Title Oman from exploration to tourism: the images of the country in early travellers' tales, travelogues and travel brochures (1838-2001)

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Oman from Exploration to Tourism: The Images of the Country in Early Travellers' Tales, Travelogues and Travel Brochures (1838-2001).

By

Mohammed A. A. Al Habsi

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Luton

March 2004

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Luton. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Mohammed A. A. Al Habsi

March 2004

Abstract

This thesis uses early travel accounts (1838-1959), travelogues (1996-2001) and travel brochures (2001) to investigate the image of Oman and its people in British travel texts.

Although there have been a number of imagery studies within the field of tourism over the last two decades, they have been recently criticised by Gallarza *et al.* (2002) for their lack of theoretical orientation. This thesis is intended to be a modest step in addressing this criticism by re-appraising Said's well known work on *Orientalism* (1978) and works that foreshadowed it, by testing their political, theoretical and polemical propositions against detailed evidence to be found in case study evidence derived from close analysis of English texts on one country; Oman. The thesis investigates the extent to which these texts confirm/disconfirm Said's predominantly critical evaluation of Western (particularly British and French) representations of the east through the construct he calls 'Orientalism'. Through exploration of the imagery attached to Oman, this analysis is intended to contribute to the wider "Othering" debate in suggesting how people of a developing country are defined and gendered by people from developed ones.

The thesis, which is based on three genres of travel texts, suggests a much more complex picture of the mechanisms of representations than Said (1978) suggests, showing, for example, that each textual category (travel book, travelogue, and brochure) had its own distinguishing variations in terms of ideological perspective, mode of address and substantive content. For example, political and imperial discourses were widely present in early travel accounts, while, by contrast, travelogue and travel brochure data were more constituted by discourses of consumerism and commerce, with residual political and imperial traces either silenced, muted or reconstituted as forms of nostalgia, or a depoliticised, sometimes, aestheticised, historic heritage.

Moreover, although some early accounts contain negative denotations and connotations relating to Oman and its people that would support Said's broadly critical deconstruction of "Orientalism" as an ideological mechanism of control

and appropriation, all three media representations, historical travel texts included, were far from presenting a uniform, or even predominant construction of Oman and its people that would support Said's critique.

In two contextual chapters, this thesis appraises historical encounters between Omanis and Westerns with focus on the British and Omani relationship, and offers an overview of the development of tourism in Oman.

On the methodological front, the study is unusual as an investigation that combines inductive with deductive approaches, quantitative content analysis with qualitative semiotic analysis. Content analysis was used to examine the images of Oman reproduced in the three media. The quantitative findings were analysed qualitatively by using semiotic analysis to explore and interpret the meanings behind the quantitative results.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to several people who gave themselves so selflessly in supporting me during this study. Firstly, I dedicate this thesis to my Dad, Ahmed A. Al Habsi, who I pray that Almighty God will always bless him in a special way. Dad you are always with me, and in this acknowledgement I can say thank you for the special way you and my mum raised me and for teaching me the meaning of independency, how to pray, to be kind and to meet the challenges of this life.

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As I conclude this acknowledgement, I am again aware that this is yet a new beginning and challenge for the research regarding tourism in Oman and tourism marketing in particular. To this challenge, I feel equipped to start yet another phase of my life journey.

Dedication

I am happy to dedicate this comprehensive work

To

His Majesty

The Sultan Qaboos bin Said

Sultan of Oman

For his great contributions in developing Oman

after years of close policies.

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Chapter One

Research problem and objectives

Introduction

The publication of Edward Said's "Orientalism" in 1978 was one of those landmark events which can now be seen to have instigated a major, new kind of debate on issues of representation.

The question of representation, the way in which particular groups and communities are constructed for public scrutiny by others and not themselves, had been fore grounded by social scientists in the 1970s, and 1980s studying issues of minority representation, particularly the representation of women, class relations and racial minorities, in the powerful imaging delivered by the literary texts, news media and advertising (e.g. Goffman, 1978; Williamson, 1978; Mattelart, 1986; Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis, 1980; Davis and Walton, 1983; Collins, Curran, Garnham, Scannell, Sclesinger and Sparks, 1986).

Said's work added two dimensions to this burgeoning field. Firstly, it focused interest on western representations of the geographically specific region of the East and extended analysis not just to textual representations, but to a whole range of institutional and organisational mechanisms which served to shape, control and disseminate images of the East in ways which, according to Said, tended to produce and reproduce a totalising nexus of stereotypical ideas about eastern 'Otherness' he designated as "Orientalism". In his Foucaultian approach, Said insisted that this "oriental other" was not just created through media representations, but through the associated efforts of hegemonic, Western institutional agencies (particularly governmental and academic institutions) which

had the power to produce, authorise and legitimate the discursive truth of the images produced.

Alongside the interest of analysing and deconstructing the processes that lay behind constructions of place and peoples, by social scientists in traditional subject fields, the question of representation was also taken up by academics and indeed, industry practitioners, who engaged from a different quarter, those working in the emerging field of tourism studies. Their focus was on destination image and the role that the image of places and people served in shaping perceptions of destinations by potential and actual tourists. A large literature on destination image formation and management, written from the perspective of the pragmatic needs of tourism planners with an interest in influencing and exploiting them, developed which universally asserted the crucial importance of destination image in attracting tourists (Phelps, 1986; Echtner and Brent Ritchie, 1991; Gartner1993; Brinberg and Baloglu, 1997; Babloglu and Mcleary (1999); and Jenkins, 1999). Later studies began to emerge that were informed by a dual focus – the appraisal of destination image as a management tool, but including within it a more radical interrogation of the processes and effects of such "place promotion" within wider social and societal contexts, including discussion of issues of "othering", identity appropriation, and social control that had been at the heart of Said's thesis (Selwyn, 1996; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999).

This study straddles both these traditions in that it is at once an investigation into the ideological aspects of the content of travel accounts by British authors which follow traditions established in media and literary analysis, and was the predominant procedure adopted by Said in "Orientalism", which includes

substantial data from literary texts. Secondly, it is an analysis of more recent kinds of text, the travelogue and brochure, which in addition to acting as comparative texts with which to contrast travel accounts, have relevance to the work of the national tourist organisation of Oman. The dual focus was adopted because the author, an executive with the Oman Ministry of Tourism[1], wanted at once to conduct a study that, while grounded in academic traditions of critical, textual analysis, could also offer practical interest, insights into past and present imaging of Oman, to professionals working national tourism promotion. The author is aware that this dual perspective means it is possible that some readers may find that the analysis swings between different points of attack and discussion, but hopes that the novelty of the approach and its results, particularly the unique comparative dimension made possible by examining 3 different kinds of text, through the methodological application of both quantitative and qualitative analysis, will justify the eclecticism.

Specifically then, the study assesses representations of Oman presented by British writers and organisations to British readers from the 19th century to the 21st century.

This chapter includes a brief discussion about the image of Oman among Europeans and British in particular. It also highlights the tourism imagery and its importance to the tourist industry of a country such as Oman. The chapter then provides details of the sample of texts selected for analysis and why they were chosen. The chapter also includes an explanation of the primary aim and

1 The author is working with Ministry of Tourism in Oman for more than 10 years. He involved in organizing some marketing activities (e.g. festivals, yacht racing and exhibition) and promotion campaigns that aimed to promote Oman as a tourism destination. The author who hold a bachelor degree in journalism and mass communication and post graduate in advertising, worked in the media side and experienced journalists visits to Oman through his works, first, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and second, with Tourism Board.

objectives of this study and raised five research questions. An overview of this study is also provided.

The study includes comment on Oman's political, social and economical developments, since in the cultural studies tradition of media representation established in the 1970s and 1980s it is often important to contextualise the background against which representations are constructed in order to dimensionalise their intentions and effects. This background information includes brief historical overviews of pre-19th century Oman and her encounters with Europeans, which preceded the British colonial period during which the travel accounts were written.

Part 1. The image of Oman among Europeans

The European image of Oman as a trade centre and cultural oasis (Billecocq 1994) probably derived from Marco Polo, who visited Oman in 1295. Long before his visit and from ancient times, Oman had a long history of interaction with Western civilisation. In 3rd century B.C., Alexander the Great reached Arabia and the Omani coast. The Greeks and Romans engaged in commercial activities with Arabia (Ministry of Information and Culture, 1979a). Oman was the land of frankincense and myrrh, and Sumahram or *Samhar*[2] in the south was the main port for consigning these fragrant commodities to Greece and Rome (Costa, 1979).

In the 15th and 16th centuries A.D, the Portuguese dominated the Omani coastal areas and other parts of Arabia and the Indian Ocean (Beckingham 1980; Thapar 1966). After the departure of Portuguese from Oman in 1650, Europeans'

2 Samhar: is the Greek name of an ancient city of Sumahram in the south region of Oman. It was the main exporting port for frankincense.

interests in the Omani coasts remained. They were followed by the Dutch, the French and the British, who influenced and dominated the trade routes to India and other areas of the Indian Ocean until the end of Second World War.

The experiences of the European colonialist in India, Africa and other parts of the world taught them that to dominate a land and its people, colonists have to explore, develop and control the resources of the land. The British policy in Oman, like that of elsewhere, moved from observation to exploration and ended with domination. The coasts from Dhofar in the south to Musandam and the Trucial Coast of Oman (United Arab Emirates) in the north were surveyed intensively by the British. In addition to their surveying and military activities in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, the British enhanced these activities by developing friendly relations with the local rulers and signing commercial and military agreements with them. British activities in the 17th and the 18th centuries were mainly based in the coastal regions. To expand their interests inland and to assess the land resources they signed treaties with the regional powers. They began with a treaty with Imam Sultan bin Ahmed in 1798 (Coupland, 1938: 95).

The treaty with the Omani ruler in 1798[3] announced a new era in the British influence in Oman and it provided them with the bases for their explorations and their subsequent domination of Oman. The British penetration and explorations of Oman began with Haines' journey to Dhofar of the southern region in 1834, and his description about Dhofar and Al Qara Mountains. He was followed by Wellsted who explored the northern regions in 1835. These explorations formed part of the British imperial spearhead, before they dominated the coastal and the interior regions of Oman after the death of Sayyid Said in 1856.

Part 2. Oman and tourism imagery

Tourism has been defined by the Swiss professors Hunziker and Krapf, 1942 as the sum total of relationships and phenomena linked with the stay of foreigners in a locality, provided that they do not engage in a major permanent or temporary paid activity (cited in Theobald, 1998). It is a "product consumed outside of normal time and daily social space" (Thurot and Thurot, 1983:1). According to Mathieson and Wall (1982) tourism can be described as the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their "instrumental life" (Graburn, 1983: 11) and places of work and residence. It encompasses the activities undertaken during their stay in the destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their desires (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Tourists "[get] away from home" (MacCannell, 1976: 13), to "experience" (Graburn, 1983: 12) "unfamiliarity" (Dann, 1992:1).

Butler's (1980) concept of the tourist area life cycle would place Oman firmly in the initial stage of development since the few visitors it receives are attracted by the unspoilt nature of the area and tend to travel independently. Tourism is promoted for one major reason, that is, an economic reason. In fact, many countries' economies (e.g. Spain, Tunis, Austria) depend in tourism as their major foreign exchange earner. Oman is a new comer to the tourism market and has established a long term plan to emphasise her source of foreign exchange solely from oil and look into other sectors such as tourism, gas and fisheries. This has become necessary to complement the government's objective of diversifying

3 The 1798 treaty was the first political treaty between Great Britain and and an independent Arabic state (Al Abid, 1981:27).

the national revenue base and reducing the dependence on oil (Ministry of Development, 1996).

Image is important in destination publicity since it is one of the main components of the tourism product (Middleton 1994; Santos 1997; Theuns 1992). Place imagery is a "pivotal aspect of promotional strategy" (Reilly, 1990: 21). It can be "used to counter negative, and enhance positive, perceptions of products, places and peoples, and can be used to specifically target key market areas" (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 3). As a newcomer to the international tourism market with a very short history of exploiting its tourism potential (The World Conservation Centre, 1991), Oman acknowledges, in its *First Tourism Plan* (WTO and UNDP, 1991), that the creation of a readily identifiable image is the single most vital element in tourism marketing and promotion. This importance was also stressed in the first *Tourism Marketing Strategy* in Oman (PKF[4], 2001)

The Tourism Marketing Strategy of Oman (PKF 2001) points out the difficulties in identifying a single creative concept encapsulating the core images of Oman as a tourism destination. These difficulties may be due to the fact that there is no single outstanding tourist icon (e.g. the Eiffel Tower in Paris, or the Taj Mahal in India) that can be used to represent Oman.

This study aims to contribute to the development of tourism in Oman, particularly in its development of marketing and promotional plans by identifying the images of Oman. To do this, this study analyses the images of Oman in travel

4 PKF (Pannell Kerr Forster): is registered to carry on audit work and authorized to carry on investment business by the institute of Chartered Accounting in England and Wales.

writings[5]. The study focuses only on British travel writings to minimise possible errors caused by cultural and linguistic differences.

Three different media in British travel writings for the investigation of the images of Oman are selected. They are **early travel accounts, travelogues** and **travel brochures**. The early travel accounts are 13 travel narratives published about Oman between 1838 and 1959. The travelogues are 32 travel articles published about Oman between 1996 and 2001 in the travel section in 13 British newspapers and magazines. The travel brochures are 18 promotional materials produced by 18 different tour operators and holiday makers in Britain to publicise and promote their holiday offers with Oman as a tourist destination in 2001.

The common aim of the three media is to inform their readers about Oman and its people. Therefore, they are publicity tools that promote Oman as a destination. However, the three media are published for different reasons and, as this study will show, this results in their different projections of the images of Oman. The early travel accounts were published by travellers with vested interests to in informing their readers of their travel activities and their heroism in crossing the desert and encountering people with different cultures and customs. A number of travellers' works provide evidence of the British imperial activities in the region and their scientific, geographical and explorations works. The travelogues were published to promote and publicise Oman as a tourism destination. The travel brochures aimed to lure the reader to Oman as tourism destination and sell and promote their holiday offers and services.

5 Travel writing is a very particular kind of writing as it combines both 'fact' and 'fiction', transcending distinctions between scientific and literary writing, through the practice and statements of an author who produces information that is not easily confirmed (Blunt, 1994).

Part 3. Primary aim and objectives of this study

Section 1. Primary aim

The primary aim of this research is to contribute to an understanding of the projection of Oman as a tourism destination by identifying the images that have been constructed and projected in three different British media: early travel accounts, travelogues, and travel brochures.

Section 2. Objectives

This research addresses two objectives and five research questions:

(A) To investigate the verbal framing of Oman in historical and more recent travel writings of UK origin.

(B) To discover whether there is a semiotic connection between the early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures in transmitting received imageries for the contemporary visitor.

Here five questions are raised:

1. What textual images of Oman are projected in the early travel accounts, the travelogues, and travel brochures?
2. What are the continuities and similarities, and differences in the three media representations of Oman? In other words, do the verbal imageries in the early travel accounts reoccur and persist in the vocabulary of travelogues and travel brochures?
3. What is the significance of any observed trends in the three media?

4. How have the people of Oman and their visitors been verbally depicted in the three media? And to what extent are the findings of the analysis in three media close to Said's (1978) approach of 'Orientalism'?
5. What relevance do the findings of this study have for current tourism planning in Oman and future studies in the field?

Research question 1 focuses on the content of the early travel accounts (1838-1959), travelogues (1996-2001) and travel brochures (2001) imageries. Research question 2 seeks quantitative answers to explore and discover the movement of imageries from early travel accounts to the contemporary media and from travelogues to travel brochures (Chapter 5 particularly Part 3). Research question 3 focuses on the interpretation and semiotic analysis of the data, thereby moving the study from uncovering trends to tackling meanings and reasons (Chapter 6 and 7). Research question 4 deals with the interaction between visitors and the locals and investigates how First World outsiders (writers) project Other World insiders (locals). This question is answered in two different locations; the quantitative part is analysed in Chapter 5, while the quantitative trends are analysed in Chapter 6. Both chapters also addressed how close this study from Said's (1978) Orientalism approach. Research question 5 deals with the comprehensive quantitative and qualitative findings of this study (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) and also focuses on this study review of the tourism plans (1991) and Tourism Marketing Strategy (2001) (Chapter 2, particularly Part 2).

Part 4. Overview of the contents of the thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters.

Chapter 1 is divided into four parts. After a brief introduction, Part 1 highlights the image of Oman among Europeans. Part 2 provides a summary of tourism development and tourism imagery in Oman. Part 3 discusses the aims and objectives of the thesis. Finally, Part 4 contains an overview of this thesis content.

Chapter 2 undertakes a review about studies in Oman. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part 1 provides a historical background that traces the creation of the image of Oman in the European and British imagination. It focuses on internal and external political, economic and geographical interests that influenced travel writings and the imagery of Oman. This part provides a general review of Oman, the land and the people, before and after Islam. The encounters between Omani and Europeans, with particular emphasis on the encounter with the British are also reviewed. Part 2 focuses on tourism development in Oman from 1973- 2001. The treatment of imagery in the Tourism Marketing Strategy in Oman (2001) and the tourism plans of 1991 and 2002 were reviewed and discussed.

Chapter 3 focuses on the academic literature and consists of two parts. Part 1 is the theoretical section that examines Orientalism and Said's (1978) work. Part 1 consists of three sections. Section 1 provides a brief summary of the definition and concept of Orientalism, and the historical events and courses between the East and the West that influenced scholars' views about the beginning of Orientalism. Section 2 outlines the reasons for basing this study on Orientalism. Section 3 reviews various criticisms of Orientalism and the ideological debate between the

East and the West. It ends with a brief summary of the critics in Said's (1978) Orientalism and this study views his approach to Orientalism.

Part 2 offers a literature review of studies on imagery and destination images. It also discusses destination imagery and its multi-perspective approaches. Studies were conducted on destination images in travelogues [Dann (1996b), Zeppel (1999), Ehemann (1987), Mackellar and Fenton (2000), and Seaton (1989)] and brochures including those by [Selwyn (1993), Dann (1996a), Echtner (2000), Mohammed (1988) and Pritchard and Morgan (1996)].

Chapter 4 deals with the methodology of this study. It is divided into four parts. Part 1 provides an exploratory phase that sets out the parameter of the available data. Part 2 covers the procedures and criteria employed to collect and select data from the three media. It also inventories the selected travel accounts, travelogue articles and travel brochures. Part 3 provides a discussion of quantitative and qualitative analysis and is divided into 3 sections. It begins by providing an introduction to both methods and how this study employs them. A history of content analysis and its use (Section 2), and semiotics as the qualitative part of the methodology, are included (Section 3). Part 4 outlines the importance of using both quantitative content analysis and a qualitative semiotic approach in analysing textual data.

Chapter 5 provides the quantitative findings of the content analysis and divides into 3 parts. It begins with the research design and how this study treats and analyses the data quantitatively. Part 2 deals with the data analyses and consist 3 sections. The data are classified according to three parts of speech: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Section 1 focuses on nouns and classified according

to 6 themes: **landscape, geography, people, culture, history and civilisation** and **tourist components**. Section 2 deals with the verb categories. The verbs are classified according to 10 themes: **travel, sense, welcome, transport, tourist activities, dress, colonise, delight, clean** and **develop**. Section 3 deals with the adjective categories. The adjectives are classified according to 7 themes: **sublime, beautiful, others, friendly, old and ancient, sense** and **political stability**. Part 3 provides a discussion of the most frequent, shared, and unique imageries in the three media. This discussion ends with a summary and it provides the base for the qualitative semiotic analysis.

Chapters 6 and 7 present the semiotic analysis of the research in early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures.

Chapter 6 focuses on semiotically analysing the descriptions of the **people** of Oman in the three media. It is divided into six parts. Part 1 provides an overview of the projection of Omanis in the three media and Anglo-Omani encounters from 1798- 2001. In describing people early travellers divided them into four main themes: **power, doctrine, race** and **gender**. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the first three themes, while the gender issue is highlighted and discussed in Chapter 5. Part 2 focuses on analysing of people according to power. The analysis of descriptions of people according to power is divided into 2 themes: ordinary and non-ordinary groups. Of the non-ordinary group the analysis of Section 1 of Part 2 focuses on the three media projections of the word '*Sultan*' only. Section 2 of Part 2 discusses the images of the ordinary people in the three media.

Part 3 divides the analysis of people according to doctrine. It is divided into two sections: Wahabis[6] and Ibadhis[7]. Since there are no descriptions of people according to doctrines in the travelogues and the travel brochures, the analysis is confined to the early travel accounts. Part 4 presents the analysis of people according to race and divided into three sections. Section 1 analyses the use of *Arabs*, *Bedouins*, and *tribal names* in the three media. It also analyses the development and the use of *Omani* as a national designation. Section 2 is an analysis of how ethnic groups are presented in the early travel accounts and travelogues. Section 3 of Part 4 is an analysis of how [slave] and [slavery] are presented in the early travel accounts and in the travelogues. Part 5 discusses the difference between Said's (1978) Orientalism approach and this study. It offers also a discussion about Said's (1978) Orientalism and British travel writings on Oman and how close were the three travel data about Oman to Said's (1978) works. Part 6 offers conclusion on the semiotic findings of the images of the people in Oman.

Chapter 7 focuses on analysing the descriptions of the **landscape** of Oman in the three media semiotically. It is divided according to six parts. Part 1 provides an overview of the landscape description in the three media. The theoretical framework of landscape is discussed in part 2. Part 3 focuses on the representations of landscape in early travel accounts. It is divided according to two sections: natural environment and built environment. Part 4 focuses on landscape attractions in travelogues. It is divided into to three sections. Section 1

6 Wahabi is a political, ideological and 'religious' term used by many British travellers in Oman to refer to the Saudis movements toward South Arabia. Ibadhi: is a sect among the moderate Muslim sects. Most of its followers are now found in Oman, Zanzibar, Libya, Tunis, Algeria (Muammar, 1990), United Arab Emirates and some parts in east Africa.

focuses on the natural attractions. Section 2 analyses journalists' writings on built attractions. Part 3 analyses travel brochure descriptions of landscape attractions. It is divided according to 4 sections. Section 1 analyses is divided into four themes: (1) services and the quality of infrastructure; (2) scenic and natural attractions; (3) brochure projection of cultural and heritage attractions; and (4) brochure techniques in familiarising Oman to their readers.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides the conclusions of this study. It is divided into three parts. Part 1 provides an overview of the findings of the thesis and its conclusion. Part 2 focuses on the contributions this study has made, academically, and in terms of governmental practice. Part 3 discusses recommendations for further research and studies. Chapter 8 ends with the thesis summary.

Chapter two

Literature about Oman

Part 1: Historical review

Introduction

In his analysis and argument of the Western representations and writings of the Orient Said (1978) based his study on British and French Orientalism. Of the Orient Egypt and Palestine were the centre points of Said's (1978) arguments and analysis. When comparing the political history of both countries during the Western movement toward the area after 15th century it was found that Oman had a different background and political environment than was experienced by Western powers in Egypt and Palestine.

By reviewing and examining the historical context of Oman and its people, one can see how political and economic interests influenced travel writing and the images of Oman both internally and externally. They define the historical background that shaped the country image in British writings.

Part one presents a general introduction to Oman geographically, socially, politically and historically. This part also highlights the history of Oman before Islam and the Omani trade activities with Persian, Roman and Greek empires during the frankincense era.

Part two outlines the main events that influenced the way outsiders perceived Oman during Islam. It begins with the history of Oman from the early days of Islam in the 7th century to the 18th century.

Part three provides a review of how the East (Oman) interacted with the West. The review covers the interaction between the Omanis and the Europeans

from the arrival of the Portuguese in 1507 until the third Renaissance era in Oman, which occurred in 1970. To clarify this process this part provides the following detail:

(a) There is a brief sketch about of the image of Oman among Europeans in ancient and medieval times. The overview begins with the visit of Alexander the Great in 326 BC to Marco Polo's visit in 1295.

(b) Second, there is a treatment of the historical interaction between the Omanis and the Portuguese from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The discussion begins with the interaction between the Omanis and the British as trade powers and colonisers in Indian Ocean. It highlights the unique and 'mysterious', relationship between Oman and Britain and how the British described their relationship with Oman. Dealing with continuity and change, it shows British ways of seeing Oman and how the British dominated the country as part of their administration and control of the region.

(c) Third, provides a discussion of the British interests in Oman. The accounts focus on four political cases and events that challenged the British relationship with Oman: Oil and the border conflict, Al Buraimi, the Interior and Green Mountain Campaign, the Dhofar War and the need for change. Finally, attention turns to British interests in Oman after the discovery of oil in 1926 and their competition with the Americans to control and benefit from the oil fields in the Gulf in general and Oman in particular.

Section 1. Oman the land and the people

Ancient geographers and historians when they speak of Arabia mean the whole "land of Arabs" (O'Leary, 1927: 7) and not only the Arabian Peninsula. The word 'Arabia' is marked off by economic, social and cultural conditions rather than by any geographical frontier (O'Leary, 1927). For this reason it is important to note that the use of Arabia in this chapter is confined to the Arabian Peninsula only and not the whole lands of the Arab world, which start from Morocco in the West to Oman in the East. Oman in this chapter does not traditionally mean the same geographic region as is used today (Kechichian, 1995:17). Currently, the name is used as an abbreviation for the official state name, which, in its anglicised form, is the Sultanate of Oman (Risso, 1986).

Moreover, the word 'Arab' refers to the Arabs who inhabited Oman, the land and sea which constitute the lands of Omani Empire in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Oman is one of the "most important divisions of Arabia. It lies at the junction of routes" (Ewing, 1921: 3883) from the Gulf to India, China, the Red Sea and East Africa. Oman occupies a prominent geographical and historical position (Severin, 1982, Miles, 1919). It controls one of the oldest communication channels in the world (Ministry of Information and Culture, 1979a). As a point with unique trading connections, between Mesopotamia, the banks of Indus and the coast of Africa, the country has for a thousand years been a privileged trading post between the West and the East. In modern times it is still the case, though for different reasons (Billecocq, 1996).

Oman occupies the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula (O'Leary, 1927). The country has been viewed as strategically important given its position at

the mouth of the Gulf. Although the greater part of Arabia slopes from West to East, the easternmost extremity has a range of mountains that sweeps round in a curve parallel to the coast of the Indian Ocean (ibid. 9-10).

Oman covers an area of 309,9,500 km2 (Ministry of Information website, 2002 http://www.omanent.com/geography.htm), including a vast central area of featureless rocks, gravel plains, flat desert and sand dunes that occupies a large percentage of the land. In general, the land consists of sandy plains and mountain terrain, of which 80% are plains with elevations between 100 and 600 metres (Ministry of Information, 1990).

The desert separates and isolates Oman from the rest of the Peninsula. The mountain range runs through the country, and the coastline facing towards the Arabian Sea and Indian Oceans, thus opening Oman to a maritime world (Risso, 1986).

Socially, the environmental issues that split the country between desert and coastal areas have greatly influenced the development of Omani society. While the population of the mountains and the desert hinterland have had more in common with their neighbours in the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, the coastal inhabitants have been affected by exposure to the commercial routes from India to the Gulf (Clement, 1980).

A reading of Thesiger's works and any meeting with a typical Omani immediately conveys one characteristic that of loyalty which manifests itself in fidelity to a leader, not in a ruler-subject relationship, but rather as one man to another.

This trait of loyalty is also to be found in the family in the relationship between a father and his son and in the larger family units between fellow tribesmen. Clement (1980) stated that "Omani society is a paternal one" (p.18). Indeed, if one is to understand its structure and the role of the ruler this feature has to be appreciated because he is universally regarded as the father of his people.

Oman is one of the oldest political entities in the region, since it has always been at the centre of a struggle for control of international trading routes and their attendant intrigues. The country's strategic position in the Indian Ocean enabled the Omanis to establish a maritime empire, which expanded in all directions. Oman became the first non-European country to extend its civilisation, as well as its cultural and economic influence to the heart of Africa for a period exceeding 250 years.

The country has enjoyed an unrivalled strategic location in both ancient and modern times. A look at the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Persia, Greece, China and India, and their trade routes, shows that Oman's 1,700 Kilometres of coastline lay at the crossroads where the maritime trade routes of these civilisations met.

Historically, Oman reaches as far back as 10,000 years to the end of the last Ice Age" (Ministry of Information, 1995: 93; Al-Maamiry, 1982). Archaeological work carried out since 1970 has begun to lift the veil from the past (Townsend, 1977). Recent discoveries have shown that Oman enjoyed intense agriculture, industrial and commercial activity from the Fourth millennium BC (Haerinck at. al 1985, Billecocq, 1994). Archaeological evidence also testifies that Oman was an important commercial centre around 2,500 B C with well-established skills in seafaring, boat building, house construction, pottery, crop irrigation and copper

smelting. Although, Al-Maamiry (1982) highlighted that before the Third Millennium B. C., there was no record of an Omani presence in the Indian Ocean, it is known for certain that they were amongst the first people who knew the secrets of the regular monsoon trade winds blowing over the Ocean.

In those ancient times, Omani trade consisted of exchanges between Arabs and Persians across the Indian Ocean (Arberry, 1953). Organised around the monsoon winds, such trading links lasted for hundreds of years. In the age of Cyrus the Achaemenid, of Alexander the Great, of the Romans and the Sassanid Persian Empire, Oman was always the central point of all communications in the area (ibid.).

Section 2. The image of Oman during the Islamic era

Historians do not provide specific dates when Islam first emerged in Oman, but documents indicate that the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) contacted Oman's leaders in 6th Hegira (AH - from the Islamic calendar), whence Oman came under the control of the first Islamic period until the late seventh century (Ministry of Information, 2002).

After the death of the fourth Caliph, the Ibadhis managed, without difficulty to free themselves from the authority of the Caliphates in Damascus and Baghdad. The Omanis took power and became an independent Imamah in the 9th century (Henderson, 1988). Oman's history in the Islamic period is closely connected with the commercial expansion of Islam, where frequent references can be found to

Omani and Sirafe (in Iran) sailors. These mariners were well acquainted with the routes to India and to East Africa.

In the heyday of the Islamic Empire, Omani ports like Sohar and Qalhat were the gateway to Islamic civilisation and dominated the trade with Africa and India. Sohar was once an important Islamic seaport. Qalhat during the visit of Marco Polo to the region in 1295 was one of the oldest and wealthiest cities in Oman (Billecocq, 1994), lying beyond the mountains (Ministry of Information, 1997).

Literary evidence exists, in different works, of the presence of pilots (nawakhidah) from Oman and Siraf in the Abyssinian Sea (Ethiopian Sea) and even the Caspian Sea. In fact these expert seamen used all the known maritime routes: China, India, the country of Zanj, Yemen, the Red Sea and Ethiopia (Severin, 1982). Communication by land was far less important than that by sea.

From the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, Oman was the centre of a vast interconnected trade network. This network linked China, Southeast Asia, India the Mediterranean and some parts of Africa. The Omani port of Sohar was the finest city in the area in 10th century and played a predominant role in this maritime traffic (Billecocq, 1994).

From the eighth century onwards the greatest of Omani sailors, Abu Ubaida, became renowned in many countries, having undertaken a voyage of 7000 kilometres to Canton in China (Severin, 1982). He may have been the "original Sinbad the sailor, hero of the Thousand and One Nights" (ibid. 6).

In the fifteenth century, the fame of the master navigator, Ibn Majid, was such that he was the only sailor from this region able to show Vasco Da Gamma,

the Portuguese explorer, the route to India (Matsukawa, 2000; Ochs, 1998). Da Gamma's exploration and journey to India announced a new era in the region. It witnessed the dominance of maritime power over the landmasses of East Africa and the imposition of a commercial economy over communities whose economic life in the past had been based, not on international trade, but mainly on agricultural production and internal barter.

Da Gamma opened the routes to the Gulf and announced the end of Arab and Persian supremacy of the trade routes in the region. In the early 16th century the Portuguese dominated the coastal areas of Oman from Dhofar in the south to Hormuz in the north and controlled the trade routes for more than a decade.

The 'Golden Era' of Oman was repeated again in the 17th through mid -19th centuries. The Omanis expelled the Portuguese from the fort in Sohar in the 1624 and from Muscat in 1650 (Ward, 1987). They drove them completely out of the region, thereby ending the Portuguese influence in the Gulf (Clement, 1980).

By now the strength of the Empire lay in the coastal regions, and for two centuries Muscat was the capital of a flourishing commercial empire. Omani military successes resulted in a flourishing of commercial activity in the region, as control of the ports of Oman meant control of trade in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf (Ministry of Information, 1995).

The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries marked a period of expansion with Oman becoming the only non-European country with a colony in Africa. The success of the Omani forces was significant and by 1700 they had built the largest fleet of any non-European state active in the Indian Ocean (Halliday, 1974).

During this time, both commerce and diplomacy flourished. In addition to the treaty that Oman signed with British in 1798, they signed an agreement with the French in 1807 (Habeeb, 1994,) and in 1840 Ahmed bin Na'aman, the Sultan's special representative and the first Arab envoy, visited the United States of America.

Before the Omani envoy's visits to the States, American ships often called in Muscat and it was recorded that 'Rambler', which hailed from Boston was the first American ship to arrive in Muscat in 1790 (The Embassy of United States of America in Muscat, 2002). Later on, Captain Edmund Robert was instructed to sail round the Cape of Good Hope and across the Pacific to the Far East in order to make trading treaties with the rulers of Cochin China, Siam and Oman (Anthony, 1987:182). In Oman, Sayyid Said welcomed the American envoy and was delighted by the prospect of extending his political friendship and widening his trading contacts. In September 1833, Sayyid Said and Robert signed a treaty of friendship and commerce between Oman and United States and from 1838-1839 Richard Palmer Water served as Consul to Muscat and Zanzibar (Ingham, 1962; The Embassy of United States in Muscat, 2002).

With its tight relationship with Britain, Oman also realised the importance of the United States of America in playing a significant role in securing the area and supporting the country against outsiders. For their part, the Americans also recognised the strategic location of Oman, and welcomed the wise policies of Omani leaders in dealing with regional and international issues. In an interview with *The Middle East insight* the previous American Ambassador in Muscat described Oman and its relationship with United States of America thus:

> Long before the world's economy depended on oil, long before the world "Palestinian" became synonymous with the word "problem" and long before the advent of Arab nationalism, there was a country called Oman looking out to the world beyond its Oceans producing seafarers and explorers, trading with neighbours and with China, expelling intruders, creating an empire, and concluding treaties with far away powers including one with the then newly independent United States of America.
>
> Montgomery, 1992
> Former American Ambassador in Muscat

From 1790 - until the present day, this friendship and the wise policy of Omani leaders have continued and the bonds between Oman and the United States have been warm and enduring. Both nations share a seafaring heritage, mutual commercial interests, a tradition of tolerance and a desire for contact with other cultures as some of the distinguishing features of this long-term relationship (The Embassy of United States of America in Muscat, 2002, The Embassy of Sultanate of Oman in Washington, 1998).

Section 3. The early images of Oman among Europeans

(1) Overview of Omani-European encounters

The interaction between Europeans and the 'Other' has been of interest for many scholars. For Europeans, the lands of the East had been in their imagination a kind of enduring dream long before the age of discovery. Arabia for some people signified a land of frankincense, myrrh and copper inhabited by Arabs, a dream of paradise like the Garden of Eden in the Bible.

Whether Arabia, Arabia Felix, Southern Arabia or the Garden of Eden, little was known of Oman in the West before the visit of Alfonso Albuquerque to Arabia and his setting fire to Muscat in 16th century to demand its submission to his sovereign, Manuel of Portugal. Indeed, as Lord Curzon wrote Muscat is "one of the most picturesque places in the world" (Bidwell, 1976: 192).

Alexander the Great, who was contemplating linkage with India and all the Orient to Europe, visited Arabia and passed the Island of Hormuz, the north part of Oman in 326 BC. From that time until the 13th century and beyond, Arabia in general and Omani land in particular, continued as the centre of communication between the East (China) and the West (Greek and Roman Empires).

At the end of the thirteenth century, the passage to the orient opened to the West, thereby enabling Marco Polo to undertake his remarkable journey to China. On his way to India in 1295 Marco polo visited the cities of Qalhat, Dhofar and Hormuz on the Omani coasts. He described Qalhat thus: "it is noble city by the sea" and "has an excellent port" (cited in Billecocq, 1994:34). Many scholars cited Marco Polo's visit to Qalhat as the first contact between Omani and Europeans.

Others, like Bertram Thomas (1932) and Philip Ward (1987) maintain that the first contact occurred with the arrival of Alfonso d' Albuquerque's to Muscat in 1507. Brian Marshall (1994), in his article saw the first substantial journey to Oman by a European until 1792. Omani literature noted that Alfonso d' Albuquerque setting fire to Muscat in 1507 marked the beginning of a new era in the area (Assalimi, 1974).

For centuries many European powers have interacted with Omani society and influenced the history of Oman. Beginning with the Greeks and Romans, and continuing with the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British, it culminated with the modern super power, the United States of America.

When comparing the influence of European powers on the history of Oman, and the development of the country's representation and imagery in European literature, it is clear that some powers had more historical, political and social influence than others. For example, the Portuguese dominated the coastal area of Oman for more than a decade. They were evicted from the country in 1650 and left three historical forts (Al Jalali, Al Mirani and Mutrah). The three historical monuments and Portuguese history became signs and representations of European and Portuguese domination in the region in 16th century. Travellers, writers and tourists today visit, portray and project these three monuments and write about them in the context of Portuguese history.

The British, too after the death of Sayyid Said bin Sultan in 1856 and the decline of the Omani Empire played a dominant role in the political history of Oman. The relationships between both countries moved from alliance to domination. The British as part of their control of the Gulf and routes to India

administered the coastal region of Oman for more than a decade and influenced economic and political life.

In this part of the historical review of the interaction between the Omanis and Europeans, this research focuses only on the interaction between the Omanis and the British.

The aims of this research is to investigate the Images of Oman in British travel writing, travelogues and brochures, consequently, reviewing the history of Omanis and their interaction with the British is essential to understand the political and economic history during early travellers journeys in Oman.

(2) The encounter with the British

The departure of Portuguese from the Gulf announced a new era of the power relationships in the Gulf and Indian Ocean. After the battle of Muscat Omanis controlled most of the coastal centres in the country and extended their control to cover Bahrain in the north of the Gulf and some other parts of Persia and Pakistan. Later on, they followed the Portuguese and expelled them from many centres on East Africa coasts e.g. Zanzibar, Kilwa and Mombassa (Caputo, 2001). This domination, which continued for more than 200 years, attracted the attention of world powers like Turkey, Netherlands, France, the United States of America in general and Great Britain in particular. During this time the British were quite content to observe Omani activities against Portuguese, and the relationship between both powers was still in its infancy. It later evolved from competition to alliance and ended the British domination and administration in Oman. Due to the above events, this review of the encounter between Omani and British focuses on the historical development of this relationship and its influence in the development of the image of Oman in British literature and travel writing.

This encounter with the British covers two main issues: First, the development of the relationship between Oman and Britain from the 1798 treaty signed between the two powers and its subsequent influence. Given that Oman was seen as one of the oldest civilisations in Arabian Peninsula, a view highlighted by many British travel writers, attention turns to the relationship between Oman and Britain and how this relationship moved from alliance to domination. Second focus on the British interests in Oman four issues challenged the British relationship with the country.

(a) Oman and British relationship

From alliance to domination before 1959

The first British ship rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1580, some 94 years after the Portuguese exploration of 1486. The British, like the Portuguese before them, proceeded from discovery to reconnaissance and from reconnaissance to organised attack.

In 1591, Da Gamma's sent Lancaster, with three tall ships to India through East African route and nine years later the English East India Company was founded. In 1600, the English East Company was granted a charter by Parliament and, in 1612, the Company established its first residency on the Indian soil, while they had no outposts at all on the sea routes till 1750.

In 1645, the Imam of Oman (Nasir bin Murshid) invited the East India Company to open a trade base at Sohar and, with the Portuguese departure from the Gulf in 1650, Oman returned to its key position in the north -western section of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf. It became the communication and the supply centre for British ships from India to Mesopotamia and Bushire in Persia.

British links with India required only a residual interest in the Arabian Peninsula, mainly to exclude rival imperial powers and to contain regional threats. Their motivations were the containment of France and the desire to protect British interests in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf in order to prevent any other imperialist powers (French, Ottoman, and Russian) from gaining a foothold in Oman and the Gulf. In 1798, Napoleon invaded Egypt (Clement, 1980). In British eyes, the invasion of Egypt was the first step towards his goal to control India and the trade routes in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf. The interception by

Napoleon of the Imam of Muscat and the ruler of Mysore confirmed this suspicion.

With the French, Oman was the port of call for their ships in the Gulf and Indian Ocean. It was the supply point for French ships to Mauritius. In 1777 a French diplomat described the importance of Oman for their interests in the region:

'It is essential for our nation to remain at peace with the Arabs [of Oman] so as to obtain from them liberty to trade at Muscat since that town is the only considerable outlet that exists on the African [or Arabian] Coast for sugar and other products of lle de France. A liaison with Muscat would facilitate our commercial contact with the Persian Gulf and Surat and would enable us to spread our trade along the Arabian coast' (Coupland, 1938: 82).

In October 12, 1798 a treaty was signed between Oman and Britain in Muscat. Oman was represented by Sayyid Sultan bin Ahmed and Britain was represented by an EIC Agent and Media Ali Khan (Coupland, 1938, Bidwell, 1980).

According to the terms of the treaty, the Omanis would use their influence to contain and prevent the Ottoman, French and Dutch powers from gaining a foothold in Oman and the region (Bhacker, 1988). While the British provided their support to the Sultans in Muscat to protect Omani soil from any outside invaders and to secure Omani interests in some parts of East Africa e.g. Mozambique and Mombassa.

After the death of Imam Sultan bin Ahmed in November 1804, Omani power weakened. As a result of this weakness two assault events took place in

Omani Empire territories and testified to the British alliance with Oman and their commitment to support the country against any outside invaders. The first event happened in the African part of the Omani Empire. Al Mazarei the dominant Omani tribe in Mombassa revolted and expanded their dominance to many other parts of the Sultan's territories in East Africa. The Wahabis assault on Omani land was the second event. After their early attack on Al Buraimi and some parts of Ibri, it was the first time that they reached the frontier region of Muscat and threatened the capital and British interest in Oman. Moreover, in 1805 Wahabis ally in the Trucial Coast of Oman, the Al Qawasim tribe, extended their control to Qashm and Bandar Abbas in the Gulf. By controlling the previous Sultan territories and colony the Wahabis and their alliance threatened the trade routes in the region and increased their pirates against the ships in the Gulf.

As a result of the political changes in the region and with the growing influence of the Turkish and French, the needs to develop a relationship between Oman and Britain became essential.

The treaty of 1798 was ratified several times; two of these endorsements were during the reign of Sayyid Said, in 1821 and again in 1839. The Omani and the British declared their friendship so that the enemies of one would be the enemies of the other. By lending their support to Sayyid Said against the Wahabis in Oman and their securing of the Omani interests in East Africa, the British demonstrated their commitment to support the country against any invaders.

In his part, Sayyid Said used his influence at the beginning to stop the Omani tribes' piratical activities against the British ships. He worked with the British and organised a military campaign against 'Bani Bu Ali' in the eastern

region and 'Al Qawasim' in the Trucial Coast of Oman. Later on, Sayyid Said welcomed international efforts to stop the trade [slave]. He banned the trade from the ports and territories that were under his control in Arabia and East Africa.

Even taking into consideration the contribution of the treaty in announcing a new era in the relationship between Oman and Britain and its influence in preventing the outsider threats against Oman, many scholars still criticised it. Moreover, they saw that by signing the treaty with British Omani ruler's announced the beginning of the civil war and the tribal conflict not only inside Oman but also within the Empire's territories.

On the other hand they agreed that the Omanis in their treaties and agreement with the British had succeeded in getting British support not only against outside invaders such as the 'Wahabis', but also in using that support in preventing the tribal conflict between Omani tribes in Oman and East Africa.

In contrast British success was not only in preventing and containing the French and Turks in the region, but they succeeded in neutralising the Omani threats to its commercial supremacy. For more than a hundred and fifty years Oman was one of the main players in safeguarding power over the trade routes to India, East Africa and Arabia. Consequently, the British aimed not to stop the other powers' movement in the region, but to prevent any agreement between Omani empire with other powers e.g. Turks, French, Persian.

In neutralising the Omani threats in the 19th century, the British adopted two policies towards Oman; the first was by intensifying antislavery crusades and assuming jurisdiction over the sailors and the inhabitants of the region and Oman

in particular. The second was by exaggerating their position about the Wahabis threat towards South Arabia.

The above two imageries became central for many British travel writers in Oman in the 19th century particularly Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919).

Under antislavery and scientific programmes travellers, missionaries, and surveyors went to the country to assess Omani power, and to study local culture and socio-political institutions. Stafford Haines began these expeditions in 1834, by surveying the coasts from Muscat to Dhofar and his short visit of Al Qara Mountains. His assessment was included in his article published in The Journal of the South and Geographical Society

> While surveying and examining this part of the coast, I took an opportunity to ascertain the number of vessels that annually supply the S.E and southern coast of Arabia with dates, thence deducing an estimate of the immense quantity brought from the Persian Gulf and Maskat. This also shows that any strong naval power could almost cause a famine among the inhabitants of that tract (Haines, 1845 cited in Ward, 1987: 487).

A year later after Haines' surveys of the southern region, Wellsted travelled to Oman on exploration tasks, and was later appointed as the British agent in Muscat. In their writing Haines and Wellsted went beyond mere description and provided advice on the best methods of travel in Oman, thereby encouraging later explorers, naturalists, scientists and missionaries to make journeys in the country. They opened the door for them to travel not only in the coastal areas, but also in the interior regions in Oman. Haines and Wellsted are recorded as the first British travellers who travelled inland.

After the death of Sayyid Said bin Sultan, in 1856, the richest source of income, Zanzibar, was separated from Oman, which resulted in the decline of the Empire. The destruction of Omani power and commerce announced the beginning of the British influence in the region and Oman. British influence began through the intervention of the East India Company in the area. The company established agencies at Basra in Iraq and Bushire in Iran and soon Muscat and Sohar became regular ports of call for British ships bound to and from the ports of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (Halliday, 1974).

After the destruction of hostile powers, British dominated the region and the coastal areas of Oman (Owtram, 1999), and the country turned inward from seafaring and trading, to date farming and fishing (The Embassy of Oman in Washington, 1998).

In 1904, a treaty between Britain and France was signed; this temporarily saw a cessation of the competition between the two Empires. Both powers became allies in the first and second World Wars and, in the case of Oman the French closed their Consulate in Muscat in November 1920.

As a result of the defeat of Turkey and the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the Second World War, Britain emerged from that conflict with additional responsibilities in the Gulf (Morsi Abdulla, 1978).

After the independence of India in 1947, British interests in India and its importance for the Empire's trade routes in the Indian Ocean became less critical than before (Macfie, 2000). Owtram (1999) points out that the introduction of air routes and the development of oil as a commodity meant that the Arabian

Peninsula was perceived as an area of increasing geopolitical importance in its own right.

Mysterious relationship in modern days

As far as international relationships go, the Omani British relationship was a mysterious and unique case. Oman was never a British colony or protectorate (Townsend, 1977) and British spokesmen have always tried to "mask the nature of their domination and control" (Halliday, 1974:271). One standard way has been to state that Oman is an independent country, which Britain advises and assists under the obligation of the treaty. In his speech in the House of Commons Roy Hattersley, Junior Labour minister in the Ministry of Defence said in 1970: "the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman is a fully sovereign and independent state" (cited in Halliday, 1974: 280). Before that Morris (1957) also claimed that "the British authorities, though they disliked talking much about their associations either with the Sultan or with the oil companies, were in fact excruciatingly concerned with the situation in Oman" (p.26).

In reviewing literature published in Oman (e.g. Assalimi, A. 1974; Assalimi, M., 1997; Morsi Abdulla 1978; Ministry of Information 1979a, 1979b and 1995) it was found that the country after Islam had maintained its independence. British travel writings used by this study support this perspective. For example, Charles Geary (1878) said "Oman has preserved a sort of rude independence under its Imams from the eighth century until now, successfully resisting the effort of the Persians on the one side, and the neighbouring Arabs on the other, to bring it into subjection" (p.42).

Geographically, Oman before the 20th century comprised two main regions the interior and the coastal region, the latter representing less than one third of the country. While Persians, Ottomans (Zwemer, 1986), Portuguese and the British dominated the coastal area of Oman, the interior territories of the country remained independent (Ministry of Information, 1979a, 1979b and1995).

In a special interview with Middle East Insight Magazine his Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said Sultan of Oman declared that:

> Oman has a history of over 2,000 years of independence and dealing with foreigners and the influences they generate; ... throughout our history, our people have travelled much and have had the opportunity to evaluate the way other people live. [And add] to this our people's innate characteristic of pride in being Omanis and the jealous protection of our country's sovereignty, one sees, I suggest, a very sturdy barrier to the advent of undesirable influence.
>
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With the new renaissance, Oman Under his Majesty Sultan Qaboos has developed a special ability to remain a unique case and on reasonably good terms with its neighbours, the Arab world and the international community (Bahgat, 1999).

Following Omani tradition and throughout his reign, his Majesty and his government have sustained a unique Omani policy and steadfastly maintained an independent voice. Omani autonomy has been evident in many regional and international conflicts.

In the old days' Britain's ties was the result of individual relationships—they were people to person. Later the system changed and in many regional and international conflicts, Oman demonstrated its independent decisions and views by putting them into practice in many regional and international events and crises.

Marc J. O'Reilly stated in his article "*Omanibalancing*": *Oman Confronts an uncertain future'* (1998: 70) that Oman under his Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said succeeded in balancing the internal as well as the external threats. In the internal part the government is striving to co-opt domestic foes by maintaining Oman's standard of living and slowly liberalising the country's political and economic system. Externally, the country befriending traditional Arab enemies, such as Israel, and searching for economic opportunities outside the region- in the Indian Ocean basing, for example.

In the region, Oman has upheld its independent views in many instances. For example in the case of its relationship with its neighbour Iran, Oman welcomed the Shah's military support against rebellion in the Dhofar in 1974-1975. Later, when the political system changed in Iran in 1979, Oman always refused to participate in any regional or international declaration to condemn the Ayatollah system. Omani officials always described Iran as the "largest country in the Gulf, with 65 millions people"[8] (Miller, 1997:14). 'It's our neighbour and what happened in Iran has an effect on our part of the world'[9]. The relationship with Iran continued during the First Gulf War. Oman worked individually and with others to solve the problem and stop the war. As a result of its wise policy, Oman was accepted by both sides and the international community as a mediator between Iran and Iraq.

In the case of the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, Oman respected its obligations and duties as a member of the Gulf Co-operation Council by joining

8 His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said Sultan Oman words in an interview with Judith Miller, published on Journal of Foreign Affairs (1997) 76 (3): 13-18.

9 Interview in with Sayyid Haitham, Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Muscat, 4th of June 1994, collected a copy from the Ministry foreign affairs library.

the United Nation's efforts to liberate occupied Kuwait. Neither Omani trade nor Omani communications were affected by Iraq and Kuwait. Oman had attempted to persuade the Iraqi leader not to pursue an aggressive course and to leave Kuwait.

As regards the Arab and Israeli conflict, before 1970, internal issues and local stability in the country were the main concern of Sultan Said bin Taimur. Consequently, Oman had no interests in the conflict. Later on, Oman as part of its respect for Arab Unity participated in the 1973 war against the 'Common Zionist Enemy'. Yet, his Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said publicly supported a solution that included Arab recognition of Israel in return for Israeli recognition of Palestinian rights and the restoration of East Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty. As part of this political attitude he stood alone among Arab Leaders in Baghdad in 1979 by supporting President Sadat's efforts to achieve peace with Israel. Oman welcomed the Israeli delegation to attend the multilateral water talks, which were held in Muscat in April 1994, and many Israelis officials visited the country during the Palestine and Israeli peace process negotiations. The commercial relationship was started officially in 1996, when Oman and Israel signed a cooperation agreement to open trade offices in Muscat and Tel Aviv. Six months later Oman withdrew its envoy as the peace process slowed down and on 23 of March 1997, Oman announced it was freezing relations. The office of the Israeli Trade Representative to Oman has remained open and staffed, while the two Israeli diplomats, one appointed to join Israel's office in Muscat, were denied Omani visas, and Israeli businesspeople were banned from the Comex 97 computer fair in Muscat.

Internationally, when Oman recognised the Soviet Union in 1987, it was able to handle the backlash. In its relationship with the Capitalist World and the United States, an Omani official described the importance of the relationship with United States as a pillar of stability and good relations with Washington as being very important to the Sultanate.

(b) Oman and British interests in the region

Power, empire, domination, surveying, trade, slave and slavery, and raids were some of the most popular icons that shaped the British relationship with Oman and frequently presented by many British travel writers to Oman before 1950.

In addition to its ancient role as a port of call for ships to India, Africa and China, Oman maintained its geographical importance to the Western interests. The Gulf boomed after the Second War and in 1950 the hunt was on for further oil supplies and Oman with its location in the trade routes and its control of the Strait of Hormuz became gatekeeper of the world's oil imports from the Gulf (Kelly, 1980).

In addition, Oman has played a role in cooperation with the Capitalist World powers in securing the oil routes through the Straits of Hormuz. Moreover, the country by receiving support from the Capitalist World particularly Britain was able to contain the Socialist movements in the Gulf and to access oil sources in the region (Kelly, 1980) particularly chapter 2 and 3).

For centuries, Arabian deserts and Bedouin tribes have experienced boundary conflict over water and grazing rights what were the main sources of

conflict between tribes in these days. By the middle of the 20th century, there were differences in the type of resources. Instead of water and pastures oil became the most important resource as some regional rulers and sheikhs became increasingly interested in gaining more benefits from the new industry. The competition between the oil companies and explorers was one of the main reasons for the escalation in boundary conflict in the region.

The development of oil wells in the Gulf region and Arabia made its influence felt in defining precise boundaries in the area. The first Gulf oil in a commercial quantity was discovered in Iran in 1908 followed by Kuwait in 1938 and a year later in Saudi Arabia. With competition between the international oil companies in the region and the American Companies movements toward South Arabia after the Second World War, boundary conflicts also increased in the region.

British interests in Oman are separately outlined, especially the difficulties and political issues that challenged the relationship between Oman and Britain. In addition to oil and border conflict in the region, the British relationship with Oman in the 20th century faced four serious issues, which challenged this relationship and British interests in the Sultanate.

The first was in 1949 when the Omanis and Saudis clashed in Al Buraimi. British intervention in the internal political system and the relations between the Sultan in Muscat and the Imamah (the interior campaign) was the second. The third challenge was the war in Dhofar, in the southern region of Oman, with the Western effort to prevent the Marxism and Leninism movement spreading

towards Oman and the Gulf. The fourth issue was the need for political change in Oman after many years of isolation (Kelly, 1980).

Al Buraimi

Al Buraimi is an Omani city that has attracted travellers for centuries. In the modern era it has become a tourist gateway for many tour programmes between Oman and the United Arab Emirates[10]. Out of the ten travellers used in this study four (Wellsted, Miles, Thomas, Thesiger and Morris) visited Al Buraimi.

The oasis contains nine villages lying between the interior of Oman and the Trucial Coast of Oman. For centuries the oasis was part of Omani territory administered by the rulers of Oman. In modern days, it is divided between Oman and United Arab Emirates.

The Saudis invaded Al Buraimi on two separate occasions. The first was in the early 19th century, after the death of Imam Sultan bin Ahmed. The second occasion was in 1952 when the American oil companies, encouraged by the Saudis, occupied the Al Buraimi oasis on the western edge of the Imamah territory and appointed a governor (Morris, 1957).

The Imamah used to be allied with the Saudis but in 1952 this arrangement changed. Imam Mohamed bin Abdullah Al Khalili wrote to the Saudi governor in Al Buraimi "your statement that in view of repeated requests from your subjects in Oman to appoint a representative on your behalf among them, you have appointed Turki bin Abdullah Al Utiashan, has astonished us, because we don't know that you have subjects in Oman" (quoted from Owtram, 1999:137).

10 At the time of the AlBuraimi conflict, the territories representing United Arab Emirates was called The Trucial Coast of Oman.

For the first time, the Sultan Said bin Taimur and the Imamah co-operated and worked together because of the Saudi occupation of Al Buraimi. They assembled a force of tribesmen at Sohar to march to Al Buraimi in order to expel the Saudis. However, due to American pressure and the discussion of the case in the United Nations the British sought to delay the march. In October 1955, the Omanis with support from British expelled the Saudis and the American Oil Company from Al Buraimi (Morris, 1957; Townsend, 1977). With new boundaries in the region, the oasis became controlled and administered by the Sultan in Muscat and the ruler of Abu Dhabi.

Four main reasons lay behind the Saudis' interests in controlling Al Buraimi in the mid- 20th century. The first was the location of the oasis at the junction of routes to interior and the coastal area of Oman on the one hand, and between Oman and the United Arab Emirates on the other.

The second, for the American oil company controlling the oasis meant to them expanding their exploration of territories in the direction of South Arabia.

Third, for centuries the majority of people in Oman and some parts of the Trucial Coast had been under the Ibadhi sect. However, by controlling the oasis, the Saudis would be able to use it as a centre to promote their own ideas and Wahabis ideologies in South Arabia and Oman.

The fourth, according to Morris (1957) and Halliday (1974), Al Buraimi was a gateway for Saudi weapons and armies to the Imamah and other opposition groups in the Sultanate.

The Interior and the Green Mountain campaign

From the treaty of Seeb in 1920 to early 1950 the Omani interior was self-governing and was ruled and administered by the Imam. In contrast, Sultans authority only extended to the coastal areas, from Muscat to Sohar and Shinas in Al Batinah region, Musandam, Dhofar and the port of Sur.

With new oil development in the region and the needs to extend such oil exploration in Oman, it was essential to have a politically centralised state in the country, which would enable the oil companies to exploit the oil as a source of income for the country. Sultan Taimur had given the British the right to search for oil in northern Oman in 1920, and five years later the British made their first exploration. In 1937, Sultan Said bin Taimur extended this right to cover the whole country from North to South and the cooperation between Sultan Said and Britain reached its climax in 1950s and early 1960. In August 1967, Oman started exporting petrol for the first time.

The oil agreements were secured and enhanced by several political and commercial treaties signed between Sultan Said bin Taimur and Britain during his reign (e.g. the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, 1954).

After the death of Imam Mohamed bin Abdullah Al Khalili in 1954, Sultan Said sought to take an active part in the government of Oman by expanding his control into the interior regions in order to gain access to the exploration areas in the interior and to secure the development of the oil industry.

With a change of Imam in 1954, PDO[11], as part of its concession given by Sultan Said bin Taimur, started oil exploration in Fahud. The apparent imminence

11 PDO:Petrol Development of Oman.

of oil discovery in Oman, and hence the determination by both sides to control the prospective oilfields, added fuel to the fires of jealousy and rivalry.

The extension of Sultan Said's authority to the interior was primarily due to the desire of the oil company (PDO) and the British government's policy of supporting Sultan Said to end the civil war in Oman and put down the subsequent revolt (Owtram, 1999). As a response from the Imamah, in 1954 a force commanded by Talib bin Ali and stationed at a village near Ibri, emphasised that PDO moves had violated the autonomy of Oman.

At this point the Sultan approved offensive action in order to occupy, not just Nizwa, but the whole interior. The Batinah forces marched against Talib in Ghadaf and, in December 1955, another force occupied Nizwa. In 1956, the Sultan announced his domination of the interior by marching along a route, which took him from Salalah in the south, passing the oil fields in the desert. He then proceeded to Nizwa, Tanuf, Bahla, Ibri and finally to Al Buraimi where he met Sheikh Shakhbut ruler of Abu Dhabi. After occupying Nizwa and the Green Mountain most of the Imamah leaders made their way to Saudi Arabia where they started to recruit Omani labourers to the revolution.

The War in Dhofar

Despite the guarantee given by President Eisenhower to the previous British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, that the United States would support the British in the Middle East, American practices in the middle of the 20th century were quite different.

Until 1952 Britain was still the dominant power in the Middle East and was determined to maintain this position. British travel writer, James Morris, who accompanied Sultan Said bin Taimur in 1956 on his historical journey from Salalah in the south to the north region noted that "the sterling economy was shaky, and all over the Middle East Egyptian and Communist propaganda, allied often with Saudi gold, was nibbling at the British position. He also stated that the need for a joint Anglo-American policy towards the Arabs seemed to the British was less important than their need for new oil resources to secure the stability of their domination in Oman (Morris, 1957: 27).

To achieve this goal the British were even willing to risk antagonising the Americans, and Whitehall backed the Sultan and his allies, the British oilmen, with an uncharacteristic force and steadfastness.

In American eyes the British were failing to maintain security or to come to terms with Arab nationalism. It fell to the United States to expand its role lest there was an expansion of Soviet influence in the Middle East, since their concern was the Gulf with its oil falling under Soviet domination.

After the Second World War, American policy was determined to break down the exclusive access agreements. These agreements had been formulated by the British oil companies in the Gulf region. Further to this policy, it was stated

that the American government "should promote by advice and assistance ... the entry of additional firms into all places of foreign oil operation" (Owtram, 1999:130).

The immediate outcome of this policy was that the United States replaced Britain as a pre-eminent Western power in Iran as well as in Saudi Arabia, and made considerable effort to expand their influence towards South Arabia. The American view was "whoever controls these new sources of oil may control the main sources of energy of the world until atomic energy becomes available" (Morris, 1957: 23).

Dhofar in the south region of Oman was one of the places that, Marxist powers wanted to have as a gateway for their interests in the Gulf region. They supported a rebellion against the Sultan of Oman and the British.

The restrictive policies of Sultan Said bin Taimur in the 50s and 60s caused many Omanis from the north as well as from the south in 'Dhofar' to escape secretly to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq where they studied and worked (Halliday, 1974).

In the Gulf, Dhofari students and workers came into contact with nationalists, the Imamah leaders and Nasserite politicians and, in 1962, a group of Dhofaris joined other exiles to form the Dhofar Liberation Front (DLF) where they received training and support.

In 1965, the Dhofar war broke out in the southern region of Oman and, by 1969, all of Dhofar except for Salalah and the plain around it had fallen. On 12 June 1970, the [guerrillas] (Halliday, 1974: 287) attacked the army post in Izki, just a few miles from the PDO oil fields (Townsend, 1977).

At their second Congress, held at Hamrin in central Dhofar in September 1968, the DLF changed its name from the *Dhofar Liberation Front* to the *Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* (LOAG). It declared its new ideologies and aims to free not only Oman from British control and domination but to seek a change in the whole Gulf and to free it too from the traditional rulers (Halliday, 1974, Townsend, 1977).

The attack on Izki in the interior was the catalyst that forced action by the British government to respond to the need to change its policy and involvement in Oman. The extension of the war, which was supported by World Socialism and its ideologies to the northern regions of Oman, threatened not only the Sultan in Muscat and the British, but also the whole Western and Capitalist world with their petrol interests in the region.

With the Al Buraimi and interior campaigns, the Dhofar war was the third challenge for the British relationship with Oman, particularly with American competition in the region, as well as the pressure of Arab nationalism and Naseria adverse publicity regarding the British intervention in Oman (Morris, 1957, Anderson, 1992).

The need for change

In 1962, the Americans encouraged the rise to power of King Feisal in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Halliday, 1974). In the mid-sixties a modernisation policy was introduced to the Gulf States. By signing with Bahrain, seven states decided to unite, at the end of 1971, as the Union of Arab Emirates.

This development had its influence on Oman and made its effects felt on British policy in the country. The need for change became more essential in Oman and it was clear that the political system in Oman would ultimately have to yield to economic and political pressure.

With the Omani need for stability and safe change, the British were also concerned about their interests in the country. Indeed, the longer this change was delayed the more uncontrollable the process of change would be; ultimately it would affect stability in the country and British imperialist interests in Oman.

In addition to the above, the British were worried about the extension of the war in Dhofar to the northern region. They were also concerned about the American oil companies' movement toward southern Arabia and Omani territories.

Many writers and travellers described the competition between the British agencies and the American oil companies to win more rights regarding oil exploration in the region. For example, the British writer, James Morris, who travelled in Oman between 1955 and1956, described the competition between the American and British oil companies:

> The British and American oil companies working in the Middle East were largely interlocked by connecting share structures: but competition between them was still sharp, and geographically there were fairly well-defined divisions of predominantly British or

> American responsibility. It was true that the Americans had gradually encroached upon former British preserves. In 1939 the American share of Middle East Oil production was 13 per cent and the British 60 per cent; fifteen years later the American share was 65 per cent and the British 30 per cent. Whereas Middle East oil had once been virtually a British monopoly, by 1954 British companies were left with no more than majority holdings in the Persian, Iraqi and lower Persian Gulf fields, and a half-share in Kuwait. Oil prospectors for predominantly British companies were, however, working all over southern Arabia, from Trucial Oman to Kamaran Island, in the Red Sea. In these areas British oil interests remained paramount. They had explored in Dhufar unsuccessfully and had abandoned the concession; and the Wendell Phillips's astute move meant that for the first time Americans were in competition for southern Arabian oil (Morris, 1957: 18).

According to Halliday (1974), the preparations for change moved from a debate between British officials in London and the Gulf, to journalist reports and media discussions (The Daily Telegraph, 1970; The Economist, 1970). In 1970, Stewart Crawford, the British Political Resident in the Gulf flew to Salalah several times, in the attempt to persuade Sultan Said bin Taimur to change his policies (Halliday, 1974). In April of that year, an official from Foreign Office was heard to remark that "the Omani Zaid was none other than Said bin Taimur's son, the wretched Qabus, incarcerated in Salala palace since his return in 1966 from military training in Britain" (Halliday, 1974: 288).

It was clear that such change was beneficial to Oman, indeed essential to the stability of the Omani political system and British interests in the Sultanate. In June 1970, the British election brought the Heath government to power. A month later the coup in Oman occurred and his Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said became Sultan of Oman, the fourteenth of the Al Bu Said dynasty (ibid.).

Part 2: The renaissance and tourism development

Introduction

The previous part of this chapter delineates the history of Oman and its people. It shows how insiders (Omanis) interacted with outsiders who were mainly Europeans. It ends with the political and economic controversies that challenged the Omani and British relationship between 1950 and 1975. This section (two) focuses on tourism development from 1970 to 2000 under three main issues.

The first section provides a brief discussion about the developments that occurred in Oman after 1970 and its economic and social influence in tourism development. Section two provides a sketch of tourism development in the country in relation to policy and government attitudes. The third section focuses on the Tourism Marketing Strategy, prepared by PKF international consultant group in 2001. By reviewing the strategy and the development plan, this research is able to understand what image Oman officially presented and promoted. It can then be compared with the images projected in early travel writing, travelogues and brochures.

Section 1. Tourism development from 1970 to 2000

Until comparatively recently, little was known of Oman or Omani activities and rulers in Britain. Early travel accounts, such as those of Hamilton (1727), Haines (1845), and other surveyors, revealed little knowledge about the country. Travel accounts of the interior in English literature were virtually non-existent until the explorations of Wellsted in 1835, Miles and Bents at the end of the 19th century, Thomas 1926-1929, Thesiger 1946-1950 and Morris in 1955-6. Today, many local, regional and international events take place in Oman and attract the attention of the international media to publicise the country and its people. The present government is enhanced by international media attention and thus organised familiarisation trips for many international journalists to Oman.

After the coup of July 1970, the institution of government was created quickly in Oman (Townsend, 1977; Skeet, 1992). In August 1970, his Majesty Sultan Qaboos unified the country by abolishing the title Sultanate of Muscat and Oman and replacing it with the *Sultanate of Oman*. This new name reflected the urgency in attaining social cohesion and national unity.

As a developing country, the government initiated several development projects that brought rapid material and social change, made possible by increasing oil revenues (Ministry of Development, 1981). Later on, and with the help and support of many countries in the Arab World, Asia, Europe, and the international organisations, the government established an economic and social

strategy in a five year development plan, which was approved by the Development Council[12] in November 1975.

During the period 1970-1975, the emphasis was on defence spending due to the Dhofari insurgency and the need to maintain readiness against possible external aggression (Whelan, 1987). In the first five-year development plan (1975-1981), an increase in oil prices enabled the country to establish a basic infrastructure in the capital and other main cities, such as Salalah, Sohar, Nizwa and Sur. In the second five-year plan (1981-85) government spending grew by about 28% (Meed, 1973, Ministry of Development, 1981, and Whelan, 1987). The increase was to accommodate higher costs, extra projects and investments that focused mainly on building the infrastructure and providing the main services for local industry, agriculture, fisheries and water resources.

Government involvement and intervention (Gilbert, 1990; Pearce, 1992) in tourism in Oman has been evident since 1973 when his Majesty Sultan Qaboos appointed his Highness Fahad bin Mahmoud as the "Minister of Information and Tourism" (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah[13], 1973).

On December 8, 1974, the Ministry's name changed to the "Ministry of Information and Culture" (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1973:322). Later the Ministry of Information and Culture split into two separate ministries (Ministry of Heritage and Culture, and Ministry of Information) and, in July 1974, the development of tourism became part of the remit of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1974:66). It was only late in 1989 when

12 The Development Council was cancelled by the Royal Decree (6/96) issued on 10 of January 1996. All its responsibilities transferred to the Council of Minister.

13 Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah: The Official Gazet.

the tourism authority was upgraded to the Directorate General of Tourism (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1990:185). By late 1993, the Directorate General of tourism was headed by an under-secretary of tourism and, since then, change in tourism became valued and received government attention as a priority area to be developed and supported domestically and internationally (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1994: 61).

Upgrading the tourism authority also got the attention of the local and regional media; it influenced the movement of local and regional investments towards tourism in Oman; and gave the tourism authorities more power and presence within government institutions.

Section 2. Tourism and the national economy diversification

In order to diversify the economy and to reduce the dependence on oil exports, Oman has decided to develop tourism on a very controlled basis. The focus of tourism is on the country's cultural and environmental attractions. The attitude towards tourism development is a cautious one (WTO and UNDP, 1991). Government investment in tourism development varied from one five-year development plan to another and it was influenced by the price of oil and market stability. During the first and second five-year development plans, tourism as a commercial sector was still not valued due to its infancy stage (Burns, 1996). Official attitudes towards tourism were not clear when compared with other sectors e.g. industry or agriculture.

In the first five-year development plan, only 10.5 million Omani Riyals were allocated to tourism (Ministry of Development, 1976:30). This amount was dedicated to building accommodation facilities for government visitors and some businessmen/women in the country. In the second five-year development plan, the amount allocated to the commerce and tourism sector was 69.5[14] million Omani Riyals (Ministry of Development, 1981:51).

In the third five-year development plan (1985-1990), the budget allocated for commerce and tourism was 76.3 million Omani Riyals. As a result of the oil crises in the mid 80s, government was concerned with diversifying its national economy in the long term and the dependency on oil consequently decreased from one five-year development to another (O'Reilly, M. 1998). Consequently, tourism became more valued and received more attention in the third five-year

14 This research did not find specific details about the actual amount allocated to the tourism sector alone.

development plan and beyond. These concerns were clarified in three different areas.

The first was by upgrading the tourism authority to a directorate general of tourism with more responsibilities and roles. Second, the government introduced new legislation on tourist regulations and visas (ROP, 2000). After 1987, a 'non obligation certificate' was no longer required by tourists visiting Oman; instead, they could apply individually or in a group to obtain a visitor's visa from any Omani Embassy, Consulate or trade office or airline company. Any local tour operator or hotelier could submit a tourist visa form directly to the immigration office in Muscat.

In the fourth five-year development plan, 1991–1995, the situation had changed and the government realised (with some concern about the impact of tourism on local society and culture) the importance of tourism in diversifying the national economy. During the fourth plan, 1991-1995, two important issues regarding tourism occurred. The first was the preparation of the first comprehensive tourism plan in the country, which was done in 1991 by WTO[15] and UNDP[16] teams after three years of work. The second was the granting of more flexibility regarding visa regulations e.g. providing free access for the nationals of Gulf co-operation council countries.

The vision to diversify the national economy was the centrepiece of the 'Oman 2020' conference, organised in Muscat in 1995. To diversify the Omani economy, the 'tourism sector' was one of the main sectors identified by many speakers from Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, the World Bank and

15 WTO: World Tourism organisation.

16 UNDP: United Nations Development Programme.

the World Tourism Organisation. Key priorities for action included marketing the country's outstanding tourism assets and further developing eco-tourism. A tourism investment study was flagged as a priority area that would serve as a model for private sector participation in the integrated development of tourism resources (World Bank, 1995). Many activities that occurred in Oman reflected the government's enthusiasm in developing tourism and increasing its contribution to the national economy.

Section 3. Review of Tourism Marketing Strategy 2001

At all levels, planning is essential for achieving successful development and management. The experience of many destinations has demonstrated that, on a long-term basis, a planned approach to developing tourism can bring benefits without associated costs, while maintaining satisfied tourist markets (WTO, 1994).

The marketing of tourism for a country or region is "essential" (WTO, 1994: 43) and government has to play a vital role in promoting its tourism products (Gilbert, 1990:24). Marketing informs potential tourists about what the area has to offer and tries to induce them to visit it.

Market planning is part of the whole procedure of the tourism planning process as it relates to the development of tourism objectives; formulating a marketing strategy; preparing and implementing a promotion programme; and providing tourist information services. A market strategy can be conducted for both international and domestic consumers.

The Tourism Marketing Strategy of Oman in 2001 comprises four essential aspects: an internal report, external issues, a SWOT analysis and a tourism marketing study. The internal report "addresses the current status quo of tourism in Oman from an internal perspective" (PKF, 2001, Part 1:1). Thus, it looks at the tourism product and the way that Oman is currently being marketed and promoted by MCIDGT[17].

The internal report reviews the local product with its attributes, the current market position and the role of the tourism authority in Oman. In contrast, the external report seeks to address the current status of tourism in Oman from an outsider's perspective. It evaluates and examines Oman's place in regional and international markets in relation to its competitors. Having completed a review and evaluation of the internal and external markets, the study assesses the country's product and its current marketplace image according to its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

The tourism marketing report "addresses the single creative concept, future positioning approach, implantation plan, monitoring and evaluation process and budget" (ibid. Part 3:1).

As a result, the assessments of the four reports identify 6 marketing goals:

- To increase visitor arrivals from 630,000 - 850,000 to1,000,000 by 2005.
- To increase international tourism receipts (excluding domestic) from US$112 million in 1998 (WTO) to in excess of US$200 million by 2005.
- To increase hotel occupancy from 41% in 1999 to 60% by 2005, at the same time reducing the effect of seasonality.

17 MCIDGT: Ministry of Commerce and Industry - Directorate General of Tourism.

- To increase the annual number of visitors to key tourist attractions (museums, forts, etc) from 180,000 in 1999 to 250, 000 by 2005.
- To increase the average length of stay in hotels from 2.1 nights in 1999 to 2.5 nights by 2005.
- To stimulate greater regional dispersion of tourism through improved marketing, product packaging and the provision of up-to-date visitor information.

The plan examines market position, activities and product differentiation. It states that Oman needs to position itself as a tourist destination which offers outstanding scenic and environmental attractions in the regions with cultural riches. It also indicates that the country is a relatively unknown niche destination and should stress its cultural and environmental uniqueness.

Oman is primarily a winter-sun destination for Western visitors with the added benefit of having a rich cultural heritage. To reduce the seasonality problem which many tourism destinations face, the plan suggests that European tourists could be attracted to the country during the summer if the industry offered lower prices. However, summer months and the Al Khareef[18] season constitute a major draw for Gulf country nationals to Dhofar in the south of Oman.

The strategy also identifies several possibilities for combining tours with other countries, for example, the UAE (as a preferred choice by operators), Yemen and Zanzibar (with potential).

In the case of the UAE, Dubai has achieved significant success in developing its tourism industry in the past decade. With proximity to Dubai, the

18 Al Khareef is the monsoon season during the summer months from June to September.

plan suggests Oman could capitalise on the success of Dubai through joint marketing efforts and developing further existing links between the Sultanate and Dubai.

In reviewing the role of the MCIDGT, the plan additionally recommends an organisational structure that is responsible for tourism promotion and that should have adequate resources. It points out the deficiencies of the present structure which, although appearing sound, is actually under-resourced in the marketing department. The plan recognises the essential need to reposition an autonomous and properly organised, staffed, equipped and funded promotion unit or department.

This basic organisational ingredient is essential for carrying out successful marketing in any country. Due to its importance, the function of the department is specified in detail by the plan.

In addition to the recent commercial office in Dubai, which is managed by the ministry, the plan investigates the importance of marketing offices and assigning promotional and PR representations in source markets. As a result, it recommends to the board opening other promotional offices in the source markets e.g. Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The plan notes the progress that is being made by the government in expanding tourist facilities, such as hotel development, revival of environmental and cultural resources, and improving inbound tour operating services. In addition to that, it recommends that the Ministry play an important role in terms of marketing the potential benefits of tourism internally to other government bodies involved in the industry.

The report further emphasises the need to improve accessibility. In the case of international airline routes, Oman is served by approximately 30 international airlines covering 176 destinations world-wide and handling 2.8 million passengers. The report points out that there is a distinct lack of point-to-point in the major tourist source markets. Most flights tend to go via regional airports, increasing flying times by a couple of hours. Furthermore, flights tend to be full when going to the principal destinations, leaving only a limited number of available seats for the onward journey to Oman. With Oman Air planning to open direct flights to Frankfurt and London, it is hoped that recent problems will be solved in the future.

Apart from accessibility, the plan praises the excellent road system linking the country and seaport facilities in Muscat and Salalah. However, is criticises the lack of rest stops en route to and from various destinations.

Despite the lack of clarity and communication between the government and the private sector regarding visa procedures and costs, the study nevertheless praises the work that has been done by the Immigration Authority (ROP) to improve visa regulations. However, it notes that there are insufficient detail and information available on the Tourism Board's website about the new visa regulations and the "safe nationalities visa[19]" (PKF, 2001, part 1: 20) between Oman and Dubai.\states that MOCDGT has to tackle four critical success factors that determine the marketing strategy:

- A lack of awareness (locally and in source markets) of the extensive range of attractions available in Oman.

19 Safe nationalities visa: a visa arrangement between Oman and Dubai that allows those holding either Omani or Dubai visas free access to both destinations.

- Visitor information (availability, content and distribution).
- Resources (human, technological and financial).
- Accessibility and the need to improve co-operation between the private and public sectors.

In terms of tourism imagery, the first objective of the marketing study is to "create a consistent image of Oman based on the single creative concept in the key international, regional and domestic source market" (ibid. Part 3:14). The plan explains that Oman should identify its brand values, which can then be expressed as a single creative concept encapsulating the core images of Oman. Yet this may be difficult, as there is no single outstanding tourism icon (e.g. the Eiffel Tower in Paris, or the Taj Mahal in India) that can be used to symbolise the country.

In Diagram 1, the report demonstrates how Oman can fulfil the vision for tourism in the development of strategy of Oman 2020 (Ministry of Development, 1996), whereby it will play an important role in the diversification of the economy. On the vertical axis is the marketing and promotional tool required to create awareness and attract more visitors. The horizontal axis comprises the critical success factors described previously. By addressing and achieving its critical success factors, Oman's capability to attract more visitors will be enhanced.

The successful creation of an image of Oman as a tourist destination will ultimately lead to Oman becoming more competitive in the international tourism marketplace. In comparing the strategy images with its quantitative analysis, the

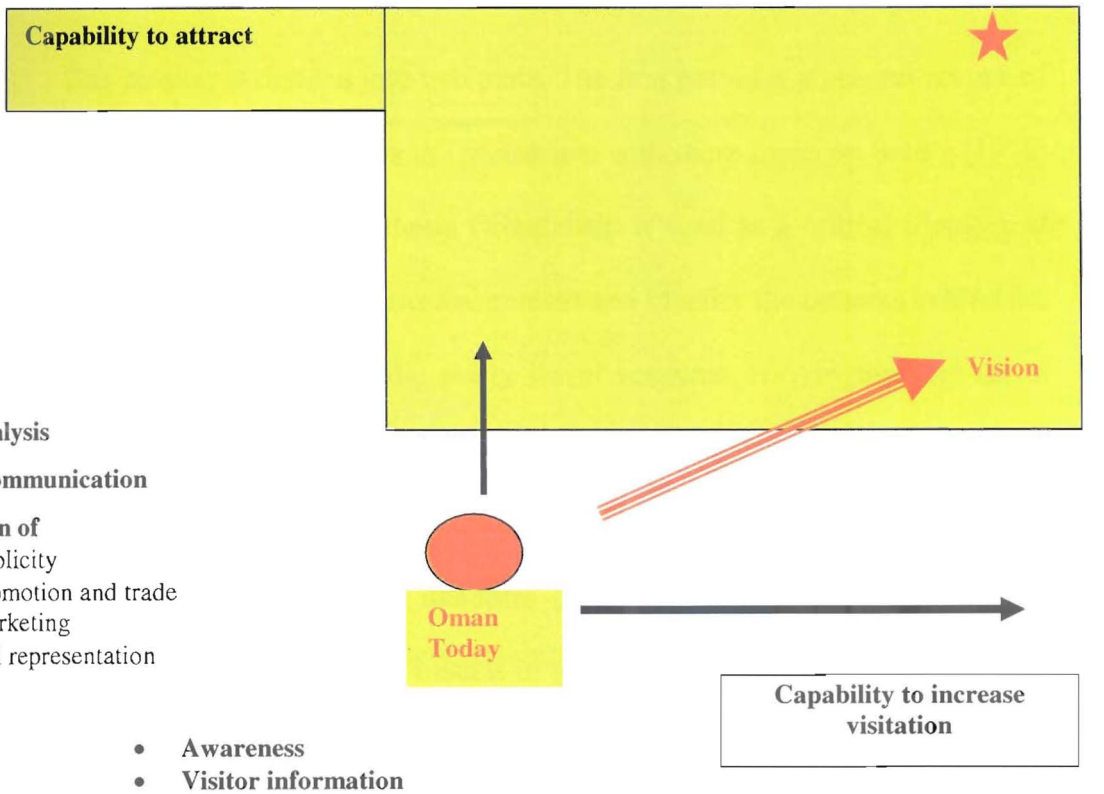
current research found that travellers' tales and brochure producers projected most of the imageries that are identified by the PKF 2001 strategy.

Also the marketing strategy survey (PKF, 2001, Part 3) identified people's lasting impressions of Oman and summarised them into three subsets of images:

- 'Essence of Arabia' - characterised by the frankincense trail, forts, castles, souqs[20], Omani silver, Sinbad the sailor, 1001 nights, Thesiger's *Arabian Sands*, Pure Arabia - Omani people.
- 'Oasis Oman' - where an oasis is defined as a place of peace, safety, happiness and serenity in the midst of trouble or difficulty.
- Contrasting colours - illustrated by land and seascapes, e.g. mountains and wadis, desert and sea, antiquity and modernity.

20 Souq: the locals name for the market particularly the traditional market.

Diagram 1. Tourism vision



- Market analysis
- Focused communication
- combination of
  - publicity
  - promotion and trade marketing
  - Intl representation

- Awareness
- Visitor information
- Resourcing of MCIDGT.
- Accessibility.
- Public/ private sector co-operation.

Source: (PKF, 2001:12) .

Chapter three

Academic literature

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first provides a general review of Orientalism literature and critics in Orientalism with more focus on Said's (1978) notion of Orientalism. In this thesis Orientalism is used as a critical ideological framework to understand the historical context and identify the patterns behind the representation in the three media (early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures), published about Oman. The reasons behind basing this study in Orientalism and Said's (1978) work are also discussed.

The Second part reviews literature published on images and imageries. Studies published on destination images in travelogues and travel brochures were also reviewed to identify research developments in the field and the position of the [Third World Countries[21]] or the Middle East position within tourism studies of destination images. Most tourism studies of destination images focused on Western destinations with very limited investigation of the image of the Middle East countries or the Arab world in British promotional literature.

This part is divided into four sections: (1) definition of image, (2) destination image and its multi perspective approach, (3) review of research in travelogues and (4) review of research in travel brochures.

21 Between brackets because after the fall of Soviet Union it seems that this notion is not exist any more.

Part 1: Theoretical context

Part 1 is divided according to 3 sections. Section 1 focuses on Orientalism history and its definition. Section 2 explains the importance of Orientalism for this study. Section 3 highlights the ideological debate and the general criticism of Orientalism. It ends with a summary of the scholars' critics on Said's (1978) Orientalism and this study views on Said's (1978) approach.

Section 1. Orientalism history and definition

Orientalism was generally used in the 18th and the 19th centuries to refer to the work of Orientalists, European scholars versed in the languages and literatures of the Orient. Orientalism is believed to have been located in the early days of the Islam and the expansion of Islamic Empire. For example, Najib Al- Aqiqi (1965) argues that Orientalism began in the 9th and the 10th centuries when Orientalists and missionaries went to Andalusia to learn about Arabic and Islamic knowledge. Sardar (1999) traced the origin of Orientalism to the 11th century when the Crusaders first attempted to recover Jerusalem. Others, like Anouar Abdel Malek (1963), Said (1978), Macfie (2000) and Lewis, (1985), traced the origin of Orientalism to the 13th and the early 14th century Europe.

> In the Christian West, Orientalism is considered to have commenced its formal existence with the decision of the Church Council of Vienna in 1312 to establish a series of chairs in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, in Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon and Salamanca (Said 1978 pp. 49-50).

Orientalism study was applied only to the works on the parts of the Orient which Europeans could claim any real acquaintance (Lewis, 1985). Thus

Orientalism study referred to the study of the Middle East (Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia). It was extended to include India, China and Japan, even the whole of Asia. After the Second World War, *Orientalism* was extended to include all non-western countries.

Orientalism can also refer to how corporate institutions deal with the Orient, by presenting a partial view of Islam, and as an instrument of Western imperialism, and a style of thought, based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between the orient and the occident (Macfie 2000; Salih 2000). Thus it is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority" (Said, 1978:3).

According to Said (1978) Orientalism is a "mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines..." (p.2). It is a "style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and (most of the time) the Occident" (p.2). Orientalism is a discourse about power (political, intellectual, cultural and moral), and the unequal distribution of knowledge into text (p.12). A textual dualism emerges between those who represent and those who are represented. The former are portrayed as "rational, virtuous, mature and normal", while the latter are portrayed as "irrational, depraved, childlike and different" (p. 40). It is the discourse of oppositionality which colonialism brings into being. Writing which contains a repetition of stereotypes about the non-Western, Other in colonial texts has been used to strengthen imperialist ideologies.

To support his argument, Said (1978) draws on the works of writers such as Goethe, Nerval, Burton, Gautier and Flaubert which are replete with racist and

sexist stereotypes (pp. 101-3). These works described destination people as textual children (p. 88) making exhibitions of themselves (p. 103). They described the West as the actor, while the Orient as a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of the Oriental behaviour (ibid.), "surveying the passive, seminal, feminine, even silent and supine east" (p. 138). It is a discourse packed with daydreams and clichés of "harems, princesses, princes, slaves, veils, dancing girls and boys, sherbets, ointments, and so on" (p. 190) and represents an escape from the moral restrictions of home. Such is the language of misrepresentation. It is "not what the world of the "Other" is, but what the writer wishes it to be" (Dann, 1996c: 25).

Ashcroft et al (1995) observe that post colonialism is not simply a kind of "postmodernism with politics. It is a sustained attention to the imperial process in colonial and neo-colonial societies, and an examination of the strategies to subvert the actual material and discursive effects of that process" (p 117). Many postcolonial thinkers have deconstructed literary, historical and ethnographic portraits of the colonised and the mechanisms of power that structure them. For Said (1978), among others, this awareness of representation is crucial to contemporary criticism. Said (1978) stated that "modern thought and experience have taught us to be sensitive to what is involved in representation, in studying the other, in racial thinkers, in unthinking and uncritical acceptance of authority and authoritative ideas, in the socio-political role of intellectuals, in the great value of skeptical critical consciousness"(p.327).

Travel writing has been examined critically in order to find out how race and gender considerations are predicated. For Said (1978), travel writing is an instrument of colonial expansion that serves to reinforce the colonial rule in place.

Section 2. Critics on Orientalism

The debate on Orientalism as a type of discourse has attracted academic attention both from the West and the East. Scholars' and philosophers' views of Orientalism vary according to their backgrounds and the time in which they lived.

Although Orientalism theory has many positive aspects, which is why it underscored much of this study, it is important to address the criticisms that have arisen about this approach. Before Said (1978), critiques of Orientalism were limited to scholars from disciplines such as "Islamic studies, linguistics, anthropology, sociology, history and the philosophy of history" (Sardar, 1999: 65). Prior to the Second World War, Orientalism was regarded as an "aspect of enlightenment, of romanticism, of positivism and of European historicism, and to sketch its complete history would be tantamount to going through the entire evolution of Western culture" (Gabrieli, 1965 cited in Macfie, 2000: 80).

According to Mackenzie (1994) and Macfie (2000) Orientalism has become the most highly charged word in modern scholarship. Many academics, particularly, those who lived in or came from the Orient, have launched effective assaults on Orientalism and Orientalists. It has been described as a type of imperialism, "racialism and even anti- Semitism" (ibid. 2).

The critics included Abdel Malek (1963), Tibawi (1964; 1976), Said (1978), and Turner (1994). Despite their consensus in describing Orientalism as an imperial tool, they hoped to achieve different aims and objectives.

For example, Abdel Malek (1963) aimed at achieving a critical re - evaluation of the methods employed by the Orientalists (Macfie, 2000; Salih, 2000). Tibawi (1964 and 1976) aimed at a better understanding of Orientalism and the debate between the East and the West; Said (1978) aimed at exposing the subtle degradation of knowledge accomplished by the Orientalists. Turner (1994) aimed at achieving a reconsideration of the dispute between Orientalists, sociologists and Marxists, regarding the characterisation of the history and social structure of North Africa and Middle East (Macfie, 2000).

This section focuses on the work of Abdel Malek (1963) and Said (1978) as well as their critics. They have been chosen, because they are the most influential scholars (from the East) involved in the debate on Orientalism.

Macfie (2000) draws attention to the work of Abdel Malek. He pointed out that Abdel Malek's (1963) is probably the "most influential of the founding documents of the Orientalists' debate, deserves consideration for its careful identification of the principal features of Orientalism and its long standing relationship with the European, colonialist state" (p.8). Abdel Malek (1963) views Orientalism as a historical phenomenon whose conclusion and demise he could predict. He argued that "in the period immediately following the end of the Second World War, the 'resurgence' of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the victories achieved by a series of national liberation movements, made a new approach to the problem of understanding the Orient necessary. The

victories of many of the national liberation movement had plunged the Orientalist profession into crisis" (Abdel Malek 1963, cited in Macfie, 20000: 47).

However, Cahen (1965) criticised Abdel Malek (1963) for several reasons. First, he pointed out the methods that Muslim scholars used to study history and the methods employed by European Orientalists to study history were different. According to Cahen (1965), many Muslim scholars employ old and traditional methods in studying their cultures. Furthermore, he pointed out that Muslim scholars focus only on subjects that met the needs of their societies and these subjects were mostly on areas closely related to the Orient. On the other hand, the research methods in the West were more developed. Cahen (1965) pointed out that most Orientalists do not limit their research to certain regions or fields. Second, Cahen (1965) does not agree with Abdel Malek's (1963) argument that Orientalists concentrate only on the past of Oriental nations and cultures at the expense of modern history. He pointed out that such emphasis is due to the importance of ancient history to the studying and evaluating modern history, praising in this regard the Orientalist contribution in the world history.

Similarly, Gabrieli (1965) pointed out that Orientalists contribute greatly to human knowledge about the East and about the inner development of Europe. According to Gabrieli (1965), it was wrong for Abdel Malek (1963) to assume that Orientalists go to the East only to "gather intelligence information in the area to be occupied" (cited in Macfie, 2000:49).

Furthermore, Gabrieli (1965) does not agree with Abdel Malek (1963) that Orientalism had been the instrument, or at least an adjunct, of European colonial penetration and exploitation. He stated that it is "mistaken and untrue that the

main motive of the historical, the linguistic, the literary and the religious interest of Europe in the East was in function of its plans for political and economic penetration of the area" (Salih, 2000: 23[22]).

In addition, Gabrieli (1965) pointed out that the Orient's subjection and exploitation is a "fact that may honestly not be denied; but it would be as just and honest not to generalise specific cases and episodes in an indiscriminate act of accusation which, insofar as it aims at laying the blame on Orientalistic studies in their entirety, is born of a misunderstanding and an untruth (cited in Macfie, 2000: 81).

The impact of Abdel Malek (1963) on the Orientalism debate is less than that of Said (1978).

Al- Azm (1981) was one of the early scholars who responded to Said's (1978) notion of Orientalism. He noted Said's (1978) tendency to essentialise the occident, in much the same way that he had accused the Orientalists of essentialising the orient (Al Azm, 1981). Al Azm (1981) also noted Said (1978) in dating the rise of Orientalism. At one point Said (1978) dates the rise of Orientalism with the European Renaissance. But unfortunately the stylist and polemicist in Edward Said very often runs away with the systematic thinker" (Al Azm, 1981 cited in Macfie, 2001:218).

In criticising Said's approach Al Azm thought that Said's debate would end in conclusions he never had expected. Al Azm stated:

> It seems to me that this manner of construing the origins of Orientalism simply lends strength to the essentialistic categories of "Orient" and "Occident", representing the ineradicable distinction between East and West, which Edward's book is ostensibly set on demolishing. Similarly, it lends the ontological distinction of

22 The data was written in Arabic, so the quote was translated by the author of this thesis.

> Europe versus Asia, so characteristic of Orientalism, the kind of credibility and respectability normally associated with continuity, persistence, pervasiveness and distant historical roots. This sort of credibility and respectability is, of course misplaced and undeserved. For Orientalism, like so many other characteristically modern European phenomenon and movements (notably nationalism), is a genuinely recent creation- the product of modern European history seeking to acquire legitimacy, credibility and support by claiming ancient roots and classical origins for itself. Certainly Homer, Euripides, Dante, St Thomas and all the other authorities that one my care to mention held the more or less standard distorted views prevalent in their milieu about other cultures and peoples" (Al Azm, 1981, cited in Macfie, 2000:219).

This lengthy excerpt demonstrates that not all-Arab and Muslim scholars are against Orientalism and Orientalists as some European and Western academic thought. Scholars in the East as well as in the West are divided between proponents and opponents against Said's (1978) Orientalism (Rossion, 1990 cited in Salih, 2000:183).

Lewis (1985) argued that Said's (1978) argument was flawed from an academic point of view. He pointed out that Said's (1978) works was an "arbitrary rearrangement of the historical background, a capricious choice of countries, persons and writing" and an unpolemical ignorance of historical fact" (p.5). Furthermore, Lewis (1985) condemned Said (1978) for focusing only on a small part of the world and that in the case of the East he dealt only with a small part of the Arab world, mainly Egypt and Palestine. In addition, Lewis (1985) pointed out that Said's (1978) case was weakened as it was based on his analysis of British and French works about the Orient and particularly those works about Egypt and Palestine, and ignored German, Austrian and Russian writings about the Orient.

Rodinson (1980) also commented on Orientalism and Said's (work). Rodinson (1980) believes that Said (1978) contributed to a broader understanding

and knowledge of Orientalism with his Middle Eastern, Islamic and North African studies as well as his works on India and China. Robinson (1980) pointed out that Said (1978) also contributed to identifying the ideology of European Orientalism i.e. British and French Orientalism. Rodinson (1980) further pointed out that Said (1978) linked the development of European Orientalism in the 19th and the 20th centuries with the European economic and political objectives during this period. However, he also pointed out that Said's (1978) high sensitivity towards some Western Orientalist reactions led to his radical views and interpretations.

In sum, limitations of Said's (1978) notion of Orientalism have been identified. One criticism of Said (1978), previously discussed, is that his study of Orientalism should not be based only on his analysis of writings about Egypt and Palestine. As the findings of this study, based on the analysis of the three media on a state in the Middle East such as Oman and which will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, will show, Said's (1978) Orientalism can only be partially supported. This study will show that Said's (1978) Orientalism, based mainly on the data about two Middle Eastern countries (i.e. Egypt and Palestine) cannot be generalised to include other Middle Eastern countries such as Oman without considering their specific contexts, including their political situations and their encounters with others, especially with Europeans. Of the West Said's Orientalism also focused on the British and French writings and rarely referred to the other European Orientalists' works about the East.

Summary of scholars' critics and comments in Said's (1978) Orientalism:

Scholar	*Critics and comments*
Al- Azm (1981)	- Tendency to essentialise the occident, in much the same way that he had accused the Orientalists of essentialising the orient. - In dating the rise of Orientalism. At one point Said (1978) dates the rise of Orientalism with the European Renaissance. But unfortunately the stylist and polemicist in Edward Said very often run away with the systematic thinker".
Lewis (1985)	- Said's (1978) works "was an arbitrary rearrangement of the historical background, a capricious choice of countries, persons and writing", and "an unpolemical ignorance of historical fact" (p.5). - Condemned Said (1978) for focusing only on a small part of the world. Egypt and Palestine in the case of the Orient. Of the West he focused on the British and French Orientalism.
Rodinson (1980)	- Believes that Said (1978) contributed to a broader understanding and knowledge of Orientalism with his Middle Eastern, Islamic and North African studies as well as his works on India and China. - Contributed to identifying the ideology of European Orientalism i.e. British and French Orientalism. - Linked the development of European Orientalism in the 19th and the 20th centuries with the European economic and political objectives during this period. - Pointed out that Said's (1978) high sensitivity towards some Western Orientalist reactions led to his radical views and interpretations.

Section 3. The applicability of Orientalism to this study

Previously, the definition of Orientalism, its concept and history, and scholars' critics and this thesis comment on Said's (1978) work has been provided. This section focuses on the applicability of Orientalism to this study. It is specifically discussing the importance of Said's (1978) magnum opus and its relevance to this research which seeks to analyse textual data relating to the interaction between the West "British travel writing" and the East "Oman" will be discussed here.

Said's (1978) Orientalism is important to the analysis of the representation of the Other (Mackenzie 1995; Matsukawa 2000). As previously discussed, Said (1978) focuses principally on the "Other" and "Us", and how "colonisers" or "dominators" who are Westerners depict the "Others" who are mostly non-western.

The Orientalism approach of Said (1978) is used in the present study as the method to interpret the representations and imageries of Oman, an Oriental country that is inherently implicated in the distinctions drawn between the West and the East. Said's (1978) Orientalism is used as a critical ideological framework to understand the historical context and to identify the patterns that structure the imageries of Oman in the early travel accounts, the travelogues, and the travel brochures.

There are other theories in social science that might be applicable in a study such as the present one. These theories include those of colonialism and post-colonialism, Marxism and feminism (Butz, 1995; Blunt, 1994; Gregory, 1994; Jackson 1989; Mills, 1991; and Sharmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994; Sardar, 1999;

Phillips, 2001). The idea of placing the research in one of these social science theories has been rejected. For example, Marxism and Feminism "have a macro contextual perspective since they suggest that human society conforms to certain power structures divided according to class and gender" (Echtner, 2000:33). However, the aims and objectives of this study are not directly related to class or gender issues.

In addition, theories about colonialism and post-colonialism are not suitable for this study because Oman is a country that has never been colonised, unlike countries such as India, Egypt (Chapter 2, Part 1). In fact, Oman was the only non-European country that had an empire in the Indian Ocean, the Gulf and some parts of East Africa until the end of the 19th century. Consequently this research will not be contextualised within a colonial or postcolonial framework, but will be focused on Orientalism theory and Said's (1978) Orientalism work because of its relevance to tourism studies. By the adoption of Said's (1978) Orientalism theory, this study is intended to explore the following main points: (1) to what extent do the three media support Said's (1978) Orientalism theory? (2) And have the representation and verbal imagery of earlier travellers' tales influenced the vocabulary of later accounts, and promotional copy?

