

Research Article



# “Welcome to our Coastal Community”: Field Notes from Abu Dhabi’s Maritime Heritage Festival Circuit

“مرحباً بكم في مجتمعنا الساحلي”: ملاحظات ميدانية من مهرجان التراث البحري في أبوظبي

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## Abstract

This article contextualizes and explores two important cultural heritage festivals in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi: The Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival and the Dalma Historic Race Festival. These festivals are distinctly maritime in nature, and are noteworthy manifestations of broader trends in the regional cultural heritage landscape. As such, they are ideal sites to study – and shape – educational efforts about the region’s past. After offering commentary on some temporal and spatial aspects of these festivals, this article offers suggestions for increased reach and educational effectiveness of the events, focusing on their pedagogical strategies and their emplacement along the UAE’s coastline.

## المخلص

يستعرض هذا المقال مهرجانين مهمين من التراث الثقافي في إمارة أبوظبي: مهرجان التراث البحري في أبوظبي ومهرجان سباق دلما التاريخي. تتميز هذه المهرجانات بطابعها البحري البارز، وهي تمثل انعكاسات ملحوظة للتوجهات العامة في مشهد التراث الثقافي الإقليمي. لذلك، تُعد هذه المهرجانات مواقع مثالية لدراسة وتعزيز الجهود التعليمية المتعلقة بالماضي البحري للمنطقة. بعد مناقشة بعض الجوانب الزمنية والمكانية لهذه المهرجانات، يقدم المقال اقتراحات لزيادة انتشار وفعالية هذه الفعاليات من الناحية التعليمية، مع التركيز على استراتيجياتها التربوية وموقعها الجغرافي على طول ساحل الإمارات العربية المتحدة.

**Keywords:** Maritime heritage, UAE, Fishing, Pearling, Event ethnography

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** التراث البحري، الإمارات العربية المتحدة، الصيد، الغوص بحثاً عن اللؤلؤ، وصف فعاليات الشعوب "الإثنوغرافيا"



## 1. Introduction

For the past several years, I have been conducting ethnographic and historical research in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) about the cultural, environmental, and legal effects of the transition from a primarily maritime-oriented economy (centered around fishing, pearling, and the Indian Ocean dhow trade) into an economy which is centered around fossil fuels. While conducting this research, I have been attracted to the ways in which this pre-oil economy is portrayed in various maritime heritage festivals as a “seafaring past,” and have attended them with interest.

In this article, I aim to share some observations – field notes – from two such festivals in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi: the Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival (*mahrajān al-turāth al-bahrī*) and the Dalma Race Festival (officially, *mahrajān sibāq dalmā al-tarīkhīya*, or Dalma Historic Race Festival), and offer possible pathways for increased reach and educational effectiveness for these festivals. Drawing on both the principles of “event ethnography,” which foreground events and gatherings as key sites for social scientific research (Koch, 2023) and the ethnographic study of space (Low et al., 2019), I found these festivals to be noteworthy manifestations of broader trends in the regional cultural heritage landscape, and as such ideal sites to study – and shape – educational efforts about the region’s past.

In the following sections, I argue that the Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival and the Dalma Race Festival have unique temporal and spatial valences that are worth exploring, and which could be altered to enhance their educational value. Temporally, they collapse and repackage a long, varied, and sometimes difficult pre-oil past into a flattened, postcard-style representation of seaward-facing life before oil. Better attention could be paid to the specific historical eras – and the local actors that shaped them – rather than the relegation of everything prior to the oil boom as simply “the past.” Spatially, these two festivals conjure this past not in the existing heritage infrastructures (like, for example, Al Fahidi, Al Mureijah, etc.) but by transforming increasingly scarce waterfront space – specifically, beaches – back into working waterfronts. Festival organizers should consider maintaining and expanding this latter aspect of the festivals to engage national and non-national publics about the pre-oil era through on-site maritime competitions and sensory experiences along the shoreline. The emplacement of these festivals on the beach is an ideal pedagogical tool for making the abstractions of a “pre-oil past” concrete, drawing the public into the Emirates’ past by showing them what everyday life in and around the sea looked, felt, and smelled like.

The Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival and the Dalma Race Festival are not unique in and of themselves, nor are they unique to Abu Dhabi. Rather, they are part of a much larger circuit of festivals (including others in Abu Dhabi like Al Yasat Festival, and those in other emirates like Sharjah’s Sir Bu Nair Environmental Heritage Festival or Dubai’s Al Shindagha Days) which are aimed at reviving interest in the national heritage – and the specifically national *maritime* heritage – of the UAE. The two festivals discussed in this paper are, however, representative of the larger circuit: with immediate proximity to the government of Abu Dhabi and national government’s heritage and culture initiatives, they function as flagships of the type of programming that has proliferated across the UAE and the Gulf region over the last decade.

The Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival is of fairly recent vintage, having been inaugurated in 2022 by the Department of Culture and Tourism – Abu Dhabi (DCT–AD). It is a well-funded affair with high production value, replete with modern-looking branding, prime real estate on the Abu Dhabi Corniche, and participation of the emirate's and the whole UAE's most notable figures in maritime heritage. The self-stated goal of the Maritime Heritage Festival is to have participants “join in with special activities and daily life in a traditional maritime village” and to “open all your senses to the wonder of old Abu Dhabi,” hinting at a radical break from Abu Dhabi's present.<sup>1</sup> “Welcome to our coastal community,” reads the opening page of the program, inviting participants to step into this past as it is temporarily emplaced on Abu Dhabi's corniche.<sup>2</sup>

The Dalma Race Festival has been an annual occurrence for almost a decade, having started in 2017 (also by the DCT–AD), and is comparatively an altogether more home-grown affair. It is far less showy than its counterpart, somewhat befitting of its remote location on Dalma Island (a 2.5-hr drive and a 2-hr ferry from Abu Dhabi proper). Rather than taking place on the corniche (which Dalma Island does not have in the conventional sense), it takes place on a vacant industrial lot immediately adjacent to the port, through which most visitors to Dalma arrive. The centerpiece of the Dalma Race Festival, as its name implies, is a race between Emirati nationals on 60-foot dhows from Dalma to Mirfa, around which the broader land-based festival has grown. Its stated purpose is to “preserve Emirati heritage and national identity by focusing on maritime activities and introducing them to the public.”<sup>3</sup>

These “maritime activities” can be loosely categorized into three sectors of the historical economy: fishing, pearling, and cross-ocean trade. Fishing on and off in many coasts of the region has been an integral part of local lifeways for centuries. Owing to the region's harsh climate, small oily fish like *'ouma* and *sīma* (roughly analogous to sardines and anchovies) were historically dried for consumption with rice and lime, while large gamefish like tuna and *kana'ad* were salted and pickled in a brine as *māliḥ*. Importantly, large quantities of fish were also used as fertilizer for the regions' date palm groves in both coastal and inland oases (Donaldson, 1979). Fishing, it should be noted, was never a status occupation; men who toiled on small boats to catch fish often inhabited the lower rungs of society and did not earn much of a profit from their work.

The pearl fishery, on the other hand, is famous for its capacity to generate wealth, even if the mass of pearl divers and haulers did not necessarily benefit financially from their extraction. Pearling operated on a complex system of credit and debt – with most of the crew being indebted to (or enslaved by) their captain (*nākhūdhā*), who was in turn indebted to pearl merchants (Bishara, 2017; Hopper, 2015; McDow 2018). Despite this checkered economic foundation, pearling is remembered in popular history (including the heritage festivals) as important work that produced value and ultimately connected the region to the world, rather than an industry that was inherently dangerous and which relied on layers of subjugation.

Finally, cross-ocean trade between the Arabian Peninsula, India, East Africa, and Southeast Asia is remembered as being another important component of the region's history. Much of this trade involved ships and captains originating in Kuwait and Oman – places with large natural harbors and prominent shipbuilding industries. What would become the UAE, however, and especially Dubai, proved to be an

important node in this trade, especially after the signing of the Perpetual Maritime Truce of the mid-nineteenth century.

