part, especially in the household, often garnering respect and a certain level of status over long periods spent with families. Due to this, enslaved Africans were often integrated within their masters households and their identities became intertwined with the homes and families, although Hopper admits there would be a more complex consciousness. Due to this I would agree with Jeremy Prestholdt's (2008, 117-146) description of how slavery in Arabia could have been seen by colonial authorities to have a civilising function, becoming harder to eliminate and being viewed as a natural and timeless feature of Arab society.

2.5 Summary

In the Gulf, slaves were initially in demand for roles mentioned above, however the growing demand of labourers in the pearl and date industries caused by the expansion

of global trade and consumerism, led to these sectors becoming the highest in demand for the enslaved, particularly male slaves. The effect of globalisation during this period can be seen in the example of Qatar; the country is located on north-eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula, sharing a border to the south with Saudi Arabia. The vast majority of Qatar is desert, which is sparsely populated besides the eastern coast. Almost all the male population were involved in pearl diving and the pearl trade, providing the main source of economic stability for the area during the twentieth century. In Qatar specifically, in 1905, 22 percent of the population were of African descent, which was similar to other countries in the region.

In total is estimated that Africans made up roughly 17 percent of the total population of coastal eastern Arabia between Oman and Kuwait (Lorimer 1915, 238-241), this is comparative against the 10-12 percent of African Americans in the U.S. population between 1900-1910. Therefore, to understand the need for slave labour in the Gulf, we must look much closer at the globalisation of trade and the so called 'boom' of the pearl and date industries and their demand in western markets.

3 Pearls, Dates, Globalisation and its Impact on the Slave Trade in the Late Islamic Gulf

3.1 Introduction

It can be argued that nothing had such an impact on the Arabian Gulf region as a whole, not just in regards to the slave trade, as the emergence of globalisation during the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, which can be attributed to the growth of the pearl fishing and date industries specifically. The growth in these two sectors, kept up the demand for slave labour of both men and women, whilst also keeping it profitable for slave merchants and for slave masters, further encouraging the industry to flourish further during the twentieth century compared to the first increase in the late nineteenth. It's importance to the survival of society and economies in the Arabian Gulf, and Qatar in particular, cannot be underestimated and can be summed up with a quote from Sheikh Muhammad bin Thani, ruler of Qatar in 1863, speaking to a travelling European scholar William Palgrave; 'We are all, from the highest to the lowest, slaves of one master, [the] Pearl' (Palgrave 1883, 387). Pearls, similarly to dates, were marketed as exotic exports, and were in such demand as an oriental luxury; pearls dominating Western fashion markets and becoming an exotic must for "oriental" costume balls, theme parties, and "fancy dress" balls in the West (Stein 2008, 18-26), while dates were branded as an alluring delicacy from the East, to broaden the pallets of Westerners and to impress at similar parties. To what extent these industries and the globalisation of Arabian products had on the Arabian Gulf slave trade will be discussed in this chapter.

3.2 The Allure of the Pearl

The exchange of pearls and the pearl fishing industry has existed in this region of the world for at least 7000 years, dating to the Neolithic period, with thriving markets and evidence for intensive exploitation going back at least to the Romans in the last centuries BCE and the first centuries CE, with markets also present in the Middle East (Carter 2005, 139-209; Charpentier *et al*. 2012, 1-6). Throughout history, it has remained

an integral part of the regional economies in the Gulf, during the Late Antique, Early Islamic and Medieval periods, which inevitably led to the interest of European powers to the region (Carter 2012, 69-70; Donkin, 1998). In the twentieth century, pearls were in global demand and the Gulf was the world's biggest supplier, with 65-80 percent of the world's supply coming from the region. The status as the chief supplier was due to the reliability of the annual harvest, the abundance and constant supply of pearls banks stretching from Kuwait down to Oman, but most important factor which enabled the Gulf to maintain global interest was the superior quality of the pearls from the banks of the region. Because of this demand, the value of the pearl increased exponentially at the beginning of the twentieth century. An example of this is Bahrain, where between 1878 and 1912 the value of the pearl in the region increased in value twenty-fold.

3.3 Increasing Demand for Slaves in Pearling

The demand in supply of pearls demanded a large workforce during the labour intensive pearling season, traditionally April-September. The trend being a workforce made up of a high number of enslaved workers, particularly African slaves. An example of the numbers needed are shown as over 64,000 men worked on in the industry in 1915, with estimations of one quarter to one half of the members of the diving crews being of African ancestry. This should not be seen as surprising, as it is estimated by Robert Carter (2018, 235) that around 50 percent of the coastal population in the Arabian Gulf in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries were involved in the industry in some way. Table 1 shows more explicitly the numbers related to the pearl industry in various countries at the beginning of the twentieth century, according to Lorimer's approximations and compiled by Robert Cater (2018, 237):

As we can see from this table, the proportion of men involved with the pearl industry is extremely high, particularly in Qatar. This is also the case in regards to the percentage of population as a whole involved in pearl fishing, once again particularly in Qatar. Carter does raise issues with the number provided, noting the percentages of the adult population involved in pearl fishing may be underestimated as children were included in these figures. On the other hand he also notes they could also be inflated, with more males being involved in pearling, than the total male population of the region, due to

the influx of labour from other regions to take part, for example slaves. In summary, I would not take these numbers as gospel, however it does indicate a similar trend throughout the Gulf region, of large numbers of the population being directly involved in the pearl industry and shows its importance to the regional economies.

	Total Pop.	Men in Pearling	% Pop.	% Males
Kuwait	37,000	9,200	25	50
Bahrain	100,000	17,633	18	35
Qatar	27,000	12,890	48	95
Trucial States (west coast, i.e., Gulf side only)	72,200	22,045	31	61
Coastal Al-Hasa *sanjaq*, i.e., Qatif villages, Tarut villages, Jinnah and Musallamiyah Islands	26,000	3,444	13	26
SUM	**262,200**	**65,212**	**25**	**50**

The percentage of the male workforce is notional, based on a 50-50 gender division in the resident population.

Table 1. Lorimer's estimations of men engaged in pearl fishing, compared to the population in various regions. Table prepared by Robert Carter (2018, 237).

3.4 Other Repercussions of the Pearling Industry in the Gulf

Many scholars have discussed the ways to in which the exploitation of pearls had an impact on slavery in the Gulf region in the nineteenth century going into the twentieth. The obvious way, was the need for increased manpower to fish for the pearls; in 1878 it was reported that there were 35,000 men directly involved in pearling, while there were nearly 74,000 counted in 1905 (Carter 2018, 236), more than doubling the workforce in a mere 25 years. Although these numbers slightly differ to Lorimer's presented in Table 1 above, the trend of a dramatic increase for labour is still shown. As the industry expanded, merchants and traders seized the opportunities presented and new settlements started to develop along the Eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula to exploit the pearl banks and to expand the yield produced, shown in Fig. 2. This map shows settlements of pearling towns and centres across the Gulf by 1820, highlighting the expansion in Qatar as many pearling hubs were established across its northern

coastline by this date. Prior to development elsewhere, Bahrain had emerged as a pearl diving centre in the seventeenth century, however Arab tribes fighting for control of the best pearl banks left the region and formed new trade bases, stimulating the growth of urban settlements in Qatar (Niebuhr 1792, 113-124), as shown in Fig. 2. The expansion of pearl production areas, inevitably led to an increased demand for slave labour to fulfil these roles created, however this was not restricted to the Gulf region and the pearl industry respectively.

Further repercussions of the flourishing trade and enlarging workforce included the need for additional diving boats, with Lorimer (1915, 2227-8) arguing the number of larger boats increased, as well as the different types of vessel, in order to keep up with the rate of pearls being harvested. Furthermore, the pearl diving season was also extended, to allow for larger and larger yields to meet the demands. As previously stated the pearling season traditionally ran from April-September, however this was in the twentieth century. Prior to 1905, the traditional diving season ran from June