The relationship of this study to the Said (1978) debate on orientalism:

Scholar	*Critics and comments*
The relationship of this study to the Said debate on orientalism	- Said (1978) contributed to a broader understanding and knowledge of Orientalism and stimulated a valuable debate about issues of representation of the East by the West which had largely been ignored in academic discourse previously - Although this study challenges some of Said's conclusions this thesis contributes to the project of interrogating Orientalism as a construct, which Said (1978) started and identified. - The study is unique in exploring *three distinctive kinds of literary text* - travel books, travelogues and promotional brochure - through which to explore Said's ideas. - Difference between Said's (1978) approach and this study is based mainly in the following: (1) This study is unique in its treatment of the three kinds of text in: (a) *Systematically* using content analysis to provide *a comprehensive, quantitative inventory of lexical elements.* (b) Classifying *all emergent categories* revealed through the lexical analysis. (c) Then applying qualitative semiotic analysis *to explore the meanings of all the emergent categories.* This procedure differs radically from Said's focus in "Orientalism" where he polemically focused on poly-political issues in a selective sample of texts (with carefully chosen quotations from them), excluding themes and issues which ran counter to his overall contention that the West had adversely constructed and controlled the "truth" about the Orient in a way that suited imperialistic intentions. Said's (1978) work was thus a net in which to catch what he wanted through focusing on Western writers who criticised the East and projected it negatively. He rarely discussed or brought into the analysis any example of Western writers who praised oriental culture and hospitality. Above all he ignored all *physical features* of the eastern countries on which he focussed, thereby excluding a weight of positive tributes to the beauty of the landscape dominant in many Western writers' representations of the East (e.g. Thesiger, Wellsted and Thomas). (2) As a case study focussing on Oman this study extends Said's (1978) analysis of the East geographically. Said's book, "Orientalism", was mainly based on two Middle Eastern countries: Egypt and Palestine. He generalised the outcomes of his analysis of both countries to the whole East though both countries had political and geographical backgrounds, which were different from many others.

Part 2: Literature on imagery

Introduction

The second segment of this academic literature provides a comprehensive overview of research conducted on imagery. After providing a definition of imagery (part 1) and its multi perspective approach (part 2), it reviews studies that cover destination images in travelogues (part 3) and travel brochures (part 4).

In outlining these studies on imagery, this review focuses on the methodologies used in image studies. Here there are three different methodological approaches: content analysis, semiotic analysis and a combination of both.

Section 1. Definition of image

Image is "a pseudo ideal ... it is synthetic, believable, passive, vivid and ambiguous" (Boorstin, 1987:185). Image as "perceived by tourists and potential tourists" has been defined as "an aura, an angle, a subjective perception accompanying the various projections of the same message transmitter" (WTO, 1979: 2). The WTO document concludes that "image can exist only if there is at least a small amount of knowledge" (Milman, et al. 1995:1), subjective knowledge, about what everybody in society believes to be true (Boulding, 1956; Lindquist, 1974-1975). Not only that, but it is "our own personal understanding of what we know" (Markin, 1974:21).

Certainly, image cannot be "the expression of all objective knowledge" (Lawson and Baud Bovy, 1977:10). Knowledge carries the implication of validity

and truth or the personal "impressions" that are held about an object (Kotler, 1991: 570).

Imagination is an important element in the tourist industry in both destination perception and promotion (Finlay, 1998: 33). Thus in the case of Oman, it is the travellers', journalists' and brochure producers' imagination of the country, how they construct the myths and fantasies of Bedouins and the hard life of the desert that is crucial.

Many studies approach imagery from a subjective point of view by analysing the image that people carry about certain products, places or services. By focusing on subjectivity researchers can make comparisons between perceptions of similar and different people.

Section 2. Destination imagery and its multi-perspective approaches

Boulding (1956) discusses the role of imagery in economic activities and other areas of human interest in the middle of 1950s (p.6). He theorises that the behaviour of an individual is not directed by mere knowledge and information, but is a product of the images that people hold. According to this argument, a person reacts not in response to what is true, but to what they believe to be true (Lindquist, 1974-1975).

In tourism studies, the notion of image has long been of major interest. Many scholars agree that research into destination image emerged from Hunt's work of 1971 (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; Embacher and Buttle 1989; Fakeye and Crompton, 1991; Gartner and Hunt 1987; Reily 1990; Sternquist Witter 1985;

Britton, 1979)' (Gallarza et. al, 2001: 58). From this time onwards, there have been numerous and varied approaches to its study.

Destination images have been investigated from many disciplines (Gallarza et al., 2001): anthropology (Selwyn, 1996), sociology (Meethan, 1996), geography (Gould and White, 1992; Draper and Minca, 1997), semiotics (Dann, 1996a, b and c, and 2001a, b and c) and marketing (Gunn, 1972; Echtner, 2000), with respect to the understanding of tourism consumer behaviour.

Geographically, destination image studies have mostly focused on just a few regions of the world (Crompton, 1979; Ehemann, 1987; Gartner and Hunt, 1987; Reilly, 1990; Pritchard and Morgan, 1995; Dann 1996b; Finlay, 1998; Matsukawa, 2000). Little research has been conducted into the images of Arabia and nearby countries. Exceptions include Mohammed (1988), who has investigated the image of Morocco in French brochures, Aziz (1998) who has studied the image of Egypt in British travel media, and Schneider and Sonmez (1999) who have explored the image of Jordan. Within the Middle East, Beirman (2000) has explored the marketing of Israel in Australia and the south west Pacific, Chaudhary (2000) has investigated the image of India as a tourist destination, and later, Echtner (2000) has comprehensively examined the image of [Third World Countries[23]] in promotional brochures.

Within the Gulf region, Al Hemoud and Armstrong (1996) have published a paper on *Image and its Attraction in Kuwait.* Yet, to the best of one's knowledge, no previous research exists on images of Oman as a tourism destination, and certainly none on enhancing the image of Oman from 1970 onwards, referred to in Omani official literature as the "Renaissance" (Hawley, 1995).

Using the travel media to promote and publicise (Seaton, 1989; Dann, 1992; Zeppel, 1999; Dore and Crouch, 2002), Oman as a tourism destination and its attractions has been the main strategy of the Government towards the development of tourism as a national product (WTO, 1994; Townsend, 1977; Leaders Magazine, 1995). Consequently, it hosts the international travel media to provide valuable accounts in targeted overseas markets for "purposes of promotion, information, and entertainment" (Dann, 1992:59). However, without any control over the output, the resulting travel articles may simply amplify the exotic, minimise foreignness, emphasise tourist enjoyment and romanticise local societies (Britton, 1979).

It is important to realise that there are many sources of the images that people hold of places and products (Butler and Hall, 1994). In previous centuries, for example, images of Oman played on the European imagination because of their exposure in novels such as Arabian Nights, the myth of 'Sindbad', the Arabian Sands, and those imperialistic reports, which were released for publication.

Gunn (1988) contends that tourist images of places evolve on two levels: "organic and induced" (p. 16). The former derives from non-industry communication, like books and news reports, while the latter stems from the conscious effort of industry - related development, promotion, advertising and other media publicity.

In the case of Oman, a developing country its organic images have been constructed in the Western imagination as part of its thinking about the East in general and Arabia and Oman in particular, during the imperial era.

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23 Between brackets because after the fall of Soviet Union this notion is not exist any more.

Before they journey to Oman travellers in olden times, as well as contemporary tourists and journalists, have "a sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions" (Murphy, 1985:11) about the country and its people. Their impressions are "conjured up from information received, as interpreted through the personal and behavioural characteristics of the tourist" (Mathieson and Wall, 1982: 31).

This process of image construction continues today, and the induced image may be more prominent because Oman has been under represented in the Western media.

The development of communication technology helps to reinforce the creation of oriental images in general, and Arabia in particular, as a land of dream a strange and distinctly exotic cultural destination. Later on, ironically, exploration of the sands and their exotic Bedouin life by many travellers stimulated the European imagination about the east, replete with myth and mystery.

While travel writing and explorers' accounts of Oman for many years influenced the construction of organic images, the government and tourism industry publicity and promotions in the Western media influenced the construction of induced images about the country and its people. Early travel accounts published about Oman can be classified as a source of 'organic' images, while travelogues and brochures can be classed as 'induced' (Britton, 1979; Dann, 1993).

Section 3. Review of research on travelogues

As far as travelogues are concerned, the focus of this review concentrates on five different articles that employ three different methods semiotic analysis (Dann, 1996b), content analysis (Zeppel, 1999) and a combination of both.

Dann has made numerous contributions to the analysis of tourism promotion. He has conducted several investigations that combine quantitative and qualitative analyses. The actual medium of communication varies between travelogues (Dann, 1992, 1996b), brochures (Dann, 1988, 1995, 1996a), advertisements (Dann, 1993, 1996c, 1997, 1998a) guidebooks (Dann, 2001a) and catalogues (Dann, 2000).

In his travelogue study he conducted a qualitative semiotic analysis of the image of [Third World Countries] as projected in travelogues (Dann, 1996b). He points to the difference between travelogues and other forms of tourism promotional material, to the degree that travelogues provide personal evaluations of destinations and they are capable of describing them not only positively but also negatively (Dann, 1992 and 1996b).

Dann's (1996) study focuses on two Canadian editions of Metropolitan Toronto (First World) and he limits his selection to these two publications in order to avoid any cross-cultural national differences.

In analysing the image of travelogues that facilitate an understanding of human encounters, he designs a simple mode that provides a range of judgements, which extend from negative, via neutral, to positive assessments. He uses a continuum of attitudes from friendly to hostile in order to categorise the images of destination people. Dann labels types on the basis of their predominant behaviour,

a position adopted in this thesis in the qualitative part of the analysis (see chapter 6). He takes behaviour from one situation and compares it with another. In such a manner, different contexts are discussed and problems are identified. Impressions and feelings are thus gained, transformed and lead to further understandings about indigenous people in every environment, both natural and cultural (Butler and Hinch, 1996).

A second study of travelogues is by Heather Zeppel (1999). She examines the way in which aboriginal culture is portrayed and projected as a domestic tourist attraction in Australian newspapers and magazines. She reviews 20 articles published about aboriginal people from "1994 to April 1998" (p.123).

In analysing the data, Zeppel employs content analysis. She deconstructs the text into themes determined by key aspects of aboriginal culture and classifies these themes into five categories: aboriginal people, aboriginal cultural practices, aboriginal spirituality (dreams), aboriginal bushcraft skills and aboriginal artefacts (Zeppel, 1999).

Aboriginal people, for example, are identified with personal names and defined in terms of their primary tourist roles. Writers interact on a one-to-one basis with their aboriginal tour guides, aboriginal tour operator (Joe Mckenzie), and aboriginal tourism developer (Terry Coulthard). Other aboriginal people are also linked with tourist activities such as being dancers, artists, gatherers of bush food, and so on. In these articles, the aboriginal people are described as a "traditional, timeless and spiritually different 'other', situated in remote areas of Australia and set apart from mainstream Australian life" (p. 137).

In the third study, Ehemann (1987) investigates images of Ireland as portrayed in the American media. He examines two types of material published about Ireland during a 15-month period. First, he includes all articles indexed in the *Readers Guide to Periodical literature for Jamesuary* from January 1974 to March 1975 and January 1976 to March 1977. Second, he surveys two editions of Fielding's *Travel Guide to Europe* for 1974 and 1977.

Ehemann explains that writers attempt to deliver to the reader varies statements in order to create a favourable image. Theses statements can be delivered to the reader without any judgement (Oman is a big country) or with evaluation (Oman is hot country). However, the evaluation can be either a positive (Oman is a beautiful or secure place) or negative (Oman has limited touristic facilities).

As an assumption of his study, Ehemann (1987) sees that the frequency, quality and source of information play important roles in shaping people's opinions about places, reinforcing previous messages, as well as contributing to the formation of new ones. Frequent positive information results in positive opinions while negative information results in negative attitudes.

A fourth study of travelogues is also about Australia, on this occasion *hosting the international travel media.* Here Mackellar and Fenton (2000) examine how the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) operates its visiting journalist programmes in order to support the Board's marketing objectives. The paper also provides an understanding about travel journalists, recognising their different cultural needs, and those of the travel media market.

To promote and publicise Australia as a tourism destination, every year the Australian Tourism Commission (ATC) design *theme tours*, focusing on a special interest, for example, adventure, golf and food. Mackellar and Fenton point out that the ATC, established since 1967, promotes Australia in varied ways in over 40 countries, with more than 1,500 international print and television journalists brought to the country in 1998/1999 alone. Moreover, they say that the journalist programme visits (JPV) are all on an all expenses- paid basis (with the exception of personal items), and all possible arrangements are made with assistance from customs including transport, accommodation, escorted touring and translation.

In the fifth study, Seaton (1989) examines the influence of the travel industry in the editing of travel pages. He sees a change in the function of newspapers away from 'hard' news and more towards entertainment. The travel section within newspapers thus becomes more 'institutionalised' (p. 3). As reflected in the title of his article *Freebies? Puffs? Vade Mecums? or Belles Lettres? The occupational influences and ideologies of travel page editors*, he investigates the influence of the tourism industry on the content of travel writing.

Given the small number of people involved, he distributes some standardised, open-ended questions about editorial influence, role and practices to all the travel editors and he carries out interviews with the travel editors of **6** ABC1 newspapers[24]. By using a rough content analysis he also examines the travel editorial and advertisement pages of the 6 newspapers from January 1986 to December 1986.

Seaton points out in his conclusion that, with the exception of the freelancers who can be more vulnerable to commercial pressure, "most Travel

Editors are powerful enough to resist the temptation of writing "hype" as a quid pro quo for support and assistance from the Travel Industry" (Pp. 27-28). In the case of advertising, which has major structural influence on travel journalism, many advertisement departments of newspapers use advance notification of features likely to run in the travel section as a means of attracting the industry with interests in the subjects of the features.

Summary

The foregoing contributions serve to build an understanding of the travelogue from different perspectives. The first two papers focus on the use of semiotic and content analysis as a method for dealing with this type of tourism promotion. They are thus useful to the current thesis, which seeks to investigate the verbal patterning of travel writing and how the textualised image of Oman has been projected. Content analysis can be employed to count the frequency of images and to monitor their transition across three media, while semiotic analysis can provide an exploration of the meaning behind the preliminary results of content analysis.

The last two articles of this travelogue review supply a description about travel journalism and journalists' visit programmes from a managerial and ideological perspective. Whereas Mackellar and Fenton investigate the relationship between the Australian Tourism Commission and the media, Seaton explores the influence of such journalists' programmes on the actual writing, as well as the writers' views and opinions about destinations.

In this thesis, as mentioned in the introductory (chapter one), the government of Oman has conducted systematic programmes in order to publicise

24 Six ABC1 newspapers are: The Times, The Telegraph, The Guardian, Sunday Times, Observer, and Sunday Telegraph).

the country internationally by inviting international writers and journalists. Out of 33 journalists and travelogue writers used in this research and who visited the country between 1996 to June 2001, 23 received government invitations and hospitality. The same applies to most of the ten travellers used in this research that were welcomed and hosted by the rulers of Oman and the Sultan's representatives in the regions.

Section 4. Review of research on travel brochures

The brochure has been described as "probably, the most important single item in the planning of tourism marketing" (Holloway et al. 1992:148 cited in Pritchard and Morgan, 1995:24). It is not just "woo, seduce, inform, project, and sell in one operation" (Dann, 1995:893), but actually promotes:

> Set of images, which in turn portray those selected features of a destination that correspond to the personality characteristics of the target audience.
> Although many of the projected images are distorted, stereotypical, and inauthentic, they very much depend for their success in paralleling touristic definitions of situations. In some senses also, the staged attractions can actually protect a host community from visitor penetration (ibid. 899-900).

Accordingly, there is a substantial amount of research that has been conducted in the field of destination images and the use of brochures in promoting tourism destinations. Scholars' contributions to the brochures varied between investigating destinations or regions' images (Buck, 1977; Dann, 1988; Mohamed, 1988; Cohen, 1989; Wilson, 1994; Pritchard and Morgan, 1995 and 1996; Echtner, 2000 and Henderson, 2001); focusing only on the projections of people (Dann 1996a) other scholars investigated the use of travel literature to

portray indigenous people as authentic (Silver, 1993) or concentrated on ethnic and ethnic markers (Adams, 1984).

In the same field, some studies focused on brochure designs (Gilbert and Houghton, 1991; Hodgson, 1993). Adams (1984) stated that, "travel agents are brokers in ethnicity, brochures being the tools of their trade" (p. 469). In the field of the tour operator, a few studies such as, Santos (1997) evaluated the role of tour operators' brochures in the formation of a destination's image. Others investigated the role of tour operators in the development of tourism (Sastre and Benito, 2001) and yet others investigated the relationship between tour operators and tourists (Ingram and Durst, 1989; Sastre and Benito 2001).

Regionally, most studies ob travel brochures centred on the Western World (Dann, 1988; Pritchard and Morgan, 1995, 1996 and 1998). Few researches focused on Asia, for example, Thailand, China and Indonesia (Cohen, 1989; Selwyn, 1993). While Mohamed (1988) investigated the 'images of Morocco in French brochures', there has been no other attempts, to the author's knowledge, to study and investigate the images of an Arab country and its people in European brochures.

Mohamed's research is one of the early contributions to tourism's image, particularly in Arabia. He used a content analysis method to analyse the image of an Arab destination represented by Morocco (located in the opposite corner of the map to Arabia) in French brochures. In contrast, by analysing the image of Oman (located in the opposite corner of the map of Arabia) as projected in three British media (brochures, travelogues and early travel writing), this study continues the task, which Mohamed began.

Methodologically, most of the above studies that were conducted in brochures employed content analysis. A number of researches used content and qualitative semiotic analysis (e.g. Cohen, 1989; Dann, 1995 and 1996a; Selwyn, 1993; Echtner, 2000). Most studies analysed destination images as projected in brochures or made a comparison between the destination image in brochures and other media, for instance, travelogues. This study investigates the image of Oman in brochures and compares it with its projections in two other media: travelogues and early travel writing.

Bearing in mind the aims and objectives of this study, the focus of this review concentrates on the following works: Selwyn (1993), Dann (1996a), Echtner (2000), Mohamed (1988) and Pritchard and Morgan (1995). The first three works employed content analysis and semiotic analysis or semiotic analysis alone, while the last two used content analysis as the research method.

Selwyn (1993) analysed a sample of South Asian brochures. He used semiotic analysis to examine two different sets of brochures[25]. To examine the textual and pictorial data, he constructed two different readings: 'structuralist' and 'post structuralist', to investigate and interpret the connotative meanings behind the apparent patterns.

To support his discussion and use of structuralism, Selwyn (1993) draws on the work of MacCannell's (1976) '*The Tourist*', particularly MacCannell's notion that the tourists in some sense are 'alienated' by the "conditions of contemporary life of modernity, goes on holiday in order to recreate, frequently with the help or representation from the imagined pre-modern world, the structures which life in

25 Selwyn (1993) collected one set in 1990 from Camden Town travel agents in London. The second he collected from the World Travel Market at London's Olympia Exhibition Hall in 1991.

the post-modern world has appeared to demolish" (ibid. 118. Selwyn (1993) poststructuralism is more concerned with tourism and 'cultural 'commodification' (p.119). In post structuralism, he built his study on the work of several writers such as Greenwood (1977), Ireland (1989) and O'Rourke (1987). The studies of western consumer culture (e.g. Eco 1986; Baudrillard 1998), and postmodernism (Jameson, 1985; Harvey, 1989) also had its presence in Selwyn's (1993) study and use of post-structuralism'.

Analysing the data from the structuralist and post structuralist approaches allowed Selwyn (1993) to "illustrate that it is possible to examine data from various perspectives, but they also highlight some of the tensions existing between these two approaches" (Echtner, 2000:58). The structuralist reading drew Selwyn's (1993) attention to several themes, such as land sites (attractions); beaches and boundaries; smiles of the locals and food, while the post-structuralist approach focused only on three themes: the omnipotence of the instantaneous, fragment, and instantaneous sensation.

Graham Dann has contributed significantly, including publications over several years work on the representation of image in travel brochures (e.g. Dann 1988; 1992; 1995; 1996a). Dann (1996a) contributes to the field of promotional representation via "semiotic ethnography" (p. 61) by examining and exploring the images employed in travel brochures and finding out how hosts and guests are projected and portrayed by the cultural brokers of tourism (p. 61). Dann's (1996a) study builds on his exploratory analysis of brochure images of Cyprus (Dann, 1988) in 11 representative summer holiday brochures published by British operators and targeted at the British public. Dann (1996a) uses a combined

methodology, ranging from a "descriptive content analysis to an interpretative semiotic analysis and focuses on visual images, written images or a combination of both" (p. 62). The visual images were grouped into 4 categories (local people alone; locals with tourists; tourists alone; absence of people) and cross-tabulated against 8 settings (beaches; hotels; sights; local scenes; animal scenes; transport; entertainment; and sport). From these eight settings, Dann (1996a) derives four 'zones' in the way the selected brochures represent *paradise*; paradise confined [tourists only]; paradise controlled [tourists and locals]; paradise confused [locals only]; paradise contrived [no people].

The third study of this review is Echtner's doctoral thesis on the representation of the '[Third World Countries[26]]' in Tourism Marketing (2000). Echtner's work is the most often quoted source on issues relevant to this study. In her dissertation, she focuses on tourism marketing by undertaking an examination of the content and the context of the representations of '[Third World Countries]' in tourism destination marketing and how these selective countries and their people are portrayed by First World media.

Methodologically, out of 130 [Third World Countries], 30 countries are chosen based on high tourism earnings (Echtner, 2000:82). Echtner classifies the countries into "three verbal and iconographical clusters underpinned semiotically by the myths of the "unchanged", "unrestrained" and "uncivilised", all of which have respective sexual implications for their correspondingly segmented clientele" (Dann, 2001a: 3).

26 After the collapse of Soviet Union the notion is not exist any more.

In analysing her data, Echtner employs both quantitative (content analysis) and qualitative (semiotic) analysis to analyse the textual and pictorial imageries of the selected brochures.

The projection of Morocco in French brochures is the fourth study of this review (Mohamed, 1988). Mohamed's brief and short paper is the first work by an Arab scholar who criticises brochure creators for their false projections of the land and its people. According to his paper, French brochures did not project the reality of Morocco. For example, in projecting the landscape, they were selective and generally portrayed the country as "totally green and abundance" (p.359), while most of the Moroccan lands are arid, desert and dry e.g. Sahara.

This false portrayal of Morocco was not just limited to the country's landscape, but it also extended to the depiction of people. The hospitality, welcome manners, languages skills and local natives' lives in general were not portrayed or depicted for the "enlightenment of tourists, but only as amusing curiosity" (p.561). In brochures, Moroccan people were rarely featured and producers assured their tourists that they would find privacy in their enjoyments. They promised to do their best to isolate them in their comfort from locals. In sojourn tourism, Moroccans are there either to serve tourists, to entertain them or to enhance the familiarity of the place by communicating in the tourists' language. Natives were portrayed as an object to see, "just curious sights" (p.560) or "being archaic and traditional or picturesque and exotic" (p.561).

The final scholars' work that was reviewed by this study is the contribution of Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan. Together or individually, both writers have made numerous contributions to the field of tourism promotion and

brochures (1995, 1996 and 1998). Their works on tourism imagery and representation varied between their book of *Tourism Promotion and Power* (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998), to their works on evaluating and comparing the projection of destination images in brochures (e.g. Pritchard and Morgan, 1995). In 1995, Pritchard and Morgan investigated the vacation images of Wales in brochures (ibid.), and continued to compare the selling and the projection of the Celtic Arc (Ireland, Scotland and Wales) in USA brochures (Pritchard and Morgan, 1996).

Before presenting their comparison study of the three tourism destinations, Pritchard and Morgan (1995) stressed the "role of destination brochures and the importance of place imagery in destination marketing" (p.348). They also provided the reader with some detail of each of the destination's (Scotland, Ireland and Wales) position and the specific icons of each destination in the United States' tourism market. In their comparison between the three destinations, they see Scotland, for example, as a more established tourist destination in the American market, while Ireland is a mature tourism place and Wales is still a newcomer tourism destination for the US. Iconically, Scotland was most popular with its tartan patterns, bagpipes, heather, kilts and the Highland Games icon images (p.351). These icons are not always uniquely Scottish, but commonly associated with its land and people. Shamrocks and the Irish flag are the most common icons featured in the brochures for Ireland, while the Welsh portray the dragon, flag, language and national customs.

Pritchard and Morgan (1995) outlined that the projections of each destination's icons varied from one destination brochure to another. For example,

almost one third of the Welsh brochures projected the icons, slightly higher than the Scottish and Irish depictions.

In analysing the data of the three destination brochures, they employed content analysis methods and grouped them into six categories: brochures' front covers, destination icons, heritage, scenery, people and images of activities and consumption. They discussed in detail the similarities, sharing and uniqueness of each Celtic destination's attractions and touristic products.

Later, Pritchard and Morgan's contribution to tourism promotion has extended to cover the projection of gender in tourism promotion. In two separate articles (2000a, 2000b) they investigated the construction of tourism landscape in tourism promotional materials. In gender, Pritchard investigated how men and women were projected in British brochures. In her article, Pritchard discussed the wider socio-cultural impacts of the projection of such gender imagery (Pritchard, 2001).

Chapter Four

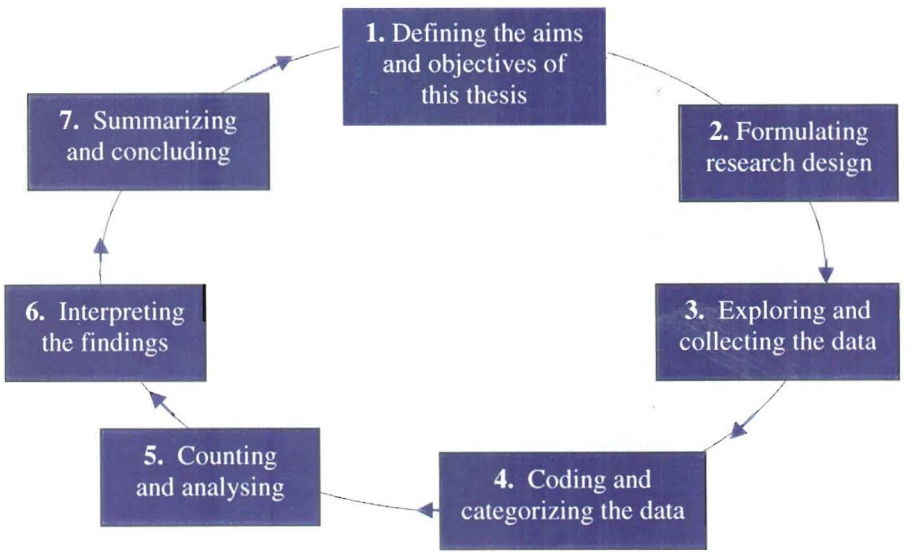
Methodology

Introduction

Methodology is defined as the system of methods and principles used in a particular discipline. It is "... an umbrella of a variety of techniques" (Ali and Birley, 1999: 103), which seek to "describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the *meaning* of naturally occurring phenomena in the social word" (Van Maanen, 1979: 520).

Diagram 2 illustrates this study approach in defining its aims and objective, exploring and collecting the data, formulating its research design, collecting the data, coding and categorising, analysing the data, interpreting the findings, and summarising and concluding the outcomes.

Diagram 2. Research design



Part 1. Exploratory study

Sekaran (2000) noted that "an exploratory study is undertaken when little is known about the situation at hand, or when insufficient information is available on how related problems or research issues have been solved in the past or what studies have been done in the field (p.123). Such techniques provide a platform for further investigation (ibid.).

In the current research, an exploratory study is necessary since no other study has been conducted that seeks to explore 'what images have been projected about Oman in international media or how the people of Oman are portrayed in Western literature'.

This exploratory study is also viewed as a means of providing vital information, which can serve as input for the subsequent stages of the current research. The aims of the exploratory stage are threefold. Firstly, to build an understanding about travel writing published about Oman in Western literature in general and British literature in particular. To achieve this aim the researcher reviewed most classical travel accounts about Oman from the time of Marco Polo's visit to Arabia in 1295 to the end of twentieth century. However the data of the study were confined to the land of Oman and its people according to modern political boundaries. As a result many famous British travellers who went to Arabia in the 19th and the early 20th, such as Doughty, Freya Stark and Lawrence of Arabia were excluded from the analysis and only 13 travel accounts were investigated.

Secondly, and in regard to travelogues, the main efforts of the research were to find out what articles had been published about Oman, and which should be

selected. Another issue was the content of these articles and how relevant to the needs of this research. The articles were collected from many sources including British Library, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (Directorate General of Tourism), Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oman, the Embassy of Oman in London, and the Internet. While hundreds of articles, press releases and news items were published about Oman in British newspapers and magazines, few were travel articles and related to the aims of this study. By process of elimination, the research selected 32 articles published about Oman in the travel section of 13 British newspapers and magazines.

Thirdly, in arriving at a sample of brochure this research identified which tour operators promoted Oman in their promotional materials, and classified them according to whether they were specialist or generalist operators, and then analysed what they projected about Oman and its people.

To collect the travel brochures, the study identified Oman within British tour operators' brochures according to four geographical categories: Middle East, Indian Ocean, Asia and Arabia. Most of the tour operators classified Oman under the Middle East category, three under Asia, two under Indian Ocean and only one under Arabia. With the popularity of Dubai as a tourism destination in the Western market, all selected operators (18 brochures) included Oman and Dubai in the same brochure.

Part 2. Data collection

To investigate the imagery of Oman in British travel literature, the research focused on three print media featuring Oman: early travel accounts, contemporary travelogues and brochures.

Section 1. Early travel accounts

Within the early travel literature, the study was based a 13 travel accounts written about Oman and its people by British explorers and travellers between 1838 and 1959 (Table 1). 1838 was taken as the base year because Wellsted's account is recorded as the first British traveller that describes the interior region of Oman. Stafford Haines and Wellsted were two[27] of the early British travellers who went to Oman in the 19th century and travelled inland.

The year of 1959 was the final cut off point because it was the year that *Arabian Sands* was published by Thesiger, thereby signalling the end of classical travel and the beginning of a new era of travel writing about Oman. Most of the early travellers to Oman journeyed either by foot or by camel. After 1950, the car became more popular.

The 13 early accounts contained 1,460 pages and 501,936 words featuring descriptions of Oman. The remaining sections of the accounts were not included in the study because they included description about other destinations such as Yemen, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iran and Zanzibar..

27 Hains surveyed and explored the south region of Dhofar in 1834. His exploration was one year before Wellsted's journey to the northern region- the outcome of his travel was published in 1845 in The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1845 (Ward, 1987).

Table 1. A list of early travel accounts published about Oman between 1838 and 1959.

	Authors name	**Title of publication**	*Year of publication*	*Number of pages referring to Oman*
1	James Wellsted	Travel in Arabia, Volume 1	1838	440
2	Stafford Haines	Memoir of the South and East Coast of Arabia	1845	12
3	Samuel B. Miles (Several articles and chapters)	On the route between Sohar and el-Bereymi in Oman, with a note on the Zatt, or gypsies in Arabia'	1877	20
4		Journal of excursion in Oman, in south-east Arabia	1896	17
5		Across the Green Mountain of Oman	1901	34
6		On the Boarder of the Great Desert: a Journey in Oman.	1910	41
7		The countries and the tribes of the Persian Gulf. ' Visit to Al- Ashkara in 1874'	1919	9
8	Charles Geary	A Journey from Bombay to the Boshoru	1878	13
9	Arthur W. Stiffe	Ancient Trading Centre of the Persian Gulf	1897	15
10	Theodore and Mable Bent	Southern Arabia	1900	99
11	Bertram Thomas	Arabia Felix: Across the Empty Quarter of Arabia	1932	376
12	James Morris[28]	Sultan in Oman	1957	165
13	Wilfred Thesiger	Arabian Sands	1959	265
	Total of the accounts pages			1506

28 James Morris (male): is the same authore who appeared in recent travel works under the name of Jan Morris (female).

Selection Criteria

In selecting these accounts, four criteria were employed:

(1) The political and geographical boundaries of contemporary Arabia (Man Chan. Y., Kee Hui, T., and Yuen, E., 1999; Skeet, 1992) influenced the research selection. Arabia and its people that travellers knew in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were quite different from modern Arabia (Thesiger, 1959). Geographically, the lands and people of the early travel accounts belonged to the Omani Empire; with its complicated boundaries, the land and the people are totally different today. Geographically, Oman was not always limited to its current boarder setting (Map 1 and 2). Kechichian (1995) defined the boarder of Oman in early days: "the country was ranged from Musandam Peninsula at the entrance of the Straits of Hormuz to Ja'alan, the midpoint promontory on the Indian Ocean and stretch to the Yemeni Boarder. It "stretched from the Al Hasa province in Saudi Arabia to the Hadhramout region of modern Yemen" (p. 11). He added that the land of the above three regions was defined by the majestic sand barrier of Rub-Al Khali (Empty Quarter). The sands, which played crucial roles in the history of Oman were seen as the cutting edge in defining the Omani boarder with Saudi Arabia (Kechichian, 1995).

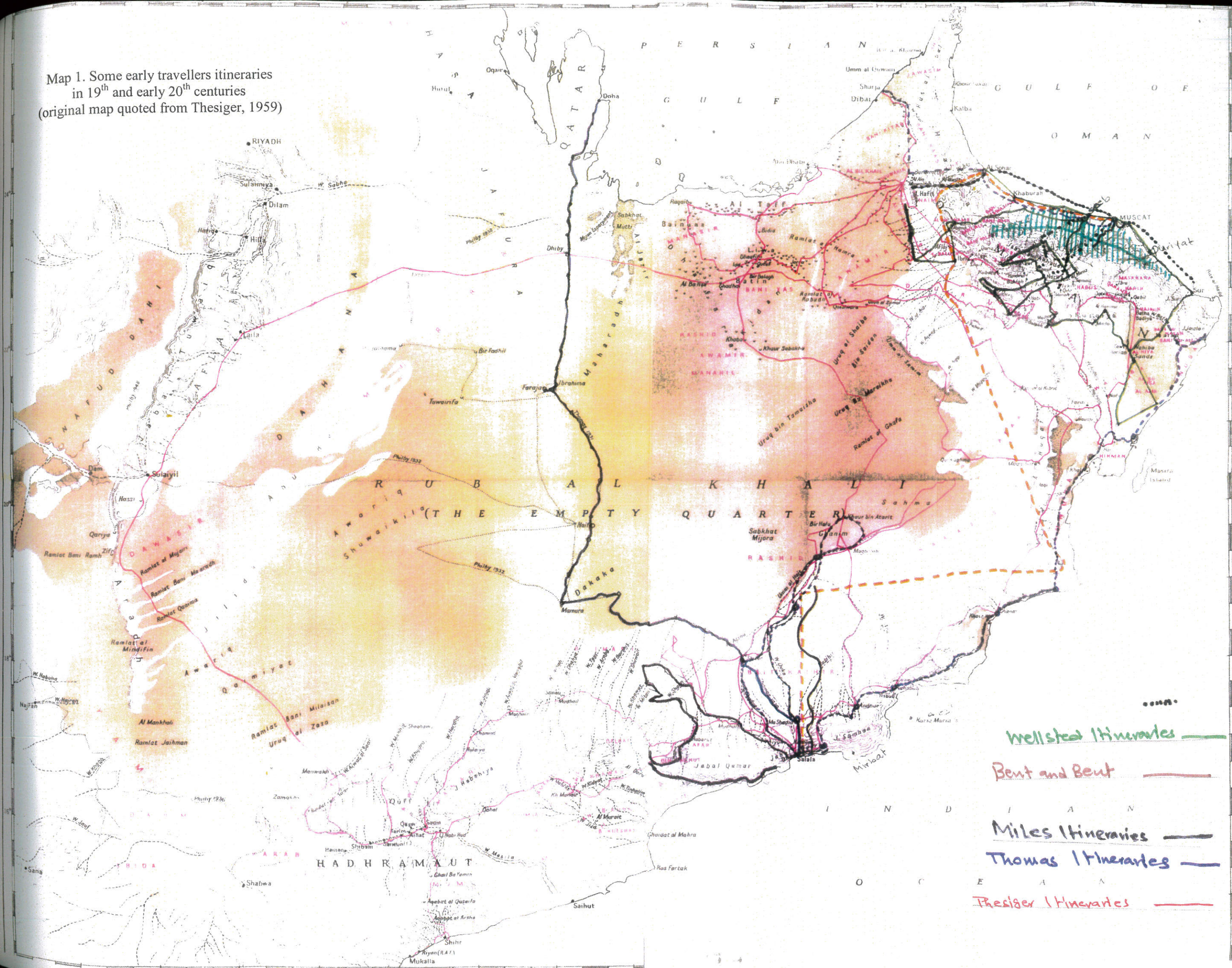
(2) Within Arabia itself, many travellers' routes as part of contemporary Oman belong either to the United Arab Emirates "Sheikhdoms of the Trucial Coast" (Henderson, 1988) or to Saudi Arabia or Yemen. Outside Arabia one traveller, for instance, described Jawadar in Pakistan, which was part of the Omani Empire from the 18th to the early part of the 20th century (Morris, 1957). Two travellers described Zanzibar, the Omani Capital in East Africa in the 19th century (Wellsted, 1838; Bent and Bent, 1900). Thus, for purposes of analysis, this study excluded all descriptions about these areas.

(3) Travel by sea was the easiest form of transportation in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Many travellers to Oman explored only the coastal areas between Dhofar (Geary, 1878; Haines, 1845; Stiffe, 1897) in the

south to the Musandam Peninsula in the north, using Muscat the capital as the centre for these journeys, as well as Qalhat (Ibn Battuta, 1325) and Sohar (Severin, 1982) in the Gulf of Oman. This study excluded accounts that only featured the coastal areas and did not travel inland. Thus the final selection ensured that the thirteenth accounts described the coast, the land – with its mountains, wadis and sands – and the people. It should also be noted that the desert and its related Bedouin life constituted the most exotic attraction for these early travellers. The study analysed these features under such categories as the landscape, the geography, the people and the culture of the country. Regionally, Oman is divided according to recent boundaries as: the capital Muscat, Al Batinah, the South, the Interior, the Midland, Al-Dhahirah, the Eastern and the Musandam Peninsula. The selected accounts covered all of these regions.

(4) Finally, the purpose of travel to Oman also influenced the selection process. Some travellers, for instance, went to Oman to study the land with its geology and archaeology, others the plants, birds and animals, even to study the Omanis themselves, or as part of a military expedition or imperial information agency. The research sample was made to focus on accounts that covered most of the above areas and aims. For example, Wellsted and Miles went to Oman to study the people and assess the land sources and power. Later on, they became the British agents in Muscat. Haines and Stiffe went to survey the coastal region from Dhofar to Muscat. Charles Geary and James Morris were newspaper editors and reporters in the region. While Bent and Bent, Thomas and Thesiger went to Oman not just to study the people and their culture, but also to study the fauna and the flora of Oman and to assess its sources. Thomas and Thesiger explored the country with its mountains, valleys and deserts from the south to the north, and recorded as the pioneers in exploring Empty Quarter Sands.

Map 1. Some early travellers itineraries in 19th and early 20th centuries (original map quoted from Thesiger, 1959)


RIYADH
Sulaimiya
W. Sahba
Dilam
Hotta
Hilla
Laila
Dhiby
Tuwairifa
Bir Fadhil
Farajan
Ibrahima
Maberadh
Dam
Sulaiyil
Hassi
Qariya
Ramlat Bani Ramh
Ramlat al Mujara
Ramlat Bani Maraida
Ramlat Qasima
Ramlat al Mindifin
Awarig Qamiyat
Ramlat Bani Milaisan
Uruq al Zaza
Al Mankhali
Ramlat Jaihman
Shuwaikila
Nafud Dahiyan
Dahana
Awarig
Jilida
Arabah
Philby 1932
Philby 1936
Philby 1948
Philby 1933
Mauz Esmeyeh
Sabkhat Mutti
Al Jafr
Qatar
Doha
Oqair
Hufuf
Persian Gulf
Umm al Quwain
Sharja
Dibai
Abu Dhabi
Khaur Dakan
Kalba
Oman
Gulf of Oman
Raqaiba
Al Taff
Bainuna
Manasir
Bidia
Ramlat Hamra
Liwa
Dhafra
Dafat
Bir Balagh
Al Batha
Ghadhfa
Batin
Bani Yas
Ramlat al Rabadh
Qasaimira
Umm al Zumul
Khabura
Al Sohar
Wadi Hatta
Al Ain
Muscat
Matrah
Ruwi
Wadi Aday
Wadi Kabir
Taiwi
Mutrah
Qurm
Qurayat
Habis
Masmara
Qabil
Sur
Majanin
Batha Badiya
Wahiba Sands
Ja'alan
Bani Bu Ali
Bani Bu Hasan
Rasid Awamir
Manahil
Khobar
Khaur Sabakha
Uruq al Shaiba
Bir Saidan
Umm al Samim
Uruq Bu Mareikha
Uruq bin Tamaisha
Ramlat al Ghafa
Sabkhat Mijara
Bir Hafu
Ghanim
Khaur bin Ataiti
Sahma
Hikman
Masira Island
Masira Channel
Ras al Hadd
Ras al Madrakah
Ras Fartak
Ghardat al Mahra
Jabal Qumar
Salala
Mirbat
Andhur
Samhan
Qishn
Indian Ocean
Hadhramaut
Qara
Qatn
Sadim
Tarim
Sihut
Qabr Hud
Shibam
Hainan
Ghail Ba Yamin
Shabwa
Saihut
Aqabat al Qutaila
Aqabat al Artha
Shihr
Riyan (R.A.F.)
Mukalla
Sana
Habban
Zamakh
Manwakh
Dahal
Al Muraikhat
Kh. Munaiir
Kh. Murair
Kh. Tinhaiten
Kh. Kidyan
Kh. Ulaila
Kh. Khuraiba
Kh. Shaham
Kh. Hamama
Kh. Hadiya
Kh. Muthail
Kh. Sanau
Kh. Mushair
Kh. Thamiri
Kh. Hulaiya
Kh. Habshiya
Kh. Jaf
Kh. Jauf
W. Habuna
Najran
W. Najran
W. Khabb
W. Jauf
W. Hadhramaut
W. Masila
W. Jirda
W. Ajdida
W. Tayar
W. Jadida
W. Ilaiyat
W. Dhuhaiya
W. Ghuwaiyat
W. Ghuraiyat
W. Ghuraiyat
W. Ghura

Map (1): Some early travellers' routes in Oman in the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

Section 2. Travelogues

The second medium was the travelogue. Within European publications, 182 articles published about Oman in different languages were collected. From these articles, 32 were selected from 13 different publications (newspapers and magazines). Altogether all these 32 articles comprised 178 A4 pages consisting of 57,301 words (Table 2).

Selection Criteria

The 32 selected articles were travel narratives published about Oman between January 1996 - June 2001 in British publications written in the English language. The research thus excluded UK publications that featured Oman in Arabic.

The study focused only on British travel accounts for comparative purposes and in order to avoid idiomatic and other cultural-linguistic differences. With an emphasis on interpretation of meaning, it was essential to follow the development of projected images from the early travel accounts to the modern travelogues and promotional brochures.

The 32 travelogues that featured Oman appeared in the travel section of the most widely read British ABC1 newspapers and magazines in the UK. The study selected six articles from *The Guardian*, five each from *The Times* and *The Independent*, four from *The Daily Mail*, three from *The Daily Telegraph*, one from *The Daily Express*, two from *The Traveller* and one from *Condé Nast Traveller*. For their rich descriptions about Oman, the research selected one article each from four regional publications: *The Scotsman*, *Birmingham Post*, *Gloucestershire*

Echo, *Denbighshire Press*, and one from *High Life*, the British Airways in flight magazine. The research excluded the *Middle East Magazine* and *Arabies Trends* for their undue business emphases.

Within the selected articles Sandy Gall was the only writer who wrote twice about Oman – once in *The Times* and once in *The Traveller* magazine. By gender, out of the 33 writers, 20 were male and 13 were female.

The words "Oman" or "Omanis" appeared in the headlines 13 times, "Arabia" 5 times, "frankincense" and "desert" 4 times each. Other (Orientalist) expressions that were used included "camel", "sands", "silent", and "the land of Sindbad the sailor".

Table 2. List of articles published about Oman in British publications between 1996 - 2001

32 articles	*Article headline*	*Date of issue*	*Writer*	*M/F*	*Hosted (Y/N)*	*Publishing day*
The Guardian (6)						
	Desert Song- Beyond the veil	17/10/98	Decca Aitkenhead	F	G	Saturday
	Shifting Sands	20/11/99	Polly Pattullo	F	GG	Saturday
	Country of the Month: Oman	05.04. 00	Mike Rams den	M	=	Wednesday
	Oman and buoy	24.08.00	Sanjida O'Connell	F	=	Thursday
	Doing the Desert Fjords by Dhow	05.05. 01 A	Matthew Brace	M	=	Saturday
	A Secret Life of Arabia	05.05.01B	Will Woodward	M	=	Saturday
The Times (5)						
	When Oman loves a Woman	21.01. 96	Mary Ann Fitzgerald	F	=	Sunday
	An Arabian night with the desert's hidden face	10.08. 96	Luke Martin	F	=	Saturday
	Lurking within tent	01.03.97	Sandy Gall	F	GG	Saturday
	Scent of Oman	01.02.98	John Tusa	M	G	Sunday
	Perfect Arabian isolation	13/05/00	Susannah Jowitt	F	GG	Saturday
The Independent (5)						
	Sweet dates in desert city	18.01.97	Chris Caldicott	M	=	Saturday
	Living in harmony	22.06. 97	Martha Gellhorn	F	GG	Sunday
	Imagine Morocco without tourists	01.02.98	Frank Giles	M	=	Sunday
	Heat, dust and philosophy	14/03/99	Jeremy Atiyah	M	G	Sunday
	Where to get your Christmas- frankincense	17.12. 00	Penny Young	F	GG	Sunday
Dally Mail (4)						
	In the land of Sindbad	21.01. 96	Frederick Forsyth	M	G	Sunday
	Arabian nights in the Jewel of the Gulf	10.01.98	Rosalind Miles	F	GG	Saturday
	A rough ride in the desert	10.05.98	Giles Milton	M	G	Saturday
	An empty treasures	18.03.00	Adrian Morgan	M	GT	Saturday
The Telegraph (3)	A day out of Ferrari - The good Oman	02.03. 97	Paul Mansfield	M	=	Sunday
	A day out of Ferrari - in search of frankincense	19.12.98	Valerie James	F	GG	Saturday
	Dune roaming... in search of desert of Oman	03.01.98	Mick Brown	M	GT	Saturday
Travellers (2)						
	Pearls of the desert	Spring 1997	Juliet Highet	F	GG	
	Along the mother of life	Autumn 1996	Sandy Gall and Robin Hitchcock.	F/M	GG	
Condé Nast	Spell Bound	March 2001	Francis	M	G	

Traveller (1)			Spufford			
Daily Express (1)	Oman gives itself a Shake	03.03.01	Simon Edge	M	GG	Saturday
The Scotsman (1)	Windows on Arabia: Oman	09.10.99	Alex Ninian	M	GG	Saturday
Denbighshire press (1)	Oman warmth shines through	April 15 1999	Peter Jenkins	M	G	Thursday
The Birmingham Post (1)	Gulf Oasis with much to write home about	25 April 1998	Guy Jackson	M	GA	Saturday
Gloucester shire Echo (1)	Best kept secret in the Middle East	28.04.1998	David Hardy	M	GG	Tuesday
High life -British Airways (1)	Frankincense and Myrrh	May 1998	Mark Jones	M	GA	

G – Minor support from the Government: (e.g. free visa, arrangement of one or two appointment, and some time the local transport).
GG – Full support from the government (airfares, local accommodation and transport and programming).
GA – Minor support from the Government (e.g. free visa, arrangement of some appointment, and some time the local transport) and the airfares provided by the airline.
= The information was not available whether the writer sponsored or supported by the tour operator or any other tourism industry.

Section 3. Travel brochures

The third medium was the brochure. From the travel companies selling and promoting Oman in the British travel market, the study selected 18 brochures (one was excluded because it only included half a page of information about the Al Bustan Palace Hotel). These 18 brochures contained 49 pages and 13,020 words about Oman (Table 3a).

Selection Criteria

For the brochures, the principal selection criterion was that they should contain some description about Oman and its people, not simply information about hotels or tour programmes. They were all 2001 UK publications.

Most of the brochures had tours to souqs, wadis and cities. *Arabian Odyssey*, *Tropical Location*, *Elite* and *Explore Worldwide* offered more optional itineraries than the others. Some operators were more specialist in offering programmes such as: a cultural programme (*Arabian Odyssey*), diving (*Pearls of the Oceans*), birds (*Limosa* and *Naturetrek*), exploring and safari tours (*Explore World-wide*), deserts and Bedouin life (*Amathus*).

All selected brochures included the present day capital Muscat in their itineraries. Indeed it was the centre for most of the tour programmes in Oman. In former times and in the early travel accounts, Muscat played the same role as the starting point for most of the journeys to the interior.

Ten operators offered itineraries to the old capital Nizwa and other interior towns, villages and oases. Eight operators had tours to the eastern region and the Al Batinah area.

It was found that out of six operators running a tour to Dhofar in the southern region, two of them had onward programmes that continued to the Midland Area as part of the Salalah itinerary.

Only three operators featured Musandam, the north region of the Sultanate and the closest Omani area to the United Arab Emirates. Two of them had tours to the Peninsula region and specialised in diving. None of the three was part of any combined tour between Oman and Dubai or between Oman and the other Emirates.

While seven brochures included a tour to Wahiba Sands with its exotic Bedouin life (Holman, 1987), *Explore Worldwide* was the sole operator who conducted a tour of the Empty Quarter.

Besides its combined programme between Oman and the United Arab Emirates (especially with Dubai), *Arabian Odyssey* (specialist) was the only operator to include Zanzibar – the Omani Empire capital in the nineteenth century.

Table 3a. List of British tour operators that featured Oman in their brochures.

Company Name	Map[29]	Specialist/ Generalist	Page No. referring to Oman	Destination
Amathus	The map of region including Oman, UAE, KSA[30], Yemen + Muscat map	Specialist	32-38	Oman and Dubai
Arabian Odyssey	The map of the Gulf presenting Oman and UAE only + map showing the itineraries.	Specialist	1-32	Oman and Dubai
Axis World Wide (Danata)	The world map.	Generalist	33	Oman and Dubai
Cox and Kings	The map of Oman presenting the main cities.	Specialist	40-43	Oman and Dubai
Elegant Resorts	The map of the region presenting Oman, UAE and KSA only.	Generalist	38-41	Oman and Dubai
Elite Vacations	The map of Oman presenting, Musandam, Sohar, Muscat, Nizwa, Sur and Wahib Sands. UAE was also featured	Generalist	20-21	Oman only
Explore Worldwide	The map of Oman as part of the region including Iran, presenting the itineraries in the country	Specialist	42-43	Oman and Dubai
Kouni Worldwide	The map of Oman as part of the Gulf presenting UAE and KSA	Generalist	200 and 209	Oman and Dubai
Limosa Holidays	The map of Middle East with out any textual writing	Generalist	60-62	Oman and Dubai
Luxury holidays	The map of Oman as part of the region	Generalist	36-39	Oman only
Naturetrek	The map of Oman presenting the itineraries within the country.	Specialist	111	Oman only
Pearls of the Ocean	The world map + the map of Oman presenting Musandam, Al Sawadi and Muscat	Specialist	17-19	Oman only
Somak holiday	The map of Oman and Dubai presenting the itineraries in the country	Generalist	109	Oman and Dubai
Sovereign Worldwide	The map of Oman as part of the Gulf presenting UAE, KSA and Yemen.		68-69	Oman and Dubai
Steppes East	The map of Oman as part of the Gulf presenting the main cities in the country	Generalist	39	Oman
Sunset Faraway holiday	The map of the Gulf presenting UAE and part of Oman only	Generalist	94	Oman and U. Arab Emirates
Tropical locations	The map of Oman	Specialist	18-21	Oman / Dubai
Western and Oriental	No map was published	Specialist	11	Oman and Dubai

29 The location of Oman in the Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean mostly presented in all maps which showed about the country.

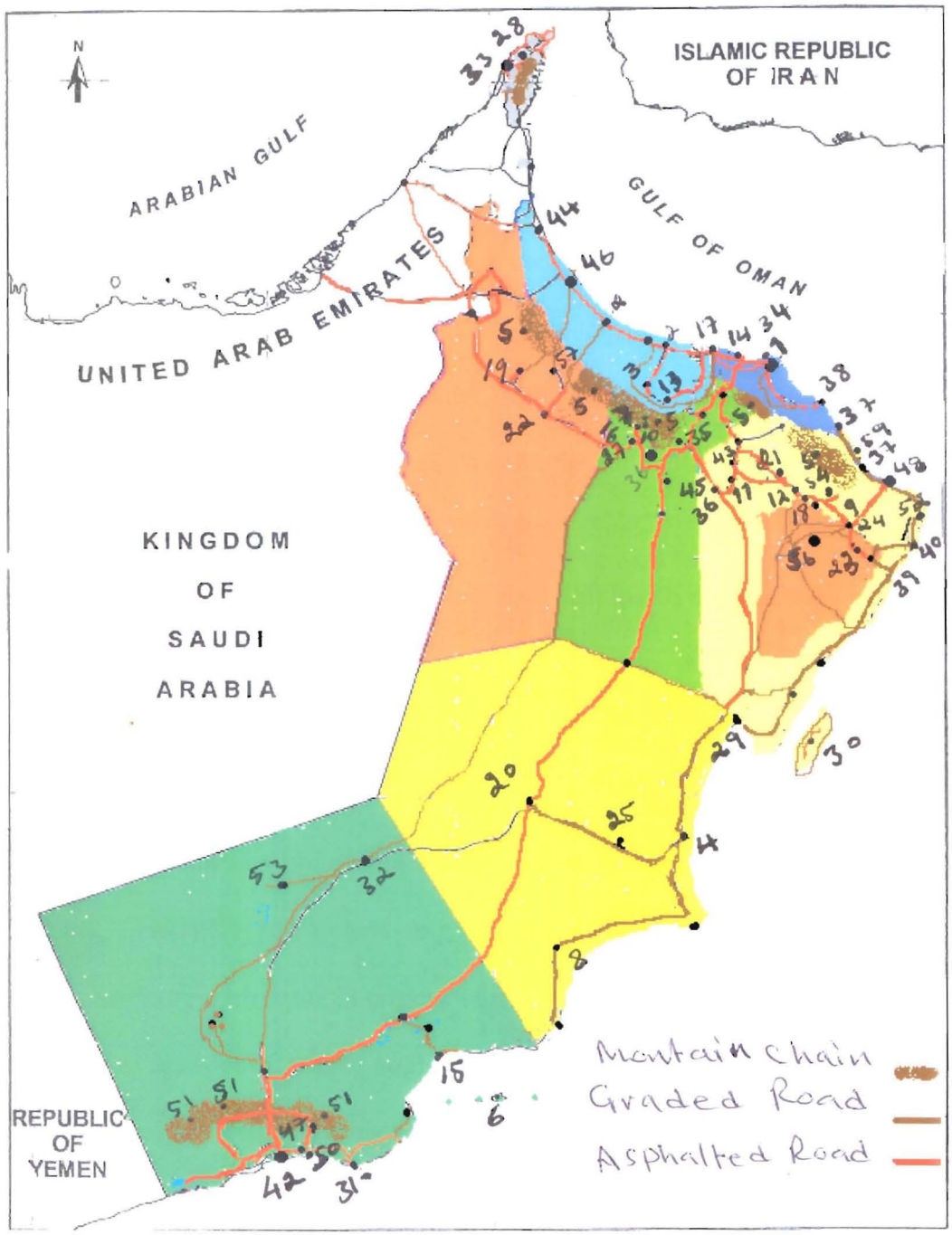
30 UAE: United Arab Emirates and KSA: Kingdome of Saudi Arabia.

Table 3b. List of British tour operator that included itineraries about Oman in their brochures in 2001.

Company Name	Itineraries	Destination
Amathus	They offered only four daily programmes: city tour in the capital Muscat; adventure programmes to Sur through the coastal road; cultural tour to Nizwa and the interior region; and one day tour to Nakhal, Al Rustaq and Wadi Al abhyadh.	Oman and Dubai
Arabian Odyssey	**Itinerary 1 (8 days):** Muscat city tour; Muscat- Nakhal, Al Rustaq and Al Awabi; Muscat-Sur; Sur –Nizwa; Nizwa- Muscat; Muscat- Salalah and back to Muscat. **Itinerary 2 (9 days):** Muscat- Ras Al Junaiz; Sur- Turtle beach; Ras Al Junayz- Ras Ar Ruways; Ras Ruways- Jaaluni; Jaaluni- Ras Madrakah; Madrakah- Wadi Shuwaymiah; Wadi Shuwymia- Salalah; and Salalah- Muscat. **Itinerary 3: Eastern region and Muscat (8 days):** city tour in Muscat; Muscat- Sur through the coast; Sur- Wadi Bani Khalid, Al Qabil and Wahiba Sands; Wahiba Sands- Muscat through Ibra; Muscat and the departure. **Itinerary 4 (3 days):** Muscat- Sohar; Sohar-Nizwa through Ibri; Nizwa- Muscat. **Itinerary 5:** (2 days): Muscat- Nizwa and Jabal Shams; Nizwa- Muscat. **Itinerary 6 (3 days):** Muscat- Sur through Quriyat and Qalhat; Sur- Ras Al Junayz; Ras Al Junayz- Muscat through Wahiba Sands and Ibra. **Itinerary 7- Musandam (3 days):** Muscat- Khasab; Khasab- Fjords of Musandam; Khasab- Muscat by plane. **Itinerary 8- Oryx project (3 days):** Muscat- Jaaluni; Jaaluni- Jiddah Al Harasis; Jiddah- Muscat.	Oman and Dubai
Axis World Wide (Danata)	Sohar and Muscat only.	Oman and Dubai
Cox and Kings	**Itinerary 1:** Muscat; Muscat- Nakhal and Al Rustaq; Muscat- Sur through Qalhat and Wadi Shab; Sur- Nizwa; Nizwa- Bahla, Jibrin and Jabal Shams; Nizwa- Muscat; departure. **Extensions:** **Extension 1: Musandam** Muscat- Khasab; Khasab- Musandam fjords; Musandam- Muscat. **Extension 2: Salalah** Muscat- Salalah (city tour); Salalah- Taqah, Kor Rouri and Mirbat; Salalah- Al Qara mountain; Salalah- Muscat.	Oman and Dubai
Elegant Resorts	No itineraries were described verbally.	Oman and Dubai

Elite Vacations	Muscat; Muscat- Sohar visiting Al Seeb fish market and Nakhal; Sohar- Nizwa through the western Hajar Mountains, Ibri and Jibrin; Nizwa- Bahla, Al Hamra, Al Misfah, Tanuf and Jabal Shams; Nizwa- Sur via Sinaw, Al Mudhaibi, Samad, Ibra, Wahiba Sands and Wadi Bani Khalid; and finally Sur- Muscat via Wadi Shab and Quriyat.	Oman only
Explore Worldwide	Muscat city tour; Muscat- Jabal Shams through Nizwa; Nizwa- Empty Quarter through Jibrin; Empty Quarter- Salalah through Al Qara Mountains; Salalah city tour including the ancient city of Sumahram; Salalah- Al Shuwamiyah through the coasts of Arabian Sea; Al Shuwamiyah- Ras Madrakah; Ras Madrakah- Wahiba Sands; Wahiba Sands- Finns; Finss- Wadi Shab; and Wadi Shab - Muscat.	Oman and Dubai
Kouni Worldwide	Muscat city tour; Muscat- Nizwa including tours to Bahla, Jibrin and Jabal Shams and back to Muscat.	Oman and Dubai
Limosa Holidays	**Itinerary1: Oman and UAE** Included tours in Dubai, Al Ain, Kalba, Qitbit, Dibba, Ras Al Khaimah. **Itinerary 2: Oman alone** Muscat, Mutrah, Al Qurm, Al Fahal Island; Muscat- Salalah (included Al Qara and Ain Sahnout); Salalah- Ain Hamran, Khawr Rouri, Taqah and back to Salalah; Salalah- Tawi Attair, Wadi Darbat and Al Mughsail; Salalah- Qitbit and back to Salalah; Salalah- Muscat and departure to London.	Oman and Dubai
Luxury holidays	No itineraries were described verbally.	Oman only
Naturetrek	Included Muscat, Fahal Island, Al Batinah Coast to Sohar, Salalah, Ayn Hamran, Garzais farm, Ayn Sahanawt, Khawrs, Mirbat, Qitbit, Wadi Mugshin, Tawi Attair, Wadi Darbat and Mughsayl.	Oman only
Pearls of the Ocean	Musandam, Al Sawadi, Muscat, Al Fahal Island and Bandar Al Khairan.	Oman only
Somak holiday	City tour in Muscat; Muscat- Sohar; Sohar- Nizwa through Ibri; Nizwa- Sur through Sinaw, Al Mudaibi, Ibra, Bidiyah and Wahiba Sands; Sur- Muscat through Wadi Shab, Qalhat and Quriyat; Muscat- Mutrah and other commercial centre in the capital.	Oman and Dubai
Sovereign Worldwide	No itineraries were described verbally.	Oman and Dubai
Steppes East	Very brief itineraries included tours in Muscat area; Sur and the Eastern region; Nizwa and the interior; and Sohar with Al Batinah coast, Nakhal and Al Rustaq.	Oman
Sunset Faraway holiday	Dubai (UAE)- Al Ain; Al Ain (UAE)- Nizwa through Ibri and Jibrin; Nizwa- Muscat; Muscat- Hata (UAE); Hata- Ras Al Khaimah; and Ras Al Khaimah- London.	Oman and United Arab Emirates
Tropical locations	No itineraries were described verbally.	Oman and Dubai
Western and Oriental	No itineraries were described verbally.	Oman and Dubai

Map (2): Tourists itineraries in Oman according to 2001 brochures.



1.Muscat; 2.A-l Sawadi; 3.Al-Awabi; 4.Al-Daqm; 5.Al-Hajar Mountains; 6.Al-Halaniyat Islands; 7.Al-Hamra; 8.Al-Jazir; 9.Al-Kamil; 10.Al-Misfah; 11.Al-Mudhaibi; 12.Al-Qabil; 13.Al-Rustaq; 14.Al-Seeb; 15.Al-Shuwamiyah; 16.Bahla; 17.Barka; 18.Bidiyah; 19.Dank; 20.Haima; 21.Ibra; 22.Ibri; 23.Jaalan Bani Bu Ali; 24.Jaalan Bani Bu Hasan; 25.Jaaluni; 26.Jabal Shams; 27.Jibrin; 28.Khasab; 29.Mahawt; 30.Masirah Island; 31.Mirbat; 32.Mugshin; 33.Musandam; 34.Mutrah; 35.Nakhal; 36.Nizwa; 37.Qalhat; 38.Quriyat; 39.Ras Al Hadd; 40.Ras Al Junaiz; 41.Ras Madrakah; 42.Salalah; 43.Samad; 44.Shinas; 45.Sinaw; 46.Sohar; 47.Sumahram; 48.Sur; 49.Tanuf; 50.Taqa; 51.The Mountains of Dhofar (Al Qara); 52.Turtle beach; 53.Ubar and Asshisur; 54.Wadi Ban Khalid; 55.Wadi Shap; 56.Wahiba Sands; and 57.Yanqul.

Part 3. Quantitative and semiotics qualitative data analysis

Section 1. Overview of the quantitative- qualitative analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies have been used within this research. Content analysis was the quantitative method while semiotics was used for qualitative analysis.

Content analysis and semiotics although seen as "something of a Cinderella in tourism studies" (Dann, 2001: 1) represent two important attempts to introduce consistent methods to the interpretation of culture (Seal, 1998). A qualitative approach is viewed as appropriate for a researcher seeking to capture the valued meaning behind words (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 1980).

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) have described qualitative inquiry as an "umbrella term for various philosophical orientations to interpretative research. For example, qualitative researchers might call their work ethnography, case study, phenomenology, educational criticism, or several other terms"(p. 9).

Qualitative analysis is a term applied to a very wide range of methods for handling data that are relatively unstructured and not appropriately reduced to numbers. Fundamentally it is a non-statistical analytical procedure that involves examining the meaning of people's words and actions. Qualitative findings are inductively derived from the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

According to Straus and Corbin (1990), researchers adopt various approaches in analysing their data qualitatively. They highlighted three main approaches:

The first is to present the data without any analysis. The idea is to let the research participants speak for themselves as much as possible, to tell their stories without interpretation (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994).

The second approach requires some selection and interpretation of the data. The skilled researcher who adopts this approach becomes "adept at weaving descriptive, speakers" words, field note quotations, and their own interpretations into a rich and believable descriptive narrative" (ibid. 122).

The third approach is related to theory building. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) such theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. This theory construction approach requires the highest level of interpretation and abstraction from the data in order to arrive at the organising concepts and tenets of the theory and thereby explain the phenomenon of interest. Out the above three approaches, this study adopted the first two only.

Section 3. Quantitative content analysis

Content analysis is an important research technique used in social sciences and humanities. It has many applications and has made vital contributions to an understanding of both the meaning and the fundamental nature and function of dreams. Content analysis technique addresses its data as having meaning and allows the reader to make inferences from text, images and symbolic matter to a chosen contexts of using the sampled texts, images, and other matters (Krippendorff, 2003).

There are several definitions for content analysis. Barelson (1952) defined content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and

quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (P. 18). In 1969, Holsti defined it as a "multipurpose research method developed to investigate any problem in which the content of communication is served" (p. 5). It also seen by Krippendorff (1980) as a phase of information processing in which communication content is transferred, through objective and systematic application of categorisation rules, into data that can be summarised and compared. Dann (2000) defined this social scientific technique as "an unobtrusive measure (Webb et al., 1966) for systematically classifying and making inferences (Holsti, 1969) from the manifest, realist, denotative or literal content of any type of human communication (Abrahamson, 1983), according to the classical questions of "who says what, to whom, how, why and with what effect?" (Babbie, 1995: 306-307)" (P. 1).

The history of content analysis as an established research technique dates from the beginning of the twentieth century, although scattered studies going as far back as the 1735 have been cited (Holsti, 1969). At the end of 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, many major trends and developments employed content analysis as a research technique. The advent of computer technology has served as an added impetus to using content analysis as one of the research techniques (Amoroso and Erikson, 2000; Dann, 2001b; Lew, 1991; Mehmetoglu, Dann, and Larsen, 2001).

Content analysis has been used in many different fields of research and disciplines such as media, sociology, linguistic, business studies, psychopathology, health-related issues, developmental and life cycle issues, gender and cross-cultural issues.

For example, there is an extensive use of the method in analysing the media coverage and the content of press in particular (e.g. Gerbner, 1969 and 1979 and Dann, 1998). With the huge development that occurred in the field of mass communications, the use of content analysis has been expanded to measuring volume in radio, television, movies and videos. It also heavily used in advertising, textbooks, newspapers, speeches, and more recently electronic applications (Amoroso and Erikson, 2000).

Within tourism, number of studies applied content analysis as a research technique (e.g. Mohammed, 1998; Seaton, 1989; Dann, 1992 and 1996a; Selwyn (1993); Zeppel, 1999; Dore and Crouch, 2002 and Echtner (2000). Most of the studies conducted in tourism mainly used the method to analyse one media and none of them employed the method to analyse three different media texts as what this study is doing. Content analysis is presented by this research to broaden the awareness and build the understanding about the content of the three travel data that written about Oman between 1838- 1959. Later on, as presented and discussed in the next section, a semiotic technique will be applied to analyse the quantitative trends.

Section 4. Qualitative semiotic analysis

Semiotics is derived from the Greek word *semeion*, which means "sign". It is "a way of analysing meaning by looking at signs" (Bignell, 1997: 1). Semiotics has its roots in Greek and Arab philosophy (Qasim, 1986: 23; Al- Hasani, 2000).

Semiotics as "the science of the life of signs within society", in Saussure's (1966) terms, can provide a theoretical framework for analysing and understanding information. Gottdiener (1995) also defined it as a mode of knowledge, of understanding the world as a system of relations whose basic unit is " the sign" - that is, semiotics studies the nature of representation.

However, the origin of modern semiotics, as a systematic science with its own rules, goes back to the work of two scholars (Bignell, 1997): Ferdinand Saussure (Saussure, 1916 cited in Daivis and Schleifer 1998) and Charles Peirce (Fisk, 1990). While both sets of ideas are quite closely related, they do exhibit some differences.

Saussure (1857-1913) is traditionally regarded as the founder of modern linguistics (Chandler, 1998 and 2004). He is credited with having transformed linguistics from a predominantly historical and comparative discipline into a rigorous science, with its own specific programme and methods of analysis (Ibid.). Saussure argued that language is a system, which contains relations between elements and meaning. An individual word, for example, only makes sense in terms of its difference, phonetically and conceptually, from other words; meaning is differential, while the terms (phonetic elements, words, etc.) in themselves are 'arbitrary' (Jenson, 1995).

According to Saussure, the task of linguists was to investigate the deep level structure which governed language (*langue*), rather than the accidental and mutable realisations of these structures, such as one would find in the everyday production of language (Saussure, 1916 cited in Daivis and Schleifer 1998).

In contrast, Peirce developed an approach to the study of signs which he called "semiotics", the name that came to define the field (as opposed to Saussure's "semiology"). Peirce's model of signs is a triadic. Any sign consists of three interrelated components: the sign, the object and the interpretant. According to Shank (1995) Peirce built this model of signs on "his theory of reality. Starting with the Aristotelian notion of potency and act, he expanded this characterisation into a triadic model: potency, act and relation" (p.2).

Peirce, like Saussure never systematised his writings on the subject in the form of a book. Readers and scholars received the work of both men through their collected papers and notes from students. In Saussure's case, the famous *Course de Linguistique Générale* was published originally in 1915 (Bignell, 1997), other sources say "1916" (Daivis and Schleifer, 1998: 265), some three years after his death. In Pierce's, case his collected papers were published as (six volumes edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1913-5) (Bignell, 1997).

The analytical methods of modern linguistics have, in the last two decades, not only exerted their influence on traditional literary criticism, but also led to a widening of the definition of what constitutes a legitimate object of study within what is conventionally described as literature.

Semiotics and tourism studies

Semiotic analysis has been applied recently to the study of tourism (Gottidiener, 1995). It has been used for instance to the study of postcards (Albers and James, 1988) and to excerpts from interviews as they relate to reactions to pictorial stimuli (Dann, 1995). Semiotic is one of the most powerful and influential ways of thinking about various media (Bignell, 1997). What do pictures signify and what exotic meanings do texts convey are just two of the questions that analysis at the level of signs can help answer.

Semiotics can help in expanding the conceptual and practical field of qualitative research by serving as its philosophical foundation, thereby allowing qualitative researchers to build upon a set of ideas that powerfully extends the aims and goals of their research. Qualitative research "can help expand semiotics by serving as a source of empirical research and findings, thereby helping move semiotics away from the current nearly total preoccupation with theory and into a state where empirically determined issues play a more important and visible role" (Shank, 1995:1).

In this study, content analysis was used to investigate the verbal patterning of travel writing texts and how the textualised image of Oman had been projected. It was used to measure and count the frequency of imageries and their movement and development across three media. However, content analysis has a limited ability to study the meaning behind these texts (Wollacotte, 1988). In order to overcome this limitation and so as to meet the aim and objectives of this study, the present writer employed semiotics for gaining an understanding of the meaning behind the preliminary results of content analysis. In so doing, he readily

acknowledged that using semiotics is not just to study language signs, but also to come to terms with the concepts behind these imageries, in other words, their cultural and social significance (McQuail, 1994).

While much of this thesis speaks to the *semiotic analysis of language* (Saussure, 1916 cited in Daivis and Schleifer 1998; Bignell, 1997; Echtner, 1999), it is also concerned with such related phenomena as myth (Barthes, 1972; Dann, 1996a; Echtner, 2000). Since people use signs to interpret the world, it often seems that the function of signs is simply to "denote" something, to label it. For example the linguistic sign "frankincense" denotes a specific incense or plant common to many countries in the Middle East, particularly Oman and Southern Arabia. However, in addition to denotation, it is the function of these signs to communicate additional meanings – "connotation". Frankincense can generate a whole set of connotations that come from the world of social experience: Christianity and the use of incense in churches, the interaction between Omani society and the Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Persian empires of previous centuries. Also, frankincense was one of the three gifts that the Queen of Sheba presented to King Solomon – frankincense, myrrh and gold – as well as one of the gifts of the three Magi to the infant Jesus. Today, the aroma of frankincense is to be found in many places where tourists travel – from souqs to hotels. Indeed, frankincense trees have become one of the tourists' programmes in the southern region of Oman.

Barthes calls this *social phenomenon* of bringing together signs and their connotations to shape particular meanings or messages "myth making". Myth for Barthes is "culture's way of thinking about people, products, places, or ideas

which are structured to send particular messages to the reader or viewer of a text" (Bignell, 1997: 16). Myth is also a form of history, philosophy, theology or science and returning the message to nature or connecting it to history and politics is important for understanding and interpreting the meaning of signs and the ways that myths work (Barthes, 1972; Leeming, 1990).

The concept of myth becomes an instrument of cultural criticism (Barthes, 1972:151-52). Myth serves to naturalise the messages of the bourgeois class by using factual messages (on the denotational level) as a vehicle for hidden (connotational) ideological meaning.

Confusion surrounds the popular usage and academic study of myth. Is myth a narrative or a sign? And does it address reality or falsehood? With Barthes' (1972) the description of myth fundamentally differs from others. He describe it as "a second- order semiological system, a sign built upon a sign: (Ibid. 114).

Others saw myth as a "message based on a code with structures similar to those of a language, (Ortega, 1972: 206), a sacred narrative (Dundes, 1984), a sacred history (Eliade, 1963), a story of a certain kind (Fontenrose, 1966).

A necessary adjunct to the idea that myths are true is the larger context that religious myths are true and sacred. Myths can be used in religious rituals to construct a supernatural explanation of various social events, climatic, astronomical, geographical and sometimes political (Eliade, 1963). Their main personae are lesser and greater deities. Their actions and reactions are earth forming and earth shattering (Hellum, 2001).

Generally, the purpose of myth is to provide reasons, explanations and justifications for human behaviour and natural occurrences that might otherwise

be strange and seen meaningless. Myth explains the world as it was and as it has come to be. Consequently, in a very real, clear and concrete sense, it can also tell history. It sets out to account for the world, in an existential sense (Eliade, 1963). Myths not only explain how, but more importantly, they attempt to resolve the why, the answering of which question is much more involved than providing a straightforward definition of myth. The reasons for human presence in the world can be justified by myth.

Within modern society, myths exist in many areas. They are generally represented as symbols. In tourism, modern myths have special significance: nature, the Noble Savage, art, individual freedom and self-realisation, equality, and paradise (Hennig, 2002).

This study treats only two of these myths as significant – *nature* and the *Noble Savage*. Here are some examples to illustrate how the research employs *myth* semiotically:

(a) Nature

The concept of nature as a redeeming and renewing force has a direct impact on tourism (Echtner, 1999). In many cases, travellers and tourists visit exotic countries such as Oman to escape from their everyday routine lives in order to experience the silence of nature. In this respect, this research explores three areas:

- *Contact between the body and nature*

The research data are rich with descriptions about environmental imageries such as wind, sky, sun, moon, sand, water, mountains and wadis. For travellers and tourists the contact between the body and nature produces magical myths

about the pure air and quietness of the desert. They hope that its purifying power and tranquillity will somehow be transferred to them.

- *The body as part of nature*

Activities such as climbing, diving, hiking, surfing and skiing reflect the experience of the body in contact with nature. The quantitative analysis will show that the research data were full of descriptions about such activities. The qualitative analysis will investigate how they are portrayed and with what meaning.

- *Environment and the ideology of nature*

Imageries such as: unspoiled, untouched, clean, pure, quiet, safe and peaceful are ideological tributes to nature. Tourists seek unspoiled and clean beaches on which to lie and relax, and most brochures of Oman are designed to attract tourists in these terms.

(b) The Noble Savage

> Another way to get close to natures is through her children, the people of nature, once labelled peasant and primitive people and considered creatures of instinct. Interaction with them is possible and their naturalness and simplicity exemplify all that is good in nature herself. "What more exciting and uplifting experience could one imagine than to share a few words or, even better, a meal and bed with such delightful people?" (Graburn, 1977: 27).

The imagery of the *Noble Savage* developed within tourism during late 18th century and became the main counter-image of developing destinations (Echtner, 1999).

In the quantitative analysis, this study classifies the nouns according to 5 categories and the people category is one of them. The theme, *people*, is grouped into two subcategories: locals and visitors (hosts and guests). Both yield different

outcomes and reflect the encounter and interaction between hosts and guests (Smith, 1989).

Bedouins' as described by some early travellers and today's journalists, are said to be living in harmony with the forces of nature, in contrast to modern man who has become alienated from his origins. Some early travellers and journalists, too, project the local in celebrations and feasts.

Bedouins and other mountain dwellers such as "Al Qara" and "Al Shohoh" are also featured in ways of which they do not know the meaning, e.g., competition or the desire for power. *Natives* are also portrayed in Orientalist terms as simple, happy, and wearing traditional Omani dress.

Semiotic analysis

Here Echtner's (1999) work-plan is adopted:

· *Choose a representation – closed corpus of data in order to apply a synchronic perspective*

In order to understand the structure of the language of data, the researcher selects and isolates the data from a mainly *synchronic* perspective (Saussure, 1916 cited in Daivis and Schleifer 1998), that is, as a contemporary, static, distinct and self-sufficient system (Echtner, 1999: 47).

· *Specify and segment the relevant elements or units of analysis*

The analysis begins by breaking the whole into parts and isolating the most important elements that are informed and guided by the theoretical goals of the research and the nature of the data.

· *Inventory the occurrence of the elements*

The analysis of this process is predominantly quantitative. The analyst concentrates on counting and recording chosen items in order to find possible combinations with other elements and the relationship between them.

. *Examine the relationship among the elements through an analysis of their syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure.*

Once the elements have been identified and isolated, the semiotician then proceeds to examine the structured relationship between them. This stage is concerned with the creation of meaning through combination.

· *Create a comprehensive taxonomy of possible elements and understand the system of rules by which they are combined.*

At this stage, the investigator attempts to create a comprehensive taxonomy of elements in combination, within and between cases. The purpose of this

process is to expose the underlying structure in order to understand the whole system. Within this process, the researcher can either regroup the elements, or introduce new ones that have emerged as significant and may have been overlooked in earlier stages of the analysis.

· *Penetrate surface meaning (or more descriptive, denotative meaning) and extract underlying meanings (or interpretive, connotative meaning).*

In this phase, the analyst focuses more specifically on the layers of signification denotative" and "connotative" as outlined by Barthes (1972).

· *Make a comparison to find out how images of Oman have moved and developed between the three accounts semiotically.*

By selecting relevant passages from texts, the semiotic analyst is able to make comparisons, while exploring the development of imagery between the early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures.

Finally, semiotic analysis enables the researcher to revisit the theory of *Orientalism*. One way of exploring what is, after all, a textual theory, is to investigate the manner in which writers' construct accounts of the *Other* in representation of different cultures.

Part 4. The applicability of quantitative content analysis and qualitative semiotic analysis to this study

Quantitative content analysis and qualitative semiotic analysis are forms of textual analysis, that aim to provide readings of texts and to draw conclusions from them, by looking at the text itself rather than the ways in which it is interpreted by readers. Qualitative semiotics can help expand the conceptual and practical domain of qualitative research.

One of the criticisms made of Saids' (1978) Orientalism approach was that of basing his analysis of texts on pre-selected categories of content and theme, rather than attempting a more inclusive and comprehensive analysis of them. In effect he based his analysis on a few, pre-determined ideological themes that were influenced by his political "take" on post-imperial issues in the Middle East. Moreover he confined his study mainly to the cases of two countries- Egypt and Palestine - and implicitly indicated that they were representative of other eastern countries, rather than allowing for the possibility that they might manifest different historical and cultural contours of development from that of others.

In the present study no pre-selected themes were adopted for selective analysis. Instead the aim was to generate a comprehensive inventory of categories for thematic analysis derived from *systematic* and *neutral* inspection of the *whole lexical content* of the texts under study. This was performed by inventorying every occurrence of the three most frequently occurring parts of speech: adjectives, verbs and nouns. They were subsequently coded and grouped into different themes and categories (Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969; Dann, 996a, Zeppel, 1999), and analysed quantitatively using a word processor in conjunction with Excel software. Words from each part of speech were assigned to categories. These

categories were developed and derived from the data it self for each part of speech.

Hence, content analysis, deployed in this thoroughgoing manner provided the research with a comprehensive inventory of the lexical items occurring in the three kinds of travel data from which to later generate and identify significant, recurring categories. By using content analysis in this way it was possible to derive the categories for the qualitative semiotic analysis from the outcomes of the quantitative analysis rather than adopting pre-selected ones like those selected by Said (1978).

The initial outcomes of the quantitative analysis therefore form the base for the semiotic or qualitative analysis. For example, the content analysis revealed the importance of representations of the physical environment in textual imaging, a phenomenon completely ignored in Said's work. The quantitative analysis also showed that the people category was higher in early travel writing in comparison with travel brochures. Most early travellers went to Oman to study the native culture, their customs and local way of life, in contrast, to modern tourists who travel to a destination and rarely encounter natives. The people theme also disclosed that much of the imagery of Oman was masculine in nature. Most of the early explorers were men[31], and the images they (over) employed in their writings were reflected in a preponderance of male-oriented nouns, verbs and adjectives in their accounts (examples are provided in Chapters 5, and 6). It is an imperialist language of conquest and power over an essentially female landscape – an Orientalist discourse that views nature in submissive terms.

31 The exceptions were James Morris who later became James Morris, and Theodore and Mabel Bent – a husband and wife team.

Chapter Five
Quantitative data analysis

Introduction

In Chapter 4, a detailed description of the data collection was provided and the importance of using quantitative content analysis and a qualitative semiotic method in analysing textual data was stressed. The present lengthy chapter discusses the utilisation of quantitative content analysis as the first phase of the analysis of this study. It is divided into three parts. Part 1 begins with a brief sketch about the research design and how the collected data were assembled, treated and classified. Part 2 focuses on data analysis of nouns, verbs and adjectives. To explore the movement of imageries between the three media, Part 3 outlines the similarities and uniqueness of imageries.

The first objective of this thesis is to investigate the verbal framing of Oman and its people in historical, and more recent, writings of UK origin. This aim addresses two questions that are relevant to this chapter: What textual images of Oman are projected in the early travel accounts, the travelogues, and travel brochures? And what are the continuities and similarities, and differences in the three media representations of Oman? In other words, do the verbal imageries in the early travel accounts influence the vocabulary of travelogues and travel brochures?

So, by identifying the content of early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures and addressing the outcomes of the quantitative analysis, Part 1 and 2 of this chapter answers the above first question of the first objectives. The second question inquiries if the verbal imageries of earlier travellers' tales influence the

vocabulary of later accounts and promotional brochures. So Part 3 of this chapter answers question two of the first objectives. It explor the movement of imageries in the three media. It also provides a discussion of the shared imageries between one media and another and the unique representations in each medium.

Part 1. Analysis design

Once the material had been collected and selected, a multiphase strategy was employed to analyse the data. First, all relevant excerpts were transcribed and stored in the computer: 1506 pages of the early travel accounts, 179 pages of travelogues and 49 pages of brochures. Second, the data were analysed quantitatively using a word processor in conjunction with Excel. Third, the research focused on the three most frequently occurring parts of speech – adjectives, verbs and nouns (e.g. Appendix 1- all nouns in travelogues -page 497). Dross words such as: "to be" and " the", etc, were omitted.[32] Fourth, categories of the analysis were developed for each part of speech (e.g. Appendix 2- all verbs). Inductively, the process was facilitated by recourse to dictionaries, thesaurus and the use of words in Omani literature and everyday speech. Deductively, categories were drawn from related research on tourism imagery. This combination of coding up (inductive) and coding down (deductive) yielded a number of words which were classified according to their nearest meaning (sometimes a problem in research of this nature). Fifth, words from each part of speech were assigned to categories (presented and analysed in this chapter). Here the properties of exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity insured reliability of assignment and

avoided the difficulties traditionally associated with multiple judges. Finally, themes were ordered according to highest and lowest frequencies across the three media, in order to discover the major differences and similarities, in particular what imagery appeared and what disappeared from the accounts over time and in moving from one medium to another (Appendices 3, 4 and 5).

This ordering by frequency over time permitted an exploration of the diachronic qualities of imagery. An examination of unique versus shared imagery across the media and time period allowed the researcher to investigate the extent to which imagery persisted from earlier to later travel texts. It opened the possibility of more detailed analyses of specific words in brochures according to the generalist or specialist nature of the tour operator (e.g., "bird-watching", "diving").

For the last column of Table (4) below it can be seen that of the three parts of speech, nouns were used more than twice as often as verbs or adjectives: 58.1% nouns, 26.7% verbs and 15.2% adjectives.

Table 4. Totals and percentages of all nouns, verbs and adjectives in the three media

Part of speech	***Early Travel Accounts***		***Travelogues***		***Brochures***		***All three media***	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Nouns	40096	57.3	5532	61.7	2848	62.9	48476	58.1
Verbs	19479	27.8	1815	20.2	995	22.0	22289	26.7
Adjectives	10369	14.8	1619	18.1	686	15.1	12674	15.2
Total	**69960**	**100.0**	**8966**	**100.0**	**4529**	**100.0**	**83455**	**100.0**

32 Since some words could have been treated as more than one part of speech (e.g., "dress"), the decision as to their assignment was based on the context in which they occurred. Such a strategy avoided the familiar problem of "double counting".

Part 2. Data analysis

Section 1. Analysing and categorising the nouns

The noun category was classified according to according to 6 themes: **landscape**, **geography**[33], **people**, **history** and **civilisation**, **culture**, and **tourism components**. Table (5) below classified all these themes according to its highest occurrence in early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures.

Table 5. Comparison of the nouns in the three media

Early travel accounts (Between 1838-1959) (13 travel accounts) **1792** pages of **501,9362** words			Travelogues (Between 1996 June2001) (32 travel articles) **178** pages of **57301** words			Travel brochures (Collection of 2001) (18 travel brochures) **49** pages of **16263** words		
374 themes								
Themes	Frequency	%	Themes	Frequency	%	Themes	Frequency	%
Landscape	13095	32.7	Landscape	1327	24.0	Geography	800	28.1
People	9099	22.7	Geography	1329	24.0	Landscape	746	26.2
Geography	6409	16.0	People	1006	18.2	Tourism components	741	26.0
Culture	5115	12.8	Culture	920	16.6	Culture	344	12.1
Tourism components	3233	8.1	Tourism components	681	12.3	People	154	5.4
History and Civilisation	3145	7.8	History and Civilisation	269	4.9	History and Civilisation	63	2.2
Grand Total	40096	100	Grand Total	5532	100	Grand Total	2848	100

By reading across the rows of Table 5, it can be seen that **physical environment (e.g. landscape and geography)** featured prominently in the three media, constituting just over a half in brochures (54.3%), and just under half in early travel accounts (48.7%), and travelogues (48.0%). It indicated that in all three media texts the countryside of Oman was scenically attractive. Early travellers as well as contemporary travelogues writers and tourists experienced the deserts with its sands, camels, the valleys with its mountains and oases.

33 Landscape is more concerned with land and its sources, while geography is concerned with destination, region and the geographical location. The first contains four sub categories: scenery, agriculture, environment and wild life, while geography is classified into three: geography, destination and region of Oman.

Landscape featured prominently in the three media, constituting just under one third in early travel accounts (32.7) %, just under one quarter in travelogues (24.0%) and just over a quarter in brochures (26.2%). Geography was also one of the highest categories in brochures. It was featured 800 times and constituted 28.1%. The theme was also the second from the top of the list in travelogues (24.0%) and the third in early travel accounts (16.0%).

In their geographical descriptions, brochure producers as well as travelogue writers were mainly concerned to give their readers details about the regions of Oman. Moreover, in describing the itineraries of the tours, brochure producers provided information about the names of the cities, towns, villages and oases. In many cases the map of the country or the region was provided. In addition to the names of the Omani regions, cities and villages, early travellers were more precise in pointing the location of Oman within the region. For instance: "Arabia", "Arabian Peninsula", "South Arabia" and "Arab world" featured more in early travel accounts than in travelogues and brochures.

One reason for the prominance of the people category in the early travel accounts (22.7%) and travelogues (18.2%) in comparison with the brochures (5.4%) is that tourist's today travel to a destination where they rarely meet the local people (at least beyond the confines of the hotel). The main aim of the brochures is not so much to promote the local people, but rather the natural beauty of the destination and the facilities that the place offers to satisfy tourists' needs.

People, on the other hand, were one of the main targets to meet and to study for the early explorers. In the case of Oman, most of these travellers ate and lived with local people in their castles, forts, camps and tents- even in some of their

houses. Besides that, these travellers were quite experienced in local life and Omani customs, a situation that has changed considerably in modern times. In the travelogues the nature of the writers' programmes is also different. Journalists rather than tourists had more opportunity to meet officials and locals. Because of their wide ranges of audience journalists have dealings with market leaders in Oman to promote the publications for which they work and obtain more advertising revenue to cover their expenses. They also attend and participate in a number of local events, such as national days and religious celebrations, where the opportunity to interact with Omanis is greater than for tourists.

With the development of tourism infrastructure and entertainment today, compared with early times, it is not surprising that the tourism component category, including such words as *holiday*, *safari*, *itinerary*, *pool*, *tennis court* and *water sport* appeared more frequently in the brochures (26.0%) and more in the travelogues (12.3 %) than in the early travel accounts (8.1%).

Physical environment

The theme **Physical environment** is composed of two categories: landscape and geography.

Landscape itself amounted to just under one third of the total in the early travel accounts (32.7%), just slightly higher than one quarter in the brochures (26.2%) and approximately 24.0% in travelogues. Geography on the other hand was higher in travel brochures (28%) and travelogues (24%) than in early travel accounts (16%).

Landscape

Landscape contained 76 nouns divided into four subcategories: landscape and scenery, agriculture, environment and wildlife (presented in Appendix 4- p. 501).

Deserts with their golden *sands*, coastal regions with their *beaches*, and *mountains* with their adventure *valleys* land and scenery naturally dominated the imagery of the landscape. From the total of all landscape nouns, the *landscape and scenery* subcategory constituted 62.9 % in brochures, 47.5 % in travelogues and 44.8 % in early travel accounts. Many early travellers had journeyed through the sands and experienced the hard life of the desert, while brochure producers referred to programmes that had been especially designed to attract tourists to experience the exotic countryside with its golden sands and mountain adventures. Consequently, sands, mountains and valleys were the highest frequency nouns featured within the land and scenery in the three media, and these were most prominent in the brochures, which stressed them as a positive attraction. By reading among the landscape and scenery subcategory theme, one can see that *sands* is the most frequency landscape noun that occurred in the three media featured 1112 times constituting from the total of all nouns 8.5% in early travel accounts, 149 times constituting 11.2% in travelogues and 60 times constituting 8.0% in brochures. The second imagery '*mountain*' constituted 10.6% in brochures, 7.1% in early travel accounts and 6.3% in travelogues. The word *valley* or *wadi* featured higher in brochures (8.2%) and travelogues (8.1%) than in early travel accounts (5.8%).

Oman is a country with coasts extends to 1700 kilometres. Many brochure producers feature the beautiful and unspoiled *beaches* along the Omani coast, with touristic facilities and the beach activities, designed to attract tourists and visitors. These facilities were not available in early days in Oman, and most travellers had different interests from today's tourists. Consequently, the touristic nouns *beach* and *coast* occurred more frequently in brochures than in the other two media. From the total of all nouns, *Beach* constituted 7.5% in brochures, 2.9% in travelogues and only 0.4% in early travel accounts. The second most frequent imagery word *coast* constituted 6.8% in brochures, 2.7% in early travel accounts and was only featured 8 times (0.6%) in travelogues.

The wildlife subcategory featured more commonly in early travel accounts and travelogues than in brochures. From the total of landscape nouns it constituted 18.2% in the first of these types of text, 15.8% in the second and only 6.6% in the third medium. Out of 19 wildlife imageries, 9 imageries occurred in brochures, 13 in travelogues and were only in absent the imagery of early travel accounts. Early travellers went to Oman to gather information about its flora and fauna. In the 19th century, Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1878) studied the Green Mountain and the northern region of Oman. The anthropological study and the biological information that was gathered about Al Qara Mountains[34] by Bertram Thomas are also some of the most comprehensive and important data about the chain till today. Years later, Thesiger followed in Thomas' footsteps in studying the flora and fauna of Qara and the Empty Quarter (Thesiger, 1959).

34 In modern days Al Qara Mountains became popular as the Mountains of Dhofar, but this thesis is continued uses 'Al Qara Mountains' or Al Qara Chains' the most popular names used in early travel accounts.

As travel in Oman before 1950 was mainly by *camel* or on foot, *camel* features as the highest landscape theme, occurring 1400 times, constituting 10.7% of all landscape nouns in early travel accounts. The same word also had high frequency in travelogues (7.5%), while it featured only 6 times in brochures, constituting less than 0.8%. Camel and horse racing became popular sport activities, which were more common in many areas in the whole Gulf region. In contemporary travelogues and brochures, writers' descriptions about *wildlife* were different in contexts. Wild animals such as *dolphin*, *turtle*, *gazelle*, *fox, Oryx*, and *wolf* were described as one of the tourist attractions to be watched by tourists. However, within the early travel accounts, *dolphin* occurred once in Wellsted work and was not used at all by other early writers and *turtle* did not exist at all. The last four wild animals: *gazelle, fox, Oryx*, and *wolf* were frequently described in early travel accounts particularly Those Thomas and Thesiger.

Oman was one of the first Arab nations to form a Ministry for the Environment[35]. This took place in 1984 and since then, many environmental laws and pieces of legislation have been drafted. Before establishing the board, the government had already introduced many environmental legislations and designated a number of environment reserves e.g. *The Arabian Oryx* sanctuary in Jaluni. Years later, in addition to Oryx sanctuary, the government initiated other national reserves such as parks *Al Qurm Park* (Muscat) and *Saleel Natural Park* (eastern region); turtle sanctuary, *Ra's Al Hadd* (eastern region) and *Dimaniyat Islands* (Al Batinah coast) nature reserves; bird sanctuaries: *The Khawrs reserve* of (Dhofar) coast. Protected sands areas: *Wahiba project* (eastern region); natural mountain areas: *Jabal Samhan* (Dhofar) and the *Green Mountain* (the interior

region) reserves (Ministry of Regional Municipalities and Environment and Water Resources, 2003).

Janet Cochrane (1993) pointed out that in selecting reserves, governments and local communities have to justify these in terms of their economic and social benefits to the region in particular and the country's economy in general. In applying Cochrane's (1993) point in the case of Oman's reserves, this research found that these projects were initiated for a variety of reasons and aims. For example, *Ra's Al Hadd* and '*Wahiba Sands*' (WTO and UNDP, 1991: 12) reserves helped to enhance the government's concern toward attracting foreign visitors and extending their length of stay in the country by creating new Eco-tourism programs. Developing such environmental projects was also aimed to create more employment opportunities in rural areas and enhancing the government efforts to diversify its tourism products by focusing on cultural and environmental tourism rather than relying on beach resorts and urban products.

Another example with different aims is the White Oryx Reserve in Jaluni. In the last three decades, the project had more political and social motivations rather than economic. It was created to restore part of the Omani natural heritage in the frontier regions and encourage local inhabitants 'mostly Al Harasis' to take part in the project to remain in their area. Developing such project in the remote and sand area was also another strategy employed by the governments in the Gulf to win the acceptance of local inhabitants for the oil development in the area they lived and gain their loyalties toward the ongoing boarder conflicts in the area (Morris, 1957; United Nations University, 2003).

35 In 1997 ministry of environment was unified with Ministry of regional municipalities and environment.

In today's tourism era, some natural and environmental reserves such as Dhofar Mountains and Al Qurm Park became one of the touristic spots in the country. They serve locals' and tourists' desire to enjoy their leisure time in natural surroundings. Al Qurm Park with its fjords and scenic view became attractive as one-day program for many residents and visitors in the country. With its tropical climate, the Dhofar Mountains also are seen as one of the most attractive tourist spots in the Gulf. In addition to its monsoon weather, the chain contains some of the rare trees in the world (Ochs, 1998). It offers a plethora of bushes, shrubs, flowering plants and trees found in the wild, including several varieties of orchids, palms and local herbs. In the last three decades the chain has been affected by deforestation and overgrazing activities.

A number of brochures offer adventure programmes for tourists to *dive*, *fish* and *dolphin* watch (*Pearls of the Ocean*, 2001); *bird* watch (*Naturetrek*, 2001 and Limosa, 2001); see *oryx* (Explorer World-wide, 2001); ride *camel* (*Arabian Odyssey*), and view *flowers* and *trees*, *date* and *coconut plantations*. The word *bird* was more frequent in brochures (3.1%) than in early travel accounts (0.6%) and travelogues (0.6%) consistent with the greater emphasis on nature. The imagery *turtle* featured higher in travelogues (22 times and constituted 1.7%). In contrast, it occurred only 6 times in brochures (0.8%) and did not appear at all in early travel accounts. Out of 32 articles used in this research, 6 articles described 'turtle' and the reserve area. In contrast only 3 tour operators (*Arabian Odyssey*, *Pearls of the Ocean* and *Steppes East*) offered tour programmes to turtle sanctuary in the eastern region.

Geography

In Appendix 5 (p.503) this physical subcategory, contained 76 nouns divided into three subcategories.

The first was the *location* of Oman in relation to other countries and regions including its historical roles in the Gulf, Arab Sea and Indian Ocean. The second set of descriptions referred to the countries and destinations in the region, which interacted with Oman, or mentioned its influence in travellers' journeys or described it as part of combined tour programmes. The third set of descriptions refers to regions of Oman (Map 2).

The analysis showed that classical writers and journalists were more concerned to tell their readers about the geographical location of Oman as part of Arabia, the Arabian Peninsula, South Arabia and the Arab world. In contrast, these themes had limited use by contemporary travel writers. In describing the location of Oman, phrases such as *Arabia*, *South Arabia*, *and Arabian Peninsula*' were frequently used in the early travel accounts. By the middle of the 20th century, writers of the travel accounts like Morris (1957) used *Arab World* to describe where Oman was. Travelogues and travel brochures referred to Oman as part of the *Middle East*, or as part of the *Arab Word*, or as part of the *Gulf*. However, they also described Oman as located at the eastern edge of Arab World, to insulate the country from the political and military struggles in the Middle East and the Gulf.

The Oman depicted in the 19th century (Map 1) is different from the Oman in contemporary travelogues and brochures (Map 2). For example, in Wellsted's (1838) time, Oman meant the empire, the power, the country and the people who dominated many territories in Arabia, East Africa, Pakistan and Persia. Within the

Arabian Peninsula, Oman in the early days "stretched from the Hasa province in Saudi Arabia to the Hadhramout region of modern Yemen" (Kechichian, 1995: 11). In travelogues and brochures, the domain and meaning of Oman have been reduced to its contemporary, national territories that stretch from the United Arab Emirates in the west to the Republic of Yemen in the south. The peninsula of Musandam, an enclave, separated from the rest of Oman by "the 90 –km- wide Emirates of Fujairah, is also part of the country (Scholz, 1974). Similar to what early travellers and contemporary travelogues writers did, 12 brochures supported their descriptions of Oman by presenting the map of Oman and its location within the Middle East and the Gulf regions. In addition to the map of Oman as part of the region, 8 tour operators provided the map of the country featuring the regions, the cities and the villages to describe the itineraries.