**Figure 1**

*An Emirati man stands in front of a large wall constructed from date palm ('arīsh) with modern branding at the Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival. Author photo (2022).*



The maritime heritage festivals commemorate all of these activities – fishing, pearling, and oceanic trade – albeit in slightly different ways, and in varying degrees of disconnection between past and present. Stalls showcase books that narrate histories of these industries, tents house historical displays and artefacts, and, importantly, reenactments of this kind of work figure prominently. Fishing competitions, for example, are an integral part of each festival, although participants are free to use whatever gear they please (rather than historically specific tackle), and the activities most closely resemble sport-fishing competitions rather than practices of subsistence fishing. Pearl diving is likewise foregrounded as being culturally important, however, vendors like Suwaidi Pearls and Abu Dhabi Pearls now showcase cultivated (or farmed) pearls – a commodity that was once banned for its threat to the wild pearl fishery. The cross-ocean trade is celebrated for its cultural and artifactual import, but is not connected in any meaningful way



to the ongoing *dhow* trade through Dubai to places like Gujarat, Iran, and Somalia, which is undertaken largely by South Asian mariners (Mahajan, 2019).

**Figure 2**

*A model pearling dhow and flagpole at the Dalma Race Festival. In the background, a large majlis and the central stage can be seen, with the ocean on the horizon. Author photo (2024).*



Materially, certain aspects of these maritime heritage festivals will be familiar to anyone who is broadly acquainted with other public showcases of Emirati and Gulf heritage. Dubai's *Sameem* pavilion, billed as "The Story of our Culture," for example, showcased a fisherman's *majlis* at its center. The thousands of visitors to Expo 2020 found an array of model boats, pearling maps, souvenir fish traps, coconut-fiber rope, nets, and so on – items that can be found at any of the maritime heritage festivals under consideration, the reproduction of which has become a micro-industry of its own. Sharjah and Ras Al Khaimah's popular Heritage Days along with Dubai's Al Shindagha Days also foreground this material culture of fishing. These festivals invariably include live displays of fishermen mending nets, weaving *garāgir* (traditional domed fish traps), or inviting participants for coffee to explain different historical tools of the trade; the ephemera of an industry and an era that is almost unrecognizable in the present. Items

like *aḥḥama* (nose clips used by pearl divers), *mayāzīn* (scales for measuring pearls), and *asnān* (triangular stone anchors), for example, are ubiquitous. In the sections that follow, I attempt to look past (and see beyond) this panoply of artifacts to further consider some temporal and spatial aspects of the maritime heritage festivals, and offer possible pathways of enhancing their educational value with regard to the cultural heritage of the UAE.

### Figure 3

*Maritime heritage objects at the Sameem pavilion of Dubai Expo: coir rope, nets, a miniature (non-functional) date-palm gargūr, and a pearl map. In the background, the sterns of two model dhows can be seen. Author photo (2022).*



## 2. On the Temporal and Spatial Aspects of Maritime Heritage Festivals

As with many events or exhibits predicated on the idea of “heritage,” an express purpose of the Maritime Heritage Festival and the Dalma Race Festival is to showcase the past, and argue that the past is integral to contextualizing the progress of the present. In the Emirates, this past is specifically presented as a glimpse of life before oil. This presentation, however, is not necessarily concerned with specific historical events or even defined time periods (such as seventeenth-century navigation, or nineteenth-century pearl diving). Instead, and in a similar way that Mandana Limbert has described the cultural exhibits in Jabrin Castle in Oman, the version of history presented at maritime festivals is “flattened into a uniform pre-1970 time: ‘the past’” (Limbert, 2010). In the maritime heritage festivals of the Emirates, this entails peculiar temporal juxtapositions, like displaying a wire *gargūr* (an inshore fish trap which has been glossed as old-fashioned since its prohibition by the Ministry of Climate Change in 2019) alongside a brass astrolabe, the early modern navigational instrument used for crossing oceans. At other times, it might entail mentioning Ahmad ibn Majid, the Arab navigator from the Age of Exploration, in the same breath as Sheikh Shakhbut bin Sultan, the brother of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan and his immediate predecessor as Ruler of Abu Dhabi.

This “generic past” (Limbert, 2010) is not limited to the ocean-oriented exhibits of the Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival and Dalma Race Festivals, but instead permeates the general atmosphere of these events. These and other heritage festivals, for example, always include a *dukān*, the predecessor to the modern *baqāla*, or convenience store. In the space of the festival, the *dukān* is functionally indistinguishable from its successor, offering Chips Oman, soft drinks, and candies. What differentiates the *dukān* from a *baqāla* in the context of the festival space is its hand-painted (rather than plastic, illuminated) sign, and the prominent display of other signifiers of a pre-oil (or early oil) past: sewing machines, brass *dallahs*, or radios with conspicuous antennae.