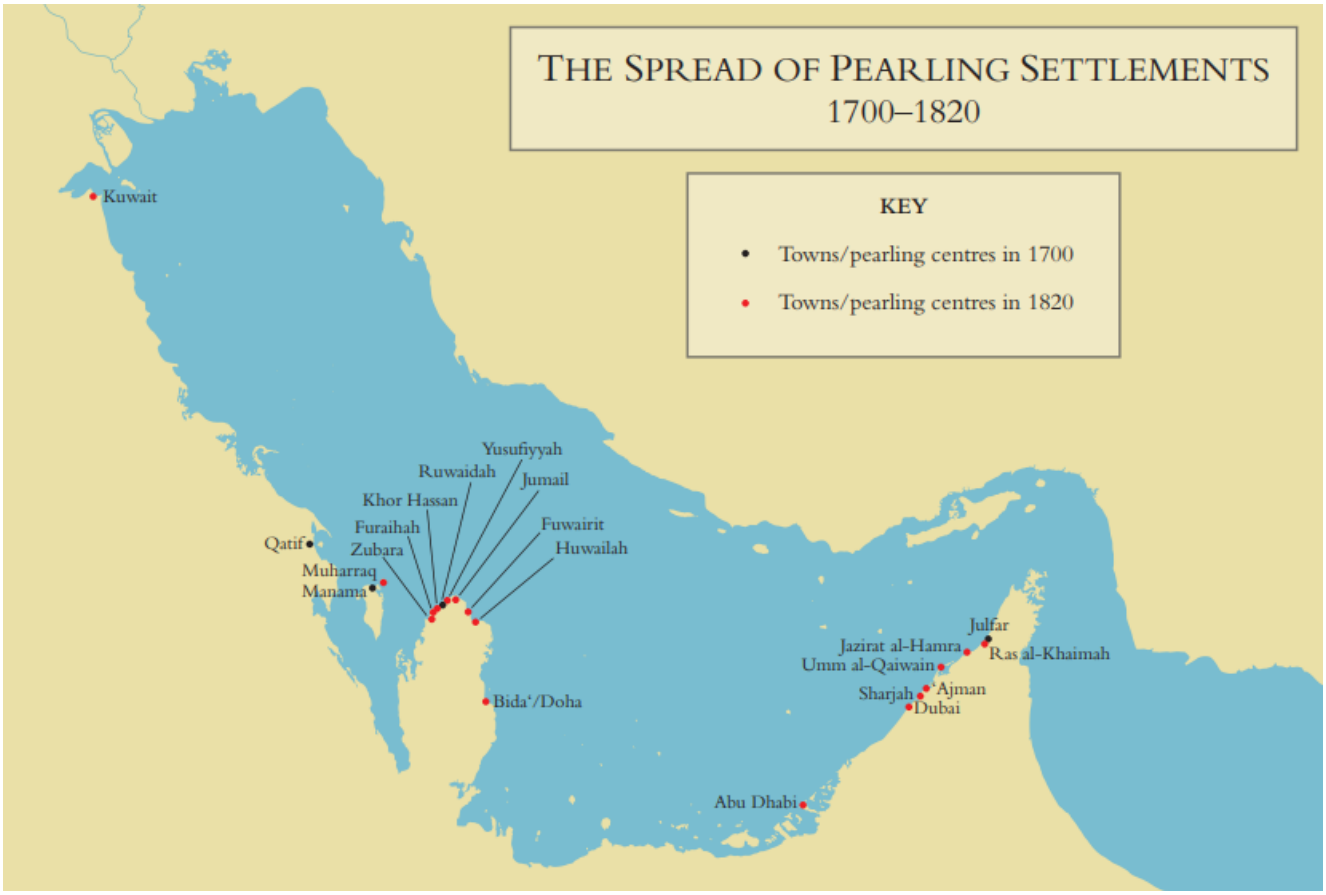


Figure 2. Map of the Gulf showing the presence of towns/pearling centres in 1700, compared to 1820 (Carter 2012, 110).

to the end of September; after this however it started to run from mid-May, eventually extending earlier into April. All of these tactics, of new settlements, larger boats and extending the season, were used to expand and develop the capacity of the Gulf's pearling industry. However, despite other influences, the main factor the industry was dependant on remained the same, having the workforce available to meet the growing global demands for high quality pearls. Trying to keep up the supply of merchandise, new sources of labour had to be found; originally local Bedouin were participating, however as the demand increased the shortfall in labour had to made up with an enslaved workforce (Heard-Bey 1996, 244-5). It is reported that prices in 1909-10 averaged about 30 percent higher than the preceding year, indicating that the demand for pearls was outweighing the supply by the end of the nineteenth century and as Anita Burdett (1995, 81) argues, at this time the industry was running at its maximum productivity, however not at its maximum potential profit. To fulfil the shortfall in labour, young male slaves were the preferred option, as the pearl diving process itself was intensive. Many young male slaves would work in households or the date production industry until they were old enough to dive for pearls, normally around fourteen years of age. Slaves brought over from the East African coast were taken to slave markets and stayed there until they were sold, this often being when they were enough to start diving.

3.5 Servitude within the Pearling Industry

At this point I would like to highlight an argument made by some scholars, that the pearl industry helped create a type of slavery between pearl merchants and boat owners at this time. Due to the limited pearl diving season throughout the year, during the winter months pearl divers had to live off the profits of the previous seasons yield. Some managed to work in other fisheries and use their boats in other ways during the off-season, however those surviving on the profits and sitting idle over this time often found these earnings would not be sufficient to last and would end up relying on other boat owners and contractors to support them. This was often achieved by loans, or by committing their services to them for the next year (Whitelock 1844, 32-54). This industry structure is described by Robert Carter (2012, 241).

> One ramification was that most pearl divers were permanently indebted to their captains (and likewise the captains were indebted to the merchants, who were generally indebted to greater merchants), leading to a situation analogous to bonded labour whereby indebted personnel were obliged to remain in employment with the same captain in the next season, unless special arrangements were made between creditors to transfer an individual and his debts. Likewise, an indebted captain was obliged to maintain his business relationship with his merchant creditor year after year, until the debt was cleared (by all accounts a rare occurrence). It followed that a man's property, including his home and even his wife and family, could be forfeit to the creditor (a situation considered abusive by British authorities, who tried to stamp it out), and also that he could be obliged to work for free for the creditor during the off-season.

I would argue this system shows how the idea of enforced labour was not only present for slaves, but the feeling of ownership or obligation was purported onto the entire workforce and all tiers of the industry. Carter above describes how even families and homes were often at stake, meaning other workers along with slaves were powerless. Despite this, I would still say the experience of these workers cannot be compared realistically to that of enslaved labourers, as they still has their homes and families to go to, and in essence their freedom. We must not forget also, slaves had the task of surviving the off-season, with those enslaved for pearl diving specifically, having to earn their keep in others ways, as slave masters would often not provide food and clothing outside of the pearling months.

As other forms of agriculture and irrigation were impossible due to the geography and climate of the region, despite the developing technologies of irrigation and water systems in the region, it is hard to stress the reliance these cities and regions had on the pearling industry and consequently the slave trade. A symbiotic relationship was quickly established between the availability of African captives and the demand for labour in the Gulf region for the pearl and date industries in the Late Islamic Gulf. However this all came crashing down, after the 1929 Wall Street crash and the Great Depression that followed, bringing the demise of the pearl and date industries in the Arabian Gulf, as Western demands and the value of these products plummeted in the aftermath.

Another contributing factor to the pearl industry specifically was the creation of cultured pearls, which first appeared commercially in 1925 (Carter 2012, 235). While the region had an abundance of natural pearls, as mentioned supply could not meet the demand, leading to the organised cultivation of pearls. Therefore, another product from the region began to take on more importance and demand the use of an enslaved workforce, the date.

3.6 The Temptation of the Date

The first evidence of date cultivation in the Arabian Peninsula comes from the Hili region in the modern-day United Arab Emirates, where both date stones and date wood were discovered in archaeological sites dating to between 3000 and 2000 BCE. Eventually, along with pearl manufacturing, the production and trade of dates flourished and grew globally in the nineteenth century. They were exported to Southeast Asia, North America and Europe, with America importing almost 80 million pounds of dates by 1925 and becoming the biggest foreign consumer of the fruit worldwide (Hopper 2015, 52). Due to this expansion the Gulf joined Egypt, the Ottoman Empire and other powers in the Middle East by importing and utilising African slave labour. This is despite what Murray Gordon (1989, 63-64) highlights, that the perception at the time was that Middle Eastern slavery was seen as non-productive and detached from economic processes, however this drastically changed as the pearl and date industries came to depend on the numbers in workforce that enslaved labour could provide, so much so that the a proportion of slaves in households dwindled compared to the proportion working in agriculture.

The origins of worldwide date trade and consumption, came from American ships visiting the Gulf region in order to exchange various other goods sourced from the area, including cotton cloth, piece goods, hides and coffee (Bhacker 1992, 136-137). Dates were seen as a sweet confectionary in the Western markets due to American intervention, with interest growing exponentially at the beginning of the twentieth century, as figures from the U.S Department of Agriculture (1935) demonstrate:

> American date imports grew from an average of 10– 20 million pounds annually between 1893 and 1903 to an

> average of 20– 30 million pounds between 1903 and 1913 . Date imports soared from 32 million pounds in 1920 to 53 million pounds in 1922 and peaked at nearly 79 million pounds in 1925 .

Similarly to pearl exportations at the time, between 1920-1925 there was more than a double fold increase in the exportation of dates.

Western countries viewed the fruit as a Middle Eastern exotic delicacy and a trend of using the fruit in recipes was popularised throughout the United States and Britain. An example of the way in which dates were presented to the West and its suggested uses can be seen in a cookbook produced by the Hills Brothers Company (1923, 5-13). It included forty-two recipes for dates such as, stuffed dates, date custard pie, date corn bread, date and celery salad, date corn muffins, date mush, mocha date icing, date tea cakes, rich date muffins, date fruitcake, date soufflé with custard sauce, date sponge with lemon sauce, date cream pie, Old English date pie, date cream filling, date scones, date and nut bread, date marmalade, Newport date ice cream, and bacon and date sandwiches.

3.7 The Use of Slaves in the Date Industry

Before reaching their final destination, there were many stages to the date production and trade process, such as irrigating, maintaining and harvesting the crops, for which slave labour was depended upon. Once again, young male slaves were favoured and brought back the Gulf from the east African coast to complete these labour intensive tasks. Date trees needed planting, tending, irrigating, harvesting, with dates then being transporting and packaged to be sold by merchants further down the production line. Hopper (2015, 63) then goes on to describe how ‘slave traders increasingly exported young boys from East Africa for work in the date and pearl industries. By the 1870s, the ratio of male to female slaves abroad captured slave dhows on the Arabian coast reversed previous trends, shifting overwhelmingly in favour of young males.’ Despite this, a note to make is that the seasonal work of packing dates, seen as less intensive, often fell to women in the region (Hopper 2015, 59), although this was not necessarily slave women, as local women would often gather at godowns (warehouses) in the

region to try an earn one of the few opportunities of wage labour at the time (Dowson and Aten 1962, 261-262). Once again, the pressure was on to earn a wage during the height of the pearl and date production, as many would have to rely on this wage throughout the year.

Enslaved labourers, were used not only in the production of commodities, but also maintaining their efficacies and rebuilding after destruction due to certain events. An example of this is in the late nineteenth century as the Gulf region hit with two destructive cyclones, particularly in Oman. Slaves were used to rebuild entire date plantations and production lines and helped restore the main economic exports from the communities, without which these societies would have struggled to survive for long.

By the early twentieth century, all of these factors combined resulted in Oman becoming the primary destination and home to the largest population of Africans and their descendants in eastern Arabia at them time, especially the economic centre of Batinah (Saldanha 1906, 37-41). The spread of global capitalism into the region and the expansion of new global markets for so called 'tropical' products, impacted on the entire Indian ocean region. Frederick Cooper (1977) describes in more detail, how it was not only products from the Gulf in demand by the global markets, as the development of plantation complexes on the Eastern African coast producing cloves, coconuts, grain, copra, oil and sugar, for either domestic and/or global consumption. This enforced the idea of development and expansion of trade networks originating from the Middle East, due to the appetite from so-called 'developed' Western markets. However, it is important to note that, as mentioned previously, the Middle East was an important through network in global trade previous to the Late Islamic Gulf period, with the Tigris and Euphrates being instrumental.