Due to the political situations in Oman in the 19th and the 20th centuries, **the** name of the country was featured differently in early travel accounts. It was frequently called *Oman* in most 19th century writings particularly in Wellsted's (1838) account. The early travel accounts published at the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries called the country *Muscat and Oman*. A number of states in the northern regions of, what was known as Oman before the 19th century became popular as the *Trucial Coast of Oman*. Travelogues and travel brochures used only *Oman* to refer to the country instead of *Muscat and Oman*. A number of travelogue writers used the full title *Sultanate of Oman*. The *Trucial Coast of Oman* was no longer featured, having become an independent state under the name of *United Arab Emirates*. The use of the word *Oman* became more prominent in contemporary travelogues and brochures in comparison with old

travel writing. Moreover, *Omani* constituted the highest frequency noun in travelogues. In this regard, all thirteen early travel accounts included the map of Oman as part of Arabian Peninsula. In travelogues, out of 32 articles, 14 were accompanied by the map of Oman as part of the Middle East or the Gulf region. In brochures the case was quite different. In addition to explaining the location of Oman, brochure producers provided their tourists with more details about the itineraries routes, cities, villages and its locations within the touris map.

The three media descriptions showed that countries such as Yemen (4.6%), India (2.65%), Hejaz or Saudi Arabia (1.8%), Bahrain (1.6%) and United Arab Emirates (Trucial Coast of Oman[36]) (1.3%) were projected more frequently than other destinations. Zanzibar and East Africa are brought to the texts because of their historical relations with Oman. Of the early travel accounts they were featured higher in Wellsted (1838) and Bents (1900) accounts than any other travellers works. They became as part of the Omani legacy and history in travelogues and travel brochures.

The analysis of the three media description about the *regions* of Oman revealed a number of trends.

The regions of Oman maintain their importance as the most attractive spots to be visited by three media writers. From the total of all geography nouns it was featured higher in travel brochures (71.3%) than in travelogues (60.2%) and early travel accounts (50.0%).

Muscat, where most of the journeys to Oman were started was highly featured in the three media. As showed in (Appendix 5- p.503) it was the first on

36 Trucial Coast of Oman was the name mostly used by many old travel writers to refer to modern United Arab Emirates.

the top of the list in brochures constituting 4.4%, in travelogues the word featured 114 times, constituting 2.1%, and 492 times in early travel accounts (1.2%) of the total of all nouns.

Many travellers and journalists went to explore *Dhofar* in the south region with its exotic life and Al Qara inhabitants. The region maintained an important position as the most accessible Omani gateway to the *Empty Quarter* and *Yemen*. In early travel accounts and travelogues the word *Dhofar* constituted 0.7% and 0.5% in contemporary brochures. The bordering city *Al Buraimi* featured 99 times in old travel writing constituting 1.5% from the total of all geography nouns. Out of 10 travellers in Oman investigated in this research, 5 of them explored and described *Al Buraimi* in their writing. In contrast, the city did not appear at all in travelogues and brochures.

Contemporary travel jounalists and tourists followed early traveller's routes and itineraries. For example, all three media described the itineraries between Muscat and Nizwa or Muscat and Al Rustaq through Nakhal. The coastal route between Sur and Dhofar was also described as the favourable route to travel by car between the northern regions and the south region of Dhofar. In addition, the coastal routes between Muscat and Sur were used by many travellers in early days. Despite the limited available infrastructure in the route it was featured by many travel brochures and travelogue writers. The Wahiba sands that were visited by many travellers in early days (e.g. Wellsted, Miles, and Thesiger) maintain their importance in the tourist map and featured higher in travelogues (2.0%) and brochures (1.9%) than in early travel accounts (0.5%).

People

An obvious theme category was that of **people**. Since travellers in the old days went to gather information about the people of Oman and to investigate their customs, their interaction with native people was more common than it is with modern day travellers and tourists. By contrast, contemporary journalists and brochure producers projected *Omanis* in an ethnic, sensual and exotic way that could attract tourists to visit the place. They revealed the exotic life of locals in the desert, in the villages and even in the towns. Early travellers projected people in a more diverse detail travelogues and brochures.

To increase the attractiveness of the place, the indigenous life was portrayed as *exotic*, *strange* and *different* from what European travellers and tourists had experienced before. The interaction between tourists and destination people occurred at tourist facilities and sites; it took place in markets, souqs, public beaches, and carnivals, and indeed at any public event highlighted by the journalists and brochures. Tourists and journalists were observers, while locals in some cases were in subordinate positions acting as *tour guides*, *hoteliers*, *drivers*, *officers* at airports and other public sites. The word *tribe* appeared as the highest frequency noun in early travel accounts, where it constituted 3.7 % of all nouns. *Arabian Sands* by Thesiger (1959) and *Arabia Felix* (1932) by Bertram Thomas were the travel accounts using this theme the most.

Imageries of **people** showed very high occurrence in early travel accounts (22.7%) and travelogues (18.2%) in comparison with the brochures (5.4%). In analysing this category, **People** is grouped into two subcategories: **host** and **guest.** 45 nouns constitute the principal content of the first group (**host**) and 33 nouns comprise that of the second (**guest**).

The appearance of insiders and outsiders' imageries in the three media also require more analysis to reveal the reasons behind the high frequency of certain words and the absence of some imagery. The analysis of **people** also revealed that consumer language was higher in brochures and travelogues than in early travel writings. *Guest* constituted 36.4% in brochures, 22.7% within the travelogues and was only 8.1% in the early travel accounts. In contrast, the **host** category scored higher in early travel accounts (91.9%), than in the travelogues (77.3%) and travel brochures (63.6%).

Within the **host** sub-category, masculine imageries featured higher than feminine in the three media. Masculine imageries constituted 97.6% in brochures, 87.7% in early travel accounts and 77.2% in travelogues. In contrast, feminine imageries constituted 12.3% in early travel accounts and were only 2.4% in brochures. Feminine representations constituted higher frequency in travelogues (22.8%) than their occurrence in early travel accounts and brochures. The analysis of the **host** according to power and status revealed that *ordinary people* and *non-ordinary* imageries occurrences were varied in the three media. *Ordinary people* featured higher in travelogues (73.3%) than their appearance in early travel writings (53.4%) and travel brochures (51.7%).

Within the **guest** sub-category, the use of the words *tourist* was higher in the brochures (5.2%) than in the travelogues (2.7%). In early travel accounts it was featured only twice. In contrast, traveller featured higher in travelogues (2.2%) than in early travel accounts (0.7%) and did not appear at all in travel brochures. Out of 8 travellers names investigated, Thesiger was the highest traveller name used in contemporary travelogues (46 times) and brochures (2 times). In contrast,

Theodore and Mable Bents (1900) were the highest traveller name featured in early travel accounts (30 times).

The host

In order to evaluate the *local's projection*, this research adopted two approaches (Appendix 3a- p.499).

The first classified the data according to masculinity and femininity (Appendix 6- p.505). This approach was used in order to provide distinctive interactive relationships between the maleness and femaleness in general and the frequency use of men and women in particular (Goffman, 1979). Some words such as *tribe*, *local*, *farmer*, *Bedouin*, *Muslim*, *Mohammedan*, *indigenous*, and *child* could thematically refer to both males and females. Consequently, this research grouped them under *general gender* and excluded them from the comparison between masculinity and femininity.

The second approach classified people as ordinary or non-ordinary (Appendix 7 and 8-pp.505-506). The ruling class contained 6 words *Chief*, *Prince*, *Sultan*, *Imam*, *Sheikh* and *Wali*. The ordinary group formed by 18 words such as: *companion*, *driver*, *farmer*, *fisherman*, *garrison*, *guide*, *indigenous*, *Kadi* (Qadhi), *merchant*, *native*, *officer*, *police* (Askari), *Qara people*, *Rabia*, *seafarer*, *Sindbad* and *soldier*.

(a). Maleness and femaleness

By reading the row in the Appendix (6- p.505), it is evident that masculine imageries dominated. Masculine representations constituted 97.6% in brochures, 87.7% in early travel accounts and 77.2% in travelogues. In contrast, feminine imageries constituted 22.8% in travelogues, 12.3% in early travel accounts and were only 2.4% in brochures.

Out of the 30 words, 23 imageries represented masculinity and only 7 belonged to femininity. The occurrence of the words in the three media showed 6 were masculine and only 1 feminine words in brochures; 20 masculine and 7 feminine imageries occurred in travelogues; and all masculine and feminine imageries featured in early travel accounts.

From the total of people category, the imagery *man* featured 1006 times in early travel accounts (11.1%), 50 times in travelogues (5.0%) and only twice in brochures (1.3%). In contrast, *woman* was the only feminine imagery to occur in brochures. The example of the word came from *Amathus*' holiday brochure: "think of Oman of the veiled women, arid landscape, exotic mosques and minarets gracing the skyline spring to mind, but Oman has much more to offer" (*Amathus holiday*, 2001).

In travelogues, feminine imageries in general and the word *woman* in particular featured higher than in the other two media. For example, the word *woman* featured 60 times (constituted 15.5% from the total of all maleness and femaleness imageries), in contrast, it constituted 4.6% in early travel accounts and only 2.4% in brochures.

(b). Ordinary and non-ordinary people

The second subcategory of local people is the *ordinary* and *non-ordinary* distinction. Ordinary was grouped into 18 words: *Bedouin* or *nomad*, *companion*, *driver*, *farmer*, *fishermen*, *garrison*, *guide*, *indigenous*, *Kadi* (Qadhi), *merchant*, *native*, *officer*, *police or Askari*, *Qara people*, *Rabia*, *seafarer*, *Sindbad and soldier* (Appendix 8-p.507). While, non-ordinary or ruling was grouped into 6 words: *Sultan*, *Imam*, *Sheikh*, *Wali*, *Chief and Prince* (Appendix 7).

Ordinary and non-ordinary imageries had different appearances in the three media. Ordinary group was featured more frequency than ruling class in the three media. It constituted 75.8% in travelogues of all ordinary and non-ordinary imageries, 53.6% in early travel accounts and 51.7% in brochures (Appendices 40 and 41). For example, the word *Sultan* had varied appearances in the three media. The notion and the concept was different in the brochures from its meaning in the early travel accounts and travelogues. It was mainly used to refer to the ruler of the country in the classical accounts and travelogues. In contrast, modern brochures used the word to refer to monuments, the touristic facilities and palaces that carry the name of his Majesty *'Sultan'*. Despite the low appearance or the absence of other ruling class words (Imam, Sheikh and Wali) in travelogues and brochures, *'Sultan'* constituted 17.5% in brochures, 9.9% in travelogues and 7.0% in early travel accounts.

(1) Ruling class

In analysing the projection of non-ordinary people, it proved more useful to classify the structure of the ruling class in Omani society according to six titles: Sultan, *Imam, Sheikh, Wali, Prince and Chief* (Appendix 7-p.506). Hence, *Sultan* and *Imam* appeared in different contexts in early accounts and travelogues.

Travellers in their descriptions treated the first four ruling class words as authorities from whom they had to take their permission and acceptance before they could travel inland. The Sultans for example, used to send letters about a traveller's journey to his Walis and tribal sheikhs in the regions. They would also arrange guides and guards from Muscat or Dhofar to accompany travellers.

In this research, it was found that words such as: *Sayyid Said*, *Sultan* and *ruler* were used to refer to the ruler of the country. For this reason they were classified and counted under the word *Sultan*. The rest of the five words, *Imam*, *prince*, *Sheikh*, *Wali* and *chief* were used and calculated according to their individual featuring in the data.

By reading across the Appendix (3a – p.499), the imagery of *Sultan* or *ruler* shows a high occurrence in the three media: constituting from the total of all ordinary and non-ordinary nouns: 46.7% in brochures (27 times), 20.7% in travelogues (100 times) and 7.7% in early travel accounts (641 times).

Many reasons lay behind the high frequency of the word *Sultan* in the three media in comparison with the other ruling class imageries. In the brochures, the word was used to describe the popular places that carry the Sultan's name and are included in tour programmes e.g. Palaces, Al Bustan Palace hotel. In addition to the palaces and monuments that carried his Majesty's name, the city of Salalah,

where the Sultan was born, became an attractive spot for many travelogue writers to describe and visit.

Chapter Four discussed the systematic programmes which have been established by Omani government to organise annually programmes for writers and journalists to visit the country and write about it. It was found that out of 33 journalists, 21[37] had been invited by the government of Oman to visit the country, while those remaining had received support in the form of accommodation, inland transportation or air tickets. In many cases those writers had been asked to publicise some national and international events that had occurred in Oman such as national days, conferences, festivals or new major development projects (e.g. ports).

By publicising such events, writers' descriptions about developments in the country were enhanced by using his Majesty's name, as the Sultan and the leader of the country, with his great contribution after the coup of 1970 toward building Oman. In many articles, journalists also made comparisons about the development in Oman before and after 1970.

Moreover, journalists and writers wrote about their impressions and the exotic things they saw and visited. Due to the tour programmes in the country, many famous places that carry the Sultan's name such as the Sultan's palaces, Al Bustan Palace hotel, Sultan Qaboos University, and the Sultan's Mosques became attractive spots to be visited by travellers, visitors and writers.

Another issue that attracted many journalists to write about Oman was the wisdom and peaceful policies of the Omani rulers. For centuries, Oman has

37 The information about the travelogue writers who were hosted or sponsored by the government of Oman or private sector was recorded according to the author's discussions and interview with Tim Callan- Information Excutive at Oman Embassy in London in November and December 2001.

enjoyed the friendship with the West, especially with Britain. This peaceful imagery received the attention and became of interest to the media writers, who wanted to convey this information about Oman and its people.

In these research data it was found that the language of peace and hospitality was often used in the journalists' writing as well as in brochures about Oman. In 1998 the National Council of the U.S.-Arab Relations and 32 other U.S. organisations presented the International Peace Award to his Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said Sultan of Oman (Washington post, 1998).

Also, there were many other reasons for the high frequency of the word *Sultan* in early travel accounts. In the old days, many travellers enjoyed the hospitality and friendliness of Omani rulers. Few rulers extend this hospitality by inviting the traveller to his caravan travel in the country (e.g. Thomas, 1932 and Morris, 1957).

As a result, the accounts were rich in descriptions about the rulers' hospitality, the exotic lifestyle inside palaces and their interaction with Omani public and visitors.

In addition, many travellers were involved in the political conflict between the Sultans and the Imamah of the interior regions[38] (Miles, 1901, 1910 and1919; Thomas, 1932; Thesiger 1959 and Morris, 1957) and between the Sultanate and the "Wahabis" movement, which had the aim of expanding their territories towards South Arabia (Wellsted, 1835; Miles, 1919; Morris 1957). Consequently, in describing these political events, the rulers' names, views and involvements were often used and described.

38 Interior regions: in early travel writings this term refers to the cities, towns, villages and oases that are located in the interior e.g. Nizwa, Bahla, Al Mudhaibi, Samad, Al Rustaq, Nakhal, Ibra, Adam, Manah etc.

Sheikh is the second non-ordinary imagery, which featured a high frequency in the early travel accounts. It is one of the tribal patterns, which visitors still see today in Oman (Henderson, 1988).

From the total of all ordinary and non-ordinary nouns, the word *Sheikh* was used 548 times and constituted 13.8 % in the early travel accounts, 5 times (1.0%) in the travelogues. By contrast it did not appear at all in the brochures (Appendix 7-p. 506).

In many cases sheikhs used to have power and authority in the areas or the territories where their tribes were living. Therefore, travellers had to get the acceptance of a tribe's sheikh before they crossed any territories outside of Muscat. Accordingly, travellers described their interaction with the leaders of those tribes and gave details of their customs and the relationships between those sheikhs and the ordinary people.

After 1970, with the new central government and the renaissance era, the role of the sheikh in society diminished. Today, travellers and visitors do not require the permission of sheikh to travel in the country. Even so, some contemporary travelogue writers use the word to show respect in greeting others such as the elderly or religious people or some social leaders.

Moreover, local attitudes have also changed. The sheikh as the local leader in an area is less evident or does not exist at all. Instead, this tribal loyalty has been transferred to central government.

Also, with the modern political and social developments that occurred in Oman after 1970, travel journalists do not need to use the word Sheikh, as did the

early travellers. For this reason, the word sheikh does not appear at all in the brochures, and only appears 5 times in the travelogues.

The development and the transformation that has occurred in Omani society after 1970 are reflected in the language of travelogues about Oman. There was clear evidence in the travelogue texts that a familiarity had developed between travelogue writers and Omanis.

At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, the political conflict in Oman and sheikhs loyalties affected travellers' perception of those leaders. They were seen as an obstacle towards travellers' movements and journeys in Oman. In contrast, modern day tourists and travellers are seen as normal people seeking to experience the natural and authentic Omani culture rather than engaging in imperial missions as some early travellers did. With the political and economic stability the situation has totally changed after 1970 and sheikhs have started to welcome tourists and visitors to their regions. Not only do they invite writers and journalists to their public events, but they welcome them into their houses as well, as many travelogues writers have presented.

Imam as presented in Appendix (7-p. 506) is the third word in the non-ordinary nouns category. It constituted from the total of all ordinary and non-ordinary people 6.6% (261 times) in early travel accounts, 2.5% (12 times) in travelogues and only 1.7% (once) in the brochures (*Arabian Odyssey* was the only brochure which used the word to describe the Imam's castle in Birka).

The word *Imam* takes its roots from the early days of Islam. Linguistically and religiously the word Imam has two meanings in Islam: one narrow and one broad. In the narrow sense, it refers to a man who guides prayer or is well known

as the Imam of a mosque. The broader meaning of the word Imam refers to someone whose people have pledged their allegiance on the understanding that he would guide and defend them, protect them from their enemies, and comply with the rules of the Koran and the customs of Islam (Townsend, 1977; Assalimi, 1974).

Politically, the use of the word continued in Oman until the early 20th century. During the golden era of the Omani Empire in the 19th century, Sayyid Said bin Sultan was the only Omani ruler who carried more than one title. Besides his religious title as the Imam of Oman and Zanzibar, he became more popularly known as "Sayyid Said" particularly in Western literature.

In early travel writing data the word *Imam* was used to refer to the rulers whom travellers met during their travels in Oman. Some of those travellers described the lifestyle of the Imams, the events, the history, the forts and castles that were built by them or during their regime, and the relationships between the Imams and the ordinary people.

Some travellers, such as Miles, Bertram Thomas and James Morris, described in detail the political conflict between the Imamah in Nizwa and the Sultans in Muscat.

Imamah was the political, the religious and the social system that controlled the country before the death of Sayyid Said in 1856. Later on after his death and the collapse of Omani Empire, the situation had changed. Politically, Oman was divided between two political powers: Sultans in Muscat and the opposition Imamah in the interior region. The former were supported by the British, while the latter manifested aggressive attitudes towards the British presence and interests in

Oman. They also influenced some travellers' movements in Oman. Consequently, such circumstances resulted in many travellers' writing of the Imamah and its followers. It also enriched early travellers' writings of the Imamah and their descriptions of the difficulties they faced in travelling inland. For example, Thesiger who travelled in Oman between 1946 and 1949 failed to get the acceptance of the *Imam* of Nizwa and the local *Sheikh* to travel in Al Jabal Al Akhdar. Consequently the word *Imam* appeared in many journalists' descriptions about the history of Oman.

Travelogue writers and brochure producers used the word *Imam* to attract potential tourists to visit and experience the destination and its heritage. Journalists employed the word to enhance their writing about places they visited by providing historical details about the forts and castles that were built by Imams. Many castles where Imams used to live became some of the tourist attractions. The word *Imam* thus metamorphosed as it moved from one medium to another and from writer to writer. In addition, travelogues and brochures also used the word to refer to the heritage, built in previous centuries by Imams in Oman and became popular in modern days. For example, "From Nizwa you can easily reach the elegant Imam's desert Palace of Jabrine and gaze longingly at the huge bulk of the fort at Bahla" (Frank Giles in *The Independent*, 01.02.1998); "where we visit a fortified house where the Imams used to live" (*Arabian Odyssey*: 9).

Wali (governor) is a public post still present in the government system in Oman. However, travellers, writers and tourists rarely come into contact with these governors today. *Wali* is the Sultan or the Imam (in previous centuries), a representative of the area "Wilayeh". Before they journeyed in a region, travellers

used to meet the *Wali* to gain his support, thereby paving the way for other local contacts.

With the commercial nature of travel today, travellers, journalists and tourists do not come into contact with these governors. Tour operators, hoteliers, airlines and other tourism service providers are the main private authorities, who are in charge of tourist and traveller programmes in the country. In some other cases Information and Tourism Boards are the common public officers in charge of writers and travellers, thereby replacing Walis of former times.

The word *Wali* constituted 5.0% of the total of all ordinary and non-ordinary nouns in early travel accounts, 1.7% of travelogues and did not appear at all in the brochures.

In the early travel accounts, it was found that the Wali of Dhofar was described more frequently than any other Wali in the country. Dhofar is located in the southern corner of Oman, more than 620 miles from the central government in Muscat and it is the closest Omani region to Yemen. In previous centuries, many British travellers journeyed to Oman and Yemen. They either started their journeys from Oman or from Yemen. Dhofar was the gateway and in those days the Wali of the region was the only official contact and supporter for those who travelled in the southern region or started their journey in Dhofar towards the northern areas.

(2) *Ordinary people*

By reading across the row of Appendix (8-p. 507), it is evident that ordinary imageries occured more frequently in travelogues than in early travel accounts and brochures. It was 75.8% in the first, 53.6% in the second and 51.7% in the third. Out of the 18 imageries relating to ordinary subcategory, all words occurred in early travel accounts, 14 ordinary nouns were featured in travelogues and only 10 words appeared in brochures.

Within the subcategory, the word *Bedouin* was the most frequent imagery in the three media. It was featured 758 times (19.1%) in early travel accounts, 71 times (14.7%) in travelogues and only 9 times (15.5 %) in the brochures.

The reasons for the popularity of *Bedouin* in the early travel accounts was the fact that many early travellers had lived with Bedouins in their tents and had travelled with them in the desert for months. Having experienced their life, they were able to describe it in detail.

Due to their sojourn with Bedouins, Bertram Thomas' Arabia Felix and Wilfred Thesigers' Arabian Sands accounts were the richest travel accounts to record the life of the Bedouins in the Arabian Peninsula and supplied details of their customs and habits.

In these early accounts Bedouins were described in predominantly male terms. They were portrayed with their camels and tents, living in hard arid deserts, always hungry and usually thirsty.

Bedouins always travelled in groups rather than as individuals. Bedouin explorers in previous centuries did not worry about maps or international boundaries.

In travel brochures and travelogues, the word *Bedouin* was used to describe organised tour programmes to the sands and the life of Bedouins in the deserts. It was also used to publicise the traditional tourist facilities that had been constructed in the desert to entertain tourists and visitors. Bedouin life in the sands was projected by brochure producers as one of the exotic and authentic tour programmes designed for modern day tourists. Within this research, it was found that out of 32 articles 18 described Bedouin life, while two women journalists discussed their encounters with Bedouin families and their life.

In modern travelogues and brochures, Bedouins were described in male and female terms. More focus was also put on the simplicity of the Bedouin family life. Contemporary travel media, particularly travelogue writers, described Bedouin life today in completely different ways from the early travellers' accounts. For example, a camel for many Bedouins is not described as the main form of transport, instead travelogues and brochure writers portrayed it as an authentic sport and entertainment activity in the region (camel racing – safari tour by camel). It was featured as one of the authentic attractions for tourists.

In addition to their focus on the stereotypical imageries of Arabia and the desert (e.g. sands, camels, tents and the water well), some journalists enhanced their writing about the socio-demographic changes that occurred in Bedouins life.

For instance, in describing the life in the sands and Bedouin life and customs many writers made a kind of binary description between the presence of camel in Bedouin life and the four-wheel or pickup cars; between the tents and villas; between the water wells with modern water facilities and oil wells; between coal fire and the modern electricity; and between the dagger and the mobile and

pager. For example, "My father asks later if I had noticed that the Bedouin had a pager attached to his robes. It was not entirely surprising. Oman enjoys the trappings of modernity and development without sacrificing its cultural identity. In the city I had seen Omanis emerging from a day's work at Muscat's stock exchange, dressed in the traditional flowing robes, camel stick in hand" (Luke Martin, *The Times* 10.08.1996).

Images of Bedouin women varied in travelogues, depending on the gender of the writer, and from travelogues to brochures. Most of the articles that were written by male writers projected Bedouin women in the same stereotypical way as they had been in the early travel accounts. They were described as wearing veils and in black dresses and living a poor life. In contrast, some women travel writers described Bedouin women as "healthy and living in harmony" (Martha Gellhorn, 22.06.1997). According to the article in *The Independent*, Bedouin women could travel and drive. They had opportunities to study and work if they chose, according to their skills (ibid.).

In addition to *Bedouin*, ordinary group imageries such as *guide*, *police* or *Askari*, *Sindbad*, *companion* and the *Al-Qara people* had varied appearances in the three media. For example, the words [*guide* and *Askari/ police*] featured [14.7% and 16.1%] in travelogues while they were constituted [5.5% and 2.5%] in early travel accounts and [5.2% and 3.4%] in brochures, respectively. *Sindbad* constituted 8.6% in brochures and 3.3% in travelogues, while it was only 0.1% in early travel accounts. *Companion* and *Al-Qara people* imageries were higher in early travel accounts than in travelogues and brochures. The first constituted 6.7% in early travel account, only 1.9% in travelogues, while it did not appear at all in

brochures. The second imagery featured 207 times in early travel accounts (5.2%), only 1 time in brochures (1.7%) and didn't appear at all in travelogues.

The reason for the popularity of *companion* in the early travel accounts was the fact that many early travellers explored the deserts with a number of local companions divided between: guides, escorts and servants. For example, travellers such as Wellsted (1836), Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) who spent months with their companions in the land have also used the word frequently in their accounts.

Additionally, many British travellers (Haines, 1845; Bent and Bent, 1900; Thomas, 1932, Thesiger, 1959) visited the Qara Mountains and studied its inhabitants. Consequently, *Al-Qara people* imagery showed high frequency in early travel accounts (6.4%). Due to his long sojourn with Al Qara inhabitants, Bertram Thomas' Arabia Felix account was the richest travel account, which recorded the life of the Qara in southern region of Oman, and supplied detail of their characteristics, customs and habits.

In the oil era, words such as *Bedouin*, *Qara people* continued to be used as social classifications, although to a lesser extent than early days. Instead of tribal imageries such as *Bedouin*, *Qara people* and *tribe* in early travel writing, the word *Omani* is more frequently employed to describe local people. Now, many brochure producers extend the use of the word Omani to emphase their descriptions of unique architecture, museums, people, culture, food and so on.

In the early travel accounts and modern travelogues Omanis were described in "ethnic dress" (Echtner, 2000: 141); wearing long Arab robes, the *dishdasha*, and embroidered caps or small turbans for men and veils, headscarfs and other

local attire for women. In the travelogues, it was interesting to note that writers in many cases stressed that the new modernity and development in Oman did not change radically the old traditional dresses, but embellished what Omanis wore in the past (Tusa, 1998). For example Adrian Morgan wrote in *The Guardian*:

> This country of two million people, bordering Yemen and Saudi Arabia to the west and the United Arab Emirates to the north, was once the hermit of the Middle East..... Unlike the northern Gulf States, it has kept its identity, customs and traditions. Its silver jewellery and the ornamental daggers, *Khanjar*, which all Omanis are obliged to wear at formal occasions, are highly prized (18.03.2000).

The guest

The theme was classified into 4 subcategories: *Travel*, *Colonial Nouns*, *Religion and Myth* and *Travellers' Names* (Appendix 3b- p. 500).

The aim of the first category was to investigate the development of *Travel* phrases and the use of words such as *traveller*, *tourist*, *geographer*, *adventurer*, *explorer*, *sailor*, *guest* and *visitor* in the three media. The second subcategory consists of *Colonial Nouns*. Five words constitute this subcategory: *Banians*, *expatriate*, *foreigner*, *sahib* and *Western*.

In this research's travel data Bedouin guides and escorts used the word *Sahib* to refer to their outsider *companions* during travel. The word occured 59 times and constituted, from the total of all people, 0.6% in early travel accounts, while it didn't appear at all in travelogues and brochures. Within early travel accounts, Arabia Felix by Bertram Thomas used the word more than the other travel accounts (38 times). *Expatriate* and *foreigner* appeared in travelogues quite often and in the early accounts, while brochure producers did not use either word in their descriptions about Oman.

The word *Banians* referred to a group of Indian merchants who also inhabited Muscat and other coastal cities in Oman (Chapter 6- part 1, ethnic groups). Under the mild administration of Omani rulers, *Banians'* numbers increased rapidly and in Muscat became more than in any other city of Arabia. Their number was increased during the flourishing of East Indian Company activities in the Gulf with its agent in Oman. The imagery featured 20 times in early travel accounts (0.2%), while it didn't appear at all in travelogues and brochures.

The third subcategory is *Religion and myth*. In the previous section of **host** analysis, the disappearance of some religious phrases from the brochures' descriptions was mentioned. It was the same for the **guest** nouns; *Christ and Christian*, *Jew*, *missionary* and *Wise Men* did not occur at all in brochures. In travelogues, the word *Jew* didn't appear at all, while other imageries had very low appearances. Many travelogues and brochures used such legend words as *Queen of Sheba* and *Magi*. In their titles they introduced Oman as the land of frankincense and Magi, the land of the Queen of Sheba, the land of Sindbad or the land of sailors.

Frankincense was one of the words that featured frequently in travelogues (Appendix 9- p.508). Also the exotic and mythic words, *Magi* and *Queen of Sheba* showed a high number of occurrences in the travelogues when compared with the other two media.

The Fourth subcategory was *Traveller Names*. The purpose of journeying to Arabia varied from one traveller to traveller. Therefore, the amount and the value of the travel accounts, and the work that those early travellers and writers left also

varied. For example, when thinking about travel in Arabia, generally readers cannot avoid "Arabian Deserta" by Doughty, Seven Pillars of Wisdom: a Triumph by Lawrence, *Travel in Arabia* by James Wellsted, *Arabia Felix* by Bertram Thomas, and *Arabian Sands* by Wilfred Thesiger.

Most travellers, explorers, surveyors and agents in Arabia left travel accounts, but few of these accounts influenced contemporary journalists and brochure writers' selection. So, using and investigating travellers' names and their occurrence in the three media can help in investigating the movement of writers' names from one medium to another. It is also another way to investigate the influence of previous travellers' writings in later travel works and writers' routes in the country.

To make the country more familiar to European readers, a number of journalists and travel brochures referred to previous European explorers who had visited the place. They also quoted early travellers and made a kind of comparisons between the Oman as seen in 19th and early 20th centuries by previous explorers and compare it with what they see in modern days.

In addition, some brochures referred to previous travellers to create familiarity and enhance Oman attractiveness to potential tourists.

The quantitative analysis of the three media data showed that all ten travellers' names appeared in early travel accounts. In contrast, there were only 3 names mentioned in the travelogues (Marco Polo, Lawrence and Thesiger) and brochures (Marco Polo, Thesiger and Bertram Thomas). Bertram Thomas was the most frequently used name by early travellers. In contrast, Thesiger appeared more frequently in travelogues and brochures. Marco Polo and Thesiger were the

only travellers mentioned by all three media. Thesiger was the most frequently cited name in the travelogues; featured 46 times (4.6% from the total of all people theme). In contrast, Bertram Thomas was the highest in the early travel accounts featured; 61 times and constituted 0.7%.

As mentioned before, there was an increase of **guest** appearances in travelogues and brochures in comparison with the early travel accounts. Within this context, the appearance of travel nouns such as *tourist*, *visitor*, *guest*, and *adventurer* showed a higher frequency in brochures than in the early accounts and travelogues.

Regarding uniqueness, 7 words were unique to the early travel accounts: *Banians*, *Mable and Theodore Bents*, *James Morris*, *James Wellsted*, *Jew*, *Sahib*, and *Samuel Miles*, whilst *backpacker* was the only unique word in travelogues. *Expatriate, foreigner, Christ, Christian, missionary* and *Wise Men* were shared between early travel accounts and travelogues and did not appear at all in the brochures.

As for the use of the words *traveller* and *tourist* within the three media, the first was shared by early travel accounts (0.7%) and travelogues (2.2%) and did not appear at all in brochures. In contrast the latter appeared in all three media. It was higher in the brochures (5.2%) than in the travelogues (2.7%) and only appeared twice in early travel accounts. A number of authors working in the Western literary tradition, including Paul Fussell (1980:37-64) and Daniel Boorstin (1987), have made a point of comparing tourists and travellers (Dann, 1999:159), and some social scientists (MacCannell, 1976) have done the same for tourists and ethnographers (Nash, 2001: 493). Dann (1999) discussed the

distinction between traveller and tourist, and it became a recurring theme in academic literature. In investigating the issue within this research it was found the same and travellers felt themselves "little better than tourists" (Thesiger, 1959: 258), non-exploitative, innocently satisfying their curiosity about other places and people, not interfering with other cultures, but contributing to it (Dann, 1999). Tourists however, were seen as exploitative. They were portrayed as loud and looking for immediate gratification on the two occasions where the word appeared in the early travel accounts. In the travelogues, some journalists also followed early travellers (e.g. Thesiger) by distinguishing themselves from tourists in order to establish their superiority.

Culture

Oman has always been described as a cultural oasis and referred to as a unique cultural destination in the region, with a history reaching back 10,000 years to the end of the last Ice Age (Al- Maamary, 1982; Ministry of Information, 1995). It was this richness that attracted writers and visitors and that resulted in a high appearance of the culture category, constituting from the total of all nouns 12.8 % in early travel accounts, 16.6 % in travelogues and 12.1% in brochures.

In this analysis, the culture theme was grouped into six subcategories: built environment, dress, folklore and music, food, hospitality and religion (Appendix 9- p.508).

(a) Built environment

Built environment mainly relates to the local history, art, architecture, souqs, traditional markets, forts, castles, ruins and old buildings. Early writers gathered information about the local defensive buildings (e.g. forts, castles, walls, ruins, and towers) and lands sources (e.g. dates, frankincense, myrrh, plantations, and fisheries) and the commercial activities. They also studied the locals' ways of life e.g. farming, peasantry, cultivation, aggregation, fishing, and their social construction. These historical defenses and the traditional way of life that were observed by travellers in the early days became one of tourist attractions of the country later. Built environment attractions were projected in brochures and travelogues more than in early travel accounts. From the total of all cultural themes it constituted 65.4 % in the brochures, 58.9% in the travelogues and 35.3% in early travel accounts.

(b) Dress

Male and female dress and accessories were also one of the cultural attractions that projected in the three media. In analysing **people** category it was explained travellers' and journalists' encounter with locals was higher than that of tourists. Dress refers to the locals' dress and accessories that projected by travellers, journalists and brochures. It was mentioned more in early travel accounts (19.0%) and travelogues (12.8%) than in brochures (only 3.5%)[39]. Many early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures included descriptions and pictures of local inhabitants as a kind of "mobile scenery" adding authenticity to their setting, especially if they were wearing the Omani Dishdasha and turban, or a 'Wezar' in the custom of the Qara people in the south region, Musandam and other interior regions. Of the dress, most, if not all early travellers in Oman travelled native in the country. In their journeys early travellers dressed as Omani and Bedouin, spoke Arabic, and used the Bedouin dialect, lived, ate with locals and avoided things like tobacco and alcohol during their journeys.

Cultural words such as dagger, turban veil, rifle, sword, and robe were frequently used in early travel accounts.

Some travelogues and few brochures referred to the variety of entertainments on offer, from traditional boat racing, camel and horse racing, to modern touristic activities and entertainment, e.g. water sports, tennis (explained in detail in tourism components themes), while others focussed on the limited nightlife entertainment (e.g. night club, theatre and other night shows).

(c) Folklore and Music

Music was one of the lowest themes featured in the three media. Out of all the cultural themes mentioned, it figured 3.5% in brochures, 2.2% in early travel accounts and 1.7% in travelogues. In travelogues and brochures music and folklore used to refer to the available facilities that play different kinds of classical Western music, e.g. clubs, pubs and restaurants. Such Western music was employed to create familiarity with the place for the tourists who were mostly Europeans. It was also used to depict the multicultural life in Oman and the local's success in adopting such classical Western music and entertainment. For example, *The Guardian* stated that Oman has one of the popular orchestras in the region. On the other hand, the use of music nouns in early travel accounts was different. Most of the descriptions that referred to the traditional folklore attractions in early travel accounts were connected with the word [slave] and descriptions of slavery.

(d) Food and hospitality

Food subcategory contains 11 words constituted from the total of all cultural nouns constituting 20.5% in early travel accounts, 13.7% in travelogues and 12.8% in travel brochures. Hospitality subcategory referred to local customs in sitting, eating and welcoming guests and visitors. The theme had higher occurence in early travel accounts (8.9%) and travel brochures (8.4%) in comparison with travelogues (6.7%). Food and hospitality related to the three media projection of the Omani food and local customs in welcoming visitors and tourists. Travellers spoke of their experience in travelling native in the country and accustomed

39 From the total of all cultural nouns.

themselves to the native customs in sitting and eating. Early travellers records of the local foods and the difficulties they faced in travelling in Oman in 19th and early 20th centuries were part of their records of local cultures including eating and hospitality. Due to the limited resources and food, travellers such as Thomas (1932) Thesiger (1959) experienced thirst and hunger in travelling in the sands. They provided details and described the dangers they met to present their heroism and bravery and the contribution they made by recording the Bedouin cultures.

In travelogues and brochures local customs in eating and sitting were presented to increase place authenticity and attraction to the readers/ tourists. A number of journalists spoke of the invitations they received from some local families. In their writing they recorded locals' hospitality (e.g. we were invited through the gate in the wall of the local sheik's house); traditional customs in sitting and eating and locals' way of life (e.g. shattered Omani tradition by sitting and eating in the men's room while the sheik and his three sons sat across the room eating with their backs to us); and food they serve (e.g. we were given delectable dates, tiny cups of coffee and Omani pastries).

(e) Religion

The Religious theme is mainly related to local and resident religions, *sects*, the holy books of *Islam* 'the *Quran*' and the great word '*God*'. It also includes referencing to religious places of prayer such as *mosque*, *church* and *temple*. In this section, the word *tombs* was mostly used in the data to refer to a religious place visited by few locals and which might become part of the tourists' programmes in the country (e.g. the ancient tombs of Baat and Wadi Bani Khalid

or the tomb Ibn Ali in the southern region of Oman). Religion is also one of the unique cultural themes that reflect the changes in Peoples' travel interests and motivations. Many travellers in the early days travelled in Oman not just to assess the land resources and study the local culture, but also in the hope of discovering and recording any Judeo- Christian heritages (Cohen, 1982) in the Arabian Peninsula. In contrast, today, most of these heritages and religious places such as mosques, churches, temples and tombs have become part of the touristic attractions visited by tourists and journalists (is explained qualitatively in detail in Chapter 7 –Part 2). The theme occurred more in early travel accounts in comparison with travelogues and brochures. The above 13 words were featured 727 times in early travel accounts (14.2%). In contrast, 55 words occurred in travelogues constituting 6.0% and the words *Islam*, *mosque* and *tomb* were the only religious nouns used in brochures, constituting 6.4%.

Out of 3 words 2 (mosque and tomb) were part of the tourist attractions in the country. The term *Wahabi* is one of political and religious words featured frequently by many old travel writers and did not appear at all in travelogues and brochures. Three British travellers in Oman (Wellsted, Miles and Morris) described the political situation in Oman. Part of the travellers' descriptions is their investigation of the Wahabis involvement in Oman and their control of Al Buraimi oases in early 19th century and at the middle of 20th century. This issue is described in detail in Chapter 6, Part 2.

History and civilisation

As reflected in the name of the category, the theme is divided into two subcategories: history and civilisation. It was the smallest category of the noun themes, constituting 7.8% in early travel accounts, 4.9% in travelogues and only 2.2% in brochures (Appendix 10- p.510).

The sub category of *history* relates to the role of Omanis in the region in the previous centuries, and their influence on the trade routes in the Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. The data also includes some descriptions about [slaves] and slavery. This research has included [slave] and [slavery] under the category of history because it is part of the past that many civilisations were involved in (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Perbi, 2001). The category of *civilisation* relates to the outsiders who were in contact with Oman in the old days and are described in this research data. This theme **history and civilisation** is clearly projected more in early travel accounts and travelogues than the brochures.

Classical writers travelled in Oman during the heyday of colonial activities. In the 19th and the early 20th centuries, many empires and world powers were in competition to control the region and the trade routes in the Indian Ocean. Some travellers were part of these activities and history; they either were British agents in the regions or served imperial interests. Consequently, imageries such as empire, power, maritime, British, Portuguese, French and Dutch feature higher in early travel accounts in comparison to contemporary writing. Writers of these three travel data referenced three different political periods.

The first is the domination of the Omani Empire with its trade and economic flourish. The second is the British domination of Oman as part of their control of

the region. This domination announced the beginning of local conflict and divide between British alliance and opposition. It also led the country toward civil war. And the third political period is the stability of the new renaissance with its peaceful and welcome policies.

Early travellers' journeys occurred within the first two periods: the time of the Omani empire stability and the period of British domination of the region. In contrast contemporary travelogues and tourists visits to Oman occurred within the third peaceful period in Oman.

The political situation during some early travellers' journeys in Oman influenced their writings about Oman. For example, explorers such as Thomas and Thesiger faced many raiding activities. Their journeys particularly Thesiger were also affected by the Imamah rejection permit any European travellers to travel in some parts of the interior regions, issues which is no longer exist in modern day Oman. Additionally, words such as [slave], [slavery] and [slave trades] are parts of the past. The slavery issue was used by many powers in the world as a humanitarian excuse to dominate certain places in the world. For example, many British travellers went to Oman to investigate the Omani tribes' involvement in the [slave] trade. In contemporary travelogues, the imageries [slave, slave trade] and [slavery] were used by journalists only 9 times. The journalists employed the above three slavery words to describe the history of Oman in East Africa and its contribution with other world powers to stop the trade during the reign of Sayyid Said bin Sultan (1802-1856).

Reading about the past and knowing about it helped journalists to understand current events and enabled them to contextualise their writing about

the history of Oman and its interaction with the world. Consequently, the history of Oman and its interaction with European empires was often featured by journalists, e.g. Chris Caldicott wrote in *The Independent* "by the end of the 17th century, while the Portuguese, Dutch and British expanded their empires elsewhere and fought each other, Oman's power and wealth recovered" (18.01.1997). The political change with the new development that happened in Oman when his Majesty Sultan Qaboos came to power in 1970 was also highly featured, for instance, David Hardy wrote on the Gloucestershire Echo; "it is a vital element in handling the mind-boggling changes that have been wrought since Sultan Qaboos came to power in 1970" (28.04.1998).

In the cultural category, it was stated that *frankincense* featured higher in travelogues than in early travel accounts and brochures. Many travelogue trips were designed by Ministry of Information to visit *Dhofar* the frankincense land in the southern region of Oman. In describing the history of the region and its popularity in exporting frankincense in ancient times, *Roman*, *Greeks* and *Egyptians civilisations* with their imports and use of this product in their temples and religious rituals were often described by many travelogue writers. Consequently, the words occurred more frequently in travelogues than the early travel accounts and brochures.

For brochures the context was different. Most of the civilisation words such as *Arab* and *Persian*, etc, were employed to refer to ancient history, while other words such as *Portuguese* and *British*, were bound up with Western domination of the country and the historical monuments that were built by previous powers and civilisations.

Tourism components

This category contains 38 nouns divided into four subcategories: accommodation, entertainment, transportation and enterprise (Appendix 11-p.511). Out of 38 tourist lexical items, 8 words (al Bustan Palace hotel, sand resort, shipyard, restaurant, tour operator, tennis court, water sports, airport and roundabout) were absent from the early travel accounts, only 4 from travelogues and strangely 7 from brochures. It was also surprising that none of the 18 brochures used in this study referred to their partner operator in Oman and the imagery related to tour operator or tour company did not appear at all in brochures. It was used to describe the tourist recreational and service facilities in the country.

The lack of touristic facilities in early days was evident by the low frequency of many touristic lexical items such as hotel, sand resort, holiday, itinerary, flight watersport. The accompanying pictures were used in brochures and travelogues to convince readers that Oman offered a particularly attractive and satisfying setting for the enjoyment of their favourite activities, such as diving, watersports, racing, climbing and hiking or night entertainment such as clubs and pubs. In describing the service facilities, travelogue writers and brochure producers ensured their readers of the superlative quality of accommodation, restaurants and transportation (Appendix 11-p.511).

Accommodation in comparison with other tourism components subcategories was the highest appearing in the three media. It constituted 45.2% in brochures, 40.5% in early travel accounts and 31.8% in travelogues. The lack of

entertainment facilities in the country was evident in the projection of the three media. Consequently, it was the lowest subcategory in travelogues.

Section 2. Analysing and categorising the verbs

The verb category contains 164 words and was grouped into 10 themes: **active**, **clean**, **colonise**, **delight**, **dress**, **develop**, **senses**, **transport**, **travel** and **welcome**. In summarising the quantitative analysis of the verbs, one can read the following points from the rows of Table 6 below.

Table 6. Comparison of the verbs in the three media

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
(Between 1838-1959)			*(Between 1996 June2001)*			*(Collection of 2001)*		
(13 travel accounts)			(32 travelogue articles)			(18 travel brochures)		
1792 pages of **501,9362** words			**178** pages of **57301** words			**49** pages of **16263** words		
164 themes								
Themes	***Freq.***	***% V.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% V.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% V.***
Travel	**7028**	**36.1**	Travel	**651**	**35.9**	Travel	**481**	**48.4**
Senses	**4841**	**24.9**	Senses	**381**	**21**	Senses	**148**	**14.9**
Welcome	**2544**	**13.1**	Welcome	**215**	**11.8**	Welcome	**101**	**10.2**
Colonise	**1298**	**6.7**	Tourist Activities	**166**	**9.1**	Transport	**97**	**9.7**
Tourist Activities	**1357**	**7.0**	Transport	**117**	**6.4**	Tourist Activities	**88**	**8.8**
Transport	**789**	**4.1**	Dress	**95**	**5.2**	Develop	**36**	**3.6**
Dress	**655**	**3.4**	Colonise	**69**	**3.8**	Delight	**22**	**2.2**
Develop	**533**	**2.7**	Develop	**49**	**2.7**	Colonise	**10**	**1**
Delight	**282**	**1.4**	Delight	**47**	**2.6**	Clean	**6**	**0.6**
Clean	**152**	**0.8**	Clean	**25**	**1.4**	Dress	**5**	**0.5**

Freq. The frequency of the word in each medium
% V. The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

Travel was the main aims for tourists, travellers and journalists journeying to Oman. Consequently, the **travel** theme is the most frequent category and featured more than a third (or nearly half as in brochures) of all verbs in the three media. It constituted 48.4% in brochures, 36.1.4% in early travel accounts and 35.9% in travelogues. Also, **senses** and **welcome** featured with high frequency in the three media. They constituted respectively, 14.9% and 10.2% in brochures, 21.0% and 11.8% in travelogues and 24.9% and 13.1% in early travel accounts.

Other categories such as **colonise**, **tourist activities** and **transport** varied in relative frequency from medium to medium. As explained in Chapter 2 about the political situation and some travellers' participation in colonial activities, these events influenced early travellers writing about Oman and resulted in the high occurrence of **colonise** imageries in early travel accounts (6.7%). As the political situation has changed in the whole region and Oman with its renaissance became more secure and developed in comparison with early days, brochure producers do not refer to these imageries in their writing about Oman. Therefore, the theme constitutes only 1.0%. The high frequency of the appearance of **colonise** imageries in travelogues in comparison with brochures is because journalists had to contexualise their writings about destinations by connecting its presence with its history by importing many legacy phrases and descriptions of the previous European history in the past.

Tourist activities and **transport** as expected occured with higher frequency in brochures (8.8% and 9.7% respectively) and travelogues (9.1% and 6.4% respectively) in comparison with early travel accounts (7.0% and 4.1% respectively). These higher occurrences relate to the tourist development that has occurred in Oman since 1970.

Travel

An obvious theme category within verbs is that of **travel**. Since the aims and activities of early writers, travelogue writers and tourists are to travel, words such as visit, go, explore, tour, seek, discover, find, search, journey, trace, follow, step, arrive, begin, start, along with the words pass through, embark, touch, make,

stop, stay, continue, take, maintain, hold and experience were frequently used in the three media.

Travel was the most frequently occurring theme in the three media (Appendix 12- p.512) and out of 34 imageries containing this theme, only 2 words were absents in brochures and 1 in travelogues. Within the travel subcategory itself the appearance of specific words varied between the three media. For example *tour* occurs 69 times and constitutes 14.4% of all verbs in brochures, while the word appears only twice in the early travel accounts and constitutes less than 0.1%. In contrast the word *make* appeared 815 times in the early travel accounts (12.7% from the total of all travel verbs) and 68 times in the travelogues (10.7%), in contrast it was featured only 17 times in brochures (3.6%). Also the word *go* featured 642 times (10.0%) in early travel accounts, while it occurred only 2 times (0.4%) in brochures (Appendix 12- p.512).

Senses

The theme was the second highest verb category in the three media, comprising, in the early travel accounts, 24.9% of all verbs, 21.0% in the travelogues and 14.9% in the brochures (Appendix 13-p.513).

Within this category, word of mouth phrases occurred frequently in early travel accounts and travelogues. For example, *say* featured 1332 times (27.5%) in the former and 70 times (18.4%) in the second. The word *tell* was also common in early travel accounts and travelogues comprising 9.2% in both media. In contrast, the word of sight *see* showed high incidence in brochures and early travel accounts. The word featured 58 times, constituting 39.2% in brochures, 1090

times in early travel accounts, constituting 22.5% of sense verbs in early travel accounts.

In analysing the nouns, it was shown hos tourism components items featured more frequently in brochures than in the other two media. Here, in the **verb** category *eat* is also featured higher in brochures (24.3%) than in travelogues (4.7%) and early accounts (2.2%). This occurred due to the brochure producers' concern to provide their potential tourists with details of the facilities and services (e.g. food, eating places, type of dishes ...etc) available at the destinations.

Out of 27 words constituting this category, 12 lexical items, were shared by the three media, 25 shared between early travel accounts and travel and only 2 were unique to early travel accounts.

Welcome

Welcome was the third highest category in the three media. This group of verbs describes the interaction and meeting of early travellers and modern tourists with locals. The rulers, the government and ordinary Omanis welcomed the visitors and invited them to drink or to eat, and to experience Omani culture wherever they travelled in the country. Also, many of today's tourists "camp" in the desert (instead of sleeping and staying in the hotel and resorts) in order to taste exotic Bedouin life and to experience the way of travel as in early travellers' journeys.

By reading across Appendix 14- p.514, one can see how occurrence of specific words varies between the three media. For example, *Offer* featured 35 times constituting 34.3% in brochures, 13 times in travelogues (5.8%) and 115 times (4.0%) in early travel accounts. *Use* and *sit* had higher frequencies in early

travel accounts and travelogues constituting respectively 11.7% and 10.8% in the first media and 15.7% and 13.5% in the second. The frequency of *set* was relatively high in brochures (19.6%) and travelogues (16.6%), as compared to 5.2% in early travel accounts.

In projecting Omani hospitality, writers focused on the traditional way of hosting visitors. For example, coffee was not *served* but poured, and the popularity of the words *sit* or *sitting* derives from their use to refer to the traditional Omani style in sitting during eating. For example, "we sit on a mat and eat rice and lamb with our hands from one big dish, while dung beetles gather round the light" (Guardian, 17.10.1998). The sense of touch imagery *shake* was higher in early travel accounts and travelogues than in brochures. It constituted 1.1% of sense words in early travel accounts, 1.3% in travelogues and did not appear at all in brochures. The encounter between locals and visitors was higher in early travel accounts and travelogues and Omanis' invitations to visitors were frequently described in both media. Consequently, the word *invite* was frequently used in early travel accounts (2.8%) and travelogues (7.7%), while, it was used only once in brochure (1.0%) from the total of all **welcome** verbs.

Transport

This theme indicates the movements of travellers and tourists in Oman and how they cross the country. The theme has higher occurrence within brochures (9.7%) and travelogues (6.4%) in comparison with the early travel accounts (4.1%) [Appendix 15-p.515].

The mode of transportation described in the early travel accounts versus the modern travelogues and brochures was different. Because travel by camels and by sea in the past was more common, consequently, the words *ride* and *shipped* were frequencly featured in early travel accounts. *Shipped* is unique to early travellers and *ride* occurred higher in early travel accounts (29.5%) and travelogues (13.7%), yet it appeared only once in brochures (1.0%). In contrast, *shipped* and *ride* had limited appearance in travelogues and brochures, and because of the use of car in modern days, *drive* featured 64 times in brochures (66.0%), constituting more than half of all transport theme imageries. This word's frequency was also high in travelogues, where it was featured 50 times, constituting 42.7% of all transport verbs.

Tourist activities

Tourists and travellers engaged in different activities during their visits to Oman. By reading across the themes in Appendix 16-p.516- one can see that **tourist activities** have a higher frequency in brochures and the travelogues in comparison with the early travel accounts. They constituted 8.8% in the first and 8.6% in the second, while they were only 6.7% in the early travel accounts.

Today special tour programmes are designed and featured in the brochures such as *diving*, *fishing* and *swimming*. These activities constitute 37.5%, 26.1% and 15.9% respectively. *Climbing* does not feature in the British brochures. Yet the word *climb* features 102 times constituting 7.9% in the early travel accounts and 12 times (7.7%) in the travelogues. There is a notable absence in the brochures since, *climbing* is one of the popular activities for tourists in Oman. A

few local operators have designed special climbing programmes, particularly in the Muscat region, the Interior, Musandam and Al Rustaq.

The popularity of travel by camel in old days was noted in the **travel** subcategory. Consequently the verb *graze* featured 158 times constituting 12.2% in early travel accounts; in contrast, the word did not appear at all in brochures and only once in travelogues. *Graze* was used very often in early travel accounts to describe local activities in animal farming, e.g. camels, cows, and goats, or regarding travellers and their companions grazing their camels during their journeys in the country. Travellers like Thomas and Thesiger provided many examples the relationships between Bedouins and camels during their journeys. For example they said, "We bade farewell to the little copse of Mutugtaig in the bed of the Ghudun, where two days had been spent resting and grazing - our camels and watering them at neighbouring Shisur" (Thomas, 1932: 149); "Whenever we passed any bushes we let our camels dawdle to strip mouthfuls of leaves and thorns, and whenever we came to richer grazing we halted to let them graze at will" (Thesiger, 1959: 45).

Dress

Within the data there were some words like *dress*, which could be used as verb or nouns. The theme compromised 7 words: *armed*, *cover*, *dress*, *embroider*, *married*, *veiled* and *wear,* all of which occurred in early travel accounts and travelogues, while only 2 words occurred in brochures (Appendix 17-p.517).

The theme constituted 5.2% in the travelogues and 3.4% in early travel accounts. In contrast, it was the lowest verb category in brochures, featuring only 5 times and constituting 0.5% out of the total of all verbs.

Colonise

The imperialist theme, **colonise**, was more common in the early travel accounts and travelogues than in the brochures. Out of 24 words that composed this theme, 6 words were shared between the three media, 21 between early travel accounts and travelogues (Appendix 18-p.518). The theme constituted 6.9% in early travel accounts, 3.9% in travelogues and only 1.0% in travel brochures.

Old travellers and modern travelogue writers used these words to contexualise their writing about Oman: the empire, the land and the people, whereas none of these words were of interest to tourists and brochure publishers. Many travellers in early days used some of these words as well to contexualise their writing about the British dominations in the region and its empire history in Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

Delight

Other lexical category was that of **delight** appreciation, which worked to communicate as verbs and nouns. This theme comprised words such as *enjoy*, *feel*,

relax, *relish*, and *delight* as a measurement of the travellers' and tourists' satisfaction and enjoyment with the place and its people. **Delight** showed very low occurrence in the three media: 2.6% in travelogues, 2.2% in brochures and 1.4% in early travel accounts (Appendix 19-p.519).

Clean

The theme words were: *clean*, *dusted*, *brushed*, *flowered* and *watered*, used to describe the travellers' and journalists' impressions about the *cleanliness* of the country and to make it more attractive to the tourists in the case of brochures. **Clean** appearance verbs comprise the lowest verb category within the three media, constituting 1.4% in travelogues, 0.8% in early travel accounts and only 0.6% in brochures (Appendix 20-p.520).

Develop

Develop is the final theme in this quantitative analysis. Out of 8 verbs containing this theme, the lexical item *build* constituted 72.2% (almost three third of all **develop** theme verbs), more than half in travelogues (53.1%) and 43.0% in early travel accounts. Brochure producers and travelogue writers stressed these imageries to project the development that occurred in Oman and to ensure their tourists that they were going to visit a modern country that contains satisfactory touristic infrastructure to meet tourists' needs and comfort.

With exception to *build* most of these words have low appearance in comparison with other verbs themes (Appendix 21-p.521).

Section 3. Analysing and categorising the adjectives

The adjective category was grouped according to 7 themes: **beautiful, friendly, old and ancient, others, political stability, sense** and **sublime.** Reading across Table 7 below, the theme **sense** was the highest theme appearing in brochures (31.3%) and travelogues (31.1%). In early travel accounts the theme also had high occurrence constituting (29.3%) and became the second in frequency in the list. **The sublime** was the highest frequency theme of the early travel accounts adjectives, constituting more than a third of all early travel account adjectives (37.8%). The theme was the second in frequency in brochures (31.6%) and travelogues (30.7%). **Senses** occurred as most featured adjective theme in brochures (31.6%) and travelogues (30.7%) and the second from the top of the list in early travel accounts (29.3%). Describing Oman as one of the cleanest countries in the Middle East was common in travelogues and brochures. Consequently, beautiful imageries constituted 10.8% in brochures and 7.3% in travelogues. In contrast, the theme had fewer occurrences in early travel accounts, constituting only 3.8%. Journalists see Muscat as "strangely clean and respectable, in fact, all of urban Oman is the same" (Chris Caldicott, *The Independent*, 18.01.1997). Martha Gellhorn another journalist from *The Independent* wrote that the capital Muscat "has to be the cleanest city on the earth and looks like a garden suburb" (22.06.1997). Other journalists compared the cleanliness and the beauty of Muscat with Switzerland or Singapore. They say "it's a kind of Switzerland in the desert" (Alex Ninian, the Scotsman, 09.10.1999) or "the Arab version of Switzerland" (Simon Edge, Daily Express, 03.03.2001). "Driving in Muscat is also another confusing experience". "It is a modern metropolis of motorway and

air-conditioned building- a kind of Singapore of the Middle East" (Paul Mansfield, Daily Telegraph, 02.03.1997).

The language of others received similar treatments in the three media. It was slightly higher in travelogues (12.4%) and early travel accounts (12.1%) in comparison with brochures (11.0%). The theme **Old and ancient** occurred higher in travelogues and brochures than in early travel accounts.

Table 7. Comparison of the adjectives in the three media

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
(Between 1838-1959)			*(Between 1996 June2001)*			*(Collection of 2001)*		
(13 travel accounts)			(32 travelogue articles)			(18 travel brochures)		
1792 pages of **501,9362** words			**178** pages of **57301** words			**49** pages of **16263** words		
172 themes								
Themes	***Freq.***	***% Adj.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% Adj.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% Adj.***
The sublime	3927	37.9	Senses	497	30.7	Senses	217	31.6
Senses	3040	29.3	The sublime	392	24.2	The sublime	195	28.4
Others	1255	12.1	Others	208	12.8	Beautiful	100	14.6
Old and ancient	774	7.5	Friendly	148	9.1	Old and ancient	79	11.5
Friendly	709	6.5	Old and ancient	172	10.6	Others	60	8.7
Beautiful	434	4.2	Beautiful	137	8.5	Friendly	21	3.1
Political stability	266	2.6	Political stability	65	4.0	Political stability	14	1.9
Grand Total	***10369***	***100.0***	**Grand Total**	***1617***	***100.0***	***Grand Total***	***686***	***100.0***

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium
% Adj. the percentage was calculated according to the total of all adjectives.

Sense

Sense in general was the most frequent theme in brochures (31.6%) and travelogues (30.7%) and the second highest theme in early travel accounts constituting 29.3% (Appendix 22-p.522). This theme was grouped into 4 subcategories: sense, *colour*, *physical* and *climatic*. This group of adjectives is concerned with the stimulation of the senses: *sight*, *taste*, *smell*, *sound* and occasionally *touch*.

Words such as *tropical, sunny, light, vast dramatic, breathtaking and colourful* showed high occurrence within brochures and travelogues in comparison with early travel accounts. In contrast, *plain, vast, dark, dry, humid cold,* and *light* were higher in travelogues when compared with the early travel accounts and brochures. The travelogue writers were impressed with the beauty of Oman and its clean cities, and countryside. Out of 32 articles analysed in this research, 9 stressed that Oman is a clean and unspoiled destination. For example: "Muscat is the cleanest city I have ever seen" (*The Telegraph*, 20.11.1997), "Oman is clean, hovered and dusted" *Condé Nast Traveller* , March 1999). The country was described as clean in travelogues more than in the early travel accounts and the brochures, and *colourful* and *charming* were higher in the travelogues and the brochures than in the early travel accounts.

Of the *colour* category, 17 words composed this group. *Crystalline, black, blue, brown, green, grey, picturesque, pink, pink, purple, red, turquoise, verdant and white* were shared by the three media and *white* was the most frequent colour featured in all the three media: 6.7% in the early travel accounts, 8.0% in the travelogues and 6.9% in the brochures. Oman is praised by many writers and architects (e.g. Damluji, 1997) of its beautiful Islamic architecture and designs. The local authorities insisted that the colours *white* has to be the common colour to paint most hotels, houses and all other properties in the country particularly in the capital Muscat. Consequently writers and visitors were not just impressed with the Islamic architecture of the place, but with the whiteness and bright colours used in painting the properties. Green and blue featured more within travelogues and brochures. In contrast, black was higher in the early travel accounts and the

travelogues than in the brochures. Green is one of the misleading umageries that projected by travelogue writers and brochure producers about Oman. In the imagination of many Europeans Oman is just arid and dry lands and a few writers expected to see a green oases and lands in Arabian Peninsula. Consequently, the greenery and the tropical weather of Dhofar (in the south) and the Al Jabal Akhdar (in the north) mountain chains in the country impressed many writers.

In addition, the local challenge to develop some traditional water system (aflaj) and transform their arid desert to oases and greenery also impressed many writers and visitors and their previous images of Arabia as only *arid* desert was changed into a new image about Oman, which is *green* and *developed* (Meed, 1973). Travelogue writers particularly those who were invited by Ministry of Information were more positive in projecting the beauty of Muscat and its greenery. Their depictions of the capital as green were not just used to highlight the place, but to project the whole beauty of the land. The category of climatic refers mainly to the land and its environment, and the group was composed of 13 words. Early travellers slept mostly in tents, travelled by camel or walked, and so experienced the whole year's seasons. Consequently, adjectives such as *dark*, *cold*, *dry*, *humid* and *light* are higher in frequency in early travel accounts than in brochures. In contrast, these imageries occur with less frequency in travelogues and brochures. Most tourists' and journalists' visits were mainly programmed to suit their comforts. Moreover, they benefited from the contemporary tourist facilities and modes of transportation, which were not available in the case of early travellers.

The sublime

Reading across Appendix 23-p.523 the **sublime** was the highest theme in frequency in early travel accounts constituting 37.9% in early travel accounts. The theme also had higher constitution in brochures (28.4%) and travelogues (24.2%). This theme is composed of 28 words such as *superlative, most, biggest, great, grandest, best big, easy, endless, famous, good, great, high, intimidating, large, less, majestic, many, monotonous, popular* and *terrific.* Words like *most, biggest, great, grandest* and *best* were used to describe extremes in size, depth, height, and the beauty; the theme words used to describe the attractions exceed the ordinary proportions and expectations.

Within the theme, the word *most* was the highest adjective words in early travel accounts and travelogues. It constituted 6.4% in the early travel accounts, 3.6% in travelogues and 3.1% in travel brochures. *Best* shares a relatively high frequency occurrence in all three media, 9.2% in brochures, 7.2% in travelogues and 3.2% in early travel accounts from the total of all sublime adjectives (Appendix 23-p.523).

Finest appears a relatively high occurrence in brochures (5.6%) in comparison with its low appearance in early travel accounts (0.2%) and travelogues (0.5%). From the total of all sublime words, the word *great* had higher occurrence in early travel accounts (15.3%) in comparison with travelogues (9.0%) and brochures (8.2%); *good* also had higher frequency in early travel accounts (8.8%) and travelogues (6.4%) in comparison with brochures (2.1%). The analysis also revealed that brochure producers' use of *best, finest, grandest, quite, perfect, excellent, famous* and *high* was higher in comparison with early

travellers' and travelogue writers' use of such words in describing the country and its inhabitants. Tour operators were mainly concerned to lure their tourists and attract them by describing the touristic facilities as perfect, finest and grandest and Oman is famous for its quietness and wildness. *Quite* for example constituted 5.1% from the total of all sublime adjectives in brochures, in contrast, the word occurred less than 1.0% in early travel accounts and travelogues. *Finest* is also another example of the higher occurrence of the word in brochure (5.6%), while the word constituted .05% in travelogues and only (0.2%) in early travel accounts.

Old and ancient

As explained in Chapter Two, Oman contains many relics that refer to the fact that the country reaches back 10,000 years (Ministry of Information, 1995: 93). These ancient remnants influenced travel writers as well as contemporary journalists and brochure producers to describe Oman as one of oldest civilisations in the region. The theme **old and ancient** constitutes 7.5% in the early travel accounts, 10.6% in the travelogues and 11.5% in the brochures from the total of all adjectives (Appendix 24-p.524).

By focusing on the ancient history of Oman, journalists and brochures created a feeling of travelling back in time by visiting the country. This focus is reflected in the high occurrence of the theme in brochures and travelogues. In the early travel accounts, it was less common and explorers' aims were quite different from modern day tourists and travelogue writers who are travelling to destinations to experience its oldness and authentic life and nature.

Within the theme words, *old* and *ancient* were the highest lexical items appearing in the three media constituting more than half (53.4%) in early travel accounts, 48.1% in brochures and 32.0% in travelogues. All three media shared the words o*ld*, *ancient*, *antique*, *traditional*, *rich*, *legendary*, *modern*, and *real*, while *backward* and *strong* were shared between early travel accounts and travelogues.

Friendly

The theme words in the category of **friendly** refer mainly to the local people and the land. They are used to describe the inhabitants and the environment. The friendly environment as presented in Appendix 25-p.525 is higher in frequency in travelogues (9.1%) than in early travel accounts (6.5) % and brochures (3.1%).

Within this theme, the occurrence of the imageries varies among the three media. For example, the country and its people were featured as *friendly*, *dignified*, *tolerant*, *civilised* and *not importunate with visitors* more in travelogues than in the other two media. The lexical item *friendly* for instance constituted higher in travelogues (29.7%) and brochures (28.9%), while the words constituted 11.3% in early travel accounts. Also, *dignified*, *tolerant* and *civilised* occurred more frequently in travelogues respectively (11.5%, 6.1% and 4.1%) than in early travel accounts (1.9%, 0.7% and 1.5%), and did not appear at all in brochures.

The hospitality and the generosity of Omanis towards visitors were maintained in the three media. Despite the commercial tone of brochures, Omanis were still projected *hospitable* and *generous* in such promotional material. They also stressed the welcome reception that locals and tourists industry in Oman

offered to receive tourists. *Welcome* comprise higher in brochures (14.3%) and early travel accounts (10.1%) than in travelogues (2.7%).

'Others'

The theme **others** was mostly used to emphasise the sense of "otherness" and the exotic things, which are different to the travellers' and journalists' countries and cultures. Out of the 36 words that composed this theme, only 12 words featured in the brochures, the item *exotic,* which used to refer to people being unique to brochures. In contrast words such as *another, different, fabulous, imaginable, invisible, seductive* and *strange* were unique to the early travel accounts and the travelogues, where *seductive* and *timeless* were unique to the travelogues only (Appendix 26- p.526).

The three media agree that Oman is a *natural, wild, exotic* and *fascinating* place. The lexical item *natural* for example, was the highest word in the three media, constituting more than half in brochures (24.4%) and just under the half in travelogues (14.4%), features 114 times and constitutes 9.1% in early travel accounts. *Wild* is one of the highest word in **others** theme, constituting 21.1% in early travel accounts, 18.5% in brochures and 14.8% in travelogues (Appendix 26- p.526). Brochure producers often used the word *fascinating* to describe places and attractions in Oman to lure and attract their potential tourists; for example, *fascinating*: *country, journey, fort, mosque, capital* and *scenery*. Consequently, the word *fascinating* constituted 29.5% in brochures. In contras, this word constitutes 2.9% in travelogues and only 2.2% in early travel accounts.

Most of the imperial language and denigrating imageries about the land and its people such as *barbarous, intolerant, naked, savage, primitive, uncivilised,*

undignified, *uninhabited*, and uninteresting have very limited occurrence and were unique to early travel accounts. The language of appropriation in contemporary writings is less than that of early writings. Modern travel media are more concerned with projection of the country and its people. They rarely denigrate people or their destination. For example, in both contemporary travelogues and brochures the usage of words such as "our colony, our protectorate, slave or slavery, our India" did not take place. Instead of the popularity of *I* in early travel accounts, the word *we* was the most common phrase in presenting journalist encounter with local and journey in the country (see Chapter 6).

Within contemporary environmental word, *unspoiled* is used frequently in brochures (17.2%) and travelogues (10.3%), in contrast, it was featured only 2 times in early travel accounts constituting only 0.3%. Also the word *untouched* constituted 10.3% in brochures, only formed 0.2% in early travel accounts (Wellsted account), and did not appear at all in travelogues.

Political stability

The theme words for **political stability** mainly refer to the uniqueness of Oman as a safe, peaceful secure destination and the importance of the country's location in the trade routes. For centuries, Oman is described as safe and secure destination and the people are very peaceful with others. In modern days as was mentioned in Chapter Two, this peaceful policy has been ensured and enhanced by the Omani government and his Majesty Sultan Qaboos government in encouraging this friendly policy with all nations in the word. These policies attracted international writers and resulted in the high occurrence of the peaceful

language about Oman and its government. For example, words such as *safe, peaceful* and *secure* imageries highly occurred in the three media. They were higher in brochures in comparison with travelogues and early travel accounts, constituting respectively from the total of all strategy adjectives (42.9%, 14.3%, and 14.3%) in the first media, (9.2%, 13.8% and 9.2%) in the second media and (19.2%, 7.5% and 13.9%) in early travel accounts (Appendix 27- p.527). *Independent* was higher in frequency in early accounts in comparison with travelogues and brochures, while it showed similar frequencies in brochures. Describing Oman as an *important* country in the region was maintained in early travel accounts and travelogues, and both media writers enhanced their descriptions of the country by stressing the importance of the country's location at the trade routes in the Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Beautiful

The theme **beautiful** is comprises of 18 words, constituting 14.6% of the brochures, 8.5% of the travelogues and only 4.2% of the early travel accounts (Appendix 28-p.528). The lexical item *beautiful* is one of the most frequently used words, constituting 25.0% of the brochures, 27.0% of the travelogues and only 14.5% of the early travel accounts.

From the total of all **beautiful** adjectives, *fascinating* and *thrilled* showed high occurrence in the brochures (38.3% and 17.0%) when compared to the early travel accounts (1.3% and 1.6%) and travelogues (1.9% and 2.9%). In contrast, the word *interest* features higher in the early travel accounts (22.8%) than in travelogues (2.9%) and the brochures (3. %).

Part 3. The movement of imageries between the three media

This section summarises the outcomes of the quantitative analysis and in doing so, it is divided into three parts: (1) highest frequency items within each medium; (2) imageries shared between the three media; and (3) unique words in each media.

In exploring the nouns, verbs and adjectives, themes were ordered according to highest and lowest frequencies across the three media, in order to discover the major differences and similarities, in particular what imagery appeared and what disappeared from the accounts over time. This ordering by frequency over time permitted an exploration of the diachronic qualities of imagery. A combination of the shared and unique items is important in investigating the movement of the imageries between early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures. An examination of the unique versus shared imagery allowed the researcher to investigate the extent to which imagery persisted from earlier to later texts. It should also lead to more detailed analyses of specific words in brochures according to the generalist or specialist nature of the operator (e.g., "bird-watching", "*diving*", "*snorkelling*"). In analysing the shared area, the analysis investigates the imageries shared between the three media and the movements of nouns, verbs and adjectives from one media to another.

By investigating the results of the quantitative analysis according to the imageries highest occurrences, sharing and the uniqueness of the imageries, this research intends to answer question two of the first objective (What are the continuities and similarities, and differences in the three media representations of

Oman? In other words, do the verbal imageries in the early travel accounts reoccur and persist in the vocabulary of travelogues and travel brochures?

Section 1. Most frequent nouns in the three media

The three parts of speech analysed (nouns, verbs and adjectives) were ordered according to the highest and lowest occurrence in the three media. It was evident that noun imageries in early travel accounts were higher than in the other two media. Out of the 373 noun analysed by this research 365 imageries featured in early travel accounts constituting 97.7%, 313 in travelogues (83.9%) and only 226 in brochures (60.6%).

In the verb part, out 165 imageries only 3 verbs were absent in early travel accounts (98.2%), 12 in travelogues (92.7%) and 60 in brochures (63.6%). The adjective contains 174 imageries, 166 featured in early travel accounts (95.4%), 158 in travelogues (90.8%) and 111 in brochures (63.8%).

In Appendices 29, 30 and 32 nouns, verbs and adjectives themes were grouped according to the most frequent theme featured in early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures. They were grouped according to the highest to elucidate the theme that was featured higher than others, and to explore the differences in projection of the media.

For example, the analysis of the nouns category as presented in Table 8, showed that **landscape** (*camel, sands, water, and valley*) and **people** (*tribe, man, Arab and Bedouin*) themes featured higher in early travel accounts than in the other media projections. In contrast, **tourism components** (*hotel, room and*

night), landscape (*mountain, valley, sands and beach*) and **geography** (*Muscat and Oman*) dominated brochures instead of **people** theme.

In this section, the entire set of noun, verb, and adjective imageries were grouped individually according to their highest and lowest frequency in the data. The focus of this discussion concentrated mainly on the top 10 imageries that have the highest frequency in the three media.

One of the aims of grouping the imageries according to the highest frequency is to enhance and validate the outcomes of the previous themes' analysis. The analysis begins with nouns, then goes on to verbs and ends with adjectives.

(1) Nouns

From Table 8, of the top 10 nouns in the three media, one can read the following points.

- The **people** theme represented by *tribe* is the most featured noun imagery projected in early travel accounts. In contrast, geography is the highest in travelogues (Oman) and brochures (Muscat).
- The domination of **landscape** nouns was evident in the three media. Out of the top 10 imageries, 5 **landscape** words appeared in early travel accounts (*camel, water, mountain, valley* and *sands)* and 4 nouns each appeared in travelogues (*sand, valley, camel* and *sands)* and brochures (*mountain, valley, sands* and *beach)*.
- As was expected, brochure producers focused mainly on portraying the attractions of Oman and its tourism facilities. Consequently, **geography** and **tourism component** imageries are higher in frequency in brochures

than in the other two media. Out of the top 10 nouns, 3 imageries appear: *hotel* (the second), *room* (ninth) and *night* (the tenth). The rest of the top 7 imageries are distributed between **Landscape** (4 words: *mountain*, *valley*, *sands* and *beach*), **geography** (2 nouns: *Muscat* and *Oman*), and **culture** (*fort*).

- The appearance of imageries was varied from one medium to the other:
- In early travel accounts: 5 nouns represent the **landscape** (*camel*, *sands*, *water*, *mountain* and *valley*), 4 belong to the **people** category (*tribe*, *man*, *Arab* and *Bedouin*) and only 1 belongs to the **geography** category (*Arabia*).
- In travelogues: 5 nouns are part of the **landscape** theme (*sands*, *valley*, *camel*, *desert* and *mountain*), 3 words are classified with **geography** (Oman, Muscat and city), 1 noun was part of the **people** category (*Sultan*) and only 1 noun was categorised within **culture** (*frankincense*).
- In brochures, there are 4 **landscape** nouns (*mountain*, *valley*, *sands* and *beach*), 3 nouns are part of the **tourism components** theme (*hotel*, *room* and *night*), 2 words are part of the **geography** (*Muscat* and *Oman*) and 1 belonged to *culture* (*fort*).
- The differences in the occurrence, absence, shared and nouns categories uniqueness in the list of top 10 nouns:
- None of the **history and civilisation'** imageries appear in the top 10 nouns in the three media.
- 3 **landscape** nouns: *mountain*, *valley* and *sands* were shared between early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures.

- Among more than one medium **people** is shared by early travel accounts (*tribe*, *man* and *Bedouin*) and travelogues (*guide* and *ruler*). In contrast brochures and travelogues shared **culture.**
- The uniqueness of the themes varies from one medium to the others. **Tourism components** nouns are unique to brochures (*hotel*, *room* and *night*).

Table 8. The highest ten nouns appeared in the three media

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
Themes	***Freq.***	***% N.***	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% N.*
Tribe	1492	3.7	Oman	326	5.9	Muscat	124	4.4
Camel	1400	3.5	Sand	149	2.7	Hotel	122	4.3
Sand	1112	2.8	Frankincense	144	2.6	Oman	92	3.2
Water	1086	2.7	Muscat	114	2.1	Fort	82	2.9
Man in general	1006	2.5	Valley	108	2.0	Mountains	79	2.8
Mountains	928	2.3	Sultan	100	1.8	Valley	61	2.1
Arab	875	2.2	Camel	100	1.8	Sand	60	2.1
Bedouin	758	1.9	City	88	1.6	Room	58	2.0
Wadi	754	1.9	Desert	86	1.6	Beach	56	2.0
Arabia	738	1.8	Mountains	83	1.5	Night	53	1.9

(2) Adjectives

Out of the top 10 adjectives, 7 imageries are part of **sublime** theme, 1 **old and ancient**, 2 to **sense**. In brochures and travelogues the 10 imageries were more widely distributed between the themes than in early travel accounts (Table 9). In other words, the top 10 imageries represent 5 themes in brochures (**sublime, beautiful, senses, old and ancient** and **others)** and 6 in travelogues (**beautiful, friendly, old and ancient, others, senses** and **sublime**).

The travelogues and brochures themes that represented at the top of the adjective list are: **sublime** represented by 4 imageries in brochures (*best*, *great*, *high* and *most*) and 3 in travelogues (*best*, *great* and *most*); **senses** has 2 in

travelogues (*green* and *white*) and 1 in brochures (*light*); **old and ancient** got 1 each in brochure and travelogues; 2 **beautiful** adjectives in brochures (*thrilled* and *beautiful*) and 1 in travelogues (*beautiful*); **wild** has 1 each in brochures and travelogues (*natural*); **different** has 1 in brochures (*fascinating*) and the lexical item (*friendly*) represents **friendly** category in travelogues.

From the top 10 adjectives appeared in the three media, *most*, *great* and *old* are the only shared adjectives. *'Most'* is the highest frequency adjective in early travel accounts (6.4%) and travelogues (3.6%). In contrast, it is the fifth most frequent adjective in brochures (3.1%). The word *Great* is the second highest frequency theme in early travel accounts (5.8%), the eighth most frequent in travelogues (2.2%) and the tenth most frequent in brochures (2.3%).

The *old and ancient* theme is the highest in brochures. It is the second most frequent theme in travelogues and the fifth most frequent theme in early travel accounts. Travelogues and the brochures share two words: *Beautiful and natural.* Between early travel accounts and brochures *high* is the only shared theme within the top 10 adjective categories.

Table 9. The highest ten adjectives appeared in the three media

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
Themes	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*
Most	664	6.4	Most	58	3.6	Old/ Ancient	38	5.5
Great	601	5.8	Old/ Ancient	55	3.4	Beautiful	25	3.6
Large	501	4.8	Friendly	44	2.7	Fascinating	23	3.4
Many	426	4.1	Modern	41	2.5	Light	22	3.2
Old/ Ancient	413	4.0	Green	41	2.5	Most	21	3.1
Plain	412	4.0	White	40	2.5	High	20	2.9
Less	402	3.9	Beautiful	37	2.3	Natural	19	2.8
Good	345	3.3	Great	35	2.2	Best	18	2.6
High	326	3.1	Natural	29	1.8	Thrilled	17	2.5
Dark	244	2.4	Black	28	1.7	Great	16	2.3

(3) Verbs

As to verb category *say* was the highest in early travel accounts, *take* was the most frequent in travelogues and *visit* was the highest in brochures (Table 10).

From the top 10 verbs, the language of *gaze* (Urry, 1990) showed a high frequency in the three media. Here *see* was the second highest frequency theme in early travel accounts (5.6 %), the fourth highest in brochures (5.8%) and the eighth from the top of the list in the travelogues (2.1%). *Take* was the top verb in travelogues (6.9%), the third highest in early travel accounts (4.9%) and the fifth most frequent in brochures (3.9%).

It was noted before (Chapter 5) about the higher occurrence of the people category in the early travel accounts and travelogues in comparison with brochures. As a result of the outsiders' encounter with insiders here it is the same, the words of mouth, *say* and *tell* as communication words featured prominently in both media. *Say* featured as the highest frequency verb in early travel accounts (1332 times, constituting 6.8%), and in travelogues, it is the second most frequent (featuring 70 times and constituting 3.9%) and constitutes 1.2% in brochures. *Tell* is seventh most frequent of all verbs list in early travel accounts, (occurring 446 times and constituting 2.3%), in travelogues (35 times and constituting 1.9%); the word had a very low frequency in brochures (0.2 %).

From the top 10 ten words that occurred in more than one medium the word: *make* featured in early travel accounts and travelogues, whereas *drive* was the only imagery of this type that appeared in the brochures and early travel accounts. In travelogues and brochures *drive* was the only word appearing in the top 10 verbs in both media.

Travel imageries are the most frequent verbs in the top of the list. Out of the top 10 verbs, **travel** theme represented by 6 lexical items in early travel accounts (*find, go, make, pass through, reach and take*) and travelogues (*cross, drive, go, make, take* and *travel*) and 5 words represented **travel** theme in brochures (*visit, tour, drive, take* and *end*). **Sense** theme is appeared in the top of the verb list by 3 imageries in early travel accounts (*say, see* and *tell*), 2 in travelogues (*say* and *see*) and only 1 in brochures (*see*). **Welcome** also has 2 imageries in brochures (*eat* and *offer*), and 1 each in travelogues (*set*) and early travel accounts (*stand*). And finally, wear represent **dress** theme in travelogues, and (*build*) to signify **develop** category in brochure.

Tourist activity verbs such as *visit, tour, eat, offer, drive* and *dive* are more highly projected in brochures than in other two media, while the exploration and travel expressions such as *make, take, travel, find, reach, pass through* and *cross* are higher in frequency in travelogues and early travel accounts than in brochures.

Table 10. The highest ten verbs appeared in the three media

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
Themes	***Freq.***	***% V.***	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% V.*
Say	1332	6.8	Take	126	6.9	Visit	101	10.2
See	1090	5.6	Speak	78	4.3	Tour	69	6.9
Take	945	4.9	Say	70	3.9	Drive	64	6.4
Make	815	4.2	Make	68	3.7	See	58	5.8
Go/ went	642	3.3	Drive	50	2.8	Take	39	3.9
Find	516	2.6	Go/ went	44	2.4	Eat	36	3.6
Tell	446	2.3	Wear	39	2.1	Offer	35	3.5
Pass through	358	1.8	See	39	2.1	Dive	33	3.3
Reach	357	1.8	Cross	38	2.1	End/ at last	31	3.1
Stand	347	1.8	Set	37	2.0	Build/t	26	2.6

Section 2. Sharing imageries

The objective of this research being to find out the movement of the imagery from early accounts to the modern travelogues and brochures, the preliminary results of the quantitative analysis showed that the transitions from one medium to the other was higher in adjective themes than they were for nouns or verbs (Table 11).

Table 11. The uniqueness and sharing of nouns, adjectives and verbs in the three media

Part of speech	Unique O.	Unique B.	Unique T.	Total of Unique	Shared between O and T	Shared between O and B	Shared between T and B	Shared between O, T and B	T. of sharing area
Nouns 373	46	0	8	54	93	13	11	226	343
Nouns %	85.2	0.0	14.8	100.0	27.1	3.8	3.2	65.9	100.0
Adjectives 174	13	1	5	19	45	2	2	111	160
Adj. %	68.4	5.3	26.3	100.0	28.1	1.3	1.3	69.4	100.0
Verbs 165	8	0	2	10	50	4	1	105	160
Verbs %	80	0	20	100	31.3	2.5	0.6	65.6	100.0

Part of speech	Total of the words	Total of Unique	Total of the sharing area	Shared between O, T and B	% Of sharing area: total of sharing area / total between the O, T and B
Nouns	373	54	340	226	226 / 343 = 66.6%
Adjectives	174	19	160	111	111 / 160 = 67.9 %
Verbs	165	10	160	105	105 / 160 = 66.0 %

O: Early travel accounts
T: Travelogues
B: Brochures
O, T and B: the above three media

Out of the 373 nouns featured in the three media, 226 (65.9% of the total) were shared imageries. They included such words as *souq*, *silver*, *ruin*, *Sindbad*, *veil*, *frankincense*, *myrrh*, *Magi*, *Bedouin*, *sand* and *camel* (presented in Appendix 29 –p.529 and diagrams 3-206).

Within the adjective categories, the shared area comprises 111 adjectives (67.9%) of the total. It includes words such as *most*, *great*, *old*, *natural*, *beautiful*,

white, dry, wild, friendly, generous, finest, picturesque, amaze, simple, fascinating (Appendix 30-p.538 and diagram 4- p.207).

The shared area of the three media for the verb themes was less than for the adjectives or nouns. It comprised 105 verbs (66.0%) of the total. It included words such as *say*, *see*, *take*, *drive*, *visit*, *search*, *offer*, *sail*, *trace*, *clean*, *relax*, *climb*, *wave*, *travel*, *camp*, *offer* and *board* (Appendix 31-p.543 and Diagram 5-p.208).

The continuity and movement of lexical items from one medium to another was higher in the case of early travel accounts and travelogues, when compared with early travel accounts and brochures or between travelogues and brochures (Diagram 3, 4 and 5 and Appendices 29, 30 and 31).

The outcomes of the quantitative analysis shows that the sharing area between the early travel accounts and travelogues is 93 nouns constituting from the total of all nouns 27.1%, 45 adjectives constituting 28.1% and 50 verbs constituting 31.3%.

In contrast, the shared area between early travel accounts and brochures is 13 nouns (3.8%), 2 adjectives (1.3%) and 4 verbs (2.5%). Between the travelogues and brochures, the shared area is far less than the nouns: 11 words (3.2%) for nouns, 2 words (1.3%) for verbs and 1 word (0.6%) for adjectives.

Section 3. Unique imageries in the three media

The analysis outcomes showed that the unique words in each of the three media are higher for nouns than verbs and adjectives. The total of all unique words constitutes 65.1% (54 words) in the nouns, 22.9% (19 words) in the adjectives and 12.0% (10 words) in verbs (Table 11).

Among the nouns, as presented in Appendix 29 –p.529 and Diagram 3 – p.206 words such as: *wolf, soil, locust, insect, indigenous, husbandry, Banians, Christianity, Ibadhi, Persian Gulf, scarf, Wahabi, lizard, gunboat, caravans, stick, hyena, Bahrain, Al Buraimi, butterfly* and *sect* were unique to early travel accounts (Appendix 29- p.529). *Backpackers, barbecue, hummus, symphony, renascence, roundabout, sand lover* and *tour operators* were unique to travelogues, while the analysis did not show any unique nouns in brochures.

Among the adjectives as presented in Appendix 30- p538 and Diagram 4-p. 207: *barbarous, intolerant, naked, primitive, rainy, savage, uncivilised, undignified, uninhabited, uninteresting* and *unpleasant* were unique to early travel accounts. In contrast, there were 5 unique adjectives in travelogues: *flowered, forthright, seductive, timeless* and *wintry*. However, the adjective *exotic* referring to people was the only unique lexical item in brochures.

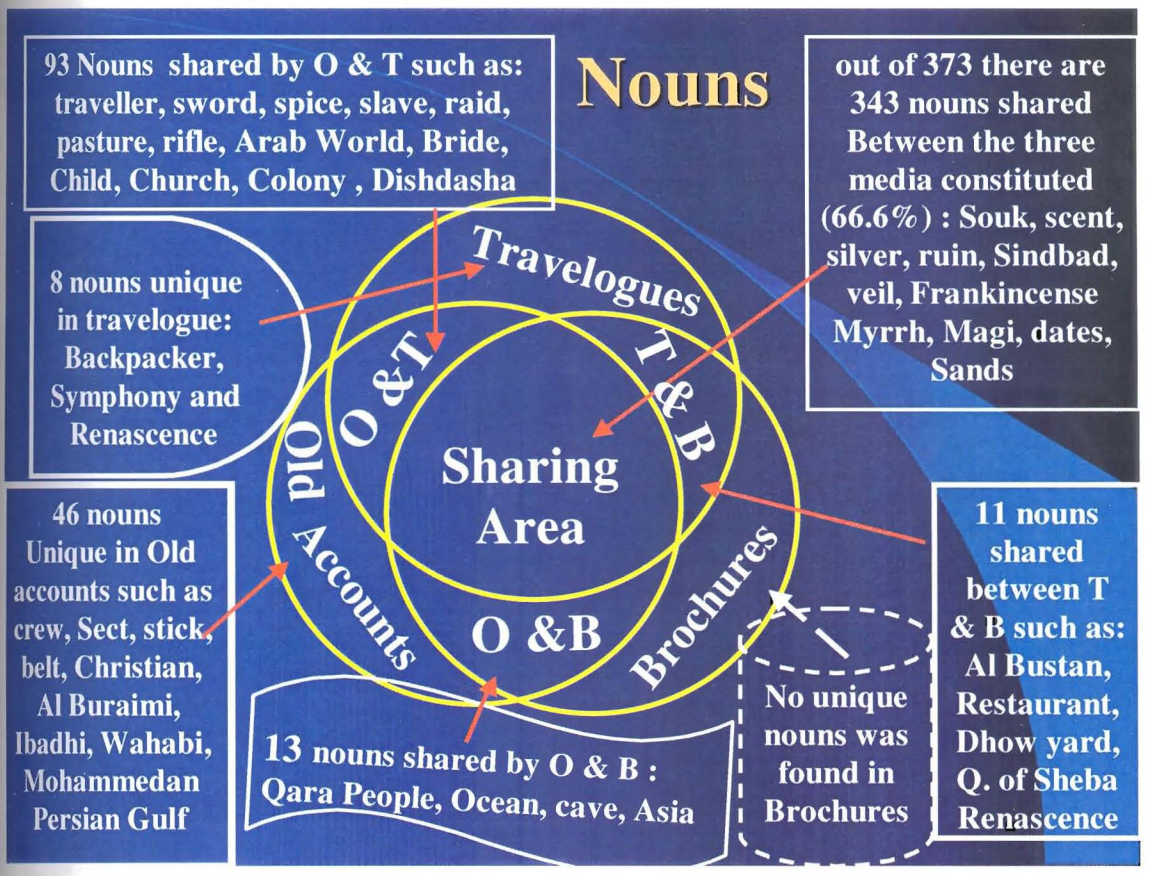
The outcomes of the verb analysis showed low uniqueness (Appendix 31- p.543 and Diagram 5-p.208). There were 8 verbs unique to early travel accounts: *administered attack, behold, occupy, project, salute* and *shipped.* 2 verbs in travelogues *cycle* and *flowered* and did not show any verbs unique to brochures.

Summary

With the presentation of the comprehensive quantitative findings, the quantitative part of this thesis has been completed in Chapter 5. Several trends have been taken into account for further qualitative and semiotic interpretations. Thus, research questions 1, 2 and 5 have been answered. The second objective of this thesis is to discover whether there is a semiotic connection between the early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures in transmitting received imageries for the contemporary visitor. This objective as presented in Chapter 1 raised 3 questions and are relevant to the next two chapters: (1) What are the meanings and significances of any observed trends in the three media? How have the people of Oman and their visitors been verbally depicted in the three media? And to what extent are the findings of the analysis of the people projection in three media close to Said's (1978) approach of 'Orientalism'?

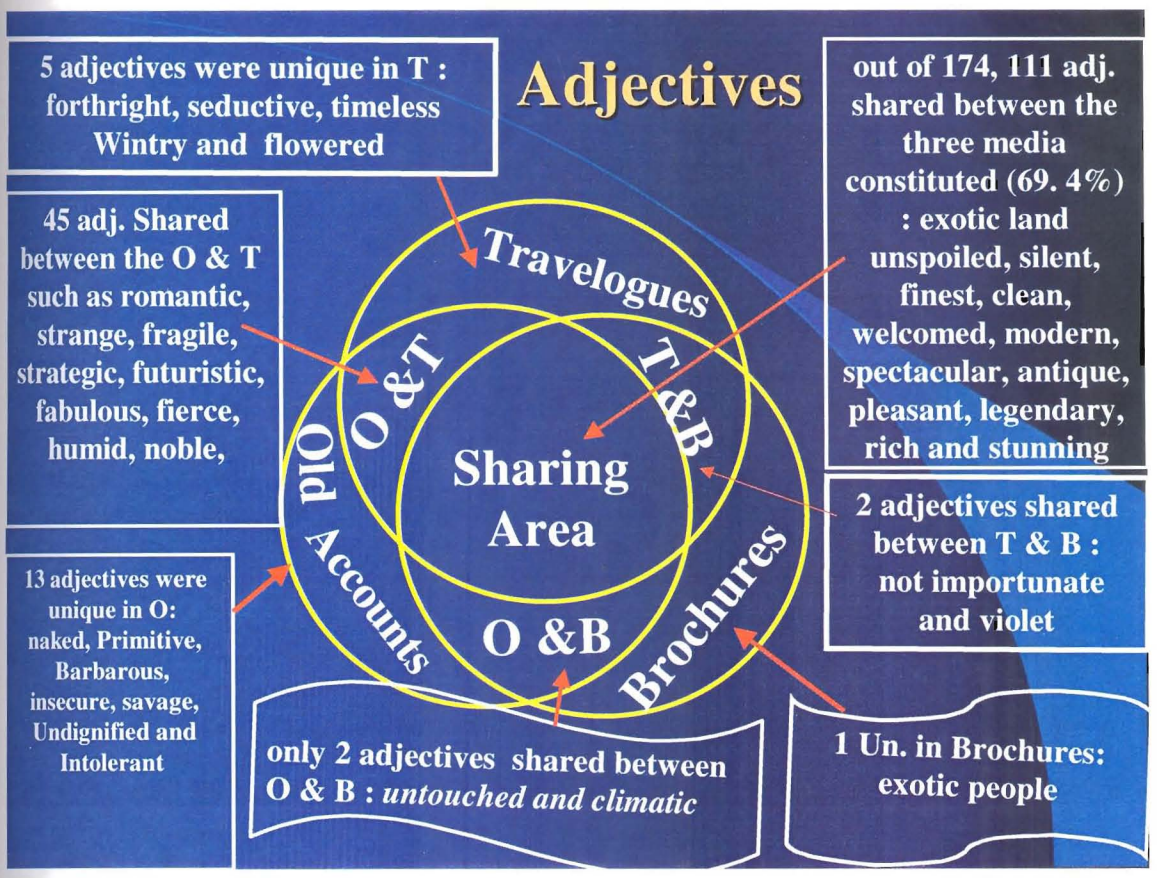
These are the questions the semiotic analysis in Chapter 6 and 7 are concerned with.

Diagram 3. Sharing and unique nouns in the three media



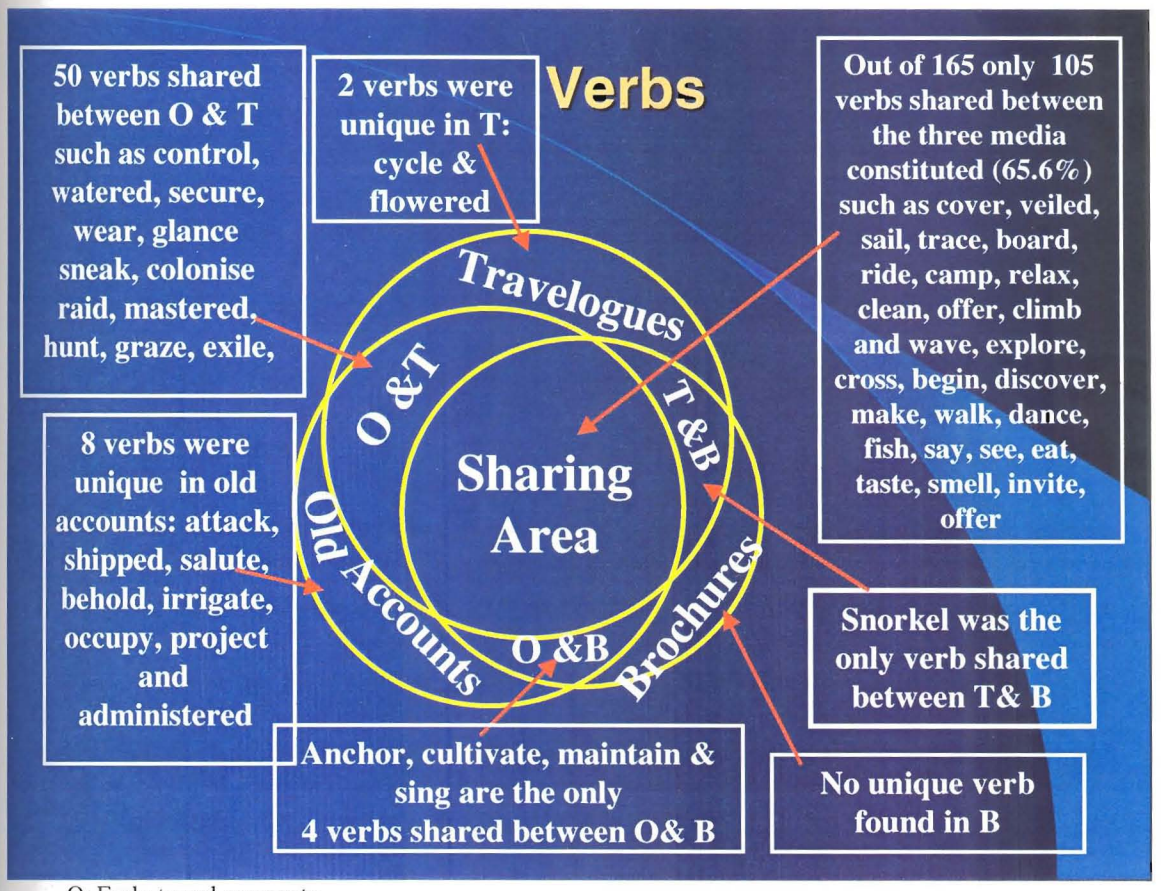
O: Early travel accounts
T: Travelogues
B: Travel brochures.

Diagram 4. Sharing and unique adjectives in the three media



O: Early travel accounts
T: Travelogues
B: Travel brochures.

Diagram 5. Sharing area of the verbs in the three media



O: Early travel accounts
T: Travelogues
B: Travel brochures.

Chapter Six
Analysing People Qualitatively and Semiotically

Introduction

People was one of the six main themes to emerge from the quantitative analysis in Chapter 5. It was featured more frequently in early travel accounts (22.7% of all nouns) and travelogues (18.2% of all nouns) than in brochures (5.4% of all nouns).