Apart from fishermen’s *majālis* and *dakānīn*, attendees are encouraged to imagine pre-oil and non-urban life by *sensing* it in the most capacious way: to smell the fish, to feel the sand in one’s shoes, and to experience what it was like to live closer to the sea, both culturally and materially. Culturally, the sonic aspects of “stepping into the past” at these maritime festivals are enhanced by the inclusion of song and dance troupes that perform *fijrī*, the rhythmic pearling and sailing songs for spectators. The haunting melodies and chants of these songs are distinct from other forms of Gulf music (both historical and contemporary), and as such, conjure a specific collective past centered around the sea. Visually, the *fijrī* singers also summon the pre-oil past by wearing blue-and-green plaid *wizar*, t-shirts or sailor’s *kurtas*, and their *ghutras* tied in the *hamdaniyyah* style: a wardrobe that has become symbolic of the Emirates’ maritime history (in the fishermen’s *majlis*, too, men clad in this iconic dress can be seen busying themselves with weaving *gargūr*, or by mending nets in the traditional manner using their teeth, hands, and feet).

At the spatial and material level, the Maritime Heritage Festival and Dalma Race Festival – as pop-up events rather than permanent installations – temporarily transform the coast back into a working waterfront by reclaiming the beach as the domain of work rather than relaxation. Participants are invited to imagine what reliance on the ocean looked and felt like in decades past. They do so in the context of these temporary maritime villages, constructed of date palm ‘*arāish*, where they can watch people do facsimiles of the work their ancestors did through various heritage competitions. This work does not produce or exchange commodities, but rather presents the theater of work-as-sport: rowing, sailing, tug-of-war, swimming, and fishing competitions, which, together, would have made up the daily activities of a pearler, fisherman, or sailor. By participating in or observing these activities, Emirati nationals and festival-goers are invited to embody or witness the work of maritime laborers from generations before.

Both of these festivals take place on reclaimed beaches: the Maritime Heritage Festival takes place at “Al Bahar” on Abu Dhabi Corniche, and the Dalma Race Festival is held in an empty lot immediately adjacent to the island’s port. Both beach zones are the product of dredging and land reclamation, however, rather than being reclaimed for pure commercial value, where value is created “*ex nihilo*” for real estate speculation (Khalili, 2020), these spaces are being put to use for recreation and cultural activities. This allows festival-goers to experience heritage in a space that is increasingly scarce across the Emirates: non-urban working waterfronts, and, more specifically, natural waterfronts (read: not piers or breakwaters). In the past, natural shorelines were sites of trade and commerce, with fishing boats pulled up onto

the beach and merchant vessels anchored in the waters beyond the breakers or in the coast's tidal creeks. In neighboring Oman, this is still commonplace; save for the beaches that have been enclosed by hotel chains, beaches there are working places, strewn with boats and fishermen's 'arāīsh. The Maritime Heritage Festival and Dalma Race Festival, with their various vendors and exhibits housed in date-palm 'arāīsh situated on as-of-yet undeveloped foreshores, bring a simulacrum of the pre-oil Emirati fishing village of the past to life in the present, in otherwise urban or (in the case of Dalma) industrial areas.

A critical aspect of this temporary transformation is that it presents a version of the past that was lived and inhabited by non-elite, everyday people. Much of the urban heritage preservation efforts around the Gulf have focused on forts, palaces, merchant houses, and endowed mosques (cf. Qasr Al Hosn, Al Hisn Sharjah, Bait Al Muraikhi, etc.). This is in part because of their materiality: because these structures were made from coral and stone, they more readily lent themselves to preservation. Contrast this to the dwellings of everyday Emiratis in the pre-oil period – made of date-palm, goat hair, or mud-brick – which could not plausibly have been preserved. The forts and merchant houses were, of course, also preserved because of their cultural purchase: for the majority of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these structures served as symbols of political authority and financial power, whereas non-elite forms of housing would be reminders of a destitute past. Showcasing non-elite pasts through temporary “fishing villages” is an important intervention into recuperating the everyday lives of generations who toiled on the sea, however flattened the narration of history therein may be. This is doubly important in the case of the fishing industry-as-heritage: while fishing is still an important part of the local economy for Dalmawis, it has declined sharply in Abu Dhabi in favor of imported fish (either from other Emirates or from places like Oman), a process which has only been augmented by the transformation of Abu Dhabi's Al Mīnā' into an arts district (rather than a fishing port).