3.8 Globalisation and Slavery

Pearl production and trade was not only isolated to the Middle East, similar to the use of slavery not being exclusive to the region. Louis Goldschmidt (1901, 26) explains how pearl fishing existed not only in the Gulf, but in the Caribbean also, in countries such as Venezuela. The Venezuelan industry thrived particularly in the sixteenth century, three

decades before the Arabian industry would really take on a life of its own, and then perhaps achieve what could be seen as a monopoly on the industry. Slaves were also used in the South American trade, however their documented poor treatment and vast over fishing of pearls year on year, led to the depletion of the industry on a large scale there. Both Carter (2018, 232) and Matthew Hopper (2015, 96) argue that it was the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, globalising the trade of pearls and integrating pearls within colonial networks, stretching to the Americas. This is an example of European powers exploiting and using their connections to globalise the pearl business, however in this case as said, it led to its demise in the Southern American countries.

Another aspect which also accompanied the introduction of enslaved labour en masse and used to increase the export of both pearls and dates from the Gulf, was the advancement in transportation such as shipping, which helped make the world a much smaller place in terms of time required to travel between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans specifically. The pearl and date industries were helped to flourish by steam navigation companies, such as Gray Dawes and Company, the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company and the Oman-Ottoman Company. These companies helped increase the freight moving down the Tigris and Euphrates and created a healthy competition in the Arabian Gulf region between the routes not only to the Western markets in London and North America, but also to the East in India (Fattah 1997, 123-158). The industries, as well as the other businesses of trade and exchange in the Gulf, were the main benefactors from this advancement in technology, as more and more loads of goods were able to travel back and forth worldwide, faster and faster. One of these goods, inevitably being slaves.

Other advancements in technologies were used to increase irrigation in the Gulf with the use of innovative water channels, known as *qanat* and *falaj*, helping to expand the areas available for date palm trees to be planted and maintained (Fromhertz 2018, 17). This was an example of the Middle East reaping the rewards of technological advancement, however this time it was due to their own innovation, rather than a colonial power. Other countries in the region also started using these advanced agricultural techniques to help produce enough to appease global demands for their exotic products; for example, producers of silk and tobacco in Anatolia, grain in Iraq, olives in Tunisia, figs in Smyrna, oranges in Palestine, and cotton in Egypt (Owen 1969;

1993; Bernal 1995; Issawi 1993; Critz *et al.* 1999). One could argue that this innovation alone, helped the region prosper and reap the fruits of the labour so to speak, although the slave labour being utilised to achieve this is often unseen.

3.9 Summary

Powers within the Gulf, sensing the money to be made from the exportation of local products and exploiting the Western markets, and Eastern markets to a lesser extent, used this influx of interest and appeal of the Arabian image to achieve this. The main marketing technique used by the American and British markets, was the selling of Arabia itself and the stereotypical culture, as well as the Western view of the Orient as exotic and luxurious exploited to sell pearls and cigarettes alike. Stereotypical images of deserts, camel and palm trees would be used by advertisers to appeal to the Western consumers, appealing to their assumptions of the region and origins of the products, as can be seen in Fig. 3. Dolores Mitchell (1992) describes how in this period exotic women were regularly advertised on products such as cigars and cigarettes leading to date companies then also deciding to incorporate similar symbols of Arabia into their advertising techniques. Although unsurprisingly, slaves were not depicted or used to sell Arabian products. Perhaps we could even consider this an example at the time of the lack of visibility of slavery in the Gulf.

It has been established throughout this chapter, that the major need for slaves in the Gulf, was the globalisation of trade and the rise in exports of Arabian goods. Pearls and dates were in particular demand and Western markets advertised these Middle Eastern products with stereotypical imagery of the region, with slavery often being hidden despite its importance. A major influx of slave labour was brought to the region to staff and supply the demand of products for the markets. Most of these slaves were brought over from the East African coast and due to this influx of Eastern Africans to the region, while the archaeological visibility of slavery in the region will be discussed in this essay, the concept of African identity in the Gulf and the changes it made to societies must also be discussed.

Figure 3. Dromedary date advertisement, The Hills Brothers Company, 1910..

4 African identity in the Gulf

4.1 Concept of African Identity in the Gulf and its Limitations

As laid out in the previous chapters, the importance of slaves in the Late Islamic Gulf is hard to underestimate and consequently it is important to look at the aspects of African identity and influence that can be seen on the region. The concept of African identity in the Gulf can be hard to identity for a variety of reasons and archaeological evidence of it, even more so. During the expansion of global trade and therefore the establishments of more and more settlements across the Gulf region, enslaved Africans were undoubtedly incorporated into the local communities and became a staple of the economic fabric during the late nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Naturally, the identities of these new populations would have then imprinted on the archaeological record, however its visibility will also be discussed in this chapter.

Matthew Hopper (2015, 46) suggests, enslaved Africans became incorporated into their masters' households, potentially so much so that their identities became intertwined with the homes and families they 'worked' for, and potential affiliations to their homelands and cultures were lost throughout time. Many enslaved Africans were taken from various countries on the East African coast including Sudan, Ethiopia and Zanzibar; over time some visited their home countries and managed to retain some of their cultural identities, while others never returned back and became disconnected from their pasts almost completely, for reasons such as fear of re-enslavement. Despite this there is evidence of a conscious effort to retain individualism among masters' households. Although, another issue that became apparent in regards to the African identity during my research, was that many slaves were born into slavery in the Gulf, meaning their individuality was often lost at birth as a life of servitude and Arabian culture was all they knew, although some did know the origins of their parents. Naturally in many communities, stories of cultural origins and traditions were passed down by word of mouth through generations, inadvertently keeping alive the traditions of their ancestors.

As fore-mentioned, for slaves there was the fear of re-enslavement if freed or returning to their homelands, which Hopper (2015, 119) describes fittingly, 'Fear of re-

enslavement appears to have trumped what were likely strong connections to kin and homeland. This is not to say a symbolic connection was not maintained, just not one strong enough to motivate a slave's efforts to return given circumstances that could lead to re-enslavement.' This suggests the fear felt was extremely real, which again is supported by a statement taken from a twenty-five year old Ethiopian slave woman called Sharifah bint Wekayu, having been found in the captivity of a Qatari slave owner in 1925, in which she stated 'I have no intention of returning to my own country as I fear the slave traders will enslave me a second time' (Hopper 2015, 119). These statements are just more evidence to show, how whether intentionally or not, slave men and women were encouraged to 'forget' their homelands, or at least encouraged to embrace their new communities, rather than connect to their ancestry. Once again this was often the case as lots of slaves, particularly in domestic environments, were often treated as, and became, part of the family dynamic.

4.2 Loss of Individualism, Resistance and Punishment

Another issue with slaves trying to retain their cultural heritage, is that often slaves were kidnapped and enslaved at a young age, sometimes as young as six years old. Quite often this meant slaves would not remember when or where they were captured from, their home country or area might be known, however quite often specific locations would not. The slave trade was a large chain of merchants, typically starting with slaves being kidnapped, then sold to other merchants, before being eventually sold on to their masters where they would settle. An example of this is a statement made from a slave called Faraj bin Sif, aged 60, recorded in Bahrain in 1930, in which he recalled being kidnapped aged six, from Khartoum in Sudan, however he was then sold to a man named Ahmed, before then being sold to another slave merchant in Jeddah (Hopper 2015, 115). This concept of slaves being passed along, from the original kidnappers to multiple other brokers down the chain was extremely common.

This brief explanation of the trade chain shows how individual slave identities could have easily been lost. When put into a modern day contest and if we personally imagined being taken from our families at a young age and transported to a foreign land, with their societal norms forced upon us, it is not hard to imagine our own

individualisms being lost and how it may have been human instinct to try and fit it with the community around us. However, this opinion applies the assumption that slaves taken to the Gulf region were more inclined to comply with their captors rather than resist the restrictions now placed upon them. We know this not to always be the case, with historical records of slave rebellions occurring, such as in Mesopotamia with sometimes up to 100,000 to 300,000 slaves revolting (Afolayan 1998, 712). Another example of slave disobedience is provided by scholar al-Jahiz and recited by Abdul Sheriff (2010, 217-237), who discussed the Zanj slave revolt c. 869-883, in which it has been suggested discouraged any large-scale use of imported African slaves for almost six hundred years, until the drastic increase in exports from the Gulf in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries.

Physical abuse was another common tactic used by slave owners to keep their enslaved workers in line with broken bones, scars and broken teeth being common signs of this, recorded in manumission records at British agency offices (1938). A common way for slaves to show dissent in the ranks was to not stop working completely, as mentioned this would just lead to abuse of perhaps branding to show an uncooperative slave, but to slow down the production and process which would then inflict financial harm on their owners. Paul Harrison (1924, 88), who lived in the Gulf between 1909-1954, remarked on slave pearl divers in 1924 “Unquestionably it is the slaves who have reduced the standards of what a day’s and a season’s work ought to be to its present level… Most of these slaves are negroes from Africa.” He went on to describe their successful efforts to avoid doing work and how he viewed it as not laziness but an intentional form of passive resistance. This does demonstrate once more that slaves during this time were not blindly obedient and, despite the threat of harm, still tried to maintain some control and personal identity within the system, rather than simply blind obedience. We must be careful however, as this affords the enslaved labourers a substantial amount of power and must remember that their masters would have still controlled the amount of food and clothing they received.

Returning to the concept of identity and the power slave owners had on their captives, slaves were categorised by their captors when being sold; for example slaves coming from different parts of Sudan, were arbitrarily assigned identities from different regions of Sudan, such as *al-Tunguarawi* or *al-Furi*, even if they weren’t from the Tungur of Fur regions of Sudan (Waltz 1975, 177-178). This an example of slaves being visible within

societies as records were kept, although additionally a clear example of misrepresentation. However, slaves weren't only kidnapped from African countries, some were born in other parts of Arabia as second or third generation slaves. Sometimes not even basic information about their ancestry was known except their ancestral country of origin, although this was not always the case. This meant not only were African ancestral origins often lost among the slave communities, other forms of Arabian identity were often lost or mixed with other traditions in the region, resulting in a lost sense of individuality. This view is also supported by Ehud Toledano (1998, 135-168) who argues that African identities were repressed and denied through coercion and the power of emerging states during the economic affluence of the region, due to the global demand in exports. Therefore, I would posture the opinion, if the visibility of slaves and their ancestry was being hidden at the peak of the slave trade in the Gulf, this would inevitably make it much harder to provide evidence for such slavery centuries later.