The quantitative trends also showed some gender trends in the three media. It reveals that the description of ordinary and non-ordinary people varied within the three media. Analysis of the three media descriptions of people of Oman revealed that imperial and racial language was evident in early travel accounts, but rarely occurred in travelogues, and did not appear at all in brochures. These are some of the main trends, discussed and analysed in.

Based on the contexts in which the people of Oman were described in the three media, the present study analysed **people** qualitatively and semiotically according to four themes: power, race, doctrine, and gender.

Under the theme of power, the description of the locals was further divided into two groups: ordinary and non-ordinary people. The former included words such as *farmers*, *guides*, *drivers*, *and escorts* while the latter consisted of six ruling phrases: *Sultan* [the ruler], *Imam*, *Wali* [governor], *Sheikh*, *Prince* and *chief.*

Under the theme of race the description of the locals was divided into three groups: (1) nationalistic (e.g. *Omanis*) and tribal names (e.g. *Ghafiri* and *Hinawi*);

(2) ethnics (e.g. *Banians, Indians, Beluch, Persians, Afghans and Europeans)*; (3) and [slaves].

Under the theme of doctrines, the descriptions of the people of Oman were mainly divided into three groups[40]: *Ibadhis, Sunnis* and *Wahabis*.

Finally, the theme of gender divides the description of the Omani people into two groups: masculine or feminine. Since the issue of gender was discussed in detail in Chapter 6, the following analyses are limited to the three themes of power, doctrines and race.

Part 1. Overview of people descriptions in the three media

Until 1798, the relationship between Oman and Britain was formal and competitive. British activities in Oman were mainly concerned with surveying and exploring the coastal area. In the 1820s, this relationship moved close to what many analysts refer to as an alliance period. Sayyid Said co-operated with the British in many ways. In particular, he fought with the British against the Jenabah tribes in the eastern region in two military campaigns and attacked Al Qawasim in the north. Before the land campaigns started, Britain knew little about the landscape and Bedouin culture. Having lost the first military action against the Omani tribes in the eastern region they won the next battle with the support of Sayyid Said. Later, after the death of Sayyid and the decline of the Omani Empire, Britain moved to a position of domination in Oman.

40 The *Shie* sect was mentioned briefely by one travellers only, so it was excluded from the analysis in this section and highlighted else where within the thesis.

In controlling the land, Britain found herself with an addition to her Empire, and this involved her directly in the political control of people with a different culture and 'race' to what the British had experienced in India and other parts of Africa. At the beginning the British did not understand the mysterious Bedouin who lived in the desert. They only knew that the Bedouins had succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Omani lands and Arabia and chased them to East Africa, thereby expanding the Omani Empire.

To secure its trade routes to India and interests in the Gulf and to become dominant in Arabia, the first thing Britain did was to study the local culture and assess their land sources and topography. Thus many geographers, travellers, botanists, scientists, and missionaries from Britain explored and mapped the region, including many parts of Oman.

The information that collected about the land and its inhabitants with the maps they draw, particularly those of Wellsted (1838), Haines (1845), Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, and 1919) and Thomas (1932) benefited many imperial agencies and Western activities in the region. The information about the 'other' exotic lands and cultures were incorporated into the contemporary framework of thought, and were used by scientists from various fields.

In addition, most travellers have gone to Arabia to "discover themselves rather than have gone to explore the Peninsula. No man can pretend in the harsh sunlight or the brutal desert of Arabia; but in addition to learning about himself, a man may, as a bonus, encounter one of the most fascinating races that God has made" (Bidwell 1976: 219).

Haines' (1845), Wellsted's (1838), Miles' (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919), Bent and Bent (1900), Geary's (1860), Stiffe's (1897) and Morris' (1957) accounts focused mainly on towns, cities and rural areas along with their inhabitants. Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) produced some of the richest travel accounts about Bedouins and their life in the desert. Morris (1957), more than any other traveller in Oman described the political situation in the country in the middle of the 20th century, focusing on the relationship between the Sultan in Muscat and the opposition, Imamah, in the interior regions.

In their descriptions of their experiences of these sand regions, contemporary travelogues provided some reasons for their failure to conduct the same journeys and to follow early travellers' steps.

In addition to the political boundaries and the changes that occurred in Bedouin lives a number of travelogue writers presented the difficulties in finding camels which are not affected by the moder day interference to take them in the desert. In modern days, camels are mostly used to entertain tourists and travellers in the sands. They are also used in racing and have become another fortune and source of income for many Bedouins' families.

This idea was common in the early 20th century, but does it exist today at the beginning of the 21st century? Can travellers find 'real Bedouins' who could "adapt themselves to any kind of life, in the desert, in the jungle, in mountains or on the sea, and that in many respects no race in the world was their equal" (Thesiger 1959: 168).

The answer to these questions is that it is difficult to find a 'real Bedouin', but it is also very difficult to find another British writer like Thesiger (1959) who

loved the land and its inhabitants, sharing with his Bedouin companions the hard, merciless life of the desert. Modern tourists and travellers do not taste the hunger, the thirst, the heat, the cold and face the danger of raids and blood feuds as Thesiger (1959) did in the early 20th century.

Many tourists and journalists today are influenced by the negative race images that are portrayed and projected by modern media about Arabia. Thesiger (1959) predicted that many Western travellers and tourists would visit Arabia, but they would never enjoy the spirit of the land and the reality of its Arab inhabitants:

> I went to southern Arabia only just in time. Others will go there even to study the geology and archaeology, the birds and plants and animals, even to study Arabs themselves, but they will move about in cars and will keep in touch with outside world by wireless. They will bring back results far more interesting than mine, but they *will never know the spirit of the land nor the greatness of the Arabs*. If anyone goes there looking for life I led they will not find it, for technicians have been there since, prospecting for oil (Thesiger 1959: xi).

British travel writing about the people of Oman in the 19th and the 20th centuries revealed the particular, and often dramatic, features of their lives. These features showed how, and to some extent why, particular aspects of Bedouin life were taken up by many travel writers of that period and taken as a representative of the whole. The representations of the inhabitants in much of this literature were based on the experience and judgement of the travellers and explorers of the time, many of whom were unsympathetic to other ways of life. Such descriptions thus revealed as much about imperial activities and about the travellers themselves as the destination people they encountered and purported to describe.

Projection of people in the travel brochures was mostly absent and the rare descriptions of the people by the tour operators were confined to 'touristic' areas. Typically, the role of people is often omitted from the texts of the travel brochures, even when events involving staged performances of dancers and musicians are described. For example:

> The Cellar offers a traditional European basement pub atmosphere, with live music and DJ; Coral Bar is decorated with an underwater theme, reflecting local sea life (*Amathus*: 38).
>
> Al Zafran, specialising in mezz, seafood and grills - is an Arabian night- club with dancing and live music (*Axis*: 33)
>
> Facilities include an African themed nightclub restaurant, which offers probably the best night out in Muscat (Pearls of the Ocean: 19).

While the Omani people are typically ignored in most British travel brochures, the same is not true of travel brochures for nearby countries. Henderson (2001) notes that brochures for the Middle and Far East focus heavily on projecting the indigenous people. He adds "natives are almost portrayed dressed in native costume and pursuing traditional activities with no reference to modern realities and lifestyles" (p.74).

Brochure portrayals of the traditional Omani ways of life were mostly confined to tourists' attendances at camel races or their visits to sand deserts to experience the Bedouin lifestyle. The tour operators do not provide their tourists' with the chance to experience any of the many religious or national festivals where traditional life or authentic cultures are portrayed.

Landscapes and scenery receive the greatest emphasis in the brochures with people simply being used to communicate a sense of rustic charm and background colour (Henderson, 2001). For example:

> Of particular note around the central citadel, most of which has been extensively renovated, are the 17th century fort and its adjacent golden domed mosque and leafy souk [sic] where gold, silver and copper handicrafts can be purchased. Not to be missed is the spectacle of the Friday morning market, which attracts thousands from far and wide. (*Arabian Odyssey*: 5).

In the above excerpt, locals are not mentioned. The fort was mentioned without referring to its history or the local tour guides who work on a daily basis around the monument. This extract also speaks of the souq and emphasises handicraft products, but it does not mention anything about the skilled workers who have produced these silver, gold and copper items. It ignores the fact that it is the people with their traditional way of dress, presentation, and selling of their traditional products that are often a major attraction at the market.

The brochures mainly speak of the guests rather, than the hosts. Most of the lexical host words, which this quantitative analysis counts as part of the content analysis, are used by brochure producers to refer to the locals in general rather than specific host nouns like *Omanis*, locals, *Bedouin*, *women*, or *men*, and so on. So in being directed exclusively at guests, with no mention of the hosts, brochures tended towards a language of social control in the use of phrases like, "the choice is yours" (*Bales Holiday*: 40); "enjoy all the scenic and cultural highlights of Oman on this unforgettable eight day Arabian experience" (*Arabian Odyssey*: 10); and "See more of Oman by pre-booking one of these short excursions (Ibid. 12).

Part 2. Describing people according to power

Introduction

An important finding in Part 3 is that the description of people within the power sub-category was strongly featured in the early travel accounts. It occurred less frequently in travelogues and it was not projected at all in travel brochures.

It was common for some of the writers of the early travel accounts (e.g. Bent and Bent 1900; Geary 1860; Morris 1957; Stiffe 1897; and Wellsted 1838) to be received by the rulers of the country. For example:

> Having made the round of the bazaars we proceeded to His Highness the Sayyid's palace, accompanied by a very intelligent Arab interpreter provided for us by Mr. Maguire" (Geary, 1876:44).

> He was greatly interested in seeing us, for we were the first English travellers who had visited him since his accession (Bent and Bent 1900: 57).

In addition to meeting the rulers, the writers also met other ruling class members such as the Walis of the regions and Sheikhs of the tribes. They visited these influential leaders to win their support for their journeys within Oman.

> The *Wali* said there was no fresh news from Muscat or about *Sultan*. The *Shaikhs* returned on shore at 1 o'clock. At 4 p.m. I landed with Garforth and went to Jethoo's, where we saw the *Shaikhs* and *Wali*. Garforth and others then went with *Wali* to Al-Belad, while I went on camel to Senaisila to examine the fort there. (Miles 1919, cited in Ward, 1987: 174).

Many of the writers' journeys and encounters with the local sheikhs resulted in developing direct relationships with these leaders. In addition, due to their influential role as political agents in Muscat, travellers like Miles (1910) and Wellsted (1838) were occasionally visited by some tribal Sheikhs. For example,

while he was in Nizwa, the British agent and traveller Samuel Miles described the visit paid to him by one of the tribal shiekhs:

> The Sheikh paid me an early visit the next morning, and we had a long and interesting conversation, in which he communicated much information concerning the history, ancestry, and traditions of his tribe, about which he seemed never tired of talking, and about the topography of Nezwa and its neighbourhood, replying to my questions very courteously (Miles 1910: 176).

Bent and Bent (1900), Geary (1860) Morris 1957, and Stiffe (1897) avoided prolonged contact with the ordinary people, whom they did mention in their travel accounts, but with reference to their history, their daily life, and as part of the travellers' interests to study their cultures and assess their sources.

Unlike the writers of the early travel accounts, travelogue writers very rarely encountered the *Sultan*, the *Walis*, and the *Sheikhs*. Therefore, these writers described ordinary people more than they described the ruling class.

Sultan was frequently featured in travelogues, but was different from early travel accounts. With an institutional government in place, most writers' and journalists' travel programmes are organised and sponsored by the public sector (for example, Ministry of Information, Tourism Board, etc.) or by private sector companies (e.g. tour operators, hotels, airlines, etc.).

Opportunities for journalists to meet His Majesty Sultan Qaboos regarding their travel in Oman very rarely take place and if they do happen they no longer take place in the ways they once did. Consequently, their representations of the ruler are correspondingly different. Today, writers mainly focus on His Majesty's internal policies and the developments that have occurred after his accession to the throne in 1970. Many travelogue writers cover the traditional annual meeting between the ruler and his public. In addition to the internal policies, many writers

praise the peaceful policy of the Omani leader towards neighbouring countries and international communities.

The focus on people is limited in the brochures and the use of ruling class words are limited to the context of describing historical monuments and luxury buildings that carry the names of Sultan and Imam. Words like *Wali* and *Sheikh* are not used at all. The ordinary people are also not projected beyond the confines of touristic areas: souqs and some other attractions.

The analysis divides the description of the locals into two categories: ordinary and non-ordinary.

The projections of the ordinary people in the early travel accounts and travelogues are analysed according to the writers' positive and negative representations of the inhabitants.

Brochures are commercial publications selling holiday programmes to potential tourists. So none of them denigrated the inhabitants (nor the destinations). The people of Omani were projected as *friendly*, *welcome*, *generous*, *peaceful* and the country as *safe destination*. Consequently, analyses of brochure data suggest that positive representations of the people of Oman dominate.

Section 1. The portrayals of ruling class in the three media

Among the ruling class imageries *Sultan* was the most frequent lexical item in early travel accounts (7.0%), travelogues (9.9%), and travel brochures (17.5%).[41] Consequently, the analysis of the ruling class will focus only on descriptions of the *Sultan*. Within the three media the use of *Sultan* was varied. In early travel accounts and travelogues it was used to refer to the Omani rulers, their life, activities and their encounters with others. The brochures confine the use to the luxury and popular facilities that carry the Sultan's name. For example, the Sultan's palaces and the Al Bustan Palace Hotel were some of the popular places that any tour to Muscat included:

> Salalah, ... is the birthplace of the current ruler, Sultan Qaboos (ibid. 33).

> Al-Bustan Palace is a superbly appointed deluxe hotel managed by the intercontinental groups. Owned by the *Sultan* of Oman (one of his seven Royal Palaces)... undoubtedly one of the most luxurious hotels in the region (*Tropical Location* 2001: 18).

> In the afternoon, drive past the Al Alam Palace, residents of his Majesty Sultan Qaboos, flanked by the twin forts of Jalali and Mirani (*Somak* 200: 110).

In early travel accounts, *Sultan* is examined within the context of five key themes. (1) Encounters with others (insiders and outsiders); (2) the change that occurred on the Omani rulers' images in early travel accounts is also analysed; (3) rulers meeting with travellers; (4) the writers' depiction of the hospitality they received; and (5) travellers projection of the exotic life inside the palaces.

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41 The figures represent the percentage of all common and proper nouns in the analysed texts.

In travelogues the situation is different. There was no report of any meeting with Sultan Qaboos nor any descriptions about the ruler's palaces in any of the thirty four articles. In addition, the descriptions of the hospitality and generosity the travelogue writers received were limited. They praised His Majesty's hospitality and generosity with his people, but none of the travelogue writers spoke in detail of the gifts they themselves received from the Sultan. So, the analysis of *Sultan* in travelogues is confined to journalists' projections of his Majesty's encounter with insiders and his images in travel articles.

So the analysis of the word *Sultan* in early travel accounts will cover all five themes, while in travelogues this section limited to the to the first two.

(1) Rulers encounters with others in early travel accounts and travelogues

The first theme focuses on the projections of the encounters between rulers and others (internals and outsiders) in early travel accounts and travelogues.

(a) Early travel accounts

A few early travel writers highlighted the relationship between the Sultans and others. They frequently wrote about the relationship between the Omani rulers with other nations such as Britain, France, Turkey and United States of America. Travellers such as Wellsted (1838), Miles (1896) and Morris (1957) wrote of the Omani conflict with the Saudis over Al Buraimi Oases. Morris (1957), Wellsted (1838) and Bent and Bent (1900) in particular frequently wrote about the Wahabis Movement in south Arabia, and the Omani rulers' attitudes regarding the threats of the movement to the stability of the country.

In addition, some travellers also wrote about the relationship between the Omani rulers and their opponents and writers such Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, and 1919) and Morris (1957) were highly affected by the political situation in Oman during their visit and life in the country. The political issues and the conflict representatiosn dominated their accounts about the country.

The *Sultans*' encounters with outsiders were discussed in Chapter 2. It was also highlighted in many occassions within this thesis. So, the analysis of this section is limited to rulers' interactions with insiders. Moreover, this part focuses on the travellers' projection of the relationship between the rulers and the tribe members and particularly, some travellers' records of the political conflict that occurred in Oman after the death of Sayyid Said bin Sultan in 1856.

In presenting this issue here are two examples are provided to illustrate this encounter. The first is written by Samuel Miles in 19th century, while the second is representing Sultan Said bin Taimur encounter with his opponents in early 20th century.

In the following extract, Miles (1896) described the encounters between the Sultan and his opponent Imamah and the tribal attitudes towards both authorities as follows:

> In September, 1883, the Rehbiyin tribe had played false to the Sultan, and, though in receipt of a good subsidy, had listened to the cajolements of seyyid Abdul Aziz and shaikh Salih bin Ali, and had given passage to the enemy, whereby they had been able to pour down the Kahza pass with such secrecy and dexterity as to take his Highness by surprise. The attack, however, owing in great measure to the support afforded to the Sultan by H.M.S. *Philomel*, which shelled the rebels from their position, an action fully approved by our Government, had signally failed (Miles 1896, cited in Ward 1987: 115).

The political situation and traveller involvement as a British agent between 1876 and 1885 in the conflict between the Sultan and the Imamah in interior regions dominated his writing about the country.

The above passage also reveals the many aims that lay behind his journey. Apart from assessing the power of Wadi Al Tayin tribes and their strength, Miles (1896), the first European to explore the area with its summits and oases, aimed to evaluate the military importance of the mountain range, and to map the routes of movements of the Imamah army.[42]

On the other hand, Morris' (1957) focus was not on the conflict between the Sultan and the Imamah but on describing the Sultan's encounter with his public. He acquired this information through his journey with the ruler in 1955-6 as well as attending many meetings between the ruler and the tribal sheikhs in the interior and Al Dhahirah regions. Thus, Morris' (1957) account of Oman, albeit short, is one of the richest travel accounts in recording the relationship between the Omani ruler and the ordinary people, and the attitude of the Sultan towards travellers and visitors.

The second example is representing Morris (1957) projection of the relationship between Sultan Said bin Taimur and this people. In describing one of the encounters between the ruler and his people Morris (1957) wrote:

> This was the company; and they *all stood there silently* around the Sultan. Sometimes the Sultan *murmured something* in a *low voice*, and the *Wali answered respectfully*. Generally everybody stood mutely, Wali, qadi, sheikhs, son of the paramount chief, followers, Sultan and all, until by some *imperceptible or even telepathic gesture* the Sultan dispersed the *assembly*. As *they withdrew, I advanced*.

42 By controlling mountain summits, tribes could play an influential role in the conflict and gain financial support because they were in a position to impede the movements of weapons and armies. For example, the peaks of Akk and Kahza were strategically important military positions between Muscat (with its coastal region) and the interior at the time of Miles' (1896) visit.

> It was an interesting journey, don't you think?' said the Sultan. 'A little rough, perhaps'. You know, I built the road over the mountains myself, for the benefit of the Oil Company. It is sometimes very steep.'
>
> 'We seem to have made very good time, Your Highness. How many Miles do you suppose we've come?'
>
> 'I checked it on my speedometer. We began at 446. It now read 559. That is – let me see – 113 miles, I think. I like to travel fast. I hope you had a comfortable journey, nevertheless? My people are looking after you? You are not too tired?'
> 'If I *were* tired, sir,' I replied, 'I certainly wouldn't say so.'
>
> 'I see, Mr. Morris,' said the Sultan, with *an enigmatic smile*; and we parted (Morris 1957: 56-7).

Two notions can be derived from the above excerpt. Firstly there was communication between the ruler and his local companions. Secondly there was interaction between the Sultan and the traveller. The above excerpt showed clearly that Morris (1957) enjoyed his journey with Sultan Said bin Taimur and that he was in a position to record the conversations between the Sultan and his companions. The above extract shows the royal power of the Sultan. The local companions played the role of receivers of royal messages, while the Sultan was the speaker and sender of these messages.

The exchange between Morris (1957) and the Sultan indicated that the traveller was subjected to the Sultan's power as well. Apart from this exchange, Sultan Said often talked to Morris (1957) about the routes of their travel in the desert and about previous travellers who had visited the towns and sands during their journey. The European image of the Orient as an enigmatic and incomprehensible world, in contrast to the Western world, which is open, readable and expressive, allowed Morris (1957) to describe the ruler's smile as *enigmatic*.

(b) Travelogues projection of the Sultan encounter with insiders

There are two important issues to be highlighted in discussing Sultan representation in travelogues: (1) the domination of development language in comparison with the political tones; and (2) travelogue writers description of the comparison between Oman before 1970 and after was heavely mentioned and over used.

In projecting ruler encounters with his people, political language was rarely featured in travelogues. Most travelogue writers reported His Majesty's methods in combining the traditional styles with the modern management techniques in meetings as shown in the following extract:

> His Majesty was on his yearly meet-the-people walkabout. With its fluttering flags, the royal encampment looked like the setting for a medieval pageant (although undoubtedly equipped with e-mail). The camp was spread out besides a stunning golden sand-dune arising like a crown from the plains; sculptured and scalloped, its contours provided the afternoon sun with somewhere to rest its heavy beams. The Bedu had come-as they always had done – with requests and tributes, or perhaps just to see their leader, whose reputation seems remarkably undimmed after nearly three decades on the throne (Pattullo *The Guardian* 20. 11. 1999).

Traditionally the Sultan met his people in the cities, villages, deserts and every remote region in the country. These annual occasions were portrayed as a means to direct communication, a unique way that emphasised the role of the Omani leadership in managing the traditional society of Oman. The connotative meaning lying beneath the description presents the transformation of Oman and its employment of modern management techniques in developing the country, and assuring its limited effects on the local culture, which was traditional and old.

The aesthetic language is clear. It is not only reflected in the description of the meeting, but the whole scene is projected as traditional and ancient. In doing so, Pattullo (1999) employed binary opposition like traditional and modern, the powerful authority of the ruler with the locals' docility, the walkabout with the modern royal encampment and the traditional meeting with its classical caravan and modern communication links (emails). The combination of the grandeur of the Majestic convoy with the beauty of the natural dunes adds more fascination to the scene.

However, the interaction between his Majesty and his people is also featured in individual cases. For instance, Spufford (2001) wrote the following in *Condé Nast Traveller*:

> Sultan Qaboos government is very personal too. After dark in Muscat I was told he sometimes likes to drive around on his own giving lifts to his subjects. He asks them what they think is good in Oman, and what is bad. He keeps an open bag of banknotes on the seat beside him. Take what you feel you need, he tells them (March 2001: 159).

The following by Mark Jones (1998), published in *High Life*, is another example:

> The national sport of leg-pulling is practised at the very top. The story goes that the Sultan, his Majesty Qaboos bin Said, was driving his Range Rover alone one day when he came across an elderly goatherd hitchhiking. His Majesty pulled over and offered the man a lift back to his village. The man's eyesight was not good and he didn't recognise his ruler. Otherwise he probably wouldn't have ventured to make a couple of less than complimentary remarks about the young Sultan, to the effect that he didn't get out and about enough to meet the people. The Sultan dropped him off at his village without a word. The next day, soldiers arrived and the goatherd was commanded to attend the Sultan's palace in Muscat. In terror, he pleaded for his life; but he was bundled into a jeep and taken off anyway. At the palace, the poor man was brought trembling into the royal presence. At the sight of him, the Sultan

> broke into gales of laughter, gave the man 20 new goats and sent him home.
> There is a strong hint of the fairytale in that story; but then Oman is something of a fairytale place. The Sultan himself is an archetypal Merry Monarch, spending months every spring - in spite of what grumpy goatherd might think - touring the country and inviting his people to come and lay their grievances and opinions (May, 1998: 54-55).

In the above two examples, both journalists framed their descriptions about the meetings between the ruler and locals as a kind of fairytale. They created a mythical narrative that represented his Majesty as magnanimous benign, but all powerful, a stereotypical image of the Arab potentate.

There are some similarities between the political situation of Oman after 1804 and the one after July 1970, which allow the analyst to compare events that occurred internally. The differences in the two eras can be related to the changes in the international powers, the continual domination of Western interests in the region and the appearance of new powers.

The death of Imam Sultan bin Ahmed in September 1804 left Oman in a state of confusion and temporary civil war (Vine 1995). Sayyid Said bin Sultan came to power in Oman in the same year and found the country in distress, owing to the attacks by the Wahabi, who had carried their assaults beyond the frontiers, to Al Suwiaq in the Al Batinah region (Bent and Bent 1900: 54). In addition, Sayyid Said's opponents; in Sohar and Al Rustaq in Oman, and Mombassa in East Africa also struggled against his authority and by their acts they influenced the unity of the Omani empire and weakend the country for a number of years.

The political situation in 1970 had some similarity. His Majesty Sultan Qaboos found the country in 1970 in dire straits at the time of his accession, owing to the Marxist-Leninist-led war in Dhofar and other nationalist activities in

the interior regions, including poverty and the lack of facilities in Oman. In addition, Oman was affected by the close-door policy, which was carried out by Sultan Said bin Taimur who ruled Oman from 1932 to July 1970.

Since 1970, many books, articles and studies have been published about the political and development transformation that occurred in Oman and its impacts locally, regionally and internationally. Many advisors and experts who worked in Oman wrote about their experience in the country. Thus, in their writing about Oman and its development, these writers and journalists found the comparison between the early management of Oman and the later 'Renaissance', which occurred after 1970 one of the most fertile issues to describe.

The representations of this comparison between Oman before and beyond 1970 is the second issue of this section. It was one of the major binary contrast mode in articles about Oman and its ruler in the British press. Out of 32 articles, 17 articles mentioned the changes that occurred after 1970. For instance, Spufford (2001) wrote in the *Traveller:*

> As recently as 1970, there were only six miles of road in the entire country and life followed an immemorial pattern. Tribe raided tribe, transport was the camel, the diet was dates, dried fish and water, and wealth was to be coaxed from the Omani trade routes to Zanzibar and Baluchistan. Then the oil money arrived and with it as its custodian, the activist Sultan Qaboos (March, 2001).

The following example is taken from *The Independent*:

> Oman is a country to stir the imagination. The Sumerians knew it as the land of copper, and its frankincense and dates have long been world-famous. The hand-built wooden dhows that put to sea each night and return each dawn stacked with fish are a reminder of its sea-going tradition, and that Sinbad, the legendary mariner of the Arabian Nights, came from Oman.
> Oman's modern era began in 1970 when Sultan Qaboos exiled his father and began Oman's "renaissance". The country has shot from its closed existence as a medieval fiefdom to become a 21st-century

state under his rule (Young *The Independent* 17. 12. 2000).

Comparing developments in Oman before and after 1970 has become a stereotype in the journalists' writing about the country and its rulers. Indeed, modernisation theme continued beyond the third decade of the Renaissance age in newspapers and travel magazines.

Representations of Oman have also drawn on mythic and historical themes. The examples mentioned also included references to frankincense and the tales of Sinbad the Sailor and Arabian Nights. The popularity of Oman in trading with copper, frankincense and dates were also emphasised. They also emphasised the role of the sea and the role played by the location of the country in its history and Omanis encounters with others.

(2) The changes in rulers' images over time in early accounts and travelogues

The second theme focuses on the projections of the rulers' images in early travel accounts (1838-1959) and travelogues (1996-2001).

(a) Rulers images in early travel accounts (1838-1959)

The quantitative analysis reveals different trends in imagery of *Sultan* in British travel writing. These trends vary according to the time of the travellers' journey, their background and their notions of the East and Oman, the power of the state at the time of the travellers' journeys, and its influence on regional and world politics. Therefore, writing about the changes in the images of the rulers in travellers' writing is another important issue. The images of rulers' of Oman during the Omani Empire in the 17th and early 18th centuries were more positive

than the images that were projected about the rulers after the death of Sayyid Said bin Sultan in 1856 and during the period of British domination of the region. In travelogues the images of his Majesty Sultan Qaboos were positive and all articles provided descriptions of the development that occurred in Oman since 1970. Phrases such as *generous*, *wise*, *tolerant* were frequently attributed to him in many articles analysed by this study. So, in analysing rulers' images, this section is divided into two parts: the first is an investigation of the rulers' images in early travel accounts and the second, the analysis of the representation of his Majesty Sultan Qaboos in British travelogues between 1996-June 2001.

In analysing early travellers descriptions of the Omani rulers this section is divided into two periods: the first is about rulers' representations before the death of Sayyid Said in 1856 and the second is about the images depicted after his death until 1955.

During the reign of Sayyid Said (1894-1856) Oman extended its influence to regions in Arabia, Africa and Persia and was the only non-European country, which had an Empire in the region (Halliday 1974). It maintained friendly relations with many international powers and Muscat was the port of call for many ships and one of the most important commercial centres in the region. Oman attracted travellers, scientists and sailors and people from places like India, Persia, Afghanistan, and Europe. They were impressed by the multicultural life and tolerant attitudes of Sayyid Said bin Sultan and his support for many scientific and exploration activities (Wellsted 1838).

Wellsted's (1838) was the account used in this section to illustrate travellers' perceptions and projections of the rulers' images before 1856. In his

projection of Sayyid Said bin Sultan, Wellsted (1838) highlighted several features of the ruler's characteristics and attitudes including his policies and his tolerance for outsiders and international powers:

> In his intercourse with Europeans, he has displayed the warmest attention and kindness; probably, if any native prince can with truth be called a friend to the English, it is the Imam of Maskat; and even on our side, the political connection with him appears to have in it more sincerity than is generally supposed to exist (ibid: 7).

A few points can be read from the above excerpt. The first point is the traveller's happiness and satisfaction with the ruler's support and his 'warmest attention and kindness'. His satisfaction with the ruler's attitude towards Britain and his interests in developing the relationship were also noted.

Although Wellsted (1838) used the word *European* instead of *British*, which might lead one into thinking that Sayyid Said had also some interests in developing his relationship with British competitors in the region such as France, the writer was adamant that the ruler supported British interests in Oman: "if any native prince can with truth be called a friend to the English, it is the Imam of Maskat" (p.7).

Wellsted's (1838) writing of Sayyid's support and attention towards science and art was another positive representation of the Omani ruler. The writer noted the ruler's "encouragement of science and the arts has attracted the attention of an influential learned society, which lately nominated him one of its honorary members" (178). The projection of the ruler's support for science was also enhanced when the writer pointed out that Sayyid Said's support was not limited

to the Omanis and his British allies, but that it was extended to cover scholars of all nationalities.[43]

Wellsted (1838) also wrote positively about the ruler's relationship with his Omani subjects, including members of the royal family. For example, "it is noticed by the Arabs, as an instance of the warmth of his affections, that he daily visits his mother, who is still alive, and pays, in all matters, implicit obedience to her wishes" (Wellsted 1838:7).

In his writing about the government, Wellsteds (1838) praised its simplicity, welfare policies and support of the inhabitants:

> The government of this prince is principally marked by the absence of all oppressive imposts, all arbitrary punishments, by his affording marked attention to the merchants of any nation who come to reside at Maskat, and by the general toleration which is extended to all persuasions: while, on the other hand, his probity, the impartiality and leniency of his punishments, together with the strict regard he pays to the general welfare of his subjects, have rendered him as much respected and admired by the town Arabs, as his liberality and personal courage have endeared him to the Bedowins. These splendid qualities have obtained for him throughout the East the designation of the Second Omar (Wellsted 1838: 8).

The projections of the rulers of Oman between 1856-1959 by the writers of the early travel accounts varied. In many cases the changes in the ruler representations were due to the decline of Omani power, tribal conflicts and an increase of outsider interference.

Bent and Bent (1900) contained negative representations, particularly in their description of Sultan Feysal:

> The present ruler of Maskat, Sultan Feysul, is a grandson of Sultan Sayid and son of Sultan Tourki by an Abyssinian mother. Since his accession, in 1889, he has been vacillating in his policy; he has

43 During the reign of Sayyid Said Oman was inhabited by many nationals who found in the country a place to pursue their interests and activities. His generosity extended to many Europeans scholars who visited Oman including the French naturalists, Eloy and Fontanier, the Austrian traveller and historian Reyer, and the Italian traveller Maurizi (Billecocq, 1994).

> practically had but little authority outside the walls of Maskat, and were it not for the support of the British Government and the proximity of a gunboat, he would long ago have ceased to rule. When we first saw him, in 1889, he was but a beardless boy, timid and shy, and now he has reached man's estate he still retains the nervous manner of his youth. He lives in perpetual dread of his elder brother Mahmoud, who, being the son of a negress, was not considered a suitable person to inherit the throne. The two brothers, though living in adjacent houses, never meet without their own escorts to protect them from each other (Bent and Bent 1900: 56).
>
> The Imam fed us with sweets and coffee, asked us innumerable questions, and seemed full of boyish fun. Certainly with his turban of blue and red checked cotton (which would have been a housemaid's duster at home), his faded, greenish yellow cloak, fastened round his slender frame by a red girdle, he looked anything but a king (ibid. 58).

The extract described denotatively the relationships within the Omani Royal family. However the ruler and his brother were denigrated. The ruler was a "beardless boy, timid and shy", and even when he reached the age of adulthood he was still said to be uncomfortable and incapable of managing the country. His authority was based on the protection of the British. This imperialist sign of power was represented by the gunboats in Mutrah and the presence of the British agent in Muscat.

Despite the ruler's generosity and hospitality, Bent and Bent (1900) maintained their perceived superiority and denigrated the ruler's culture by associating his turban of "blue and red checked cotton" with "a housemaid's duster at home".

Although Bent and Bent (1900) might have been reporting a fact about the social constructions and races issues which existed in the society that time, their report of the brothers relationships and Mahmoud's origin contains some denigration tones. In his discussion about the Arabian views towards children

whose fathers were Arabs and free, and those whose mothers were slaves, Lewis (1986) employed the term *hajin* and points out the issue is social rather than racial in content. Yet it is the above excerpt by Bent and Bent (1900) that seems derogatory.

A Western (particularly the British) sense of superiority pervaded the account by Bent and Bent (1900), as in the following extract of their description of the relationship between the ruler and the British agent in Muscat, and British military presence in the Gulf:

> Unquestionably our own political agent may be said to *be the ruler in Maskat*, and his authority is generally backed up by the presence of a gunboat. There is also an American Consul there who chiefly occupies himself in trade and steamer agencies, and in 1895 the French also sent a Consul to inquire into the question of the slave trade, which is undoubtedly the burning question in Arabia (ibid.60).

In describing the relationship between the British agents and Omani rulers, Bent and Bent (1900) were the only writers of the early travel accounts who noted the mastery of Britain in Oman when they described the British agent in Muscat as *the ruler in Maskat*. The other writers described the relationship between Britain and Oman in phrases that denoted a less masterful role for Britain (e.g. *protectorate, protected the Sultan, British supported the ruler of Muscat, British helped Muscat authority to defend it from Bedouin rebellions*).

In contrast to the negative representations of Bent and Bent (1900) towards Sayyid Feysal, Thesiger's (1959) representations of the Omanis and their rulers were mainly positive. Despite the isolationist policy of Sultan Said bin Taimur and his concerns about the effects of the outsiders' on the local culture, Thesiger (1959) described the ruler positively:

> The Sultan, Saiyid Said bin Timur, whom I met for the first time, was *very kind* to me and *gave me every assistance in arranging* the next stage. He *assured me that the restrictions* which had been imposed on the R.A.F. did not apply to me, and that I could go anywhere and talk to anyone while I was in Salala. This made it much easier to make my arrangements (Thesiger 1959: 166).

Most of the meetings between the Omani rulers and European travellers occurred in Muscat, the capital. Thesiger (1959) was the first European traveller to meet an Omani ruler in Dhofar. Thesiger (1959) was one of the rare explorers who expressed his concerns about the influence that modern development and tourism movement might have on Bedouin culture and the environment, which were the fears of Sultan Said bin Taimur as well.

Thesiger (1959) familiarised his British readers with Oman and projected British imperial presence by noting the presence of the Royal Air Force (RAF) in Oman. He stated that Sultan Said prevented the RAF staff from contact with the public, or travelling inland without being accompanied by an escort arranged by the ruler or his Wali in Dhofar. It must be noted that the political situation at the time of Thesiger's (1959) visit was turbulent. Consequently, the restrictive regulations were designed to prevent any incidents between the British troops and the local residents.

(b) The representations of Sultan Qaboos in travelogues

The analysis now turns to the representations of Sultan Qaboos the Sultan of Oman in British travelogues between 1996- 2001. They may be categorised into four main themes. (1) The success of his Majesty's government in developing Oman. (2) The government efforts in managing the social and environment influences of the modern development in the country. (3) The journalists'

projection of His Majesty's policies in dealing with the event occurred in the region and his country relationship with the world nations. And (4) the journalists' description of His Majesty as a scholar, and of the times he spent in Europe, particularly in Britain and Germany, before he ascended to the throne in 1970.

Many travelogue writers presented the development that occurred in Oman, in mythical and mysterious ways. The following extracts stress the language of myths and fantasy in the writing of the development that occurred in Oman and his Majesty efforts in developing the country:

> Change descended on the country like a scouring whirlwind- or one of the twirling dust devils that older *Omanis say are djinn making their way from town to town* (Spufford *Condé Nast Traveller* March 2001).

> Oman, like the generous Sultan Qaboos, is strangely eccentric and endlessly fascinating. Cut off from the world for decades, it only entered the 20th century when its Sandhurst - educated ruler returned in the Seventies and deposed his father.
> Ever since, Qaboos *has been Mr Luck.* First oil was discovered, then gas, and now gold - mountains of the stuff (Milton *Daily Mail* 10. 05. 1998).

The representations of the Omani rulers as generous and hospitable in the early travel accounts are also present in travelogues, although there are some differences in the context. Most of the early travel accounts projected the ruler's hospitality with outsiders. The Sultan Qaboos' generosity with his people and his care for conservation was dominant in travelogues as shown in the following extracts:

> An absolute ruler, absolutely benevolent. It's absolutely incredible. He has prettified everything, made a protected beach for turtles and a sanctuary for endangered species. It's a bit like a theme park," he said' (Ninian *The Scotsman* 09. 10. 1999).

> Qaboos has a reputation as a generous (albeit absolute) monarch, who gives homes to his people, boats to his fishermen, exiles his

> opponents (but then invites them back), and decorates his beautiful countryside with waterfalls and models of goats (*The Guardian* 17. 12. 2000).

Many travelogue writers wrote about Sultan Qaboos education and the time he spent in Britain and Germany before he took power in Oman in 1970. In the following extracts, expressions such as Sandhurst, Cambridge, Germany and the Sultan's general education in Britain were presented in terms of approval, and signifier of awareness of Western influence on the Omani development and in His Majesty's policies towards many regional and international issues. The extracts also recorded the life of the Omani ruler and marked one of the changes that occurred in Oman after 1970.

> After graduating from Sandhurst, Qaboos completed his European education with the British Army in Germany. On his return to Oman, his father kept him under house arrest for six years, believing him a dangerous western influence (Gellhorn *The Independent* 22. 06. 1997).
> Qaboos bin Said Al Said, was privately educated in England by a Suffolk parson; he then attended Sandhurst and went on to study local government at Cambridge. Qaboos returned to Oman in 1964, but was confined to his palace in Salalah for six years until coming to power in a bloodless coup (Brown *Telegraph* 03. 01. 1998).

In presenting the development that occurred in Oman, the travelogue writers also emphasised His Majesty's concerns towards the social impacts of modernisation in Oman.

> Qaboos, *who rules largely through appointed advisers* - there is a limited franchise and a parliament with limited powers - has delivered much to his people. *A full education system, hospitals, highways and the paraphernalia of globalisation (Pepsi-Cola, Lipton Tea, Pringles, Mitsubishi to name but a few)* is part of the phenomenon of modern Oman (Pattullo *The Guardian* 20.11.1999).
>
> The Sultan has *decreed universal education for boys and girls alike and is easing women into the work force*, but he is carefully

> managing the social changes brought about by Omanis' new wealth so that as much continuity as possible is retained with the past. (Spufford *Condé Nast Traveller*, March 2001).
>
> Our guides speaks fondly of his Majesty, points *out good works- hospital, schools, public parks, pretty fountains-* and explains that the Sultan is an unusually benevolent leader (17.10.1998).

Sultan Qaboos' contribution in the development of Oman in the 20th century was recognised and noticed by many people inside and outside the country, but in presenting the issue many writers repeated the same representations in a way it seems that their repetitive descriptions might carry some patronising tones and became as a stereotype about the development which occurred in Oman in the last 30 years. Sultan Qaboos' popularity and wise policies are recognised among many writers and "any one who has ever travelled in the Middle East will know that this kind of leadership cult is par for the course in the Arab world" (Edge *Daily Express*, 03.03.2001:73).

In the globalisation and tourism era, such descriptions revealed that the government (particularly Ministry of Information) profiles and data, need to be updated to meet the time developments in the country and focus on his Majesty's global and major contributions and the life in Oman today on the 21st century. His majesty wise polices in developing and managing the country' relationships with outsider world have to be enhanced to increase the publicity about Oman as a unique, peaceful, secure and safe tourism destination in the Middle East. All these attributes supported by the tolerance attitudes of Omanis and the richeness of their culture and landscape.

Presenting the government efforts in providing A 'full education system, hospitals, highways and the paraphernalia of globalisation was important to insure

tourists that Oman is a developed country and tourists can enjoy its luxury facilities and infrastructure, but such representations were over used and presented mostly in all travelogue articles that were published about Oman in Britain[44] (1996-2001). In addition, international brand names (particularly Western) were also important and could contribute in familiarising the country to the readers, but some patronising tone was evident in the employment of "Pepsi-Cola, Lipton Tea, Pringles, Mitsubishi" in the text.

(3) Rulers meeting the writers of the early travel accounts

None of the travelogue writers reported any interview or encounter with his Majesty Sultan Qaboos. Thus the analysis of this theme is confined to the descriptions of the meetings between the writers of the early travel accounts and the Omani rulers in the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

Most British travellers to Oman in the 19th century were either British agents or sailors. Thus, a meeting between a ruler and a traveller was an opportunity to pledge friendship between Oman and Britain, the travellers' state, and for both sides to explore the possibility of further developing this relationship between both countries. Wellsted (1838) was appointed by the East India Company to work in co-operation with Sayyid Said in order to assess the Wahabi's involvement in Oman and some Omani tribes' involvement in pirate activities against British ships in the Indian Ocean.

> A few words sufficed to explain the objects of my proposed journey. Prepared as I was by my previous knowledge of Sayyid Said's characteristic liberality to meet with no unfavourable

44 As indicated in chapter 4, this research collected more than 170 travelogue articles published about Oman in Western media. So, similar things were found in the case of travelogue articles that were published about Oman in some newspapers in Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy.

> exception to these, I was surprised out of all former conception by the eagerness he displayed to further my views. "It is occasions like these," he said, "which afford me real pleasure, since they enable me, by meeting the wishes of your government, to evince the strength of my attachment to them" and he added, in a tone the sincerity of which there was no mistaking, "these are not words of the tongue, but of the heart (Wellsted 1838: 4-5).

The above extract indicates the ruler's familiarity with the aims of the traveller's exploration in Oman. The diplomacy and the support given by Sayyid Said indicated that he was pleased with this co-operation between both countries. Wellsted (1938) described Sayyid Said as a liberal and enlightened ruler in order to enhance the initial success he had in this encounter with the ruler. Wellsted (1938) added that he was "surprised" by the welcoming response of the ruler and his interest in encouraging further development in the relationship with Britain by "hoping to meet the British government's wishes of Wellsted's mission to explore the country". By emphasising the ruler's feelings, Wellsted (1838) intended to show that his success was not only in gaining the Sultan's acceptance for the exploratory mission, but also in the ruler's assurance and signs of co-operation with Britain in working together against all the hostile activities in the Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The above statement also highlights the role of the traveller in developing relationships between powers. However, encounters between travellers and Sultans in those days also represented *an opportunity to exchange news.* Telecommunications was in its infancy in the 19th century. Thus, news about events in Europe and the world was one of the main issues that rulers wanted to discuss with travellers:

> The conversation began by an expression of satisfaction on the part of his Highness that we had visited Muscat. He hoped we were well,

> and said he had been informed I was going to Constantinople. Had I any news about the war? I told him a treaty of peace had been signed between Russia and Turkey, but that according to the latest accounts, received when we were leaving Kurrachee, the Russian were occupying some places near Constantinople in spite of the protest of the Sultan. His highness said that since the Russians had got so near to Constantinople it was not at all likely that they would go back. They would no doubt stay there as long as they could. I told him about the supposed understanding between England and Austria to limit the result of the Russian aggression, and his highness paid great attention to that point, putting repeated questions to elicit further information.
>
> He remarked that England might have interfered to advantage at an earlier period, and prevented the Russians from getting close to Constantinople but now that they were at the very gates the difficulty was much increased. Sayyid Toorki, I afterwards learned, takes a great and intelligent interest in the different places of the eastern question, and his sympathies are strongly aroused in favour of the Turks. The Arabs generally hate the Turks with a cordial hatred, but in the struggle against Russia the [Osmanlis] 'Ottomans' are regarded as the defenders of Islam against the infidel. The Sayyid appears to be a man of good sense, and to have a fair knowledge of politics and geography (Geary, 1878 cited in Ward, 1987: 45).

The above extract began with the traditional Omani inquiries about the guest's happiness, about the traveller's visit and the ruler's assurance of the visitor's safety.

The language of wars, power, treaties and alliances dominates the foregoing excerpt, and indicates Sayyid Turki's knowledge of the world's events. The interaction between the two indicates a shared familiarity and understanding of political development. The exchange of news indicates a lack of communication facilities in the area at that time, and the reliance of the ruler on visitors as a source.

(4) The representations of rulers' hospitality and sharing of gifts with riters

Another key issue the writers of the early travel accounts often described about Oman was the hospitality and welcoming manners of the Omani rulers towards visitors. For centuries, travellers enjoyed the goodwill of Omani rulers and their governments. Apart from the East India Company and the Locust Unit in Rome, the State of Oman and rulers, particularly Sayyid Said, offered funding for many travellers in the country and Arabia. For example, the cost of Wellsted's (1838) journeys in Oman was covered by Sayyid Said:

> Together with an intimation, that so long as I remained in Oman, the best the country afforded should be mine; that all expenses of camels, guides, & c., would be defrayed by him, and that letters were preparing [sic], under his own direction, to the chiefs of the different districts through which I had to pass, requiring them to receive me with all possible attention (Wellsted 1834: 5-6).

In addition to their support for travellers' journeys in Oman, many rulers also exchanged gifts with travellers. Giving gifts is often described by sociologists as a process of exchange through which individuals rationally pursue their self-interests (Cheal 1988). The system of contractual gifts in Oman is not confined to marriage; it is also evident on occasions like childbirth, circumcision, sickness, trade, travel and expressing friendship with visitors. Travellers such as Wellsted (1838), Bent and Bent (1900), and Geary (1860) described their encounters with the rulers and their gift exchanges with the Sultans. Most gifts were exchanged at the first meeting and before they commenced their journeys in the country. Wellsted (1838) was the only writer who described how Sayyid Said continued to support him during his journeys in Oman.

> November 22nd, I found no one with his Highness this morning but his son, and after delivering my presents, a few words sufficed to explain the objects of my proposed journey.

> After a conversation of some length, in which I received every aid from his perfect knowledge of the country, it was arranged that as there was but one road to the southward, which I felt no desire to re-pass, that I should proceed first to Sur, land there and go on to Beni-Abu- 'Ali, thence cross in a line parallel with the sea-shore, to the Jebel Akhdar, or Green Mountain, which are described as elevated, populous, and fruitful; and after investigating them, finish the remaining portion of Oman; and from thence, if the road should continue open, proceed to Der'ayyah, the Wahabi capital. Some other minor subjects were then discussed and arranged, and I took my leave, highly gratified with the prospect of success before me.
>
> November 23rd. From His Highness this morning I received a fine Nejd horse for my journey, a brace of greyhounds, and a gold-mounted sword (Wellsted 1838: 4-5).

Wellsted (1838) delivered his presents directly to his highness. The obligation to give was not as important as the message of friendship he was carrying with him as a cultural and political representative of the British Government.

Mauss (1966) points out that to refuse to give or to accept, or to fail to what is equivalent to a declaration of war; it is a rejection of friendship. Presents are given out of a sense of obligation, because the recipient has a sort of proprietary right over everything that belongs to the donor. This right is expressed and conceived as a sort of spiritual bond. Thus Sayyid Said not only accepted Wellsted's (1838) gifts, but in return he presented him with "an Arab fine horse, a brace of greyhounds, and a gold-mounted sword" (Wellsted 1838: 2).

Travellers' accommodation and travel expenses in the country were also covered by the State. Besides paying for the camels and horses, the escorts and guides to accompany Wellsted (1838) on his journey, the Sultan helped him to gain the acceptance of the local sheikhs in the interior regions. The purpose it

served was a "moral" (ibid. 18) one. The object of the exchange was to produce a feeling of friendship between the traveller and the ruler.

In the 20th century the generosity and hospitality of Omani rulers was not limited to meeting travellers and supporting their journeys. It was extended to inviting and welcoming them to join their royal caravans and work as royal advisors. For example, Morris (1957) included in his account a letter which was sent to him by Sultan Said bin Taimur in 1954. It contained the ruler's welcome and the granting of the traveller's request to join the royal convoy:

> Greetings. I have your letter of today's date and I thank you for *your kind congratulations.*
>
> I was about to write you *when your letter arrived.* I am pleased to inform you that you *are permitted to accompany me* on my journey to Oman. Your interest to write an account of my journey is very *much appreciated and hope you will have a pleasant and comfortable journey.*
> Will you please be ready to leave on Monday the 19th December at about 1.45 p.m.? (Morris 1957: 29)

(5) Writers' projections of the exotic life inside the rulers' palaces

The fourth representational theme is the life of the rulers and the *exotic contents and lifestyles inside their palaces*. The European traveller's imaginations about the bourgeois life in the Oriental palaces often include "*harems*, *princes*, *slaves*, *veils*, and *dancing girls*" (Said 1978: 190). None of the writers of the early travel accounts described the Omani rulers' life as the same as the other Oriental rulers or Sultans in the East. Omani rulers, as well as the public, are very conservative and reluctant to let outsiders intrude in their family life.

Thus, Gellhorn (1997) notes that Omani women "never seem hurried or harassed. Whatever unhappiness or discord exists in the strict privacy of their walled houses, no outsiders would know" (*The Guardian* 22.06.1997).In early accounts, the exceptions to the above observations was made by Mable Bent who accompanied her husband in his exploration in the country at the end of the 19th century. Mable Bent described the Sultans' wives, and the wives of Wali Suliaman she encountered in Dhofar. In their description of the encounter Mable and Theodore Bents (1900) used the word *harem* twice, and in both cases it referred to the wives of the Wali and the women of the Qara tribe in Dhofar. Being female, Mable Bent had access to the life in a harem,[45] which was not accessible to male travellers. In the Qara Mountain, she encountered mountain women and described them somewhat patronisingly:

> The ladies of the wali's harem paid me frequent visits, and brought me presents of fruit and embarrassing plates of food, and substances to dye my teeth red (tamboul leaves and lime), but they were uninteresting ladies, and their conversational powers limited to the discussion of the texture of dresses and the merits of European underclothing (Bent and Bent 1900: 237).

This double standard in the illegitimacy of the Omani gaze on an English woman, but the legitimacy of her gaze on them constitutes a striking instance of the implicit power relations at work in interaction between east and west.

According to the Islamic faith, it is possible for Muslim men with certain restrictions to marry one to four wives, but not to have a harem as it was popularly understood in previous centuries in some Eastern countries.

Prince is the second Orientalist word that Said (1978: 190) mentioned as part of the European imagination about the East. However, the traveller used the

45 Harem is the plural form while hormah is the singular form. The word harem is used in Omani society to mean women. The meaning is totally

word to refer to the ruler of the country or his relatives only. Omani society is more familiar with *Sultan* and *Imam*[46] than the word *Prince*. *Prince* featured 65 times in five of the thirteen early travel accounts, only once in travelogues and did not appear at all in travel brochure. Of the five accounts, Wellsted's (1838) was the richest (e.g. "In his intercourse with Europeans, he displayed the warmest attention and kindness; probably, by any native prince" (Wellsted 1838: 7).

Prince formed a part of the writers' European imagination of the East and it was a way of enhancing Orientalistic writing in describing eastern countries and lives of their rulers. Geary (1878) used *prince* instead of *Sultan* to refer to the ruler of Oman to add more mythical and Orientalist tones to his writing (with the use of *sherbet*):

> While the conversation was in progress, coffee was handed round, some minutes afterwards sherbet, or rather orgeat, a preparation of almonds, and sugar; and rose water was brought in. We then rose to depart, and his highness accompanied us to the outer room, where the governor of the town was in waiting, and he was formally presented to us by the prince himself. We shook hands with Sayyid Toorki, and so our long and interesting interview with his highness ended (Geary 1878, cited in Ward, 1987: 4).

Geary (1878) visited Oman to survey the coastal areas from Dhofar in the south to Muscat in the north. On his journey he stopped in the capital and met Sayyid Torki, the ruler of the country at the time. In describing the ruler's hospitality, he did not just say that *coffee* was provided, but that it 'was handed round', a way of enhancing the local culture and custom of serving coffee, followed by *sherbet* and *rose water*. Although *sherbet* is an Orientalist word, which was described in Said's (1978) work of Orientalism, in the above excerpt it

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different from its popular meaning in the western imaginations and literature about the East.

46 The use of Imam was more popular before the 20th century. After the collapse of the Imamah control of Nizwa in 1854 the use of the word 'Imam' is confined to its religious use only.

was mentioned as part of the local culture and hospitalities in welcoming guests. Providing *rose water* is a sign that the visit is near the end. This word occurred frequently in the texts describing life in Oman, particularly by travellers who journeyed to the Green Mountain in order to explore its gardens and unique paradise.

Apart from the Sultan's life, the writers of the early travel accounts were also interested in monuments and properties that belonged to the rulers. For example, they wrote of the rulers' yachts and boats. "The Sultan offered us the use of his *batil*, which was preparing to go to Zenghiber, as they call Zanzibar. We found on inspection that it was a small-decked boat, with a very light upper deck at the stern, supported by posts" (Bent and Bent 1900: 229).

Oman was famous for breeding fine horses. Marco Polo described it as one of the "famous ports in exporting the horses to India" (Ward 1987: 25) and China (Costa 1992). So in their descriptions of the rulers' lives, many of the writers focused on the Sultan's stables:

> Several of the Imam's horses are of the noblest breed in Nejd, some of his mares being valued at from 1500 to 2000 dollars; and one horse, the most perfect and beautiful creature I ever saw, was considered to be worth an equal sum. He maintains a portion of his stud at Maskat; but the greater number is at Burka and Suweik, where they pay great attention to the breed and rearing of these noble animals (Wellsted 1838: 306).

> As I stood on the old battlements reconstituting in my imagination scenes such as these, horses were brought for me to the gateway below from the Court stables - the only specimens of their kind to be found within three hundred miles. They were selected from a dozen or so which the Sultan has brought from time to time, for he was much attached to Dhufar, its gazelle-hunting and hawking, and spent more than one summer there during my term of office (Thomas 1932:16).

Maintaining horses is one of the popular past times of the aristocracy, and Arabia is famous for breeding them. Fine horses were often presented to travellers in Oman as gifts. Sayyid Said bin Sultan gave a horse to the president of the French Republic in 1849 (Morris, 1957: 109).

The Sultans' privileged lives and their palaces were also highlighted in the early travel accounts. During the Omani Empire, most of the descriptions about the rulers' palaces were positive. Later on, when the balance of power changed with the establishment of British domination in the country, the description of the local rulers changed and some of the writers denigrated the Sultans' palaces. The British agent's residence, an icon of power, became an key image of the country. Bent and Bent (1900), Geary (1860), Stiffe (1897) and Morris (1957) exaggerated the size of the British agent's residence in Muscat and mocked the Sultan's palace at the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

> In the middle of the beach is the Sultan's palace, but it is immeasurably inferior to the new residency of the British political agent, which stands at the southern extremity of the town, just where it can get all the breeze that is to be had through a gap in the rocks opening to the south; here we were most hospitably entertained by Colonel Hayes Sadler on our second sojourn. Even in this favoured position the heat in summer is almost unendurable, making Maskat one of the least coveted posts that the Indian Government has at its disposal. (Bent and Bent 1900: 48)

The above description showed clearly that the British residence dominated Muscat not by its size, but rather by its location at the southern extremity of the town and by the British power in the region.

Morris (1957) also described the ruler's life and palace. Before he conducted his journey with Sultan Said bin Taimur in 1955, the ruler received him in his palace in Salalah.

> But the *palace* dominated the place, like the castle at *Windsor or the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City*. All these seaside capitals of eastern Arabia had their big fortress-palaces in which the ruler reclined among his dependants and sycophants, his outlook, like his creature comforts, generally *depending upon the size of his oil royalties*. Kuwait's was the grandest; Bahrain's the most stylish; Doha's the most horrible; *and Salala's probably the nicest.* It stood directly on the seashore, a long [crenellated] building, surrounded by high walls and complicated by connecting courtyards and alleyways (Morris 1957: 33).

For the Europeans who equated the Arabian Peninsula with vast sands, rugged mountains and arid deserts, Dhofar, where the palace was located, offered a surprise. Although deserts surround it, the province consists of a mountain range running down to the sea from both east and west. It is also enclosed by a wide and green crescent-shaped plain. Morris (1957) reduced the strangeness of the place for his Western readers by comparing the palace with Windsor Castle and the Mormon Tabernacle in the above excerpt.

It must be noted that Morris (1957) did not visit some of the places he mentioned in the above excerpt. He never visited Kuwait and Doha and his assessment of the palaces in those countries must be based on hearsay evidence. The excerpt also showed the writers' expectations of the impacts of oil on the rulers' lives in the Gulf region, and shows how he linked the quality of the palaces he visited and those he did not with oil production and exploration in those countries. However, he omitted to point out that the palace and the fort in Salalah were built before oil production and exploration in Oman and before the Europeans' domination arrived in the region. At the time of Morris' (1957) travel in Oman, petrol exploration in the Gulf was in its infancy. The Sultan Said bin Taimur had just offered the rights to a British company to explore the oil fields in the southern and northern regions.

Section 2. The portrayals of the ordinary people in the three media

Introduction

The findings of the quantitative analysis show that the occurrence of ruling class representations in the early accounts were higher than in contemporary travelogues and travel brochures. In contrast, the description in travelogues and travel brochures (in particular) predominantly featured representation of ordinary people, and with the exception of descriptions of his Majesty Sultan Qaboos, ruling class imageries rarely occurred in brochures (Appendix 7 and 8).

The three media descriptions of ordinary people varied. Early travellers and travelogues writings took place after travellers' and journalists' journeys and encounters with Omanis. In contrast, travel brochures were gave been written by people who did not encounter Omanis or visited Oman before. The writers encounter feedback and perception were absent and were not recorded as in the case of early travel accounts and travelogues. Consequently their projections of Omanis were different from that in the other two media.

Qualitative analysis of early travellers' writings of the inhabitants of Oman suggests that all the travellers' descriptions contain positive and negative signs. In travelogues positive features dominated the data and travelogue writers frequently depicted the *friendly* and *welcome* manners of Omanis in encountering others. Describing Omanis as *hospitable*, *generous*, *kind*, *helpful* were strongly featured and a number of writers followed early travellers' steps by visiting some Omani families. Journalists also spoke of the *tolerant* and *wise* policies of the Omani government towards many internal and external issues.

In contrast, brochure producers did not provide much information about the inhabitants of Oman and their life. Their description of people were confined to the tourist area (e.g. market, hotel) and in many cases, locals, particularly the inhabitants of the mountain chains, were portrayed as a collective to discover and curious sights to see:

> The area is inhabited by the *Qara people, who live a simple life* eking out a living from the land (*Explore World - wide*, 2001: supplement).

> We then continue our journey to the garden city of Salalah where we can observe the slow pace of life, the *Dhofaris seem to have plenty of time on their hands and often groups of turbaned men can be seen sitting under the shade of a tamarisk tree sipping cups of bitter Arabic coffee* (*Explore World - wide*, 2001:43).

In all these extracts the mountain inhabitants and Bedouins appear as a cultural grouping for the tourists groups, rather than as individuals, and it is the aspects of their otherness, which is emphasised by the brochure producers. In conformity with their aims to sell their services and Oman as tourism destination to potential tourists, none of the promotional brochures depicted unfavourable aspects of the country and its people. The country was projected as *beautiful*, *exotic*, *clean*, *unspoilt* with landscape *contrast* of *sandy* beaches, *secretive* valleys, *mystery* mountains and *green* oases. A number of brochures also said that people were *friendly, welcome*, *hospitable*, *peaceful* and *not intimidate* or *hassling* tourists in the markets.

In summary, early travel accounts and travelogues contained a mix of positive and negative features. In contrast, none of the brochure quotes contained any negative evaluations of the people of Oman.

(1) Projecting people positively in the three media

In analysing the three media projections of the inhabitants of Oman this study identified eleven attributes or key lexical choices: (1) *generous and hospitable*, (2) *welcome*, (3) *friendly* and *greeting*, (4) *smile*, (5) *civilised*, (6) *happiness*, (7) *communication language*, (8) *history*, (9) *language*, (10) *different* and (11) *unspoilt*. Early travel accounts were the first to focus on many of these offers. Most of the last nine discourses featured by early travellers, later appeared in travelogues or travel brochures.

Most of the positive representations of people that used in this section came from Thesiger's (1959) *Arabian Sands* and from Wellsted's (1838), Miles' (1910) and Thomas' (1932) works.

Arabian Sands deservedly occupies a significant position among travel accounts. It is a passionate and reliable account of Bedouin life in the desert, seen through the eyes of the English imperial imagination. Thesiger produced one of the most positive representations of Bedouin Arabs, their characteristics, cultures and manners that impressed him during his journeys in the region. Arab and Bedouin representations that amount to eulogies may be seen in many of Thesiger's comments:

> All that is best in the Arabs has come to them from the desert: their deep religious instinct, which has found expression in Islam; their sense of fellowship, which binds them as members of one faith; their pride of race; their generosity and sense of hospitality; their dignity and the regard which they have for the dignity of others as fellow human beings; their humor, their courage and patience, the language which they speak and their passionate love of poetry. But the Arabs are a race which produces its best only under conditions of extreme hardship and deteriorates progressively, as living conditions become easier (p.82).

However, the analysis of the travelogues and the travel brochures positivie representations were selected from the 32 articles and 18 brochures according to the data content and with out any special focuses.

Generous and hospitable

Generous and *hospitable* are some of the most common positive lexical choices in all three media about the inhabitants of Oman. They were featured more in the early travel accounts than in travelogues and brochures.

In their projections of the local encounters, early travel accounts praised the manners of both men and women (particularly Bedouin women) in hosting guests. Travellers frequently imported into the text examples about the local hospitality in welcoming them and hosting their stay in the places they visits. Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, and 1919) were the most frequent travellers that describe the hospitality of the urban inhabitants. Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) were particularly affected by the generosity of Bedouins. Both writers praised the Bedouin women for their personality care of their families and their hospitality to visitors. Thesiger (1959) recorded encountering a woman while he was travelling in the sand regions close to Ibri with his Bedouin companions:

> Once we passed a dozen camels *tended by a woman* with *two small children*. Al Auf said, 'Let's get a drink', and we rode to them. He jumped from his camel, *greeted the woman*, a wizened old thing bundled up in black cloth turned green with age, took the bowl which *she handed him*, and *went towards the camels*. She shrilled at her sons, '*Hurry! Hurry! Fetch the red one. Fetch the two-year-old. Welcome! Welcome! Welcome to the guests!*' Al Auf handed us the bowl and in turn we squatted down to drink, for *no Arab drinks standing*, while *the old woman asked* us where we were going. We answered that we were going to *fight for the Al bu Falah* and she exclaimed, 'God gives you victory! (ibid. 149-50).

The example contained many positive signs, such as *two small children*, which was a sign of the continuity of life in the arid deserts. The language of communication and the guide's manners in encountering the women were some other positive signs. In communicating with the woman, the guide did not speak to her from his camel, but politely 'jumped' from his camel and 'greeted' her, thus stressing the Bedouin manners and respect in encountering and greeting others (particularly the elderly). As a response the Bedouin woman did not just offer to milk the camel, but *handed* him the *bowl* and told her son to *fetch* the other camels. The generosity at her response was intensified in Thesiger's (1959) description by her exclamation to the guests "Welcome! Welcome! Welcome". The Bedouins' concerns about the dangers in the desert were evident by the woman asking Thesiger (1959) and his companions' directions and travel aims. This was a method used by desert inhabitants to know about the raids that occurred in the region where they lived.

In addition to their writing of the local hospitality and generosity, early travel accounts focused on the natives' manners in eating and their positive treatment of guests while they had their food:

> There is always trouble if *meat is not divided by lot.* Someone immediately says that *he has been given more than his share*, and tries to hand a piece to someone else. Then there is much arguing and swearing by God, with everyone insisting that he had been given too much, and finally a deadlock ensues which can only be settled by casting lots for the meat – as should have been done in the first place. I have never heard a man *grumble that he has received less than his share.* Such behaviour would be inconceivable to the Bedu, for they are *careful never to appear greedy*, and quick to notice anyone who is (Thesiger, 1959:71).

The excerpt was an example to illustrate Thesiger's (1959) way of 'going native' during his journeys in the country. Thesiger (1959) 'went native' by

wearing local Arab dress: dishdasha, the turban and a dagger at his waist and by mixing with the locals. He talked to the locals in Arabic, and in a Bedouin dialect. He ate local food, which was very limited and of poor quality, and he learnt the Bedouin way of eating and sitting. Bedouin kindness and customs in eating were strongly emphasised by Thesiger (1959) in his account. He also stressed his companions' characteristics and their being careful not 'to appear greedy'.

In travelogues, Omanis were also described as "*hospitable, generous*, and *stylish*" (Patullo *The Guardian*, 20.11.1999). Many travelogue writers, like the writers of the early travel accounts, visited the urban families and experienced their generosity. They were often invited by their guides and drivers to experience Bedouin hospitality and life in the desert areas: "This is where our driver Rashid's Bedouin family live, and so we take our shoes off and drink coffee and dates with his father and grandmother" (Aitkenhead *The Guardian* 17.10.1998).

Some travelogue writers came to these conclusions after encountering many Omanis, attending local ceremonies (e.g. wedding, national day) and accepting local invitation to sharing meals, or coffee in their houses.

> The Omani people seem sure of who they are and where they are going... *Hospitable, generous, stylish*, they insist that their modernisation drive will not cut them off from their past. (Pattullo *The Guardian* 20.11.1999).

> We were invited through the gate in the wall of the locals sheik's house because of Raya, and *shattered Omani tradition by sitting and eating* in the men's room while the Sheik and his three sons sat across the room eating with their backs to us. We *were given delectable dates, tiny cups of coffee and Omani pastries*.(Gellhorn *The Independent on Sunday* 22.06.1997)

Two travelogue writers attended a wedding ceremony in the desert and described the occasion by saying:

> The day after our arrival in Mughshin we were invited to have lunch with the local Rashid chief, Sheikh Mubarak,. This was a festive occasion, with every-one lining up to sing us our invitation. Sheikh Mubarak was celebrating a recent marriage- presumably to wife number two or three, since he was no longer a young man- and the carpet on which we sat cross-legged fairly grounded with food. After a small cup of black coffee, we were served a huge mound of lamb and rice, followed by sticky sweetmeat called *halwa*. (Gall and Hitchcock *Traveller* Autumn 1996).

The above four excerpts stressed the *hospitality* and *generous* manners of Omanis towards others. The traditional ways of sitting and seating customs in welcoming, hosting, serving guests were also mentioned in the first two examples. Beside presenting people as "hospitable, generous, stylish", they emphasised the locals' success in preserving their culture, customs, and history.

In travel brochures the Omanis were also described as *hospitable*:.

> Today, Omanis are *noted for their hospitality*, for their pride in their *country's long history* and for *their Islamic culture*, which sits comfortably alongside western influences in the capital, Muscat and other main centres (*Arabian Odyssey*:3).

> *Visit a Bedouin house* in the wilderness, then head for Wadi Bani Khalid, comprising of small villages embedded in the mountains. The Wadi is a perfect place for a dip, with clear, deep blue water. (*Somak holiday*, 2001:110)

In projecting Omanis, the travel brochures employ three characteristics: hospitality, history and culture. They also assure their readers that although the capital and most other cities are developed, the people are still unspoilt, and that their culture is not affected by modern development and outsider influence. Only two brochures offer their readers an opportunity to visit Bedouin families to experience the authentic life of Bedouin in the desert.

Welcome

Many writers agree that Arabia was the source of many civilisations (Said 1978). Many travellers went there to investigate the myths about its lands and its Bedouin inhabitants. During their journeys and encounters with the locals, many travellers maintained the belief that European life and culture was the benchmark to judge other people's cultures and customs. These Eurocentric attitudes varied from one traveller to another. Thesiger (1959) is the exception in his work compared with Bent and Bent (1900) and Morris' (1957). For example, Thesiger (1959) described his impression about the natural welcome and hospitality he experienced from his Bedouin companions in the following:

> I went there with a belief in my own racial superiority, but in their tents I felt like an uncouth, inarticulate barbarian, an intruder from a shoddy and materialistic world. Yet from them *I learnt how welcoming are the Arabs and how generous is their hospitality* (Thesiger 1959: 23).

He saw the lives of the Arabs and Bedouins in the desert as representing the natural world, while his European life and culture representing the materialistic and industrial world, a classic post-romantic assessment.

Because many European travellers are not used to the local customs and life, they are seen as strangers in the eyes of the host society (Picard 2002). By saying, "I felt like an uncouth, inarticulate barbarian, an intruder from a shoddy and materialistic world", Thesiger (1959) stressed his experience with Bedouin society. Travelling with the Bedouins, he was able to gain insight into their minds. He learnt to think in the ways they did, and he also learnt the native ways to evaluate strangers.

Lewis (1985) points out that one of the charges against some Europeans scholars of the East is their bias against the people they study and a built-in hostility against them. He notes that there is a significant difference 'between those who recognise their bias and try to correct it and those who give it free' (cited in Macfie, 2000: 268). So Thesiger (1969), by his acknowledgement that "[he] learnt how welcoming are the Arabs and how generous is their hospitality" contributed to an alternative reading of Eastern culture by describing the positive sides of Bedouins manners to his readers, which many European travellers in the East had ignored or disparaged.

Describing Omanis as *welcoming* was also featured in travel brochures and travelogues:

> Wherever you go in this strange and surprising country you are guaranteed a gently warm welcome from a proud, devout but open people (Hardy *Gloucestershire Echo* 28.04.1998).

> The Omani people will offer you a welcome as warm as the Arabian sun and one visit isn't enough to sample all the delights of the Middle East's best kept secret (*Amathus holiday* 2001:32).

Strange and *surprising* were used in the first text to emphasis the welcoming manners of locals towards visitors. Nature and people were combined in the second excerpt to emphasis their *welcome* for tourists.

The analysis of the three media reveals that the kinds of reception provided by the Omani were varied. It was *people* to *people* in the early travel accounts. In travelogues and travel brochures by contrast, the welcome reception was mostly held by officials and represented role occupants in institutional organisations. In describing one of the receptions he received in Quriyat Miles (1896) comments:

> Shaikh Shamas *came down from his castle at the head of a long*

> *procession of his people*, and gave Seyyid Nasir and myself a *hearty welcome.* With a levity and humour uncommon among Arab shaikhs, who are usually grave and dignified, he put his hands on my throat and declared he would throttle me if I did not promise then and there to spend a day with him and accept his hospitality. There was no disputing with him on this point, so, having been carried over the river by his men, *I walked up the eminence with the Shaikh and Seyyid Nasir, followed by a dense crowd of Arabs to the fort.* Just as we approached it, *an old twelve-pounder gun lying unmounted on the ground in front of the gateway was fired off in honour of the occasion,* the report reverberating finely among the surrounding hills.
> The temima took us into his reception-hall, where we sat down to talk while coffee was being roasted, pounded, and boiled at the other end of the room (Miles, 1896 reprinted in Ward, 1987: 122).

Miles (1896) was the British agent in Muscat during his journey in the region. So, in welcoming him and his companion to Quriyat, people were gathered by the Sheikh, a gun was fired in honour of the occasion. The reception was a sign of power and domination, and Miles (1896) meant to display the position of British agent to some Omani tribes.

With an institutional government in place the situation has changed in modern days. The travelogue writers' visit has become a part of the government tourism agenda. Consequently, although they praise the welcoming manners of Omanis in encountering and meeting others, none of them describe the personalised welcome they had in the same way that was described by early travellers.

Tourists *welcome* was a commercial routine that operators and hoteliers provided as part of the holiday package they offer and sell.

In this regard, a number of travelogue articles and brochures refer to the *welcoming reception* provided by some hotels (e.g. drinks including Arabic coffee, dates, halwa[47] and frankincense)

> A traditional Omani incense-burner smouldered inside the entrance, releasing the unmistakeable fragrance known since the time of Christ. I stood on the threshold letting the rich, full scent sink into my lungs, when an ancient Omani with a long white beard and turban gravely mimed an invitation to join him for coffee among the plump cushion scattered on the floor. (Rosalind *Daily Mail* 10.01.1998)

In the above extract, the hotel used frankincense as a sign of welcome. In contrast, frankincense, myrrh and rosewater were described in early travel accounts as a sign that the visit was near the end [Chapter 6, Part 1, Section 2 (5-Writers projection of the exotic life...)].

Friendly and greeting

Friendly and *greeting* are positive signs used by the early travel accounts and travelogues. Describing Omanis as *friendly* was mentioned in three travel brochures.

In the following examples, Miles (1910) described the friendly welcome he received in the town of Bahla and Thesiger (1959) described his companion's encounter with a local Bedouin they met while they were watering from a well outside the town of Ibri:

> I found Bahila on the whole a very interesting place; the attitude of the people towards myself and party was *especially friendly*, and I should like to have remained some days here, but circumstances did not permit. (Miles, 1910: 173).
> Half an hour later he and Hamad came over to us with a *young man* who *greeted* us and then told us *to unload our camels* and *make*

47 Halwa: is an Omani sweet compound of sugar, ghee or clarified butter and the gluten of sesame (Miles, 1885).

> *ourselves comfortable*; he said that when he had finished watering *he would take us* to his encampment (Thesiger 1959: 157).

Miles (1910) maintained his positive perception about the people of Oman and his praise of their hospitality and generosity. In the first quote he praised the hospitality and friendly welcome he received from the inhabitant of Bahla (or Bahila as described by the traveller) in the interior region.

In the second excerpt four expressions represented positive language: (1) *greeted*, (2) *told us to unload our camels* and (3) *make ourselves comfortable*, which were signs of peace the natives used to ensure safety for the traveller and his companions. In addition to the above three peaceful signs, he ensured his hospitality (*he would take us*) by inviting them to his Bedouin camps where he would be obliged by the tribal laws to provide hositality for Thesiger (1959) and his guides (4) The hospitality of the tribe and safety. In Bedouin culture calling a person *young* may mean that he is still not at a responsible age, which may contain a negative understanding, but in the above example it was positive and Thesiger (1959) meant to say that even though he was still young, host hospitality and the bravery inherited from his Bedouin origins allowed him to face dangers.

The positive representations of the locals in travelogues, as shown in the following example, are not limited to greeting visitors, but extended to describe the Omanis as *kind, friendly, peaceful* and *not hassling* tourists in the market.

> Omanis are *kind, friendly* people who can't wait to greet you with an exuberant ' *hello, Ingles'*. There are *no intimidating street traders* or *beggars and you won't be hassled to buy*, however you long you spend browsing in the souk or market (Miles *Daily Mail*, 10.01.1998).

The inhabitants of the mountain chains were often projected by some travellers such as Bent and Bent (1900) as *wild, savage* and *not civilised*. By

employing phrases such as *friendly*, and by stating the Omani's willingness to interact in English language, Jackson (1998) projects the country and its people positively. In the following, he describes the habitants of the Green Mountains as *friendly, welcoming* and providing visitors with food and the fruit.

> Even in the mountains, the *Omanis are friendly and open to visitors*. Boys call out *'hello' and 'how are you' in their best English* and the staff from the lodge bring us delicious picnics of curries and fruit (Jackson *Birmingham*, 25. 04. 1998).

Describing Omanis as *friendly* was featured in three travel brochures only. For example:

> *Friendly, hospitable* people combined with a *spotlessly clean environment and excellent road system*, makes Oman a joy to visit (*Kuoni*, 2001:200).

Although people are described as *friendly* and *hospitable* in the above extract, the emphasis is on land attractions. The brochures tell the readers that the destinations they are going to visit are built and developed to meet their delights and interests. Its beauty and clean environment are always maintained and stressed in the texts.

Smile

Smile can be negative or positive signs and the early travel accounts in Oman employed the word in both meanings. Morris (1957) used it negatively in describing his encounter with Sultan Said bin Taimur. "'I see, Mr. Morris,' said the Sultan, with an *enigmatic smile*" (Morris 1957: 56-7).

In this section *smile* is confined to its positive meaning. The word occurred frequently in Thesiger's (1959) account. It was mostly employed to carry positive meaning as the following example shows:

> I asked *al Auf* when he had crossed the eastern Sands. He said, 'two years ago. I know them.' When I pressed him for detail of his journey he *smiled* and repeated, 'I know them', and I felt sure he did. He said that if we could cross the formidable Uruq al Shaiba, which he described as successive mountains of sand, we should arrive at Dhafara, where in the palm groves of Liwa there were wells and villages (Thesiger, 1959:99).

Smile in the above excerpt contained positive meaning and reflected a relationship of informality and comradeship between Thesiger (1959) and his companions during the journey. By his *smile* the guide reduced the traveller's worries and increased his confidence in his guide's experience of the sands. This assurance was enhanced by the traveller's statement "I felt sure he did".

In travel brochures the word did not feature at all, while in travelogues the word appeared only twice (discussed in the previous section).

Civilised

Civilised is a sign that occurs infrequently in the three media. In the early travel accounts *civilised* rarely occurred and it was used to describe previous civilisations that inhabited Arabia. Some, like Wellsted (1838), employed the word to praise Sayyid Said government:

> In the administration of justice at Maskat, the Kadis take cognizance of all minor offences; but the Imám decides those of a graver cast. Although his power in every case is absolute, yet his aversion to the spilling of human blood might form a lesson to more *civilized potentates*. (ibid.375)

In travel brochures the word did not occur at all. In travelogues *civilised* featured only once:

> Cycling in Oman is *not for the faint-hearted. I spent a lot of time leaping off my bicycle on to the verge to avoid the crazy drivers overtaking each other as they drove towards me.* There is no road

> rage in *gentle Oman*, just a lot of drivers who think their powerful BMWs and Japanese four-wheel drives *are racing camels on wheels*. I had a few hopeful kerb-crawlers as well; they would drive *slowly past and stop a few hundred yards further up the road* to wait. A *female cyclist alone in a conservative Arab country* is, *of course, an unusual sight.* But the Omanis are *very civilised - they don't roar or pant like other nationalities*. I merely heard a *polite* "Eh, excuse me" as I toiled past (Young *The Independent*, 17.12.1997).

The above example contains some negative signs, but there are also positive signs. To describe people as *civilised* implies an expectation that some local people are uncivilised. In the above excerpt Young (1997), who travelled in Oman by bicycle, ensures its positive interpretation by distinguishing Omani drivers, in a binary contrast, from other nationals she might have experienced in the Middle East. She observes that the Omanis "don't roar or pant", and are polite when talking to the writer. She notes the help she received from a native driver by saying "he loaded the bicycle and me into his car and drove back to the road" .

Happiness

Writers' acknowledgement of their *happiness* with the people whom they accompanied and encountered is a positive sign. The frequency of the occurrence of *happiness* varies in the three media. The writers of the early travel accounts, such as Wellsted (1838), Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919) and Thesiger (1959), often expressed the happiness of their encounters with the people of Oman and their happiness of the journeys they conducted. It is not depicted in any of the brochures. In travelogues, the use of *happiness* is confined to the projections of local happiness and the locals' simplicity in pursuing their life as in the following two examples:

> We gave a lift to a villager who wanted to go to Rustaq. He was

> *happy to meander with us* for an hour or two; the alternative was to walk for most of the day. He was a beekeeper. He wanted to thank us for the ride by offering hospitality. "Would like dates and Omani coffee? (Tusa *The Times* `01.02.1998).
>
> Said Sultan lives on top of a high sand dune in a right mess of pup tents made from bamboo. He is 35 years old, has 10 camels, 10 children, a child size wife, a sun blackened old mother and a battered pick up truck. He is *joyously happy and charming man.* (Gellhorn *The Independent* 22.06.1997)

Beside local happiness, the above two excerpts feature five other characteristics about the locals: the *simplicity* of their lives, their *peaceful* manners, their *friendly personality*, their *hospitality* and *tolerant* attitudes towards others.

The writers of the early travel accounts travellers' acknowledged and frequently described their happiness with the people they encountered. Thesiger (1959) described his satisfaction about his journeys with local companions:

> I was happy in the company of these men *who had chosen to come with* me. I felt *affection for them personally*, and *sympathy with their way of life*. But though the easy equality of our relationship satisfied me, I did not delude myself that I could be one of them. They were Bedu and I was not; they were Muslims and I was a Christian. Nevertheless I was their companion and an inviolable bond united us, as sacred as the bond between host and guest, transcending tribal and family loyalties. Because I was their companion on the road, they would fight in my defence even against their brothers and they would expect me to do the same (Thesiger 1959:124).

Wellsted (1838) also expressed his happiness with his relationships with ordinary people:

> During my progress in this country, with a view to imitate myself into their manners and domestic life, I mixed much with the Bedowins, frequently living and sleeping in their huts and tents. On all occasions I was received with kindness, and often with a degree of hospitality above, rather than below, the means of those who were called upon to exercise it (Wellsted, 1838:155).

There were many positive signs in the extract that indicated the degree of Wellsted's (1838) happiness and satisfaction with the locals and their attitudes towards his visits. In his projection of these encounters, Wellsted's (1838) did not just praise their hospitality, but he said that he 'went native' in his encounter with his local companions for instance, 'mixed', 'lived', 'slept', ate and travelled in local dress. He said that he was received with 'kindness' and that the local hospitality was 'above' all what he had experienced before.

Language of communication

One of the main notable positive signs in Thesiger's (1959) account, when it is compared with other early travel accounts, was his positive way of projecting his encounters with the locals. Thesiger (1959) was unique in the sympathy of his account of his Bedouin companions. This positive language was presented in the following excerpts:

> Once again *we divided* up the food. We took as our share fifty pounds of flour, some of the butter and coffee, what remained of the tea and sugar, and a few dried onions. *We also took four skins* of water, choosing the best skins that did not leak. Musallim told me that the Bait Musan possessed a bull camel in good condition, and suggested that we should buy it and take it with us as a spare. *We bought the bull*, a large and very powerful black animal, after much haggling and for a fantastic price, paying the equivalent of fifty pounds, more than twice what it was worth. I felt more confident than I had felt for days (Thesiger 1959: 116-7).

> After a short distance al Auf suggested that, as he did not know what we should find to the north, it would be wise to halt near by, with the Bit Imami, to allow our camels a further day's grazing. The Arabs, he added, would give us milk so that we need not touch our food and water. I answered that he was our guide and that from now on such decisions must rest with him (ibid. 119).

Thesiger (1959) depicted his Bedouin companions as the source of ideas with himself as the recipient of their advice. Thesiger (1959) was the one who

paid for the bull. In describing the act, he did not say *I bought it* or *I told them to buy it*. Instead he said, "*we* bought the bull". Later on he realised the importance of his guide's suggestions of carrying more food in the sand and he stressed his 'confidence' in the Bedouin's ideas during the journey. This confidence in the local guide and his advice about travel routes in the sands, and food conservation, was confirmed in the second example when Thesiger's (1959) noted that "[he] answered that he was our guide and that from now on such decisions must rest with him".

The analysis of the travelogues reveals similarity and differences with early travel accounts. Many writers of the travelogues represent the newspapers, the magazines or the institutions that sent them to Oman. The language of communication is more formal and universal while the language of some of the early travel accounts was more personal and individual (e.g. Thomas and Thesiger).

In travel brochure the communication language is not any more personal and has some similarity with travelogue descrption.

> *We drive* back east to see the striking white cliffs of Ras Madrakah, jutting out into the Arabian see, and the ghostly wrecks of ships beneath them; *we also admire* the natural contrast of black rocks, white beach and deep blue ocean where *we set up camp* for the night (*Arabian oddysey*: 11).
>
> *Experience* the delight of Oman's finest hotel combined with a night of magic in the Wahiba Sands camped, Bedouin-style beneath a canopy of Arabian stars (ibid.13).
>
> *Discover* the magnetic beauty of deserts and tropical wadis, mountains and untouched beaches, ancient civilisation and ultra modern cities" (*Arabian Odyssey*: 1).

Travel brochures were predominantly featured by the language of social control. Many tour operators asked tourists to carry out some activities or visit certain places (e.g. do this, visit, experience, discover) or advise them to avoid summer months or avoid eating and smoking publicly during Ramadan.

History

In the early travel accounts three main issues were the focus of writings about the history of Oman and its imperial domination. First, all stressed the Omani history [described in details in Chapter 1, Part 1]. Another examples are offered here as further evidence:

> From Torisi we learn that Sohar was the most ancient town of Oman; but that in his day Maskat was flourishing, and that 'in old times the China ships used to sail from there. (Bent and Bent, 1900: 49).

Second, most of the early travel accounts, particularly Wellsted's (1838) and others published in the 19th century, focused on Omani domination and control of many parts in Arabia, Africa, Persia and Pakistan.

> This Prince, in 1658, drove the Portuguese from Maskat: he took Zanzibar, and several ports on the African, a few on the Persian, and one or two others on the Makran coast, with Bahrein, Kishm, and many other islands in the Persian Gulf. His descendants lost Bahrein, which threw off the yoke towards the close of the last century, but have retained the others. Seif was succeeded by Sooltan, Mohammed ben Nasr of Ghafari, and Seif, son of Sooltan (Wellsted, 1838: 392-3).

Third, the early travel accounts, particularly those in the early 20th century, recorded the local activities and the encounters that occurred between the rulers of Oman and their people [quoted in Chapter 6, Part 1, Section 1- rulers encounters with Others]. In contrast, in travelogues, history was mainly treated as heritage

and part of the Omani legacy. Omani past and culture were presented as attractions for tourists to visit in all the travel brochures.

> If the built modern landscape sometimes has an air of invention, the Omani people seem sure of who they are and where they are going. They see themselves - and expatriates would agree - as an open-minded, outward-looking people (they were after all great seafarers who explored - and sometimes controlled - parts of China, India, Iran and East Africa). (Pattullo *The Guardian* 20.11.1999)

Talking about the *history* of Oman and the impact of the Omani Empire and exploration of local encounters with others are highlighted in the travelogue. The Omani past as a seafaring nation was depicted as a causal factor that comes to shape locals multicultural life and their tolerant attitudes towards visitors.

In the travel brochures, Omani history was also described, but with a slightly different emphasis. In describing the history, most travel brochures focused on historical monuments as an attraction to be visited by tourists. They speak of the cultures of the inhabitants, their efforts in conserving their heritage, and the uniqueness of the historical and cultural products in Oman compared with other tourist destinations in the region (e.g. Dubai). For example:

> This beautiful country, *steeped in history*, is *one of the oldest civilizations* on the Arabian Peninsula. The breathtaking beauty and dramatic contacts of mountains peaks and springs, sand dunes and deserts, wadis, *ancient forts and culture will amaze and fascinate its visitors*, Gain an intriguing insight into *the ancient and modern traditions* of the Omani people whilst sampling the fascinating sights and superb beaches. (*Somak*, 2001:103)

> What will impress you?
> Something new and unique. Top class hotels and service. The history and culture. Superb contrast and friendly people (Tropical Location, 2001:18).

Language

The success of the writers of the early travel accounts was judged by their ability to travel native in the destination they visited. Many spoke fluent Arabic (e.g. Wellsted, Miles, Thomas and Thesiger). For example, Thomas (1932) described his journeys in Oman and Arabia:

> On those occasions I dressed as a Badu, *spoke nothing but the local dialect*, lived as one of the people, and eschewed tobacco and alcohol to win a reputation for orthodoxy that would ultimately help me in the crossing of the Great Desert from sea to sea (Thomas, 1932: xxvi).

In contrast, the local people's ability to communicate with British tourists in English was projected by travelogues and brochures as a positive feature and an essential requirement in modern days. For example, Miles (1998), invited by the Ministry of Information to visit Oman, published an article in the *Daily Mail*, describing the observations she made on the inhabitants:

> Oman is cautiously coming online as a new destination for those who *enjoy something different* but don't want to have to suffer for it. So *all signs on shops, banks, hotels and streets are in both Arabic and English* and you *can't get lost*. For Western travellers, there is also the *reassurance of a humane, stable regime* with a *low crime rate and not a whiff of Islamic fundamentalism anywhere.* (10.01.1998).

English language was imported into the text in the above example as a 'familiar image' (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994: 6) to reduce the strangeness of the place to the readers. Miles (1998) also states that tourists are not going to get lost because most of the signs are written in Arabic and English.

Similarly, travel brochures assured their tourists that they will be provided with English speaking guides and drivers:

> This tour is based on 2 persons in an air-conditioned 4-wheel drive vehicle *with English- speaking driver/ guide* (*Elite Vacation*, 2001).

Different

Differentiating the inhabitants of Oman from the rest of the region was a regular feature in the three media which was emphasised through a number of binary contrast. Among the writers of the early travel accounts it was more common for Wellsted (1838) than for the others.

> The same toleration exercised towards all other persuasions is extended to the Beni Israel, *no badge or mark*, as in Egypt or Syria, being insisted on: they are not, *as in the town of Yemen, compelled to occupy a distant and separate part of the town, nor is the observance, so strictly adhered to in Persia*, of compelling them to pass to the left of Mussulmans when meeting in the streets, here insisted on. Their avocations in Maskat are various, many being employed in the fabrication of silver ornaments, others in shroffing money, and some few retail intoxicating liquors. (Wellsted, 1838: 21-2)

The tolerant attitudes of the Omanis towards followers of other religions was praised in the above extract. In doing so, Wellsted (1838) distinguished these manners from the rest of other countries in the region (e.g. Yemen, Persia, Egypt).

Similar praise occurred in travelogues and, due to the political struggle in the area and the uniqueness of the Oman as a *secure*, *safe* and *peaceful* destination with its *unspoilt* lands, many travelogues try to distinguish the country from the rest in the Gulf region, but to isolate it from the military struggle in the area.

> Think of the Gulf and you probably think of war, Iraq and Iran, sand, Saddam and Mosques.
> *Oman is quite different.* It has a monsoon climate in the south and is the most traditional country in the Gulf. (Hardy *Gloucestershire Echo*, 28.04.1998).

> Oman is called "*The Jewel of the Gulf*" for its gardens and trees, and *the orange and indigo sunset was alive with roosting birds all scolding each other* at the tops of their voices as they jostled for position in the trees *like excited children refusing to settle down.* It was what I'd heard the Arab world was like, but Oman *is a surprise in many ways*, and *welcomes foreign* travellers with *open arms*

(Miles *Daily Mail*, 10.01.1998).

> The appeal of Oman is one of total contrast to its neighbour Dubai. Oman is proud of its Islamic culture and this shines through in everyday life and notably in the style of the building and the hotels. (*Tropical Location*, 2001:18).

A binary contrast between Oman and its neighbours clearly exists in the above extracts. For example, Miles (1998) describes the beauties of the country, its gardens, trees and sunset to enhance their writings about the place. *Indigo sunset, roosting birds* are employed to enhance the sign of welcome and hospitality. It is not only the people who are welcoming the visitors with open arms, but also nature[48].

With its unique and clean environment, many travelogues describe Oman as "The Jewel of the Gulf" or "the Arab version of Switzerland" (*Daily Mail*, 03.03.2001). Others see it as "a kind of Singapore of the Middle East" (Telegraph, 02.03.1997) in its cleanliness and beauty. Despite the development of mass tourism in the region and other tourism destinations, Oman has preserved its traditional life, uniqueness, security, safety and continued quite differently in comparison with others.

In short these discourses of differences situate Oman and its people in a position that separate them from other Arab States, a kind of competitive advantage in tourism terms.

Unspoiled

48 The language deployed is similar to many descriptions projected about Oman by early travellers in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. A number of examples are quoted and analysed in Chapter 7, Part 1, Section 2 (b- Unspoiled.)

Imageries such as *unspoiled* and *untouched* are ideological tributes to nature. These icons appear more often in travelogues than in early travel accounts and brochures. Among writers of early travel accounts Morris (1959) was the only one who used the word *unspoilt*:

> They stood side by side, Muscat and Mattrah, in neighbouring rocky coves, like two Old Arab Merchantmen in adjoining berths. Only a protruding spit of land, crowned with fortifications, divided them, and they peered at each other over the intervening hills with a trace of crotchety jealousy. There were some cars in these cities, and a telephone system, and a little power house; a small English community sweated away the years there, and you could buy a camera a film or a hair-net in the shops; once a week the steamer put in, on its way up the Gulf or back to India. Yet they remained the most leisurely, *unspoilt and charming of the Arabian ports,* untrammelled by noisy political aspirations, *not yet smeared by the manicured finger of oil* (Morris, 1957: 145-6) .

In many of the travelogues the environmental concerns were invoked through words like *unspoilt, untouched and clean* are part of the modern day life in Oman and frequently featured by travelogue writers:

> Oman, indeed is the model of an unspoilt' country. Its monuments are intact, its natural beauty unmolested. Oil revenue are a trickle compared to those elsewhere in the region; so , comfortable, yet not extravagantly wealthy, *the people are unspoilt too.* (Jones *High Life* May,1998).

> Before you use words such as 'quaint', 'unspoilt' or 'backwater' consider that Oman has a highly literate populace, thriving economy based on a modest supply of oil excellent roads. (Morgan *Daily Mail* 18.03.2000).

> If you are planning *a different kind of holiday look no further.* Oman is *clean*, all but crime free; friendly, with landscapes to astonish; 1,000 miles of deserted coastline and *unspoilt beaches: rich in heritage*, craft, culture and customs. (Brown *The Telegraph* 03.01.1998).

The brochures stressed landscape attributes and depicted the country as *clean*, *wild*, *natural* and *unspoilt*, but they rarely made comparisons between Oman and other countries in the region:

> The Sultanate of Oman is a *wild, unspoilt* country of spectacular landscapes and contrast. (*Limosa Holidays*: 62)
>
> With its lovely winter climate, *magnificent unspoilt coastline* and *top* class hotels, it has every thing the average tourist could wish for plus the *most majestic*, rugged mountains, vast desert and fertile, sub tropical plains. (*Arabian Odyssey*:3)

(2) 'Othering' people in early travel accounts and travelogues

This study has also identified negative imageries in a few early travel accounts and travelogues. These negative representations were represented by phrases such as *uncivilised*, *backward*, and *mummies*. This section suggests how cultures and the standard of living of local people were judged according to European standards and classifications, by which some early travel accounts and travelogues on occasion denigrated the inhabitants, particularly dwellers of the Al Qara mountain chain and the town of Ibri.

'Othering' people in early travel accounts

The writers of the early travel accounts maintained a distance from the native people throughout their journey. Morris (1957) travelled in Oman with Sultan Said bin Taimur between 1955 and 1956 and he described the local women in denigrating language. While Sultan Said bin Taimur met his leaders in the town

of Ibri, Morris (1957) wandered into the town and later described a group of women he met:

> I passed a few black-robed housewives on the way, and presently the path debauched into a small square, in the centre of which a flight of steps led down to the falluj. *Crowds of women thronged this place*, and from the pit there were *vibrant wailing sounds*. A few men lingered on the outskirts, toying with their *canes*; but the *throng was predominantly* female, and most of the women *wore fearsome peaked black masks, stiff and hot-looking,* related to the ones I had seen on Arab ladies in Dhufar. The *cumulative effect of sixty or seventy women* disfigured by these things was *horrifying*; with their *black hanging robes*, their *dirty* hands, their *screeching voices* and their *beaked concealed faces*, they were like *huge hungry birds of prey hovering around carrion*. I made my way through *the crowd to the top of the steps*, and looked down them to the water below; and there at the bottom three or four masked women were *bathing the small-emaciated body of a child*, while their companions on the stone-*flagged platform moaned distressfully*. The steps *were crowded to suffocation*, and the stench was *unpleasant*; but the women took no notice of me at all, and I stood there for a moment watching, chilled by the scene (Morris 1957: 113-4).

Morris (1957) described these women as a group rather than looking at them individually. He lumped them together as predators. By describing them as *horrifying*, with *dirty hands*, and the way they were talking as *huge hungry birds* that were *hovering around carrion* with *vibrant wailing sounds*, he turned the women into animals rather than humans. To Morris (1957), these women were objects, and dangerous birds. His 'knowledge' about these women was based on brief observation. He took the external appearances of these women as an indicator of their internal characters. Al falaj or water channel was the only place for laundry in many villages in Oman, and the women were doing their normal duties. Morris (1957) saw this duty and social practice as threatening and strange.

It is part of the Islamic and Arabic culture that women speak softly, but in the above example, Morris (1957) described them as screaming. It is also common

that when women meet, they enjoy talking and even laugh loudly (Gellhorn *The Independent*: 22.06.1997), but Morris (1957) described these women as if he was superior! He invaded these women's privacy and authorised himself to animalise them by describing their meeting like the *hungry eagles hovering and screaming* around the dead animals. By using *beaked*, he said that the women were dangerous and could kill and injure. The use of *rigid*, *horrible*, and *dirty* also depicts the women as inferior. A mythical representation described by many writers (e.g. Boutos 1958; Morris 1995) about the Christian celebrations at the Carnival of Venice is that women at the celebration wear black masks that belong to dead people (ibid.). Thus Morris' (1957) used *black mask* to connote death in his portrayal of the women in the town of Ibri. The following is his conversation with a Christian missionary in Ibri, in which he described the relationship of the missionary with a woman and the missionary's encounter with the locals:

> You never saw such funny people as these, mister. I daren't tell them I'm a Christian. They would kill me! Though I must say", he added with a disarming smile, "I married ever such a nice Muslim girl. What else could I do! There wasn't a Christian girl to be found in the whole of Muscat and Oman! Chuckling as we walked, for the idea of his concealed faith seemed to amuse him, and something piquant about his personality certainly pleased me, we made our way leisurely to his house. It lay behind a heavy gate (there was ever such bad robber in Ibri, said the soldier) and was surrounded by a cool garden. As we entered the door of the house I saw, half hidden in a dim and smoky recess, four or five black shrouded figures, almost motionless, and soundless but for a few low moaning noises. They looked like detail from one of Mr. Henry Moore's air-raid pictures. A small fire burnt through the murk of this dismal alcove, and sometimes there was a swishing sound, as of the movement of very old and extremely dirty draperies. I did not like to ask what was happening in there thinking that perhaps some acolytes of the soldiers were performing clandestine Christian ceremonies, like saints in catacombs: but as we climbed the staircase he remarked casually, hitching up his shroud: "That's my wife. She's got something wrong with her inside, so a few friends came in to look after her" (Morris 1957:

114-5).

In 19th and early 20th centuries some European travellers in the East were not merely explorers and observers, they tried to change the destination people, and the missionary movement was the most influential. With exception to the above example, this was not the same in the case of early travellers in Oman. None of the travellers descriptions that used by this research contained similar acts or activities.

By marrying a young Muslim girl, the missionary in the above extract hoped, and Morris (1957) agreed with him, hoped that he could participate in 'improving', 'civilising' and modernising (Sardar 1999: 78) the native life.

To the natives who were his hosts and who welcomed him, the missionary pretended that Islam was his religion "I daren't tell them I'm a Christian". Otherwise the woman and her Muslim society would not have accepted him. The native girl was treated unjustly by the European missionary coloniser who went to Oman to convert people to Christianity or to civilise them according to the European cultural standards. Colonisers and missionaries went to Oman believing that it was their religious and moral duty to bring civilisation to native Bedouins who, according to Morris (1957), were "backward, savage and wild".