A final, critical aspect of this temporary transformation of the waterfront into a heritage-minded fishing village is that it reinscribes a distinctly Emirati character to the shoreline. Much of the UAE's shorelines have been directly or indirectly ceded to the many expatriate communities: either to leisure classes who use resortified waterfronts for recreation, or laborers that work industrial waterfronts in ports, power-generating, desalinating, and manufacturing areas. Over the course of the UAE's development since the mid-twentieth century, huge swaths of the beach have been enclosed, leaving scant few natural beaches that are truly public. Even along the east coast, from Dibba to Kalba, which is sometimes perceived as less urban and more “authentic” by locals and foreigners alike, natural beaches that are *not* enclosed by individuals, hotels and resorts, or government installations (whether military, port, or otherwise) are few and far between.

The Lebanese video artist and photographer Ziad Antar poignantly captured this last phenomenon, of “ultra-modern urban development spreading over the base of vernacular architecture related essentially to the activities of old fishing ports,” in his work about the UAE, *Portraits of a Territory* (Macel, 2012). By capturing the messy reality of development – of fishing skiffs strewn along a beach alongside modern port infrastructure, or a traditional *hadra* fish trap with a resort in the background – Antar's photos present an instructive foil to the highly curated atmosphere of the maritime festivals. In this way, photos like Antar's



also function to preserve cultural heritage by offering a critical glimpse of the last stages of the transition from a maritime economy into one based on petroleum. One success of the Maritime Heritage and the Dalma Race Festivals, therefore, is that like Antar's photos, in that they remind Emiratis and expatriate constituencies that the Emirates really *did* once work on the foreshore, both in the distant and recent past, and that this is past worth remembering.

### 3. Charting a Course Forward

In January 2024, H.H. Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed established the Abu Dhabi Heritage Authority, replacing the Emirates Heritage Club and the Cultural Programs and Heritage Festivals Committee. This new body will no doubt be tasked with improving and expanding the Abu Dhabi Maritime Heritage Festival, the Dalma Race Festival, and other heritage festivals across the Emirate, which will in turn set a tone for the rest of the UAE. They should continue to invite festival attendees to step into the past, but let them do so in a way that is nuanced, educational, and ultimately strives to faithfully preserve the everyday maritime heritage of the Emirates, with as much historical specificity about this country's difficult past as possible.

A non-generic retelling of this past – which would be place-specific, based on a diversity of sources like photography, the oral testimonies and histories of maritime workers, and documentary evidence from The National Archives – can share this history in a way that is still compatible with the norms of contemporary nationalist historiography. Here, the nuances of the difficult and deeply material past of maritime work could supplement, and perhaps give ballast to, the story and timeline that nationals and visitors to the UAE know all-too-well: pre-oil destitution, the discovery of oil, the formation of the union, and the present era of prosperity. Here, maritime workers are not merely passive recipients of development and progress wrought by oil, but are key to understanding the cultural and economic foundations of Emirati society, as forgers of its unique history, outlook, and present which has been contoured by the sea.

Finally, there are several other ways that these festivals might be augmented to enhance their educational value and increase participation among constituents. At the level of education, festival planners should consider developing exhibits that emphasize the specificity and distinctiveness of Emirati history rather than the “generic” maritime past that is a familiar story across the Gulf. What role did Trucial Coast residents play in the broader Gulf maritime social ecosystem? How did this differ across the various Emirates, or between mountainous, coastal, and desert regions? To offer another example, one option would be to showcase the chronology of historical advancements in boat technologies used in the Emirates. Planners could draw on the excellent work of scholars working in this field (Agius, 2005, 2007; Staples, 2018; Staples and Al-Salimi, 2019) to present a timeline of vessels used in the region and provide deeper context for when and why certain boats out of favor. Large *sambūq* launches (*lanshāt*), for example, were retrofitted with diesel engines in the late 1960s and used as working vessels (rather than leisure craft) from ports in Abu Dhabi, Umm Al Quwain, and Ras Al Khaimah. How did the introduction and widespread availability of petroleum shape and change the fishing industry, what kinds of local vessel

designs were maintained, and why? Festival-goers might also explore, moreover, how and why the dhows used in the contemporary races draw on (but are not faithful reproductions) of the classical *jalbūt*: what makes one boat advantageous for pearling and another for sailing?