4.3 Limitations for African Identity in the Archaeological and Historical Record

Archaeologically wise, it can be very hard to define aspects of identity within the slave trade of the Gulf, as the concepts and interpretation can be individually swayed by factors discussed above such as location and the age in which slaves were taken. Permutations of identity can be expressed through many means in society and in the Arabian Gulf specifically through the region, tribe, clan, religion, gender, profession, class, ethnicity, language and other variables (Fuller & Francke 1999, 9). Timothy Insoll (2005, 201) argues that most of the archaeological evidence of African identity especially in the Gulf, relates to religion and ethnic identity. As previously discussed in this essay, by the early twentieth somewhere around twenty percent of the Arabian population was on African ancestry, however this did vary between country to country in the region, meaning it would be expected to be able to find examples of the African culture in the archaeological record. In terms of religion, Muslin and traditional African religious practices were present in sub-Saharan Africa, which Timothy Insoll (2003) argues were exported to the Gulf by the slave trade. I would also have to agree when he argues that religious suppression existed in the region, where some individuals would actively strive

to enforce Muslim identities as a way of cancelling out or lessening foreign ethnic identities, an example being the incorporation of slaves into the family.

The concept of identity in Arabia was often classified by colour and indigenous groups, however the evidence describing identity, such as censuses from the region show how classifications changed over time. Lorimer (1915) describes in a report of the population in the early twentieth century how individuals were classified by being referred to as both 'free' and 'enslaved', as well as 'negroes', showing the attention still paid to skin colour at the time. However, the change in attitude and interpretation of the residents can be seen by 1991 in census data, in which references to colour had disappeared (Seikaly 1994, 418). Bernard Lewis (1973, 135) argued that discrimination did exist among Islam during this time, members of the religion were seen as superior, although it was not seen as related to race and there was a lack of colour consciousness, meaning a person of African descent could also be seen as either an Arab or a member of Islam (Segal 2001, 61). This once again shows the assimilation of cultures and particularly slaves in the Arabian Gulf states at the time and while it might be interpreted as a progressive society with a lack of colour consciousness and people of African descent being accepted in a religious context, it once again shows the invisibility of Africans in the historical record when looking retrospectively.

Reiterating Potts' (1990, 151) suggestion that when delved into, archaeology of the Gulf looks more and more like a 'melting-pot' of identities, a reason for this may perhaps be because of the transient nature of the region, due to its use as a major trade route throughout history between the West and the far Eastern markets as described in chapter 1. However, in this next chapter, I will discuss the archaeology of slavery as a whole, as well as its visibility in the Gulf region, during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

5 The Archaeology of Slavery and its Visibility in the Gulf

5.1 Introduction into the Archaeology of Slavery

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, slavery has existed within societies for thousands of years, with all regions in the world except Antarctica, experiencing slavery at some point in history (Goody 1980, Patterson 1982). Written records existed to attest to the existence of slavery in many places and periods, however the main limitations for the area for research are that; in preliterate societies there are no types of archaeological findings that can be confidently interpreted as evidence of the presence of slaves (Hrnčíř and Květina 2018, 398).

Despite this, the archaeology of slavery as an area of research is one that does exist and within some particular areas is a well-established area of study, the majority of which has been conducted on slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Americas. Theresa Singleton (1995, 1) discusses the four main themes in which slavery has been analysed in North America particularly: living conditions under slavery; status differences within plantation communities; relationships of planter dominance and slave resistance and the formation of African-American cultural identity. Similar themes have already and will be discussed further in regards to the archaeology of slavery in the Late Islamic Gulf. While it can be harder to find actual physical archaeological evidence of slavery, the presence of slaves may not only be inferred from written or material evidence, with investigations done to find culturally specific domains which can be used as archaeological indicators for including, class stratification and increased levels of warfare (Hrnčíř and Květina 2018, 382).

The trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Americas was vastly different to that of the internal slave trade in Africa itself and the trade within the Gulf region. To contrast the research into the visibility of slavery for the regions even further, scholars have discussed how the archaeology of slavery as a whole is a well-established field in the Americas, with excavations helping to understand enslaved experiences in the region, through investigation and recording of plantations, burial grounds and slave quarters (Agorsah, 1995; Andrews and Fenton, 2001; Ferguson, 1992; Orser 1990; Orser and Funari, 2001; Singleton, 1985, 1995, 1999, 2001). As mentioned and is obvious based on the evidence

available, the field of research is much less developed, if non-existent in the Gulf in comparison.

African-American archaeology and that of slavery in North America, continues to grow and more and more research is being done, which proposes the question as to why this area of research has been so invested in, compared to that in South America, the Gulf region and also the African continent itself and what are the motivators behind the interest into the archaeology of slavery globally? As I have briefly touched on in chapter 1, the social and political and intellectual forces have created the area and growth of African-American archaeology and subsequently the interest of the archaeology of slavery, however as mentioned, the same attitude towards the slave trade in the Gulf in particular does not seem to exist. Similarly, the investigation into the archaeology of slavery within Africa, is also less prolific, with little effort given to the study of the topic (Kusimba 2004, 60), with a few exceptions (Donley 1982; Donley-Reid 1984).

An Ethnographic Atlas, a sample of 1,267 societies, comprised by George Peter Murdock (1967) showed that some form of slavery was found in 573 (45%) of the societies of the ones researched, with their location shown in Figure 4 below. Through this map we can see that slavery was a global phenomenon, not isolated by geography or seemingly any particular culture. While as described above, levels of research that have been done by region differ hugely, archaeological research on slavery as a whole seems to focus on the living quarters, such as the buildings and architecture slaves would have occupied, usually being the focus for most archaeological investigations.

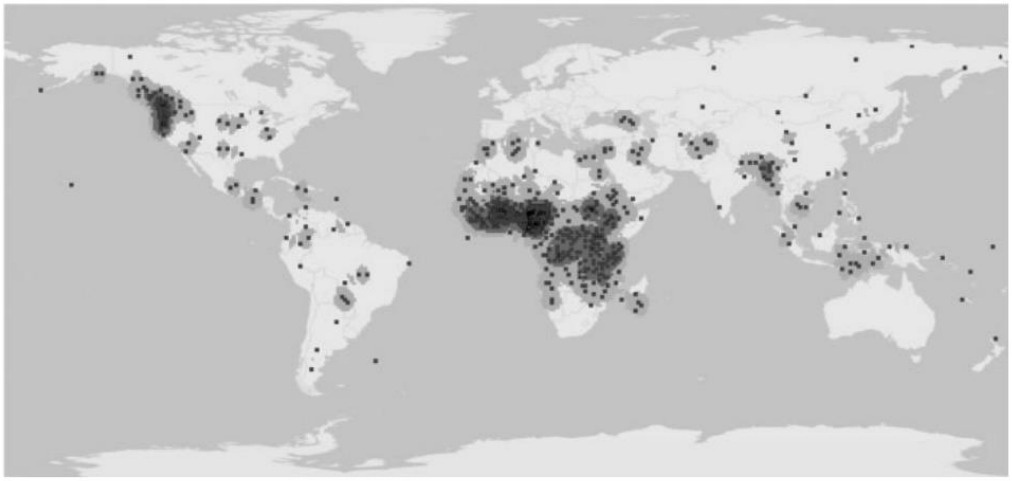


Figure 4. The geographical location of societies that compromise the Ethnographic Atlas, (Murdock 1967).

5.2 Archaeological Visibility of Slavery Outside the Gulf

Excavations have taken place, in particular on the East coast and the South of the United States, such an example being in the late 1960s, where two projects on coastal plantations in Georgia and Florida were established to study slavery from archaeological sources (Fairbanks 1974; 1984). Singleton (1995, 119) argues that prior to this, the focus was on the architectural restorations of buildings and gardens, not investigating the life of slaves on plantations specifically. After this, the focus became the size, dimensions and construction methods of living quarters and housing in regards to slavery, to try and understand how they lived. An important discovery in regards to housing was the recovery of African-styled clay-walled dwellings during excavations at Yaughan and Curriboo, two eighteenth century plantations in South Carolina. It was a common style found in the Caribbean, however it was not expected to find this style in North American plantations and evidence found since suggests other mud-walled structures similar to this may have been more commonplace in other parts of South Carolina (Singleton 1995, 124). In conjunction with this discovery, there has also been evidence found that some enslaved people created their own sense of space within these plantations, with an example being indoor storage pits found in the Upper South (Ferguson 1992, 71). There is evidence that these pits became a point of conflict between plantation owners and slaves, with the owners backfilling these pits when found. Despite this, enslaved people continued to place dig pits within their dwellings well into the nineteenth century (McKee 1992, 204-207).

Theresa Singleton (1995, 122-123) puts it the most eloquently when discussing archaeological research into slavery; 'Archaeological research on slavery has developed around two important themes for which material culture has served as a primary source of data: everyday living conditions under slavery and expressions of cultural identity.' Due to certain limitations to the archaeological visibility of slavery in the Late Islamic Gulf, I will use other sources of information, as well as focusing on these two themes Singleton mentions above, as the use of architecture and expression of cultural identity and their importance as a source of evidence for slavery across the globe cannot be underestimated and will be discussed below.