Morris (1957) in the above extract assumed that missionary stay and life with locals in Ibri was important to local families. He believed that the missionary was contributing in educating the inhabitants and teaching them the 'principles of civilisation'. He saw it as a duty of Christian to convert 'others', and to collect as much data about the inhabitants and monuments of Christianity in the area, instead of collecting the data of the local Islamic culture and heritage. These aims

as described in Chapter 7 were evident mainly in Wellsted's (1838) and Thomas's (1932) works, and briefly mentioned in Thesiger's (1959) writing. For example Thesiger (1959), visiting the valley of Jarbeeb in Dhofar, said that he "might discover another Petra, and had at any rate expected to find something older and more interesting than these Islamic tombs" (1959: 174).

Bent and Bent's (1900) projection of the mountain women in the south region seemed more patronising:

> One evening, when up in the mountains, we were told that a harem [sic] wished to see us, and we were conducted to a spot just out of sight of our tents, where sat three females on the ground looking *miserably shy* and in their nervousness *they plucked and ate grass*, and constantly as we approached *retreated three or four steps back and seated themselves again*. Presently, *after much persuasion*, we *got one of them to come to the tent* and accept a present of needles and other oddments, the delight of womankind all the world over. Altogether these G-ara women formed a marked and pleasant contrast to the Bedouin women in the Hadhramout, who literally besieged us in our tent, and never gave us any peace" (Bent and Bent 1900: 259).

Because of her gender, Mable Bent succeeded in gaining access to the society of women in Oman which was difficult for male travellers. In the above extract, the Al Qara women were described shy, bashful, strange and that they were not used to encountering others, particularly Europeans. These manners, which were strange to the travellers, enabled them not just to criticise them, but to denigrate the mountain women. Grass is eaten by animals in the chain and not by the inhabitants, so by saying that Al Qara women were "plucked and ate grass" Bent and Bent (1900) projected them inferior.

They were projected as uncontrollable women and travellers faced difficulties in encountering and approaching them. Local women in that remote mountain in those days were not familiar with European race, consequently, in the

eyes of the locals, Bent and Bent (1900) were just 'a special kind of stranger' (Simmel 1950, cited in Nash, 1989: 44, quoted from Picard, 2002: 123).

By comparing the Qara women and the women in Hadhramout, Bent and Bent (1900) took on the role as competent observers with the power to classify and judge. These negative attitudes of Bent and Bent (1900) towards the locals were maintained throughout their accounts. In addition to their opinion of the inferiority of the ordinary women and their companions, they also criticised the wives of the Wali.

Most of the previous analyses are about the projections of Omani women in the desert or in the mountain chains. In the following, the analysis is confined to the early travel accounts' descriptions of urban women. The descriptions of the early travel accounts of the urban females of the 19th as well as the early 20th centuries were mostly confined to female participation in ceremonial activities, and their life as slaves and servants. Thomas (1932) described the issue of slavery in the following:

> Slaves actually enjoy certain fortuitous social advantages... As regards females, the slave girl enjoys a social liberty that is in gratifying contrast to the free' Arab woman. The latter is probably married at fifteen to a spouse chosen by her father, without being consulted or even seeing him. Thereafter she is destined to close confinement in her house for the rest of her life except for rare excursions out of doors, where she goes closely veiled. The rigidity of the convention increases as her position rises in the social scale, while any sexual lapse - this in contrast to her husband's admitted licence - she will pay for with her life. The slave girl, on the other hand, is fancy free, and although her marriage will be likewise arranged by her master with an eye only to his own profit, she will walk abroad unveiled [original emphasis] throughout her life, and flirt and fraternise where she will (Thomas 1932:32).

> When asked for milk, an *African slave girl* tripped across to us with a large bowlful, and received a lewd greeting from my mountain guide. She told us that the other women were her mistresses, the

> wives of a local saiyid, who owned the cattle and would himself shortly arrive (ibid. 42).
>
> As in all social gatherings in Arab tribal towns, no woman was to be seen or mentioned. Those of any standing at all had, as always, hidden themselves till strange men should have left their house, and any furtive *unveil*ed [original emphasis] figure to be seen in the courtyard was surely that of a slave girl (ibid.17).

In the above, Thomas (1932) distinguished between local women according to two classes: free Arab women and female slaves. In the first extract, Thomas (1932) described facts and social customs.

Distinguishing women according to ethnicity (African) and class (free, slave) had some patronising tones, but positive tones were featured in the second excerpt. These positive tones were reflected in their hospitality to visitors and their participation in their family duties. Although the cattle belonged to her mistress, the [slave] girl provided Thomas (1932) and his companions with milk. She was generous and her hospitality reflected the good relationship between the girl and her mistress..

Geary (1878) described the people of Muscat and gave a lot of attention to the life of Sayyid Feysal, and the political conflict between the Sultan and his opponents. Geary (1878) also highlighted the British presence and domination in Oman and stressed the role of the British agents and his interference in the relationship between the ruler and his public. For example, in projecting locals' resistance to British domination of Muscat, he wrote:

> The shells created a great *moral effect, the Arabs never having* seen such missiles before. *They said the shells had eyes* and could see where to fall. They could not understand how otherwise the shells come right into their midst, as they were of course out of the view of the gunners on board the Teazer, the hills intervening. The fire was really directed by signals from an old Portuguese tower on the summit of one of the hills. A shell fell in a field and did not

> explode. It was immediately surrounded by a number of exited Bedouins, who determined at once to put out the "eye" the copper percussion fuse- by which it guided its course. They *struck the "eye"* with their lances; the *shell exploded* and eleven *Bedouins were killed* on the spot. Of course the marauders ultimately decamped. (Geary 1878 cited in Ward, 1987: 43).

Geary (1878) began this passage by justifying the British involvement and the navel bombardment by saying that the gunboat was doing 'moral work'. In addition, in killing civilians and destroying their homes, the gunboat, he thought, contributed to the British efforts in civilising the inhabitants and stopping the hostilities between the ruler, who was supported by the British, and the locals who were trying to protect their capital from the British domination.

The language of 'us' and 'other' is a key binary contrast within the text. The former was presented as British power and projectiles, while the Bedouin ignorance of the 'shell' and their mythical interpretation of the power of the gunboat projected the latter.

In their projection of ordinary people (particularly the inhabitants of coastal regions), travellers such as Wellsted (1838), Haines (1845) and Bent and Bent (1900) imported pirates and piracy into their discourse.

Pirates were the pretext to conceal the real British motives to monitor the maritime inhabitants' attitudes towards Britain, to control the ports and trade routes to Africa and India, and to subjugate the inhabitants of Oman. Most of the activities described as *piracy* against British ships were the results of power relationships. This power struggle was between the Omanis who had experienced imperial power, domination and trade activities, and the European powers (particularly British) who came to demolish what was left of the Omani Empire, and to control Oman to expand their colonial empire.

> It remains to notice the pirates, a race hitherto but little known, but whose power and influence was long felt by, and is still intimately connected with the political conditions of the tribes in this part of Arabia. (Wellsted, 1835: 243).

> To confine ourselves, however, to this portion, it was wisely foreseen that, *with pirates*, as with other thieves, the most effectual way to disperse them was to lay open their haunts. So long as these remained unknown to us, a feeling of imaginary or real security would induce them to follow their former practices; but the circumstance of English ships "writing down": their coast, to use their own descriptive expression, was alone enough to give them an idea that we should possess a perfect knowledge of it (Wellsted, 1838: 252).

In the above excerpts the discussion on pirates was used by Wellsted (1838) to justify the military importance of surveying and scientific studies that British ships were doing in the northern region of Oman.

By saying *writing down' their coast* Wellsted (1838) meant to say that British ships were not only sailing in the Gulf, but they were surveying, monitoring, punishing opponents ships and powers and were assuring locals of the British insistence to control the trade routes.

Raids and raiders were negative representations frequently described by Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) about the inhabitants of the desert in Arabia and Al Qara chain. According to both writers, the inhabitants were connected with raids, killings and blood feuds. Thomas (1932) for instance wrote:

> Murder in these mountains, is, however, a common occurrence. Life appears to have a low value. Blood feuds actually divide the Qara one from another, and exist between sections of them and sections of Al Kathir and Al Mahra. None of these tribes acknowledge one paramount shaikh, and their relations one with the other vary from time to time. They seem to regard government as a superior tribal section (p.88).

A number of travellers in Dhofar described the conflicts and the popularity of blood feuds between the tribes of Al Qara chain in the 19th and the early 20th

centuries, before Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959), Bent and Bent (1900) and Miles (1919) visited the chain and recorded similar incidents.

The Bedouin knowledge of track reading in the desert attracted many writers of the early travel accounts in Oman. The following is by Thesiger (1959):

> A few days later we passed some tracks. I was not even certain that they were made by camels, for they were much blurred by the wind. Sultan turned to a grey-bearded man who was noted as a tracker and asked him whose tracks these were, and the man turned aside and followed them for a short distance. He then jumped off his camel, looked at the tracks where they crossed some hard ground, broke some camel-droppings between his fingers and rode back to join us. Sultan asked, 'Who were they?' and the man answered, 'They were Awamir. There are six of them. They have raided the Junuba on the southern coast and taken three of their camels. They have come here from Sahma and watered at Mughshin. They passed here ten days ago.' We had seen no Arabs for seventeen days and we say none for a further twenty-seven. On our return we met some Bait Kathir near Jabal Qarra and, when we exchanged our news, they told us that six Awamir had raided the Junuba, killed three of them, and taken three of their camels. The only thing we did not already know was that they had killed anyone (Thesiger, 1959:51-52).

Thesiger (1959) was impressed by his companion's skills in reading the tracks, which were mostly 'blurred'. To present the importance of the Bedouin skills he further went to describ the Bedouin skills, and provided the readers with full details of the guide's readings. He spoke of the tracker methods, analysis, time, the number of camels and the number of raiders, their identity and whether they were the guides' allies or enemies.

Both Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) encountered many hostile events in the desert and Al Qara chain and recorded them, as in the following excerpt:

> A young Qara Shaikh tripped against my bed in the darkness, startling me, for I had heard no footsteps; off he went in the direction of the chanting to investigate it, and on a hill but two miles away found the corpse of a Mahri tribesman, hot still with lately ebbed life, and bloody from a shot wound in the heart.
> Early in the morning he and Shaikh Hasan came to me to suggest

> that we could not safely remain longer. We must move, and in this the Kathiris, a lazy pair, agreed. The memory of their own blood-feud with the Mahra rendered them unusually alert. They feared that the deed was that of some hothead of their tribe, so that their own lives would be exposed to peril (Thomas, 1932:102).

The languages of war, fear, killing and blood are strongly depicted in the above example. The above story was part of Thomas' (1932) historical record of the events that occurred during his travel in Oman, and his way of showing his reader the fears and difficulties he met while was travelling in land.

Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) allude to raids that occurred before their journeys began, based on stories told by their companions against their opponents. For example Thesiger (1959) wrote:

> Then bin Mautlauq spoke of the raid in which young Sahail was killed. He and fourteen companions had surprised a small herd of Saar camels. The herdsman had fired two shots at them before escaping on the fastest of his camels, and one of these shots had hit Sahail in the chest. Bakhit held his dying son in his arms as they rod back across the plain with the seven captured camels (Thesiger, 1959: 92).

By focusing on such events, Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) did not just record a dark period of the tribal history in the deserts and the relationships between tribes, they elevated the difficulties and the life of terror that dominated the desert during these days. For example, to illustrate this danger, Thomas (1932) enhanced the above excerpt by importing nine emotive words: *raid, killed, surprised, fired, shots, escape, fastest, hit,* and *held his dying.*

These fearful stories were parts of the guides and travellers' talks during their journeys in the desert. Thomas (1932) extended his record of the previous raid events by visiting the places where they had occurred:

> This is where we came up with them; this is where I lay. We had followed their tracks all-day and judged them to be returning raiders

> who must halt here at Shisur, for westwards there is no water until Sanau. There under that skyline we halted and waited till after the sunset prayers. Leaving our camels with a few men we crept on, under cover of darkness, towards their camp-fires. It was nearly midnight and they had mostly fallen asleep, for we could see their sprawling bodies in the dying glow. We crept till within fifty paces and then suddenly opened fire. They leapt up wildly in the darkness shouting, but in utter confusion, and we drawing our *daggers* fell upon them and God gave us the victory. Praise God from whom all blessings flow. Four of them fell, and all the booty that they had taken at Andhaur was restored to our hands, and we took five of their own camels, too, so that many of those that escaped in the darkness must have left riding two to a camel (Thomas, 1932: 137-8).

The aims in visiting places in the sands where raid activities occurred varied. They were interested to understand raider skills or they wanted to study the topography. It was also their aim to map the land and identify places of importance in the desert (e.g. Ash Shisur).

The early travel accounts focused on the moral issues of the pirates and their effects on the stability of the country. In contrast, the writers of the early travel accounts wrote of the raids differently. With the exception of the following short narrative by Thesiger (1959), the early travel accounts were mostly descriptive, and historical and they mentioned neither the negative nor the positive influences of the raids and tribal relationships in the British interest in Arabia and Oman (particularly in the sand regions):

> When I was in Jidda in the summer of 1945 the British Ambassador had questioned me about these raids and had told me that Ibn Saud had threatened to loose his tribes on the Hadhramaut if they continued (1959:170).

Although the influence of raids on British interests in the area were not recorded, Thomas' (1932) and Thesiger's (1959) descriptions of raids revealed

that both writers works part of the British interests in mapping and understanding the customs of the inhabitants in war, raids and blood feuds.

In his discussion of Ibn-Saud and his relationships with tribes of Hadhramaut in Yemen Thesiger's (1959) showed that raiding as a hostile activity had some influence on some rulers' positions and their influences over the tribes of Arabian Peninsula. The maps he produced and the data Thesiger collected about the inhabitants of the desert were also beneficial to many imperial agencies and western firms in the region particularly at the beginning of oil explorations in the country during 1950s and 1960s.

'Othering' people in travelogues

Many Europeans judge their local cultures, dresses and the beauty of the destinations they visit according to 'Eurocentric' classifications. This method of evaluation was frequently employed by writers of early travel accounts. Many of them based their evaluations on the beauty of the local females, their lives, and their knowledge and understanding of the world according to European or Western standards For example, Gellhorn (1997) wrote:

> On a narrow dirt lane, we entered another walled house, this one small, unpainted and mean, belonging to a Bedouin family. Here we went *to the bare women's room,* as Raya wanted *to help them sell their weaving*: dismal tan and brown prayer mats and shopping bags. An old woman *wearing the hideous beaked Bedouin face mask and all enshrouding black* tried to *do business* with Raya. While the youngest a girl of about 17 years old, wild *with excitement over visitors, took of her black camouflage to reveal a raving beauty* who might have been *Italian or Spanish*. Her skin was *exquisite.* She had *large, long- lashed dark eyes, wavy dark brown hair to her shoulders, a wide, full lipstick mouth and a lovely slim body in a long crimson dress* (Gellhorn *The Independent* 22.06.1997).

Gellhorn (1997) was able to visit a Bedouin family in Sinaw with the help of an Omani lady who was the owner of a tour operator company. By saying 'raving beauty who might have been Italian or Spanish', her judgement about the Oriental women and their beauty reveals a Eurocentric form of references. She was aware of the beauty of Italian and Spanish girls but not the beauty of Arabian girls. But what brought the beauty of Spanish and Italian girls to her mind? Was it the history of Rome in Arabia, or the Arabs' history in Spain, or the Phoenicians who emigrated from the Arab world and invaded many Mediterranean regions, or the geography? Gellhorn (1997) judged such beauty against European standards of femaleness, and she thought veiled women were ugly, backward and living a hard life. Women in many societies wear the veil by choice. It is part of the inhabitants' culture, and the sandy environment could be a reason for wearing the veil in many sand regions.

Gelhorn (1997) denigrates the women of Salalah in the south by saying "I took against Salalah on behalf of its women. They look like black mummies, shrouded from head to toe". She has given herself the power and the authority to make judgement about the women of the southern region.

Brown (1998) describes a Bedouin woman in the Wahiba Sands:

> Our vehicle pulled up alongside *one of the shelters; its walls and roof little more than dried palm leaves woven over a wooden frame,* enclosed by a *rude fence and draped in blue plastic sheeting.* There were *goats and a single calf penned in an outside* enclosure, and a ramshackle pigeon coop. *Bedouin people'*, said my guide.
> A *knot of children* gathered at the fence and smilingly beckoned us inside. Cooking implements and rolled mattresses lined the walls. A *woman swathed in robes*, sat on the ground, and children moved in and out. *The eldest, a girl of about 17*, seemed to *be 'mother'.*
> She was *extraordinarily beautiful.* It occurred to me *that on the catwalks of Paris or London she could have earned a fortune, and here she was stranded on the edge of the sands.*

> *Did she even know where Paris or London were*?
> My guide asked here. Yes, yes she has seen London on the television. Television? She gestured to a neighbouring shelter. *Inside was covered in blanket and cushions*; a *large battery-powered* television stood at one end, I had not noticed the aerial clamped to the side of the shelter. Of course! *The family TV room* (*The Telegraph* 03.01.1998).

London, Paris, or any other cities probably mean nothing to many Bedouins. They 'live in the sands by choice' (Thesiger 1959). They are used to the life of the desert, and they enjoy travelling from area to area. That is why the native girl did not concern herself with London or Paris. Awareness and knowledge about European cities and capitals are not the measurements of human knowledge. Conversely, Brown (1998) probably would not have known about Oman and Bedouin women at all had he not gone to Oman and was not invited by the Ministry of Information. By saying that the girl could earn a fortune on the 'catwalks of Paris or London', he used a 'Eurocentric' judgement that ignored the girl's culture and Islamic faith that would prohibit her working in a public theatre or a fashion show.

The Bedouin girl could be extraordinarily beautiful, but Brown (1998) means the native girl is still 'wild', 'natural', 'innocent' and not influenced by modern life. He used his authority as a writer to look at her as an inferior, and to place his judgements of the human beauty and to base 'Other' world cultures, principles, and knowledge according, to European standards and knowledge. Later he describes an elderly man whose 'face looked as if it had been carved from teak', and that the children who tried to sell him their rugs and woven products appeared as if they came from another planet.

Among the travelogue writers, Mansfield (1997) also used derogatory language to describe a caretaker of the castle of Bait Al Numan:

> Wandering around, I stepped unthinkingly into the prayer room without taking off my shoes. The caretaker - a turbaned gentleman with *a white beard and skin like camel hide* tapped me on the ankles with his walking cane with a magisterial air. I will say this about Omanis: they are a forthright people. But with this comes amiability, and an easy tolerance. It is a Muslim country, but mercifully devoid of the suspicion of Westerners present in some other Arab nations. As I left the caretaker gave a gap-toothed smile and handed me a couple of oranges. No hard feeling (Mansfield *The Telegraph*: 02.03.1997).

Mansfield's (1997) statement contains positive and patronising language. His description of the caretaker's skin is like 'camel hide' is derogatory and considers him as a primitive person. To moderate his patronising projection Mansfield praised the forthright manners and tolerance attitudes of Omanis toward others particularly Europeans. He insured his positive language by distinguishing Islam in Oman, in a binary contrast, from other countries (Arab nations) he might have experienced.

Part 3. Distinguishing locals according to their doctrines

Introduction

A third common practice employed by the writers of early travel accounts was the attempt to characterise locals by their Islamic doctrines. Ibadhis, Sunnis and Wahabis were often presented in the early travel accounts. Out of the 13 early travel accounts, Wellsted's (1835) and Bent and Bent's (1900) referred briefly to Shias[49]. "Mohammedan" was a designation used by Wellsted (1838), Bent and Bent (1900) and Thomas (1932).

In the 19th and the early 20th centuries, two events in Oman affected the imageries of the inhabitants in British travel writing. The first was the falling of some Omani tribes[50] under Wahabis influence, and their conversion from Ibadhi to the Wahabi doctrine. The second was the increase of the Imamah's power in Nizwa, as a political opponent of the Sultan in Muscat in alliance with the British. Both parties sought external support. The Saudis, with their strategic interest in expanding their territories and spreading their doctrinal ideology towards southern Arabia, were identified as the main supporters of the Imamah and other Wahabis followers (Miles, 1919; Morris, 1957).

The first event was not only a political movement, but it also had its ideological, cultural and social effects. It influenced the stability of Oman and the spiritual and social system. It divided the society and marked the beginning of a new social and spiritual conflict between those tribes that followed the Wahabi

49 Shia is one of the Islamic doctrines.

50 Wellsted (1838), Miles (1919) and Morris (1957) reported that Bani Bu Ali in Jalaan (B. B. A) and some other tribes in the frontier towns, such as Al Buraimi oases and Ibri, fell under the 'Wahabi' influence and embraced their ideology.

ideology and the political and religious authorities in Oman. For the second political event, the situation was quite different. The Imamah welcomed Saudi arms and their political support against the Sultan's authority in Muscat and his British ally. But it had no cultural influence. Imamah followers retained their Ibadhi sect, and rejected the Saudi occupations of Al Buraimi and other parts of Oman.

Both events affected the main imageries represented by writers of the early travel accounts. The aim of Part 2 is to analyse how they distinguished the locals according to the doctrines of (a) the Wahabis, and (b) the Ibadhis.

Section 1. Wahabis

Several writers of early travel accounts had little understanding of the attitudes, beliefs and religious ideologies. For example, they were not clear about the meaining of Wahabi and none of them had defined the notion clearly. It was not clear whether Wahabi was a religious or a political term, or both. Wellsted (1838), Miles (1919) and Morris (1957) used the term Wahabis to refer to a group of people with their own political or religious views in the 19th and early 20th centuries and as opponents of the rulers of Oman and the majority of Omanis.

Miles (1919), Morris (1957) and Wellsted (1838) exaggerated the conflict between the Wahabis and other Islamic doctrines, particularly Ibadhis and the political and cultural threats of the Wahabis movement towards South Arabia. Their views and attitudes toward the Wahabis in Al Buraimi and Ibri in Al Dhahirah and Jalaan Bani Bu Ali in the eastern region changed from time to time depending on the tribal relationship with the Sultan and the British agent in

Muscat. They stated that as a few sheikhs in the above towns were supplied with Saudi arms and funds, they were obliged to secure Saudi interests in their regions and helped to promote Wahabis ideology within their tribe areas and then the whole country.

In describing Wahabis influence in the town of Ibri, Morris (1957) stated:

> Ibri had always been a centre of tribal rivalries of the most vicious and tenacious kind, and was once so infested by criminals and torn by vendettas that people were afraid to sleep in their houses, preferring to spend the nights in the open where one man could not be distinguished from another. It was the chief settlement of the Dhahira district, a region that owed no very definable loyalty either to the Imam or to the Sultan, and it had long been inhabited by severely puritanical Wahabis of the same Islamic sect which ruled Saudi Arabia. Its future was therefore of interest to the Sultan. Not only did it look fruitful ground for Saudi intrigue, but it was also dangerously close to the hazy margin of the frontier (Morris, 1957: 111).

Wellsted (1838) visited Ibri and also spoke of the influence of Wahabis in the town. He described the local reactions towards him and his companions as follows:

> The Wahhabis had been crowding around us in great numbers, and seemed only waiting for some pretext to commence an affray. On these emergencies I always adopt one plan, which is, to remove every weapon from the reach of those who are with me. Whitlock and myself alone were armed, and we knew too well the consequences that would accrue from any rush use of weapons, to encounter such a risk (Wellsted, 1838:221).

The above excerpt showed that the sheikh rejected Wellsted's (1838) desire to travel in the town. Moreover, he refused to supply him with escorts to Al Buraimi. As a result, the sheikh and his followers became hostile and intolerant in traveller perception. This self-perceived superiority authorised Wellsted (1838) to criticise the town's inhabitants and to denigrate the sheikh:

> It will apply as a general remark, that the sheikhs of the towns in Oman are very personable men, with a dignified deportment and pleasing manners; but this was a sneaking, greasy-looking animal, who had more the appearance of a butcher than a sheikh (Wellsted, 1838:219).

Wellsted (1838) denigrated the sheikh and his followers, and his local companions, by saying, "to remove every weapon from the reach of those who are with me", he meant that his escorts were uncontrollable and they could misuse their weapons.

Some writers' (e.g. Thesiger, 1959; Thomas, 1932) descriptions of the differences in the locals' doctrines and sects covered those of the people who inhabited the urban regions, as well as the Bedouins and the mountain dwellers. For example:

> Individuals, Qara and Sahara, roused themselves to pray where they stood, using dry earth for the prescribed ablutions, and I wondered how their Shafi' tenets permitted this laxness; while my three Omanis of the more punctilious Ibadhi sect went off with their rifles - in these mountains no one would move a yard without rifle in hand - up the valley to the pool for the ablutions without which their prayers would be null and void (Thomas, 1932:91).

> Two parties lined up for sunset prayer, one led by sheikh Salih, the other by my Karabi rabia. According to my servant, their performance was in pleasing contrast to that of my Bait Kathir party of the previous year, men who prayed not in a line but individually, and though they declaimed aloud, they were woefully ignorant of the words, which to instructed ears became a sorry jumble (Thomas, 1932: 116).

The above two extracts showed that Thomas (1932) focused on differences and inequality rather than on things that united the group. His understanding and knowledge of Islam and the limited explanations of his nomad companions could have affected his judgement.

According to the noble Qur'an (Surat An Nisa, Part 5, Ayeh N. 43), when Muslims travel without enough water, they are permitted to perform Tayammum, the using of clean earth to rub their faces and hands. Thomas (1932) was wrong to describe the practice as lax.

Schism occurs in many religions (e.g. Christianity) when the followers become divided in their interpretations of the holy books. The different views in interpreting the noble Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammed's (SAAS) sayings and some political social events in the Islamic world brought about different doctrines and sects (e.g. Sunah, Shia, and Ibadhi).

In reading Thomas' (1932) account, it must not be assumed that he was familiar with what the noble Qur'an said about prayer rituals (as presented in the next extract). His interpretation of the two prayer groups showed his ignorance of Islam as he, not knowing that it was allowed in the noble Qur'an, wrongly attributed the separation into two groups to the members' belonging to different Islamic sects. He had experienced raids during his historical trek in the Empty Quarter and should have been, like his Bedouin companions, familiar with the desert and its associated dangers and threats of attacks. He should have realised that the separation was borne out of caution.

> You O Messenger Muhammad (SAAS) are among them, and lead them in prayer, let one party of them stand up (in prayer) with you taking their arms with them. When they finish their prostration, let them take their positions in the rear and let the other party come up which has not yet prayed, and let them pray with you taking all the precautions and bearing arms. Those who disbelieve, wish, if you were negligent of your arms and your baggage, to attack you in a single rush, but there is no sin in you if you put to inconvenience because of rain or because you are ill, but take every precaution for yourself (The Noble Quran: Surah An-Nisa, part 5, Ayah 103).

Section 2. Ibadhis and the Imamah followers

In their projection of the locals, Wellsted (1838), Miles (1919), Thesiger (1959) and Morris (1959), among others, used the term *Ibadhi* to distinguish the locals according to their doctrines.

Unlike their projections of the term Wahabis, in which politics strongly influenced their descriptions, as previously discussed, most of the features of the early travel accounts on Ibadhis (particularly those in the 19th century) focused on distinguishing Ibadhis' interpretations and customs from that of others, stressing the simplicity of their buildings (e.g. mosques), and emphasising tribal and local doctrines. Writers such as Miles (1885), Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) frequently distinguished Ibadhis' customs and their prayer practices. For example, in describing their views towards smoking, Miles (1885) wrote:

> Here we all sat down on cushions, exchanging compliments and conversing, coffee in the meanwhile being roasted, boiled, and distributed to the assembled guests according to established Arab usage, but no pipes or cigarettes, as smoking is not indulged in by the Ibadhis (Miles, 1885, cited in Ward, 1987: 260).

Their descriptions of the Ibadhis were also extended to differentiate their mosques:

> The Jami or Great Mosque, a plain, undecorated, unimposing structure, with nothing remarkable about it whatever, but which the inhabitants are very proud of, and consider to be the largest Ibadhi mosque in Oman (Miles, 1885 cited in Ward, 1987:275).

The above excerpt indicated the difference between the outsiders' views with limited local experience and the Omani values about the size and beauty of the architecture of mosques, which were different from those elsewhere in the Islamic World (e.g. Turkey, Egypt). In fact, the knowledge of the local cultures,

beliefs and interpretations of Islam were evident in the above extract which stressed the simplicity of the architecture of the mosque.

In writing about Omani tribes, the topic of doctrines was raised and presented by many writers, such as Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1885), who used it as a tool to judge local loyalties and nationalities. Although Ibadhi is the most dominant sect in Oman, they used the term to differentiate between the sect followers and those of other doctrines, like the Wahabis. Historical and tribal comments are included in the following texts, stressing the differences between tribal beliefs, doctrines and loyalties:

> The Naim are at feud with the Beni Yas, who occupy part of el-Bereymi, and their hostility is interrupted only by occasional truces; collisions frequently occurring between them. Of the two sections of the Naim, one inhabits more particularly el-Jow and Bereymi, the other el-Dhahireh. They are of the more orthodox or Sunni persuasion, unlike the generality of Omanis who are Ibadhiya (Miles, 1877 cited in Ward, 1987:423).

> Oman is largely inhabited by the Ibadhis, a sect of the Kharijites who separated themselves from the rest of Islam at the time of Ali, the fourth Caliph, and have been noted ever since for their condemnation of others. The Ibadhis have always maintained that their Imam or religious leader should be elected (Thesiger, 1959: 255).

In the early 20th century, the influence of the Imamah as a political power in the interior regions influenced the early travellers writings about Ibadhis (particularly Thesiger's (1959) and Morris (1959). The Imamah ruled Nizwa and opposed the Sultan in Muscat and British interests in Oman. For these reasons, the writers' attitudes towards the Imamah followers[51] were similar to their views of the Wahabis tribes. Like Bent and Bent (1900), who described the Wahabis as *fanatical* and *hostile* to Europeans, Thesiger (1959) stated that the area was

51 If not all, most of the Imamah followers.

"ruled by a religious leader known as the Imam, who was hostile to him and fanatically opposed to all Europeans" (Thesiger 1959: 62).

Part 4. Distinguishing people according to race

Introduction

This part is divided into three sections: the use of the words *Arabs* and *Omanis*, *Bedouins*, and *tribal names* (e.g. Al Harasis, Al Qara, Wahiba); the tales of the ethnic groups that inhabited Oman; the writers of the early travel accounts projections of [slave] and [slavery]. It is noted that none of the brochures referred to ethnicity or wrote about slavery issues.

Early travel accounts divided the Omani inhabitants according to their nationality and ethnic groups. Nationality terms included *Arabs*, *Bedouins*, *Omanis*, or *tribal names* (e.g. Al Qara, Wahiba). Ethnic grouping was classified according to the original homelands, such as *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Afghans*, and *Europeans* or cultural communities, for example, *Banians* and *Jews*[52].

In the early travel accounts, the people of Oman were described according to the region they lived in (e.g. 'Al Qara'). In contrast, the use of the word *Omani* to refer to the locals became more popular in travelogues and it is the only word used in travel brochures.

In the early travel accounts, the way "Others" are portrayed tells us more about the preconceptions of the writers than about the "other". For example, Bent and Bent's (1900), Geary's (1878) and Thomas' (1932) portrayals of the Omanis

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52 Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1919) were the only two travel writers within this sample who referred to the Jews in Oman in the 19th century.

reveal their attitudes of superiority toward the locals. In contrast, Thesiger (1959) and to a lesser extent Wellsted (1838), understood more about the local culture and they were impressed with the friendly manners and hospitalities of the Omanis and that influenced their understanding of the 'others' and explained their positive projections of the Bedouins.

In the oil era words such as *Bedouin*, *Qara people* and *tribe* continued to be used for social classification, but their features in travelogues and travel brochures were less than in the early travel accounts. In the travelogues and brochures, the locals were described in terms of nationality and *Omani* is more frequently employed to describe the people. In many brochures, *Omani* is used to describe the architecture, museums, people, culture, food and so on. *Bedouin* and *Qara people* were used mostly to add a more mythical air to connotations of the desert, the sands, and Al Qara Mountains, with their Bedouin and mountain people, in travelogues and brochures.

Section 1. From the tribal patterns to nationalism

In categorising the inhabitants of the place, European imaginations about Arabia, the desert and the sands continued with the use of such popular words as 'Arabs', 'Bedouins' and 'Omanis' (the case of Oman).

Another way of distinguishing locals used by the three media, particularly in early travel accounts, was to classify them according to tribal races and the place they live; '*Al Qara Mountains*' and '*Wahiba Sands*'.

(1) The use of Arabs and Omanis

Arabs refers to the people who are of Arabic origin and live in the land of Arabia (Thesiger, 1959). Arabs are "marked off by economic and social conditions rather than by any geographical frontier and Arabia must be regarded as being the whole area of Arab occupation, not only the peninsula to which the name is often confined" (O'Leary, 1927:4). *Bedouin*, on the other hand, is limited to the inhabitants of the deserts. However, most writers of the early travel accounts used the word *Arab* or *Bedouin* interchangeably. Thus Wellsted (1838), for instance, wrote: "In 1658, the Arabs, having retaken the city from the Portuguese..." (1838:11) and "Accompanied by an Arab merchant and some Bedowins ..." (ibid. 20). Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919) was the only writer of the 19th century who used *Omani*:

> The struggle was long and bitterly contested, but the despairing valour of the Omanis could not prevail against the superior arms and training of their adversaries, who, after a terrific carnage, utterly vanquished them" (Miles, 1877, Cited in Ward, 1987: 361).

Miles (1877) stressed nationality in his use of *Omani*, but *Arabs* and *Bedouins* were frequently included and used in conjunction with *Omani* as shown in the following two examples:

> The desert is generally spoken of by the Omani Arabs as Al Jafur, or the unfrequented space, and as Al Ramool, or the sands; sometimes as Al Ahkaf, or the sandhills' also as the Sahar, or desert (Miles, 1919, cited in Ward 1987: 277).

> The Omani Bedouins who are chiefly engaged in this pursuit are the Deru, the Aal Wahibeh, and Awamir tribes, and the sale of young camels at Adam, Obra, and other markets constitutes their chief support; they also rear a large number of goats (ibid.).

In the 20th century, the use of the word *Arab* to refer to Omani was less frequently used. Using the word *Bedouins* and referring to locals by their *tribal names* (e.g. Al Qara, Wahiba, Kathiri) were very popular in Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) works. *Omani* were the most dominant word used to refer to locals in Morris (1957) account.

In travelogues and travel brochures, the situations are different from those in early travel accounts. In travelogues, *Omani* is the most dominant word and *Arab* has limited currency. In brochures, *Omani* is the only word used to refer to locals:

> This tour takes some of the many fortresses built during the 17th century when *Omani* rule stretched from Zanzibar to Pakistan (*Cox and King*, 2001).
>
> Oman is about the same size of Italy, with a population of one and a half million *Omanis* and half a million foreigners (Gellhorn, *The Independent*, 22.06.1997).
>
> He wanted to thank us for the ride by offering hospitality 'would you like dates and *Omani* coffee?' (Giles, *The Independent*, 01.02.1998).

Many reasons influenced people and writers' perception about destination and the increased of nationalism tones. First is the increase of consumerism language and nations' needs to identify and publicise its image as a unique tourism destination (e.g. Oman, Dubai). As explained elsewhere in this thesis (e.g. Chapter 6, Part 2, Section 1), many writers employed a binary contrast by distinguished Oman or Omani from the rest of the Arab World or Middle Eastern countries. For example, they distinguished and praised the peaceful policy of the Omani government. Others also praised the government's concern towards environment and described Oman as one of the cleanest countries in the Middle East.

Second, is the increase of the boundary issues in the region in modern days. In early days, locals, particularly Bedouins, did not know about boundaries and border issues between Arab countries. They were travelling from one area to another without taking into account any consideration for the issue of borders. The terms of Omani or Yemeni or Iraqi were used by Bedouins as a method to refer to the inhabitants' of the place. It was a mental concept rather than a political or geographical concept.

Third, the political events that occurred in the region in recent times encouraged many countries in the region to define its national identity from the rest of the Arab world, as a way to distinguishing itself from the rest. Nationalism frequently used by many Arab leaders at the end of the 20th (particularly 1950s and 1960s) to distinguish their policies from the rest. It was used for the sake of history and political records of Arab history.

Finally, by encouraging the small entities to become independent and separated from the motherland, the world powers (particularly the previous) might have some roles in the increase of the nationalism tones.

(2) The use of Bedouins

Bedouin is used to distinguish people according to race. It has a strong presence in the early travel accounts. It is featured in travelogues and brochures with some difference in the context of its use.

(a) Images of Bedouins in the early travel accounts

In the early travel accounts, Bedouins were presented differently. Thesiger (1959), who spent a long time with his Bedouin companions, saw them as a superior race. On the other hand, Bent and Bent (1900) portrayed them differently:

> The ascendancy of the Bedu was, however, moral as well as physical. Valuing freedom far above ease or comfort, careless of suffering, taking indeed a fierce pride in the hardship of their lives, the Bedu forced an unwilling recognition of their superiority on the villagers and townsmen who hated and affected to despise them (Thesiger, 1959:78).

> There I lived among tribes who claimed descent from Ishmael, and listened to old men who spoke of events which had occurred a thousand years ago as if they had happened in their own youth. I went there with a belief in my own racial superiority, but in their tents I felt like an uncouth, inarticulate barbarian, an intruder from a shoddy and materialistic world. Yet from them I learnt how welcoming are the Arabs and how generous is their hospitality (Thesiger, 1959:23).

> The Bedou of southern Arabia is, to my mind, distinctly of an aboriginal race. He has nothing to do with the Arabs, and was probably there just as he is now, centuries before the Arabs found a footing in this country. He is every bit as wild as the African savage, and not nearly so submissive to discipline, and is endowed with a spirit of independence, which makes him resent the slightest approach to legal supervision (Bent and Bent, 1900: 249).

European representations and imaginations of the East were mostly developed either by textual reading about the destinations or by travelling and experiencing the life and the environment of the destinations (Abu- Deeb, 2001). Bent and Bent (1900) did not travel in the desert of Oman and did not experience

Bedouin life and their culture. They only visited two urban regions (Muscat and Dhofar). Thus, Bent and Bent (1900) were ignorant of the freedom of life that Bedouins had and the nature of their dignity which made them reject any kind of superior behaviour or attitude from others. On the other hand, Thesiger (1959) experienced the hard life of the deserts. The negative imagery of Bent and Bent (1900) and Thesiger's (1959) positive imagery of the Bedouins can be explained by the fact that the formers based their conclusions on hearsay evidence while the latter based his on first hand experience. Unlike Bent and Bent (1900), Thesiger (1959) considered the Bedouins as superior to other local people.

Thesiger's (1959) descriptions of the Bedouins' superiority and noble attitudes were constructed according to his experience and were much richer and fairer than the descriptions by Bent and Bent (1900). Furthermore, as Thesiger (1959) pointed out, the Bedouins expected Europeans to accept their conventions, and the hard life they had. "They make no allowance for the stranger. Whoever lives with the Bedu must accept conventions, and conform to Bedu standards. Only those who have journeyed with them can appreciate the strain of such a life" (Thesiger, 1959:38).

Bedouin life is a mystery for outsiders and difficult for them to understand unless they have lived with Bedouins and accepted the hardships of the desert. Hahn (1991), like Thesiger (1959), had spent some time with the Bedouins and she praises the Bedouin way of life.

(b) Images of the Bedouins in travelogues

In the travelogues and brochures, *Bedouin* is frequently used to refer to the inhabitants of the sand regions. In many cases, the word is used to add some mythical air to the descriptions of the places where Bedouins live and to stress their cultures.

> The Bedouin who live there they know this, so when we started to lurch up the shallow face of the first dune, a cheerful middle - aged lady wearing the vertically ridged black face mask of her clan flagged us down, a bunch of crocheted wool bobbles in her hands (Spufford *Condé Nast Traveller* March, 2001).

> On the Omani edge of Arabia's Empty Quarter - the biggest sand desert on the planet, where the dunes stretch for hundreds of miles towards Saudi Arabia and Yemen - there was an old Bedouin man sitting under a water tank. He wore a long purple dishdasha robe and a beige headdress, and his skin had been burned the colour of dark leather by the sun (Mansfield *The Telegraph* 02.03.1997).

The word *Bedouin* was used in the above excerpts to familiarise the readers with the place and its natural components, such as the sands, deserts, dunes and the warmth of the sun. The authenticity of the place was enhanced by the writers linking the Bedouins' age with their traditional clothes. The consumer tones were also evident and the word *Bedouin* is an object to be seen and described. It is imported into the texts to enhance the attractiveness and uniqueness of the place for readers and potential tourists.

(3) Tribal representations

The analysis of the tribal representations is divided according to two headings: Early travellers' projections of the tribal society in Oman and the tribal representations in travelogues and travel brochures.

(a) Early travellers' projections of the tribal society in Oman

Distinguishing locals according to their tribal names was very popular among early travellers, particularly those who travelled in the interior regions and sand areas. Travellers wrote about tribes culture and customs which were unknown to many Europeans or different to what Europeans had encountered before some where else in the East (e.g. Egypt, India and Africa). Many travellers descriptions of the tribal society and Bedouins' life, particularly in the early 19th century, were part of the British assessment, mapping and interests to study and understand the inhabitants of the region, before they dominated it. It was also part of many travellers' personal interests to study the 'Others' and understand their culture and customs.

According to the region they travelled in Oman, Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919) were the most popular in describing the tribal relationship in northern regions of Oman. In contrast, Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) focused on recording the tribal relationship among the tribes and the dwellers of the Al Dhofar province, the Empty Quarter and other frontier regions.

By his account, 'The countries and the tribes of the Persian Gulf', Miles (1919) provides the library with one of the most comprehensive works on the tribes of the Persian Gulf. The description of the Omani tribes dominated his account. This might have occurred due to Miles long work as a British agent in Muscat and the number of journeys he conducted in the country. On the other hand, Thesiger (1959) was unique among European travellers for his passionate

records of the customs of Bedouin tribes in the Empty Quarter and other sand regions in South Arabia, particularly the Bedouin tribes.

The tribal terms 'Ghafiri' and 'Hinawi' were very often used by travellers in early days to describe locals. They were mostly used in assessing the tribes' loyalties and travellers investigations and studies of the social construction in Oman.

> El Jow, in which el-Bereymí lies, is the smallest of the six provinces of Omán, and situate between el-Dháhireh and the Shemál. It is bounded on the south by Jebel Hafit, on the east by Khatmet el-Shikla and el-Mahdheh, on the north by el-Shemál, and to the west by the desert. El Jow, is inhabited by several tribes, both Ghárfrí and Hinawí; the former having been in the ascendant since the accession of Seyyid Turkí. (Miles, 1877, cited in Ward, 1987: 427).

> Here the groupings form round ancient hereditary factions of Hinawi and Ghafari already referred to - 'Awamir, Harasis and Afar belonging to the former, Daru'[1] and Albu shamis to the Ghafari, but their strife has no echo in the sands. (Thomas, 1932: 273).

The nationalist language was absent in the above two extracts, and both travellers emphasised the tribal tone as a method of assigning the inhabitants and distinguishing between them. Miles (1877) and Thomas (1932) focused on the tribes history, relationships, loyalties, powers and land dominations.

In addition to the 'Hinawi' and 'Ghafari' tribal sections, travellers frequently used the tribes' name to refer to their companions or the inhabitants of the place they visitedd or described. Tribes such as *Al Bu Said*, *Bani Riyam*, *Bani Bu Ali*, *Beni Kattab*, *Al Qawasim*, *Beni Kab*, *Beni Yas*, *Naim el-Daramikey*, *Dhowahir*, *Al Hajreeyin*, *Al Harth*, *Al Awamir*, *Al Yarebeh* and *Al Jenebeh* were frequently were featured in Wellsted's (1838) and Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919) accounts. In contrast, tribes such as *Al Qara*, *Al Rashid*, *Al Mahrah*, *Al Wahiba*, *Duru*, *Al Harasis*, *Al Jenebeh*, *Al Manasir*, *Murra*, *the Rashid*, *Bait*

Kathir, *Albu shamis* and *Manahil* featured by Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) more than others.

In writings of the tribal relationship travellers always referred to the security and non-stability issues which dominated many parts of Oman at the end of the 19th century and early 20th centrury. Miles (1877), for instance, described the tribal customs in travelling in the land:

> It is customary in Oman, when moving from one part to another, to take a man or two as Khafir, or protector, from each of the more important tribes through whose country one has to pass. This applies not only to strangers, but also to any Arab passing through the territory of another tribe with whom his own are not in "saff" or league, when it is of course unnecessary (cited in Ward, 1987: 413).

> Jethoo says no danger in travelling about the country provided you have khafeers Ghafiri and Hinawi with you; these protectors are necessary to ensure safety. If the Bedouins find you alone, even in the temporary absence of these men, they will certainly plunder you. (Miles, 1877, cited in Ward, 1997:169).

The above extracts stressed the instability and danger issues which dominated the life of Oman at the time of traveller journeys. The tribes customs and obligations were also emphasised.

(b) Tribal representations in travelogues and brochures

Although there was a high occurrence of tribal designation in the early travel accounts, distinguishing people according to their tribal names rarely featured in the travelogues and in travel brochures. Tribal names were used in travelogues and brochures to enhance the exotic and authentic attractions of the place. Moreover, travelogue writers were observers recording the changes that occurred in society from early travellers' and explorers' journeys in Oman.

In travelogues, writers' projections of the tribes in Oman were limited to their brief mention of the royal family. In addition, with travel brochures, they also described other tribes which inhabited certain regions and the place names connected with the tribe names such as *Wahiba*, *Al Qara* and *Al Harasis*[53].

These three terms were always used to refer to the place rather than the people.

> We crossed the dramatic and almost deserted Eastern Hajar Mountains and arrived at the spectacular *Wahibah Sands*. (Calidecot *The Independent* 18.01.1997).

> The wadi has clear, deep blue water and is a perfect place for a swim. Next to the famous *Wahiba Sands* are the ever changing patterns of dunes, a photographer's delight. (*Arabian Odyssey*, 2001: 13).

> Najdi is the highest quality of frankincense. Shazri is the next in quality, collected in the Qara Mountains; and Sha'abi, found on the coastal plain, is the lowest grade (*Gall and Hitchcock* Traveller Autumn, 1997).

The term *Wahiba* was one of the strongest tribal names featured by travelogues and travel brochures. The terms *Wahiba* and *Al Qara* were used to refer to the land rather than the people in the above extracts. In referring to the people, tribe names particularly in travel brochures were always imported into the text to add more exoticim and to enhance the place's attractions.

> Baking, sublime, yet accessible, the Waheeba sands are on almost every visitor's itinerary. The Bedouin who live there they know this, so when we started to lurch up the shallow face of the first dune, a cheerful middle - aged lady wearing the vertically ridged black face mask of her clan flagged us down, a bunch of crocheted wool bobbles in her hands. My guide wound down the window. It was perfectly obvious what she wanted, but just because an encounter is commercial, that doesn't mean you can dispense with politeness. They batted the dialogue that follows back and forth between them

53 Wahiba is a name of the region and a tribe that mostly inhabited the eastern region of Oman. Al Qara refers to the Al Qara Mountains and the tribe which inhabited the chain. Al Harasis are the dwellers of many parts in the Al Wusta region and also refer to the area of 'Jaddat Al Harasis'

> at high speed, like two expert ping pong players. SHE: Peace be with you. HE: And with you also to be peace? SHE: You are well? HE: Yes, SHE: Your family, children, your brothers and sisters, your father and mother are well? HE: Yes SHE: Do you have news? HE: No news and you, you are well? SHE: Yes He; Your family, children, animals, parents are all well? SHE: Yes, HE: Do you have news? SHE: No news. Would you be interested in buying one of these? He: I do not think so SHE: Well we are sorry to disturb you HE: No we are sorry not to buy; SHE; Farewell. (Spufford *Condé Nast Traveller*, 2001).

> When Thesiger travelled this way 50 years ago, he noted that among the Waheeba, a Bedou tribe there was no contrast between rich and poor. Every one lived simply in a black goat's hair tent, dressed in the same way and ate the same food. The democracy of the desert which appealed to Thesiger has changed, but not entirely (Gall *The Times* 10.08.1996).

The above extracts focus on the simplicity, the authenticity and the traditional life of the Bedouins. They also focus in presenting the changes which occurred in the desert and to Bedouin life. By importing Thesiger's name and his observations, writers meant to present their contribution in recording the development and the change that occurred in the culture and life since the early travellers' visits.

Bedouin exchange of the news (e.g. peace and security) in above text was part of their customs in introducing and familiarising the guests with each other and exchanging the information of events (particularly the rain in the desert). Writers' depictions of the the women offering some traditional Bedouin products were part of the commodification language and the social and economical impacts of tourism in Bedouin life.

Using the tribal terms of *Al Qara* and *Bait Kathir* to refer to the people who inhabited the place was used only once in each travel brochure: ["the area is inhabited by the *Qara people*" (*Explore Worldwide*, 2001 - supplement:1); "The

very best frankincense comes from trees in the Najd, or steppe area to the north of the hills of Dhofar, the home of *Bait Kathir tribe*" (*Gall and Hitchcock* Traveller Autumn, 1997)]. Bait Kathir used only to refer to people rather than the land, Wahiba and Al Qara were the only two tribal terms used to refer to the land and people. In contrast, *Al Harasis* was used to refer to the place rather than the tribe: ["After a glimpse of local wildlife, mainly gazelle and Oryx, in the Jeddat Al Harasis region" (*Arabian Odyssey*, 2001:13)].

Section 2. 'Ethnic' groups and travellers' tales in Oman

Oommen (2001) notes that most states in the world today are "multinational, polytechnic, or a combination of the two" (p.14). Therefore, people can be classified as three groups: national citizen, ethnic citizen and non-citizen (ibid.).

Writers of early travel accounts like Wellsted (1838), Geary (1878) and Miles (1877) spoke of the ethnic groups who inhabited Oman in previous centuries. They also spoke of national citizens and classified them as Arabs, Bedouins, Omanis and by their tribal names. Travelogues classified people who were grouped under ethnic groups as 'ethnic citizen' or as 'ethnic. In the brochures, the terms did not appear at all.

So, the comparative analyses of ethnic representations are confined to early travel accounts and travelogues. Four classifications can be identified: (1) the 'ethnic' groups living in Oman; (2) the role of the economy and its economical boom in attracting people to Oman in the 19th century; (3) products that serve the cultural needs of these minorities (e.g. temples, churches, cemeteries); and (4) the relationships between Omanis and ethnic groups.

Comparison of the ethnic description in early accounts and travelogues

Ethnicity was projected more frequently in the early travel accounts than in the travelogues.

Of the ethnic groups that inhabited Oman in the 19th and the early 20th centuries the early travel accounts provided details of many, such as the Syrians, Banians, 'Beluches',[54] Persians, Afghans and Europeans. The early travel accounts also spoke of economic activities and of encounters with Omanis. Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877) divided these minorities according to their cultural minorities, such as Banians, Jews, etc., as shown in the following excerpts:

> The greater portion of the inhabitants of Maskat are of a mixed race, the descendants of Arabs, Persians, Indians, Syrians, by the way of Baghdad and Basarah, Kurds, Afghans, Beluches, & C., who, attracted by the mildness of the government, have settled here either for the purposes of commerce, or to avoid the despotism of the surrounding governments. This we discover has been the case from a very early period; two centuries before the birth of Mohammed, a powerful tribe, then residing on the shores of the Persian Gulf, sought refuge here against the oppression of the Persians, and, as late as 1828, a party of Jews, unable any longer to endure the exactions and tyranny of Daud Pacha, were received by the Imám with much kindness (Wellsted, 1838: 14-15).

In their writings of the non-Omani citizen who inhabited the country, most travelogue writers used *expatriate* rather than *minorities* or *ethnic groups* or referred to them by their destination names such as Europeans, Indians and Arabs.

54 It is noted that there is a difference in opinion as to whether the 'Beluches' are Arabs or an ethnic group. Most writers of the early travel accounts referred to the 'Beluches' as an ethnic minority group inhabited Oman (e.g. Wellsted, 1838: 14-5). In contrast, some contemporary writers, like Dushty (1996) claim that the tribe has Arabic roots. Although some members of the tribes are not Omani citizens, the 'Beluches' are classified in this study as locals and national citizens.

Non-Islamic religions were not described at all in the travelogues and none of them refer to the Banians' temples or churches in Oman.

Some travelogue writers referred to both Asian and European people in Oman as minority groups. Many writers emphasised British expatriates' contribution to the local development:

> We started off in Muscat. What was once a sleepy walled town around a rocky bay has become a slick modern city, home to the many British ex-pats who have helped the Sultan to run the country in the past three decades (Edge *Daily Express* 03.03.2001).

The above extract emphasises the development and changes that had occurred in Muscat. The designation of *British ex-pats* stresses the British contribution to this development. It also reduces the strangeness of the place and is intended to strike a chord of connection with the English audience of the East (particularly Oman).

Of the Asians, a number of travelogues speak of Indian expatriates working in Oman. For example, "Indian workers were dressing the flagpoles down the central reservation, hanging photos of Sultan Qaboos in readiness for his birthday celebration" (Morgan *Daily Mail* 18.03.2000).

Banians are not mentioned in the travelogues and other Asians traders are described only briefly in some travelogues, as shown in the following extracts:

> Muscat is a place of importance, and possesses a considerable trade. The city population estimated at 40,000 is perhaps as mixed as that of any of the ports in these seas. Besides the Arabs, there are numbers of Banians from Western India, of Beloochees from Makran, of Abyssinians, Somalies, Nubians, and Persians (Geary, 1878, cited in Ward, 1987: 37).

> Mutrah Souk is a labyrinth of covered ways where Indian traders pop out of shop doors to tempt you with frankincense, myrrh and sandalwood, antique Khanjhars [sic], carpets and silks (Moragan *Daily Mail* 18.03.2000).

These early travel accounts emphasise the importance of Muscat as a trade centre in the 19th century. Consumer language dominates the second extract. Mythical and authentic products such as *frankincense*, *myrrh*, *sandalwood* and *Khanjars* are mentioned as part of a shopping travel. The word *Souk*, an authentic and oriental word, is used instead of *market*.

The economic wealth and commercial activities, described in the two extracts, are associated with the inhabitants' liberalism towards others, and as an attraction for ethnic minorities to migrate to Oman. These tolerant attitudes were praised in the early travel accounts and mentioned by the travelogue writers within quite different contexts.

The cultural tolerance of the locals towards others was evident in the following, which describs the Banians minority in Muscat:

> There are more Banians here than in any other City of Arabia ..... They possess a small temple, are permitted to keep and protect a certain number of cows, to burn the dead, and to follow, in all other respects, the uninterrupted enjoyment of their respective religious tenets, without any of that arbitrary distinction of dress, which they are compelled to adopt in the cities of Yemen. (Wellsted, 1838: 18-19).

In addition to the Banians, Wellsted (1838) wrote of the Jews who were driven from Baghdad in 1828 and on their passage towards India, stayed in Muscat. In Muscat, as well as in Sohar where they moved to later, the Bani Israel enjoyed the unique tolerance and positive attitudes of the locals towards them. This toleration was commented on by Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1919), among others, as in the following excerpts:

> No badge or mark, as in Egypt or Syria, being insisted on: they are not, as in the town of Yemen, compelled to occupy a distant and separate part of the town, nor is the observance, so strictly adhered

> to in Persia, of compelling them to pass to the left of Mussulmans when meeting in the streets, here insisted on. Their avocations in Maskat are various, many being employed in the fabrication of silver ornaments, others in shroffing [sec] money, and some few retail intoxicating liquors (Wellsted, 1838:21-22).
>
> In Sohar proper, which lies between Ras Sallan and the village of Soweyhereh, the population is now only about 4000, including 400 Persians, a dozen Jews, who have been gradually decreasing in numbers year by year, and half-a-dozen [Banians]; the bulk of the inhabitants here as also along the coast from Sohar to Majis being of Persian and Beluch descent (Miles, 1877 cited in Ward, 1987: 422).

The positive tones of the local encounters with ethnic groups who inhabited Oman in the 19th century were emphasised in the above two extracts. They also distinguished the local people from the rest of Oriental people.

Multicultural representations and describing Omanis as tolerant with other minorities in the country continued in the travelogues, but religious representations are mainly absent. For example, none of the travelogues spoke of the Christian or Banians religious ceremonies in Oman:

> Islam in Oman is calm and tolerant. Omanis are naturally pleasant people who value their own privacy and respect that of others (Gellhorn *The Independent* 22.06.1997).
>
> For western travellers, there is also the reassurance of a human, stable regime with a low crime rate and not a whiff of Islamic fundamentalism anywhere.
> In Oman you can laze under palm trees on white beaches by day, and partly to your heart's content at night. I slipped out into the warm velvety dusk for a stroll round Muscat's half moon shaped harbour, watching the lights of the town come up one by one (Miles *Daily Mail* 10.01.1998).

In European imagination, the East is regarded as fanatically hostile to other religions. However, for centuries, this supposed hostility had not existed in Oman and the early travel accounts as well as travelogues describe the locals as tolerant, friendly and hospitable to visitors. This multicultural life and tolerant attitude

towards others are not confined only to a specific region, or to a specific race, but present in many areas of Oman. Many minority groups live in the suburbs of Muscat and from Dhofar in the southern regions to Musandam in the northern parts.

In describing the activities of the Omani sailors and traders, the Arabs of Muscat are considered as "the most civilised of their countrymen", and according to Buckingham (1829), "there is no people in all the Orient whose integrity, temperance and social behaviour have been so generally praised. Disloyalty in business is unheard of, and there is no trading after sundown" (cited in Billecocq, 1994:162).

Section 3. [Slavery] as a represented theme

Slave and slavery often appeared in the early travel accounts. It is a way used by the early travel writers to distinguish among the people of Oman.

In the early travel accounts, the use of [*slave*] was confined mostly within three major themes. First, it is used in describing the international efforts, particularly those of the British and the Omanis, to stop the trade. Second, it is used to describe the social system in Oman and the existence of servitude. Third, it is used to contrast the relationships between [slaves] in Arabia with other nations, for example, in Europe.

In describing the international efforts to stop the [slave] trade, some writers of the early travel accounts (e.g. Wellsted 1838; Geary 1878) praised the Omani contributions and their efforts to halt the trade. They provided many cases about the rights of [slaves] in Oman. For example, they noted that the position of

[slaves] was much higher than in many other countries they had been to. In the following example, Wellsted (1838) describes the Omani reaction to the international community efforts:

> The Imams formerly engaged in this traffic, and realized thereby an annual revenue of sixty thousand dollars, or about thirteen thousand pounds; but Sayyid Said, in order to gratify our Government, who were then earnest in their endeavours to suppress the trade, with unprecedented liberality gratuitously abandoned the whole. For this he has received no equivalent. Is this generous? Is it just? To Spain, a Christian Government, we gave two hundred thousand pounds for a similar abandonment, and remitted some millions of their debt; yet, to a Mohammedan prince, professing a faith which openly sanctions, if it does not actually enjoin, slavery, we have given – our acknowledgements! – At least, I hope we have, though I have never heard of any. *Proh pudor!* Let not England, who has hitherto stood forward in a cause, which may be said to have elevated beyond all others the age in which we live, and to have stamped it with a die inscriptive of the purest practical essence of Christianity, be outrivaled in generosity by the ruler of a remote part of Arabia (Wellsted 1838: 387-8).

[Slavery] was once treated by all civilisations as an economic fact of life (Meltzer, 1993a: 6, cited in Dann and Seaton, 2001) and the institution of slavery might "hark back at least 10,000 years" (ibid.2). In ancient days, many civilisations like the Babylonian, Arabian, Sumerian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman and probably Persian, Indian and others were involved in slavery (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Perbi, 2001). Christianity had not changed the issue. From the times of the Crusades to the ascendancy of modern European powers, the involvement of the Christian world in [slave] trading was well documented. Many nations, including Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, the USA, and the Netherlands, allowed slave trading (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Al Qasimi, 1988).

In describing [slavery] as an institution in Oman, the writers of the early travel accounts referred to [slaves] part of their description of local structures of

society. A [slave] would serve either them or the locals. For example, "One of the [slaves] kept pounding coffee" (Wellsted, 1838:63), or farming the land "beneath the coconut groves wells, mostly served by [slaves]..." (Thomas, 1932). [Slaves] were projected as the locals and their entertainers. "Their only music consisted of a small drum, beaten by a [slave]" (Wellsted, 1838:70).

The representations of slavery in the early travel accounts were mainly descriptive and they framed as part of the general descriptions of the daily life in Oman. By comparing the positions of the Omani [slaves] and the treatment they received under Islamic principles, with what existed in other parts of the world, the early travel accounts provided many examples that denotatively commended Omani civility and tolerance:

> It is some alleviation to learn, at the same time that we are made aware of the great extent of the slave-trade in these countries, that they are treated with considerable kindness. In Arabia, indeed, there is but little difference between servitude and slavery; for that can scarcely be deemed compulsatory [sic] where, if displeased with his master, the [slave] can go to the Kadi and demand a public sale. This, however, very rarely occurs: the master's authority extends to selling, exchanging, and punishing them; but he cannot, even for crimes which the law deems worthy of death, inflict that punishment without a public trial. If a master furnishes a slave with a wife, and she bears sons and daughters, the wife and children are sold with the father. Upon the death of the master the slaves are usually set free. The Mohammedan law forbids the making slaves of Mussulmans; but a slave brought up in that faith, who has been once manumitted, can again voluntarily engage himself to another master. Arabs of condition have two or more slaves to assist them in their household establishment, besides others who are placed in situations of trust. In either instance they receive a degree of consideration and kindness, which is not always extended to servants in Europe (Wellsted, 1838:389-90).

By the end of the 19th century, the language of slavery in the early travel accounts altered and the [slave trade] was not mentioned by Thomas (1932), Thesiger (1959) and Morris (1957). When they wrote about slavery, they focused

mainly on the social positions of the [slaves], [slave] customs and their interactions with [slaves] as members of that society or as their travel companions. They often denigrated the positions of the [slaves] because of their superior attitudes towards the Omani society as a whole. It is also worth noting that a [slave] in Oman and some other parts of Arabia can rise to a position of authority. Many such examples have been offered. The case of the Wali (Governor) Sulaiman of Dhofar, a slave, was perhaps the example most popular in the early travel accounts:

> Now Turki had a slave, one Sulaiman bin Suwailim, a man in whom he reposed complete trust... Sulaiman enjoyed an immense prestige among the tribes of Oman for his personal qualities. He was fearless, unscrupulous and strong. If the lawless reputation of the Dhufaris was deserved, no lesser man could be expected to establish Muscat influence, with the little backing Muscat could give. Sulaiman, therefore, it was that the Sultan sent to Dhufar as his first *Wali* (Viceroy) (Thomas 1932:11).

Many early travel accounts focused on the relationship between masters and [slaves] and how different this relationship was from what they had seen in other parts of the world. For example, Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) noted that the trust between the [slaves] and their masters in Arabia could result in a [slave] having the authority of a counsellor or the responsibility of a commander of an army or the captain of a ship:

> While I was talking to Amair, one of the Wali's slaves came up and told me rudely that I was forbidden to speak to strangers. I answered that Amair was not a stranger and instructed him to mind his own business. He went off muttering. Slaves belonging to men of importance are often overbearing and ill-mannered, trading on their master's position. Arabs have little if any sense of colour Bar; socially they treat a slave, however black, as one of themselves. In the Hajaz I was sitting in the audience chamber of an Amsir who was a relation of Ibn Saud's, when an expensively dressed old Negro belonging to the king came into the room. After rising to greet him, the Amir seated their slave beside him, and during dinner

> served him with his own hands. Arab rulers raise slaves to positions of great power, often trusting them more than they do their own relations (Thesiger, 1959:63-64).

The lexical items [*slave*, *slavery* and *slave trade*] are used for descriptive purposed in travelogues. By importing [slave] to the texts, travelogues intended to present evidence of the local life and the social system to support their claims of the history of the Omani slave trade.

[Slave] appears in three travelogues. One describes a local woman of [slave] origin, while the other two highlight the involvement of the Omanis, the Portuguese and the British in the slave trade in the Indian Ocean and Arabia.

> In the frankincense souk, coal black women - the descendants of Zanzibar slaves, since Zanzibar once belonged to Oman - sat in their stalls, dressed in brilliant loose robes and headscarves (Gellhorn 22.06.1997).

> In later centuries, its strategic position on the maritime trading routes to India attracted the European colonial powers. The Portuguese held the country until 1650, when they were expelled by Imam Sultan Bin Saif. Oman is thus the oldest independent state in Arab world. The Omanis empire expanded in the 18th and 19th centuries, at one point extending over vast tracts of the East African coast, including Mombassa and Zanzibar. The empire declined as the split between Muscat and the rest of Oman spread and the slave trade disappeared (Jones *High life* May 1998).

> By the end of 17 century, while the Portuguese, Dutch and British expanded their empires elsewhere and fought each other, Oman's power and wealth recovered. In early 1800s its own empire incorporated the Somali coast of Africa, Zanzibar and parts of Persia and Baluchistan. Dhows full of slaves, spices and frankincense generated great riches (Caldicott *The Independent* 18.01.1997).

Caldicott (1997) denigrates the Omani success in building and recovering their power from the 17th century to the 19th century by stating that the wars between European powers were the main reason behind the Omani success in rebuilding their power. Furthermore, he attributes Omani economic wealth to the

slave trade. By telling the readers that Omani ships were full of slaves, he describes a condition that was morally unacceptable, particularly in modern times. To offer evidence of the importance of the [slave trade] as a source of income, Caldicott (1997) states that slavery was abolished in Oman in 1856, when "jealous rivalry between the Sultan's two sons split the Sultanate. One son took all the African possessions, and the other stayed with Arabia. Then slavery was abolished... Oman went into decline" (ibid.).

His lack of knowledge of the history of the region is evident in the above extract. In writing about Omani involvement in slavery, he lives mainly in the past. He ignores the involvement of other nations' involvement, particularly European nations, rather than informing his readers of the historical developments that have occurred in Oman and the region regarding this humanitarian issue.

Three points may be made in relation to Caldicott's (1997) confusion on this issue. First, Oman was an empire and dominated African ports before modern European powers came to the region. When the Portuguese made their first voyage of exploration in the Indian Ocean in the 15th century, it was an Omani sailor who guided them from Africa to India and Arabia. Later on, in their campaign to control the regions from East Africa to India and Arabia, they encountered the Omanis in all these regions between the Indian Ocean and the Arabian coasts, and the Omanis either fought the Portuguese or submitted to their power.

The importance of the [slave trade] to the Omani economy in the 18th century was the other point the writer had confused. Caldicott (1997) does not refer to the involvement in the slave trade by other powers such as Portugal,

France and Britain, and confines [slave trading] to the Omani power. Another of his confusions is about frankincense, which was one of the main, and famous, export commodities in ancient days to Roman and Greek empires, but which did not contribute much to the Omani economy until the 18th century.

Part 5. The difference between Said's (1978) approach and this study

This part of the present study seeks to address the following question: to what extent do the findings of the analysis of the early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures support Said's (1978) argument[55] about the Western representation of the East?

Before discussing the relevance of the findings of this study, it is worth emphasising that this study is seen as an evolutionary one that was partly stimulated by Said's work rather being conceived as hostile criticism.

How close were the three travel data to Said's Orientalism

The analysis of the early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures revealed that the extent of their closeness and distance from Said's (1978) argument varied. It was much closer with the early travel accounts, further away with the travelogues, while the language used in the travel brochures certainly did not denigrate Oman or support Said's (1978) argument.

Early travel accounts

With the exception of Bent and Bent's (1900) works, the representations of Oman were generally positive. The findings in Thesiger's (1959) and Wellsted's (1838) accounts were the two that least conformed to Said's (1978) claim to the stereotypical representations of the Orient. Most of their representations of Oman and its people were positive and they expressed pleasure in their encounters with the locals. In presenting the relationship between Oman and Britain Wellsted (1838) described it as an alliance between two independent imperial powers[56] rather than as a relationship between a colonising power and the colonised. This is different from Said's (1978) conclusion from European literature on Egypt and Palestine.

Thesiger (1959) also produced uniquely positive travel accounts of the Bedouins of Arabia. His love and fondness for the Bedouins of Oman were strongly emphasised in his account, and almost amounted to idealisation.

The works of Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, and 1919), Thomas (1932) and Morris (1957) were a mix of positive and negative representations. Although they spoke of raids, pirates, killing, blood feuds, civil war and hostility in the country, they also wrote about their experiences of the locals' hospitality, kindness, tolerance and friendly manners. They spoke positively of the locals in pursuing their life, and praised their cultures and customs in eating, sitting and greeting others (Chapter 6, Part 2).

In contrast, Bent and Bent's (1900) was the closest to Said's (1978) argument. Orientalist phrases such as *savage*, *barbarian*, *uncontrollable* and

55 Reading Said's (1978) work of Orientalism revealed that Western representations about the Orient, particularly Egypt and Palestine, were negative.

uncivilised were used in relation to the inhabitants of Oman. Bent and Bent's (1900) negative representations of the Bedouins of Oman were constructed from other people's accounts rather than from first hand experience. Thus, their representations differed from those of writers who had lived with the Bedouin and experienced their life and culture.

Many writers of the early travel accounts had mistaken preconceptions and biases against the land and its inhabitants. However, when the writers identified those wrong preconceptions and biases, they corrected them or tried to correct them. Thesiger (1959) was a good example. Instances of his correcting his wrong preconceptions and biases were illustrated and analysed in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, Bent and Bent (1900), who wrote, "*the Gulf had been a closed Mohammedan lake*" (p. 9), presented biases about the land and its people. In the previous quotation, they used *Mohammedan* and *Mohammedanism*, Orientalist words, when they referred to Omanis or Muslims and Islam, unaware of the fact that *Mohammedan* and *Mohammedanism* do not exist in local and Muslim cultures. Said (1978) has previously commented on the, "*the polemic name "Mohammedanism" given to Islam and the automatic epithet "imposter" applied to Mohammed*" (p.60).

56 Great Britain with its colonies in India and other parts in the east, and Oman with its domination of some parts in East Africa, the Gulf and Pakistan.

Travelogues and travel brochures

The language of the travelogues and the travel brochures differs from that of the early travel accounts, and even more from Said's (1978) thesis on Orientalism.

Some of the representations of Oman in the travelogues were consistent with Said's (1978) argument and others were not consistent with his claim about the use of derogatory language. The language of imperialism is absent from 32 travelogues and the lexical denigration is very limited in comparison with its occurrence in the early travel accounts. However, some nostalgic element persists alongside some Eurocentric descriptions. Names of European travellers are used to contexualise the land for readers. In addition, Omani services, beauties and infrastructure are often measured and judged according to European standards.

The travel brochures seem many miles away from Said's (1978) Orientalist structures. The language of familiarity and 'Eurocentric' standards were the only issues consistent with Said's (1978) Orientalism. There were no imperialist tones in the travel brochures. However, it is not surprising that brochures description were favourable and positive and promotional material aimed at selling Oman as a tourism destination.

The locals were described in one of the travel brochures as being "noted for their hospitality, for their pride in their country's long history, for their Islamic culture" (*Arabian Odyssey*: 3) and for their tolerant attitudes. They were also described in travelogues as "hospitable" (Jenkins *Denbighshire*, 15.04.1999), and "very courteous, dignified and friendliest people" (Forsyth *Daily Mail*, 21.01.1996)".

Both media projected positive imageries of the developments in Oman and they praised Omani success in preserving their history, and their traditional way of life in the modern world.

The travelogues and the travel brochures also included Omani concerns with 'environment'. In describing the country's 'cleanness' one of the travelogues, for instance, said, "Muscat has to be the cleanest city on the earth and looks like a garden suburb" (Gelhorn *The Independent*, 22.06.97).

Part 6. Discussion on the semiotic findings about people

Based on the findings and the discussions in this chapter, the answer to research question number 4 is that the images of the Omani people in the three media are mostly positive and describe the Omanis as friendly, generous, tolerant, peaceful, kind and helpful.

One of the most notable continuity aspects across the three media is the British perception of Omanis. Positive representations of the locals as *generous*, *hospitable*, *friendly*, *tolerant* and *peaceful* were projected in the early travel accounts and continued in the travelogues. The commercial purposes of travel brochures notwithstanding a few tour operators assured the readers that the inhabitants of Oman were *friendly*, *hospitable* and that they would *not importune* visitors in their walks in the markets. Omanis are also presented as *independent*, *peaceful*, *safe*, *clean*, and *unspoilt*. That they maintain good relationships with the outside world is also frequently mentioned in early travel accounts and in the travelogues. Brochures also stressed the *quality* of accommodation, transport and services inside hotels. They spoke of the *luxury* of facilities and the *traditional* life. They also wrote of the tour guides and drivers' *skills* (e.g. *English speaking*) and their experiences of the area where tourists travel in (e.g. guided by a Bedouin guide).

Some writers of the early travel accounts, such as Bent and Bent (1900), Geary (1878), Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919), Thomas (1932) and Morris (1957) used some negative tones, but the *tolerant* attitudes of Omanis and their *friendly* and *hospital* manners towards others impressed most of them and these attitudes were strongly emphasised in most early travel accounts.

Thesiger (1959) and Wellsted (1838) provided more positive representations about the Omani people than other travellers used by this research. At the other end of the scale, Bent and Bent (1900) employed more derogatory tones in their projection of the ordinary and non-ordinary people than all other writers. Morris (1957) described the relationship between the ruler and his people more than any other writer of the early travel accounts.

In the travelogues, positive representations of the Omani people were dominant in the data. The language of the brochures is all positive and assures readers that Oman is a *friendly*, *hospitable*, *clean*, *unspoilt*, *safe* and *secure* destination, developed to meet their desires and needs.

The Bedouins and the inhabitants of Muscat were projected positively by most of the writers of the early travel accounts. Thesiger (1959) praised the Bedouins' *hospitality*, *welcome*, *friendly* and *tolerant* manners towards their guests more than others, while Wellsted (1838) praised the life of the inhabitants of Muscat and Jalaan Bani Bu Ali more than others.

The inhabitants of Ibri, particularly the tribes that followed Wahabi ideology and the Al Qara in the south region were the inhabitant groups that were most denigrated in early travel accounts. The former were described by Wellsted (1838), Miles (1896) and Morris (1957), while Bent and Bent (1900) and Thomas (1932) were the writers who most emphasised to adverse features in their accounts of Al Qara people (discussed in Chapter 6, Part 2, Section 1).

Wellsted's (1838) and Miles' (1896) projections were based on the male gender and the Wahabis group, who dominated Ibri at the time of their visits (discussed in Chapter 6, Part 2, Section 2). In contrast, Bent and Bent' (1900) and

Morris' (1957) adverse comments focused on the women of the town of Ibri and Al Qara Mountains (discussed in Chapter 6, Part 1, Section 2).

The findings also show that the imperialist tones in the early travel accounts became part of the history and nostalgia in the travelogues and were replaced by commercial and consumerist languages.

There is a marked increase in the use of consumer language in brochures compared to early travel accounts. Studying the host culture and customs were the aims of most writers of the early travel accounts. Consequently, the representation of the guest subcategory constituted quantitatively 8.1% of all people nouns. The travelogue writers were more concerned with their readers' interests and needs. They provided them with more independent and 'evaluative' (Dann, 1996) information about the destinations they visited. Travelogue writers also wrote of previous European history in the land and referred to early travellers who visited the place. Consequently, the guest representation occurred more frequently in travelogues (22.7%) than in early travel accounts.

Brochures promote tourist destinations and aim to sell holiday programmes. As their readers are potential tourists, the language is consumerist with expressions that speak to the guests of personal tastes and choices. The expressions such as 'the choice is yours'; 'enjoy'; 'discover'; 'see'; 'experience'; and 'explore' which entice the potential customer and tourist to buy the holiday programmes. Consequently, the guest subcategory constituted 36.4% of all **people** nouns in the brochures.

Classifying people according to race, religion, power and gender frequently occurred in the early travel accounts, briefly in the travelogue and not at all in the brochures.

The discourse of early travellers was strongly masculine, and feminine representations had low occurrences. Brochures avoided such gender marking terms. In contrast, as presented in **Chapter 5** feminine imageries had higher occurrences in travelogues (22.8% from the total of all masculine and feminine) in comparison with early accounts and travel brochures (12.3% and 2.4% from the total of all masculine and feminine). Nine of the travelogue writers were women and a few of them were accompanied by women guides during their journey (Table 2). Gender issues were not emphasised in the travel brochures and none of the tour operators spoke of the local guides' or hoteliers' gender.

Another trend in the three media is the projection of the Omani people. Since it was part of explorers' mission to study the people of Oman and their culture, assess their resources, the writers of the early travel accounts described people they met incessantly. In brochures, locals were rarely portrayed other than those the tourists might meet in touristic areas (e.g. markets, hotels). Travelogue writers, on the other hand, had more opportunities to encounter their Omani hosts. Most of them were invited by the government or tourism industry to publicise certain events and activities, where the opportunity to interact with locals was greater than for most tourists. Many travel journalists had dealings with market leaders in Oman to promote the publications for which they worked and obtain more advertising revenue to cover their expenses. Consequently, local people were featured in travelogues more frequently than in brochures. However, the

nature of the relationships was selective, since the press trips that provided the material for travelogues were often carefully orchestrated in terms of itinerary and social interactions.

Finally, the findings of the people representation in the three media stand on the opposite side of Said's (1978) argument of 'Orientalism' and his general conclusion of the negative tones of the Western writings about the East. The main reason for the difference in the findings of the two studies is that Said's (1978) study is based on Western writers who have not experienced the oriental life and whose works are based on other textual sources about Islam, the East, the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, while this study is based partly on the early travel accounts of writers who wrote about their own experience in Oman and who had travelled as natives in the country (e.g. Wellsted, 1838; Miles, 1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919; Thomas, 1932; Thesiger, 1959).

The three media descriptions of Omani history and culture were varied. The analysis of early travel accounts revealed that travellers' interests and focuses were also different in context. For example, Wellsted's (1838) projection of Oman focused on the country and the people as a whole. He spoke of Oman as the empire, the power and the people who dominated many places in the region and Indian Ocean. He wrote about Oman as an independent state and its interaction with outsiders. Wellsted rarely provided details about tribal history.

Miles (1877, 1896, 1901, 1910, 1919) on the other hand, rarely focused on the state history or interaction with outsiders. Most of his writings focused on the details of each region, centre, tribe, group history and encounter with insiders. He investigated the tribal relationship, locals powers and resources.

Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1932) focused on the cultural issues and inhabitants' customs of raids and their way of life, rather than their history. Later on, Morris (1957) focused on political and military issues. He travelled to Oman to report on the British and Sultan Said bin Taimur campaign against the Imamah in Nizwa and the Green Mountain. Morris' (1957) account, *Sultan in Oman*, is probably the best known account recording British involvement in Oman in the early 20th century, and Sultan Said bin Taimur's encounter with his people.

In contrast, travelogues and brochures focused on history and cultural attractions to be seen, watched and experienced. Travelogue writers also recorded the changes that occurred in local culture, customs and developments that occurred in Oman. They compared their observation and what they had seen with early travellers' records (e.g. changes occurred in the sands, wildlife, Bedouin life).

Chapter Seven

Analysing Landscapes Qualitatively and Semiotically

Introduction

In Chapter 6 it was shown how the construction of *others* as wild, primitive and savage allowed British travel writers in the 19th and the early 20th centuries to assume their superiority over the inhabitants of Oman.

This chapter deals with the three media description of the landscapes in Oman and is divided into six parts: overview of the landscape description in the three media, theoretical framework of landscape; natural and built environments in early travel accounts, natural and built attractions in travelogues, natural and built attractions in travel brochures and conclusions about the semiotic findings of the landscape.

The second objective of this thesis aimed to discover whether there is a semiotic connection between the early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures in transmitting received imageries for the contemporary visitor. This objective raised three questions. Out of the three this chapter also answer the first two questions.

Part One provides a general view about the nature of the land and its geographical regions. It also highlights the factors that influenced the travellers' writings about Oman.

Part Two provides a theoretical frame work and the use of landscape within tourism studies. Part Three contains two elements: ancient cities, and the Post-Islamic centres. Three ancient sites of *Ubar*, *Sumahram*, and *Baat* invoke the

European travellers' interests and imagination in Arabia. The lost city of *Ubar* is one of the ancient cities that many travellers in the Arabian Peninsula explored as part of their quest to record the heritage that existed before the Islamic era. The second element of the built environment deals with the early travel accounts projections of the Islamic cities and the heritage and centres of the Omani Empire such as Muscat, Sohar, Sur, Dhofar and Nizwa.

Part Four analyses the data according to natural and built attractions. There is particular focus on journalists descriptions of sands and their projection of the changes that occurred to the sand regions and their Bedouin inhabitants. Of the built attraction, an overview of the travelogue writers projection was provided. In their projection of built attractions in Oman writers also used different methods to familiarise to their European readers. Four familiarisation methods were analysed in part four.

Part Five focused on the analysis of landscape representations in travel brochures. Travel brochures were categories on their own, which was different than early travel accounts and had some similarities with travelogues. They were looking to sell and promote their services and the holiday programmes they offered, consequently services and infrastructure; scenic and natural attractions; brochures projection of the cultural and heritage attractions, and brochures techniques in familiarising Oman to their readers.were the main themes.

Finally Part Six, provides a summary of the semiotic finding about landscape.

Part 1. Overview of the landscape descriptions in the three media

In their projections of Omani cities, travellers' writings were influenced by their imagining of Oriental cities and their previous journeys in the East. They compared Omani cities with Oriental or European cities they had been to. In their projections of some Omani cities like Muscat and Nizwa, and ports like Mutrah and Sohar, travellers such as Morris (1959) and Stiffe (1897) seemed to represent the places through the mythic titles of *A thousand and one nights* or *The legendary tales of Sindbad*[57].

The travellers' descriptions of the landscapes in Oman varied from one period to another and from one occasion to another. Oman has a dramatic contrasting landscape with environmental seasons that differ from one region to another. For centuries it has offered surprises to any visitor who has never been to a desert region.

The northernmost part of the country is the Musandam Peninsula that extends into the Strait of Hormuz (See Map2). Northern Oman is surrounded by the rugged Hajar Mountains, a veritable paradise for geologists, scientists and explorers. The middle part of the country, known as the R'ub al Khali or the Empty Quarter, is part of the large central Arabian Desert. It covers a quarter of the Arabian Peninsula and is, for the most part, a barren wasteland (Doughty, 1888). In this region between the Hajar Mountains of the north and southern Oman, flat gravel plain extends for some 800 kilometres. In the south of Oman, the region of Dhofar stands between two worlds (Thesiger 1959). To the south

57 Many examples are analysed in section 2 of this chapter 'the land of Sultans and fairy tales' reflected travellers influences by the legendary tales.

are "green meadows where cattle graze, thickets and spreading trees, whereas a stone's throw to the north is empty desert – sand, rocks, and a few wisps of withered grass" (Thesiger 1959: 34). From the dry plain of the landscape of Nejd, an escarpment rises up to form the plateau surrounding Salalah on the coast. This limestone massif gives way to a fertile plain with sandy beaches. From June to August, the southwest monsoon of the Indian Ocean transforms this region into a tropical paradise.

Travellers such as Wellsted, Miles, Thomas and Thesiger spent months and years in the land, and experienced different weather seasons and landscapes. They lived in the 'naked' sands and deserts with their dry life; they visited towns and villages and experienced the humidity and heat; they travelled in the mountains and experienced adventures and nature. During these journeys, travellers experienced both the hospitality of the locals, and the raids and hostile activities in the deserts.

Data from the early travel writing covers a period of over a hundred years (1838-1959). During this time, many events and changes occurred in the country and the region that influenced the travellers' thinking.

Politically, in the 19th and the early 20th centuries, Oman was experiencing imperial expansion, which extended to many parts of Africa, Persia and Arabia and resulted in increasing interaction between Oman and other nations. The country also experienced a civil war, decline, the domination by the Portuguese and the British, and Omani resistance to this control. Consequently, these political changes resulted in many economic and social changes in Omani life. For instance, Omani ports and cities during the reign of Sayyid Said (1804-1856) were

inhabited by many nationalities who traded with many countries. The government was principally marked by its tolerant attitudes to outsiders and the absence of arbitrary punishments. This governmental benevolence and tolerance were noted by many merchants (e.g. Banians) who came to reside at Mascat (Wellsted 1838). Tolerance was extended to all persuasions and resulted in the writers' positive representations of Oman. However, this policy of tolerance changed and the economic boom ended after the empire declined and became divided. A civil war broke out and the local tribes focused on fighting for their interests instead of trading and farming.

Part 2. Theoretical framework

The significance of landscape, especially concerning cross-cultural research within travel writing, has been increasingly stressed in inter-disciplinary fields, including cultural geography, history and anthropology (Cosgrove and Daniels 1989). Landscapes, as a scheme of representation, are increasingly seen as a set of texts to be deconstructed (Bell and Lyall 1995). Landscape is understood "not primarily as natural terrain but as a social framing of nature which aesthetic, commercial and ideological discourses and practice crowd into the picture" (Bell and Lyall 1995: 44). Landscape "is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings" (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988: 1). According to Tachibana (2000), cultural image involves various metaphors. Landscape is a "way of seeing" the human environment, (Berger 1972; Urry 1990) that may be *read* as a meaningful text situated in a complex social,

historical and cultural context. According to Pugh (1990), landscape may also be a spectacular stage for the performance of culture.

Landscapes and scenery act as vehicles of connotation of national representations and imageries that draw on romantic themes of otherness and wilderness of the Omani deserts, sands, valleys, mountains and the whole countryside. Civilisation and world powers have developed old and sophisticated ideas about landscape. Mitchell (1984) states that it is "something like the 'dreamwork' of imperialism, unfolding its own movement in time and space from a central point of origin and folding back on itself to disclose both utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance" (p. 10). For Mitchell (1984), landscapes are not merely a cultural product; they are also part of the cultural process of framing the identity of a place. He argues that landscape "doesn't merely signify or symbolize power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents itself as) independent of human intentions" (Mitchell 1994: 2).

Therefore, desertscapes with their golden sands and exotic oases, the mountainscapes of the Al Hajar and Qara mountains, and the coastal trade centres (Qalhat, Sumahram, Sohar, Sur and Muscat) with their strategic locations in the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean with the long settlements that were built on these coasts, are not empty places. Rather, they are parts of a social topography that create and enact cultural assumptions and power struggles of the age. Treating them as historically evolving representations of Omani social relations, as symbolic projections of those social relations, and finally, considering

them as actors on an Arabian and Oriental stage makes it possible to evaluate the ways that landscape embodies social conflicts over time. Landscape is highlighted as a social player, a protagonist and a dynamic form of cultural practice (Comer 1999). Fairweather et al. (2002) state that tourism, as a phenomenon, is "intimately grounded within the experience of landscape" (p. 283). This is evident in the case of British brochure projections of Oman. Thus, although people and their culture are some of the main unique attractions in Oman (PKF 2001), landscape imageries as authentic and natural attractions (MacCannell 1973) are central to the content of the 18 brochure descriptions about Oman.

Part 3. Natural and built environment in early travel accounts.

Section 1: Natural environment

Introduction

Depictions of the physical environment were important in establishing enduring images of Oman as part of the whole image of Arabia. Many scholars have argued that the vision of the East in the imaginations of many travellers, primed by the literature of science and exploration, evolved with the changing nature of European cultural, economic and political imperialism in the orient (McEwan, 1996).

Works published about the region such as those by Hamilton[58] (1727), Doughty (1888), Wellsted (1835) and Burton's (2001) translation of the *Arabian Nights* tales influenced many travellers' imagination about the region. Many travellers imagined Arabia as an *arid desert, hot* with a *lack of rain and food,*

inhabited by *wild* and *nomadic people*, but they did not expect to see an *oasis* or to find an *earthly 'paradise'* in Arabia. For instance, in his book which is considered as a "bible of its kind" (Lawrence 1921, cited in the introduction of Doughty 1921), Doughty (1921) described the geology of the Arabian Peninsula as "a stack of plutonic rock, wherever lie sandstones, and upon the sand-rocks, limestone" (p. 540).

Many travellers were able to assert their authority and emphasised their position as the first British or European to explore the place. In doing so they described the land as *harsh*, *dry*, *arid*, *inhospitable*, *backward*, *wild*, *savage*, *unchangeable* and *undeveloped*. They ignored the efforts of the locals in developing their region and making their land sustainable. The travellers described the land as *dangerous* and *perilous*, which implicitly showed their own heroism in mastering the obstacles that were presented to them. Moreover, the desert was portrayed as *strange*, *unfamiliar* and *undiscovered* to present the importance of their journeys and their contribution to European knowledge.

In contrast to the above imageries, other explorers regarded the country as an *earthly paradise*. Paradisiacal imageries were presented in three different ways. First, they described the urban regions (villages, oasis and towns) they explored; Second, they described the mysteries mountain chains such as Al Qara and the Green Mountain. The urban regions and the mountain chains were seen as natural paradises. In contrast to the natural paradise, the third use of *'paradise'* is 'sacred' (Graburn 1977). Those travellers explored legendary and mythical cities such as Baat, Ubar, Al Belaid and other "frankincense routes ruins" (Oman News Agency 2003) to symbolise the authentic centre of their own culture. Moreover, they

58 According to Billecocq (1994), Hamilton stopped in Muscat in 1715, and visited Dhofar at the end of the 17th century.

travelled for "a quest for the centre of the Judeo-Christian tradition" (Cohen 1982: 4).

Since landscape is composed of the natural and built environment, the analysis of the *natural paradise* belongs to the former, while *sacred paradise* relates to the latter. In analysing travellers' descriptions of the natural environment, this research is divided into two parts: ***Natural paradise*** and ***arid desert***. Natural paradise contains two elements: *Oasis and mountains*.

(1) Natural Paradise

Many oasis landscapes were projected as *green*, *unspoilt*, *prodigal*, *wild*, *peaceful* and *civilised*, and travellers were fascinated by their rich cultivation and admired local techniques in sustaining the land sources and the traditional irrigating system of aflaj. The channels, which were probably introduced into Oman from Persia centuries ago, were made by sinking shafts every ten yards and joining them up with a tunnel, which often ran for miles (Thesiger 1959).

Cullen (1962) in his study of the visual impact of the city from a visitor's view stated that "one building standing alone in the countryside is experienced as a work of architecture" (p. 9). Similarly the desert oases with their rich cultivation, shade, water, pleasant weather and their inhabitants' hospitality were described as a place of escape for many sand dwellers, as well as travellers during their journeys in the desert. They were seen not just oases, but as natural and earthly paradises.

To highlight the depiction of an oasis as a natural paradise, this section provides some examples from some of the thirteen travel accounts.

(a) Oasis as a natural paradise in early travel accounts

Wellsted (1838), who visited Manah (or Minna as spelt in his account) in December 1835, described his astonishment and amazement at the beauty and greenery of the place:

> "Is this Arabia", we said, "Is this the country we have looked on heretofore, as a desert? Verdant fields of grain and sugar-cane stretching along for miles are before us; streams of water flowing in all directions, intersect our path; and the happy and contented appearance of the peasants, agreeably helps to fill up the smiling picture; the atmosphere was delightfully clear and pure; and, as we trotted joyously along, giving or returning the salutation of peace or welcome, I could almost fancy we had at last reached that "Araby the blessed" which I have been accustomed to regard as existing only in the fictions of our poets (pp 115-6).

The above excerpt shows that Wellsted (1838) saw oases as *lofty*, *civilised* and *elegant*. The land was seen as *flat*, *lush* (aflaj), *green*, *beautiful*, with *verdant* fields stretching for long distances and as a peaceful environment. It was the place of Sayyid Said, an *earthly paradise* in the desert of Oman. The extract denoted Wellsted happiness of the local welcome, hospitality and their support in succeeding his exploration task.

Another example of a traveller's description of the natural paradise is found in Bent and Bent (1900) *Southern Arabia*. Theodore and his wife visited Muscat on two occasions. The first was in 1889 when they were on their way to Persia and the second was in 1895 when they were on their way to Dhofar, in the southern region of Oman. During the second journey, while they were travelling in the capital, they described the Mutrah market and an oasis outside Muscat:

> In the market outside the walls we lingered until nearly driven wild by the flies and the stench, so we were glad enough to escape and pursue our walk to the paradise valley and see the favourable side of Maskat. There the sleepy noise of the wells, the shade of the acacias and palms and the bright green of the Lucerne fields, refreshed us

> and we felt it hard to realise that we were in arid Arabia (Bent and Bent, 1900: 66).

There are some differences and complexities in the representations created by the Bents about Muscat and its oases. Their negative representations of the capital market at the beginning were normal. The market was as they described - dirty and full of flies. The Bents went to the east (Oman) in search of authenticity (MacCannell 1973) and longing to see earthly paradise (Cohen, 1989). Consequently, on their visit to Muscat, the Bents went to a remote place in search of naturalness away from urban life. By describing the market as dirty and the oasis as paradise, the attractiveness of the place outside the capital was enhanced and the importance of their journeys and their explorations in the region by locating such authenticity was presented. From the above example, one might conclude that the village was not on a standard of 'paradise' which could lure travellers to the country, but Bent and Bent (1900) emphasised the naturalism and confirmed it by adding that the oasis was "inhabited by members of the numerous nationalities who come to Maskat in search of a livelihood" (p. 66). Their quest for an earthly paradise in Arabia was maintained in their account about Oman. Another example was their description of the valley of Jarbeeb/ Jarzeez (or Wadi 'Ghersid' as they spelt it) in the Dhofar Mountains. In their depiction of the place, they were impressed by the beauty of the vally:

> After riding up the valley for a few miles, we came across one of the small lakes of which we were *in quest*, nestling in a rocky hole and with its fine boulders hung with ferns and vegetation, forming altogether *one of the most ideal spots we had ever seen. That arid Arabia could produce so lovely a spot was to us one of the greatest surprises of our lives*. Water-birds and water-plants were here to be found in abundance, and the hill slopes around were decked with fine sycamores and acacia-trees, amongst the branches of which sweet white jessamine, several species of convolvulus, and other

creepers climbed (Bent and Bent, 1900: 256).

(b) Mountain gardens as a natural paradise in early travel accounts

Ward (1987) believes that "[if] mountainous Musandam seems like a different world after the metropolitan bustle and flyovers of the capital area, and the wide green valleys sloping from Jabal Akhdar, then the visitor to Dhofar will catch his breath again, for this is yet another distinct climatic and botanic zones in the Sultanate of Oman" (p. 478).

For centuries, the mountain chains in Oman were a mystery and were closed to visitors. The French botanist, Eloy, was the first European traveller who explored Al Jebel Al Akhdar in 1836 (Miles, 1876). He ascended the mountain by the Akabet el Hajar, and returned to Muscat by the Wadi Semail (Miles 1876; Ghazanfar, 1994). In 1837, Wellsted (1838) travelled to the mountains and estimated that their length was 30 miles from east to west and with breadth of 14 miles from north to south. Miles (1896), the traveller and the British Agent in Muscat, visited the chain in 1876. He ascended the mountains from Nakhal and returned from Barkat Al Mouz in the interior region.

Eight of the travellers, Haines (1845), Stiffe (1897), Miles (1896), Bent and Bent (1900), Thomas (1932), Thesiger (1959) and Morris (1957), whose works were analysed in this research, travelled in Dhofar. Of the eight travellers, five ascended the Qara Mountains. Haines (1845), who visited Dhofar in 1834, was the first British to explore the mountains. Before Haines (1845), Hamilton (1727), the author of the *New account of the East India*, wrote about his visit to Dhofar at the end of the 17th century, but he did not give details about the Qara Mountains and their inhabitants.

In *Countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, Miles (1919) wrote about his visit to Dhofar and described its geography and political situation, and he confirmed the place's engagement in trade on the southern coast on a considerable scale. Miles'description focused only on coastal regions and did not give any information of the Al Qara Mountains and its people. Some years later, Theodore and Mable Bent followed Haines' (1845) footsteps and travelled in the Al Qara chains (Bent and Bent, 1900). They were the first European travellers to explore the mountains north of the modern Salalah plain (Ward 1987). In 1928, Thomas (1932) retraced the Bents' routes, but his exploration was mainly focused on recording the mountain fauna and flora. He also studied the inhabitants of Al-Qara and recorded their characteristics, manners and customs. Eighteen years later, Thesiger (1959) followed Thomas' (1932) footsteps. With the companionship of "two Omanis and two slaves" (Thesiger 1932: 32), he travelled through the Qara Mountains to the Empty Quarter and made his famous exploration of the region. At the end of his second crossing of the Empty Quarter, Thesiger (1959) explored the chain from the Mirbat to Hadhramaut in Yemen.

Of the ten travellers used in this sample, Miles was the only one who explored the summit of Wadi Al Tayin (Miles 1896), and none of the ten provided details about the mountain chains in Musandam.

The quest for an earthly natural paradise in the mountain chains was present in the above travellers' writings about Oman. Wellsted (1838)[59] (Green Mountain), Haines (1845), [60] the Bent and Bent (1900) and Thesiger (1959) [61] (Al

59 Wellsted was the first British traveller who penetrated the interior of Oman in 1835.

60 Hains was the first British travellers who travelled in the Al Qara Mountains in 1845.

61 The Imam in Nizwa prevented Thesiger from visiting the Green Mountains during his second journey in 1948-1950.

Qara), Miles[62] (Wadi Tayin, The Green Mountain, Al Qara and Musandam) and Thomas (Green Mountain and Al Qara) recorded the fauna and flora of the mountains during their journeys in Oman in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Thus, the journeys were also part of a traveller's quest for scientific records and pleasures.

This research includes four excerpts from writers who described their impressions about the mountains 'paradise' in Oman. Here are two examples from Miles (1896). The first is part of his description of Wadi Al Tayin. In the second Miles (1901) depicted his observation of the Green Mountain.

> Beneath us now lay stretched, *in all its picturesque beauty*, one of the largest, *most beautiful, and most populous valleys* in Oman, the Wadi Tayin, a broad, straight vale lying between two mountain ranges, and extending north-west and south-east for a distance of nearly 25 miles. This rich oasis contains twenty-nine villages belonging to the Rehbiyin, Beni Araba, Siabiyin, Nahaya, and Beni Battash tribes, embosomed in dense palm groves, with orchards and fields of varied cultivation (Miles 1896, cited in Ward 1987: 115).

> I spent most of the day in wandering about the place and examining the extensive hanging gardens, which are spread along the precipitous valley walls and form the most interesting and beautiful characteristic feature at Sheraizi. To the left of the town, beneath it, and on the opposite slope of the valley, the whole face of the hillside, to the depth of 1000 feet or more, is cut into a parallel series of ledges or terraces, most symmetrically arranged and highly cultivated as vineyards, orchards, and cornfields. These curious pensile gardens, the like of which I had never seen before, with their varied foliage and ripening fruit, apricots, grapes, figs and pomegranates, formed a very attractive and pleasing sight, and had evidently been most carefully constructed, the terraces being stepped up with revetments wherever the natural features of the ground had not availed, to maintain the earth in position (Miles 1901, cited in Ward 1987: 355-6).

For centuries, the Green Mountain was a mystery for Europeans as well as for many local people. Later, naturalists, botanists, geographers and travellers

62 Miles was the first European travellers who explored the mountain range from Muscat to Wadi Tayin (Ward, 1987).

explored and studied the mountain and recorded its *exotic* plants, animals and inhabitants' culture. Eloy, the French traveller and naturalist, was the first European to ascend the mountain in 1836 (Miles 1919; Billecocq 1994). According to Miles (1919), Eloy found many pretty flowers and plants. He collected about 250 species (Ghazanfar, 1994) and thought there might be 500 altogether in Oman (Miles 1919). At the dispersion of his collection, the Kew Herbarium took 2,600 specimens, and the British Museum 1,907.