Another opportunity would be regarding the exhibits related to fishing (as with the fishermen's *majālis*). The 2019 *gargūr* ban in Abu Dhabi could, for example, be presented as a teachable moment, providing a ready-made tie-in with the Emirati government's attentive concern for the environment. *Garāgir* are a distinctive technology, and as such provide festival planners with the opportunity to tell the story of their origin, their transition from palm frond into wire, and the reason for their ultimate banning: the perception that *garāgir* become "ghost traps" that, when abandoned or otherwise lost, presented a threat to wildlife by entrapping fish and turtles in large numbers. The Environment Agency – Abu Dhabi's (EAD) short film "Our Sea Our Heritage" is an exemplary narration of part of this story and could supplement such an exhibit. Through a series of interviews with elder fishermen who describe what scholars call a "shifting baseline" – or the change in what is considered environmentally normal across generations – "Our Sea Our Heritage" integrates critical stories of cultural heritage and environmental change as they apply to the Emirates today. Digital humanities scholars in any of the UAE's universities would do well to collaborate with EAD on using their existing, much larger archive of fishermen's oral histories to create a permanent, moveable exhibit for the festival circuit.

Spatially, the Maritime Heritage Festival and Dalma Race Festival's footprints should be maintained and expanded, which would ultimately increase interest in and attendance at the maritime festivals, and aid in broader conservation efforts around environmental and cultural heritage. Planners would be wise to protect and preserve the Al Bahar corniche space from further development and consider installing a semipermanent working waterfront exhibit that interested parties can visit year-round. If not, natural shorelines abound in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (especially between its many urban islands) and a dedicated working waterfront that showcases the UAE's maritime heritage and non-elite past would be an asset both to cultural and environmental preservation efforts. On Dalma Island, the preservation of the natural waterfront is not an issue (at least not yet), as almost the whole island is characterized by its natural (and beautiful) beaches.

Festival planners, however, should consider increasing transportation pathways to Dalma during festival season, including increased ferry service (possibly from Abu Dhabi proper and not just Jabal Dhannah) and commercial air service on regional passenger jets, so that otherwise urban residents of the Emirates have the opportunity to experience the sea itself *en route* to Dalma, and the beach "as it was" on the island. Alternatively, if the festival's geographic inaccessibility is considered an important factor that preserves its relatively quaint character, then documentary film crews might be prioritized for attendance (as with the Sir Bu Nair Festival) in order to both protect the more intimate festival atmosphere while still reaching broader audiences.

Before the skyscrapers and specialty coffee, before Talabat and 14-lane highways, everyday life in what would become the UAE was both simpler, and orders of magnitude more difficult. This is a past worth remembering and preserving, and one that the maritime heritage festivals have a unique opportunity

to retell. Rather than being confined to museums and permanent heritage districts (that mostly narrate the history of elite figures), the narration of this everyday past is best experienced on the shore: where people lived and worked every day for centuries, and where festivalgoers can catch a glimpse of these lives earned from the sea.

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## Competing Interests

None.

## Author Biography

Scott Erich is a historical anthropologist and environmental historian who received his PhD from the CUNY Graduate Center in 2023. He is currently a Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland.

## Endnotes

1. 2024 Festival Programme, Maritime Heritage Festival, ([https://abudhabiculture.ae/-/media/DCT/DXP/Documents/maritime-heritage-festival/MHF24\\_Programme\\_Guide\\_EN\\_v3](https://abudhabiculture.ae/-/media/DCT/DXP/Documents/maritime-heritage-festival/MHF24_Programme_Guide_EN_v3))
2. (Ibid.)
3. *Mahrajān sibāq Dalmā al-tarīkhī al-sābi' yanṭalaq ghadan*, Emirates News Agency – WAM, April 25, 2024, <https://wam.ae/ar/article/b2u1t9j-%D9%85%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B3%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%82-%D8%AF%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%AE%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%B9-%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%B7%D9%84%D9%82-%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7>

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