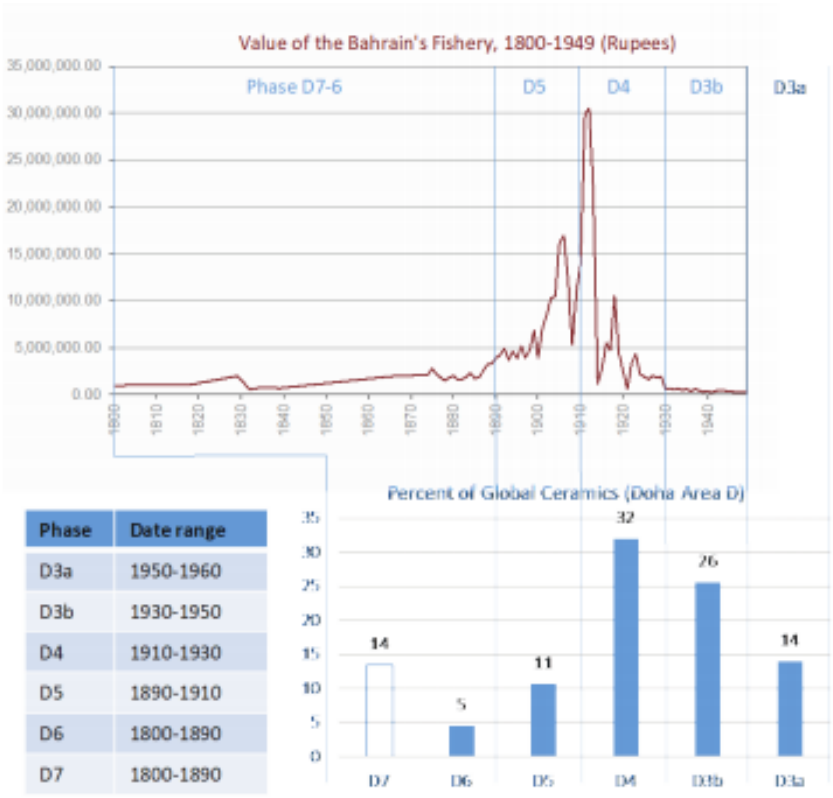
5.3 Introduction to the Archaeology of Slavery in the Gulf

The concept and research into the visibility of slavery in the Gulf, especially in regards to the archaeological record, has been described by many as limited and as 'silenced' due to the difficulty of recognising material evidence for slavery in archaeological contexts (Kusimba 2004, 60), with John Alexander (2001, 56) describing the discovery of archaeological evidence for slavery as a "near-impossibility , in the present state of field techniques of recognising chattel-slavery, form material remains associated with documentary evidence". The topic of archaeological visibility of slavery in the Gulf, with its history already being discussed, has not been investigated in much depth, however there is plenty of evidence for other long distance trade between global markets from the region, which archaeologists consider to have caused changes in material culture of the Gulf (Carter 2019, 248). Much of the evidence linking East Africa to the Middle East and Indian ocean for example, is the evidence of trade links between all the regions. With such a large population of inhabitants with African heritage in the Gulf by the first quarter of the twentieth century, it would only be sensible to assume that some cultural traditions and some material culture of their homelands would appear in the archaeological record. Another aspect that we can imagine will have been influenced, as well as material culture and pottery wares, is the architecture in these communities, as settlement patterns and settlement sizes will have had to adapt to the major influx of population, due to the number of people brought over to the region for the pearl and date industries, including the slave population.

5.4 Evidence of Global Influence in the Gulf

Before delving into slavery and its visibility in the region, it is important to show there is plenty of evidence of global influence in the material culture of the Gulf, examples of which can be seen in the archaeological record of Qatar. Robert Carter (2018, 234) argues that Qatar was considered remote to Western eyes and historically characterised in this way, however there is plenty of archaeological evidence to show the direct impact of global trade links throughout the country. Joint excavations by University College London Qatar and Qatar Museums produced a phased sequence from the 1890s to the 1950s, which had examples of European 'China' and porcelains from the Far East,

showing that foreign material culture and global trade influence, which peaked in the first third of the twentieth century, did eventually permeate into the material culture of the pearl region. Robert Carter produced a graphic from these excavations (Fig. 5), showing the percentages of global ceramics found at these excavations in Doha, against the value of the Bahrain pearling industry, which can be used to represent the value to the Qatari pearling industry during this time. The rise and fall of the pearling industry during this period, unquestionably correlates to the numbers of global ceramics found during these phased periods. This graphic, I would argue, shows how the increase in global trade and the influx of populations to the Gulf region undoubtedly influenced the diversity of the material culture and was eventually visible in the archaeological record.



Phase	Date range
D3a	1950-1960
D3b	1930-1950
D4	1910-1930
D5	1890-1910
D6	1800-1890
D7	1800-1890

Figure 5. Percentage of "global ceramics" (European chinaware and Far Eastern porcelains) in the ceramic assemblages of each phase in Area D, Doha, lined up chronologically with the value of Bahrain's Pearl Fishery, (Carter 2019, 248).

There are many more examples of other cultures within the archaeological record, for example the presence of sherds and wares to indicate the presence of Indian workers or seafarers at Julfar in Bahrain, from around the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries (Hansman 1985, 48). Therefore, it would be expected to find evidence of other populations who we know were present in this region at the same time and after. This

perhaps supports and highlights the argument for the invisibility of slaves, as many other cultures and populations can be seen in the archaeological record.

5.5 The Archaeological Visibility of African Identity in the Gulf

So, in regards to the how visible slavery is on the archaeological record of the Gulf, perhaps an even more specific question could be, why does the African diaspora to the Gulf region and its populations, not appear more in the record, despite us knowing there was such a considerable African presence in countries such as Bahrain, Oman and Qatar during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century? One argument could possibly be due to Africans positions within these societies. As previously discussed, Africans were primarily used within these communities as enslaved labour to exponentially increase the exports for the Gulf region, as global markets demanded the supply. Consequently, without any social recognition within the communities they lived, and often living within the households of their master's, I would argue it was hard for Africans to make their own mark on society, especially enough for this to be recognisable in the archaeological record. Once again, as discussed already, the idea of an African identity did still exist within society, however it was often unintentionally encouraged for slaves to lose their idea of individualism and to adopt the customs of their masters, which often resulted in many slaves revisiting their homelands less and less, and even in some instances others never returning. Although, we must consider fear also influencing this decision, as many were worried about the concept of re-enslavement if they returned to their home countries. There was also the fear of punishment, which often came in the form of broken bones and other physical abuse, only providing another reason to try and remain invisible. Whatever the reasoning, it seems the most erasing aspect of the presence of slaves in these communities, is the position they held within it, as well as having no power or authority over their lives, as is the definition of slavery.

Despite this, goods of African origins do exist and have been found in the archaeological record, including ivory and hardwoods possibly sourced from Africa, which can be seen in architectural evidence from some Gulf towns and will be discussed later in this thesis. These towns were economically founded through the pearl and dates industries and prospered through labour provided from the slave trade (Insoll, 2016). Timothy Insoll

also mentions beads possibly sourced from Africa which have been found at recent excavations at Bilad al-Qadim in Bahrain, although this is most likely dates from the eleventh century. However, rather than being material goods of slaves, he argues they would most likely have been trade goods and signifiers of status, rather that identifiers of individuals and culture in the community. Their use is obviously open to interpretation and whilst it is significant that these objects of African origin have been found in the Gulf, I would not say this is evidence of the presence of slavery per se. It could be argued, however, that it confirms the existence of trade between Africa and the Gulf region, even though there is plenty of evidence this existed already, with a glaring illustration of this being the enslaved population in the first place, there is no indication these items were the property of the slaves. As is obvious to state, slaves themselves had no standing in the communities in which they inhabited, they were under the control of their masters, who would control where they lived, the clothing they received and even down to the food in which they ate and how much they had access to. I would also argue that the best evidence of slavery which could possibly be found in the archaeological record, would be an African influence on an already existing material culture, rather than the importation of outside goods. Evidence of the importation of goods can demonstrate the existence of trade between regions, while I believe influence of material culture shows a longer lasting presence of a certain group in a community and also possible blending of a community into the already existing population, examples such as African influence on music and dance will be discussed later in this essay. However, as already mentioned, slaves and the culture of their homelands was often lost and slaves were often absorbed into their masters households, making affirming this theory and finding evidence to support it, that much harder to do.

Most evidence we have available to be discussed and relied upon to show the archaeological existence of slavery, which Benjamin Reilly (2015, 123) articulates, is mainly from three types of sources; historical documentation, ethnographic studies of the regions at the time such as censuses, and possible genetic evidence of varying populations mixing within the region. Additional to this, when allowing speculation rather than fully fact based interpretation to take over, we can use the existence of African goods in the archaeological record, as well as the architecture in towns which were known to have large slave populations at one point in history, to try and add to our

understanding of the enslaved experience in the Gulf during this time, although as I will discuss, this is a highly speculative and I will argue, unreliable as a singular argument.

5.6 Historical Records and Censuses

As mentioned, apart from historical records, it is much harder to find evidence of slavery in the archaeological record. Of these historical texts, many of which are manumission records from British embassies in the Middle East, there are also the records of travellers at the time such as Nasir-I Khusraw, who accounted his experience and the system of African agricultural slavery. Khusraw describes thirty thousand Zanzibari and Abyssinian slaves working in the fields and orchards of the al-Hasa oasis of eastern Arabia (Khusraw 2001, 112), located on the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia, in between Bahrain and Qatar. The involvement of slaves in the agricultural processes has been recorded and acknowledged previously by archaeologists in surrounding regions, such as H. B. Tristram (1873, 303), who has noted evidence in Jordan, at the ruins of Medeba, that agricultural work was done by a combination of slaves and those in servitude to the Abu Endi tribe.

Many of the historical records that survive, are often first-hand accounts of travellers present in the Gulf region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, during which the slave trade thrived. Other examples of historical records, which I have previously referenced in this essay, are John Lorimer's two volumes of *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf* in 1908 and 1915, which were essentially seen as encyclopaedias of the region and were used as a sort of 'handbook' by those travelling in the Gulf in the early twentieth century. Of course, as Lorimer was present during the beginnings of the major importation of slaves and the growth of industry at the time, we can use these as a primary textual sources in regards to population statistics and to understand the size of the slave trade due to the number of Africans and Baluchis recorded in this publication. However, although seen as an important resource at the time, when trying to reconstruct these communities of the past we cannot only rely on one source.