The Green Mountain was also popular within Arabia for its beautiful gardens and unique tropical seasons, which fascinated many travellers in Oman. According to Picard (2001), gardens first appeared in the Asian world, as "microcosmic models of macrocosms, 'nature' in its original estate" (p. 2). Then they were brought to Arabia. And in Alexander's time, the concept of the garden was brought to Europe. Some historians argue that when Alexander's soldiers reached the fertile land of Mesopotamia and saw Babylon, they were impressed. When they later returned to their rugged homeland, they had stories to tell about the amazing gardens and palm trees in Mesopotamia (Iraq).

The Arab term for garden is Hadeeqah or *Jamesah*, while the Persian is *Jamesnat*, which means a paradise garden of fruit, trees, aromatic plants and rivers. The ancient Hebrew is the adopted *Pardes* (means paradeisos), which comes from the Persian word *apiri-daeza* meaning a verge enclosed by a wall.

Picard (2001) noted, "Until the 6th century, the Christian tradition considers the paradise as a historically and geographically situated garden in the middle of a 'happy' countryside" (p.2).

The Islamic term of garden, as described in the noble Qur'an, is considered with fruits, date-palms, pomegranates (Surat Ar-Rahman 55: 68 and Al-Baqarah 3: 265) and vines, with rivers flowing underneath and all kinds of fruits (Surat Al-Baqarah 3: 265-66) that faithful Muslims asks (Surat Yasin 36: 57) may chose, and the flesh of fowls that they may desire. The fruits are plenty and the chosen slave of Allah (true believers and faithful) can eat as much as they desire (Surat Az-Zukhruf 43: 73) in peace and security (Surat Al- Jathiya 45:55). For them, there will be a known provision (in paradise) and (there will be) fair females (Houris) with wide, lovely eyes (as wives for the pious). This plenitude of fruits has unlimited season and their supply will not be cut off (Surat Al Waqia, 56:32-33).

Examples of the mountains as a natural paradise were found in many travellers' descriptions of Al Qara Mountains. Here are two excerpts quoted from Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959):

> I decided to descend to Dhufar on the following morning and bring to an end my sojourn in these mountains. The hyenas, at least, would not regret my going. But, in spite of recent sinister events the thought of going was an unhappy one, for I was leaving what surely must be a unique land in all Arabia, a land of perpetual feasts for the artist, of endless surprises for the anthropologist, a naturalist's paradise, and to me, the wayfarer, a source of much interest and delight (Thomas 1932: 104).

> As *we climbed* the mountain-side *I noticed* Paradise flycatchers, rufous and black, with long white streamers in their tails, and brilliant butterflies. They were in keeping with the jungles, which surrounded us, and as unexpected in Arabia. Then *we came out* on to the downs and camped near the top of the mountain. *I walked* to be watershed, anxious to see what lay beyond, and *found myself* standing between two worlds (Thesiger 1959: 33-4).

The above excerpts are proof of the contrast in projection of the Omani landscape. These representations vary between arid desert and green oases, mountains and valleys, the hot summer in the northern regions to the tropical monsoon in the south. For example, elsewhere Thomas (1932) projected Arabia as dangerous and inhospitable, while in the above excerpt his depiction is totally different.

The contradiction of the travellers' representations of landscapes was a result of the length of time that they spent, as well as the landscape contrast in Oman itself. The time they spent in Oman enabled them to experience different seasons and environments which varied between the urban and countryside regions, the arid desert contrasted with the greenery of the oasis, the hot summer in the northern region contrasted with the tropical monsoon in the southern area. The contrast between the ancient and the modern towns is also significant; the sands with its traditional Bedouin life constituted a significant contrast to the life of urban regions and coastal areas.

The exploration language was emphasised in the second example by Thesiger use of phrases such as '*climbed*', '*noticed*', '*came*', '*camped*', '*walked*' and '*found*'. In describing the actions traveller used the term '*we*' to refer to himself and his guides, while in recording the discoveries and scientific record Thesiger confined it to himself (e.g. '*I noticed*' while guides did not or the view was normal to them).

(2) The mystery of the desert

In the quantitative analysis, landscape nouns such as *desert, sand* and *dune* are some of the nouns that feature frequently in early travel accounts, travelogues and brochures. The early travellers experienced mainly the country[63] with its sands, mountains and valleys rather than the city, or the capital, Muscat with its built environment. They travelled in the naked desert (for example, the Empty Quarter) with its golden sands and dunes, enjoyed the brightness of the sky and navigated by the stars. They not only explored the green oases, the mountains and the crystalline valleys, but also the arid deserts with their exotic golden sands and mysterious life. The descriptions of the desert by British travellers used in this study need to be framed within the broader picture of British imperialism, and the continuity of European perceptions throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries of the deserts as a mystery.

As a result of the travellers' different perceptions, explorations and encounters, their projections and writings of the deserts were varied. Most of them particularly Wellsted (1838), Miles (1919), Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) expressed their love of the land, although their accounts contained some negative aspects. For example, in his general views of Arabia, Thomas (1932) was at times, scathing about the desert as were Theodore and Mable Bents at the end of the 19th century.

In the introduction of his book, Thomas (1932) described Arabia as an arid, wild, and inhospitable land, full of snakes and scorpions and as a country that was

63 In this section the use of the word country refers to the territory within the boundaries of Oman in 19th and early 20th centuries rather than the capital Muscat.

affected by hostility and raids. He wrote of the hostile attitudes he came across while he was travelling in the country:

> Yet Arabia has remained the *forbidden land.* Throughout the centuries scarce twenty European explorers have been able carefully to penetrate to her inhospitable heart. For this there are two main reasons. First, *lack of rain* and the *merciless heat* of the Arabian Desert permit of but scattered and *semi-barbarous* nomad societies, which are at such perpetual war that, even for *themselves, life is insecure.* Secondly, the religion of these desert men, at least in practice, is *fanatical* and *exclusive* (Thomas 1932: xxiv).

By depicting the land as joyless, dangerous and harsh and the people as hostile, intolerant and fundamental, Thomas (1932) viewed the land within a negative frame (Sardar 1999). By presenting the land as dangerous to add more challenge to his journey, the excerpt might help to explain why the land with its arid desert and hard life had not been explored before by any European. This description has the effect in emphasising the writer's bravery in overcoming obstacles and danger. This point was reiterated when he stated that the land fascinated many European travellers but none were prepared to take up the challenge:

> It had fascinated Richard Burton, who in 1852 offered his services to the Royal Geographical society for the purpose of what he termed 'removing that opprobrium to modern adventure,' but he succumbed to official obstruction and never put his plans to the test. I enjoyed advantages (Thomas 1932: xxv).

Out of ten authors used in this study, only five travellers wrote in detail about the deserts and the exotic life in the sands. Of the five travel accounts, *Arabian Felix* by Thomas (1932) and *Arabian sands* by Thesiger (1959) were the best accounts. The explorations of the two travellers were mainly focused on the Empty Quarter and its surrounding areas. Thesiger (1959) wrote about his journey to Wahiba Sands in 1948. Before Thesiger (1959), Wellsted (1838) explored

Wahiba Sands. Morris (1959) was the last traveller among this research sample who travelled from Dhofar in the south of Oman to Al Buraimi in the north.

Arabian Felix (Thomas, 1932) and *Arabian sands* (Thesiger, 1959) contain some of the most detailed, written accounts about the sands of Empty Quarter and Al Qara areas. Both travellers focused on two main themes: the land with its environment, flora and fauna of the sands; and their record of scientific phenomena. Thomas' exploration of the Empty Quarter and his anthropological study of Al Qara inhabitants has been regarded as one of the most pioneering and most important works about the areas. He also conducted a comprehensive scientific study into the flora and fauna of Al Qara Mountains and land fertility. Thomas (1932) enhanced his study of the mountains by studying the cultures and customs of its inhabitants, and by investigating the characteristics of Al Qara. He produced one of the rarest anthropologist studies about the inhabitants, and life in these chains (Chapter 6, Part 1). At the end of 20th century Thomas' investigation of the flora and the fauna of Al Qara mountains became the base for many scholars and researchers in Oman (Read et al. 1980).

The following two examples were written by Thomas (1932), and are a small sample of his extensive descriptions of the natural life in the chain:

> The animals *I collected* in the Qara Mountains *have proved* to be mainly African or Ethiopic in affinity; they form *an enclave* there for those *I collected* to north, east and west have *been found* to be *exclusively Palaearctic.* This *enclave* may well be a relic of the former animal population of the entire southern part of the peninsula when India, south Arabia and Africa had a common *climate* and *fauna.* Later, *desiccation* may have confined this *primitive fauna* to the Dhufar province, which alone in Arabia has continued to enjoy a tropical rainfall and flora, thanks to an *adventitious south*-west monsoon, while the *denuded spaces* round about have come to be *re- populated* by another group of animals from the north (Thomas 1932: 163).

> There was no animal life and all *I collected* was a beetle, a snake (*colubrid*) and a lizard, the last named, however, of great interest to the *Natural History Museum*, for *it was new to science - abu qursh~* 'the father of the dollar,' *the Badawin called it*, on account of its round tail (ibid. 135).

This is the language of sceientific discourse with its lexicon of inspection, collection, hypothesis and discovery (exemplified in the words italicised). This kind of scientific discourse was evident in other witers on Oman. Thomas' use of the Bedouin name '*abu qursh~* 'the father of the dollar' in recording the animal name was not only acknowledgment from him of local contribution, but it was also a geographical indication used by the writer to identify and stress the location of his scientific exploration.

In contrast, Thesiger's (1959) main concern was the fauna and flora of the desert:

> We sat there happily together, and *he taught me the names* of the plants, which grow in the Sands. The tribulus was *zahra*; the heliotrope which grew on the hard sand in the hollows was *rimram*; and the tasselled sedge was *qassis*. The straggling bush under which we sat, its fragile branches bright with fluffy yellow balls, was *abal*, and was good food for a thirsty camel. He gave me the names of other plants and bushes: *harm*, the vivid green salt-bush; *birkan*, *ailqi*, *sadan*, and several others. He knew them all. Later when they were working out my collection in the museum in London they sometimes thought that bin Kabina had given me different names for the same plant, but nearly always when they examined them carefully they found that he was right (Thesiger 1959:115).

In reviewing Orientalism and Edward Said's contribution to theory, this study highlighted a few scholars' works and their criticisms of Said's approach. For example, Lewis (1985) criticised Said's common judgement that western representation of the East by which writers were of the negative representations of

the Western writers in the east by western writers were inevitably negative and steriotypical.

In the foregoing extract and other could have been substituted- Thesiger (1959) offers a different kind of representations of his encounters with Omanis, in which the discourse is collaborative and participating "*we sat happy together*". Instead of the impersonal western scientif register of themes that appears instead a tentative, exploratory dialogue about the fauna and flora in which the Bedouin is the dominant, knowledgable authority, and western writer assume the rate of attentive acolyte. Extracts like this one, and others in which western writers' value their Arab hosts, provide an alternative way of reading western oriental encounters to that of Said (1978). Local Bedouins were not only objects in the travellers' journeys, but they were a presence, an encounter and a vital source of information gathered and collected about the land including plant names, plant habitants and land features.

A difference between Thesiger's (1959), Miles (1896) and other British travellers like Bent and Bent (1900) lies in the intensity of Thesiger's valuation[64] of the Bedouin help and support. Thesiger's (1959) did not just praise Bedouins' manners and their superior race, he acknowledged his debt to Bedouin value and Bedouin knowledge of natural history. These benefits were represented in the foregoing example by '*he taught me the names of the plants*' and '*he gave me the names of other plants and bushes*'. Thesiger (1959) specified the guide's name '*bin Kabina*' while talking about the record of the plants he collected for the London museum. Moreover, he did not just mention his name as the author who

64 Miles also acknowledge local support and help in succeeding his journey, but was less than the cae of Thesiger (quoted in Chapter 6, Part 1, Section 2).

conducted the study, but he informed the reader that '*bin Kabina*' participated in his study as a guide, a source of information and had a role in assigning names to the plants. Because of his long travels in the deserts with his Bedouin companions, Thesiger (1959) was more accurate than most British travellers in assigning the names of the places, plants and the tribes in the deserts.

In addition to his scientific contributions in recording and studying the plants, Thesiger (1959) described the wildlife in these desert regions. He, like Thomas' (1932), collected a number of birds and animals, mummified them, assigned them names and transferred them to the British museum and other scientific centres in London.

> Here *we found* grazing and *noticed* the tracks of hares, fennec foxes, honey badgers, and *monitor* lizards (Thesiger1959: 242).
>
> Once while *we were riding along we saw* a tawny *eagle kill* a full-grown fox. *We drove* the bird off its kill, and as the skin was still undamaged I kept it and *later gave it to the Museum in London* (ibid. 265).

Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) reported the natural music and sounds they came across including the sound of sand movements, bird songs and the call of wild of animals like wolves, foxes, birds, hares, gazelles, and lizards. Here are three examples, which represented these calls of wild. The first was by Thomas (1932) and refers to an incident that happened while he was crossing the dunes of Shu'ait' in the Empty Quarter:

> We were floundering through heavy dunes when the silence was suddenly broken by a loud droning on a musical note. I was startled for the moment, not knowing the cause.
>
> 'Hanaina! Hanaina!'[65] Shouted my companions. 'Listen to that cliff bellowing, Sahib!' and a man at my side pointed to a sand cliff, a

65 Hanaina = bellowing. The two tribes of the sands use different terms for singing sands. The Rashid call it Al Damam, and the Murra Al Hiyal (Thomas, 1932:169).

> hundred feet or so high, and perhaps a hundred yards or more away on our right hand. I was too much absorbed to reply. The hour was 4.15 p.m., and a slight north wind blew from the rear of the cliff (Thomas 1932:168-169).

For Thomas (1932), the sound may have been a new scientific phenomenon to record, he enjoyed listening to it and intended to find an explanation for its occurrence. Thomas (1932) questioned his Bedouin companions about the time of its occurrences, and if they noticed the phenomenon in any other places of the desert. Thomas (1932) also studied the climate of the area and the land soil. He wrote about two other sand phenomena. The first was his descriptions about the sands of Umm Dharta - *Mother of Wind which have springiness that causes a wheezing sound when camels walk upon them"* (ibid.170). He also described the phenomena of the sands of Suwahib where he heard with his Murra companions a sharp 'phut' like the falling of a spent bullet under their camel's feet (ibid.170). While exploring the edges of the Empty Quarter in 1947, Thesiger (1959) wrote:

> Four hours later we came to large red dunes set close together. There were *green plants* growing there as the result of *heavy rain*, which had fallen *two years before*. A little later we saw of the Bait Musan and a *herd boy* who was tending them. *We camped* in a hollow and loosed our camels to revel among the *juicy shrubs*.
>
> Larks were singing round our camping place. Butterflies flitted from plant to plant. Lizards scuttled about, and small black beetles walked laboriously across the sand. We had seen a hare that morning, and the tracks of gazelle. The sand around us was still marked where jerboas and other small rodents had scampered about during the night. I wondered how they got here, how they had located this small green island, in the enormous emptiness, which surrounded it (Thesiger 1959: 114-5).

The musical language of the 'call of wild' was clear in the foregoing excerpt. Thesiger (1959) produced a great instrumental plate, which contained

twelve different types of the local natural life. He introduced these natural lives in his text to emphasise the importance of the water and its effect on desert life.

Thesiger's (1959) positive enjoyment of the natural life was unmistakable. In depicting life, he did not just say *there were plants*, but he emphasised it. Although rain occurred *two years* before, plant life was *still green* and the shrubs were also *juicy*. Thesiger (1959) and his companions stopped to water and they found a local Bedouin *herd boy* watering and grazing his camels and herds. The water and the greenness of the place did not just make the local Bedouins and the travellers happy, this joy was extended to the wildlife of the desert. Thesiger (1959) artistically described this wildlife as *singing*, *flittering*, *scuttling*, *walking* and *scampering*. Later on, Thesiger (1959) extended this picturesquely charming language to cover the air life:

> Yet the sky *seemed bluer* than it had been for days. The sand was a *glowing carpet* set about my feet. *A raven croaked, circling round us*, and bin Kabina shouted, 'Raven seek thy brother.' Then another *raven flew over the shoulder* of a nearby dune and he laughed, and explained to me that a single raven is unlucky, a bearer of ill-tidings (Thesiger 1959:115).

Thesiger (1959) did not just say that the sky was blue, but enhanced its brightness by saying it *seemed bluer*. He saw it as totally differently to what he was used to seeing in the gloomy weather of England. The enjoyment of the place and the sky's brightness was enhanced by the birds, which the traveller saw as singing and laughing.

The wind blowing in the desert is a third example of natural sounds described by Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959). Both travellers focused mainly on three issues. The first is finding shelter from the wind. The second is the effect

of the wind on dune movements. And the third is the contrast between the heat of the desert during the daytime and its coldness during the night.

In addition to Thomas' (1932) descriptions of the sounds of the dunes, Thesiger (1959) also frequently described the wind phenomenon. Wind impedes desert journeys and breaks the sense of isolation in the desert and its silence. Nevertheless, Thesiger (1959) saw wind as a form of natural desert music. In doing so, he did not say it was blowing, but he used the more romantic, and metaphoric decipline by saying "the chill wind whispered among the shadowy dunes" (Thesiger 1959: 121).

As part of the travellers' projections of the animal life in Arabia, many writers wrote about camels and described the relationship between Bedouins and their animals. Thesiger's (1959) account is one of the most evocative accounts of camel life in Oman. He provided extensive details about camels in Arabia, their characteristics and the differences between them and those he had encountered in Africa. Thesiger (1959) presented camels from an insider view of the Bedouin, against the stereotypical, facetious perspective of the Western commentator:

> Many Englishmen have written about camels. When I open a book and see the familiar disparagement, the well-worn humour, I realize that the author's knowledge of them is slight, that he has never lived among the Bedu, who know the camel's worth: 'Ata Allah', or 'God's gift', they call her, and it is her patience that wins the *Arab's heart.* I have never seen a *Bedu strike or ill-treat a camel.* Always the camels' needs come first. It is not only that the Bedu's existence depends upon the welfare of his animals, but that he has a real affection for them. Often I have watched my companions *fondling and kissing* them whilst they *murmured endearments* (Thesiger 1959: 69).

> To Arabs, camels are *beautiful*, and they *derive as great a pleasure* from *looking at a good camel* as some Englishmen get from looking *at a good horse.* There is indeed a tremendous *feeling of power, rhythm, and grace* about these great beasts. I certainly know few

> sights finer than mounted Arabs travelling fast on well-bred camels, but this is rarely seen for they seldom travel faster than at a walk (Thesiger 1959: 70).

Unlike other Western writers, Thesiger (1959) did not stereotype and did not see the relationship between men and camels as backward signs. Thesiger (1959) was mainly positive in his reporting.

Traveller representations of the camels and its importance in Bedouin life became a nostalgic theme as the animals ceased to be the main sources of transport in the desert. Oman was also described and known among many inhabitants in Arabia and writers as "Um-el-ibl" (mother of the camel). According to Zwemer (1986), "Palgrave, Doughty and other Arabian travellers agree that the Oman dromedary is the prince of all camel-breeds, and they are so highly asteemed at Mecca as to fetch three times the price of other camels" (p.88)

Thesiger (1959) described the importance of camels not just as the main transport form in Arabia, but as a source of life in the desert. During the drought seasons, camel milk was the only food and drink for many Bedouin families in some part of the sands in the early days:

> I said: 'Take for instance these Bait Musan whose tracks we are following, how long will they be able to stay here without water?'
> Al Auf answered: It depends on how good the grazing is. On good grazing they could remain here from the late autumn until the spring. Of course, when the weather gets hot they will have to move back to within reach of the wells.'
>
> 'So they may be here for six or seven months without any water? What do they eat?'
> 'Camel's milk is their food and drink. As long as there is plenty of milk the Bedu want nothing more (Thesiger 1959: 113-114).

Section 2. Built environment

Introduction

Two elements are involved in examining the built environment. The first is the ancient sites, and the second is the maritime and trading centres.

(1) The representations of ancient sites

In exploring the ancient cities, travellers focused mostly on those that they thought belonged to Christian and Jewish heritages (Cohen, 1982). This focus is evident in many travel accounts about Oman and in the anthropological investigations of the region's ruins and heritage. Thomas (1932) travelled in the Empty Quarter and described his investigation as follows:

> Inscriptions and ruined cities in south-west Arabia bear witness to ancient Minaean and Sabaean civilisations that decayed before the rise of Islam in the seventh century of our era. We know too of early Abyssinian and Roman invasions and of Greek and Aramaean settlements. Who are these South Arabians? If the answer to the problem rests with anthropologists, as it assuredly does, the collection of relevant data was of never-failing interest to me on my travels (Thomas 1932:22-3).

Said (1978) stated that European discourse about the Orient inevitably focused on the east and that while there were "great moments in the past; they are useful in the modern world only because the powerful and up-to-date empires have effectively brought them out of the wretchedness of their decline and turned them into rehabilitated residents of productive colonies" (p. 35). In the Arabian Peninsula, many Western travellers, particularly the British and Americans, made forays into the Empty Quarter and its frontier regions in search of legendary cities,

which could be records of ancient civilisations of the region. Doughty (1888) explored Hijaz and the northern Peninsula, and Thomas (1932), Philby (1930) and Thesiger (1959) explored the Empty Quarter. Stark (1994) travelled in Yemen during 1934-1935 in search of the lost city of Shabwa and Ubar (Stark, 1994; Ruthven, 1995).

During their journeys in Oman, British travellers visited and described many ancient cities and monuments in Oman. For example, *Sumahram and Al-Balid* [66] were visited and described by Haines (1845), Miles (1919), Bent and Bent (1900), Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959). The site of *Baat* was narrated only by Miles (1910) and Thesiger (1959). Thomas and Thesiger described *Ash Shisur* site in their accounts, and finally, Thomas was the first and only traveller within this research who described the ancient city of *Ubar*.

Wellsted (1838), Miles (1901), and Thomas (1932) wrote about the Nakhal fort and the ancient site of Bahla with its fort and walls[67]. A few travellers such as Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877) stated that *Sohar* is one of the ancient cities in Oman but they did not support this claim with evidence or details. A few other travellers also focused on the role of Sohar as part of Omani history and its trade from the 10th to the 19th centuries, rather than referring to any ancient heritage. In their accounts, travellers such as Wellsted, Miles and the Bents also mentioned Qalhat in their writings, but their descriptions were mostly based on the city history after Islam rather than its ancient history. Consequently, this study does not classify Bahla, Sohar and Qalhat as ancient cities.

66 The ruins of Al Balid are to be identified with the medieval town of Zafar, a name which survives today in the anglicized form 'Dhofar' to indicate the whole region (Costa, 1979:111).

67 UNESCO assigns the fort of Bahla as one of the World Heritage.

(a) The ancient 'Frankincense Routes'

Ancient 'Frankincense Route' is the official name registered in the International Heritage Committee to refer to the archaeological sites of Ubar, Khour Rouri, Al Baleed and Wadi Dhuka in Oman (Oman News Agency, 2003).

Ubar[68] in the Empty Quarter is the first ancient site to attract travellers and explorers (Clapp 1998), as part of their interest in discovering and recording Judeo-Christian heritages in the Arabian Peninsula.

Regarding this ancient site, there is a lot confusion about what the word refers to, a region and a group of people, or just to a specific town (Zarins, 1996). In his archaeological study of the site of Ubar, Zarins (1996) pointed out that he supported the first argument, and that the site contained more than three major ancient centres and *Ash Shisur* site was one of them. Ubar was the key site with regard to the trade activities that were coming and going along the edge of the Empty Quarter, and famous as the main source of water in the sands (Thomas, 1932 and Zarins, 1996).

In modern days, Western interests in the heritage of 'frankincense routes' have been maintained its position. Many European and American expeditions are investigating the ancient heritage in Dhofar. After World War II, an American adventurer named Wendell Phillips put together a team to try to find the mythical city. In the 1950s, an American expedition led by W. Phillips and F. Albright (the American Foundation for the Study of Man – AFSM) was mounted to the city and its archaeological sites. In 1992, Nicholas Clapp, a documentary film maker, mounted an expedition to find the ruins of the lost Arabian city. As some of the

68 Some sources refer to the place as Shisur, Iram, Ubar, Wabar and Qidan (Clapp, 1998).

most important ancient heritage in the country. *Ubar* maintained its position as an attractive tourism spot in the remote sands, one of its singular attraction being how remote is the site from the nearest civilisation. In addition to its golden dunes and beautiful sunsets, Bedouin hospitality added another charm to its beauty (Zarins, 1996). In describing his nights in the area Zarins (1996) said "it is a very romantic type of atmosphere. At night you can see all the stars. People used to bring telescopes. You could see the moons of Jupiter with binoculars -- it was so clear. And when they'd turn the generator off, it was total silence. No one had ever experienced that kind of silence before. No cars, no people, no television, no electricity, no airplanes going overhead -- none of that " (ibid.1).

In addition, many European and American expeditions are undertaken to investigate *Sumahram* and other ancient heritage in Dhofar. Between the end of seventies and the beginning of the eighties, intensive fieldwork was conducted in Khor Rouri by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage with support received from many European archaeological teams. These teams included the Italian archaeologist Paolo Costa between 1977-81 and Smith (1979) the British researcher who studied the area in 1978-9. Later in 2000, other Italian archaeologists undertook a systematic investigation with the intent of answering many historical questions and restoring the site, which has been included in the UNESCO's World Heritage List (XXIV, 2001)..

Out of ten[69] British travellers used in study, Bertram Thomas and Wilfred Thesiger were the only travellers in Oman who visited and described *Ubar* and *Ash Shisur*. Thomas was the pioneering writer who investigated both ancient sites

69 Ten travelers because 'Southern Arabia'account is published by Theodore and Mable Bents.

in 1929 and 1930. In contrast, Thesiger mentioned *Ash Shisur* briefly and did not refer to *Ubar*. Thomas described the site:

> An hour's march brought us to a wide depression, whose high western bank, Tof Mitan, marked the miserable end of the wadi of that name, so mighty and fruitful at its source in shaghuwat, six days' march south. Beyond it was the hard steppe again and better going. Suddenly the Arabs, who were always childishly anxious to draw attention to anything they thought would interest me, pointed to the ground. 'Look, sahib,' they cried. 'There is the road to Ubar.'
> 'Ubar ?' I wondered.
> 'It was a great city, our fathers have told us, that existed of old; a city rich in treasure, with date gardens and a fort of red silver. [Gold ?] It now lies buried beneath the sands in the Ramlat shu'ait, some few days to the north.
> Other Arabs on my previous journeys had told me of Ubar[70], the Atlantis of the sands, but none could say where it lay (Thomas, 1932: 161).

Traveller representations depicted the city as ancient, green and living in treasure. The location of the place was not identified. These description and guide talk of the name *Ubar* challenged Thomas to investigate the place and find out whether the sight *Ubar* which was described by Bedouin was the same historical city that described by many classical writers and historians under the name of *Ophir*:

> Just to the south lay the ancient and *famous frankincense groves*, which were probably connected by an *overland route with Gerrha*, the *old port of the Persian Gulf*, or *with Petra of the Nabataeans*, and Ubar may well have lain upon it. Can there be any connection between the *words Ophir and Ubar by the change* - a philological commonplace – of *F* for *B* (Thomas, 1932: 162-163).

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70 I am indebted to Mr. Philby for drawing my attention to the similarity of Ubar with the form Wabar. None of the 'serious' Arab geographers mention the place, but Yaqut gives a copious selection of local tradition, all to the same purpose. The place is generally defined as lying in the sands between Shihir and sana'.' It was a great city in a fertile oasis belonging to the tribe of Ad, and its inhabitants were punished for their sins by being turned into *nasnas* — a kind of monkey with only half a body, one eye, one arm, one leg and so on. since then it has been inhabited by jinn who endeavour to prevent approach to it and destroy those who reach it. The Mahra camels are descended from the offspring of the camels of these jinn. In some stories the people of Shihir are represented as hunting the *nasnas* and even eating them. The south Arabian archaeologist Nashwan bin sa'id d/573 AH /I 117 A.D., says only: 'Wabar is the name of the land which belonged to 'Ad in the eastern parts of Yemen; to-day it is an untrodden desert owing to the drying up of its water. There are to be found in it great buildings which the wind has smothered in sand. It is said also that it belonged to the people of Ar Ras.' It is possibly more than a coincidence that Arisha (the land of the Ruler Zenaiti of the desert folklore) is the Shahari equivalent of Ras (Arabic).

In stressing the ancient history of *Ubar*, Thomas referred to the importance of the city in trading in frankincense with Persia and Roman Empire 'Petra'. In investigating these trade routes he also visited *Ash Shisur* and pointed out its location by saying "reference to my map will show between longitudes 51^0 40' and 54^0 40 a continuous coastal mountain chain that is known sectionally from west to east by the names Fatk-shaghuwat, Jabal Qamr, Jabal Qara and Jabal Samhan" (ibid. 139). Later, Thesiger included *Ash Shisur* in his account:

> We watered at Shisur, where the ruins of a crude stone fort on a rocky mound mark the position of this famous well. Shisur was a necessary watering-place for raiders and had been the scene of many fierce fights. (Thesiger, 1959: 86).

Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) differed in their accounts. The former described both ancient sites *Ubar* and *Ash Shisur* and provided the readers with details of their archaeological history and location. In contrast, the latter focused on the popularity of *Ash Shisur* with Bedouins and travellers as one of the famous water sources in the sands. Thesiger (1959) did not provide any historical details or record any archaeological investigation into its ancient history.

According to Zarins (1996), *Ash Shisur* site is one of 'probably three or four major centres of *Ubar'* (p.1). It was the key site with regard to the trade activities that were coming and going along the edge of the Empty Quarter, and famous as the main source of water in the sands (Thomas, 1932 and Thesiger, 1959 and Zarins, 1996).

In addition to *Ubar* and *Ash Shisur* a few travellers spoke of other historical sites in Dhofar such as *Khor Rouri* and *Al Baleed.* Scholars and archaeologists recorded both sites as the most impressive ancient sites in the southern region of Oman and dated it from the 1^{st} century BC – 4^{th} AD (Miles, 1919; Costa, 1979;

Xxiv, 2001). For example, *Sumahram* was the main port for exporting frankincense and myrrh from the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt, Persia, and the Greek and Roman Empires (Costa, 1979, Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2003).

Out of ten travellers used in this research[71], seven visited and described *Khor Rouri* and *Al Beleed* in the province of Dhofar. It was Haines (1845) who visited the region in 1834, followed by Miles (1919) in 1880, Bent and Bent (1900) in 1895, Thomas (1932) in 1929-30 and ended by Thesiger (1959) in 1945-8. Thomas (1932) described his observation of the place as heritage:

> Our way lay eastward along the beach past Hafa, through the coconut grove that separates it from the ancient ruined *city of Balid*. Thence we entered the plain behind, strewn with other ancient surface ruins' now called *hasaila*, yet a civilisation far in advance of that now existing is evidenced by such ruins[72] and monuments as do exist, while old steyned wells, dry water-ducts and plough-ridges attest the former industry. The many shallow quarries in the stony plain point to a bygone time when stone was extensively used as building material. Now cultivators may sow a little in them because of favourable sub-surface moisture, and in remoter places they are refuges when leprosy and smallpox periodically ravage the plain"(p. 38)[73].

(b) The ancient sites in the northern regions

In addition to the above ancient sites described previously, early travellers, travelogues and travel brochures represented a number of ancient sites and monuments in the northern region of Oman. The first site was *Baat*. With its origine in the third century Millennium BC, it is located east of Ibri in the Al Dhahirah region. The mystery of the city and its ancient archaeological sites were one of the reasons behind many travellers journeys to the region. In the winter of

71 Southern Arabia was written by Theodore and Mable Bent, 1900.

1975, a Danish archaeological team explored the city scientifically and spent 12 weeks of archaeological fieldwork on the site (Frifelt, 1976). In his journey to Ibri (or Obri as described by Miles), Nakhal and Al Rustaq, he gave account of other ancient forts built in the region during the Persian domination of Oman. Miles described his observation of the monument in Al Rustaq:

> The most ancient part of this stronghold, which bears a close resemblance to an old Anglo-Norman castle, is probably that part with its turret known as Burj Kesra ibn Shirwan, and the erection of which is ascribed to the period of the great Sassanian monarch Noushirwan, or, as some say, Khosru Parviz, in whose reign the famous expedition about 600 A.D. to expel the Abyssinians from the Yemen was undertaken (Miles, 1910: 423).

In addition to these ancient sites, others at Qalhat and Bahla were visited and described by some early travellers, travelogue writers and travel brochure. Both cities greatly contributed to Islamic history in the country. Travellers' descriptions of Bahla and Qalhat focused on their place within interaction between Omanis with outsiders powers in the region rather than their ancient heritage and history. Bahla, with its ancient heritage and UNESCO concerns, featured in travelogues and brochures more than its appearance in early travel accounts.

Early travellers' descriptions of Qalhat focused on the town resistance of the Portuguese domination. A few travellers who narrated the ancient history of the town.

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72 The most characteristic feature of these ruins is a plain primitive column, with an octagonal shaft, square corbelled capital and similar square base, a monolith. It is usually only six feet high, and this and its corbelled cap suggest that it supported arches. A raised plinth, rising in steps to a man's height, supports two columns, or more according to size, and round about lie debris of squared stones, black with age.

73 The infection is said to be brought by dhows from the Persian Gulf.

(2) The images of maritime and trade centres

Introduction

In addition to their interests in recording the ancient history of Oman, most British travellers focused on the country's maritime infrastructure, history and culture. Islamic heritage was rarely described in their travel writings and when it occurred, it was embedded in the context of exploration of the history of the place before Islamic civilisation or before the locals' interaction with Europeans powers. In other cases, cities and towns were projected as part of travellers' aims to gather information about the place, or as part of the writers' desire to contexualise their writings about the regions and its inhabitants.

For instance, cultural, historical and commercial cities and towns such as Al Rustaq, Dhofar, Ibra, Jalaan, Manah, Mirbat, Muscat, Nakhal, Nizwa, Qalhat, Samad, Sohar and Sur were projected and portrayed by travellers. Of these thirteen cities and towns, six of them (Muscat, Qalhat, Dhofar, Sohar, Sur and Nizwa) were projected more than others by early travellers. Jalaan was highlighted by Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1910). Samad and Ibra were visited and described by Wellsted (1838) and Thesiger (1959). Manah, described by Wellsted (1838), was famous for its oases, fields and picturesque aspects. Wellsted (1838) stated that it "differs from the other towns" (p. 115). It attracted other travellers such as Miles (1910), Thesiger (1959), and Morris (1959). Mirbat, with its anchor and historical castle, was a port of call for many ships in the region and many sailors, and Haines (1845), Miles (1919) and Bent and Bent (1900) landed in the town during their journeys in the southern region of Oman. Nizwa, Al Rustaq and the other cities and oases which surrounded the Green Mountain

were also visited by many travellers in the 19th (Wellsted 1838; Miles 1910) and the 20th centuries (Morris 1957).

Travellers' representations of the above maritime centres and oases were centred largely on four thematic groupings: the land of Sultans and fairy tales, the land of empire, the land of resistance and the land of frankincense.

(a) The land of Sultans and fairy tales

Travellers wrote about other Omani cities and towns in the language of fairy tales, but not as quintessentially as the way they wrote about Muscat, the capital.

Travellers' depictions of the Orient in general, and Arabia in particular, were based on their knowledge gained through literary mythology, in particular two highly influential texts, the popular tales *The Arabian nights* and the tale of *Sindbad the sailor*. The former was probably first introduced to the West in 1704, when Antoine Galland, a Frenchman, published the first volume of his book (Moussa-Mahmoud 1988). The Orient is "now less a myth perhaps than a place criss-crossed by the Western" (Said 1978: 26). Said (1978) asserts that the Western audience became familiar with the imaginary, exotic Orient through both mythical tales. According to Morris (1957):

> People often said this to me during our stay in Muscat and Oman, but I cannot believe it to have much substance in fact or even, for that matter, in myth. The Arabian Nights – which have Indian, Persian and even perhaps Greek ancestries – seem to make it plain that Sindbad was a Baghdadi, who began his disastrous voyages from Basra; and nearly all his adventures seem, by the nature of things, to have befallen him upon islands. Whenever the captain cried: 'My masters, all is lost!' there was always an island within reach for Sindbad: but the only reference to a coast-line that could possibly be the Baatinah comes when the captain, referring to his magic book, remarks that the land to be seen upon the horizon is the Clime of Kings, 'inhabited by monsters and terrible serpents (p. 133).

The Arabian nights, the tales of *Sindbad*, and the impact of Ottoman as an Islamic Empire stimulated European imaginations about the East, Islam, Arabia and Oman. The use of these imageries continued in early travellers', journalists' and brochure producers' tales about Oman, and helped to shape the country's image as sensual, magic, exotic and oriental.

Travellers also benefited from previous travellers' works and other imperialist reports by surveyors and agents in Oman and the region. Information and maps that were produced by previous explorers became the basic guide for many travellers' journeys in the country. For example, Miles (1986) acknowledged the contribution of Wellsted (1838) about Oman:

> It is, perhaps, needless to remark that our present geographical knowledge of Oman, in Eastern Arabia, and especially of its aerographical system, is derived almost exclusively from the map of Lieut. Wellsted, I. M., whose 'Travels in Arabia' was published in 1838. The value of the work accomplished by Wellsted has been universally acknowledged, and, considering the difficulties he had to contend with as the pioneer explorer, he deserves the greatest credit and commendation for the light he has thrown on the country (Miles 1896: 109).

For many Western travellers in Oman (particularly Europeans) Muscat was their gate to travel inland. Many British travellers in the 19th century started their journeys to Oman from India. The importance of Oman in those days derived from its potential bearing on the trade and security of India. Travellers experienced the region's culture and customs before they travelled in the Bedouin lands, read about the rulers, and made the arrangements for their journeys.

Thomas (1932) crossed the Empty Quarter from the south, while Philby (1933) crossed it from the north to the south. Consequently, their early reading, knowledge and experience of the eastern life helped other travellers to make

comparisons between the natives of Oman and other countries' inhabitants, and make connections about events in other Arabic places. Thesiger (1959) read and benefited from Thomas' (1932) and Philby's (1933) accounts.

In many cases, travellers showed their expectation and previous knowledge of the regions they visited and people they encountered. They wanted to be true to the reality in their descriptions, but they already had a preconception about the Orient in general and Arabia in particular, based on imperialistic sources that inevitably painted a biased and selective picture of Arabia.

Many writers depicted the capital with headlines such as *fairyland* (Lordag Magazine, 14 November 1998: 29), and *the land of A Thousand and One Nights* (Herbert Kistler, Horen and Shen Television, Germany, 23.12.1998), which comes from the Arabic title, *Alf Layla wa Layla*' (Burton, 2001: xiv). In their writing of Muscat travellers were impressed with its views and its contrast. Muscat was described as: *magical*, *mystical*, and *idyllic*. Such impressions appeared in Wellsted's (1838), Bent and Bent (1900), and Stiffe's (1897) accounts. For example, Stiffe (1897) and Bent and Bent (1900) described the capital as follows:

> The appearance of the coast from the sea is *extremely picturesque*, the rugged dark hills rising one range above another, until apparently joining the great back range, elevated about 6000 feet. Although from seaward the country appears utterly barren and desert, without any sign of vegetation, the valleys lying among the hills are more or less fertile where irrigated, which is done by means of wells, with so called Persian water-wheels, and Kanats, or subterranean aqueducts. It produces fruits and vegetables, and many date palms are grown. The coves abound with fish of excellent quality. The small cattle are noted, and flocks of sheep or goats are numerous (Stiffe, 1897, cited in Ward, 1987:19).

> The harbour of Maskat is full of life. The *deep blue sea* is studded with tiny craft: *canoes painted red, green, and white*, steered by paddles, swarm around the steamer; fishermen paddling themselves about on a plank or two tied together, or swimming astride of a

> single one, hawk their wares from boat to boat. The oars of the larger boats are generally made with a flat circular piece of wood fastened on to a long pole, and are really more like paddles than oars. In the northern corner lie huddled together large dhows, which, during the north-east monsoons, make the journey to Zanzibar, returning at the change of the season (Bent and Bent, 1900: 47).

A major feature of landscape description by British writers in Oman was their recognition of order in the natural elements, and this was particularly evident in the accounts of Wellsted (1838), Thomas (1832), Geary (1860), Miles (1896), Bent and Bent (1900), Morris (1957), and Thesiger (1959). The land, for Stiffe (1897) and Bent and Bent (1900), was not in a chaotic state. It was a series of ordered physical environments - the purple of distant mountains with their deep green oases and valleys, blue sea, white surf, and the arid deserts with their golden sand. It was the natural order and organisation of the physical environment that travellers found and saw as one of the most alluring aspects of the land.

In addition to Stiffe (1897) and Bent and Bent (1900), such picturesque imageries were also evident in the accounts about Muscat of other travellers fascinated by the beauty of Muscat and its Oriental life. Morris (1957) wrote his impression of the capital:

> It was a wonderful fairy-tale castle above the water, with three or four turrets, machicolated platforms, winding passages, loopholes, embrasures and great stone gateway (p.146).

> There was something soothing and magical about that old city at night, after so many days of virile and stately excitement. There was a little of Jerusalem to its *mystique*, a little of Charleston, just a touch of the back streets of Oxford, a trace of one of those little fishing ports on the Gulf of Venice – and the whole welded and illumined by an overpowering sense of the Old Arabia, compounded of ships, lattice windows and hidden influential ladies. Few street lights illuminated the crooked little alleys, and only a few passers-by swing their lanterns, swished their garments and

> wished each other mellifluously: 'Peace be with you!' In the crevices of the suk one or two shops were open, and the Merchants sat cross-legged beside their shutters, and oil lamps shone softly among the bottles or bales of fabric. A hush was on the city. In the gatehouse in the walls a few Askaris lay asleep on benches, and the announcements of ships' arrivals ('Mails to be Aboard by Nine-Thirty Sharp') flapped in the gentle breeze from the sea: rows of rifles hung neatly on the walls, many of them colourful with bright blue, red and green plastic slings, bought from Indian Merchants in the bazaar. Down a devious lane I glimpsed four veiled shadowy figures hurrying towards the quayside, at once furtive and sheepish, led by a white-robed servant of grand physique (p. 154).

Morris (1957) described his first impressions of the towns and the regions in terms of a discourse of exoticism that drew on favourable element that had circulted in Euroepe for centuries. In his account of a night walk in Muscat, he stated there was "something soothing and magical about that old city". He compared its mystique to that of Jerusalem, and the streets of Muscat with the back streets of Oxford.

By casting Muscat in this magical frame Morris (1957) perpetuated the stereotypical images of Oriental cities that were familiar to the European readers since the 18th and the 19th centuries.

Morris (1957) also associated Muscat with Venice. He was possibley led to make this association by oriental images that included: the beauty and the silence of the capital with its black veiled women; the movement of ships and sailors' songs in the port of Mutrah; and the church bells in Muscat that reminded Morris (1957) of the Christian Venice, with its carnivals and celebrations during the Easter days (Morris, 1995).

(b) The land of Resistance

This section focuses on some travellers' writing of areas of the interior region including Nizwa, Al Rustaq and Nakhal, [74] Qalhat and Al Buraimi. It focuse on the theme of risistance because most travellers' writings included discourse on Omani resistance to foreign invasion and influence.

In the case of Nizwa and its surrounding towns and oases, travellers described the historical roles of the region in resisting the Persian, the Abyssinians, the Portuguese and other foreign influences. From the end of the 19th century to 1954-5, the region hosted most of the opposition's powers (e.g. the Imamah) against the Sultans authority in Muscat and the British dominations in Oman.

Travellers' writings on Qalhat emphasised two historical events in particular. One was the town's resistance to Persian domination, and the second was on the Portuguese control and the eventual destruction of the town in the 15th century. The Al Buraimi's resistance to Wahabis invasion and movement towards South Arabia provide further instances of the resistance theme.

The resistance of the interior region

The representation of Nizwa, Al Rustaq, Nakhal and other towns in the region in the 19th century was different and more positive than their images in early 20th century travel accounts. During their journeys in the region Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896) did not encounter many political difficulties which resulted in their positive representation of its lands and people. Both writers spoke

74 In modern days, Al Rustaq and Nakhal are part of the Al Batinah region. Both areas were part of the interior region in early travel accounts. Consequently, this study followed the tradition of the early travellers in analysing early travel writing.

of the aesthetics and the beauty of the land and praised the inhabitant's efforts in developing their country. Wellsted (1838) described Nizwa by saying:

> Neswah in extent resembles Minna, but the groves are more numerous. A *great quantity of sugar-cane is grown*, and its produce *manufactured here by a process similar to that adopted in India*, from whence they appear at a very late period to have borrowed it, as none was made at Maskat in 1760, when Niebuhr visited it. The *best ulwa* [75] *in Arabia is obtained at this town.*
>
> They also make a *few copper pots*, and there are some workers in *gold and silver*, but not having many artisans of any description, all their other manufactured commodities arrive from Maskat. I must not, however, omit to mention that a *considerable quantity of cloth and some good mats are fabricated from the rushes* which grow on the borders of the streams. Preparing cotton in the yarn is the principal occupation of the females (Wellsted 1838: 122-3).

The political stability during the time of the Empire, the welcoming manners and hospitality to the traveller resulted in Wellsted's (1838) positive description of Nizwa and other oases in the interior region. The stability enabled Wellsted (1838) not just to encounter the locals, but also to explore and record the land's resources. This exploratory assessment was the main aim of his journey in Oman. It was represented in the above extract by his depiction of the lands cultivation, industry, local production and trade activities with outsiders.

By the 20th century the situation had changed and Morris (1957) was the only traveller who described the regions in detail. Thomas (1932) did not write about the interior region in his account *Arabian Felix*, while the Imam's rejection of Thesiger's (1959) request to travel in Nizwa and the Green Mountains was probably the main reason behind the limited occurrence of Nizwa and the chain in his work. Thesiger's (1959) failure in exploring Nizwa and its surrounding oases like Bahla, Tanuf and the Green Mountains resulted in his reporting that the

75 Ulwa or halwa is the most popular sweets in Oman.

interior region was "one of the least known of the inhabited places of the East, even less well-known than Tibet" (Thesiger 1959: 254).

Such political circumstances also influenced Morris' (1957) writings. During the Imamah's power and control of Nizwa and the interior region most of the traveller representations of the region were negative. In contrast, his representations of the historical city soon changed after its fall under the authority of Sultan Said bin Taimur in 1955. When he stayed in Nizwa in 1955 with the Sultan Said bin Taimur, Morris (1957) described it by saying:

> Nizwa commanded an important junction of trade routes, and dominated the gateway into the Jebel Akhdar; with its four streams it was probably the best-watered town in Oman. It was the key-point of the national history, at once the Hastings, the Westminster and the Canterbury of Oman; where successive conquerors had fought their decisive battles; where in the eighth century Abdulla bin Ibadh first preached the contentious doctrines of his schism (Morris 1957: 102).

Morris' (1957) projection of Nizwa here is one of the most strikingly positive statements written by a British travel writer about the interior region in early 20th century. He praised the geographical location of Nizwa as well as its political, cultural, economic and environmental positions. To enhance and familiarise his writing for European readers, Morris (1957) imported three well-known icons to present the importance of Nizwa, and the Sultan's control of the city: 'Hastings', 'Westminster' and 'Canterbury'. *Hasting* was used to present the importance of the Sultan Said and the British victory against Imamah in the interior regions, which resulted in their success in expanding and securing the frontier regions, which surrounded the oil fields. To enhance his descriptions of the ruler's campaign and its historical record in the Omani history, he compared the Sultan Said and the British forces victory of Nizwa with the Normans'

invasion of England in 1066, and their victory at the Battle of Hastings, which established Norman rule over England (BBC, 2004).

Parliament is one of the dominant institutional icons in British political history. Consequently, *Westminster* was used by Morris (1957) to present the political importance of Nizwa in Omani history to mark the resistance against the invaders in Oman, and its previous role as one of the capitals of the country. In projecting the religious position of the city, he compared it with *Canterbury* in England where many Christians visit its famous church, and his description included Nizwa's role as the centre of the Ibadhi Islamic doctrine.

The resistance of Al Buraimi

For political and imperialistic reasons, Al Buraimi was featured in Wellsted's (1838), Miles' (1877) and Morris' (1957) accounts more than other travel works. It was also narrated in Thesiger's (1959) account under a headline "a holiday in Buriami" (p. 261).

In their description of the oases, Wellsted (1838), Miles (1877) and Morris (1957) wrote of the importance of Al Buraimi as one of the most important frontier cities because of its location. Morris (1957), particularly, provided details of the Wahabis movement towards South Arabia and Oman and the Saudis invasions of the oases in the 19th and the early the 20th century. In their writing about this political problem, the three travellers highlighted two issues: the political influences and the ideological effects of the Wahabis movement on the Omani society.

The political issue mainly concerned Saudi movements towards the frontier regions of Oman (e.g. Al Buraimi). The ideological, cultural and social interests

were related to the Saudi strategy of influencing decision-makers and planners in Oman by supporting Omani opposition groups and converting a few Omani tribes to the Wahabis ideology. In the early days, many travellers in Oman and the region referred to it as the Al Buraimi conflict. Travellers from Wellsted (1838) to Morris (1957) studied and wrote about both tactics and policies.

In describing the oases of Al Buraimi, writers focused on four themes: the 'Wahabi' or Saudi movements; the Sultans' and Imams' reactions; the British attitudes and activities; and descriptions of Al Buraimi the place and the people. For example, Morris (1957), who travelled with the Sultan Said bin Taimur in the oases, described the importance of the oases:

> The most important gateway to these regions was a group of oases called Buraimi, deposited on the junction between Saudi Arabia, the *Sheikhdom of Abu Dhabi* (linked to Britain by treaty), and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The sovereignty of this place was *not very clearly defined.* The *British claimed it* on behalf of the Sheikh and the Sultan, each of whom thought himself ruler of part of it. The Saudis claimed it for themselves. A straggling series of palm groves and villages, *Buraimi was a centre of communication and political activity*: *the power that controlled Buraimi was in a fair way to controlling all that part of the frontier.* Through it passed the Imam's gold and arms from Saudi Arabia, and the Saudis did their best to suborn officials stationed there. According to the British, one man was offered £20 m. to declare for King Saud (a figure taken by most people with a slight but sympathetic pinch of salt) and largess was certainly distributed widely among the local tribesmen. In 1952 the Saudi Government using transport provided by the American oil company, sent forces into the oasis and occupied part of it. The angry Sultan was restrained from marching against them by the British Government, which did not then want to endanger relations with the United States; but arbitration failed, and in 1955 the British themselves expelled the Saudi forces (Morris 1957: 24).
>
> Forty years later the British might not have been very interested, were it not for oil: but the search for new oil fields at that end of the Arabian Peninsula revived the whole vexed question of frontiers and allegiances. Higher up the Persian Gulf the demarcation lines between oil concessions were well defined and generally

> recognized; but the hazy frontier between Saudi Arabia and Oman, the subject of innumerable diplomatic skirmishes, became an economic battle line.
> For years an American company had been active in Saudi Arabia, bringing that antique autocracy immense wealth and considerable political power; and if Oman could be brought legally within the Saudi orbit, any oil there might also be exploited by Americans. However, the Sultan had already (*pace* the Treaty of Sib) granted a concession for the whole of Muscat and Oman to a predominantly British company; and though his right to do so was disputed by the Imam, the Saudis, the Egyptians, and many an American oil lawyer, the British Government was supporting him strongly (Morris 1957: 23).

By claiming that, "in 1955 the British themselves expelled the Saudi forces" (ibid. 23), Morris (1957) ignored the fact that the Omanis were the force behind the expulsion of the invaders from Al Buraimi. It has been recorded that the Sultans in Muscat and their opponent in the interior had been in conflict since 1868, but this disagreement did not affect their unity of views towards the importance of securing the land. They became united for the first time to defend the oases and to expel the Saudis from their territories. Thus, even though the British supported the Sultan, the reality was that the Omanis fought to expel invaders from their territories.

The Al Buraimi conflict was simply a game in the region. It was an economic game played between the British and the American oil companies on the one hand, and a political game played between the Wahabi (Saudi) leaders and the Omani ruler on the other. In the end, it seems that the Sultan Said bin Taimur, with the support from his British ally as well as from the Imamah in Nizwa, won the game. But Sultan Said was not the only winner. Later events presented more winners and losers at the same time. In addition to the economic and social advantages gained as a result of the peace process and the new oil developments, the British and the Americans were the main winners economically. The

Americans were free from British competition in Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, while the British secured their oil explorations and interest in Oman and United Arab Emirates.

The surface meaning showed that the Saudis had lost their claim in the oases, but events that occurred in the region in the last 50 years showed that they gained some ideological and political success. Their award was not Al Buraimi lands, but in the other parts of the region. During their occupations Saudis planted an ideology called the 'Wahabis Doctrines' in the region. They attempted to convert many tribes in South Arabia to their ideology, and by offering financial support they tried to transform the tribes conversion into a political gain (Morris, 1957). A comparison of the early travellers' maps of the Empty Quarter and their routes in the country (Map 1) with modern maps ((Map 2) shows that Saudis won the British and Imamah silence and the American support to expand their territory towards the Empty Quarter, and probably made some other movements towards the land of the other states in the Arabian Peninsula (e.g. Yemen, Qatar and Kuwait).

In addition, after the Saudi departure from the oasis of Al Buraimi, two important events took place in South Arabia and Oman. The first, by controlling Al Buraimi, the Sultan Said succeeded in preventing foreign support for his Imamah opponents in the interior. By this action and with the support he received from Britain, Sultan Said military campaigns in Nizwa and Jabal Al Akhdar succeeded in ending the Imamah control of the interior region and their threat to oil exploration in Oman.

The second event was the establishment of the United Arab Emirates as a political unity in South Arabia in 1971 (Zahlan, 1978). Oil exploration and production in the States of Abu Dhabi and Dubai acted as a catalyst for the seven states union which affected the unity of the Omani lands. By the new union, Musandam, the northern region of Oman separated from the homeland, and people travelling between Musandam and other Omani regions have to cross the territory of the new state. In addition, Al Buraimi oases which the Omanis fought Saudis for more than 150 years was divided between Oman and the state of Abu Dhabi (Morris, 1957: 120).

The resistance of Qalhat

Qalhat is one of the most ancient and Islamic cities in Oman. It is classified by this as a maritime site because most traveller projections of the town were mainly based on its history o during the Omani Empire and before the Portuguese' destruction of the town in the 15th century. Although travellers like Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896) mentioned the ancient history of Qalhat, but none of the travellers spoke of the Portuguese destruction to the town..

Qalhat, in the Gulf of Oman, is one of the first ancient and Islamic cities. The city is located forty miles east of Muscat and six hundred miles from Dhofar. Qalhat flourished with trade and commerce with India and Africa and was visited and described by many traders, travellers and geographers in the 12th and 13th centuries including Marco Polo, Abulfeda and Ibn Battuta [76] and they praised the generosity and the tolerance of its inhabitants. They described Qalhat as a noble

76 Marco Polo called Qalhat Kalatu

city by the sea with one of the most famous markets in the East (Ibn Battuta, 1994; Billecocq, 1994).

Between the 13th and the 16th century, Qalhat was also the main commercial centre in the region, but it was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1507. Compared with other ancient cities, only a few British travellers described Qalhat. For example Wellsted (1838) stopped at Qalhat in his way to Sur in 1835:

> Kilhat is an ancient town, mentioned by several of the Arabian authors. Its ruins cover an extensive tract, but only one building remains in a state of tolerable preservation. This is a small mosque, which, judging from the writing on various parts of it, has been frequented by Indian Mussulmans. Its interior is covered with party-coloured glazed tiles, on which are inscribed, in relievo, sentences from the Koran. To the northward of these ruins there is a small fishing Village, the inhabitants of which also occasionally employ themselves in digging amidst the ruins for gold coins, the metal of which in Maskat is considered to be of the purest kind. Some of these bear the name of the Caliph Haroun el Rashid (Wellsted 1838: 41-2).

Qalhat's contribution to Omani history occurred on two occasions. The first was when the town hosted the first immigrants of the Al Azd tribe from Yemen in the 2nd century. The second occurred when Qalhat became one of the noble towns and commercial centres in the East in the 13th and fourteenth centuries (Ross and Power 1969, Ibn Baattuta, 1856 cited in Billecocq, 1994).

In the travel data of this research, the travellers discussed and described the town on several occasions. Miles (1919) mentioned it during his journey to Sur. "September 1st.– Saw Kilhat at 10 a.m. and reached Soor at 2 p.m." (Miles, 1919, cited in Ward, 1987:169). Stiffe (1897), who surveyed the coast between Dhofar and Muscat in 1860, described the history of the Portuguese in Qalhat:

> They next anchored off Curiate (Quriyat), stormed and took it, and put all to the sword who tried to escape, including women and

children*; they plundered and burnt it, so that not a house was left standing, not even the mosque, one of the most beautiful ever seen." They cut off the noses and ears of the prisoners and sent them to Hormuz. Thirty-eight ships, great and small were burned. It was a large town, and contained about 5000 to 6000 men, an entrepôt of ships, which came to collect dates. (Stiffe 1897 cited in Ward 1987: 28).

Another British description of Qalhat was made by Bent and Bent (1900):

> At first the Arabs were inclined to receive the Portuguese with a struggle; but taking courage from the presence of a large army of Bedouins in the vicinity, they soon showed treacherous intentions towards the invaders, so that the Portuguese admiral determined to attack the town and destroy it, and the commentator states that 'within were burned many provisions, thirty-four ships in all, large and small, many fishing barks, and an arsenal full of every requisite for ship-building.
>
> After effecting a landing, the Portuguese ordered ' three gunners with axes to cut the supports of the mosque, which was a large and very beautiful edifice, the greater part being built of timber finely carved, and the upper part of stucco', and it was accounted a propitious miracle by the Portuguese that the men who performed this deed were not killed by the falling timber (Bent and Bent 1900: 50-1).

Bent and Bent (1900) hoped to find an excuse for the Portuguese' crime in Qalhat and Muscat. They said that the attitudes of the locals '*showed treacherous intentions*' and refusal to submit was the reason behind the Portuguese' destruction of the town. In addition to this excuse for the destruction, they argued the destruction of the mosque was a way to disrupt logistic support. The Portuguese forces at that time did not just set fire to the city with its houses, forts, mosques, port and ships, they cut off the ears and noses of the prisoners and killed many women and children in the city. The Portuguese also committed genocide towards the locals in Qalhat and Muscat. The atrocities were a warning they sent to the other coastal regions in the Gulf (e.g. Hormuz, Bahrain).

In their writings British travellers in Oman focused on a sanitised version of history and ignored the dark parts. All of them wrote of the Portuguese relationships with the ethnic groups and depicted and portrayed the Portuguese forts in Muscat, but most travellers ignored the Portuguese destruction of Qalhat and the atrocities committed against its inhabitants.

(c) The land of Empire

In analysing travellers' depictions of Oman as the land of Empire, this study uses the writers' descriptions of the cities of Sohar and Sur, with their historical ports and surrounding towns, villages and coastal areas. Sur, with its popular port, was the Omani gate towards the imperial ports in Africa and India. Sohar was one of the main trade centres in the region and many British travellers went to it to assess its resources and the multicultural community that inhabited Sohar. Mirbat in the south region of Oman had also some historical role in connecting the province of Dhofar with the Indian Ocean ports and other Omani coastals cities such as Sur, Muscat and Sohar, but due to the limited descriptions which provided by early travellers about it, this section is limited the role of Sur and Sohar.

Sur and its surrounding towns

Due to The times of their journeys and the differences in aims, the travellers' representations and works of Sur and its surrounding coastal villages and oases differed. Wellsted (1838) focused on assessing the empire's structure in the region and its inhabitant's culture and customs. Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1919) also claimed that the port of Sur was the centre for the slave trade in Arabia. Consequently, one of their aims was to investigate the town's involvement in the trade and to assess its power. Another claim, stated by British writers, was that Sur and Jalaan were occupied by a tribe that was involved in piracy against British ships in the Indian Ocean.

> The contiguous country is cultivated in patches of considerable extent, and the date groves are numerous and extensive. It is, however, to commercial pursuits that *the people of Sur are principally devoted, possessing a good harbour.* Belonging to the port they have *about three hundred bagalas of different sizes*, which trade, during the fair season, to and *between the shores of India, Africa, and the Arabian and Persian Gulf.* Its own *exports and imports are trifling*, the former being dates and salt fish, the latter grain, cloth, and C.; but the profit derived from the interchange of the various productions of the quarters I have named, is sufficient to support them in affluence during the adverse period of the year. They acknowledge the authority, but pay no tribute to Sayyid Said. Sur is thought to be of great antiquity – it is supposed to have been occupied by the Syrians (Wellsted 1838: 44).

Sur at the time of Wellsted's (1838) journey was the second Omani port for travel to, and foreign trade with, Africa and India. By counting the number of ships in the port and noting the quality of the port, Wellsted (1838) was clearly carrying out an assessment of the port. This assessment extended to covering the loyalties of the inhabitants.

In addition to their assessment of the empire ports and their claims of the involvement of Sur in slave trade and piracy, travellers also spoke the historical

importance of city as one of the commercial centres in the region. Miles (1896) spoke of the Phoenicians trade history in the town:

> This port and Sur are *the Karteia and T Sor*, the *Carthage and Tyre*, of the *race* whom we know as *the Phoenicians*, and who, as far back as the time *of Solomon*, or earlier, had *trading-stations* along the southern coast of Arabia. They are undoubtedly of *great antiquity*, and retain *their primitive names to this day*. Their convenient and important position on the Arab coast *just opposite India*, must, like *Kilhat and Khor Jerama* (Corodamon), have led to their early occupation as trading depots by the merchants of those times who were engaged in exchanging the productions of the East and West (Miles 1896, cited in Ward 1987: 125).

In the above extract Miles (1896) spoke of historical roles of Sur as a port of call for many ships. He also spoke of the Phoenician history in the town and informed his reader that the trade still existed at the time of his visit because their primordial names were maintained.

After the British domination of the region and the increase of local resistance against outsider control of their land, travellers' projections changed. The importance of the town as a trade centre declined and many British writers (e.g. Miles 1896; Bent and Bent 1900) claimed that the port of Sur was used as a gateway to export slaves to other parts of Arabia. In addition, the British, because of their anti-slavery regulations, authorised themselves to stop and search Omani ships on routes between Africa and Arabia.

This action was viewed unfavourably by many tribes on the coastal region of the Gulf and they responded to it by attacking British ships in the Gulf, Arab Sea and Indian Ocean (Miles, 1919; Al Qasimi, 1988). Consequently, the travellers' writings of Sur and other coastal oases in the eastern region like Jalaan and Al Askhara, concentrated on their involvement in the slave trade and

assessing the attitudes of the locals towards Britain. Bent and Bent (1900) described the issue by saying:

> Our gunboat, the Sphinx, goes the round of the coast to prevent this traffic in human flesh, and frequently slaves swim out to the British steamer and obtain their liberty. This naturally makes us very *unpopular in Sur*, where the Jenefa tribe have their headquarters, the most inveterate slave-traders of southern Arabia. The natural result is that whenever they get a chance the Jenefa tribe loot any foreign vessel wrecked on their shores and murder the crew. (Bent and Bent 1900: 60-1).

Sohar

Sohar is another city mentioned in the travellers' writings of the land of empire. Out of ten travellers in Oman three travellers in this sample visited the city, Wellsted in 1837, Miles in 1877 and Morris in 1955, also Stiffe (1897), who surveyed the coastal regions from Sur to Musandam, describing Sohar by saying "Edrisi (1153) mentions in Oman, first Kalhat (Qalhat) and Sur and then Sohar, which he says is one of the most ancient cities of Oman, and one of the richest" (Stiffe, 1897:19). Wellsted (1838) described the city as one of the most famous trade centres in Oman in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Said (1978) asserts that European discourse about the Orient inevitably focused on the east where their "great moments were in the past" (p. 35). In their projection of Sohar, Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896) suggested the same about Sohar. They wrote of the history of the town and its trade with other civilisations (e.g. Chinese, Indian) in 12^{th} and 13^{th} century and praised it.

The travellers also recorded the changes that occurred in its economy and Sohar geographical importance, as in these extracts from Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1877):

> In the latter they must at an early period have attained considerable perfection, *since we learn that their ships, in the twelfth century, sailed from Sohar on distant voyages, even so far as China.* At present nearly the whole of the commerce of Oman passes through the hands of the merchants at Maskat; and I have given in my account of that City all the necessary details (Wellsted, 1838: 317-8).

> Trade is said to be decreasing annually, and to be transferring itself to Shargah, which is almost as easy of access to the principal customers as Sohar, the Arabs of el-Dhahireh and el-Jow, and where goods are cheaper, being imported thither direct from Bombay, and thus saving Muscat dues and re-shipment (Miles 1877 cited in Ward 1987: 423).

Wellsted (1838) investigated the infrastructure of Sohar, its port, the number of ships, its trade activities, and the inhabitants activities and resources:

> In point of commercial importance, Sohar ranks next to Maskat. It has about forty large bagalas belonging to it, and maintains a considerable trade with Persia on the one hand, and India on the other. The number of inhabitants is estimated at nine thousand; but some of these, residing in contiguous hamlets, are included in the estimate. Sohar is an ancient town: from its ports the Arabian ships formerly took their departure for China. I find mention made of it in several early authors. To the Portuguese, under the name of Soar, it was well known(Wellsted 1838: 423).

> Sohar has no harbour, nor even the slightest shelter for native craft, and is dependent entirely on its position in being able to tap the trade of Upper el-Dhahireh and el-Jow for existence, and should this source of prosperity be in part drawn off by rival ports, it must sink in time to the level of other towns in the Batinah (Miles 1877 cited in Ward 1987: 423).

Contacts between locals and outsiders were stressed in the writings of both travellers. They investigated the relationship between the inhabitants of Sohar with the Sultan of Muscat, the Imamah and the Wahabis in the city. For Wellsted (1838) and Miles, (1896) Sohar was their gateway to the frontier oases of Al Buraimi. They landed in Sohar before they travelled to the oases. From Sohar Wellsted (1838) extended his journeys to Shinas, Deba and Musandam in the

north and visited Al Sharjah, Ras Al Khaima and the other coastal towns in the Gulf of Oman.

The last traveller in the sample to visit Sohar was Morris (1957) who accompanied Sultan Said bin Taimur on his historical journey in 1955-6. Morris' (1957) projection of the place was slightly different from those of Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896). He mentioned the poor infrastructure and resources, but his assessment of the resources of Sohar and the city interaction with outsiders was similar to those of Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896). He spoke of an event that occurred in Sohar at the time of his visit. He described how Sultan Said bin Taimur assembled his forces, joined with the tribesmen and Imamah in Sohar in 1952, and marched against the Saudis invasion of the Al Buraimi oases. Morris (1957) also commented on the importance of Sohar in modern political history:

> This was a place of significance for the Sultan. The founder of his sultanly dynasty had been the Governor of Sohar in 1744, at the time when in a brilliant *coup* d'état, he had taken advantage of the prevailing confused situation to become master of Muscat and Oman (ibid.131).

In addition to his emphasis of the importance of the city to Sultan Said bin Taimur, Morris added that the city had, "indeed, enjoyed its times of independence; when d'Albuquerque captured it in 1507 its garrison included more than fifty knights clad in steel armour, with the forequarters of their horses also plated" (Morris 1957: 133).

Imperial association presented prominently with Morris' (1957) account about Sohar. He spoke of the British forces which were based in the city and its commander "two British officers ran this little army, and I enjoyed talking to them

as some of the last of the British mercenaries among the Arabs (Morris, 1957: 134).

(d) The land of Frankincense

The land of frankincense in this section refers to Dhofar, the southern region of Oman. Surveyors and explorers such as Haines (1845), Miles (1919), Theodore and Mable Bent (1900), Thomas (1932), Thesiger (1959) and Morris (1957) mostly focused on finding the ancient civilisations who had inhabited the region and heritages that had become lost in South Arabia.

Out of the seven travellers Haines (1845), Bent and Bent (1900) and Thesiger (1959) were the writers who highlighted the built environment in Dhofar and its surrounding areas. In their descriptions of the built environment of Dhofar they focused on four themes: (1) the place resources and its foreign trade activities; (2) the ancient heritages of the province; (3) the social structure of the region's tribes; and (4) travellers' writings of the province's political relationship with the Sultans' authority in Muscat.

Most of the travellers' writings focused on studying ancient heritage rather than its Islamic history. They all visited the ancient sites of Sumahram and Khor Rouri. Thomas (1832) and Thesiger (1959) were unique in their investigation of Ubar in the sands. A number of writers also mentioned historical tombs such as 'Kubbat' (Haines, 1845) and an old mosque in Mirbat. Haines (1845) was the earliest British traveller and surveyor who visited the region and ascended the Al Qara chain in 1834. In addition to his investigating the region's resources, trade

activities and its relationship with outsiders, Haines (1845) described the influence of Sayyid Said bin Sultan in the region and its tribal relationship.

In their writing of the trade activities in the region, frankincense was described by all the travellers as the main export product. Frankincense was stressed in Haines (1845) projection of the province trade with outsiders:

> The frankincense and gum-arabic annually exported from Morbát, and Dhafár (Dhofar) vary from about 3,000 to 10,000 maunds,* which is nothing to what might be procured, the trees being exceeding numerous on the mountain declivities and in the valleys inland, and attaining a height varying from 15 to 25 feet (Haines 1845, cited in Ward 1987: 481).

Haines (1845) also recorded the imports into the region. He wrote of the number of ships that visited the port and the commodities they transported. He explained the relationship between the seafarers and sailors in Dhofar with the people in the northern regions of Oman, Sur, Mesirah, Muscat and other Persian Gulf ports.

> Trading boats now frequently touch at the villages along the shore of Dhafár, and barter dates, rice, and cloth for gums, butter and grain; and, as this coast forms the shore of the gum-country, it might, with a good system of government, and an industrious population, be rendered a most flourishing tract. (ibid.481).

Few travellers wrote about the connection between the region and the political authority in Muscat. From the early 20th century writers also spoke of the British influence and domination in Dhofar. When describing internal issues, many travellers agreed that the tribal society of the region was one of the most complicated they had experienced in Arabia and the most difficult issue that faced the local government in controlling Dhofar. This complex issue was frequently stressed by Bent and Bent (1900) and Thomas (1932).

> Al Hafa and the Dhofar were ruled over autocratically by Wali Suleiman, who was sent out there about eighteen years before as governor, at the request of the feud-torn inhabitants, by Sultan Tourki of Maskat. In his small way Wali Suleiman was a man of great capacity; a man who has made history, and could have made more if his sphere had been larger. In his youth he was instrumental in placing Tourki on the throne of Oman, and after a few years of stern application to business he brought the bellicose families of the Gara tribe under his power; and his influence was felt far into the interior, even into the confines of Nejd. With a handful of Arabs and a badly armed regiment of slave origin he had contrived to establish peace and comparative safety throughout the Gara Mountains and, thanks to him, we were able to penetrate their fastnesses. Wali Suleiman was a stern, uncompromising ruler, feared and respected, rather than loved (Bent and Bent 1900:235-6).

The travellers' delight in their encounter with Wali Suliaman is evident from the above extract. They praised the governor's support in helping them finish their tasks. "Without whose direct assistance we plainly saw that nothing could be done about extending our expedition into the interior" (ibid. 232). They were also delighted with his success in establishing the Sultanate authority in Dhofar and they recognised the Wali's personality and his strong influence among the locals.

The Sultans' relationship with the Dhofar region was featured elswhere in early 20th century travel writings, and it was described by Thomas (1932), Morris (1957) and Thesiger (1959). Thomas (1932) who worked as the advisor to the ruler and the First Wazir stated, 'The Sultan *treated Dhufar as a Royal Domain*'. His rule through the Wali was *'personal and untrammelled'* by any foreign influence; the *regime was tribal*, which I think to be the best form of government for tribal Arabia" (Thomas, 1932: 36). Later on, the Sultanate' authority and influence in the region was enhanced by Sultan Said bin Taimur's movement from

* Mans; but do the Arabs use this Indian measure?

Muscat to Dhofar, and his decision to live and isolate himself in the region for more than 12 years (Morris 1957; Thesiger 1959).

In addition to the internal issues, the travellers described foreign influence (particularly Britain) in the region. Travellers such as Haines (1845), Miles (1896), Bent and Bent (1900) and Thomas (1932) spoke of the history of the region in exporting frankincense to the Greek, Roman and Egyptian. In describing this glorious history of Oman and Dhofar, Thomas (1932) wrote:

> If there be any region in Arabia entitled to the epithet 'happy,' other than the Yemen, whose glories were well known to the ancients, it is this province of Dhufar, an Arcadia of luxuriant forests that clothe steep mountains overlooking the sea, of perennial streams and sunny meadows, of wide vistas and verdant glades.
> Here according to the writer of Genesis, Jehovah had set the limit of the known world 'as thou goest east unto *Mount Sephar'*; hither came the *ancient Egyptians* for *frankincense* to embalm *their sacred Pharaohs*; here, may be, were hewed *the pillars of Solomon's Temple*, if indeed Dhufar be not the site of *Ophir* itself, and the traditional market for *ivory and peacocks' feathers* (Thomas 1932: xxiii).

Cohen (1982) stated that " the quest for an earthly paradise is a widerspread and perhaps universal theme in the history of man's longings" (p.1). Paradisiac quest expresses man's desire to regain their unity: to achieve both the perfect order as well as the happiness of an undifferentiated, primordial state (p.2). It is one version of the ubiquitous religious "quest" for the centre" (p.3). Paradise entices the seeker with the promise of immortality and eternal bliss (ibid.). sojourn in paradise signifies the highest state of individual consciousness, the existential experience par excellence.

By visiting the earthly paradise of Dhofar Thomas hoped to experience re-creation and self- renewal. He was looking to rejuvenate and heal himself and

replenished his powers. Said's (1978) stated that European discourses focus on the past of the Orient rather than the modern day (p. 35). Although Thomas in the above excerpt, employed both the nature and the heritages to project the place's beauty and happiness, he strongly emphasised the ancient, the mythical and religious attributes.

In writing of the place heritage Thomas used a number of mythical and religious elements such as the bible, the Egyptian, frankincense, ivory, peacocks' feathers, Pharaohs and the pillars of king Solomon' Temple. His mythical description was supported by his references to Ubar or Ophir and the Queen of Sheba gifts which presented to King Solomon's. Ubar was one of the ancient sites that studied and described by Thomas (analysed in Chapter 7, Part 3, Section 2).

In addition to the sacred paradise and Thomas description of the place heritages, Thomas (1932) also saw Dhofar as an earthly natural paradise. He praised its beauty and happiness. This happiness was represented by Thomas' (1932) projection of the greenery of the land, the tropical weather, the luxuries, and Dhofar's glorious history in trading of frankincense with the Greeks, the Roman and the Egyptians.

Finally, in their depiction of the built environment in the region many travellers wrote about British imperial interests in the region. In the 19th century, travellers spoke of ships that used Mirbat as a port of call in their journey towards India and Africa or Arabia. Haines (1845) also wrote about his survey of activities on the southern coast.

The Royal Air Force (RAF) camp in Salalah was the most dominant imperial structure represented by Thomas (1932), Thesiger (1959), and Morris (1957). Thesiger (1959) had stayed in the camp and started his historical journeys to the Empty Quarter from there. In projecting the R.A.F Thesiger (1959) wrote: "While at Salalah I stayed with the R. A. F. in their camp outside the town. It was on a bare stony plain which was shut in by the Qara mountains a few miles away, and had been set up during the war when air route from Aden to India was opened. This route was no longer used, but once a week an aeroplane came to Salalah from Aden (Thesiger 1959: 29).

Part 4. Natural and built environments in travelogues

Introduction

A travelogue is defined as a "form of tourism promotion material in its own right, at the same time, it has indicated the various points of convergence and divergence in relation to other types of travel communications" (Dann, 1992: 62). It is an "impressionistic and evaluative post-trip, published account of one destination or more, published for the purposes of promotion, information and entertainments about destinations (ibid. p. 62).

Travelogue articles published about Oman in the British media serve to publicise and promote the country to the British market. The travelogue is 'personal, evaluative' (Dann, 1996a: 352) and provides readers and potential tourists with vital information programmed to be evaluative, with more independent detail than a reader could get in a commercial brochure.

In analysing early travellers' description of the landscape in Oman, Part One divided into two sections: natural environment and built environment. In contrast, Part Two approach of the travelogues descriptions of the landscape in Oman is different. In their writings about the natural elements journalists paid more attention to describing the sands as one of the most attractive natural spots to visit in Oman. So, of the natural elements, Section One focused only in analysing writers descriptions of the sands and the environmental changes that occurred on it and its Bedouin inhabitants. In relating to the built environment travelogue writers paid more attention to attempt of familiarising the country for their readers and seeking linguistic forms to reduce its strangeness. Section Two analysed four

of these familiarisation methods (travellers' name, the employment of expatriates, comparing Oman with other destinations, and using international tourists' brands).

Section 1. Natural attractions in travelogues

Of the 32 articles on Oman published in the British press (1996 – June 2001) and appraised in this study, nineteen articles described desert life and its exotic attractions as the main theme. So, in the analysis of travelogue descriptions of natural attractions, this section focused on projections of the sands and the changes that occurred on the sands and the life of its Bedouin inhabitants. The journalist writings of the sands as a natural element focused on three themes: (1) Sands as authentic, exotic and as a place to escape from modern life; (2) The social and cultural changes that occurred in the sands; and (3) Changes that occurred on the place environment.

(1) Sands as authentic, exotic and as a place to escape from modern life

The sand regions of Oman particularly Wahiba Sands, have become one of the most popular natural attraction in the country. With its 'authentic' (MacCannell, 1976) Bedouin life, Wahiba Sands are on almost every itinerary of the journalists and tourists. Giles, a journalist, described his experience in the region as follows:

> Camping in the desert is another invigorating change from ordinary life. The Wahiba Sands, a great sand sea inland from Oman's eastern coast, consists of wave after wave of precipitous ridges, leading to moonscape plateaux. Driving for the uninitiated could be hazardous. Our expert Omani driver took a delight in scaring the wits out of us by fearlessly plunging the car *at the crest of a big slope of 45 degrees and then fearlessly plunging down it.* There is

> no danger provided the vehicle begins the descent at a right - angle to the slope. "Take woollies", all the books tell you, "against the coldness of the desert at night". How right they are. It is not just cold but damp as well. Any clothes left out of the tent are soaking by sunrise. The compensation for these slight discomforts is the sensation of solitude and dead quietness (*The Independent*, 01.02.1998).

The sands were seen by Thesiger (1959) "as a place of refuge" (p. 277), where raiders could hide and escape. Such a view is totally absent in contemporary travelogues. With modern technologies, satellite facilities and the huge developments that have occurred in these areas, it is no longer a place to hide, and the sands have become a consumer playground where local families and tourists escape from modern day lives to enjoy wilderness, quietness and the authenticity.

The Sands are depicted as a "wild and silent place" (*The Mail* 21.01.1996) at night and visitors do not just enjoy the quietness and peaceful sleep, but under the desert sky at night, they can 'contemplate a humbling experience'. The antonym language of the sands as hot and sunny during the day, and cold, silent and wild at night appear in many travelogue writings about the sands. In their introductions, many journalists revealed their previous images about Arabia as an arid and inhospitable desert, but their perceptions soon changed and their projections varied from region to region. They projected the country as a magic place and assured their readers that Oman was the source of many civilisations. For example, Spufford (2001) wrote the following in the *Condé Nast Traveller*:

> Night in Arabia. We drove across a dry plain, all scale lost as the headlights of the four-wheel-drive reduced the land around us to a wavering grey circle, in which an acacia tree occasionally appeared without warning, or looming face of a cliff, or the low compound of a village house sealed tight against the night, all equally bleached. The sky above us, however, was alight, for the cliché about stars

> being extra if seen from the desert only became a cliché by being true. From pole to pole, the firmament was a display case of diamonds. Altair and Deneb, Rigel and Aldebaran – stars we in the West still call by the Arabic names the desert astronomers gave them- blazed without a flicker. Ahead of us, the crescent moon lay on its back at the bottom of its grey lunar disc. Brought up on the European sky, I'd always thought the crescent had to wax from left to right. Nature seemed magically altered in this elemental particular (March 2001: 54).

This is not a sea, sand and sex destination, but as many travellers depicted, a rare environmental, cultural and traditional destination where tourists can enjoy six natural attractions: *the sea*, *the sun*, *the sand*, *the sky* with its *stars* and the crescent moon combined with the *souqs* and other cultural attractions.

The representations of the sands as an exotic bedroom on which to experience a romantic night in Arabia occurred in many articles about Oman. Gall et al. wrote in *The Travellers* that they had "[slept] out under the stars for the last time at the end of our journey" (Autumn, 1996: p. 33). Luke Martin also described the experience on the Omani sands by saying that "the desert is completely silent at night. Surprisingly, this is not at all conductive to peaceful sleep, but it is a good opportunity to take in the spectacle of the desert sky by night and to contemplate a humbling experience" (Martin *The Times*, 10.08.1996). Chris Caldicott wrote in *The Independent* that "[this] great sand is made up of immense, linear dunes that stretch to the horizon and provide a comfortable bed under the most dazzling of night skies" (18.01.1997).

(2) The social and cultural changes that occurred in the sands

The second theme of this section is the social, cultural and economical changes that occurred in the relationship between the insiders - the Bedouins - and the outsiders - writers and tourists. Travelogue writers focused mainly on the former and do not provide much detail of the latter. Through analysis of travelogue data and the early travel accounts about Oman, it is possible to identify the changes that have occurred in travel writing.

On their journeys in Oman, a few journalists have attempted to follow the early travellers' steps, in the hope of catching a glimpse of a lost world. They attempted to travel on the same routes where early travellers like Wellsted (1838), Miles (1896), Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) had travelled, but even with modern transportation, wireless facilities and accommodation, they discovered that they were not able to proceed along the same routes. In their descriptions, the journalists provided reasons behind their failure to conduct the same journeys and to follow in early travellers' steps.

In addition to the new political boundaries, journalists claimed that the old Bedu way of life had gone forever (Gall and Hitchcock *Traveller* Autumn 1996: 33) and many of them, like Atiyah, experienced difficulties in finding the real Bedouins to take them across the sands (*The Independent*, 14.03.1998). Some writers claimed that it was not just the native Bedouins who had changed, but their animals had changed, too. They said it was not only impossible to find real Bedouins, but difficult to find genuine camels. MacCannell (1976) identified "that tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression that a back region has been entered even when this is not the case" (p.589). He added that in tourist settings

there is a series of special spaces designed to accommodate tourists and to support their beliefs in the authenticity of their experiences.

In modern days, camels are mostly used to entertain tourists and the inhabitants of the urban regions in the sands. They were prepared to accommodate tourists and to support their beliefs in the authenticity of their experiences. Moreover, camels are also used in racing and thus camels provide another source of income for many Bedouins' families.

In describing these wild animals, travelogue writers have also made a kind of binary contrast between the presence of camel in Bedouin life in the past and the use of four-wheel drive or pickup trucks in the present to transport camels for racing or to the market. Here are two examples to illustrate writers' depiction of these social changes. The first was by Pattullo for *The Guardian*, and the second was by Gellhorn for *The Independent*:

> The used-car lot came into focus, sharpening into groups of Bedu. No longer travelling by camel, they had congregated with their pick-up trucks, each family group parking itself and its vehicle beside an acacia bush (20.11.1999).

> The Bedouin who own them *transported them here in new Nissan and Toyota Pick-ups. The camels kneel in the back of these little trucks with their sad, disdainful faces lifted over the rear gate* (22.06.1997).

Thesiger (1959) expressed his concerns about the new oil development in the region, and its potential influences on the Bedouins cultures. He portrayed Bedouins who assisted him and other early travellers on their desert trips as mostly "demoralised" by the new oil development in the region. These nostalgic predictions acts as a structural core to travelogue writers' descriptions of life on

the sands, and their observations of the impacts that have occurred in the lives of the inhabitants.

Journalists focused on the impacts on the insiders, and ignored those on the outsiders. They spoke of the changes that occurred in the Bedouin life, wild life, place environment and the development that occurred on the sand regions in comparison with the representations in early travel accounts. They also complained of the difficulties in finding real Bedouins travelling on a camel in the desert for months or years as their ancestors did in the early days. Many changes have occurred in the Bedouin society in Arabia, where travelling by camels in the arid desert has become very rare, and camels are used to provide entertainment in the forms of camel races, rides and part of the Bedouin love and likeness of these wild animals. So, none of the journalists referred to the changes that occurred in the nature of travel as a whole, or the changes that occurred in tourists behaviours, interests, practices and activities in Oman, which are different from early travellers experiences and practices.

Early writers such as Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) were seen as explorers, adventurers and travellers. In contrast, contemporary journalists might have some adventure interests, but they are professionals looking for stances to attract their readers. They are totally different from those early European travellers and explorers who suffered many difficulties and hardship to discover the world and to contribute to knowledge.

Contemporary journalists are often participating in familiarisation trips - "*The Freebies*" (Seaton, 1989). The '*Freebies*' by destination agencies as part of their promotion efforts. On these trips the itinerary is often controlled and

subsidised by the host nation, in order to achieve the publicity pay-off of an article or feature in the media. The journalist is not only constrained by the structure shape of the prepared itinerary, but also by time, and most important of all, the constraint to write for a consumer audience constituted by readers and audiences of the publication in which the article is featured.

The issues of camels and the changes that occurred in the Arabian Desert and Bedouin life are much more complicated than many writers have pointed out. Accordingly, there are several strands behind it.

Thesiger deplored the decline of camels and the erosion of Bedouin life. He saw it as a kind of tragic decline of a great culture. Thesiger's cautious was made from the point of view of traditional native culture in which he was romantically attached. In contrast, journalists views and depictions were based on their desire to see authenticity and natural elements continued in Arabia, to meet their desires for exotic tradition. Travel writers deplored it because they wanted to see camels from touristic perspective by experiencing camels riding and the use of camel and as a transport to travel in the desert. Journalists were just spectators looking to camels from their point of view rather than from native point of view. In contrast Thesiger representations were made from a local point of view.

On one hand, Thesiger (1959) concerns might be seen as part of the Eurocentric methods because he was an old romantic who wanted a nostalgic Arabia to still exist, which is what Said (1978) criticised, whereas in fact modernisation is a good thing; many Bedouins might like to have a fourwheel drive and modern development instead of the difficulties they had in early days. On the other hand, because Thesiger admired the Arabian and Bedouin culture, he

was quite sincerely lamented to see Bedouin culture and the life in the sands gradually dying away under the onslaught of western capitalism and oil development.

Thesiger was wrong, because it was not the decline of the camel in abslute sense, but it was the decline of it use in transport. Camels still maintain their cultural and economic centrality in Bedouin life in Oman and many other parts within the Arabian Gulf country. Bedouins involvement in camel racing, and their benefits from the sponsorship promotion packages and governments support has had its influences on the continuities of Bedouin care for their camels as a source of income. Camels are also commodified for the enjoyment of tourists and many holiday makers offered their tourists the opportunity to experience camel riding or watch camel racing.

Despite Said's (1978) criticism of western representations and their legacy descriptions of the camels in Arabia, the continuity of Omanis (particularly Bedouins) care and concern towards camels was part of the Omani government efforts in conserving natural history and sustaining the local development in the sand regions. Here, camels and other wild life projects (e.g. oryx) were used to encourage many Bedouin families to stay in their areas rather than moving towards urban cities. Tourism movement was also another aspect which was encouraged by the government to expand and sustain local developments in the desert regions, particularly in the boundary areas.

A few travelogue writers noted the changes and impacts that have occurred to the Bedouin society and the sand regions in Oman, while the article by Gall et al (1996) is one of the rare articles that featured the changes that have occurred to Bedouins and the writers as well.

> We didn't really believe that we would travel under exactly the same conditions, and suffer the same hardships as Thesiger. We both like the good life too much, and there was no way we could have climbed the Uruq as Shaiba on foot. Let alone ridden for fourteen hours a day and then dined on a date and a solitary cup of coffee. We wanted an adventure, but not too much of an adventure. It would also have been impossible to recreate the 1946 expedition, as we would not find the camel saddles or equipment in modern day Arabia. Camels travel in the back of Toyota perhaps these days as indeed ours did for the part of the journey (*Travellers*, Autumn, 1996).

Gall et al (1996) attempted to cross the Empty Quarter and produce a television documentary. They succeeded in gaining the support of the Omani government and that of the government of Abu Dhabi, but they failed to secure the Saudi's acceptance. In Dhofar, they interviewed His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said Sultan Oman. Fifty years before their journey, Thesiger (1959) met the Sultan Said bin Taimur in the same city and won his support before he conducted his second journey in the sands. Despite the claim by Gall et al (1996) that it was difficult to find real Bedouins and camels, they did travel with Bedouin companions. While they were invited to a ceremony in Mughshin, they met the famous Bin Ghabaisha, one of Thesiger's companions. He offered them his experience as a guide saying "I have been waiting for you for two weeks in my house" and " I am ready to start whenever you want". During their stay Gall et al rode camels for filming purposes, but most of the time they journeyed in their cars.

(3) Changes that occurred in the sands environment

Another issue of travelogue writers' depictions is the changes that have occurred in the land after oil exploration has started. Many journalists noted that the oil infrastructure and the movement of people to live near the new industry projects had spoiled some of the sand regions. Such developments had influenced not just the Bedouins' cultures and customs, but it also disturbed the place environment and its wildlife.

In their writings about these environmental impacts in the sand regions, journalists' representations about Oman were mainly positive. They noted the impacts on the wild animals, but they praised Omani efforts in conserving and protecting their natural history and wildlife. Here are two examples that exemplify the journalists' depictions and views on this issue. Both articles were published in *The Telegraph*. The first was by Mike Brown while the second by Polly Pattullo:

> If your idea of a Gulf State is gravel deserts and oil wells, Oman exists to confound it. The country has rugged mountain ranges of an astounding, austere beauty and miles of unspoilt beaches bordering the Arabian Sea. (03.01.1998)

> Here, the future of the rare white Oryx is the priority. "It is sad to think that the Arabian Oryx ... are also doomed as soon as cars penetrate into the southern desert," wrote Thesiger in Arabian Sands, in 1959. Thesiger, who himself had taken a pot-shot at an Oryx (and missed), was right, but he had not reckoned on a doughty band of conservationists who would mastermind a "save the Oryx" program.
> By 1972, Oryx were gone from the wild (they had once roamed all over the Arabian Peninsula and north in to Syria and Iraq), but a few did, however, exist in zoos. So the object of the exercise, said Ralph Daly, the Sultan's adviser on all things environmental, was "to bring them back to Oman and release them". With the good Sultan's support (both financial and otherwise), a 30,000 square kilometre Arabian Oryx Sanctuary centred on Jaluuni, was set aside. Re-introduction began in 1982. (20.11.1999)

Previously, this study discussed the early travellers' depictions of the wildlife and the natural sounds of the 'sands music'. As part of their descriptions of the fauna and the flora in Oman, Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) frequently provided details about the wild animals they came cross or shot with their companions while they were travelling in the sands.

Travelogue writers' descriptions are different. The changes that have occurred in the country in modern days include the availability and accessibility of these wild animals as well as their protection and care. Protecting nature and avoiding negative impacts are important goals of the Omani government. Wild animals such as oryx, gazelle, hyenas, foxes and turtles, are protected by law, and a few regions where these wild animals roam, are declared public reserves.

These wildlife reserves became one of the natural attractions visited and depicted by journalists. They supported and publicised the concerns of world and that of Oman towards environmental issues and protecting world natural reserves. Edge (2001) wrote about the issue in the *Daily Express*:

> One of the world's largest concentrations of green turtles nests on the coastline at Ras al-Had, the easternmost point in Arabia. It's a protected site and you need a permit to visit it. Another government project is to reintroduce the Arabian white Oryx - the animal on which the unicorn legend is based - to the wild. Oman is the only place you can find a goat like creature called the Arabian Tahr and it is also one of the last refuges of the Arabian Leopard. More common are gazelles, Desert foxes and all manner of bird life (03.03.2001).

Local concerns with the environment brought to the surface the impacts of such efforts in the local community. A few articles discussed the environmental and social changes that have occurred in the sand regions and their influence on the residents, as well as visitors' attitudes towards these natural lives. Early

travellers and their travel companions reported their hunting activities while they were travelling in the sands. "Gazelle were plentiful at Mughshin" (Thesiger, 1959: p. 99); "Musallim had shot a gazelle the day before, and we had eaten only half the meat" (ibid.). Hunting is no longer practised and visitors very rarely come across, or shoot, any wild animals in Oman. "In a 600-mile journey we did not see any oryx or gazelle, only a few ravens riding the breeze over the dunes, the odd desert lark and wheatear, and one small scorpion" (Gall et al. 1996: 33).

Bedouins who hunted wild animals in the early days have become part of the new environmental projects and work as caretakers and guards of such animals. Some are employed as tour guides taking tourists around the sands. Atiyah (1998) wrote in *The Independent* about his observations of these changes:

> In modern Oman a few Bedu have even found new jobs as tour guides, employing their unique desert trekking skills. In the Jeddat Al-Harasis area of Wahiba, the Bedouin who once hunted the Oryx to extinction are now responsible for managing the re-introduced herds and taking tourists to see them (14.03.1998).

Local concerns with the natural attractions in the desert are not limited to the wildlife itself, but extend to the surrounding environments, such as the sands and plantations. Many sand regions (e.g. Wahiba) are recognised by law as natural reservation areas. Journalists travelling in the sand regions focus on these developmental and environmental concerns. Moreover, they experience the camel caravans and the use of modern four-wheel cars. They present the use of modern facilities in binary contrast with traditional life: camels vs. pick-up cars; Bedouin tents vs. modern houses; sleeping in the naked desert vs. modern touristic camps; water wells vs. modern water and bathing facilities; and the Bedouins use of traditional facilities instead of modern ones.

Section 2. Built attractions in travelogues

Introduction

In their writings about Oman, travelogue writers employed a number of distinctive techniques to reduce the strangeness of the place and package it in familiar ways to the readers- tourists. First, travelogue writers built on the power of well-known elite travellers like Marco Pollo, Lawrence and Thesiger. In so doing they draw on a ready made mythic dimension for elevating the desert experience in ways recognisable to the readers.

Second, international tourist brand names were brought into the text as another way of familiarising the readers with Oman and as a benchmark of the quality of the service in the country (e.g. Intercontinental, Grand Hyatt). Third, the journalists reffered to expatriates in Oman by recording their experience in the country and their encounters with Omanis. Fourth, they followed the practices of early travellers' methods in comparing the places they visited in Oman to other parts of the world familiar to European readers. And finally, travelogue writers' frequently used European history in Oman (e.g. Portuguese fort of Al Jalali, Al Mirani, and Muttrah; British history in the Telegraph Island) as an imperialist sign to familiarize the readers with the places and make reference to the contributions made by European powers to Oman.

Dann's (1992) points out that travelogues are promotion material, which "addresses the need to resolve the tension between familiarity and strangerhood – so much so that it uses a number of sociolinguistic techniques for coping with the phenomenon: simile and metaphor, the denigration of locals, the expatriate connection, and language" (p.60).

This analysis of the journalists use of the travellers' names and international tourism brands as a method of familiarisation in travelogues supports and extends Dann (1992) comments.

(1) Familiarity and strangeness in travelogues

Out of the five familiarization methods, this section assesses the first four familiarization methods, while the writer's employment of the Portuguese and British history is discussed elsewhere.

(a) Importing early traveller's name – the case of Thesiger

Travelogue writers commonly referred to previous writers in Oman. They did so to enhance and enrich their writings. In the thirty two articles used in this study, the findings of the quantitative analysis (Chapter 5) showed that Wilfred Thesiger was the most popular traveller among British journalists in Oman. Their descriptions and use of Thesiger presented a kind of mythic reference point which capitalises on the iconic status of the most celebrated of all British travellers. The name of Thesiger and his historical journeys are mentioned in eighteen articles. Journalists used the name of Thesiger to compare his observations on the wildlife in the deserts with the wildlife in present Oman. The name is also used when they described Bedouin culture and the changes that have occurred in their customs.

Of thirteen articles describing Nizwa, seven mentioned the historical attitudes of the Imam who prevented Thesiger (1959) from travelling in the Green Mountain in 1947. His failure to travel to the Green Mountain and Nizwa was also one of the main issues used to describe the historical city and its surrounding mountains. In their writings about Nizwa and the use of the name of Thesiger,

some journalists compared Thesiger's failure to travel to the religious city and the Green Mountain with the freedom of European tourists to travel and stay in the historical capital. Here are two examples:

> As recently as the Fifties, the explorer Winfred Thesiger was warned to avoid Nizwa. As the seat of the Imams, who held religious domain over that area of Oman, it had a reputation for ferocious conservatism and hostility to outsiders. Today Thesiger would more likely be dispirited by the flocks of German tourists exploring the town (Brown *The Telegraph* 03.01.1998).

> Keen to secure access to the emerging oil field, the British aided Sultan Said bin Taimar (asl) in subjugating the subversive Imam of Nizwa and his rebellious hill tribes. It was the fierce conservatism of this Imam that made it too dangerous for Wilfred Thesiger to enter the area during his explorations of the Omani deserts (Caldicott *The Telegraph* 18.01.1997).

At the time of Thesiger's (1959) visit, the Imamah and the Sultan Said bin Taimur were in conflict and the country was divided into two political systems. The first was in Muscat and the coastal regions, while the second was based in Nizwa and other interior regions. Many sources claimed that Britain was the main supporter of the Sultan, while Saudis and other Arabic countries were the main supporters of the Imamah.

The political environment in the country was almost certainly the main reason behind the Imam's refusal to meet the traveller's request to visit Nizwa. Many journalists have exaggerated the issue. The journalists ignored the fact that travellers had visited many regions in Oman under the Imam's control. For example, Thesiger (1959) travelled in Ibri, Wahiba Sands and its surrounding towns such as Adam, Manah, Bidiyah, Al Mudaibi and Ibra. He also reached the village of al Mamur just few miles from Nizwa (Thesiger, 1959).

Additionally, many European travellers like Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896) travelled in the region, and visited Nizwa, the Green Mountain and their surrounding towns and oases. They wrote some of the richest accounts in English about these regions and described the region in more detail than Thesiger (1959), who mainly concentrated on the sand regions with their Bedouin inhabitants. In addition, Thesiger (1959) did not visit the cities and the oases of the northern regions. During his journeys, Thesiger (1959) was guided by his Bedouin companions and not by people from the urban villages. "The Wali told me that he had been instructed by the Sultan to collect a party of Bedu with camels" (Thesiger, 1959). The Bedouin companions were experts on the deserts and the Bedouin way of life, but they knew less about the oases and villages.

For many writers and tourists Oman was still an undiscovered destination and tourism was still in its infancy. Such representations appear in many articles about Oman, and here are two examples:

> Half a century after the explorer Wilfred Thesiger first saw Oman it *still remains* relatively and *resolutely undiscovered.* And Thesiger could hardly be accused of failing to plug it in his book Arabian Sands (Woodward *The Guardian* 05.05.2001).

> In only 20 years Oman has come into the modern world. And gracefully- without sacrificing traditional ways and aesthetics shunning trashy Euroculture, developing amenities for its people while preserving their individuality and dignity, their history and wildlife.
>
> Thesiger thought Oman *had gone to the bad only a few decades ago*. When the first miles of road were tracked. He agonised that even such changes as medical *services and education would destroy a precious*, fragile culture. He was a curmudgeon and an anachronism even then. Still: have we done damage? How many more like us will it take to render Oman unique- beauty extinct? (Tusa *The Times* 01.02.1998).

The above two excerpts carry positive signs. This positive language used in the second example suggests that the country had developed, yet it has remained unspoilt and has succeeded in preserving its dignity, culture and natural history. These positive signs were enhanced in the second example by assurances to the reader that the land was unique, beautiful and still wild.