Another example of historical records we can use, are the censuses of populations conducted in the regions at the time when slaves were present. However, this then brings up further issues, as many countries only took officially recognised censuses long

after the collapse of the pearl and date industries due to the Great Depression in 1929, resulting in the inevitable decrease in the need for slaves in the Gulf region. Some of these official censuses did not even take place until the 1990s. An example of this is in Saudi Arabia, whose first attempt at a census was made in 1962, however a full and reliable census was not properly conducted until 1992 (Winckler 2008, 13). A further example being in Qatar, whose first official census wasn't until 1967. We can try and use both resources in a comparative sense, to try and show the ebbs and flows of the population, with the importance of the pearl and date industries during the early twentieth century possibly being shown by the comparison of the decline of population in relation to the decline of the industries; a similar tactic to that used when comparing the trends for the value of the pearling industry against the trends for global wares previously. However, we must consider the distance in time between the unofficial censuses taken by Lorimer at the beginning of the twentieth century and the official censuses taken towards the end and the unreliability this throws up.

A further obvious, yet still invaluable source of historical records on the existence of slavery in the region, are the manumission records and testimonies by slaves made to British consuls and agency officers in the Gulf, especially during the first third of the twentieth century. These records can be seen as a vital source into the lives of slaves at the time they were made. Matthew Hopper clearly agrees, as he describes himself in his book *Slaves of One Master*, that he drew on these testimonies and saw them as enslaved Africans 'speaking'. However I would agree with Kathryn McKnight (2003, 34) and Ehud Toledano (2007, 34-35), as does Hopper, that these accounts could have possibly been through 'layers of mediation' and are subject to question through problems possibly encountered during transcription and translation, as many were made to European officials across the region, not just British officials. I would highlight the issue of translation even further as we must not forget that the slaves making these statements would most likely not have spoken possibly any English, or other language the official they were talking to did. There may also have been an aspect of sanitisation occurring during the recording of these slaves' statements, perhaps for the sole reason of pride; British officials in the region especially were endowed with the tasks of capturing slave owners and freeing slaves from their masters after the abolition of slavery. Due to this, officials may have been inclined to dampen down these accounts or

to underestimate the numbers of slaves being recovered, reflecting better on them and their organisation.

While I think manumission records are an important primary resource, and possibly the only first person account of the lives of an enslaved population, as discussed there are limitations to their usefulness, in my opinion. Unfortunately we have to rely quite heavily on these records, once again due to the enslaved populations 'invisibility' in the archaeological record as it has been described. Despite this we must not also fall in the trap of taking this small percentage of enslaved populations accounts of their own experience as the collective experience of all slaves living in the region during this period.

A glaring example of the limitations of manumission records as reliable historical sources, and when considering using them as an archaeological resource to reconstruct the lives of slaves, we must remember that the vast majority of these accounts were made by male slaves. By just using these records we run the risk of painting an entirely one-sided view of the lives lived by the enslaved population at the time. This is a real issue when using these records in a historical context. As has been previously discussed, enslaved male and female roles in societies in the Gulf were vastly different and one could argue completely different experiences within the African diaspora to the Gulf. Meaning once again in history, and most certainly not unique to Arabia, we know far less about the female experience as we do the male. As female slaves were more confined to the household, this also accentuates another gap in the records of how slaves were treated in homes in the Gulf. Not to end on a negative note, I would still argue these records are invaluable to understanding the enslaved experience in the region, if nothing but as the only 'first-person' accounts of life at this time in this circumstance, when used in context and analysed critically rather than been taken as a gospel account for the time. In contrast, other more modern, and as I will argue more reliable techniques have been used more recently to show the visibility of slavery in the region; analysing ancestry of a population through genetic evidence.

5.7 Genetic Evidence of African Ancestry in the Gulf

One of the more recent ways in which we have been able to identify and find evidence of African ancestry in the Gulf region, is through the advancement of technologies which allows us to look at the genetic make-ups of current populations and chromosomal characteristics which help to identify certain markers indicating an African ancestry. While this is not direct physical archaeological evidence, it shows how important post-excavation analysis and the study of archaeology as a science is to finding out more information and histories of certain populations, which would never have been known through physical archaeological evidence alone. Benjamin Reilly's book (2015) on the connection between slavery and agriculture very succinctly explains, the main aims of studying the genetics of the populations is to allow us to quantify the African contribution to the gene pool, enabling us to estimate when the genetic exchange began, and lastly to compare the female vs. male contribution. The last of which I would argue is the most interesting, as we know that male and female slaves, and even free citizens, had very different roles in society in the Gulf region throughout history, but especially those used for enslaved labour in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. As has been discussed at length in this essay, the main uses for female slaves were as domestics, whereas the major use of male, particularly young, slaves during this time was for the more labour intensive tasks of pearl fishing and date farming and production.

We must be careful when analysing genetic data in an archaeological setting however, for example a study by Martin Richards and colleagues in 2003 using mitochondrial DNA, showed large scale gene flows out of Africa to the Arabian peninsula as far back as 500BCE. However as Reilly (2015, 140) then contextualises, does this mean we date African slavery in the Gulf region definitively to this date? Obviously not, as while this could have been a possible explanation for its appearance at this time, slavery was not the only way in which Africans could have carried genes out of Africa and to the region. An example of another avenue being Abyssinian troops appearing in Yemen from the late second century to the third century and then eventually annexing the country in the sixth century (Bowerstock 2013, 15).

In Reilly's book, he discusses the evidence of slavery in the Gulf region from an agricultural context specifically, however we can still use his arguments of genetics in a wider context as evidence for the presence of slaves in the region. Using the analysis and comparison of Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA haplotypes, the results

showed that the nations in and around the Arabian Peninsula all had substantial sub-Saharan African contributions to their gene pool. In the table provided from the study below (Tab. 2), it shows a disparity between the Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA evidence, which some researchers arguing this demonstrates the strong impact of the African slave trade on genetics from the Gulf region.

	Yemen	Jordan	Egypt	Iraq	Qatar	Oman	Palestine	Syria	Saudi Arabia
Mitochondrial DNA haplotypes of African origin	37	12	22	9	Not Available	Not Available	14	7	7
Y-Chromosome DNA haplotypes of African origin	6.46	.68	7	.99	5.56	7	Not Available	Not Available	13.37

Table 2. Y-chromosome vs. mitochondrial DNA haplotypes of African origin in Saudi Arabia and surrounding Arab populations (Reilly 2015, 140).

Reilly explains the meaning between the two different types of DNA examined here in more depth, but the reason I believe these results can be used as evidence for the slave trade, is that mitochondrial DNA is solely from the female, whereas the Y-Chromosome is solely from the male. The presence of a higher percentage of sub-Saharan genes from a female source makes more sense and lines up with the roles of male and female slaves played in the region. Due to their societal roles it would only make sense that more DNA from female Africans would appear in modern day genetics in the region.

5.8 Genetic Evidence of African Ancestry in Qatar

In reference to Qatar specifically, a study by Rodriguez-Flores *et al* (2014) outlined three categories of the Qatari based local population, Q1 Bedouins, Q2 Persian or South Asian mixture and Q3 African-derived Qataris. This study, along with others has been conducted to explain certain susceptibilities to disease in the Gulf region, however we can also use this information from an archaeological perspective to try and understand the origins of communities and use this along with material culture to gain a better

understanding of societies, with this study showing clear evidence for African genetics within the Qatari population. Studies have also provided evidence of possible further afield repercussions of the east African slave trade, with a certain genome found more commonly in sub-Saharan Africans in Qatar, also being found in African-Americans from New-York, showing implications on African derived populations globally, and the possible impact slavery had, not just on populations world-wide but medical implications also (Abou Ziki *et al* 2014, 302-308; Qatar National Research Fund 2015).

With just these few studies discussed, although not traditional archaeological evidence, I would have to argue for their relevance and an example of how a cross-disciplinary approach to understanding past populations has to be the future for archaeology, albeit combined with material evidence and the advancements of survey techniques. If we combine this with more advanced medical information obtained from current populations, it enables us to add a layer of information to the archaeological picture and it would be short sighted to reject more information which may help understand how we came to the societies we have today in the twenty-first century. However we must not lose sight of the importance of the archaeological record and what invaluable information it can provide about societies and how they functioned, an example of which being architecture within a community form which we can try and determine how communities lived day to day.

5.9 Architectural Evidence of Slavery in the Gulf

Looking at vernacular architecture of a region can be one of the few remaining examples of the history between a population and the region they inhabit, whilst also providing insight into the societies relationship between structures and behaviour from the perspective of the household (Deetz, 1982). Hicks and Horning (2006) attest to the growing importance of structures which are still standing as being an integral part of the archaeological record, as mentioned they could possibly be the only remaining evidence of at least domestic design of societies at the time; although it must be said that unfortunately in regards to cities such as Doha in Qatar, much of the historic urban fabric of the community had been destroyed with little to no record (Eddisford and Carter 2017, 4). We are limited in regards to archaeological interpretation of architecture in Doha, as none of the earliest structures still exist, however excavation

has revealed stratified archaeological deposits below 2.00m (Eddisford and Carter 2017, 5). But this highlights one of the major limitations of the study of settlements in the Gulf region.

As previously discussed, Doha was a town dependent on the pearling industry, with 12,000 residents at its population peak, of which approximately 3,500 of which were African and almost certainly slaves. The main residents of the region were agricultural, pastoral and fishing groups, resulting in merchant families, craftspeople and slaves making up the majority of the population (Eddisford and Carter 2017, 5). Friedrich Ragette describes how domestic architecture in particular can be used to show the cultural norms, tradition and economic resources available at the time of construction. While it may not be directly connected to slaves themselves, there is evidence that beams used in some traditional Qatari roofs were made with mangrove beams called *danshal*, which laid on top of the walls, with these beams being imported from East Africa as a valuable commodity (Eddisford and Carter, 2017). Understanding this does not quantify the existence of slavery in the archaeological record, this attests to the presence of trade between the region and East Africa, of which the slave trade was a part, as well as a possible African influence on the architecture. Gizem Kahraman and Robert Carter (2019, 10) also discuss how traditional doors in the Gulf region were made of parts imported from East Africa also, although these parts were imported from areas of Persia and India as well.

The main issue with analysing the architecture of cities for archaeological evidence of slavery, especially those established during the height of the pearl and date industries, is that after the crash of the economy and then its resurgence due to the oil industry taking off in the 1950s, many structures and dwellings were built over and the original foundations destroyed. The analysis of the buildings remaining and their functions are therefore left open to wide interpretation and to high speculation of their function and

use. An example of this being the case study performed on House NA01, in Najada, Doha, see Fig. 6, discussed by Carter and Eddisford (2017, 28);

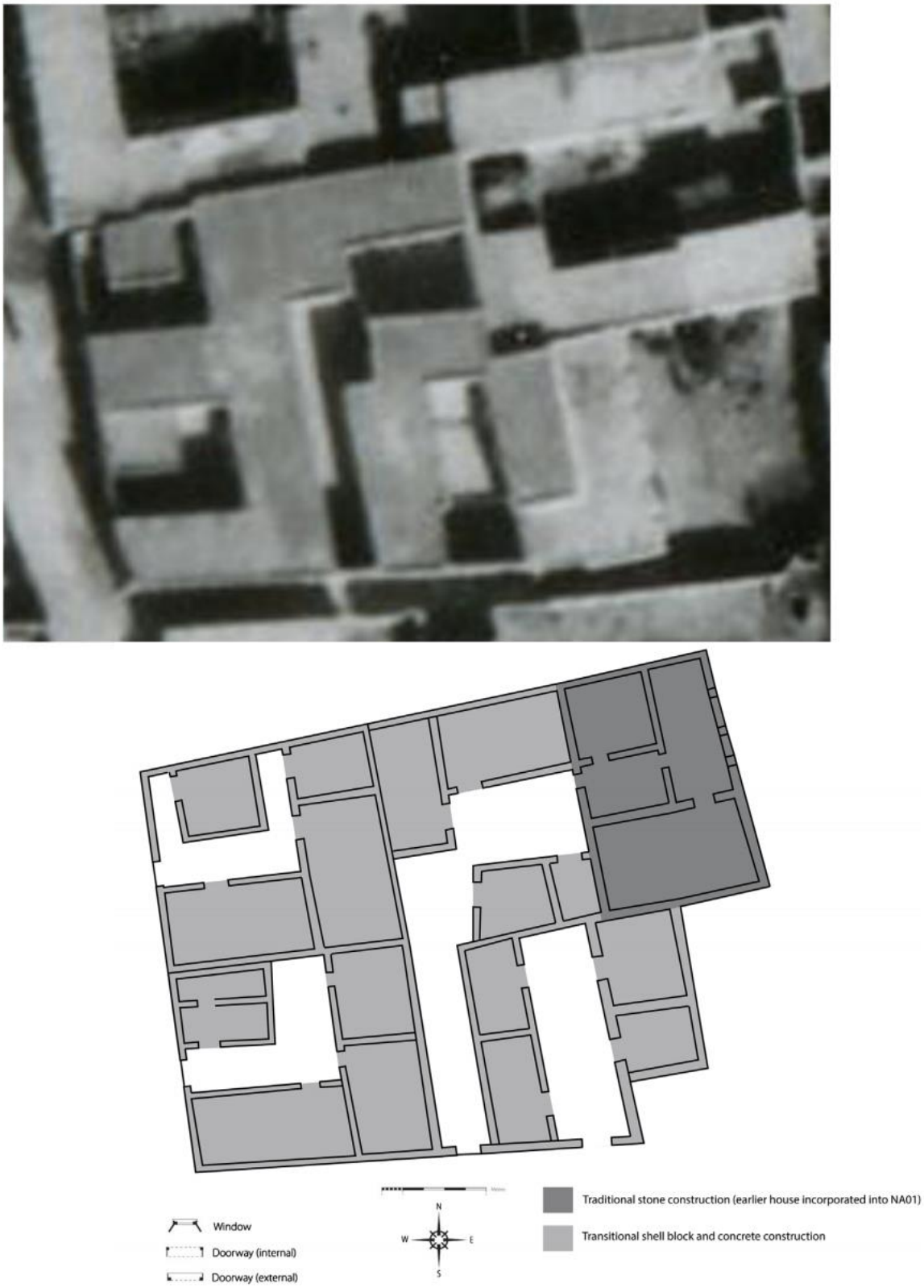


Figure 6. Plan of House NA01 today (below) with aerial image from 1959 (above) (Carter and Eddisford 2017, 102).

> "Its layout provides four separate, small, utilitarian homes, lacking decoration and without any liwan, though there are sufficient rooms to allow a majlis to be present in all of them, and two have rooms opening directly to the street (i.e. are very likely to be majālis). These small units may represent the continuing existence of a relatively poor sector of Qatari society, and the simultaneous construction of these separate homes, connected architecturally but not in terms of access, may indicate the provision of housing to four households by a wealthier patron or employer. This is highly speculative, however, and without historical data relating directly to the property we cannot theorize further on its original occupancy."

Without luxuries in the home such as a *liwan*, colonnaded veranda, see Fig. 7, the analysis of possible uses of the house as a functional dwelling, which could possibly be for migrant workers or slaves owned by a wealthier employer, is an understandable interpretation. A *liwan* created shade and was an important decorative element around the courtyard, an alternative to arches which were seldom used in traditional Qatari domestic buildings. An example of these *liwan* can be seen at Radwani House in the Msheireb area of Doha and we can see how they were erected within the house in Fig. 7, with Fig. 8 providing a plan of how the colonnaded verandas were positioned within the house structure as a whole. However as said, it is highly speculative and until for excavations and focus is put on the existence of slavery in the region in regards to architecture and settlements, it impossible to know the exactly function of these buildings.

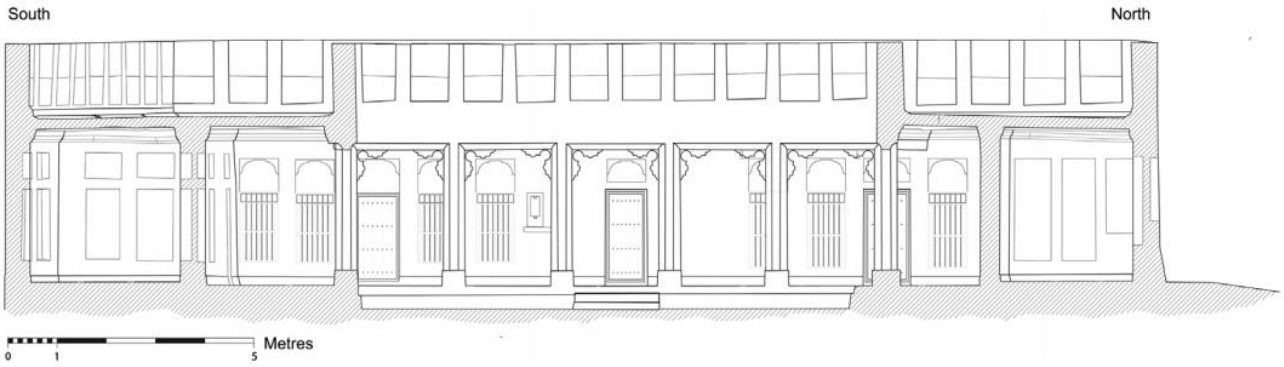


Figure 7. East facing section showing how liwan were erected in Radwani House, (Carter and Eddisford 2017, 85.

The limitations of looking at the structure and settlements of pearling and date farming towns, which would have almost certainly have had an enslaved population , is that very little is known of these settlements prior to their destruction and then rapid development. This expansion of towns in the Gulf was through the globalisation of trade from the region once again, namely exploiting extensive oil resources. Unfortunately, this rapid industrialisation of many of the same towns and cities and the dramatic expansion of the oil production to keep up with global markets, erased many traces of the past, with Andrew Peterson (2009, 309) using the case of the al-Ayn, al-Buraymi oasis region in the United Arab Emirates. Due to this we must try and refer back to the archaeological record for the visibility of slavery, mainly through the appearance of African influence of material culture in the Gulf once again.

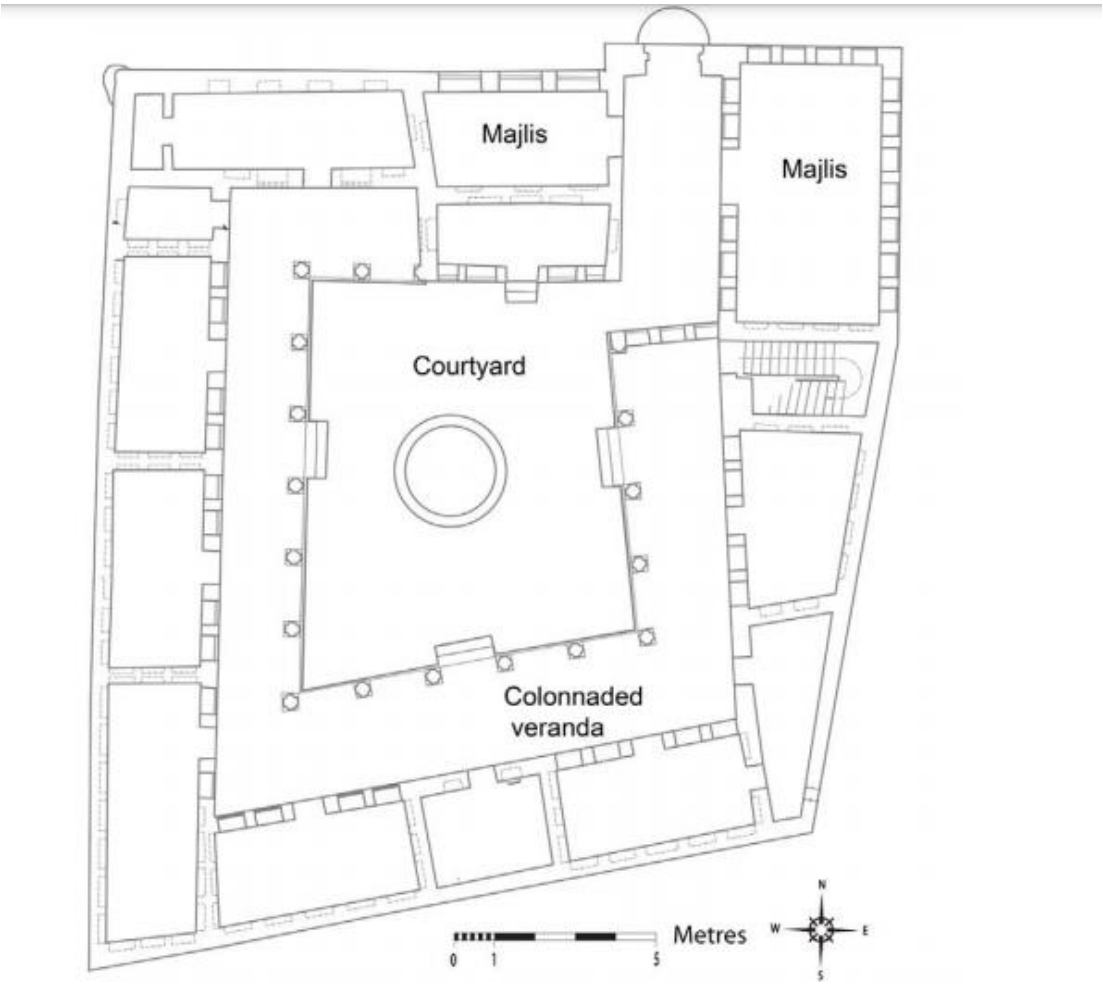


Figure 8. Plan of Radwani House today, showing the layout and location of colonnaded veranda, (Carter and Eddisford 2017, 89).