Thesiger (1959) visited Arabia after the collapse of many Islamic powers and the Omani domination. He explored the deserts of Arabia with their surrounding sand regions and he encountered nomadic Bedouins. His journeys in Arabia took place at a time when the region was in a state of transition from a mainly British colony to one evincing the beginning of national resistance to British and Western domination. The new oil era and its modern development represented the next stage. At this stage, most countries in the region had been moving towards transforming their traditional life to fit in with the new developments.

A mark of the perception of their superiority is the fixation of some early travellers and travelogue writers with Arabia's its past and ancient history. They saw as negative anything that challenged images of an ancient Arabia. They believed that social development would destroy the authenticity and the nature of the local cultures and Bedouin customs. Most of all, they complained of the difficulties in finding a real Bedouin, the result of the new economic, health, educational and cultural developments that have occurred in the Gulf.

In short, travel accounts in the transitional period during which Oman modernised, frequently included an element of nostalgic warning and apprehension.

(b) The employment of expatriates into the text

Another method used by travelogue writers to familiarise destinations to the readers was to depict expatriate experiences in the countries they described (Dann, 1992). Journalists, cover many aspects of expatriate lifein Oman including their abilities to cope with the local climate and its culture, and their success in interaction with the place inhabitants:

> Chris Beal, who grew up in Shropshire, fell in love with Oman, while he was serving there as an Army officer. With his German wife Hiede a born explorer whom he calls his " Bedouin " he runs the Mohamed Al-Reyami company offering tours in huge-wheel drive jeeps into the Waheeba sands desert, a good hour's drive from Muscat. "I came here years ago and have never wanted to leave," he said. Chris strapped me into one of his jeeps to plunge down the golden coloured sands in an unforgettable, if stomach -churning, experience. Take it from me: if you are looking at your shoes on the way down, the steepness is just about right (Jackson *The Birmingham Post* 25.04.1998).

The depiction of the success of the British expatriates in Oman was not limited to those in the private sector. Those who worked in the public sector were included. Jenkins (1999) wrote about his meeting with one of the British environmental experts at Ministry of Regional Municipalities and Environment:

> Mr Insall, 60, first came to Oman in 1970 when he joined the Sultan's Armed Forces and became involved with the recruitment and training of Omanis. He retired in 1982 as head of training and recruiting for the air force and his efforts were recognised when he was awarded the Order of Oman by the country's ruler, Sultan Qaboos. The medal was not only for Mr Insall's contribution to training but also his efforts towards wildlife conservation and supplying civil aid to the Sultanate's rugged Interior region (*Denbighshire Press* 15.04.1999).

(c) Comparing Oman with other destinations

The third familiarisation strategy used by travelogue writers was compare the country with those others familiar to tourists, particularly European ones. The journalists compared the country's size with other countries. They described the size of Oman in relation to its neighbours or with other European countries.

> Oman is that country, just bigger *than Britain*, at the extreme south east of the Arabian Peninsula, which sticks out into the Arabian Sea facing Asia. (Ninian *The Scotsman* 09.10.1999).

> Oman is about the same *size of Italy*, with a population of one and a half million Omanis and half a million foreigners. (The population of Rome is about 3 millions). You can imagine the thrilling sense of space. Most of the land is plains of fine gravel and sand broken by winter- dry wades, small bushes and short thorn trees. (Gellhorn *The Independent* 22.06.1997).

As part of their efforts to familiarise the readers with the natural attractions, travelogue writers compare some regions in Oman with others in the world:

> The Wahibah sand, in the south of the country, was where I planned to make my trek. The area is at least the size of Wales, and arduous enough to challenge an effect city dweller like my self. But next to the vast Rub Al Khali. Wahiba scarcely larger than Blackpool beach, but it was good enough for Wilfred Thesiger so years ago, it was good enough for me. (Atiyah *The Independent*, 14.03.1998).

> Chris Beale, the male half of a tour company, took me along to the Wahibah Sands, a true desert about the size of north Yorkshire and a geological mystery in the centre of the coastal plain three hours south of Muscat. (Gellhorn *The Independent*, 22.06.1997).

Many visitors in Oman were impressed by its cleanness and beauty. This impression was reflected in their writing about the country and its attractions.

> They say it's a kind of Switzerland in the desert. I could see that. The streets were verged with blooms and the roundabouts were like gardens. The dual carriageway from the airport has a continues [sic] hedgerow trimmed to perfection and suffused with hibiscus and bougainvillaea which need tending and watering twice a day. (Ninian *The Scotsman* 09.10.1999).

> Landing in Muscat, the capital had been a confusing experience. Muscat is an oil capital, a modern metropolis of motorway and air-conditioned buildings- a kind of Singapore of the Middle East (it comes as no surprise to discover that driving around in an unwashed car is illegal (Mansfield *The Telegraph* 02.03.1997).

The foregoing excerpts illustrate the quick development and the transformation that had occurred in Oman after 1970. Referring to a destination as clean, beautiful and environmentally friendly was the contemporary way of describing the destination as civilised, modern and well developed. It was also another way of distinguishing Oman from other destinations in the Middle East.

(d) Importing international tourist brands to the text

The final method used by the journalists to reduce the strangeness of the place was by describing tourist facilities, services and brand names available in the country that were Western in origin.

> To begin my trip, I stayed at Muscat Inter Continental Hotel on the outskirts of Muscat, which offers level of service most European hotels can only dream of, even if its otherwise excellent Mediterranean Grill fails to conjure up too many Arab dishes. (Jackson *The Birmingham Post* 25.04.1998)

> Yet all westerns will still find all their comfort, from American ice cream to pick 'n' mix. The local McDonald may look like a mosque, but it serves the same Big Mac as everywhere else (Miles *Daily Mail* 10.01.1998).

Western brand names were provided in the text, not just to familiarise the place to tourists, but to signify quality, safety and security for the destination.

(2) Overview of the travelogue descriptions of built environment in Oman

Travelogue descriptions of the built environment in Oman varied from article to article, and contained more details in comparison with the brochure descriptions.

In writing of the built environment attractions, few journalists focussed on the ancient heritage of Oman. Most of them concentrated on modern day's development. They described the modern history of the place, and recorded changes that have occurred in the local culture and heritage. Travelogue writers covered many regions in Oman and a few of them selected the same routes the early travellers used (e.g. Gall et al 1996). Muscat, where many journeys in the early days started, was still the place where most journalists in Oman begin their travel in the country. The coastal routes from Muscat towards the eastern region (particularly Sur) had become the main itinerary routes for many writers. A few journalists used the road through Ibra and Wahiba Sands to reach Sur, Jalaan and its surrounding desert oases. With the exception of The Green Mountain, Nizwa, Bahla and Jibrin and the interior region, which Wellsted (1838) and Miles (1896) visited, had become main itineraries in many journalists' programmes in Oman. Al Rustaq and Nakhal, and their surrounding oases were visited and described in nine travelogue articles. Three travellers also described Sohar and the Al Batinah coast. A number of journalists featured Dhofar. Four articles focused only on frankincense and the chain of Dhofar. These articles appeared in *The Travellers, High Life, Gloucestershire Echo, and The Times*. The desert oases in the Midland region, with its natural and wild attractions, featured in only two articles and in both cases, the writers were either on their way towards Dhofar in the south, or

crossing the desert oases between the interior towards the eastern region. Ibri and Al Buraimi, which were quite often described and visited by travellers like Wellsted (1838), Miles (1896), Morris (1957) and Thesiger (1959), were described less often by contemporary travelogue writers, and none of the journalists recorded any visits they did to both towns.

Part 5. Landscape attractions in travel brochures

Introduction

The analysis of the brochures indicated that the principal attractions of Oman were its landscape, culture and countryside regions. Tourism components such as accommodation, transportation and services also emerged as important aspects in comparison with their appearances in the early travel accounts and travelogues.

The above themes also appeared more often than others in the quantitative analysis (Chapter 5). In their projections of the country, the travel brochures employed both photographs and texts. The travel brochures were unique in the high number of pictures published about Oman in comparison with the early travel writing and travelogues. As explained in Chapter 4, the aims of this study are confined to the analyses of textual imageries. Therefore, the analysis of photographic images is not included in this study. The findings of the quantitative analysis showed that travel brochures presented a number of themes to attract potential tourists to Oman. The frequent references in the travel brochures to *landscape* and *geographical regions*, *culture* and *tourist facilities* indicate that these were the key concerns for potential tourists to Oman.

Early travel accounts were the most differentiated and complex form of text, the travelogues qA some way between early travel accounts and travel brochures. Although they draw attention to literary heritage, history and culture, then also showed with travel brochures a focus on the consumer language and customer needs.

Travel brochures on the other hand styles and categories of their own, which have little relationships with travelogues and were differently from early travel accounts. Travel brochures aims are purely commercial, and looking to sell and promote their services and the holiday programmes they offered.

Up till now the analysis of landscape compared early travel accounts and travelogues on a number of key dimensions, because to a degree travelogues have some elements and similarities with early travel accounts, while travel brochures are totally different from early travel accounts and may be seen as a separate entity in which such procedure are not adopted to be consider in analysing travel brochures.

Selling, service preoccupation, the quality of the infrastructure and easy getting to the destination, heritage and environment issues, and consumerism sights are the main features in travel brochures. In communicating with the readers and potential tourists they often used discours of social control and hedinism. However they did some times draw a familiarisation techniques found in travelogues.

Due to the tour operators aims to sell the destination and their services to the potential customers, travel brochures description of the destination were always positive. It was rare to find brochure with negative comments on the destination

and they always praised the land as beautiful, clean, and attractive. The people were also projected as friendly, helpful and hospitable. Brochures also talked positively about tourist facilities and infrastructure. In doing so they emphasised the contrast between old and new; traditional and modern; and between Oriental Islamic architecture and continental European styles.

Brochure projection of people manners and customs were analysed in Chapter 6. So in analysing brochures projection of the landscape this part is divided into four themes: (1) services and infrastructure, (2) scenic and natural attractions, (3) projection of cultural and heritage attarctions, and (4) techniques of familiarising Oman to their readers.

Section 1. Services and the quality of the infrastructure

Service and the quality of infrastructure were some of the main themes projected higher in travel brochures than in travelogues, and rarely featured in early travel accounts.

In analysing travel brochures descriptions of the services and infrastructure this section provided four themes to illustrate travel brochures depiction of the landscape in Oman: (1) accommodation facilities, (2) transport facilities, (3) food and entertainment facilities, and (4) infrastructure.

(1) Accommodation facilities

Of the accommodation facilities, a considerable amount of information was provided about the hotel industry in Oman. The accommodation facilities were

presented as a combination of tradition and luxury. Luxury accommodation was represented by the international hotel chains.

> Al- Bustan Palace- cradled between a private beach and a backdrop of awe-inspiring mountains, this magnificent hotel is ten minutes from the capital of Muscat and other local attraction. Step inside and let the sumptuous ambience that prevail throughout the palace embrace you. The opulent entrance is graced with beautiful Islamic archways lined with thousands of tiny mosaic tiles. At their centre a lofty atrium frames a magnificent, three- tired, marble waterfall.
> The elegant accommodation offers both rooms and suites exquisitely decorated in classical Arabian style featuring intricate carving and rich fabrics or the more contemporary Continental style. All rooms feature private balconies affording blissful views of either the mountains, gardens or the languid waters of the Gulf. (*Elegant Resort*, 2001: 58)

The commercial language dominated the above extract. One of the silence readings, brochure in above extract did not distinguish people according to power or religion or race, but their offer and language were presented to all people who were interested in buying the holiday programme and the services.

In the above extract brochure used a number of techniques to attract its readers. The hotel luxury and its mythical features were stressed. Tourists were also promised with privacy beaches and isolation in their enjoyment.

Of the traditional accommodation it was also different than early travellers descriptions. Travel brochures projection of the camps and Bedouin tents presented in authentic ways enhanced by the modern facilities, transport and tourism other catering services. Readers were told that they were going to relive the experience of some writers of the early travel accounts journeys in these sand regions and their life with Bedouins in the deserts.

> After a sightseeing tour of Sur, and a boat ride along the coast, we continue to the turtle nesting beach at Ras Al Junayz, hoping to see turtles at night. Overnight camp on the beach.

> Camp breakfast followed by coastal drive via Al Askhara before stopping at Jalan Bani Bu Ali. Lunch en route. Then on the Wahiba sands for a spectacular drive across the dunes with a stop at a camel camp.
> One night we'll camp on the silent edge of the vast Empty Quarter crossed twice by the great explorer Wilfred Thesiger. (Explore World-wide, 2001, Supplement: 1)

The language of consumerism dominated the above extracts. Camel rides were commodified for the enjoyment of tourists. Tourist camps and overnight stay were supported by modern services such as food, entertainment and transport. The places where tourists promised to camp were described as attractive, authentic, spectacular, wild, perfect, having soft white sands and golden dunes. The texts evoked a mythical authenticy. This authenticity was was supported by references to the names of well-known elite, travellers. Thesiger was used to familiarise the itinerary and the land to the readers.

Another example of the modern and the traditional was the travel brochures' projections of hotels architecture. They suggested that some hotel architecture contains both traditional Arabic and continental styles. The internal and the external designs of the hotels were not just depicted textually, but intensively supported by photographs. They portrayed the styles and the architecture of the hotel rooms, reception areas, restaurants and other facilities. For example, a hotel is 'built in a traditional Arabian style', and its foyer is designed in the style of a 'Bedouin tent' (*Amathus*: 35). The rooms were built in both Islamic and Continental style, and tourists were offered the choice between the decorated classical Islamic and Arabian styles that feature intricate carving and rich fabrics, and the more contemporary Continental style (*Elegant* 2001). These features

mainly occurred in the projection of hotels like the Al Bustan Palace, the Hyatt, and the Intercontinental.

(2 Transport services

Modern transport services were also represented in travel brochures. In travelling in the cities and towns brochures wrote of modern luxury cars and buses. In addition, the use of 4 wheel cars were depicted as the most favourable and popular transport tools in travelling in the land, particularly the desert and regions.

> Morning *journey by 4 wheel- drive* along the stunning coastline towards Sur. *Stop for a picnic lunch* in the beautiful oasis town of Wadi Shap and *continue to the ruins* of the ancients city of Qalhat, famous for the tomb of Bibi Miriam. Stay at the Mercure Hotel Sur.

The extract used the language of social control in communicating with the readers ("stop", "continue". The 4 wheel- drive became one of the most popular adventure programmes to attract tourists and locals in Oman. It was frequently featured by travel brochures and travelogues. As presented in Map (1) and (2) the coastal route between Muscat and Sur maintained its position as one of the favourite travel itineraries in the country. The difference is that all early travellers (e.g. Wellsted, Miles and Thomas) travelled either by boat or by camels. In contrast, cars particularly the 4 wheel car was the only transport used by tourists

and journalists, and none of the travel brochures offered their tourists the opportunity to travel by boat or camel between both cities.

In addition to the 4 wheel- drive a number of travel brochures boats were featured as a transport tool as part of the tour operators of diving and see tours programmes, particularly in Musandam Peninsula and Sur. A number of brochures also offered their tourists tourists the to use Oman air services to travel between Muscat and Salalah or between Muscat and Musandam.

> Visit of Sur town and the Dhow shipyard followed by a boat trip to explore the coastline. (*Arabian Odyssey*, 2001: 12)

> As we sailed towards the island a pod of dolphins joined the boat dancing in the bow wave. Nearby off Khawr Khasaibi lies the wreck of a landing craft with Japanese aircraft engine on the deck in 9 metres and this is a great site for photography. (*Pearls of the Ocean*, 2001: 17).

> Morning transfer to the airport for your flight to Khasab (*Cox and Kings*, 2001: 41)

> Late afternoon transfer to Salalah airport for our flight back to Muscat and onward overnight connection to London. (*Limosa Holidays*, 2001: 63)

(3) Food and entertainment services

Brochures also provided their readers with information on restaurants and entertainment facilities.

> The cuisine is superb and comprises French, Italian, Arabic and seafood. Should you tire of resting by the swimming pool or on the private beach, there are countless water sports available or you may venture by jeep, deep into the mountainous desert beyond scattered with abandoned forts. (*Western and Oriental*, 2001: 11).

> The hotel has three restaurants serving seafood, Italian and French cuisine. There is also a piano bar and a jazz club. Leisure facilities include a temperature-controlled swimming pool, gymnasium sauna, Jacuzzi, massage room, mini golf floodlit tennis courts, squash courts, water sports diving and snorkelling.

The richness of multicultural services was presented in the above extract. Food services were enhanced by entertainment facilities along the beach. The leisure and entertainment facilities were stressed to attract tourists to buy the holiday programme and hotel services. It was very different from early travel accounts and even from travelogue projections.

(4) Infrastructure

Fourth, travel brochures depicted Omani infrastructure.

> Our opinion:
> Friendly, hospitable people combined with a spotlessly clean environment and excellent road system, makes Oman a joy to visit. (Kuoni, 2001: 200).

> Day1: Arrive Muscat on Gulf air flight from London. Reception at Seeb airport and transfer to the splendid five stars Grand Hyatt hotel for a 3 nights to stay. (Arabian Odyssey, 2001:13).

The friendly manners of people, the excellent road system and the place environment which was described as clean, were used as significant of trust, security, safety and modernity.

Section 2. Scenic and natural attractions

The findings of the quantitative analysis revealed that the sublime faetures of landscape (beaches, mountains, wadis and sands) were featured more frequently than others in the travel brochures (Appendix 4 and 29).

Oman was projected in the travel brochures as one of the "oldest" (*Elegant Resort*: 58) and "most fascinating countries in the Arabian Peninsula" (*Axis*: 32). It was seen as an 'amazing' (*Amathus*: 33), 'impressive', 'unspoilt' land

(*Sovereign*: 68), "friendly and scenically beautiful" (*Explore*: 42). *Elegant Resort* also recommended Oman as the "perfect place for those seeking an exotic and unique destination" (p. 58).

The travel brochures also depicted Oman as a land of "mystery", with "hidden treasures", "varied landscape", "magnificent beaches", "sand dunes and wadis" (*Somak*: 103), a "spellbinding mountain range" (*Elegant Resort*: 58), and "fertile highland villages and an incredible coastline" (*Explore Worldwide*: 42). This coastline contains "deep fjords", "coral reefs and mile upon mile of deserts" (*Elegant Resort*: 58), and "superb sandy beaches" (*Somak*: 103). In addition to their projection of ancient history and traditional life of Oman, travel brochures also stressed environmental issues. They described the country as a *natural*, *unspoilt*, *untouched* and *clean* destination.

The analysis of the natural attractions divided according to three themes: (1) Mountains and Valleys, (2) The Mystery of Sands and Off Road Drive, (3) and Beaches.

(1) Mountains and valleys

A few writers of the early travel accounts highlighted the importance of mountain chains with their defensible and strategic summits. Miles (1896) described how important mountain summits and peaks were with their fortresses and towers to the political powers in Oman and their roles as defensive barriers. Miles (1896) investigated the importance of the Akk and Kahza mountain summits in the power relation between the Sultan of Muscat and the Imamah in Nizwa, his opponent. Mountain chains such as the Green Mountain and Al Qara

Mountains were also investigated and studied scientifically by travellers such as Haines (1845), Wellsted (1838), and Thomas (1932).

In the travel brochures, the projections of summits and mountains peaks were different. Instead of describing the scientific, political and military significance of these summits, the travel brochures focused on them as attractive spots to visit as natural and heritage attractions:

> To the north and west of Muscat, narrow gorges lead up into the scenic Hajar Mountains, where fortified towns and villages stand guard over valleys and mountains passes. Foremost amongst these are the forts at Nakhal and Rustaq whose crenulated towers and ramparts dominate the surrounding palm groves. A drive along secretive wadis in a 4W vehicle reveals a hidden world of watercourses and abundant vegetation where delightful rock pools present the perfect opportunity for a cooling dip in the heat of the day (*Arabian Odyssey*: 5)

The extract depicted the land as secure, naturally beautiful and culturally rich. *Narrow gorges* carries the connotation of danger or difficulty, but the travel brochure ensures the tourists that they were safe. It guaranteed its natural beauties, represented by the scenic mountains and mysterious wadis with their watercourses and abundant vegetation. To ensure the authenticity of the place and to present its richness, the *Arabian Odyssey* brochure enhanced its representations of the place by guaranteeing its cultural wealth. Nakhal and Al Rustaq were two of the most cultural and political centres in Oman in previous centuries. Al Rustaq was also once the capital of Oman before the government moved to Muscat in the 18th century.

Mountain and valleys constituted as some of the most ten highest frequently used nouns in travel brochures constituted respectively (2.9% and 2.8%). Of the mountain chains Jabal Shams was the most mountain chains featured by travel

brochures. They also spoke of Al Hajar chains particularly the mountains, which surrounded Musandam Peninsula and the capital Muscat. Despite the popularity of the Green Mountain and Al Qara chains between early travel writers the situation was different in travel brochures. None of the brochures offered tourists any itineraries toward the Green Mountains. The chain, which surrounds four regions - Interior, Muscat, Al Batinah Coast and Al Dhahirah - is still a mystery and a potential touristic place. The chain is not yet opened widely for tourists and none of the brochures offered tourists any itineraries to the chain. In the case of Al Qara they were only four travel brochures featured the chain briefly:

> A tour to visit the famous archaeological site of Ubar, reached after a drive north through the Qara Mountains, then west crossing the area of Nejd returning from Ubar the drive goes off road to Wadi Hanoon (*Arabian Odyssey*: 9).
>
> We approach our final destination from the north via the Qara Mountains (ibid. 11).

Al Qara Mountains were featured as the main tourist gateway from the north region to Dhofar and from the province of Dhofar towards Ubar and to the edges of the Empty Quarter. It was very briefly and different from depiction presented by early travellers (e.g. Haines, Bent and Bent, Thomas, Thesiger) [described in Chapter 7, Part 1].

The Mountains Chain of Musandam on the other hand was featured in travel brochures more than in early travel accounts. Four brochures offered their tourists adventure programmes through the chains by 4-wheel drive.

> After interesting one hour flight up northern coast to the Musandam Peninsula and Khasab, on the Straits of Hormuz take 4 by 4 vehicle *for mountains trip into fascinating, inaccessible area* until recently closed to outsiders. Visit to villages of Sayh and Jebel Harum (Arabian Odyssey, 2001: 12).

In communicating with tourists brochures again deployed a language of social control by using phrases such as 'take' and 'visit' to derict the tourists paths.

(2) The mystery of sands and Off-Road drive

All the travel brochures referred to deserts and sands in their descriptions of Oman. Out of 18 brochures, 11 offered tour programmes to the sand regions, and of the 11 tour operators, 5 were specialists in organising safari tours in the sand regions. Most of the tour programmes in the sand regions started from the eastern region, and in particular Wahiba Sands. *Arabian Odyssey* and *Explore Worldwide* organised adventure programmes to the Empty Quarter.

In their descriptions of the desert and sands in Oman, the representations in the travel brochures comprised two elements: the commodification of nature and the commodification of culture. Of the natural, sand regions were commodified for the enjoyment of tourists. They were depicted as places where tourists could explore natural attractions and enjoy authentic desert life. The use of four wheel cars in the sands was seen in many of the travel brochures as one of the most memorable experiences which tourists should not miss. In addition, the travel brochures extended their positive projections of the sand regions to cover the changes that have occurred in the wildlife in the deserts.

Although the early travel accounts described the sand regions as arid and hot, the travel brochures projected them differently. To attract tourists, many of the travel brochures advised their tourists what the best season to visit Oman was. Moreover, they focused mainly on the climate of Oman during winter when the

temperature is lower and the land with its wild dunes and golden sands becomes more attractive. For example, *Arabian Odyssey* advised their tourists to visit the northern regions of Oman between October to April and to avoid the summer months, while the climate in Salalah, the southern region of Oman was described as tropical:

> Oman's geographical position generates a variety of climatic conditions. The best time to visit is between October and April when days are pleasantly warm and evening cool. Outside this though the heat in the south, in the area of Salalah is tempered by monsoon rains between June and September (*Arabian Odyssey*: 3)

Another example of the natural commodification that has occurred in the sand regions is the change in people's perceptual images of the sands. Life in the sands in past had been affected by raids and hostile activities. It was also the place where raiders escaped to and hid from their enemies.

In contrast to these negative images, the sands were depicted differently in travelogues and the travel brochures. In them, it was still a place where people sought to escape, but they were fleeing from modern life. The sands were seen as places to enjoy the authenticity of nature, the wilderness, the quietness, the remoteness and the exotic life of the sands.

> We also plan to camp amongst the dramatic golden dunes of the Waheeba Sands participants should be prepared to muck in whether it be helping dig one of the vehicles out of the sand occasionally or helping set up camp and preparing meals. This tour offers those who enjoy a challenges an opportunity to leave behind the trapping and comforts of modern life for a rugged adventure of a lifetime. (Explore World wide, 2001)

> Next to the famous Wahiba sands and the ever-changing patterns of dunes, a photographer's delight as the sun sets the colours change. Now for a wonderful evening barbecue around the campfire and a night beneath a canopy of stars. Overnights in tended accommodation (*Arabian Odyssey*: 11)

> Back on dry land we then processed to the Waheeba sand for an exciting dune drive and the chance to experience a camel ride (*Amathus*, 2001: 33)

Sands as a natural element were commodified in the above texts for the enjoyment of tourists. These became an object to observe and experience and a natural place to escape from modern life. The first text also used the language of adventure and discovery. Expressions such as camels ride, the space in the desert particularly at night, stars, campfire, traditional tents were used to evoke a magic environment. Camels were presented as an entertainment source, instead of their previous features as a method of transport.

Early travellers such as Wellsted (1838) Thomas (1932) and Thesiger (1959) studied the land fauna and flora. Most of their writings particularly Thomas (1932) focused on scientific purposes. He collected from Oman for British institutions and museums many birds and animals. In contrast such wild life featured in travel brochures differently. The scientific languages was no longer featured in travel brochures and wild life was projected as one of the natural attractions in the country. Travel brochures offered their readers information about birds, turtles, camels, dolphins, oryx and many other wild life animals. For example, out of the 18 brochures, 8 offered their readers / tourists the opportunity to visit the turtle sanctuary in Ras Al Hadd, and 3 included the oryx sanctuary in Jaddat Al Harasis in their itineraries.

> After an early dinner departure for Ras Al Hadd, Oman's famous turtle beach where we hope to see these fascinating creatures coming up from the sea to lay their eggs, a rare but very special experience for watchers. (Arabian Odyssey, 2001:13).

In addition, a number of brochures described birds in Oman as one of the natural attractions. *Naturetrek* and *Limosa Holiday* were specialists in birds watching.

> The fauna of Oman is exceptionally diverse, reflecting the influences of Africa and Asia in addition to Arabian specialities and a flood of Palaearctic passages migrants. (Naturetrek, 2001: 111).

> The Sultanate of Oman is a *wild*, *unspoilt* country of *spectacular landscapes and contrast*. Lying mostly within the tropics, its sculptured limestone mountains, fissured wadis and fertile plains back a sweeping, thousand mile coastline that seeks to bridge the gap between the great land masses of Asia and Africa. From a deep ocean rich in marine life rise towering cliff where Red billed Tropicbirds and Sooty Falcons nest, and Wilson's Petrels, Wedge-tailed Shearwaters and thousands of other seabirds, are attracted close inshore by plankton, brought to the surface by the south-west-monsoon. (*Limosa Holiday*, 2001: 62)

The language of commodification is here evident, Birds are natural attractions, commodified for the tourist gaze. 'Wild', 'unspoilt', 'spectacular', 'tropical', and praising the 'landscape contrast' and its geographical location of Oman between two climatic zones were used to enchance the place natural attractions.

(3) Beaches

The beaches were featured as one the most ten highest frequently used nouns and their mentioned in travel brochures was more frequently than in early travel accounts and travelogues. Beaches were also featured differently in travel brochures and travelogues from early travel accounts. Early travellers writing of beaches was part of their description of the natural environment and their

projections of the maritime facilities constructed in the beach areas. In contrast, beaches were commodified for the passive enjoyment of tourists.

Reading the textual data of travel brochures about beaches qualitatively revealed three significant elements, which are worth emphasing.

First, travel brochures representations of beaches were dominated by the language of commodification, which was different from early travellers description. Brochures projected beaches as a place of enjoyment and recreation:

> A wide range of watersports are available on the beach.
>
> After a sightseeing tour of Sur, and a boat ride along the coast, we continue to the turtle-nesting beach at Ras Al Junaiz, hoping to see turtles at night, overnight camp on the beach. (Arabian Odyssey, 2001).
>
> Grand Hyatt Muscat set in over 10 acres *on the sandy beac*h of Shatti Al Qurm and a 10 minutes drive from the centre of Muscat, the Grand Hyatt is grand in every aspect (Ibid.).

Consumer language is evident in the above three extracts. It permeates brochure descriptions of watersport activities, tourists' use of the beaches as a place to camp and relax, the tour itinerary, and the hotel facilities constructed in the beach area. Such consumer language did not occur at all in early travel accounts.

However the depiction of Oman beaches in brochures comprised a significant silences not normally observed on the representations of many beach destinations by tour operators where they are often described in association with other features of the built environment (*hotels*, *restaurants*, and *diving clubs*). They were never depicted with tourists on tourists on them sunbathing or swimming. In brochures from Oman beaches were pure, virgin, landscape rather than the hedonistic resources.

Another significant features of the brochures' representations about beaches in Oman were their projections of the hotel facilities. By comparing between the hotels lists which collected from Tourism Board in Oman (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2002) and brochures projections of the hotel facilities, it was found that all brochures featured and portrayed hotels facilities located on beach areas or close to the beach. With the exception of Radisson SAAS none of the brochure featured hotel such as Sheraton, Novotel or Muscat Holiday Inn which are not on beach areas.

Third, travel brochures followed travelogue writers by stressing environmental issues. Regarding beaches they assured their readers that beaches in Oman were *clean, unspoilt, untouched, beautiful, deserted, sandy, quite* and still not affected by tourist movement or spoilt by modern development:

> A lush green oasis dotted with rugged mountain ranges, reminders of a rich history dating back to 6,000 B.C and 1,700kms of coastline boasting some of *the best* and *quietest* beaches in the world. (*Amathus*: 32)
>
> Oman is the second largest country on the Arabian Peninsula. With its lovely winter climate, *magnificent unspoilt coastline* and top class hotels, it has every thing the average tourist could wish for plus the most majestic, rugged mountains, vast desert and fertile, sub tropical plains. (*Arabian Odyssey*: 3).
>
> *Discover* the magnetic beauty of deserts and tropical wadis, mountains and *untouched beaches*. (*Arabian Odyssey*: front page).
>
> Taking the coastal route southeast, we drive via Quriyat (fishing village with *beautiful beach*) and the *exotic Wadi Shab* to the town of Sur (*Arabian Odyssey*: 11).
>
> Musandam Peninsula, bordering the Straight of Hormuz in the north of the country, offers some of the *most breathtaking coastal scenery* with its 600kms of spectacular cliffs, coral reefs and *deserted beaches* (ibid. 5).
>
> We stay at the stunning Hyatt Regency Hotel located in ten acres of

> extensive gardens on the *sandy beach* of Al-Qorum (*Pearls of the Ocean*: 19).

Quiet and *untouched* indicates that beaches in Oman were still unspoiled by mass tourism and were not affected by modern development. These environmental attributes were supported by brochure descriptions of the landscape contrast and their writings about the quality of tourist services and luxury facilities in Oman. Again the language of social control is evident in the above extracts ("*Discover*", *Taking the coastal route*").

Many of the travel brochures projected the country as a "wild, unspoilt country of spectacular landscapes and contrast" (*Limosa* 2001:61). They stressed Omani concerns with environmental issues. Muscat was not just described as a "spotlessly clean environment" (*Kuoni*, 2001: 200) destination, but as "one of the cleanest cities in the world (*Pearls of the Ocean*, 2001: 19).

Section 3. Cultural and heritage attractions

Introduction

The representations of heritage in Oman were depicted enthusiastically in the travel brochures, and the country is fixed firmly in the past. Lexical terms such as *oldest* (*Kuoni* and *Elegant*), *ancient* (*Somak*), legend (*Arabian Odyssey*), *famous* (*Cox and Kings*), *rich* (*Cox and Kings*), *fascinate* (*Kuoni*), *golden* (*Explore Worldwide*) and *great* (*Elegant Resorts*) were used to describe the country. *Ancient* and *old* were the most frequently used words. Oman was also presented to tourists as a country which had "inherited a rich historical legacy and was once amongst the wealthiest countries in the world" (*Cox and King*), and a country which contains both ancient and modern heritage and culture.

Brochures were concerned with providing potential tourists with historical information and informing them of the historical buildings and ruins they might visit. In describing pre-Islamic Oman they focused on ancient sites like Ubar, Sumahram and Baat and ancient forts like Bahla, while the descriptions of Islamic heritage covered mainly the forts, shipyards, and building architecture.

In presenting the culture, the focus was on the richness and the uniqueness of Oman as a cultural destination. Tourists were guided to visit many cultural sites, souqs, and the local ways in living, shopping and conserving their traditional life. Traditional folklore and dancing performance were illustrated briefly. These performances were confined to national, religious and social occasions. It was also commodified for the enjoyment of tourists, and a number of brochures spoke of tourism carnivals, festivals and welcome receptions organised by some hotels and tour operators in welcoming tourists (e.g. Sablat Al Bustan). Readers were also

told that there was a lack of other nocturnal entertainments particularly outside Muscat.

(1) The construction of culture and shopping

Interaction between tourists and guests was limited. Offers to take tourists to watch traditional and authentic sports were confined to camel racing and this was featured in two travel brochures only. Camel rides, tennis, croquet, beach ball games, beach and dune bikes, crazy golf, snookers, and table tennis were activities available to guests.

The findings of the quantitative analysis show that religious lexical items were one of the least frequent ones in travel brochures. The investigation suggests that brochures distanced themselves from religion in general. They did not project Muslim culture in Oman as a main feature for tourists either. The only religious imageries featured in a few of the 18 brochures, were *mosque*, *tomb*, and *Islam*. Islam and Islamic festivals, celebrations and practices are not given to visual, active ceremonial display, and therefore it does not lend itself to the sorts of image- creation, which are thought to be attractive to potential visitors (King 1993: 113). For example, *Ramadan* occurred in only two travel brochures, as part of the advice to tourists to avoid consuming food, drink and tobacco during daylight hours in public places (*Elegant Resort* 2001).

Another theme related to culture in the travel brochures was shopping (Henderson 2001). Early travel accounts rarely alluded to shopping. It had become one of the most featured cultural themes in travel brochures. In promoting shopping, they stressed the cultural uniqueness of Oman rather than promoting it

as a shopping destination. Many travel brochures included itineraries to traditional old souqs like Mutrah in the capital, Nizwa in the interior, Al Hafa in the southern region and Sinaw in the eastern region, rather than focusing on modern shopping centres. Others provide tours to women souqs such as Sinaw and Ibra in the eastern region.

> Morning *visit of the famous* 17th round tower fort in Nizwa, and its Souk, renowned for its Friday cattle auction, intricately hand carved ' Khanjar' (Daggers) and ornamental silver jewellery (*Somak*: 110).

> Of particular note around the central citadel, most of which has been extensively renovated, are the 17th century fort and its adjacent golden domed mosque and leafy souk where gold, silver and copper handicrafts can be purchased. *Not to be missed* is the spectacle of the Friday morning market, which attracts thousands from far and wide (*Arabian Odyssey*: 5).

The language of social control is again evident in the above two extracts and tourists were asked to 'visit' the famous fort, and not to miss the Friday market. Although local culture and customs in shopping and selling were emphasised in these excerpts, there was a silence about people. Brochures referred to traditional handicrafts, souqs, fort and other attractions with out referring to the guides and locals with their exotic features and their ways of selling and buying.

Souks and other traditional markets (e.g. Friday market, women market, fish market) were stressed by a number of brochures as part of their strategy to persuade their clients of the importance of joining a combined tour program to visit Oman with its traditional shopping and cultural attractions and Dubai with its leisure and modern shopping facilities.

> Both Oman and Dubai offer a perfect climate when other parts of the world are not enjoying the fines of weather. They are ideally visited in our winter, spring or autumn, either as a short break or for longer, touring holidays. Surprisingly unexploited, Oman is *a magical land of silent, starkly awesome mountains, undulating seas*

> *of sand dunes, ancient forts, fascinating medieval souks*, fish markets, frankincense trees, palms trees oases and warm azure seas (*Western and Oriental*: 11)

In depicting such combined programmes, these travel brochures adopted a somewhat of patronising tone in advising their potential customers on what to expect:

> What will impress you? Something new and unique. Top class hotels and service. The history and culture. Superb contrast and friendly people. What may disappoint you? Shopping and nightlife are limited. Oman compliments Dubai rather than competes against it. (*Kuoni*: 18)
> Outside the hotels, Oman has very little to offer in the way of evening entertainment (*Somak*: 103)

> The capital Muscat is known as the garden city' and certainly rivals Singapore for its well-planned design and cleanliness. Here you will find our two hotels the Grand Hyatt and Al-Bustan Palace. The coastal areas around Muscat offer you some superb beaches whilst just inland you have bustling cattle markets and majestic forts dating back to the 17th century but now renovated to pristine condition. *The appeal of Oman is one of total contrast to its neighbour Dubai.* Oman is proud of its Islamic culture and this shines through in everyday life and notably in the style of the building and the hotels. Nightlife and outside dining opportunities are limited, as is international shopping - unless you are stocking up on your supplies of frankincense! Come instead for something quite unique, culture and high quality service (*Tropical Location*: 18).

Selwyn (1993) argues that "[in] a significant sense, boundaries and frontiers between countries are erased in the very experience of choosing a holiday from alternative 'destinations'" (p. 128). In the case of the above combined tour programmes of Oman and Dubai, both destinations were projected as similar with some emphasis on the uniqueness of each destination. Both places have similar cultural and social backgrounds and have a parallel standard of tourists' facilities, though they are traditional in Oman and more leisure and entertainment in Dubai. The uniqueness of both destinations and the programmes of itineraries were

presented in a way that readers would be just turning the pages without having the sense of crossing national boundaries.

One of the most exotic cultural products that feature in the travelogues and the travel brochures is the use of frankincense and its historical role as a product in trading between Oman and other ancient civilisations. Many travel brochures advise their readers to visit the Mutrah and Al Hafa souqs to experience the traditional way of shopping where different types and qualities of myrrh and frankincense are still on offer. In addition to Nizwa, both souqs specialize in selling gold and silver (*Arabian Odyssey*, *Elegant*, *Somak*, and *Amathus*). The travel brochures explore the spiritual and exotic meaning of frankincense and myrrh. Tourists were informed how the locals use frankincense and myrrh in their homes. They were promised a visit to where frankincense was grown in Oman. The market where such products are offered became a part of tourist itineraries. The travel brochures did not feature the products as part of the tourist itineraries only. Some holistic, religious and mythical meanings were included. For example, they described Oman as 'the land of frankincense' (*Amathus*: 32). Denotatively, it seems at first sight that the sentence is normal and descriptive, but connotatively, it has further meaning. For one could take it further to the history of Oman in trading frankincense in the early days with Greeks, Romans and Egyptians or the ancient civilisations that lived in Oman before Islam or to the Biblical connotation of frankincense and myrrh for many Christians.

Socially, frankincense carries the meaning of welcome. It is also used to mark the end of a visit. Many tour organizers welcomed tourists by burning frankincense. In welcoming guests, many hotels such as Al Bustan Palace

welcome their guests by serving them dates, Omani Halwa, coffee and frankincense were burnt. These were done in a small Bedouin tent in the hotel reception area. Tourists were also welcomed with the smell of incense and rose water if they participated in the mythical and traditional night show, which was 'said' to take place once a week in Sablat Al Bustan, the hotel restaurant.

In addition to frankincense, myrrh was used as a sign of welcome. Many operators had been using both items as gifts. Probably a few tourists were aware of the legend of the Queen of Sheba and the three gifts – frankincense, myrrh and gold – that she presented to King Solomon. Two travel brochures offered myrrh as a gift and a sign of welcome. Many tourists also bought myrrh as a souvenir, and used it when they returned home. In many cases they offer it as a gift to their friends and relatives to mark their journey and the ancientness and authenticity they have experienced, or as a wish that the receivers may visit Oman.

(2) The construction of heritage

Reading and analysing travel brochures' descriptions of the heritage of Oman, revealed that travel brochures' projection was different from early travel accounts. These differences mainly fell within three main areas:

First, early travellers went to the place to assess and record the heritage sites, so their descriptions contain detail of the fort size, number of towers, ammunitions, resources, and how important and strategic were the historical sites and forts.

> El Bereymi formerly possessed two forts, only one of which is now standing, the other has been demolished, and lies a heap of ruins. Both are said to have been built by the Showamis, a strong clan of the Naim occupying chiefly the Wadi Jezze, but the fort still

> standing was improved and strengthened by the Wahhabis during their occupation. It consists of four towers joined by curtains and surrounded by a deep ditch. It is of square form, *built entirely of mud or unburnt bricks, and carries eight guns of sizes*. The breadth of the ditch is about *25 feet*, and both scarp and counterscarp *are quite steep and faced with brick work.* The rampart is *eight feet high and two thick, and there is an open space of 20 paces between it and the towers*. These towers rise perhaps *40 feet*, the curtain somewhat *less than half way up*, and each side of the square formed by them is about *one hundred and fifty feet. The gate is the weakest part of the structure*, thee being only a single small wooden door standing half way across the ditch, which is here bridged with the trunks of two date trees. Inside the fort is a residence for the Sheikh with accommodation for the men, and some godowns. Water is *abundantly provided by two wells*, which would yield sufficient for a large garrison. I tasted the water of one, and it was perfectly sweet and good. Near the outer gate is a brass 24-pounder, mounted as a field-piece, having the name of Seyyid-bin-Sultán, A.H. 1258 in Arabic, and the English date 1842 (Miles, 1877 cited in Ward, 1987:425-6).

Assessment and military languages were strongly featured in the above statement. Traveller employed many assessment techniques which varied between observing the place, investigating its social structure and tribal relationship, recording its history, counting its resources, measuring the fort strength and weakness, and the quantity and the quality of the fort ammunitions. By saying "*I tasted the water of one, and it was perfectly sweet and good*" was a method use from the British agent to stress the accuracy, the preciseness and how comprehensive was his observation and assessment of the site.

In contrast, the language of assessment and military investigation did not occur at all in travel brochures. Tour operator writings influenced by the consumers and readers needs. So their descriptions contain detail on sites history, beauty and how far it was from tourist facilities.

> We also visit the *impressive Jabrin fort*, a 17th century fortified palace built in a vast oasis of palm trees with commanding views of the whole valley. It was once a seat of learning and is noted for its

> painted wooden ceiling and interesting stairways. We also visit Bahla whose *golden fort* can be seen long before arriving at this small town famed for its *excellent potter*.
>
> A *fascinating trip* to Nizwa, capital of the interior, and the birthplace of Islam in Oman. *Visit the Round tower fort* built in the 17th century. (*Amathus*: 33)

Second, some early travellers particularly Thomas (1932) focused on ancient heritage. They studied many historical sights such as Ubar, Ash Shisur, Al Belied and Sumahram, which they thought were part of the Judeo-Christian heritage in the Arabian Peninsula. In contrast, none of the brochures referred to places of religious importance. Instead they regularly emphasised mythic and legendary dimensions with references to frankincense, myrrh, the Queen of Sheba, the land of the Arabian Nights or the land of Sindbad the sailor:

> The land of Arabian Knights and the elegant home of Sindbad the sailor, The Sultanate of Oman is one of the oldest civilisations on the Arabian Peninsula (*Kuoni*, 2001:200)
>
> Oman *is a magical land* noted for its *unrivalled mountain scenery* and for a 5,000 years history distinguished by the names of such legendary figures as Sinbad, Job, Marc Polo and the Queen of Sheba. (*Arabian Odyssey*, 2001: 5).
>
> Reaching Dhofar province, we'll explore the old garden city of Salalah. Famed in antiquity for its lucrative trade in frankincense with Syria, Egypt, and distant India, seaward-facing Salalah is walled off from the desolate world outside by the Qara Mountains. We visit the nearby archaeological site of Sumahram, a famous Old World centre of the frankincense trade. Remnants of Queen of Sheba's legendary palace and temples have been unearthed here. (*Explore World-wide*, 2001:42).

Said (1978) stated that European writings of the East were often focused on the importance of the place in the past. A number of brochures did the same. They advised their tourists to visit historical place such as Sumahram and Al Belied and spoke of country trading in frankincense and myrrh with other civilisations.

Third, travel brochures' descriptions and itineraries were influenced by the available infrastructure, and how heritage sites were close from the developed areas and tourism facilities. Consequently, they gave much attention to the forts and historical sites located in the capital Muscat and other main cities. Travel brochures rarely referred to the ancient heritage which located in remote areas and the Empty Quarter (e.g. Ubar, Baat). In contrast, all brochures featured the Portuguese forts in Muscat and Mutrah. Similar attention was focussed on the forts and historical sites at Nizwa, Bahla, Jibrin, Nakhal, Al Rustaq and Sumahram. Here are just a number of excerpt selected to illustrate brochure descriptions of the these historical sites:

> A *fascinating trip* to Nizwa, *capital of the interior*, and the birthplace of Islam in Oman. *Visit the Round tower fort* built in the 17th century. (*Amathus*: 33).
>
> Muscat, *the capital of the Sultanate of Oman for over 900 years*, is a mix of old and new, *flanked by the two Portuguese forts* of Jalali and Mirani (Amathus, 2001:32).
>
> We also visit the impressive Jabrin fort, a 17th century fortified palace built in a vast oasis of palm trees with commanding views of the whole valley. It was once a seat of learning and is noted for its painted wooden ceiling and interesting stairways. We also visit Bahla, whose golden fort can be seen long before arriving at this small town, famed for its excellent potter.
>
> Full day tour visit to the imposing forts of Nakhl, Rustaq and Al-Hazm, with its innovative irrigation system, which is still used for the garden today. (*Cox and Kings*: 40)

The language of commodification is stressed in the above excerpts. In doing so brochures descriptions included presentations of aesthetic language, beautiful ceilings, attractive architecture and emphasis on the forts history.

The above extracts emphasised the heritage sites of Muscat and other main cities. They also used the place history to attract their tourists. A language of

social control was exemplified. The Portuguese forts were used to familiarise the capital to European readers. Another point, which is important to note, is the historical inaccuracy in the reference to Muscat as the capital of Oman, which is found differently. For centuries Nizwa and Al Rustaq were the capital of Oman. It was recorded that the capital moved from Al Rustaq to Muscat during the reign of Sayyid Hamad bin Said at the end of 18th century (Ministry of Information, 1985: 48).

Section 4. Familiarising the country

This study has earlier shown evidence of the methods of the early travel accounts and of the travelogues in creating a familiarity of the place for their readers (mostly Europeans). In analysing travelogues descriptions Part 4 of Chapter 7 discussed five methods employed by travelogue writers. The first is the writer method in comparing the places they visited in Oman to other parts of the world familiar to European readers. The second is the travellers' discussion of the European history in Oman. Third is the writers' import of the power of well-known elite travellers into the texts. Fourth is the writers' discussion of the international tourist brand names. And finally is the writers' impor of the expatriates' names into the texts.

In their writings about Oman, travel brochures employed similar techniques to reduce the strangeness of the place and package it in familiar ways to the potential tourists. Of the above five methods the first four-familiarisation techniques are present in brochures.

(1) Landscape nouns

First, comparing Oman or some of the natural places or landscape nouns with those of other destinations is one of these methods often used by early travellers and writers in modern days. For example, Morris (1957) compared the beauty of Muscat from the sea with the Gulf of Venice. Many travelogue writers compared the clean and beauty of Muscat with Singapore and Switzerland.

Within travel brochures, this method was also used. For example, *Explore Worldwide* promised their potential clients that they would see astonishing and natural views on their way to ascend Jebel Shams:

> We stop en route to view the Al-Hamra mountain range, at 3,000m; Jebel Shams (mountain of the sun) is the highest peak in Oman. Along the track to the summit of Jebel Shams we encounter an astonishing view down a sheer drop of 1000m to the bottom of the "Grand Canyon", Oman's very own (and equally spectacular) *version of its American* counterpart at the bottom of this vast void, a wadi winds peacefully through the landscape. According to one theory the canyon was once a huge cave and evidence of fossils and shells suggests that a shallow sea at one time covered the canyon base. (*Explore World-wide*, supplement 2001: 1)

Here, the 'American counterpart' was brought to familiarise the place to Western readers[77]. Phrases such as 'astonishing', 'spectacular', and 'peacefully' are used to enhance the attractiveness of the place. Scientifically, the mountain and canyon were described as attractive, and also can be a suitable place for tourists who are interested in discoveries and explorations.

77 Similarly, Ochs (1998) compared the Great Stone Face of Ruwi in Oman with the Old Man of the Mountain New Hampshire and the Sphinx of the Alps in Switzerland.

(2) Portuguese and British history in Oman

The second familiarisation method used in travel brochures was Portuguese and British imperial history in Oman. For example in writing of the Portuguese forts in Muscat two brochures said:

> Muscat mixes the old with the new, the old town with two Portuguese forts, and the new city with international hotels and excellent roads. Shopping is great in both the old souks and new shops and it is one of the cleanest cities in the world. (*Pearls of the Ocean*, 2001).

The contrast between old and new was strongly emphasised. The place history particularly in the first excerpt was confined to European connection and ignored others.

Consumer language was emphasised in the above text. Brochure writings on the development in Oman were used as signs of quality to ensure the readers and potential tourists that Oman is a modern place and worth to visit. These signs included the old and new shopping; the international accommodation facilities; the modern roads; and other infrastructures. In describing place environment, a language of superlatives was used to stress the destination's concern with environmental issues.

In addition to the Portuguese history the British domination in Oman was also another familiarisation technique used by travel brochures. For example in writing about *The Telegraph Island* in Musandam *Pearls of the Ocean Holiday* wrote:

> Moving north from Khasab, the scenery is equally stunning with the fjords- like khawr Ash Shamm leading into Telegraph Island near Khawr Khasaibi. *This was the British communication centre for the telegraph cable laid in 1864 from India* and several of the buildings remains (p.17).

(3) European travellers' name

Writings of well-known elite travellers like Marco-Polo, Thomas and Thesiger was the third method used by travel brochures to familiarise many holiday itineraries and landscape nouns in Oman. For example, in describing tourist itineraries through the coastal road between Sur in the eastern region to Dhofar in the south Explore World-wide described the journey by saying:

> Today marks the start of our unique traverse following the rout of Bertram Thomas in 1928, through tribal areas along the desolate Arabian coast. Travelling through flat and desolate desert landscapes. We see the cute juxtaposition of modern Oman's oil industry with a traditional desert way of life, which has hardly changed (*Explore World-wide*, 2001- supplement: 2).

Thomas's name was imported into the text as a familiarisation device to assure the readers of the place's importance and attractiveness. The traveller name was also used to present the European contribution on discovering the area. As presented in Map (2) *Explore World-wide* offered tourists the opportunity to experience early travellers journeys by travelling in the same routes and itineraries used by Bertram Thomas in early 20th century.

(3) Tourist brands

Tourist brand names were the fourth method used in travel brochures to familiarise the country to European readers and as a benchmark of the quality of the service in Oman. The use of brand names in travel brochures was higher than in travelogues. In their writing of brand names brochures spoke of international hotel management (e.g. Intercontinental, Hyatt, Radisson SAAS and Hilton). They also wrote of other tourist services such as restaurants (e.g. French, Italian, Indian); food chains (McDonald, Burger King); entertainment facilities (e.g. The SS Jhon Barry nautical themed bar, Copocabana Night club Safari); land transport

(e.g. Thrifty, Budget); and airlines which fly from Britain to Muscat (e.g. Gulf Air, British airways, and Emirates airlines).

For example, in describing Al Bustan Palace Hotel and Grand Hyatt Muscat, Kuoni World wide and Amathus Holidays assured the readers by saying:

> This famous hotel is managed by Intercontinental Hotels, and is about 30 minutes from Muscat airport and 15 minutes from the city (Kuoni, 2001: 200).
> Set in over 10 acres on the sandy beach of Shatti Al Qurm and a 10 minutes drive from the centre of Muscat, *the Grand Hyatt is grand in every aspect*. (Amathus, 2001: 35).

Intercontinental and Grand Hyatt are some of the most popular brand hotel names in the world for the quality of their facilities and services. Such verbal representations were supported by pictorial images to attract readers and support their selections. The location of hotels and how far from attractions, the tourists centre, the beaches and the airport were also mentioned.

Part 6. Discussion on the findings about landscape

The analysis of the descriptions of landscape in the all three media describes the physical environment in Oman as the most prominent aspect. The analysis of the thirteen travel accounts (1838-1959) revealed the European love of the land and their fondness of its sublime aspects (e.g. *sands*, *mountains*, *wadis* and *beaches*). This European affection continued to the present day as identified in the travelogues. It dominated the data in travel brochures and confirmed some scholars argument about the ideology of tourist brochures and tour operators' in their focus on a destination landscape, rather than the place's inhabitants (Mohammed, 1988; Selwyn, 1996).

The quantitative analysis discussed in Chapter 6 shows that physical environment (landscape and geography) constituted 54.3% of content of brochures, 48.7% in early travel writings and 48.0% in travelogues. In addition, 7 out of the top 10 most frequently used nouns in travelogues as well as 6 out of the top 10 in travel brochures and early travel accounts referred to the physical environment (Appendix 29-p.529).

The analysis of the descriptions of landscape in the early travel accounts revealed that the presentations of the landscape in Oman in some early travel accounts (particularly Bent and Bent 1900) were more positive than writers perception of the people (discussed in Chapter 7, Part 3, Section 1- Natural paradise).

Landscape elements (e.g. sands, mountains, valleys and beaches) were strongly featured in the three media. Analysis revealed that the above four natural

components, especially *sands*, were attractive and their presentation was different in travelogues and brochures from that in early travel accounts.

Early travel accounts descriptions of the landscape dominated by assessment, mapping and European powers needs to know the land topography, environment and resources. Some early travellers description of the landscape, particularly, that of Thomas (1932), were related to European scientific interests. In contrast, the representations of landscape in travel brochures and travelogues revealed that landscape elements were commodified for the enjoyment of the locals and tourists alike (e.g. safari tour, adventure and discovery tour, bird watch, camel ride, diving).

Sand regions were projected in early travel accounts as arid, dangerous and a place where raiders were in hiding. It was also featured as a barrier against the movement of imperial powers. In contrast, sands were projected in travelogues and brochures as a place where tourists and local families escapes from modern life to enjoy authenticity, quietness and natural beauty.

Mountain chains were visited for scientific purposes. They were also described as part of some early travellers' aims to map and assess the land. In contrast, the language of commodification dominated travel brochures and travelogues about mountains and valleys. Both media represented the natural attractions, exotic life and historical monuments, which were located in some mountain summits.

In travelling in the sands travellers such as Thomas and Thesiger spoke of their fauna and flora. In contrast, travelogues and travel brochures focused on the Omanis concern with environmental efforts to conserve their natural history. Wild

life which the early travel accounts described as part of their hunting and scientific activities were reserved in sanctuaries for the enjoyment of the tourists and the locals.

As part of their desires and interests to be seen as one of the pioneers of exploration they studied many ancient sites such as Ubar, Sumahram and Baat. In addition, travellers also described the modern Islamic and European heritage and history in Oman. Of the European history, most travellers focused on the British encounters in the region and briefly mentioned the Portuguese history in the country. The Portuguese forts in Muscat were also narrated briefly by some travellers. In contrast, European history in Oman (particularly the Portuguese forts) was frequently used by travel brochures and travelogues to familiarise the land to European readers. Infrastructure and access from the developed areas influenced travel brochures and travelogue projections. They focused on heritage sites located in the capital and other main cities, and very rarely referred to the ancient sites of Ubar, Ash Shisur and Baat.

The notion of shopping, tourist facilities, services and infrastructure were shared between travel brochures and travelogues and did not exist at all in early travel accounts.

The analysis of the three media revealed that the influence of politics was obvious in early travellers' projection of landscape (especially Thesiger 1959 and Morris 1957) representations of the landscape (quoted in Part 3, Section 2). In contrast, place attractions, tourist development, and the available infrastructure had its impacts on travelogues and travel brochures' itineraries.

Of the geography, there are two main trends. First, the map of Oman featured in early travel accounts was bigger than the map of the country in the travelogues and the travel brochures (Map 1 and 2). Second, contemporary travelogue writers and tourists mostly followed early travellers itineraries.

Regarding travel transport, early travellers[78] used camels or boats in travelling in the land. In contrast, camels were offered as part of the intertainment and enjoyment activities. All tourists and journalists' travelled in Oman by car. The only exception was some brochures, which offered airline between Muscat and Salalah or between Muscat and Musandam.

The coastal route between Muscat and Sur was used by many travellers in early days. Similarly, it was one of the most popular routes in travel brochures and travelogues. In crossing the land between southern and northern regions early travellers as well as contemporary tourists used similar routes.

In crossing the land between Dhofar and Nizwa Thesiger (1959) and Morris (1957) travelled through the sands of Empty Quarter Mugshin, Umm-Samim and the oases of Adam. These routes were used by two brochures only: *Explore World-wide* and *Arabia Odyssey*. Haines (1845), Stiffe (1878), Miles (1919), Bent and Bent (1900) and Thomas (1932) used the coastal route between Sur and Dhofar. Similarly in modern days, 4 travel brochures offered their tourists the opportunity to travel in the same itinerary.

Of the routes between the interior and eastern region all three media featured the same routes. For example, Wellsted (1838), Miles (1919) and Thesiger (1959) visited many oases between Nizwa and Wahiba Sands. They travelled through the oasis of Bidiyah, Al Mudarib, Ibra, Samad, Al Mudaibi,

Sinaw and Izki. Such itineraties were also used in contemporary travel brochures and travelogues.

Of Al Batinah coast, Wellsted (1838), Miles (1877) and Morris (1959) visited the coastal area between Muscat and Sohar. All three travellers explored the oases of Al Buraimi. In travel brochures; the same area was featured by 8 travel brochures and tourists followed the same itineraries. They also followed early travellers' routes in crossing the area between Al Batinah and Al Dhahirah area. Travel brochures projection of Musandam Peninsula was higher of ealrly travellers' features and more than 5 brochures offered tour programmes to the Peninsula region.

78 Morris (1957) was the only exception. He travelled in Oman by car in the middle of 20th century.

Chapter Eight
Conclusions

Part 1. Overview of the conclusion

Just a few months before the close of this thesis, two of the most quoted and important scholars died. The first is Edward Said, one of the most influential writers who contributed intensively to the notion of Orientalism and the debate between East and West. When I met Said for the first time, it was in the early nineties at the Diplomatic Institute in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oman, where he spoke about the Philistinian crises, his views on the Oslo agreement and the representation of Islam and Arabs in the Western media (particularly American).

Said's notion of Orientalism and his debate about Western representations of the East, the Arab World and Islam are some of the main themes around which this study centred. Though at times during this thesis, I have disagreed with Said his towering influence has been an ever present - stimulus and without it, this thesis would have been very different.

September last year also recorded the death of one and probably the, last imperialist explorer, Wilfred Thesiger, who travelled in many parts of Arabia, Africa, and the east. Thesiger's account 'Arabian Sands' is one of the richest accounts analysed in this research, particularly his description of the desert and Bedouin life in the early 20th century. In his works, Thesiger presented some of the most meticulous, sensual (Al Habsi, 2003, Smith, 2003), aesthetic and positive pictures of the Arabian Bedouins and their life in the deserts.

The overall objectives of this study were to determine what representation British travel writings, travelogues, and travel brochures have offered about Oman. How the country and its people were presented in the three media and to what extent they are different from Said's (1978) argument of Orientalism. What the meanings of these representations are. What relevance the findings of this study have for current tourism planning in Oman.

In confronting these questions, Chapter Four described how this research investigated and explored the data from early travel accounts, the travelogues and the travel brochures published about the country. It presented the criteria behind selecting each medium. Chapter five investigated, and analysed the content of the three travel literatures. In analysing verbal descriptions in these three media this study classified the linguistic data into three different parts of speech: nouns, verbs and adjectives. The first represented the three media's presentations of place physical environement (landscape and geography), culture and people. The second represented early travellers', travelogue writers' and tourists' activities in the country and their movements; the third signifies their perceptions of the place they visit.

The findings revealed a differentiated picture of Omani images in British travel writings. In Chapters Six and Seven the analyses moved from quantitative to qualitative semiotic analysis of the country as projected in the three represented forms. Although this study contributes to the field of Orientalism in its analysis of Western presentations of one Eastern country, the study offers a critique of the Said (1978) position on Western representations of the East. The analysis specifically reveals that not all writings about eastern destinations were negative,

as Said (1978) had argued, in fact the positive language was the most dominant. In short the picture was more complex and contradictory than simple formulations of Orientalism have suggested.

Finally, when this study was begun, little research and fewer studies had been conducted on tourism in Oman. This was the first doctoral level research in the field of tourism in the country. Consequently, with its eclectic approach to the examination of data, extending over more than 165 years and enriched by many historical and academic reviews, it may claim to have made contributions that may stimulates further research on tourism within Oman.

Part 2. The contributions of this study

At the close of this thesis, the contributions made by this research can be divided into five sections:

(1) Evolving methodologies in tourism research

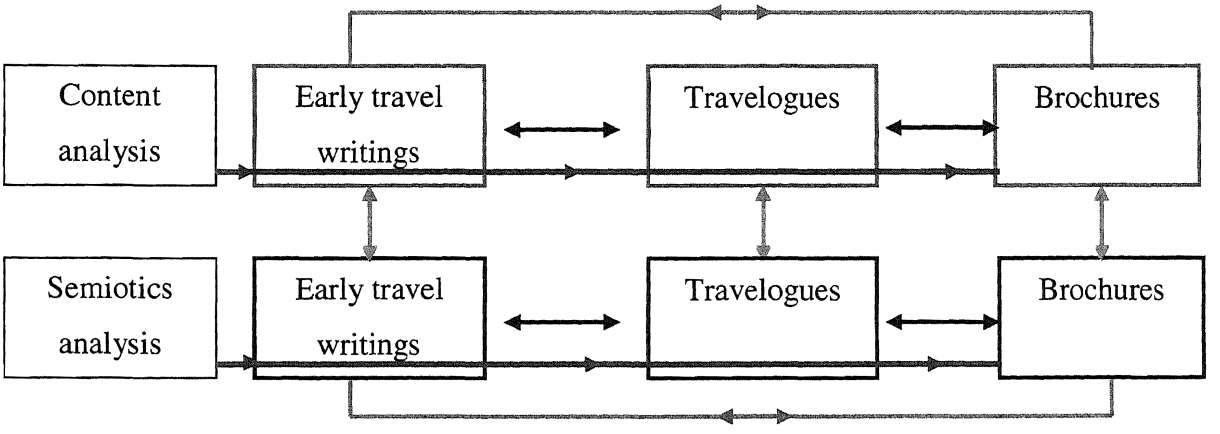
Gallarza et al. (2002) criticised imagery studies for their lack of theoretical orientation. On the methodological front, this study is a novel example of an investigation that manages to combine inductive with deductive approaches, and quantitative content analysis with qualitative semiotic analysis. In addition, it compares three different media and provides tourism research studies with a new case, in which two different and complementary research methods (the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative semiotics analysis) are deployed.

Most of the previous studies that have been conducted in the field of tourism comprised investigation of destination image in travel brochures, in travelogues,

or in advertising. Other studies have investigated destination images in guidebooks, billboards and electronic materials. In content terms, most studies focused either on the destination people and their culture or in landscape and very rarely investigated several dimensions.

This study explored three media representations thus achieving a comparative dimension, across a range of representational dimensions related to Oman (e.g. landscape, culture, people) using both quantitative and qualitative semiotic analysis. The following diagram summarises the contribution to the research methodology of this study:

Diagram 6. Triangulating across the methods and the data



⟶ : The blue line refers to the employment of content and semiotic methods to compare the destination image in the three media.

▭ : Denotes that the content of each media was analysed quantitatively alone to build the understanding of the country's image in the data.

⟷ : The black arrows signify the use of content analysis and semiotics in analysing a destination image in early travel accounts, travelogues, and travel

brochures. The analysis was also extended to analyse the differences between each medium representation.

⟶ : The brown colour refers to the investigation of the country images in early travel accounts and compares it with representations in contemporary brochures.

⟶ : The red illustrates the use of early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures as a media sample to indicate the importance of content analysis and semiotics in analysing verbal data. The quantitative analysis formed the base for the semiotic or qualitative analysis. In contrast, by its interpretations of the meaning that lies behind many quantitative trends, a semiotic approach helped to build deeper understanding into the destination image represented.

(2) Orientalism and the image of Oman in travel writings

By adopting a framework of Orientalism and analysing British travellers' projections of Oman and its people in British travel writings, travelogues and brochures this study provides a case study that offers a significant contribution to the Orientalism associated with Said (1978) and his debate about the ways in which the West has represented the East. Said (1978) characterised Orientalism as follows:

> To speak of Orientalism therefore is to speak mainly, although not exclusively, of British and French cultural enterprise, a project whose dimensions take in such disparate realms as the imagination itself, the whole of India and the Levant, the Biblical texts and the Biblical lands (Said, 1978: 4).

The dimensions of Orientalism in time, and space are similarly restricted in Said's (1978) approach. He mostly limited his notion to Middle Eastern studies and ignored countries such as China, Persia and Turkey (Lewis, 1985). Within

Middle Eastern studies most of his concerns were confined to the Bible lands, Egypt and Palestine, while many other nations in the East such as Oman and Arabia were mostly ignored (Al Habsi, 2003).

This research extends notions of the Orient and focuses on a country excluded from most discussions of Orientalism. Oman is a country, which had different political circumstances, where travellers' writings were mostly influenced by the local political situation and the domination of Omani Empire in the 19th century, rather than Middle Eastern issues. Oman is also a nation, which experienced dependency and imperialism, but was never colonised by outsiders[79].

In contrast, the situation was different with Said's (1978) analysis of the European literature on Egypt and Palestine. In both countries European powers replaced the Ottoman Empire. Before they left Palestine they helped to creat a new and permanent imperial state represented by Israel, a presence which influenced the debate between the West and the East (particularly in the Arab and Islamic world) and most of Said's (1978) works discusses this relationship.

In addition, the European experience in dominating Egypt and Palestine was different from European encounters in Oman. In Palestine and Egypt, Europeans did not confine their control to the coastal areas, but extended it to the entire lands. They had many interests for their domination. In addition to the political and economic interests there were cultural reasons behind their domination of Palestine. In Egypt these interests were mostly economic and geographical due to the location of Egypt on the trade routes, and the richness of its lands.

79 Although many coastal regions of Oman were controlled by the Portuguese empires between 1507-1650, the interior regions of Oman were indpendent and did not fall under the Portuguese domination. In addition, the country was was also affected by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the early Islamic powers based in Damascus and Baghdad, but none of the historical sources reviewed by this studymentioned that country was colonised (Ministry of Information, 1995).

Consequently, political, cultural and economic circumstances influenced many European writers' projection of Egypt and Palestine. In their descriptions, very often Middle Eastern studies and writings offer explicitly refer to Palestine, Egypt and India by phrases such as 'our colony', 'our India' (Bent and Bent, 1900), which is different from representations of Oman (Chapter 2, Part 3 and Chapter 6, Part 3). In the case of Oman, the language of appropriation is less obvious.

European encounters with Oman were different. When they came to the Gulf in the 15th and 16th centuries during the Portuguese domination or in the 18th and 19th centuries during the British, they found a local power and an empire. This nation had already extended its influence to many parts outside Arabia (e.g. Persia, Pakistan and Africa), and built a network of power which was of use to the British in securing their trade routes towards India and containing their competitors (e.g. French) from threatening their interests in the region. In addition, the British found in the 18th and the 19th centuries that their interests in Oman were based mostly on the country's location on the trade route to India. Consequently, they preferred to avoid internal issues and secured their interests in the coastal regions only. However, their studies of Bedouin cultures and customs occurred only at the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century when the power relationships changed in the region and the land resources (oil) became part of international and Western interests.

All the above circumstances and events influenced European writers (particularly the British) perception of the East and produced varied representations. These representations were mostly negative as in Said's (1978) analysis of the western writings on the East (e.g. Egypt and Palestine). In contrast,

the quantitative content analysis and qualitative semiotic analysis of this study found that British travel writings about Oman were mostly positive and different from the prevailing discourse of subordination and appropriation described in Said's (1978) arguments.

(3) Tourism industry in Oman

After reviewing the tourism plans and studies of 1983, 1991, 2000 and 2001, along with the Fifth Development Plans and private and tourism industry activities between 1994-1999, it is evident that tourism marketing and image creation have still not been clearly identified as national priorities (Hunt 1975).

Indeed, very little research has been conducted in the field of tourism in Oman, let alone any study carried out that focus on image creation and promotion.

In spite of the fact that Oman regularly hosts the international media on familiarisation trips, many resulting travel articles simply end up on Ministry shelves and files without any evaluation of their image content. No other studies attempted to discover whether or not these travelogue articles meet the requirements of the national tourism strategy. So, by analysing the content of these articles quantitatively and semiotically, this research contributes to the field of travelogue writing about Oman by providing the library with a sample of six years travel articles analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. It also fills a gap in the available analysed travel literature about Oman in Western libraries, and contributes to the body of work on image construction (Crompton, 1979; Gunn, 1988).

(4) The history of tourism development in Oman

This study is the first tourism study that tackled the history of tourism development in Oman since 1973. In recording the history of tourism development in Oman, most tourism plans and studies appraised in this research, such as the Master Tourism Plan (WTO and UNDP, 1991), Tourism Marketing Strategy (PKF (2001), Priority Action Plan for Tourism Development in Oman (Parsons International et al. 2002) tracked development from either 1989[80] or 1991[81]. None of these studies reviewed tourism responsibilities in 1970s or appraised its history up to 1973 (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1973) when his Majesty appointed Sayyid Fahad bin Mahmoud as the Minister of information and Tourism. In addition, most studies did not stress the changes that occurred in the role of tourism during the seventies and early eighties. It is mostly focused on the development of tourism since 1989, and none of studies discussed the managerial changes that occurred in 1970s (Al Jareedah Al Rasmiyah, 1974).

So, by reviewing tourism development over the last 30 years, this study became the first research on Oman to record the beginning of tourism development to 1973, instead of 1989 or 1991.

80 Royal decree number 112/ 89 which dictated the establishment of Directorate General of Tourism (official Gazette, 1990: 185)

81 The first Tourism plan in Oman, prepared by World Tourism Organisation and United Nations Development Programme in 1991.

(5) Historical and political records

This study has some important political and historical significances.

Before the analyses of the data, Chapter 2 provided a historical overview of Omanis encounters with Europeans (particularly Portuguese and British). It also discussed the development in Oman and the importance of tourism as a new economical sector in the country. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 analysed the verbal content of early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures and provided a historical and political contextualisation of them particularly in the case of early travel accounts.

Most of the travellers' data in the 19th and the early 20th centuries includes extensive details about the land geography, topography, resources and its environment. Travellers also recorded Omani culture, history and the political events that occurred in the region in previous centuries. The three data sets (particularly early travel accounts) were not just travel narratives about Oman, but contained a historical record of political and social development that occurred in the country during the writers' journeys.

Thus the analysis of the content of the early travel accounts of Oman between 1838-1959 in comparison with a six-year sample of contemporary travelogues (1996-Jun 2001) and travel brochures of 2001 offered valuable insight into the changing political and economic contexts that have been the parameters of representations and the images of Oman by Europeans.

Part 3. Recommendations for further research

In order to expand the study of destination image particularly to Middle East countries and Arabia, further research on the place of representation in promotion materials is essential. In this regard, this summary is suggesting three recommendations: (1) Academic research; (2) Government level; and finally, (3) issues relevant to tourism industry.

(1) Recommendation for further academic research

Among semiotic research, the verbal imageries have been treated as the dominant form of communication. But considering the increasing use of pictures and colour representations in travelogues and travel brochures it can be said that for a full understanding of meaning, pictorial images need to be considered in a more systematic way (Moeran, 1991; Tachibana, 2000). But, due to the limitation of this study the analyses and investigation were confined to the verbal patterning of travel writings and how the textualised images of Oman have been constructed.

The comparisons were made in the early travel accounts, contemporary travelogues and travel brochures. This showed that there were differences in the mode of representations with verbal data dominating early travel accounts, less reliance on words in travelogues, while the pictorial images dominated most travel brochures.

In some instances pictorial elements may not just reinforce the verbal fact, but intensify it in ways unspoken of verbally, as in the codes of the picturesque, the exotic and other aesthetic codes e.g. in the way in which Thesiger depicts the beauty of Bedouin boys and the landscape in which they are situated (Al Habsi, 2003; Smith 2003).

The analysis of people in brochures showed that there is a need analytically to combine verbal imageries with pictorial representation. Appendix 36-p.552 presents the number of pictures published in the 18 brochures about Oman. Pictorially, there are 165 images about Oman portraying the physical attractions and the people of Oman. Out of 165, people were featured in 49 pictures which constituted 29.7% from the total of all brochures pictures. In contrast, the theme people featured verbally 154 times, but constituted only 5.4% from the total of all nouns. Of the 49 pictures 25 featured host people alone (51%), 17 guest people alone (34.7%), while the meeting point between host and guest people constituted only 14.3%.

With regard to gender, feminine subjects were portrayed more frequently than masculine. Out of 17 pictures featuring guest category, 5 featured female alone (29.4%), while none of the 18 brochures portray guest male alone. The rest of the 12 pictures featured both genders (70.6%). In contrast, the pictorial images of male hosts were less than those of females. Of 25 pictures, 14 featured male alone (56%), 9 females (36%), while host males and females were featured together in 2 pictures only constituting 8% (Appendix 6- p.505).

(2) Governmental level

Although this study analysed a sample of six years (1996-2001) of travelogue articles published about Oman in the British press, continuity of evaluations is essential to discover whether or not the familiarisation media programmes achieve the requirements of national tourism strategy. Ongoing

monitoring of such significant work should be taken as part of government evaluation of marketing and promotion programmes in its export markets.

Another interesting area to investigate is the reasons behind changes that occur in government agendas and attitudes towards tourism as an economic sector. By investigating government legislation and its programmes in the early 1970s, this research indicated that tourism was classified as an important sector to support the local economy, and contributed in publicising the country externally after years of being closed. These governmental attitudes had changed and tourism was absent from the government agenda for around 15 to 20 years.

It would be interesting to investigate the reasons behind these changes in the state strategy and development plans. Was there any political reason behind these changes? Was it the oil and its price increase post 1973, which offered an alternative income to tourism? Was it government concerns about the social and cultural impact of tourism on local society, which was still in its infancy? Or political changes that occurred in the internal government body and the Cabinet Ministers particularly in the early 1975s?

(3) Tourism industry

In relating to tourism industry this research offers two recommendation:

(a) There is a need to investigate whether the people are an important factor in tourism activities and promotion materials about Oman.

In reviewing tourism plans (1991 and 2001) and the marketing strategy (PKF in 2001) it was evident that the people of Oman were frequently stressed as friendly, hospitable, culturally rich and peaceful, ...etc, and their customs in

dressing, shopping, eating and welcoming guests were always attractive to visitors. In contrasts, the analyses of British travel brochures about Oman showed that the people of Oman were not projected to any greater extent and only constituted 5.6% from the total of all nouns. In their portrayal of people most brochures also portrayed tourists alone and very rarely featured Omanis.

This needs to be studied further in order to investigate, whether the people with their authentic features are an important factor to be projected and portrayed by Ministry of Tourism.

Quarantining tourists from the local population prevented tourists from experiencing local culture and traditional customs in living, shopping, celebrating and so on. For example, tourists were invited to visit many cultural monuments such as souqs, forts and castles and explore landscape components such as sands, mountains and valleys, but in all these attractions, tourists were featured alone or the beauty without locals. Descriptions of these places and itineraries were largely empty of reference to local traditions and authentic life. Bedouins and farmers with their national dress and traditional way of life were rarely mentioned. With the exception of one brochure, none of the promotional materials offered tourists the opportunity to participate in, or watch, local ceremonies (e.g. religious celebration, national day) or other touristic activities (e.g. festivals, camel races). Tourists might have gone and participated in such local activities, but none of the brochures referred to them.

(b) The second recommendation and comment arises from a concern about the content of the published data about Oman and itineraries. Five operators published the same data. In addition, with the exception of *Pearls of the Ocean, Naturetrek*

and *Limosa Holidays* most brochures offered their tourists similar itineraries. Much of the information seems not to be updated in some of the operators' brochures, but repeated from one year to the next (e.g. Elegant Resorts). In investigating the case by telephone with some of these operators it was found that five British tour operators received their data and pictures from one holiday partner in Dubai and another local tour operator in Muscat.

Final summary

In summary, this study has not only attempted to achieve its stated goals of a comparative quantitative and qualitative semiotic analysis of the representations of Oman over time in three media, but also offers a number of new directions for future research and planning not just by academics, but governmental agencies responsible for developing tourism and cultural projects in Oman.

Theoretically, by analysing three British travel media (early travel accounts, travelogues and travel brochures) representations of Oman this study contributed to the critique of Orientalism by offering a new case study of the Western representations of the East. It has indicated that there is a preponderance of positive images of Oman in the three travel texts, which are very different from the mainly adverse stereotyping identified in Said's (1978) appraisal of western writings about Egypt, Palestine and the east in the general.

The case studies that comprise this thesis, therefore suggest at least some modification to the broad critiques of western representations of the east which has been accepted by Edward Said and his followers.

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Publications	The Times						The Independent						The Mail					The Guardian							Telegraph				Traveller			Conde Nast Traveller	Daily Express	The Scotsman	Denbighshire Press	Birmingham post	Gloucester Shire Press	High life
Publications Dates	5	*21.01.1996*	*10.08.1996*	*01.03.1997*	*01.02.1998*	*13.05.2000*	5	*18.01.1997*	*22.06.1997*	*01.02.1998*	*14.03.1999*	*17.12.2000*	4	*21.01.1996*	*10.01.1998*	*10.05.1998*	*18.03.2000*	6	*17.10.1998*	*20.11.1999*	*05.04.2000*	*24.08.2000*	*05.05.2001A*	*05.05.2001 B*	3	*02.03.1997*	*03.01.1998*	*19.12.1998*	2	*Autumn 1996*	*spring 1997*	*March. 2001*	*03.03.2001*	*09.10.1999*	*15.04.1999*	*25 .04. 1998*	*28.04.1998*	*May. 1998*
Nouns																																					
Locals/ Host		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bedouin/ Bedu/ Nomads		2	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	3	3	0	0	5	4	0	2	5	3	0	13	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	0
Qara people		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bride		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Children		2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Driver		0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmers/ villagers / country Men		4	0	0	3	0	0	2	7	0	1	0	0	5	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fishermen		1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Groom		3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Imam		0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Female		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men in general		5	3	0	2	0	0	0	16	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	2	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Merchants/ Traders		1	1	2	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	5	0	0	0	0
Mother		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Police/Askari (gates Guards)		2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Omanis (The word)		4	1	0	3	0	0	0	18	2	0	0	0	2	6	3	0	0	2	3	4	4	0	0	0	4	5	1	0	0	3	7	2	0	3	1	0	0
Sheikh		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sultan/ the ruler		5	0	0	4	0	0	5	12	3	0	0	0	5	6	3	1	0	3	9	1	0	3	3	0	6	7	0	0	2	5	5	5	5	2	0	0	0
Guide		4	0	0	4	0	0	0	20	1	12	0	0	5	4	3	4	0	9	6	0	1	3	3	0	10	13	7	0	3	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	0
Tour operators		0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tribes		2	0	2	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Wali (Gevernor) & Officers		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women in General		9	0	0	1	0	0	0	25	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Courtesy		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Fortune		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Comfort/able		0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luxurious/ Luxuriant		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guest		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adventure/r		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Backpackers		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Expatriates		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Explorers		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foreigners		0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Geographers		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Missionaries		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sailors		1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sand lover		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Tourist		1	0	0	2	3	0	0	5	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Travellers		1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Visitors		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
Westerners		1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sahib, Rabia (collegue or friend)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travellers names		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

| | | |

| | | |

| | | |

Cave		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cliff		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coast		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Desert		2	6	9	4	0	0	3	3	2	5	0	0	3	0	3	4	0	4	4	2	0	3	4	0	3	9	2	0	0	4	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Flora and Fauna		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Hill		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Island		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mountain (Jabal)		1	2	2	14	3	0	3	6	5	0	0	0	2	4	3	3	0	6	0	1	0	3	2	0	3	10	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Nature		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ocean		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palm		1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	2	0			
Park / reserve		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rock/ Stones		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sands, Dunes & Ramool		1	13	15	4	0	0	3	7	3	8	0	0	5	1	3	7	0	3	6	1	1	3	7	0	6	25	2	0	10	0	7	1	2	3	0	2			
Sea		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sky: stars & the moon in the desert		0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strait of Hormmuz		0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sun		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0		2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wades / Valleys, Grand Canyon		1	0	3	12	3	0	2	3	0	1	4	0	3	3	7	2	0	5	6	1	0	6	4	0	0	7	0	0	1	1	1	5	2	2	15	3	5		
Regions		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Muscat and the Capital		4	2	3	2	2	0	3	15	2	0	0	0	4	5	4	1	0	3	3	0	0	12	15	0	3	4	5	0	0	0	7	7	5	3	0	0	0	0	0
Mutrah		0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dhofar and the South		0	0	0	2	0	0	3	8	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Salalah		1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nizwa and Interior		1	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	5	1	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Sur and Eastern Region		3	5	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	2	2	1	0	2	5	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sohar & Al-Batinah Coast		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Al-Batinah (Al-Rustaq / Nakhal)		1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Al-Wusta (The Midland)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Musandam & Strait of Hormmuz		0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telegraph Island		0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	0
Ibri and Al-Dahira region		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5		
Buraimi		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fahud		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waheeba Sands		0	2	2	0	0	0	2	2	1	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Empty Quarter/ Rub' Alkhali'		1	0	5	2	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	5	0	5	1	1	1	3	0	0	1			
Hajar mountains		0	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7		
AL- Jabal Al-Akhadar (Green		0	0	3	7	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1		
Al-Qara mountains		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4		
Jabal Shams (the mountain of the		0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1			
Ras Al-junaiz		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al-Belaid (U. World Heritage)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		1	0	0	0	0			
Al-Hamra/Al-Mesfah		0	0	0	0	0	0		1			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	3		
Khor Rori		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	1		
Qalhat		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0		
Samad		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1		
Sumahram (UNISCO World		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0			
Ubar		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
City		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0		
Town		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0		
Village		2	1	0	3	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0	4	0	2	2	2	0	0	1	2		

Oasis		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Hotel		0	0	1	2	1	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	0	7	0	0	0	3	7	0	2	2	4	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Airports		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al-Bustan Palace Hotel		0	0	2	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0
Dhow/ Shipyard		0	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Sand Resorts		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar / Clubs		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Camp		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
Roads, Streets Motorways, routs		2	0	2	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	2	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	17	3	2	3	0	0	0	0
Roundabouts		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shops / Market/ Bazaars		2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palace		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tents / Shelters		0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1		0	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abyssinia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acacia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afternoon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Arrustaq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ammunation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baggage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Bahla	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Banians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Border	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Boy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
Brother	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Butterfly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caravans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chief	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Companions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cotton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Court	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Crew	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crop	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cultivation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daughter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delight	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Development	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
District	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
East/Orient	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Evening	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2
Falaj / Aflaj	0	0	10	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Farm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wolf	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Weather/climate	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	2	0
Watersports	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Warrior	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
War	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Wall	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	2
Wahabis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Umm Ssamim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Umm Al Hayah	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turkey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tree	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	3	7	7	1	3	0	0	2
Tower	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Territory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Tennis courts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temple	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Syria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sword	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunset	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Spring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Son	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Soldier	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Soil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Society	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slavery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slave	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sister	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sect, doctrine, tenant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Room	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Robe (men)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Ritual	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rifle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Raid and raiders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Purda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pool	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Plain	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	1
Persian	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Pasture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Paradise	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Orange	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Oman	0	1	2	1	3	4	0	1	2	3	3	2	0	2	1	1	2	0	4	2	3	1	4	5	0	5	3	4	0	2	1	1	2	0	1	6	1	1
Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Native	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mugshin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morning	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
Minna (Manah)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mesopotamia, Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Merbat/ Mirbat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mecca	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mango	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Locust	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lizard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0

Land	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	3	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	3	0	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	6	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1
Lake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Koran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kadhi (Jury)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jew	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jaddat Al Harasis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Irrigation	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inhabitants	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ibrah (Ibra)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hyena	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Husbandry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Husband	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
House	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
Host	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hormuz (Strait of Hormuz)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hare (desert hare)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hamlet	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gunboat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gun	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Greenery	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Goat	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Garrison	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Garden	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Fruit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	2	0
Foxes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Flight	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	0
Firewood	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 2. Verb categories in the three media

Beautiful	***Sense***	***The sublime***
Amazing	Sensitive	Superb/ Superlative
Delightful	Dramatic	Best
Elegant	Silent	Finest
Exciting/excited	Delicious	Grandest
Exhaustive	Smelly	Most
Expensive	Breathtaking	Quiet/ Quietest
Exquisite	Scented	Terrific
Extraordinary	Fragrant	Spectacular
Extravagant	Clean	Noble
Exuberant	Brushed & Dusted	Perfect
Fabulous	Charming	Huge
Fascinating	Colourful	Brilliant
Futuristic	Colour	Excellent
Gorgeous	Crystalline	Big
Glorious	Black	Easy
Impending	Blue	Endless
Impressive	Brown	Famous
Interested & interesting	Green	Good
Stunning	Grey	Great
Thrilled	Picturesque	High
Others	Pink	Intimidating
Another (world/ time/ harmony line of Thesiger)	Purple	Large
Backward	Red	Less
Different	Turquoise	Majestic
Exotic: Land, wadi, mosque	Verdant	Many
Exotic People	Violet	Monotonous
Imaginable	White	Popular
Invisible	Windy	***Friendly***
Magical	Yellow	Civilised
Mystical/Mystery	Physical	Dignified
Seductive	Deserted	Forthright
Surprising	Flowered	Gallant
Strange	Plain	Generous
Timeless	Rugged	Genuine
Tribal	Soft	Happy
Unique	Vast	Hospitable
Wild	Climatic	Honest
Barbarous	Arid	Kind/ Kindly
Dangerous	Dry	Liberal
Fierce	Bright	Pleasant
Inhospitable	Cold	Polite
Intolerant	Dark	Respectable/ Polite
Isolated	Hot	Spontaneous
Naked	Humid	Tolerant
Natural	Light	Warm
Primitive	Rainy	Welcomed / welcoming
Savage	Sunny	Not importunate with foreigners
Simple	Tropical	***Political stability***
Uncivilised	Wintry	Important
Undignified	***Old/ Ancient***	Independent
Unfriendly environment	Antique	Low crime/ crime free
Unhappy	Traditional	Safe/ly
Uninhabited	Rich	Peaceful
Uninteresting	Legendary	secure
Unpleasant	Modern	insecure
Unspoiled	Real: (Arabia, Arab, Bedu, soak)	Secretive
Untouched	Strong	Stable (regime)
		Vital

Appendix 3a. Comparison of host nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
People	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% THG**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% THG*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% THG*
Host	***8360***	***20.9***	***91.9***	*778*	*14.3*	*77.3*	*98*	*3.1*	*63.6*
Guest	*739*	*1.8*	*8.1*	*228*	*4*	*22.8*	*56*	*1.9*	*36.4*
Grand Total	**9099**	**22.7**	**100**	**1006**	**18.2**	**100**	**154**	**5.4**	**100**
Host	95	1.0	1.0	9	0.2	0.9	4	0.1	2.6
Local	192	0.5	2.1	10	0.2	1.0	6	0.2	3.9
Bedouin/ Bedu /	758	1.9	8.3	71	1.3	7.1	9	0.3	5.8
Boy	144	0.4	1.6	9	0.2	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Bride	28	0.1	0.3	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Brother	112	0.3	1.2	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Chief	129	0.3	1.4	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Child	87	0.2	1.0	14	0.3	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Companion	265	0.7	2.9	9	0.2	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Daughter	58	0.1	0.6	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Driver	39	0.1	0.4	8	0.1	0.8	2	0.1	1.3
Farmer / villager	29	0.1	0.3	38	0.7	3.8	1	0.0	0.6
Female	87	0.2	1.0	6	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Fishermen	14	0.0	0.2	9	0.2	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Garrison	26	0.1	0.3	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Groom	7	0.0	0.1	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Guide	217	0.5	2.4	121	2.2	12.0	3	0.1	1.9
Husband	59	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Imam	261	0.7	2.9	12	0.2	1.2	1	0.0	0.6
Inhabitant	124	0.3	1.4	4	0.1	0.4	1	0.0	0.6
Indigenous	9	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Kadi (Qadhi)	25	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Male	60	0.1	0.7	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Man in general	1006	2.5	11.1	50	0.9	5.0	2	0.1	1.3
Merchant / Trader	75	0.2	0.8	25	0.5	2.5	4	0.1	2.6
Mohammedan	42	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Moslem / Muslim	74	0.2	0.8	2	0.0	0.2	1	0.0	0.6
Mother	54	0.1	0.6	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Native	124	0.3	1.4	6	0.1	0.6	3	0.1	1.9
Officer	54	0.1	0.6	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Omani (The word)	89	0.2	1.0	9	0.2	0.9	24	0.8	15.6
Police / Askari)	99	0.2	1.1	78	1.4	7.8	2	0.1	1.3
Prince	65	0.2	0.7	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Qara/ Qarra people	207	0.5	2.3	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.6
Rabia	100	0.2	1.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Seafarer	1	0.0	0.0	12	0.2	1.2	0	0.0	0.0
Sheikh	548	1.4	6.0	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Sindbad	5	0.0	0.1	16	0.3	1.6	5	0.2	3.2
Sister	29	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Society	35	0.1	0.4	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Soldier	79	0.2	0.9	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Son	204	0.5	2.2	13	0.2	1.3	0	0.0	0.0
Sultan / ruler / Sayyid	641	1.6	7.0	100	1.8	9.9	27	0.9	17.5
Tribe	1492	3.7	16.4	21	0.4	2.1	1	0.0	0.6
Wali (Governor)	198	0.5	2.2	8	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Wife	101	0.3	1.1	11	0.2	1.1	0	0.0	0.0
Woman	213	0.5	2.3	60	1.1	6.0	1	0.0	0.6

Appendix 3b. Comparison of guest nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% G.*	*% p.*	*Freq.*	*% G.*	*% p.*	*Freq.*	*% G.*	*% p.*
Travel	251	2.8	28.6	99	9.8	41.9	39	25.3	69.6
Colonial nouns	170	1.9	19.4	22	2.2	9.3	7	4.5	12.5
Religious and legend	264	2.9	30.1	44	4.4	18.6	6	3.9	10.7
Travellers' name	193	2.1	22.0	71	7.1	30.1	4	2.6	7.1
Total	***878***	***9.6***	***100.0***	***236***	***23.5***	***100.0***	***56***	***36.4***	***100.0***
Travel:									
Adventure	26	0.1	0.3	7	0.1	0.7	8	0.3	5.2
Backpacker	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Child [83]	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	8	0.3	5.2
Crew	24	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Explorer	19	0.0	0.2	5	0.1	0.5	2	0.1	1.3
Geographer	23	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Guest	45	0.1	0.5	11	0.2	1.1	4	0.1	2.6
Sailor	22	0.1	0.2	9	0.2	0.9	3	0.1	1.9
Sand lover	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Tourist	2	0.0	0.0	27	0.5	2.7	8	0.3	5.2
Traveller	63	0.2	0.7	22	0.4	2.2	0	0.0	0.0
Visitor	27	0.1	0.3	13	0.2	1.3	6	0.2	3.9
Colonial nouns:									
Banians	20	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Expatriate	1	0.0	0.0	7	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
Foreigner	16	0.0	0.2	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Sahib	59	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Westerner	74	0.2	0.8	10	0.2	1.0	7	0.2	4.5
Religious and legend:									
Christ & Christian	109	0.3	1.2	8	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Jew	13	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Magi	16	0.0	0.2	10	0.2	1.0	1	0.0	0.6
Mission/ary	15	0.0	0.2	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Queen of Sheba	0	0.0	0.0	9	0.2	0.9	5	0.2	3.2
Wise Men	2	0.0	0.0	8	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Christ & Christian	109	0.3	1.2	8	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Travellers' names									
Bents	30	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Bertram Thomas	61	0.2	0.7	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.6
Jan Morris	5	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Lawrence	10	0.0	0.1	18	0.3	1.8	0	0.0	0.0
Marco Polo	3	0.0	0.0	7	0.1	0.7	1	0.0	0.6
Miles	37	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Thesiger	6	0.0	0.1	46	0.8	4.6	2	0.1	1.3
Wellsted	11	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Bents	30	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% G. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all guest nouns.

% P: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of all people

83 It was described in the brochures to promote the facilities that designed to meet tourists and their children

Appendix 4. Comparison of landscape nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
Landscape and scenery	5860	14.6	44.8	630	11.4	47.5	469	16.5	62.9
Agriculture	2755	6.9	21.0	265	4.8	20	80	2.8	10.7
Environment	2096	5.2	16.0	222	4.0	16.7	148	5.2	19.8
Wildlife	2384	5.9	18.2	210	3.8	15.8	49	1.7	6.6
Grand Total	***13095***	***32.7***	***100.0***	***1327***	***24.0***	***100***	***746***	***26.2***	***100.0***

Landscape themes	***Freq.****	***% N. ****	***% TL****	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% TL*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% TL*
Landscape and Scenery	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Beach	57	0.1	0.4	39	0.7	2.9	56	2.0	7.5
Cave	73	0.2	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	0.3
Cliff	83	0.2	0.6	1	0.0	0.1	6	0.2	0.8
Coast	350	0.9	2.7	8	0.1	0.6	51	1.8	6.8
Desert	561	1.4	4.3	86	1.6	6.5	53	1.9	7.1
Garden	75	0.2	0.6	17	0.3	1.3	1	0.0	0.1
Greenery	1	0.0	0.0	11	0.2	0.8	5	0.2	0.7
Hill	347	0.9	2.6	6	0.1	0.5	4	0.1	0.5
Island	41	0.1	0.3	3	0.1	0.2	16	0.6	2.1
Land	160	0.4	1.2	58	1.0	4.4	11	0.4	1.5
Mountains (Jabal)	928	2.3	7.1	83	1.5	6.3	79	2.8	10.6
Nature	87	0.2	0.7	2	0.0	0.2	2	0.1	0.3
Ocean	38	0.1	0.3	14	0.3	1.1	12	0.4	1.6
Park / reserve	23	0.1	0.2	9	0.2	0.7	4	0.1	0.5
Rock/ Stone	529	1.3	4.0	6	0.1	0.5	16	0.6	2.1
Sand, Dune, Ramool	1112	2.8	8.5	149	2.7	11.2	60	2.1	8.0
Sea	612	1.5	4.7	20	0.4	1.5	28	1.0	3.8
Wadi / Valley	754	1.9	5.8	108	2.0	8.1	61	2.1	8.2
Wilderness	29	0.1	0.2	10	0.2	0.8	2	0.1	0.3
Agriculture	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Acacia	59	0.1	0.5	4	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Cotton	40	0.1	0.3	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Crop	23	0.1	0.2	4	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.1
Cultivation	59	0.1	0.5	21	0.4	1.6	0	0.0	0.0
Falaj / water channel	33	0.1	0.3	21	0.4	1.6	3	0.1	0.4
Farm	8	0.0	0.1	11	0.2	0.8	5	0.2	0.7
Flora	5	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.1	3	0.1	0.4
Fruit	118	0.3	0.9	9	0.2	0.7	3	0.1	0.4
Hamlet	59	0.1	0.5	4	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Husbandry	5	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Irrigation	27	0.1	0.2	6	0.1	0.5	3	0.1	0.4
Lake	35	0.1	0.3	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Lime	24	0.1	0.2	8	0.1	0.6	4	0.1	0.5
Mango	21	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.1
Orange	19	0.0	0.1	5	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Palm	183	0.5	1.4	31	0.6	2.3	10	0.4	1.3
Pasture	62	0.2	0.5	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Plain	369	0.9	2.8	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Soil	57	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Spring	106	0.3	0.8	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Sugar	40	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Tree	317	0.8	2.4	78	1.4	5.9	13	0.5	1.7
Water	1086	2.7	8.3	56	1.0	4.2	34	1.2	4.6
Environment	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0

Flood	25	0.1	0.2	9	0.2	0.7	1	0.0	0.1
Monsoon & Fog	34	0.1	0.3	20	0.4	1.5	5	0.2	0.7
Sky: stars, Moon	89	0.2	0.7	11	0.2	0.8	1	0.0	0.1
Rain	246	0.6	1.9	16	0.3	1.2	4	0.1	0.5
Sun	181	0.5	1.4	18	0.3	1.4	19	0.7	2.5
Surf (windsurfing)	6	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Weather / climate	78	0.2	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	4	0.1	0.5
Wind	210	0.5	1.6	4	0.1	0.3	3	0.1	0.4
Season	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Afternoon	89	0.2	0.7	9	0.2	0.7	16	0.6	2.1
Evening	179	0.4	1.4	12	0.2	0.9	9	0.3	1.2
Morning	270	0.7	2.1	16	0.3	1.2	32	1.1	4.3
Night	470	1.2	3.6	70	1.3	5.3	41	1.4	5.5
Summer	77	0.2	0.6	9	0.2	0.7	4	0.1	0.5
Sunset	87	0.2	0.7	12	0.2	0.9	3	0.1	0.4
Winter	55	0.1	0.4	16	0.3	1.2	6	0.2	0.8
Wild life	4	0.0	0.0	13	0.2	1.0	1	0.0	0.1
Bird	80	0.2	0.6	8	0.1	0.6	23	0.8	3.1
Butterfly	31	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Camel	1400	3.5	10.7	100	1.8	7.5	6	0.2	0.8
Cow	100	0.2	0.8	4	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Dolphin	1	0.0	0.0	14	0.3	1.1	3	0.1	0.4
Fauna	265	0.7	2.0	3	0.1	0.2	5	0.2	0.7
Foxes	42	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Gazelle	54	0.1	0.4	2	0.0	0.2	1	0.0	0.1
Goat	139	0.3	1.1	27	0.5	2.0	0	0.0	0.0
Hare (desert hare)	17	0.0	0.1	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Horse	36	0.1	0.3	7	0.1	0.5	2	0.1	0.3
Hyena	43	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Insect	13	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Lizard	32	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Locust	43	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Oryx	44	0.1	0.3	8	0.1	0.6	2	0.1	0.3
Turtle	0	0.0	0.0	22	0.4	1.7	6	0.2	0.8
Wolf	40	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% N. the percentage was calculated according to the total of all nouns.

% TL. the percentage was calculated according to the total of all landscape themes.