5.10 Evidence of African Influence on Music and Dance in the Gulf

Aside from actual genetic influence, Africans had a lasting impact on the societal and material culture of the Gulf as well. An example of this is described by Mohammed Alsudari (2015, 518-519) who describes the African impact on the culture of the Gulf in terms of music and dance. A specific example of this is the Bahriyya arts, which are prevalent across the Gulf states, which celebrated maritime activities and year-long journeys, which were sourced directly from the presence of Africans in the pearl diving and fishing industries. Songs existed which dealt with family and the hardships of pearl journeys, some of which were performed by members of the crews, semi-professional signers, called *nahhams*, would often be present on pearl fishing boats and leading the recitations. Certain songs, such as *'toobtoob, yabaahar'* were famous in the Gulf, specifically Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, along with Hadar music, which Alsudari argues Africans had a notable impact on.

More evidence of African influence on the material culture of the Gulf region is through the medium of dance, for example the *Lewa* dance, which uses African rhythms along with Arabic music. According to Alpers (2000) and Khalifa (2006) and other scholars, the origins of this dance can help to trace the migration patterns in the Gulf, as the dance purportedly came to Bahrain and the Gulf coasts originally from Oman, showing the cultural imprint of African slaves 'reconstructing' their narrative from Muscat. Furthermore, Timothy Insoll (2005, 375) also describes the African influence on musical instruments and their names in the Gulf region, for example *Mesondo*, *Gicanga* and *Jabwah*, which he argues are most likely Swahili in origin and distinctively 'African'.

While these are a few examples of African influence in the Gulf region, I would argue they are still only individual examples and do not show a lasting influence of slavery and slaves that we know thrived in the region during the early twentieth century especially and I would argue only highlights the lack of visibility of slavery once again.

Timothy Insoll (1996), agrees with Alexander (2001) and Kusimba (2004), arguing that slavery is one of the great archaeological invisibilities of the trade of the Islamic world. Nonetheless, I would argue, along with Antony (2001, 627), that the archaeological investigations so far have been more concerned with chronological history and culture history. This being rather than the meanings of material culture, the nature of identity and the change in culture in the regions, which would most likely be the most

informative information in reconstructing societies, especially in a region like the Gulf in which there was such a clear documentation of migration and would possibly result in quite a mix of material culture.

6 Conclusion

The archaeology of slavery is a well-established area of research in certain cultures and communities, especially in the Americas, however the same cannot be said for the Late Islamic Gulf. The main aims of this thesis were to establish how visible slavery is in the current archaeological record, as well as discussing what evidence we have for African identity in the region and what this can tell us about the African diaspora to the Gulf during this period.

Much of the evidence that I have had to rely on are expressions of African identity and the appearance of African material culture in the archaeological record to indicate the presence of slaves. I believe we can make the connection between an African presence and slavery, as it has been roughly estimated that Africans made up 17% of the total population of coastal eastern Arabia between Oman and Kuwait (Lorimer 1915, 238-241), almost all of which would have been slaves and involved in pearl and date production and cultivation. We do find examples of African material culture in the Gulf, such as musical instruments of most likely Swahili origin (Insoll 2005, 375) and the *Lewa* dance using African rhythms. Although as previously discussed, these are few and far between considering the thriving slave trade we know occurred in the Gulf during this period.

Therefore, we must rely on other sources, such as various historical documentation; records of travellers and archaeologists during this time such as H.B. Tristram (1873), censuses of Gulf states taken at the time describing the populations, and first-hand manumission records from slaves, all of which have their own limitations and I argue cannot be used as a sole resources for the visibility of slavery. I believe the genetic evidence discussed is a much more definitive avenue to argue for the visibility of Africans and therefore slaves in the Gulf during this time, however once again we cannot use this as a sole resource as it cannot provide context and origin of these DNA types and cannot be attributed to slaves alone. Despite its shortcomings however, this data does support the idea of prolonged contact between Arab and African populations in the Gulf (Reilly 2015).

There are various factors which have influenced the lack of depth of archaeological investigation into the visibility of slavery in the Gulf region; one could arguably be the

perceived lack of interest, although interest may not be the correct word. As previously discussed the perception of slavery in the Gulf region is different to that of the slave trade across the Atlantic, with less historical reciprocities in the modern day culture. As there has been little investigation into the archaeology of slavery in the region, as many scholars have noted and explained the limitations of, we must rely on other aspects of the archaeological record and perhaps just the presence of an African identity and resources found in the region, to account for the presence of slaves. As discussed in this essay already, the vast majority of slaves present in the region were brought over through the East African slave trade during the end of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century, although slaves were brought in from other parts of the Middle East and India.

Despite the extreme prevalence of slaves in the region, we must rely on speculation in regards to use and layout of the architecture that still remains in some of the prominent pearling and trade production towns and cities from the time. An example of this speculation is House NA01 in Najada, Doha and its interpretation as a functional dwelling for migrant workers or slaves owned by a wealthier employer by Daniel Eddisford and Robert Carter (2017, 28), due to its lack of decorative elements such as *liwan*. Once again the limitations of this line of research are more prevalent than the archaeological evidence itself, as most of the foundations of pearling and date towns established, which would have had thriving slave populations, were destroyed during the expansion of the Gulf once again in the 1950s.

While discussing the aspects in which the archaeology of slavery is visible in the record, I have more often find myself highlighting the limitations and lack of information that is provided from these areas. This results in having to rely on evidence of trade between the areas as a whole and African sourced items, such as the *danshal* beams which were most likely of Arican origin (Eddisford and Carter 2017).

In conclusion, I would have to surmise that based on the research done into the archaeology of slavery for the Late Islamic Gulf region so far, unfortunately there are many limitations to its visibility, however this does not mean the evidence for slavery and the slave trade no longer exists, there just needs to be targeted research for it, as there seems to be in North America already.

I believe future research into the visibility of slavery in the Gulf in an archaeological context, should focus on the two themes which Theresa Singleton discusses in regards to the archaeology of slavery in North America; the architecture of the everyday life of slaves and expressions of cultural identity (1995, 122-123). Excavations and recording of plantations, burial grounds and slave quarters in the Southern United States in particular, have unearthed examples of material culture, which have then been used to address these themes, for which I believe the field of archaeology of slavery in the Gulf region should take note.

One point I believe has been made obvious throughout this thesis, is that the African diaspora to the Gulf was unique compared to that elsewhere, compounding the need for research into the archaeology of slavery of the Gulf as its own unique discipline.

Abstract

Slavery in the Late Islamic Gulf was commonplace and seen as a staple within Arabian societies, however this thesis will attempt to evaluate its visibility in the archaeological record. Slaves throughout the Gulf and Arabia were used as domestics in the household and as markers of status, however their role within society was transformed during the Late Islamic period. The major influx and demand for slave labour in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries can mainly be attributed to the globalisation of Arabia and the Gulf region, through the exportation of pearls and dates during this period with slave labour being used to staff these industries and produce the commodities, at great profit for the merchants involved. These industries will be discussed in much more depth throughout this thesis and the use of slaves within them. The main questions to be addressed, aside from determining the visibility of slaves archaeologically in the region, is determining if there is evidence for aspects of African identity within the Gulf, as the vast majority of slaves brought to the region were of African descent. This thesis will present the archaeological evidence for the existence of slaves in the way of architecture and the visibility of slavery within living quarters, using structures in Doha, Qatar as a specific example. Historical records also play a large part in demonstrating slaves within society at this time, including first-hand manumission records and censuses take at the peak of the slave trade. Examples of African influence in the material culture of the region can also be used to show their influence on society at the time and the permeations of the culture through population onto the archaeological record, such as music and dance. This thesis will also explore new avenues of evidence to show the presence of Africans, using genetic analysis to demonstrate how ancestry can be traced back in the modern day population for the Gulf to account for an African presence in particular and its origins form the slave trade to the region. There are many limitations to this research however, which will be shown and discussed. Unlike the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the investigation of slavery and its visibility in the Americas, which has political and social motivations for research, the Gulf does not have the same view and desire to investigate the concept of slavery, in my opinion contributing to its lack of research so far. The rejuvenation of the region, due to its oil exports form the 1950s onwards, and the destruction of the foundations of the pearling and date production towns which could have carried some visibility of the slaves who inhabited them, is also

a major limitation for research. Naturally, a further limiting factor for their visibility, is the position which slaves had in the region, of no social standing or individualism. This thesis will discuss why there has been such a lack of research into the visibility of slavery in the Late Islamic Gulf, considering the region benefitted so dramatically from it, recommending that greater efforts be dedicated to investigating the two main themes for which material culture has been a primary source of data for archaeological research into slavery: architecture and the everyday life of slaves, as well as expressions of cultural identity, both of which provide huge stumbling blocks for research due to the redevelopment of the Gulf region later in history and the oppression of slaves, due to their role in society.

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