Appendix 5. Comparison of geography nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T C**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% TCH*
Location and geography	1417	3.5	22	95	1.8	7.1	76	2.9	9.5
Destination	1789	4.4	27.8	434	7.9	32.7	154	5.4	19.3
Regions of Oman	3203	7.8	50.0	800	14.7	60.2	570	19.8	71.3
Grand Total	***6409***	***16***	***100***	***1329***	***24***	***100***	***800***	***28***	***100***
Location and geography	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Border	54	0.1	0.8	8	0.1	0.6	5	0.2	0.6
District	106	0.3	1.7	3	0.1	0.2	2	0.1	0.3
Territory	29	0.1	0.5	1	0	0.1	0	0	0.0
Arabian Peninsula	15	0	0.2	9	0.2	0.7	13	0.5	1.6
Arab world	57	0.1	0.9	1	0	0.1	0	0	0.0
Arabia	738	1.8	11.5	35	0.6	2.6	14	0.5	1.8
Asia	62	0.2	1.0	0	0	0.0	2	0.1	0.3
Gulf	77	0.2	1.2	11	0.2	0.8	10	0.4	1.3
East	27	0.1	0.4	5	0.1	0.4	0	0	0.0
Middle East	20	0	0.3	6	0.1	0.5	5	0.2	0.6
South Arabia	84	0.2	1.3	9	0.2	0.7	2	0.1	0.3
Arabian Gulf	1	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	3	0.1	0.4
Arabian Sea	5	0	0.1	0	0	0.0	5	0.2	0.6
Gulf of Oman	8	0	0.1	3	0.1	0.2	8	0.3	1.0
Indian Ocean	21	0.1	0.3	3	0.1	0.2	6	0.2	0.8
Persian Gulf	85	0.2	1.3	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Red Sea	28	0.1	0.4	1	0	0.1	1	0	0.1
Destinations	0	0.0	22.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Abyssinia	25	0.1	0.4	0	0	0.0	1	0	0.1
Bahrain	105	0.3	1.6	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
East Africa	59	0.1	0.9	3	0.1	0.2	16	0.6	2.0
Egypt	83	0.2	1.3	6	0.1	0.5	3	0.1	0.4
India	168	0.4	2.6	24	0.4	1.8	3	0.1	0.4
Mecca	20	0	0.3	1	0	0.1	0	0	0.0
Mesopotamia, Iraq and Basra	56	0.1	0.9	4	0.1	0.3	3	0.1	0.4
Oman	601	1.5	9.4	326	5.9	24.5	92	3.2	11.5
Persia	70	0.2	1.1	21	0.4	1.6	0	0	0.0
Saudi Arabia/ Hijaz	116	0.3	1.8	4	0.1	0.3	2	0.1	0.3
Syria	41	0.1	0.6	1	0	0.1	0	0	0.0
Ottoman/ Turkey	25	0.1	0.4	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
UAE[84]	84	0.2	1.3	12	0.2	0.9	20	0.7	2.5
Yemen/ Aden/ Hadhramoot	295	0.7	4.6	14	0.3	1.1	5	0.2	0.6
Zanzibar/ Zinzibar)	41	0.1	0.6	18	0.3	1.4	9	0.3	1.1
Regions of Oman	0	0.0	27.9	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
City	167	0.4	2.6	88	1.6	6.6	38	1.3	4.8
Oasis	43	0.1	0.7	14	0.3	1.1	16	0.6	2.0
Paradise	9	0	0.1	8	0.1	0.6	3	0.1	0.4
Town	516	1.3	8.1	70	1.3	5.3	24	0.8	3.0
Village	298	0.7	4.6	61	1.1	4.6	41	1.4	5.1
Adam	36	0.1	0.6	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0

84 UAE: is used in this table to refer to all description that found under the name of: Trucial Coast of Oman, United Arab Emirates, or referred to UAE by providing description about the capital cities of Abu Dhabi, Al Sharjah and Dubai.

Jebel Al-Akhdar (Green Mountain)	95	0.2	1.5	25	0.5	1.9	4	0.1	0.5
Al-Belaid	9	0	0.1	6	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Buraimi	99	0.2	1.5	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Al-Hamra	8	0	0.1	6	0.1	0.5	5	0.2	0.6
Al-Qara mountains	70	0.2	1.1	9	0.2	0.7	8	0.3	1.0
Al-Rustaq / Rostok	46	0.1	0.7	13	0.2	1.0	17	0.6	2.1
Al-Wusta (the Midland)	1	0	0.0	5	0.1	0.4	13	0.5	1.6
Bahla / Bahila	27	0.1	0.4	6	0.1	0.5	6	0.2	0.8
Dhofar	276	0.7	4.3	36	0.7	2.7	15	0.5	1.9
Empty Quarter / Rub' Al Khali'	144	0.4	2.2	37	0.7	2.8	12	0.4	1.5
Fahud	37	0.1	0.6	0	0	0.0	1	0	0.1
Hajar mountains	28	0.1	0.4	20	0.4	1.5	11	0.4	1.4
Hormuz and Musandam	5	0	0.1	13	0.2	1.0	12	0.4	1.5
Ibri and Al-Dahira	91	0.2	1.4	14	0.3	1.1	2	0.1	0.3
Jabal Shams (the mountain of the sun)	0	0	0.0	9	0.2	0.7	6	0.2	0.8
Jaddat Al Harasis	4	0	0.1	0	0	0.0	1	0	0.1
Khor Rori / Kho Bouri	4	0	0.1	5	0.1	0.4	5	0.2	0.6
Merbat / Morbat	38	0.1	0.6	0	0	0.0	3	0.1	0.4
Minna (Manah)	6	0	0.1	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Mugshin	24	0.1	0.4	4	0.1	0.3	1	0	0.1
Musandam and Strait of Hormuz/ Hurmoz	29	0.1	0.5	13	0.2	1.0	7	0.2	0.9
Muscat/ Maskat	492	1.2	7.7	114	2.1	8.6	124	4.4	15.5
Muttrah	22	0.1	0.3	7	0.1	0.5	14	0.5	1.8
Nakhal	26	0.1	0.4	7	0.1	0.5	8	0.3	1.0
Nizwa / Nezweh	116	0.3	1.8	35	0.6	2.6	44	1.5	5.5
Qalhat / Calayate /	28	0.1	0.4	28	0.5	2.1	5	0.2	0.6
Ras Al jinz, Al Ruwais, Madraka and Ras Al Had	12	0	0.2	5	0.1	0.4	12	0.4	1.5
Salalah	100	0.2	1.6	37	0.7	2.8	32	1.1	4.0
Samad, Sinaw and Al Modaybi	4	0	0.1	3	0.1	0.2	3	0.1	0.4
Ibrah (Ibra)	9	0	0.1	2	0	0.2	1	0	0.1
Sohar	85	0.2	1.3	7	0.1	0.5	22	0.8	2.8
Sumahram/ Bobat	4	0.0	0.1	5	0.1	0.4	5	0.2	0.6
Sur	100	0.2	1.6	41	0.7	3.1	26	0.9	3.3
Telegraph Island	0	0.0	0.0	10	0.2	0.8	2	0.1	0.3
Ubar	37	0.1	0.6	10	0.2	0.8	6	0.2	0.8
Umm Al Hait	18	0.0	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Umm as Samim	7	0.0	0.1	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Wahiba Sands	33	0.1	0.5	26	0.5	2.0	15	0.5	1.9

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium
% N. The total percentage calculated according to the total of all nouns
% TG: The total percentage calculated according to the total of all geography.

Appendix 6. The projection of masculine and feminine words in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% H.*	*% TMF*	*Freq.*	*% H*	*% TMF*	*Freq.*	*% H*	*% TMF*
Masculine	**4063**	**87.7**	**44.7**	**298**	**77.2**	**29.6**	**41**	**97.6**	**26.6**
Femaleness	**570**	**12.3**	**6.3**	**88**	**22.8**	**8.7**	**1**	**2.4**	**0.6**
Grand Total	**4633**	**100**	**51**	**386**	**100**	**38.3**	**42**	**100**	**27.2**
Maleness:									
Boy	144	3.1	1.6	9	2.3	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Brother	112	2.4	1.2	2	0.5	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Chief	129	2.8	1.4	3	0.8	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Companion	265	5.7	2.9	9	2.3	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Driver	39	0.8	0.4	8	2.1	0.8	2	4.8	1.3
Fishermen	14	0.3	0.2	9	2.3	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Garrison	26	0.6	0.3	2	0.5	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Groom	7	0.2	0.1	4	1.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Husband	59	1.3	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Imam	261	5.6	2.9	12	3.1	1.2	1	2.4	0.6
Kadi (Qadhi)	25	0.5	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Male	60	1.3	0.7	5	1.3	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Man in general	1006	21.7	11.1	50	13.0	5.0	2	4.8	1.3
Merchant / Trader	75	1.6	0.8	25	6.5	2.5	4	9.5	2.6
Prince	65	1.4	0.7	1	0.3	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Rabia	100	2.2	1.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Seafarer	1	0.0	0.0	12	3.1	1.2	0	0.0	0.0
Sheikh	548	11.8	6.0	5	1.3	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Sindbad	5	0.1	0.1	16	4.1	1.6	5	11.9	3.2
Soldier	79	1.7	0.9	5	1.3	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Son	204	4.4	2.2	13	3.4	1.3	0	0.0	0.0
Sultan / ruler / Sayyid	641	13.8	7.0	100	25.9	9.9	27	64.3	17.5
Wali (Governor)	198	4.3	2.2	8	2.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Total	**4063**	**87.7**	**44.7**	**298**	**77.2**	**29.6**	**41**	**97.6**	**26.6**
Femaleness:									
Bride	28	0.6	0.3	4	1.0	0.4	0	0	0.0
Daughter	58	1.3	0.6	2	0.5	0.2	0	0	0.0
Female	87	1.9	1.0	6	1.6	0.6	0	0	0.0
Mother	54	1.2	0.6	4	1.0	0.4	0	0	0.0
Sister	29	0.6	0.3	1	0.3	0.1	0	0	0.0
Wife	101	2.2	1.1	11	2.8	1.1	0	0	0.0
Woman	213	4.6	2.3	60	15.5	6.0	1	2.4	0.6
Total	**570**	**12.3**	**6.3**	**88**	**22.8**	**8.7**	**1**	**2.4**	**0.6**

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media
% TMF: of all masculine and feminine nouns.
% H: of all host nouns.

Appendix 7. The quantitative finding of the non-ordinary group (ruling class)

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% RO**	*% H. **	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% H.*	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% H.*
Ordinary	2126	53.6	23.4	354	73.3	35.2	30	51.7	19.5
Ruling class	1842	46.4	20.2	129	26.7	12.8	28	48.3	18.2
Grand Total	**3968**	**100.0**	**43.6**	**483**	**100.0**	**48.0**	**58**	**100**	**37.7**
Total of all people	***9099***			***1006***			***154***		

	*Freq.**	*% RO**	*% R. **	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% R.*	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% R.*
Chief	129	3.3	7.0	3	0.6	2.3	0	0.0	0.0
Imam	261	6.6	14.2	12	2.5	9.3	1	1.7	3.6
Prince	65	1.6	3.5	1	0.2	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Sultan / ruler	641	16.2	34.8	100	20.7	77.5	27	46.6	96.4
Wali (Governor)	198	5.0	10.7	8	1.7	6.2	0	0.0	0.0
Sheikh	548	13.8	25.8	5	1.0	1.4	0	0.0	0
Total	**1842**	**46.4**	**100.0**	**129**	**26.7**	**100.0**	**28**	**48.3**	**100.0**

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% P.: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of all host theme.

% HG: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of ordinary and ruling class

% R: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of ruling class.

Appendix 8. The quantitative finding of the ordinary people group

	Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
Themes	***Freq.****	***% RO****	***% P. ****	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% P.*	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% P.*
Ordinary	2126	53.6	23.4	354	73.3	35.2	30	51.7	19.5
Ruling class	1842	46.4	20.2	129	26.7	12.8	28	48.3	18.2
Grand Total	**3968**	**100.0**	**43.6**	**483**	**100.0**	**48.0**	**58**	**100**	**37.7**
	9099			***1006***			***154***		

	*Freq.**	*% RO**	*% R. **	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% R.*	*Freq.*	*% RO.*	*% R.*
Bedouin	758	19.1	35.7	71	14.7	20.1	9	15.5	30.0
Companion	265	6.7	12.5	9	1.9	2.5	0	0.0	0.0
Driver	39	1.0	1.8	8	1.7	2.3	2	3.4	6.7
Farmer	29	0.7	1.4	38	7.9	10.7	1	1.7	3.3
Fishermen	14	0.4	0.7	9	1.9	2.5	0	0.0	0.0
Guard	26	0.7	1.2	2	0.4	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Guide	217	5.5	10.2	71	14.7	20.1	3	5.2	10.0
Indigenous	9	0.2	0.4	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Kadi (Qadhi)	25	0.6	1.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Merchant / Trader	75	1.9	3.5	25	5.2	7.1	4	6.9	13.3
Native	124	3.1	5.8	6	1.2	1.7	3	5.2	10.0
Officer	54	1.4	2.5	4	0.8	1.1	0	0.0	0.0
Askari / Police	99	2.5	4.7	78	16.1	22.0	2	3.4	6.7
Qara/ Qarra people	207	5.2	9.7	0	0.0	0.0	1	1.7	3.3
Rabia	100	2.5	4.7	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Seafarer	1	0.0	0.0	12	2.5	3.4	0	0.0	0.0
Sindbad	5	0.1	0.2	16	3.3	4.5	5	8.6	16.7
Soldier	79	2.0	3.7	5	1.0	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Total	**2126**	**53.6**	**100.0**	**354**	**73.3**	**100.0**	**30**	**51.7**	**100.0**

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% P.: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of all **People** theme.

% HG: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of ordinary and ruling class

% R: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of ruling class.

Appendix 9. Comparison of culture category nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T C**	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T CH*
Built environment	1807	4.5	35.3	542	9.8	58.9	225	7.9	65.4
Dress	971	2.4	19.0	118	2.1	12.8	12	0.4	3.5
Folklore and music	113	0.3	2.2	16	0.3	1.7	12	0.4	3.5
Food	1340	3.3	26.2	164	3.0	17.8	60	2.1	17.4
Hospitality	157	0.4	3.1	25	0.5	2.7	13	0.5	3.8
Religion	727	1.8	14.2	55	1.0	6.0	22	0.8	6.4
Grand Total	**5115**	**12.8**	**100.0**	**920**	**16.6**	**100.0**	**344**	**12.1**	**100.0**
	9099			***1006***			***154***		

Themes	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T C**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T C*
Culture and Heritage	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Built environment		0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Architecture	16	0.0	0.3	11	0.2	1.2	2	0.1	0.6
Castle	96	0.2	1.9	3	0.1	0.3	8	0.3	2.3
Court	42	0.1	0.8	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Craft	24	0.1	0.5	9	0.2	1.0	5	0.2	1.5
Culture	23	0.1	0.4	18	0.3	2.0	13	0.5	3.8
Fort	485	1.2	9.5	77	1.4	8.4	82	2.9	23.8
Frankincense, Incense & Gum	183	0.5	3.6	144	2.6	15.7	18	0.6	5.2
Gold	80	0.2	1.6	25	0.5	2.7	12	0.4	3.5
Law	61	0.2	1.2	10	0.2	1.1	0	0.0	0.0
Myrrh	3	0.0	0.1	37	0.7	4.0	0	0.0	0.0
Passage	44	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.1	0.9
Perfume, Essence	5	0.0	0.1	25	0.5	2.7	2	0.1	0.6
Ritual	14	0.0	0.3	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Rose water	8	0.0	0.2	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Ruin	146	0.4	2.9	4	0.1	0.4	1	0.0	0.3
Scent	52	0.1	1.0	5	0.1	0.5	1	0.0	0.3
Silk	15	0.0	0.3	4	0.1	0.4	1	0.0	0.3
Silver	55	0.1	1.1	26	0.5	2.8	10	0.4	2.9
Souq	66	0.2	1.3	76	1.4	8.3	40	1.4	11.6
Spice	25	0.1	0.5	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Tower	106	0.3	2.1	17	0.3	1.8	10	0.4	2.9
Tradition	52	0.1	1.0	10	0.2	1.1	9	0.3	2.6
Wall	206	0.5	4.0	29	0.5	3.2	8	0.3	2.3
Religion	17	0.0	0.3	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Ibadhi/ Ibadhiyah	13	0.0	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Christianity	2	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Church	6	0.0	0.1	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
God	314	0.8	6.1	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Islam	42	0.1	0.8	6	0.1	0.7	9	0.3	2.6
Koran	37	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Mosque	35	0.1	0.7	21	0.4	2.3	4	0.1	1.2
Prayer	107	0.3	2.1	8	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Sect, tenant, doctrine	28	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Wahabi	65	0.2	1.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Temple	22	0.1	0.4	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Tomb, Job, (Qabr)	39	0.1	0.8	3	0.1	0.3	9	0.3	2.6
Food	190	0.5	3.7	29	0.5	3.2	7	0.2	2.0
Dates	343	0.9	6.7	38	0.7	4.1	8	0.3	2.3

Coconut	17	0.0	0.3	1	0.0	0.1	3	0.1	0.9
Fish	106	0.3	2.1	12	0.2	1.3	15	0.5	4.4
Halwa (sweetmeats)	70	0.2	1.4	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Hummus	0	0.0	0.0	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Meat/ Lamb	111	0.3	2.2	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Rice	80	0.2	1.6	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Coffee (Omani coffee)	95	0.2	1.9	20	0.4	2.2	9	0.3	2.6
Al-cohol	30	0.1	0.6	10	0.2	1.1	2	0.1	0.6
Barbecue	0	0.0	0.0	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Comfort	25	0.1	0.5	6	0.1	0.7	8	0.3	2.3
Courtesy	78	0.2	1.5	10	0.2	1.1	8	0.3	2.3
Custom of greeting	109	0.3	2.1	17	0.3	1.8	0	0.0	0.0
Delight	86	0.2	1.7	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Hospitality	13	0.0	0.3	4	0.1	0.4	1	0.0	0.3
Fortune	31	0.1	0.6	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Luxury	33	0.1	0.6	10	0.2	1.1	12	0.4	3.5
Omani Etiquette (Custom of eating and sitting)	80	0.2	1.6	7	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Dress	166	0.4	3.2	16	0.3	1.7	2	0.1	0.6
Men:	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Dishdasha	1	0.0	0.0	39	0.7	4.2	0	0.0	0.0
Robe (men)	38	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Turban, Amamah, head dress	54	0.1	1.1	4	0.1	0.4	1	0.0	0.3
Women:	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Mask, Borqa/ bourkos	34	0.1	0.7	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Purda, Abayah	2	0.0	0.0	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Scarf /head dress	18	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Skirt	8	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Veil	30	0.1	0.6	3	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.3
Accessory	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Belt	48	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Dagger/ Khanjar	95	0.2	1.9	14	0.3	1.5	3	0.1	0.9
Gun	72	0.2	1.4	3	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Sword	89	0.2	1.7	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Ammunition	45	0.1	0.9	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Rifle	223	0.6	4.4	4	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Jewellery/ Souvenir	12	0.0	0.2	21	0.4	2.3	5	0.2	1.5
Stick	33	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Wedding	3	0.0	0.1	5	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Folklore / Music/ Piano	22	0.1	0.4	10	0.2	1.1	11	0.4	3.2
Band	81	0.2	1.6	3	0.1	0.3	1	0.0	0.3
Orchestra/ Symphony	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0
Rhythm	10	0.0	0.2	2	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***5115***	***12.8***	***100.0***	***920***	***16.6***	***100.0***	***344***	***12.1***	***100.0***

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% N. the percentage was calculated according to the total of all nouns.

% TC: the percentage was calculated according to the total of culture and heritage.

Appendix 10. Comparison of the history and civilisation nouns in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T HC**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% T CH*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T CH*
History	1013	2.4	32.1	117	2.1	43.5	21	0.7	33.4
Civilisation	2132	5.4	67.7	152	2.7	56.7	42	1.5	66.6
Grand Total	***3145***	***7.8***	***100***	***269***	4.9	***100***	***63***	***2.2***	***100***
	9099			***1006***			***154***		

Themes	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T HC**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% T HC*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T HC*
History	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Colony	89	0.2	2.8	24	0.4	8.9	18	0.6	28.6
Empire	23	0.1	0.7	6	0.1	2.2	0	0.0	0.0
Gunboat	18	0.0	0.6	22	0.4	8.2	0	0.0	0.0
Invader	11	0.0	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Kingdom	10	0.0	0.3	1	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Maritime	25	0.1	0.8	13	0.2	4.8	0	0.0	0.0
Power	14	0.0	0.4	8	0.1	3.0	2	0.1	3.2
Raid and rider	212	0.5	6.7	20	0.4	7.4	0	0.0	0.0
Renascence/ Transformation	97	0.2	3.1	1	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Slave	0	0.0	0.0	8	0.1	3.0	0	0.0	0.0
Slavery	310	0.8	9.9	4	0.1	1.5	0	0.0	0.0
Slave trade	18	0.0	0.6	1	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Warrior	5	0.0	0.2	4	0.1	1.5	0	0.0	0.0
War	16	0.0	0.5	2	0.0	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
	165	0.4	5.2	3	0.1	1.1	1	0.0	1.6
Civilisation	61	0.2	1.9	5	0.1	1.9	7	0.2	11.1
Arab	875	2.2	27.8	43	0.8	16.0	3	0.1	4.8
Chinese	8	0.0	0.3	11	0.2	4.1	1	0.0	1.6
Greek	16	0.0	0.5	7	0.1	2.6	0	0.0	0.0
Roman	27	0.1	0.9	19	0.3	7.1	0	0.0	0.0
Egyptian	54	0.1	1.7	12	0.2	4.5	3	0.1	4.8
Persian	294	0.7	9.3	12	0.2	4.5	6	0.2	9.5
Indian	187	0.5	5.9	6	0.1	2.2	4	0.1	6.3
European	131	0.3	4.2	13	0.2	4.8	2	0.1	3.2
Portuguese	112	0.3	3.6	12	0.2	4.5	8	0.3	12.7
British	190	0.5	6.0	3	0.1	1.1	4	0.1	6.3
English	149	0.4	4.7	4	0.1	1.5	0	0.0	0.0
Dutch	3	0.0	0.1	1	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
French	25	0.1	0.8	4	0.1	1.5	4	0.1	6.3
Total	**3145**	**7.8**	**100.0**	**269**	**4.9**	**100.0**	**63**	**2.2**	**100.0**

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% N. the percentage was calculated according to the total of all nouns.

% THC: the percentage was calculated according to the total of history and civilisation.

Appendix 11. Comparison of tourism components nouns in the three media

Subcategories	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% N. **	*% T C**	*Freq.*	*% N*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*% T C*
Accommodation	1312	3.3	40.5	216	3.9	31.8	335	11.7	45.2
Entertainment	75	0.2	2.4	64	1.2	9.4	135	4.8	18.2
Transportation	948	2.4	29.3	236	4.3	34.8	121	4.2	16.3
Enterprise	898	2.2	27.8	165	2.9	24.1	150	5.3	20.2
Total	***3233***	***8.1***	***100***	***681***	***12.3***	***100.1***	***741***	***26***	***100.0***
Accommodation									
Al-Bustan Palace Hotel	0	0.0	0.0	25	0.5	3.7	39	1.4	5.3
Camp	229	0.6	7.1	12	0.2	1.8	25	0.9	3.4
Hotel	7	0.0	0.2	50	0.9	7.3	117	4.1	15.7
House	21	0.1	0.6	18	0.3	2.6	18	0.6	2.4
Night	428	1.1	13.2	34	0.6	5.0	48	1.7	6.5
Room	109	0.3	3.4	29	0.5	4.3	58	2.0	7.8
Sultan Palace	37	0.1	1.1	11	0.2	1.6	20	0.7	2.7
Sand Resort	0	0.0	0.0	12	0.2	1.8	3	0.1	0.4
Tent/ Shelter	481	1.2	14.9	25	0.5	3.7	7	0.2	0.9
Enterprises / product									
Baggage	54	0.1	1.7	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Custom	96	0.2	3.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Development	22	0.1	0.7	11	0.2	1.6	3	0.1	0.4
Dhow / Shipyard	0	0.0	0.0	28	0.5	4.1	7	0.2	0.9
Firewood	27	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Holiday	5	0.0	0.2	11	0.2	1.6	11	0.4	1.5
Itinerary	1	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.1	10	0.4	1.3
Journey/ Voyage/ trip	447	1.1	13.8	24	0.4	3.5	9	0.3	1.2
Restaurant	0	0.0	0.0	19	0.3	2.8	35	1.2	4.7
Shop	113	0.3	3.5	12	0.2	1.8	30	1.1	4.0
Tour operator	0	0.0	0.0	6	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Track	40	0.1	1.2	13	0.2	1.9	6	0.2	0.8
Trade	87	0.2	2.7	37	0.7	5.4	37	1.3	5.0
Trail	6	0.0	0.2	3	0.1	0.4	2	0.1	0.3
Travel entertainment									
Bar / Club	8	0.0	0.2	7	0.1	1.0	18	0.6	2.4
Pool	60	0.1	1.9	23	0.4	3.4	44	1.5	5.9
Safari	2	0.0	0.1	15	0.3	2.2	2	0.1	0.3
Tennis courts	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.1	0.4	16	0.6	2.2
Tour	5	0.0	0.2	14	0.3	2.1	42	1.5	5.7
Watersports	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.0	0.3	13	0.5	1.8
Transportation									
Car (Four wheel)	60	0.1	1.9	51	0.9	7.5	20	0.7	2.7
Caravans	47	0.1	1.5	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Plane	21	0.1	0.6	4	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Boat / Dhow / Ship/ vessel	359	0.9	11.1	60	1.1	8.8	20	0.7	2.7
Flight	1	0.0	0.0	12	0.2	1.8	26	0.9	3.5
Harbour / port	134	0.3	4.1	26	0.5	3.8	2	0.1	0.3
Airport	0	0.0	0.0	12	0.2	1.8	24	0.8	3.2
Road, Street, Motorway	325	0.8	10.1	59	1.1	8.7	29	1.0	3.9
Roundabout	1	0.0	0.0	12	0.2	1.8	0	0.0	0.0

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% N: The total percentage calculated according to the total of all nouns

% TC: The total percentage calculated according to the total of all tourism component nouns.

Appendix 12. Comparison of travel verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% V.*	*% TT*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TT*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TT*
Travel	141	0.7	2.2	36	2.0	5.7	7	0.7	1.5
Amble	13	0.1	0.2	1	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Arrive	289	1.5	4.5	18	1.0	2.8	15	1.5	3.1
Begin	38	0.2	0.6	5	0.3	0.8	1	0.1	0.2
Bounced along	2	0.0	0	2	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
Continue	126	0.6	2	15	0.8	2.4	15	1.5	3.1
Cross	73	0.4	1.1	38	2.1	6.0	15	1.5	3.1
Discover	51	0.3	0.8	25	1.4	3.9	7	0.7	1.5
Embark	17	0.1	0.3	2	0.1	0.3	2	0.2	0.4
End/ at last	139	0.7	2.2	14	0.8	2.2	31	3.1	6.5
Experience	65	0.3	1	25	1.4	3.9	5	0.5	1.0
Explore	35	0.2	0.5	8	0.4	1.3	21	2.1	4.4
Find	516	2.6	8	23	1.3	3.6	15	1.5	3.1
Follow	303	1.6	4.7	7	0.4	1.1	9	0.9	1.9
Go/ went	642	3.3	10	44	2.4	7.0	2	0.2	0.4
Held/hold	307	1.6	4.8	7	0.4	1.1	1	0.1	0.2
Journey	12	0.1	0.2	15	0.8	2.4	2	0.2	0.4
Maintain	60	0.3	0.9	0	0.0	0.0	4	0.4	0.8
Make	815	4.2	12.7	68	3.7	10.7	17	1.7	3.6
Pass through	358	1.8	5.6	9	0.5	1.4	13	1.3	2.7
Reach	357	1.8	5.5	16	0.9	2.5	17	1.7	3.6
Remain	244	1.3	12.9	10	0.6	10.4	3	0.3	23.1
Search	32	0.2	0.5	4	0.2	0.6	4	0.4	0.8
Seek	59	0.3	0.9	8	0.4	1.3	5	0.5	1.0
Stand	347	1.8	13.6	8	0.4	3.7	1	0.1	1.0
Start	221	1.1	3.4	22	1.2	3.5	6	0.6	1.3
Stayed	107	0.5	1.7	19	1.0	3.0	20	2.0	4.2
Step	101	0.5	1.6	8	0.4	1.3	2	0.2	0.4
Stop	142	0.7	2.2	16	0.9	2.5	21	2.1	4.4
Take	945	4.9	14.7	126	6.9	19.9	39	3.9	8.2
Touch	77	0.4	1.2	10	0.6	1.6	10	1.0	2.1
Tour	2	0.0	0	5	0.3	0.8	69	6.9	14.4
Trace	48	0.2	0.7	2	0.1	0.3	1	0.1	0.2
Traverse	42	0.2	0.7	3	0.2	0.5	1	0.1	0.2
Visit	302	1.6	4.7	32	1.8	5.1	101	10.2	21.1
Total	***7028***	**36.1**	***100***	***651***	***35.9***	***100.0***	***482***	***48.4***	***100.0***
Grand total	***18929***	***100.0***		***1721***	***100.0***		***992***	***100.0***	

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TT: The percentage was calculated according to the total of Travel theme.

Appendix 13. Comparison of sense verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq. **	*% V. **	*% TS **	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TS*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TS*
Senses	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Answer	134	0.7	2.8	2	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Behold	6	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Glance	14	0.1	0.3	4	0.2	1.0	2	0.2	1.4
Glimpse	15	0.1	0.3	5	0.3	1.3	0	0.0	0.0
Imagine	39	0.2	0.8	9	0.5	2.4	0	0.0	0.0
Observe	145	0.7	3.0	1	0.1	0.3	3	0.3	2.0
Project	11	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Read	252	1.3	5.2	3	0.2	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Scan	7	0.0	0.1	1	0.1	0.3	0	0.0	0.0
See	1090	5.6	22.5	39	2.1	10.2	58	5.8	39.2
Stare	20	0.1	0.4	1	0.1	0.3	6	0.6	4.1
View	130	0.7	2.7	8	0.4	2.1	10	1.0	6.8
Watch	202	1.0	4.2	17	0.9	4.5	6	0.6	4.1
Drink	127	0.7	2.6	20	1.1	5.2	2	0.2	1.4
Eat	106	0.5	2.2	18	1.0	4.7	36	3.6	24.3
Filtered	1	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Taste	71	0.4	1.5	9	0.5	2.4	0	0.0	0.0
Smell (sense of smell)	28	0.1	0.6	16	0.9	4.2	0	0.0	0.0
Greet (sense of touch)	76	0.4	1.6	9	0.5	2.4	0	0.0	0.0
Feature	89	0.5	1.8	2	0.1	0.5	7	0.7	4.7
Gleam	6	0.0	0.1	13	0.7	3.4	0	0.0	0.0
Say	1332	6.8	27.5	70	3.9	18.4	12	1.2	8.1
Speak	165	0.8	3.4	78	4.3	20.5	1	0.1	0.7
Show	248	1.3	5.1	9	0.5	2.4	1	0.1	0.7
Tell	446	2.3	9.2	35	1.9	9.2	2	0.2	1.4
Wave	57	0.3	1.2	8	0.4	2.1	2	0.2	1.4
Whispered	24	0.1	0.5	2	0.1	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***4841***	***24.9***	***100.0***	***381***	***21.0***	***100.0***	***148***	***14.9***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TT: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all senses words.

Appendix 14. Comparison of welcome verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% V. **	*% TW**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TW*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TW*
Welcome	65	0.3	2.6	11	0.6	5.1	5	0.5	5.0
Attend	39	0.2	1.5	4	0.2	1.9	1	0.1	1.0
Camp	97	0.5	3.8	7	0.4	3.3	8	0.8	7.9
Employ	51	0.3	2.0	4	0.2	1.9	0	0.0	0.0
Fell/ filled	331	1.7	13.0	5	0.3	2.3	4	0.4	4.0
Invite	77	0.4	3.0	17	0.9	7.9	1	0.1	1.0
Meet	333	1.7	13.1	10	0.6	4.7	4	0.4	4.0
Offer	115	0.6	4.5	13	0.7	6.0	35	3.5	34.7
Poured out coffee	29	0.1	1.1	2	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
receive	154	0.8	6.1	3	0.2	1.4	2	0.2	2.0
Salute	20	0.1	0.8	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Serve	96	0.5	3.8	13	0.7	6.0	5	0.5	5.0
Set	149	0.8	5.9	37	2.0	17.2	20	2.0	19.8
Shake/ shook	31	0.2	1.2	3	0.2	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Sit	311	1.6	12.2	30	1.7	14.0	6	0.6	5.9
Sleep/ Slept	207	1.1	8.1	14	0.8	6.5	1	0.1	1.0
Spend	91	0.5	3.6	3	0.2	1.4	2	0.2	2.0
Trail	9	0.0	0.4	4	0.2	1.9	2	0.2	2.0
Use	339	1.7	13.3	35	1.9	16.3	5	0.5	5.0
Total	***2544***	***13.1***	***100.0***	***215***	***11.8***	***100.0***	***101***	***10.2***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TW: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all welcome words.

Appendix 15. Comparison of transport verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% V. **	*% TT**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TT*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TT*
Transport	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0
Anchor	51	0.3	6.5	0	0.0	0	1	0.1	1.0
Board	46	0.2	5.8	2	0.1	1.7	2	0.2	2.1
Drive	133	0.7	16.9	50	2.8	42.7	64	6.4	66.0
Fly	86	0.4	10.9	4	0.2	3.4	14	1.4	14.4
Leap	12	0.1	1.5	3	0.2	2.6	0	0.0	0.0
Lurch up	4	0.0	0.5	4	0.2	3.4	0	0.0	0.0
Meander	5	0.0	0.6	3	0.2	2.6	1	0.1	1.0
Ride/Mounting	233	1.2	29.5	16	0.9	13.7	1	0.1	1.0
Sail/d	52	0.3	6.6	10	0.6	8.5	3	0.3	3.1
Shipped	20	0.1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0
Sneak	6	0.0	0.8	1	0.1	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Walk	161	0.8	17.9	33	1.8	20.5	11	1.1	11.3
Total	***809***	***4.2***	***100.0***	***126***	***6.9***	***100.0***	***97***	***9.7***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TT: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all transport words.

Appendix 16. Comparison of tourist activity verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% V. **	*% TC**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*
Activities	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Celebrate	27	0.1	2.1	5	0.3	3.2	1	0.1	1.1
Climb	102	0.5	7.9	12	0.7	7.7	0	0.0	0.0
Cook	70	0.4	5.4	1	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Cultivate	51	0.3	3.9	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.1	1.1
Cycle	0	0.0	0.0	6	0.3	3.8	0	0.0	0.0
Dance	72	0.4	5.6	3	0.2	1.9	1	0.1	1.1
Dive	16	0.1	1.2	8	0.4	5.1	33	3.3	37.5
Export	35	0.2	2.7	7	0.4	4.5	0	0.0	0.0
Import	152	0.8	11.7	6	0.3	3.8	0	0.0	0.0
Fish/fishing	52	0.3	4.0	10	0.6	6.4	23	2.3	26.1
Graze	158	0.8	12.2	1	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Hike	8	0.0	0.6	1	0.1	0.6	1	0.1	1.1
Hunt	36	0.2	2.8	1	0.1	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Irrigate	25	0.1	1.9	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Produce	129	0.7	10.0	17	0.9	10.9	1	0.1	1.1
Purchase/ buy	87	0.4	6.7	30	1.7	19.2	6	0.6	6.8
Race/d	93	0.5	7.2	3	0.2	1.9	2	0.2	2.3
Sell	54	0.3	4.2	18	1.0	11.5	1	0.1	1.1
Sell	74	0.4	5.7	14	0.8	9.0	1	0.1	1.1
Sing	48	0.2	3.7	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.1	1.1
Snorkel	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	1.3	2	0.2	2.3
Swim	7	0.0	0.5	11	0.6	7.1	14	1.4	15.9
Total	***1296***	***6.7***	***100.0***	***156***	***8.6***	***100.0***	***88***	***8.8***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TC: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all tourist components.

Appendix 17. Comparison of dress verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq. **	*% V. **	*% TD**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*
Dress	121	0.6	18.5	9	0.5	9.5	0	0.0	0.0
Armed	85	0.4	13.0	6	0.3	6.3	0	0.0	0.0
Cover	155	0.8	23.7	11	0.6	11.6	4	0.4	80.0
Embroider	12	0.1	1.8	11	0.6	11.6	0	0.0	0.0
Married	94	0.5	14.4	12	0.7	12.6	0	0.0	0.0
Veiled	31	0.2	4.7	7	0.4	7.4	1	0.1	20.0
Wear	157	0.8	24.0	39	2.1	41.1	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***655***	***3.4***	***100.0***	***95***	***5.2***	***100.0***	***5***	***0.5***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			*1815*			*995*		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TD: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all dress words

Appendix 18. Comparison of colonial verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.*	***% V. ****	***% TC****	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TTA*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TTA*
Colonise	5	0.0	0.4	4	0.2	5.7	0	0.0	0.0
Achieve	26	0.1	1.9	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Administered	4	0.0	0.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Aid	70	0.4	5.2	8	0.4	11.4	0	0.0	0.0
Assured	63	0.3	4.7	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Attack	108	0.6	8.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Chase/ chased out	48	0.2	3.6	2	0.1	2.9	1	0.1	10.0
Control	43	0.2	3.2	7	0.4	10.0	3	0.3	30.0
Decline	31	0.2	2.3	7	0.4	10.0	0	0.0	0.0
Dragged	15	0.1	1.1	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Escape	64	0.3	4.8	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Exiled	4	0.0	0.3	3	0.2	4.3	0	0.0	0.0
Expand	4	0.0	0.3	3	0.2	4.3	0	0.0	0.0
investigate	41	0.2	3.1	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0
Kill	206	1.1	15.4	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Manage	37	0.2	2.8	7	0.4	10.0	2	0.2	20.0
Mastered	41	0.2	3.1	3	0.2	4.3	0	0.0	0.0
Occupy	177	0.9	13.2	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Raid	121	0.6	9.0	4	0.2	5.7	0	0.0	0.0
Retained	50	0.3	3.7	2	0.1	2.9	1	0.1	10.0
Secure	56	0.3	4.2	6	0.3	8.6	0	0.0	0.0
Seized	52	0.3	3.9	1	0.1	1.4	1	0.1	10.0
Spread	69	0.4	5.2	6	0.3	8.6	2	0.2	20.0
Unify	4	0.0	0.3	1	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***1339***	***6.9***	***100.0***	*70*	*3.9*	*100.0*	*10*	*1.0*	*100.0*
Grand total	***19479***			*1815*			*995*		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TC: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all colonise words

Appendix 19. Comparison of delight' verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq. **	*% V. **	*% TD**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*
Delight	24	0.1	8.5	5	0.3	10.6	1	0.1	4.5
Attract	23	0.1	8.2	6	0.3	12.8	3	0.3	13.6
Enjoy	82	0.4	29.1	12	0.7	25.5	1	0.1	4.5
Feel	140	0.7	49.6	20	1.1	42.6	2	0.2	9.1
Relax	7	0.0	2.5	2	0.1	4.3	14	1.4	63.6
Relish	6	0.0	2.1	2	0.1	4.3	1	0.1	4.5
Total	***282***	***1.4***	***100.0***	***47***	***2.6***	***100.0***	***22***	***2.2***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TT: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all delight words

Appendix 20. Comparison of clean category verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% V.**	*% TC**	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TC*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TC*
Clean	57	0.3	37.5	1	0.1	4.0	6	0.6	100.0
Dusted/ Brushed	5	0.0	3.3	14	0.8	56.0	0	0.0	0.0
Flowered	0	0.0	0	2	0.1	8.0	0	0.0	0.0
Swept/ sweep	29	0.1	19.1	2	0.1	8.0	0	0.0	0.0
Watered	61	0.3	40.1	6	0.3	24.0	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***152***	***0.8***	***100***	***25***	***1.4***	***100.0***	***6***	***0.6***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			*995*		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TC: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all clean words.

Appendix 21. Comparison of develop category verbs in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq. **	*% V. **	*% TD **	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*	*Freq.*	*% V.*	*% TD*
Develop	33	0.2	6.2	6	0.3	12.2	3	0.3	8.3
Build/t	229	1.2	43.0	26	1.4	53.1	26	2.6	72.2
Designed	37	0.2	6.9	1	0.1	2.0	2	0.2	5.6
Destroy	42	0.2	7.9	8	0.4	16.3	1	0.1	2.8
Impose	35	0.2	6.6	1	0.1	2.0	1	0.1	2.8
Introduce	27	0.1	5.1	2	0.1	4.1	0	0.0	0.0
Prepared	108	0.6	20.3	4	0.2	8.2	3	0.3	8.3
Resolve	22	0.1	4.1	1	0.1	2.0	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***533***	***2.7***	***100.0***	***49***	***2.7***	***100.0***	***36***	***3.6***	***100.0***
Grand total	***19479***			***1815***			***995***		

Freq.: The frequency of the word in each medium

% V.: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all verbs.

% TD: The percentage was calculated according to the total of all develop theme words.

Appendix 22. Comparison of sense adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% Adj.*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% T C*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% T C*
Senses	2	0.0	0.1	1	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Sensitive	58	0.6	1.9	9	0.6	1.8	2	0.3	0.9
Dramatic	5	0.0	0.2	5	0.3	1.0	13	1.9	6.0
Silent	30	0.3	1.0	13	0.8	2.6	2	0.3	0.9
Delicious	21	0.2	0.7	5	0.3	1.0	0	0.0	0.0
Smelly	14	0.1	0.5	9	0.6	1.8	0	0.0	0.0
Breathtaking	5	0.0	0.2	11	0.7	2.2	6	0.9	2.8
Scented	9	0.1	0.3	15	0.9	3.0	1	0.1	0.5
Fragrant	8	0.1	0.3	11	0.7	2.2	1	0.1	0.5
Clean	60	0.6	2.0	20	1.2	4.0	3	0.4	1.4
Brushed & Dusted	3	0.0	0.1	4	0.2	0.8	0	0.0	0.0
Charming	19	0.2	0.6	6	0.4	1.2	1	0.1	0.5
Colourful	4	0.0	0.1	9	0.6	1.8	6	0.9	2.8
Colour	171	1.6	5.6	21	1.3	4.2	9	1.3	4.1
Crystalline	3	0.0	0.1	6	0.4	1.2	1	0.1	0.5
Black	164	1.6	5.4	28	1.7	5.6	6	0.9	2.8
Blue	65	0.6	2.1	27	1.7	5.4	9	1.3	4.1
Brown	55	0.5	1.8	3	0.2	0.6	2	0.3	0.9
Green	121	1.2	4.0	41	2.5	8.2	14	2.0	6.5
Grey	48	0.5	1.6	3	0.2	0.6	6	0.9	2.8
Picturesque	37	0.4	1.2	11	0.7	2.2	0	0.0	0.0
Pink	23	0.2	0.8	2	0.1	0.4	4	0.6	1.8
Purple	14	0.1	0.5	4	0.2	0.8	4	0.6	1.8
Red	173	1.7	5.7	17	1.1	3.4	12	1.7	5.5
Turquoise	2	0.0	0.1	3	0.2	0.6	1	0.1	0.5
Verdant	12	0.1	0.4	1	0.1	0.2	3	0.4	1.4
Violet	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.1	0.2	1	0.1	0.5
White	203	2.0	6.7	40	2.5	8.0	15	2.2	6.9
Windy	1	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Yellow	55	0.5	1.8	5	0.3	1.0	0	0.0	0.0
Physical	34	0.3	1.1	2	0.1	0.4	0	0.0	0.0
Deserted	14	0.1	0.5	6	0.4	1.2	4	0.6	1.8
Flowered	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.2	0.6	0	0.0	0.0
Plain	412	4.0	13.6	16	1.0	3.2	13	1.9	6.0
Rugged	36	0.3	1.2	11	0.7	2.2	9	1.3	4.1
Soft	73	0.7	2.4	5	0.3	1.0	2	0.3	0.9
Vast	40	0.4	1.3	18	1.1	3.6	13	1.9	6.0
Climatic	5	0.0	0.2	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.1	0.5
Arid	31	0.3	1.0	2	0.1	0.4	4	0.6	1.8
Dry	103	1.0	3.4	7	0.4	1.4	2	0.3	0.9
Bright	51	0.5	1.7	9	0.6	1.8	2	0.3	0.9
Cold	197	1.9	6.5	8	0.5	1.6	6	0.9	2.8
Dark	244	2.4	8.0	16	1.0	3.2	0	0.0	0.0
Hot	96	0.9	3.2	11	0.7	2.2	7	1.0	3.2
Humid	76	0.7	2.5	1	0.1	0.2	0	0.0	0.0
Light	213	2.1	7.0	17	1.1	3.4	22	3.2	10.1
Rainy	4	0.0	0.1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Sunny	6	0.1	0.2	10	0.6	2.0	3	0.4	1.4
Tropical	20	0.2	0.7	3	0.2	0.6	7	1.0	3.2
Wintry	0	0.0	0.0	19	1.2	3.8	0	0.0	0.0

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TS: is the percentage of the word according to the total of senses words.

Appendix 23. Comparison of sublime adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% Adj.*	*% T T.*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% T T.*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TT*
The sublime	2	0.0	0.1	2	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Superb/ Superlative	6	0.1	0.2	2	0.1	0.5	2	0.3	1.0
Best	125	1.2	3.2	28	1.7	7.1	18	2.6	9.2
Finest	8	0.1	0.2	2	0.1	0.5	11	1.6	5.6
Grandest	37	0.4	0.9	14	0.9	3.6	7	1	3.6
Most	664	6.4	16.9	58	3.6	14.8	21	3.1	10.8
Quiet/ Quietest	36	0.3	0.9	5	0.3	1.3	10	1.5	5.1
Terrific	7	0.1	0.2	5	0.3	1.3	0	0	0.0
Spectacular	2	0.0	0.1	20	1.2	5.1	2	0.3	1.0
Noble	21	0.2	0.5	5	0.3	1.3	0	0	0.0
Perfect	65	0.6	1.7	16	1	4.1	10	1.5	5.1
Huge	35	0.3	0.9	13	0.8	3.3	2	0.3	1.0
Brilliant	11	0.1	0.3	8	0.5	2.0	1	0.1	0.5
Excellent	29	0.3	0.7	7	0.4	1.8	11	1.6	5.6
Big	121	1.2	3.1	9	0.6	2.3	1	0.1	0.5
Easy	48	0.5	1.2	8	0.5	2.0	1	0.1	0.5
Endless	18	0.2	0.5	4	0.2	1.0	4	0.6	2.1
Famous	64	0.6	1.6	12	0.7	3.1	12	1.7	6.2
Good	345	3.3	8.8	25	1.5	6.4	4	0.6	2.1
Great	601	5.8	15.3	35	2.2	8.9	16	2.3	8.2
High	326	3.1	8.3	25	1.5	6.4	20	2.9	10.3
Intimidating	3	0.0	0.1	1	0.1	0.3	0	0	0.0
Large	501	4.8	12.8	24	1.5	6.1	11	1.6	5.6
Less	402	3.9	10.2	24	1.5	6.1	12	1.7	6.2
Majestic	7	0.1	0.2	5	0.3	1.3	6	0.9	3.1
Many	426	4.1	10.8	27	1.7	6.9	10	1.5	5.1
Monotonous	3	0.0	0.1	3	0.2	0.8	0	0	0.0
Popular	14	0.1	0.4	5	0.3	1.3	3	0.4	1.5
Total	***3925***	***37.9***	***100.0***	***390***	***24.1***	***100.0***	***195***	***28.3***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100***		***1619***	***100***		***686***	***100***	

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TT: is the percentage of the word according to the to total of terrific theme words.

Appendix 24. Comparison of old / ancient adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% Adj.*	*% TO*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*
Old/ Ancient	413	4.0	53.4	55	3.4	32.0	38	5.5	48.1
Antique	8	0.1	1.0	2	0.1	1.2	4	0.6	5.1
Traditional	20	0.2	2.6	25	1.5	14.5	15	2.2	19.0
Rich	109	1.1	14.1	23	1.4	13.4	7	1.0	8.9
Legendary	3	0.0	0.4	10	0.6	5.8	4	0.6	5.1
Modern	32	0.3	4.1	41	2.5	23.8	7	1.0	8.9
Real: (Arabia, Arab, Bedu, life)	17	0.2	2.2	13	0.8	7.6	4	0.6	5.1
Strong	172	1.7	22.2	3	0.2	1.7	0	0.0	0.0
Total	***774***	***7.5***	***100.0***	***172***	***10.6***	***100.0***	***79***	***11.5***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100***		***1619***	***100***		***686***	***100***	

Freq. The frequency of the word appearance in each medium

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TO: is the percentage of the word according to the total of old theme.

Appendix 25. Comparison of friendly adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	*% Adj.*	*% TO*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*
Friendly	76	0.7	11.3	44	2.7	29.7	6	0.9	28.6
Civilised	10	0.1	1.5	6	0.4	4.1	0	0.0	0.0
Dignified	13	0.1	1.9	17	1.1	11.5	0	0.0	0.0
Forthright	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Gallant	11	0.1	1.6	1	0.1	0.7	2	0.3	9.5
Generous	16	0.2	2.4	4	0.2	2.7	1	0.1	4.8
Genuine	15	0.1	2.2	1	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
Happy	49	0.5	7.3	8	0.5	5.4	0	0.0	0.0
Hospitable	47	0.5	7.0	10	0.6	6.8	3	0.4	14.3
Honest	18	0.2	2.7	2	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Kind/ Kindly	122	1.2	18.1	2	0.1	1.4	0	0.0	0.0
Liberal	20	0.2	3.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
Pleasant	77	0.7	11.4	9	0.6	6.1	1	0.1	4.8
Polite	6	0.1	0.9	15	0.9	10.1	0	0.0	0.0
Respectable/ Polite	65	0.6	9.6	5	0.3	3.4	0	0.0	0.0
Spontaneous	2	0.0	0.3	1	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
Tolerant	5	0.0	0.7	9	0.6	6.1	0	0.0	0.0
Warm	55	0.5	8.1	6	0.4	4.1	4	0.6	19.0
Welcomed / welcoming	68	0.7	10.1	4	0.2	2.7	3	0.4	14.3
Not importunate with foreigners	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.1	1.4	1	0.1	4.8
Total	***675***	***6.5***	***100.0***	***148***	***9.1***	***100.0***	***21***	***3.1***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100***		***1619***	***100***		***686***	***100***	

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% Adj.: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TF: Is the percentage of the word according to the total of the theme words.

Appendix 26. Comparison of 'Other' adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% Adj.**	*% TO**	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TO*
Others									
Another (world/ time)	195	1.9	15.5	20	1.2	10.0	1	0.1	1.3
Backward	11	0.1	0.9	1	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Different	168	1.6	13.4	21	1.3	10.4	0	0	0.0
Exotic: Land/ country, Wadi, Mosque, Palace	2	0.0	0.2	13	0.8	6.5	3	0.4	3.8
Exotic People	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	11	1.6	14.1
Extraordinary	18	0.2	1.4	11	0.7	5.5	3	0.4	3.8
Fabulous	3	0.0	0.2	4	0.2	2.0	0	0	0.0
Fascinating	16	0.2	1.3	4	0.2	2.0	23	3.4	29.5
Imaginable	36	0.3	2.9	8	0.5	4.0	0	0	0.0
Invisible	2	0.0	0.2	5	0.3	2.5	0	0	0.0
Mystical/Mystery	1	0.0	0.1	4	0.2	2.0	3	0.4	3.8
Seductive	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.2	1.5	0	0	0.0
Surprising	86	0.8	6.8	15	0.9	7.5	3	0.4	3.8
Strange	99	1.0	7.9	13	0.8	6.5	0	0	0.0
Timeless	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Tribal	95	0.9	7.6	4	0.2	2.0	1	0.1	1.3
Unique	10	0.1	0.8	14	0.9	7.0	3	0.4	3.8
Wild	111	1.1	8.8	9	0.6	4.5	5	0.7	6.4
Barbarous	5	0.0	0.4	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Dangerous	39	0.4	3.1	6	0.4	3.0	0	0	0.0
Fierce	17	0.2	1.4	4	0.2	2.0	0	0	0.0
Inhospitable	6	0.1	0.5	1	0.1	0.5	1	0.1	1.3
Intolerant	2	0.0	0.2	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Isolated	28	0.3	2.2	5	0.3	2.5	1	0.1	1.3
Naked	45	0.4	3.6	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Natural	114	1.1	9.1	29	1.8	14.4	19	2.8	24.4
Primitive	25	0.2	2.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Savage	26	0.3	2.1	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Simple	43	0.4	3.4	4	0.2	2.0	1	0.1	1.3
Uncivilised	1	0.0	0.1	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Undignified	2	0.0	0.2	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Unfriendly environment	8	0.1	0.6	1	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Unhappy	12	0.1	1.0	1	0.1	0.5	0	0	0.0
Uninhabited	4	0.0	0.3	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Uninteresting	8	0.1	0.6	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Unpleasant	20	0.2	1.6	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Total	***1258***	***12.1***	***100.0***	***201***	***12.4***	***100.0***	***78***	***11***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100***		***1619***	***100***		***686***	***100***	

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media.

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TO: is the percentage of the word according to the total of the theme adjectives.

Appendix 27. Comparison of political stability category adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	Freq.	***% Adj.***	***% TS****	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TS*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TS*
Political stability	4	0.0	1.5	2	0.1	3.1	0	0	0.0
Important	58	0.6	21.8	14	0.9	21.5	1	0.1	7.1
Independent	28	0.3	10.5	5	0.3	7.7	1	0.1	7.1
Low crime/ crime free	5	0.0	1.9	5	0.3	7.7	0	0	0.0
Safe/ly	51	0.5	19.2	6	0.4	9.2	6	0.9	42.9
Peaceful	20	0.2	7.5	9	0.6	13.8	2	0.3	14.3
secure	37	0.4	13.9	6	0.4	9.2	2	0.3	14.3
insecure	3	0.0	1.1	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Secretive	1	0.0	0.4	13	0.8	20.0	1	0.1	7.1
Stable (regime)	50	0.5	18.8	4	0.2	6.2	1	0.1	7.1
Vital	9	0.1	3.4	1	0.1	1.5	0	0	0.0
Total	***266***	***2.6***	***100.0***	***65***	***4.1***	***100.0***	***14***	***1.9***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100***		***1619***	***100***		***686***	***100***	

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TS: is the percentage of the word according to the total of sense theme adjectives.

Appendix 28. Comparison of beautiful adjectives in the three media

Themes	*Early travel accounts*			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
	*Freq.**	*% Adj.**	*% TB**	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TB*	*Freq.*	*% Adj.*	*% TB*
Beautiful	63	0.6	14.5	37	2.3	27.0	25	3.6	25.0
Amazing	11	0.1	2.5	2	0.1	1.5	3	0.4	3.0
Delightful	19	0.2	4.4	5	0.3	3.6	5	0.7	5.0
Elegant	1	0.0	0.2	2	0.1	1.5	5	0.7	5.0
Exciting/excited	68	0.7	15.7	6	0.4	4.4	0	0.0	0.0
Exhaustive	40	0.4	9.2	3	0.2	2.2	3	0.4	3.0
Expensive	14	0.1	3.2	7	0.4	5.1	0	0.0	0.0
Exquisite	7	0.1	1.6	4	0.2	2.9	3	0.4	3.0
Extraordinary	18	0.2	1.4	11	0.7	5.3	3	0.4	5.0
Extravagant	3	0.0	0.7	4	0.2	2.9	1	0.1	1.0
Exuberant	1	0.0	0.2	2	0.1	1.5	0	0.0	0.0
Fabulous	3	0.0	0.2	4	0.2	1.9	0	0.0	0.0
Fascinating	16	0.2	1.3	4	0.2	1.9	23	3.4	38.3
Futuristic	30	0.3	6.9	8	0.5	5.8	0	0.0	0.0
Gorgeous	6	0.1	1.4	1	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
Glorious	17	0.2	3.9	3	0.2	2.2	2	0.3	2.0
Impending	3	0.0	0.7	1	0.1	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
Impressive	7	0.1	1.6	10	0.6	7.3	5	0.7	5.0
Interested & interesting	99	1.0	22.8	6	0.4	4.4	3	0.4	3.0
Stunning	1	0.0	0.2	13	0.8	9.5	2	0.3	2.0
Thrilled	7	0.1	1.6	4	0.2	2.9	17	2.5	17.0
Total	***434***	***4.2***	***100.0***	***137***	***8.5***	***100.0***	***100***	***14.6***	***100.0***
Grand Total	***10371***	***100.0***		***1619***	***100.0***		***686***	***100.0***	

Freq.: The frequency of the word appearance in each media

% Adj. is the percentage of the word according to the total of all adjectives.

% TB: is the percentage of the word according to the total of beautiful theme adjectives.

Appendix 29. Comparison of the nouns in the three media according to the highest

Early travel accounts	*Travelogues*	*Travel brochures*
(Between 1838-1959)	*(Between 1996 June2001)*	*(Collection of 2001)*
(13 travel accounts)	(32 travelogue articles)	(18 travel brochures)
1792 pages of **501,9362** words	**178** pages of **57301** words	**49** pages of **16263** words
373[85] themes		

Themes	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% N.*	*Themes*	*Freq.*	*% N.*
356	*40096*	*100*	*312*	*5532*	*100*	*226*	*2848*	*100*
Tribe	1492	3.7	Oman	326	5.9	Muscat	124	4.4
Camel	1400	3.5	Sands	149	2.7	Hotel	122	4.3
Sands	1112	2.8	Frankincense	144	2.6	Oman	92	3.2
Water	1086	2.7	Guide	121	2.2	Fort	82	2.9
Man in general	1006	2.5	Muscat	114	2.1	Mountains	79	2.8
Mountains	928	2.3	Valleys/ Wadis	108	2.0	Valleys/ Wadis	61	2.1
Arab	875	2.2	Sultans	100	1.8	Sands	60	2.1
Bedouins	758	1.9	Camel	100	1.8	Room	58	2.0
Valley/ Wadi	754	1.9	City	88	1.6	Beaches	56	2.0
Arabia	738	1.8	Desert	86	1.6	Night	53	1.9
Sultans	641	1.6	Mountains	83	1.5	Desert	53	1.9
Sea	612	1.5	Tree	78	1.4	Coast	51	1.8
Oman	601	1.5	Police / Askari	78	1.4	Tour	49	1.7
Desert	561	1.4	Fort	77	1.4	Pool	44	1.5
Sheikh	548	1.4	Souk or Souq	76	1.4	Nizwa	44	1.5
Rock/ Stone	529	1.3	Bedouin	71	1.3	Village	41	1.4
Town	516	1.3	Town	70	1.3	Souk or Souq	40	1.4
Muscat	492	1.2	Night	70	1.3	Night	41	1.4
Fort	485	1.2	Village	61	1.1	Al-Bustan Palace Hotel	39	1.4
Tent/ Shelter	481	1.2	Woman	60	1.1	Trade	37	1.3
Night	470	1.2	Boat / Dhow / Ship	60	1.1	City	38	1.3
Journey/ voyage	447	1.1	Roads	59	1.1	Water	34	1.2
Night	428	1.1	Land	58	1.0	Restaurant	35	1.2
Plain	369	0.9	Water	56	1.0	Shop	30	1.1
Boat / Dhow / Ship	359	0.9	Car	51	0.9	Salalah	32	1.1
Coast	350	0.9	Man in general	50	0.9	Morning	32	1.1
Hill	347	0.9	Hotel	50	0.9	Sea	28	1.0
Dates	343	0.9	Thesiger	46	0.8	Roads	29	1.0
Roads	325	0.8	Arab	43	0.8	Sur	26	0.9
Tree	317	0.8	Sur	41	0.7	Sultans	27	0.9
God	314	0.8	Dishdasha	39	0.7	Flight	26	0.9
Slave	310	0.8	Beaches	39	0.7	Town	24	0.8
Village	298	0.7	Country men	38	0.7	Sohar	22	0.8
Yemen/ Aden/ Hadhramaut	295	0.7	Dates	38	0.7	Omani (The word)	24	0.8
Persian	294	0.7	Trade	37	0.7	Bird	23	0.8
Dhofar/ Dhufar and the region	276	0.7	Salalah	37	0.7	Airport	24	0.8
Morning	270	0.7	Myrrh	37	0.7	UAE / Dubai / Abu Dhabi	20	0.7
Fauna	265	0.7	Empty Quarter	37	0.7	Sun	19	0.7

85 Child was calculated only one time.

Companion	265	0.7	Dhofar	36	0.7	Sultan Palace	20	0.7
Imam	261	0.7	Nizwa	35	0.6	Car (Four wheel)	20	0.7
Rain	246	0.6	Arabia	35	0.6	Boat / Dhow/ Ship	20	0.7
Camp	229	0.6	Night	34	0.6	Tennis courts	16	0.6
Rifle	223	0.6	Palm	31	0.6	Rock/ Stone	16	0.6
Guide	217	0.5	Wall	29	0.5	Oasis	16	0.6
Woman	213	0.5	Room	29	0.5	Island	16	0.6
Power	212	0.5	Food	29	0.5	House	18	0.6
Wind	210	0.5	Shipyard	28	0.5	History	18	0.6
Al Qara people	207	0.5	Qalhat	28	0.5	Frankincense	18	0.6
Wall	206	0.5	Tourist	27	0.5	East Africa	16	0.6
Son	204	0.5	Goat	27	0.5	Bar / Club	18	0.6
Wali (Governor)	198	0.5	Wahiba Sands	26	0.5	Al-Rustaq	17	0.6
Local	192	0.5	Silver	26	0.5	Afternoon	16	0.6
Food	190	0.5	Harbour / port	26	0.5	Watersports	13	0.5
British	190	0.5	Tent/ Shelter	25	0.5	Wahiba Sands	15	0.5
Indian	187	0.5	Perfume, Essence	25	0.5	Tree	13	0.5
Palm	183	0.5	Merchant / Trader	25	0.5	Mutrah	14	0.5
Frankincense	183	0.5	Jebel Al-Akhdar (Green Mountains)	25	0.5	Fish	15	0.5
Sun	181	0.5	Gold	25	0.5	Dhofar	15	0.5
Evening	179	0.4	Al-Bustan Palace Hotel	25	0.5	Culture	13	0.5
India	168	0.4	Journey/ voyage	24	0.4	Camp	15	0.5
City	167	0.4	India	24	0.4	Arabian Peninsula	13	0.5
Dress	166	0.4	History	24	0.4	Arabia	14	0.5
War	165	0.4	Pool	23	0.4	Al-Wusta (the Midland)	13	0.5
Land	160	0.4	Turtle	22	0.4	Tower	10	0.4
English	149	0.4	Traveller	22	0.4	Silver	10	0.4
Ruin	146	0.4	Empire	22	0.4	Al Junaiz, Al Ruwais, Ras Al Had	12	0.4
Empty Quarter / Rub' Al Khali'	144	0.4	Tribe	21	0.4	Palm	10	0.4
Boy	144	0.4	Persia	21	0.4	Ocean	12	0.4
Goat	139	0.3	Mosque	21	0.4	Musandam	12	0.4
Harbour / port	134	0.3	Jewellery/ Souvenir	21	0.4	Luxury	12	0.4
European	131	0.3	Falaj/ water channel	21	0.4	Land	11	0.4
Chief	129	0.3	Cultivation	21	0.4	Itinerary	10	0.4
Native	124	0.3	Sea	20	0.4	Holiday	11	0.4
Inhabitant	124	0.3	Power	20	0.4	Hajar mountains	11	0.4
Fruit	118	0.3	Omani coffee	20	0.4	Gulf	10	0.4
Saudi Arabia & Hijaz	116	0.3	Monsoon & Fog	20	0.4	Gold	12	0.4
Nizwa	116	0.3	Hajar mountains	20	0.4	Folklore & Music	11	0.4

Shop	113	0.3	Roman	19	0.3	Empty Quarter / Rub' Al Khali'	12	0.4
Portuguese	112	0.3	Restaurant	19	0.3	Zanzibar	9	0.3
Brother	112	0.3	Zanzibar	18	0.3	Wall	8	0.3
Meat/ Lamb	111	0.3	Sun	18	0.3	Tradition	9	0.3
Room	109	0.3	Lawrence	18	0.3	Tourist	8	0.3
Custom of greeting	109	0.3	House	18	0.3	Tomb & Job	9	0.3
Christ & Christian	109	0.3	Culture	18	0.3	Portuguese	8	0.3
Prayer	107	0.3	Tower	17	0.3	Omani coffee	9	0.3
Tower	106	0.3	Garden	17	0.3	Nakhal	8	0.3
Spring	106	0.3	Custom of greeting	17	0.3	Journey	9	0.3
Fish	106	0.3	Winter	16	0.3	Islam	9	0.3
District	106	0.3	Sindbad	16	0.3	Gulf of Oman	8	0.3
Bahrain	105	0.3	Rain	16	0.3	Evening	9	0.3
Wife	101	0.3	Morning	16	0.3	Dates	8	0.3
Sur	100	0.2	Dress	16	0.3	Courtesy	8	0.3
Salalah	100	0.2	Safari	15	0.3	Comfort	8	0.3
Rabia	100	0.2	Yemen	14	0.3	Child (guest)	8	0.3
Cow	100	0.2	Tour	14	0.3	Castle	8	0.3
Police / Askari	99	0.2	Ocean	14	0.3	Bedouin	9	0.3
Buraimi	99	0.2	Oasis	14	0.3	Al Qara mountains	8	0.3
Raid & rider	97	0.2	Ibri & Al-Dhahirah	14	0.3	Adventure	8	0.3
Custom	96	0.2	Dolphin	14	0.3	Yemen	5	0.2
Castle	96	0.2	Dagger/ Khanjar	14	0.3	Winter	6	0.2
Jebel Al-Akhdar (Green Mountains)	95	0.2	Child (host)	14	0.3	Westerner	7	0.2
Host	95	0.2	Wild life	13	0.2	Visitor	6	0.2
Dagger/ Khanjar	95	0.2	Visitor	13	0.2	Ubar	6	0.2
Coffee (Omani coffee)	95	0.2	Track	13	0.2	Turtle	6	0.2
Ibri & Al-Dhahirah	91	0.2	Strait of Hormuz	13	0.2	Track	6	0.2
Sword	89	0.2	Son	13	0.2	Sumahram	5	0.2
Sky: stars, Moon	89	0.2	Musandam	13	0.2	Strait of Hormuz	7	0.2
Omani (The word)	89	0.2	Kingdom	13	0.2	Sindbad	5	0.2
History	89	0.2	European	13	0.2	Shipyard	7	0.2
Afternoon	89	0.2	Al-Rustaq	13	0.2	Queen of Sheba	5	0.2
Trade	87	0.2	UAE (Abu Dhabi & Dubai)	12	0.2	Qalhat	5	0.2
Sunset	87	0.2	Sunset	12	0.2	Persian	6	0.2
Nature	87	0.2	Shop	12	0.2	Monsoon & Fog	5	0.2
Female	87	0.2	Seafarer	12	0.2	Middle East	5	0.2
Child (host)	87	0.2	Sand Resort	12	0.2	Local	6	0.2
Delight	86	0.2	Roundabout	12	0.2	Khor Rouri	5	0.2
Sohar	85	0.2	Portuguese	12	0.2	Jewellery	5	0.2
Persian Gulf	85	0.2	Persian	12	0.2	Jabal Shams (the mountain	6	0.2

						of the sun)		
UAE (Abu Dhabi & Dubai)	84	0.2	Imam	12	0.2	Indian Ocean	6	0.2
South Arabia	84	0.2	Flight	12	0.2	Greenery	5	0.2
Egypt	83	0.2	Fish	12	0.2	Food	7	0.2
Cliff	83	0.2	Evening	12	0.2	Fauna	5	0.2
Band	81	0.2	Egyptian	12	0.2	Farm	5	0.2
Rice	80	0.2	Camp	12	0.2	Craft	5	0.2
Gold	80	0.2	Airport	12	0.2	Cliff	6	0.2
Custom of eating and sitting	80	0.2	Wife	11	0.2	Civilisation	7	0.2
Bird	80	0.2	Sultan Palace	11	0.2	Camel	6	0.2
Soldier	79	0.2	Sky: stars, Moon	11	0.2	Border	5	0.2
Weather / climate	78	0.2	Holiday	11	0.2	Bahla	6	0.2
Courtesy	78	0.2	Gulf	11	0.2	Arabian Sea	5	0.2
Summer	77	0.2	Guest	11	0.2	Al-Hamra & Al-Misfah	5	0.2
Gulf	77	0.2	Greenery	11	0.2	Wind	3	0.1
Merchant / Trader	75	0.2	Farm	11	0.2	Wilderness	2	0.1
Garden	75	0.2	Development	11	0.2	Weather / climate	4	0.1
Westerner	74	0.2	Chinese	11	0.2	Trail	2	0.1
Moslem / Muslim	74	0.2	Architecture	11	0.2	Thesiger	2	0.1
Cave	73	0.2	Wilderness	10	0.2	Telegraph Island	2	0.1
Gun	72	0.2	Westerner	10	0.2	Sunset	3	0.1
Persia	70	0.2	Ubar	10	0.2	Summer	4	0.1
Halwa (sweetmeats)	70	0.2	Tradition	10	0.2	South Arabia	2	0.1
Al Qara mountains	70	0.2	Telegraph Island	10	0.2	Saudi Arabia	2	0.1
Souk & Souq	66	0.2	Magi	10	0.2	Sand Resort	3	0.1
Wahabi	65	0.2	Luxury	10	0.2	Samad, Sinaw & Al Modaybi	3	0.1
Prince	65	0.2	Local	10	0.2	Sailor	3	0.1
Traveller	63	0.2	Law	10	0.2	Safari	2	0.1
Pasture	62	0.2	Folklore & Music	10	0.2	Rain	4	0.1
Asia	62	0.2	Courtesy	10	0.2	Police / Askari	2	0.1
Law	61	0.2	Alcohol	10	0.2	Perfume, Essence	2	0.1
Civilisation	61	0.2	Summer	9	0.2	Passage	3	0.1
Bertram Thomas	61	0.2	South Arabia	9	0.2	Park / reserve	4	0.1
Pool	60	0.1	Sailor	9	0.2	Paradise	3	0.1
Male	60	0.1	Queen of Sheba	9	0.2	Oryx	2	0.1
Car (Four wheel)	60	0.1	Park / reserve	9	0.2	Nature	2	0.1
Sahib	59	0.1	Omani (The word)	9	0.2	Native	3	0.1
Husband	59	0.1	Jabal Shams (the mountain of the sun)	9	0.2	Mosque	4	0.1
Hamlet	59	0.1	Host	9	0.2	Mirbat	3	0.1
East Africa	59	0.1	Fruit	9	0.2	Iraq	3	0.1

Cultivation	59	0.1	Flood	9	0.2	Merchant / Trader	4	0.1
Acacia	59	0.1	Fishermen	9	0.2	Maritime	2	0.1
Daughter	58	0.1	Craft	9	0.2	Man in general	2	0.1
Soil	57	0.1	Companion	9	0.2	Lime	4	0.1
Beaches	57	0.1	Boy	9	0.2	Jebel Al-Akhdar (Green Mountains)	4	0.1
Arab world	57	0.1	Arabian Peninsula	9	0.2	Irrigation	3	0.1
Mesopotamia & Iraq	56	0.1	Al Qara mountains	9	0.2	Indian	4	0.1
Winter	55	0.1	Afternoon	9	0.2	India	3	0.1
Silver	55	0.1	Wise Men	8	0.1	Ibri and Al-Dhahirah	2	0.1
Turban & head dress	54	0.1	Wali (Governor)	8	0.1	Host	4	0.1
Officer	54	0.1	Renascence	8	0.1	Horse	2	0.1
Mother	54	0.1	Prayer	8	0.1	Hill	4	0.1
Gazelle	54	0.1	Paradise	8	0.1	Harbour / port	2	0.1
Egyptian	54	0.1	Oryx	8	0.1	Guide	3	0.1
Border	54	0.1	Maritime	8	0.1	Guest	4	0.1
Baggage	54	0.1	Lime	8	0.1	Fruit	3	0.1
Tradition	52	0.1	Driver	8	0.1	French	4	0.1
Scent	52	0.1	Coast	8	0.1	Flora	3	0.1
Belt	48	0.1	Christ & Christian	8	0.1	Falaj/ water channel	3	0.1
Caravans	47	0.1	Border	8	0.1	Explorer	2	0.1
Al-Rustaq	46	0.1	Bird	8	0.1	European	2	0.1
Guest	45	0.1	Sohar	7	0.1	Egyptian	3	0.1
Ammunition	45	0.1	Nakhal	7	0.1	Egypt	3	0.1
Passage	44	0.1	Mutrah	7	0.1	Driver	2	0.1
Oryx	44	0.1	Marco Polo	7	0.1	Dress	2	0.1
Oasis	43	0.1	Horse	7	0.1	Dolphin	3	0.1
Locust	43	0.1	Greek	7	0.1	District	2	0.1
Hyena	43	0.1	Expatriate	7	0.1	Development	3	0.1
Mohammedan	42	0.1	Custom of eating and sitting	7	0.1	Dagger/ Khanjar	3	0.1
Islam	42	0.1	Bar / Club	7	0.1	Coconut	3	0.1
Foxes	42	0.1	Adventure	7	0.1	Cave	2	0.1
Court	42	0.1	Tour operator	6	0.1	British	4	0.1
Zanzibar	41	0.1	Rock/ Stone	6	0.1	Asia	2	0.1
Syria	41	0.1	Native	6	0.1	Architecture	2	0.1
Island	41	0.1	Middle East	6	0.1	Arabian Gulf	3	0.1
Wolf	40	0.1	Islam	6	0.1	Arab	3	0.1
Track	40	0.1	Irrigation	6	0.1	Alcohol	2	0.1
Sugar	40	0.1	Indian	6	0.1	Woman	1	0.0
Cotton	40	0.1	Hill	6	0.1	Wolf	0	0.0
Tomb & Job	39	0.1	Female	6	0.1	Wise Men	0	0.0
Driver	39	0.1	Egypt	6	0.1	Wild life	1	0.0
Robe (men)	38	0.1	Comfort	6	0.1	Wife	0	0.0
Ocean	38	0.1	Colony	6	0.1	Wellsted	0	0.0
Mirbat	38	0.1	Bahla	6	0.1	Wedding	0	0.0
Ubar	37	0.1	Al-Hamra & Al-Misfah	6	0.1	Warrior	0	0.0
Sultan Palace	37	0.1	Al Balid	6	0.1	War	1	0.0

Miles	37	0.1	Wedding	5	0.1	Wali (Governor)	0	0.0
Koran	37	0.1	Sumahram	5	0.1	Wahabi	0	0.0
Fahud	37	0.1	Spice	5	0.1	Veil	1	0.0
Horse	36	0.1	Soldier	5	0.1	Umm as Samim	0	0.0
Adam	36	0.1	Society	5	0.1	Umm Al Hait	0	0.0
Society	35	0.1	Sheikh	5	0.1	Turkey	0	0.0
Mosque	35	0.1	Scent	5	0.1	Turban/ head dress	1	0.0
Lake	35	0.1	Religion	5	0.1	Tribe	1	0.0
Monsoon & Fog	34	0.1	Al Junaiz, Al Ruwais & Ras Al Had	5	0.1	Traveller	0	0.0
Mask & Borqa	34	0.1	Orange	5	0.1	Tour operator	0	0.0
Wahiba Sands	33	0.1	Male	5	0.1	Territory	0	0.0
Stick	33	0.1	Khor Rouri	5	0.1	Tent/ Shelter	0	0.0
Luxury	33	0.1	God	5	0.1	Temple	0	0.0
Falaj /water channel	33	0.1	Foreigner	5	0.1	Syria	0	0.0
Lizard	32	0.1	Explorer	5	0.1	Sword	0	0.0
Fortune	31	0.1	East	5	0.1	Surf (windsurfing)	0	0.0
Butterfly	31	0.1	Civilisation	5	0.1	Sugar	0	0.0
Veil	30	0.1	Al-Wusta (the Midland)	5	0.1	Stick	0	0.0
Bents	30	0.1	Wind	4	0.1	Spring	0	0.0
Alcohol	30	0.1	Turban & head dress	4	0.1	Spice	0	0.0
Wilderness	29	0.1	Slave trade	4	0.1	Son	0	0.0
Territory	29	0.1	Slave	4	0.1	Soldier	0	0.0
Sister	29	0.1	Silk	4	0.1	Soil	0	0.0
Musandam	29	0.1	Saudi Arabia	4	0.1	Society	0	0.0
Country men	29	0.1	Ruin	4	0.1	Slavery	0	0.0
Sect & doctrine	28	0.1	Rifle	4	0.1	Slave trade	0	0.0
Red Sea	28	0.1	Plane	4	0.1	Slave	0	0.0
Qalhat	28	0.1	Officer	4	0.1	Sky: stars, Moon	1	0.0
Hajar mountains	28	0.1	Mugshin	4	0.1	Skirt	0	0.0
Bride	28	0.1	Mother	4	0.1	Sister	0	0.0
Visitor	27	0.1	Iraq	4	0.1	Silk	1	0.0
Roman	27	0.1	Meat/ Lamb	4	0.1	Sheikh	0	0.0
Irrigation	27	0.1	Mask & Borqa	4	0.1	Sect & doctrine	0	0.0
Firewood	27	0.1	Inhabitant	4	0.1	Seafarer	0	0.0
East	27	0.1	Hummus	4	0.1	Scent	1	0.0
Bahla	27	0.1	Hospitality	4	0.1	Scarf /head dress	0	0.0
Nakhal	26	0.1	Hamlet	4	0.1	Sand lover	0	0.0
Garrison	26	0.1	Groom	4	0.1	Sahib	0	0.0
Adventure	26	0.1	French	4	0.1	Ruin	1	0.0
Turkey	25	0.1	Fortune	4	0.1	Roundabout	0	0.0
Spice	25	0.1	English	4	0.1	Rose water	0	0.0
Kingdom	25	0.1	Delight	4	0.1	Roman	0	0.0
Kadi (Qadhi)	25	0.1	Crop	4	0.1	Robe (men)	0	0.0
French	25	0.1	Cow	4	0.1	Ritual	0	0.0
Flood	25	0.1	Church	4	0.1	Rifle	0	0.0
Comfort	25	0.1	Bride	4	0.1	Rice	0	0.0

Abyssinia	25	0.1	Barbecue	4	0.1	Rhythm	0	0.0
Mugshin	24	0.1	Acacia	4	0.1	Renascence	0	0.0
Lime	24	0.1	War	3	0.1	Religion	0	0.0
Crew	24	0.1	Veil	3	0.1	Red Sea	1	0.0
Craft	24	0.1	Trail	3	0.1	Raid & rider	0	0.0
Park / reserve	23	0.1	Tomb & Job	3	0.1	Rabia	0	0.0
Geographer	23	0.1	Tennis courts	3	0.1	Purda, Abayah	0	0.0
Culture	23	0.1	Temple	3	0.1	Prince	0	0.0
Crop	23	0.1	Samad, Sinaw & Al Modaybi	3	0.1	Prayer	0	0.0
Colony	23	0.1	Rose water	3	0.1	Power	0	0.0
Temple	22	0.1	Ritual	3	0.1	Plane	0	0.0
Sailor	22	0.1	Rice	3	0.1	Plain	0	0.0
Mutrah	22	0.1	Island	3	0.1	Persian Gulf	0	0.0
Folklore / Music/ Piano	22	0.1	Indian Ocean	3	0.1	Persia	0	0.0
Development	22	0.1	Gun	3	0.1	Pasture	0	0.0
Plane	21	0.1	Gulf of Oman	3	0.1	Orchestra/ Symphony	0	0.0
Mango	21	0.1	Fauna	3	0.1	Orange	0	0.0
Indian Ocean	21	0.1	East Africa	3	0.1	Officer	0	0.0
House	21	0.1	District	3	0.1	Myrrh	0	0.0
Middle East	20	0.0	Chief	3	0.1	Moslim/ Muslim	1	0.0
Mecca	20	0.0	Castle	3	0.1	Mugshin	1	0.0
Banians	20	0.0	British	3	0.1	Mother	0	0.0
Orange	19	0.0	Band	3	0.1	Mohammedan	0	0.0
Explorer	19	0.0	Backpacker	3	0.1	Mission/ary	0	0.0
Umm Al Hait	18	0.0	Watersports	2	0.0	Minna (Manah)	0	0.0
Slavery	18	0.0	Warrior	2	0.0	Miles.	0	0.0
Scarf /head dress	18	0.0	Rhythm	2	0.0	Mecca	0	0.0
Empire	18	0.0	Purda, Abayah	2	0.0	Meat/ Lamb	0	0.0
Religion	17	0.0	Pasture	2	0.0	Mask & Borqa	0	0.0
Hare (desert hare)	17	0.0	Nature	2	0.0	Marco Polo	1	0.0
Coconut	17	0.0	Moslem / Muslim	2	0.0	Mango	1	0.0
Warrior	16	0.0	Lake	2	0.0	Male	0	0.0
Magi	16	0.0	Ibra	2	0.0	Magi	1	0.0
Greek	16	0.0	Halwa (sweetmeats)	2	0.0	Locust	0	0.0
Foreigner	16	0.0	Gazelle	2	0.0	Lizard	0	0.0
Architecture	16	0.0	Garrison	2	0.0	Lawrence	0	0.0
Silk	15	0.0	Daughter	2	0.0	Law	0	0.0
Mission/ary	15	0.0	Cotton	2	0.0	Lake	0	0.0
Arabian Peninsula	15	0.0	Brother	2	0.0	Koran	0	0.0
Ritual	14	0.0	Ammunition	2	0.0	Kingdom	0	0.0
Maritime	14	0.0	Umm as Samim	1	0.0	Kadi (Qadhi)	0	0.0
Fishermen	14	0.0	Territory	1	0.0	Jew	0	0.0
Jew	13	0.0	Syria	1	0.0	Jan Morris	0	0.0
Insect	13	0.0	Sword	1	0.0	Jaddat Al Harasis	1	0.0
Ibadhi/ Ibadhiyah	13	0.0	Slavery	1	0.0	Invader	0	0.0
Hospitality	13	0.0	Sister	1	0.0	Insect	0	0.0

Al Junaiz, Al Ruwais, & Ras Al Had	12	0.0	Sand lover	1	0.0	Inhabitant	1	0.0
Jewellery/ Souvenir	12	0.0	Red Sea	1	0.0	Indigenous	0	0.0
Wellsted	11	0.0	Raid & rider	1	0.0	Imam	1	0.0
Gunboat	11	0.0	Prince	1	0.0	Ibra	1	0.0
Rhythm	10	0.0	Orchestra/ Symphony	1	0.0	Ibadhi/ Ibadhiyah	0	0.0
Lawrence	10	0.0	Mission/ary	1	0.0	Hyena	0	0.0
Invader	10	0.0	Mecca	1	0.0	Husbandry	0	0.0
Paradise	9	0.0	Itinerary	1	0.0	Husband	0	0.0
Indigenous	9	0.0	Invader	1	0.0	Hummus	0	0.0
Ibra	9	0.0	Hare (desert hare)	1	0.0	Hospitality	1	0.0
Al Balid	9	0.0	Geographer	1	0.0	Hare (desert hare)	0	0.0
Skirt	8	0.0	Foxes	1	0.0	Hamlet	0	0.0
Rose water	8	0.0	Flora	1	0.0	Halwa (sweetmeats)	0	0.0
Gulf of Oman	8	0.0	Dutch	1	0.0	Gunboat	0	0.0
Farm	8	0.0	Court	1	0.0	Gun	0	0.0
Chinese	8	0.0	Coconut	1	0.0	Groom	0	0.0
Bar / Club	8	0.0	Cliff	1	0.0	Greek	0	0.0
Al-Hamra	8	0.0	Arab world	1	0.0	God	0	0.0
Umm as Samim	7	0.0	Wolf	0	0.0	Goat	0	0.0
Hotel	7	0.0	Wellsted	0	0.0	Geographer	0	0.0
Groom	7	0.0	Weather / climate	0	0.0	Gazelle	1	0.0
Trail	6	0.0	Wahabi	0	0.0	Garrison	0	0.0
Thesiger	6	0.0	Umm Al Hait	0	0.0	Garden	1	0.0
Surf (windsurfing)	6	0.0	Turkey	0	0.0	Foxes	0	0.0
Minna (Manah)	6	0.0	Surf (windsurfing)	0	0.0	Fortune	0	0.0
Church	6	0.0	Sugar	0	0.0	Foreigner	0	0.0
Tour	5	0.0	Stick	0	0.0	Flood	1	0.0
Slave trade	5	0.0	Spring	0	0.0	Fishermen	0	0.0
Sindbad	5	0.0	Soil	0	0.0	Firewood	0	0.0
Perfume, Essence	5	0.0	Skirt	0	0.0	Female	0	0.0
Jan Morris	5	0.0	Sect & doctrine	0	0.0	Country men	1	0.0
Husbandry	5	0.0	Scarf /head dress	0	0.0	Fahud	1	0.0
Strait of Hormuz	5	0.0	Sahib	0	0.0	Expatriate	0	0.0
Holiday	5	0.0	Robe (men)	0	0.0	English	0	0.0
Flora	5	0.0	Rabia	0	0.0	Empire	0	0.0
Arabian Sea	5	0.0	Plain	0	0.0	East	0	0.0
Wild life	4	0.0	Persian Gulf	0	0.0	Dutch	0	0.0
Sumahram	4	0.0	Passage	0	0.0	Dishdasha	0	0.0
Samad, Sinaw & Al Modaybi	4	0.0	Mohammedan	0	0.0	Delight	0	0.0
Khor Rouri	4	0.0	Mirbat	0	0.0	Daughter	0	0.0
Jaddat Al Harasis	4	0.0	Minna (Manah)	0	0.0	Custom of greeting	0	0.0
Wedding	3	0.0	Miles	0	0.0	Custom of eating and	0	0.0

						sitting		
Myrrh	3	0.0	Mango	0	0.0	Custom	0	0.0
Marco Polo	3	0.0	Locust	0	0.0	Cultivation	0	0.0
Dutch	3	0.0	Lizard	0	0.0	Crop	1	0.0
Wise Men	2	0.0	Koran	0	0.0	Crew	0	0.0
Tourist	2	0.0	Kadi (Qadhi)	0	0.0	Cow	0	0.0
Safari	2	0.0	Jew	0	0.0	Court	0	0.0
Purda, Abayah	2	0.0	Jan Morris	0	0.0	Cotton	0	0.0
Christianity	2	0.0	Jaddat Al Harasis	0	0.0	Companion	0	0.0
Seafarer	1	0.0	Insect	0	0.0	Colony	0	0.0
Roundabout	1	0.0	Indigenous	0	0.0	Church	0	0.0
Itinerary	1	0.0	Ibadhi/ Ibadhiyah	0	0.0	Christianity	0	0.0
Greenery	1	0.0	Hyena	0	0.0	Christ & Christian	0	0.0
Flight	1	0.0	Husbandry	0	0.0	Chinese	1	0.0
Expatriate	1	0.0	Husband	0	0.0	Child (host)	0	0.0
Dolphin	1	0.0	Gunboat	0	0.0	Chief	0	0.0
Dishdasha	1	0.0	Firewood	0	0.0	Caravans	0	0.0
Arabian Gulf	1	0.0	Fahud	0	0.0	Butterfly	0	0.0
Al-Wusta (the Midland)	1	0.0	Custom	0	0.0	Brother	0	0.0
Watersports	0	0.0	Crew	0	0.0	Bride	0	0.0
Turtle	0	0.0	Christianity	0	0.0	Boy	0	0.0
Tour operator	0	0.0	Child (guest)	0	0.0	Bertram Thomas	1	0.0
Tennis courts	0	0.0	Cave	0	0.0	Bents	0	0.0
Telegraph Island	0	0.0	Caravans	0	0.0	Belt	0	0.0
Shipyard	0	0.0	Butterfly	0	0.0	Barbecue	0	0.0
Sand Resort	0	0.0	Buraimi	0	0.0	Banians	0	0.0
Sand lover	0	0.0	Bertram Thomas	0	0.0	Band	1	0.0
Restaurant	0	0.0	Bents	0	0.0	Bahrain	0	0.0
Renascence	0	0.0	Belt	0	0.0	Baggage	0	0.0
Queen of Sheba	0	0.0	Banians	0	0.0	Backpacker	0	0.0
Orchestra/ Symphony	0	0.0	Bahrain	0	0.0	Arab world	0	0.0
Jabal Shams (the mountain of the sun)	0	0.0	Baggage	0	0.0	Ammunition	0	0.0
Hummus	0	0.0	Asia	0	0.0	Al Qara people	1	0.0
Child (guest)	0	0.0	Arabian Sea	0	0.0	Al Buraimi	0	0.0
Barbecue	0	0.0	Arabian Gulf	0	0.0	Al Balid	0	0.0
Backpacker	0	0.0	Al Qara people	0	0.0	Adam	0	0.0
Al-Bustan Palace Hotel	0	0.0	Adam	0	0.0	Acacia	0	0.0
Airport	0	0.0	Abyssinia	0	0.0	Abyssinia	1	0.0

Appendix 30. Comparison of the adjectives in the three media according to the highest

Early travel accounts			*Travelogues*			*Travel brochures*		
(Between 1838-1959)			*(Between 1996 June2001)*			*(Collection of 2001)*		
(13 travel accounts)			(32 travelogue articles)			(18 travel brochures)		
1792 pages of **501,9362** words			**178** pages of **57301** words			**49** pages of **16263** words		
174 themes								
Themes	***Freq.***	***% A.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% A.***	***Themes***	***Freq.***	***% A.***
166	***398867***	***100***	***158***	***5491***	***100***	***111***	***2840***	***100***
Most	664	6.4	Most	58	3.6	Old / Ancient	38	5.5
Great	601	5.8	Old/ Ancient	55	3.4	Beautiful	25	3.6
Large	501	4.8	Friendly	44	2.7	Fascinating	23	3.4
Many	426	4.1	Modern	41	2.5	Light	22	3.2
Old/ Ancient	413	4.0	Green	41	2.5	Most	21	3.1
Plain	412	4.0	White	40	2.5	High	20	2.9
Less	402	3.9	Beautiful	37	2.3	Natural	19	2.8
Good	345	3.3	Great	35	2.2	Best	18	2.6
High	326	3.1	Natural	29	1.8	Thrilled	17	2.5
Dark	244	2.4	Black	28	1.7	Great	16	2.3
Light	213	2.1	Best	28	1.7	White	15	2.2
White	203	2.0	Many	27	1.7	Traditional	15	2.2
Cold	197	1.9	Blue	27	1.7	Green	14	2
Another (world/ time/ harmony / line of Thesiger)	195	1.9	Traditional	25	1.5	Vast	13	1.9
Red	173	1.7	High	25	1.5	Plain	13	1.9
Strong	172	1.7	Good	25	1.5	Dramatic	13	1.9
Colour	171	1.6	Less	24	1.5	Red	12	1.7
Different	168	1.6	Large	24	1.5	Less	12	1.7
Black	164	1.6	Rich	23	1.4	Famous	12	1.7
Best	125	1.2	Unspoiled	21	1.3	Large	11	1.6
Kind/ Kindly	122	1.2	Different	21	1.3	Finest	11	1.6
Green	121	1.2	Colour	21	1.3	Excellent	11	1.6
Big	121	1.2	Spectacular	20	1.2	Exotic People	11	1.6
Natural	114	1.1	Clean	20	1.2	Quiet/ Quietest	10	1.5
Wild	111	1.1	Another (world/ time/ harmony / line of Thesiger)	20	1.2	Perfect	10	1.5
Rich	109	1.1	Wintry	19	1.2	Many	10	1.5
Dry	103	1.0	Vast	18	1.1	Rugged	9	1.3
Strange	99	1.0	Red	17	1.1	Colour	9	1.3
Interested & interesting	99	1.0	Light	17	1.1	Blue	9	1.3
Hot	96	0.9	Dignified	17	1.1	Tropical	7	1
Tribal	95	0.9	Plain	16	1	Rich	7	1
Surprising	86	0.8	Perfect	16	1	Modern	7	1
Pleasant	77	0.7	Dark	16	1	Hot	7	1
Humid	76	0.7	Surprising	15	0.9	Grandest	7	1
Friendly	76	0.7	Scented	15	0.9	Safe/ly	6	0.9
Soft	73	0.7	Polite	15	0.9	Majestic	6	0.9
Welcomed / welcoming	68	0.7	Unique	14	0.9	Grey	6	0.9
Exciting/excited	68	0.7	Important	14	0.9	Colourful	6	0.9
Respectable/	65	0.6	Grandest	14	0.9	Cold	6	0.9

Polite								
Perfect	65	0.6	Stunning	13	0.8	Breathtaking	6	0.9
Blue	65	0.6	Strange	13	0.8	Black	6	0.9
Famous	64	0.6	Silent	13	0.8	Hospitable	3	0.9
Beautiful	63	0.6	Secretive	13	0.8	Wild	5	0.7
Clean	60	0.6	Real: (Arabia, Arab, Bedu, life, Desert, Soak, Deal)	13	0.8	Impressive	5	0.7
Sensitive	58	0.6	Huge	13	0.8	Elegant	5	0.7
Important	58	0.6	Exotic: Land/ country, Wadi, Mosque, Palace	13	0.8	Delightful	5	0.7
Yellow	55	0.5	Famous	12	0.7	Warm	4	0.6
Warm	55	0.5	Rugged	11	0.7	Unspoiled	4	0.6
Brown	55	0.5	Picturesque	11	0.7	Real: (Arabia, Arab, Bedu, life, Desert, Soak, Deal)	4	0.6
Safe/ly	51	0.5	Hot	11	0.7	Purple	4	0.6
Bright	51	0.5	Fragrant	11	0.7	Pink	4	0.6
Stable (regime)	50	0.5	Extraordinary	11	0.7	Legendary	4	0.6
Happy	49	0.5	Breathtaking	11	0.7	Good	4	0.6
Grey	48	0.5	Sunny	10	0.6	Endless	4	0.6
Easy	48	0.5	Legendary	10	0.6	Deserted	4	0.6
Hospitable	47	0.5	Impressive	10	0.6	Arid	4	0.6
Naked	45	0.4	Hospitable	10	0.6	Antique	4	0.6
Simple	43	0.4	Wild	9	0.6	Exotic: Land/ country, Wadi, Mosque, Palace	3	0.4
Vast	40	0.4	Tolerant	9	0.6	Friendly	6	0.4
Exhaustive	40	0.4	Smelly	9	0.6	Welcomed / welcoming	3	0.4
Dangerous	39	0.4	Sensitive	9	0.6	Verdant	3	0.4
secure	37	0.4	Pleasant	9	0.6	Unique	3	0.4
Picturesque	37	0.4	Peaceful	9	0.6	Surprising	3	0.4
Grandest	37	0.4	Colourful	9	0.6	Sunny	3	0.4
Rugged	36	0.3	Bright	9	0.6	Popular	3	0.4
Quiet/ Quietest	36	0.3	Big	9	0.6	Mystical/Mystery	3	0.4
Imaginable	36	0.3	Imaginable	8	0.5	Interested & interesting	3	0.4
Huge	35	0.3	Happy	8	0.5	Extraordinary	3	0.4
Physical	34	0.3	Futuristic	8	0.5	Exquisite	3	0.4
Modern	32	0.3	Easy	8	0.5	Exhaustive	3	0.4
Magical	31	0.3	Cold	8	0.5	Clean	3	0.4
Arid	31	0.3	Brilliant	8	0.5	Amazing	3	0.4
Silent	30	0.3	Expensive	7	0.4	Untouched	2	0.3
Futuristic	30	0.3	Excellent	7	0.4	Superb/ Superlative	2	0.3
Excellent	29	0.3	Dry	7	0.4	Stunning	2	0.3
Isolated	28	0.3	Warm	6	0.4	Spectacular	2	0.3
Independent	28	0.3	secure	6	0.4	Soft	2	0.3
Savage	26	0.3	Safe/ly	6	0.4	Silent	2	0.3
Primitive	25	0.2	Interested &	6	0.4	Sensitive	2	0.3

			interesting					
Pink	23	0.2	Exciting/excite d	6	0.4	secure	2	0.3
Noble	21	0.2	Deserted	6	0.4	Peaceful	2	0.3
Delicious	21	0.2	Dangerous	6	0.4	Magical	2	0.3
Unpleasant	20	0.2	Crystalline	6	0.4	Huge	2	0.3
Tropical	20	0.2	Civilised	6	0.4	Glorious	2	0.3
Traditional	20	0.2	Charming	6	0.4	Gallant	2	0.3
Peaceful	20	0.2	Yellow	5	0.3	Dry	2	0.3
Liberal	20	0.2	Terrific	5	0.3	Brown	2	0.3
Delightful	19	0.2	Soft	5	0.3	Bright	2	0.3
Charming	19	0.2	Respectable/ Polite	5	0.3	Violet	1	0.1
Honest	18	0.2	Quiet/ Quietest	5	0.3	Turquoise	1	0.1
Extraordinary	18	0.2	Popular	5	0.3	Tribal	1	0.1
Endless	18	0.2	Noble	5	0.3	Stable (regime)	1	0.1
Real: (Arabia, Arab, Bedu, life, Desert, Soak, Deal)	17	0.2	Majestic	5	0.3	Simple	1	0.1
Glorious	17	0.2	Magical	5	0.3	Secretive	1	0.1
Fierce	17	0.2	Low crime/ crime free	5	0.3	Scented	1	0.1
Generous	16	0.2	Isolated	5	0.3	Pleasant	1	0.1
Fascinating	16	0.2	Invisible	5	0.3	Not importunate with foreigners	1	0.1
Genuine	15	0.1	Independent	5	0.3	Isolated	1	0.1
Smelly	14	0.1	Dramatic	5	0.3	Inhospitable	1	0.1
Purple	14	0.1	Delightful	5	0.3	Independent	1	0.1
Popular	14	0.1	Delicious	5	0.3	Important	1	0.1
Expensive	14	0.1	Welcomed / welcoming	4	0.2	Generous	1	0.1
Deserted	14	0.1	Tribal	4	0.2	Fragrant	1	0.1
Dignified	13	0.1	Thrilled	4	0.2	Extravagant	1	0.1
Verdant	12	0.1	Stable (regime)	4	0.2	Easy	1	0.1
Unhappy	12	0.1	Simple	4	0.2	Crystalline	1	0.1
Gallant	11	0.1	Purple	4	0.2	Climatic	1	0.1
Brilliant	11	0.1	Mystical/Myste ry	4	0.2	Charming	1	0.1
Backward	11	0.1	Generous	4	0.2	Brilliant	1	0.1
Amazing	11	0.1	Fierce	4	0.2	Big	1	0.1
Unique	10	0.1	Fascinating	4	0.2	Another (world/ time/ harmony / line of Thesiger)	1	0.1
Civilised	10	0.1	Fabulous	4	0.2	Yellow	0	0
Vital	9	0.1	Extravagant	4	0.2	Wintry	0	0
Scented	9	0.1	Exquisite	4	0.2	Windy	0	0
Uninteresting	8	0.1	Endless	4	0.2	Vital	0	0
Unfriendly environment	8	0.1	Brushed & Dusted	4	0.2	Unpleasant	0	0
Fragrant	8	0.1	Turquoise	3	0.2	Uninteresting	0	0
Finest	8	0.1	Tropical	3	0.2	Uninhabited	0	0
Antique	8	0.1	Strong	3	0.2	Unhappy	0	0
Thrilled	7	0.1	Seductive	3	0.2	Unfriendly	0	0

						environment		
Terrific	7	0.1	Monotonous	3	0.2	Undignified	0	0
Majestic	7	0.1	Grey	3	0.2	Uncivilised	0	0
Impressive	7	0.1	Glorious	3	0.2	Tolerant	0	0
Exquisite	7	0.1	Flowered	3	0.2	Timeless	0	0
Superb/ Superlative	6	0.1	Exhaustive	3	0.2	The sublime	0	0
Sunny	6	0.1	Brown	3	0.2	Terrific	0	0
Polite	6	0.1	Windy	2	0.1	Strong	0	0
Inhospitable	6	0.1	The sublime	2	0.1	Strange	0	0
Gorgeous	6	0.1	Superb/ Superlative	2	0.1	Spontaneous	0	0
Tolerant	5	0.0	Political stability	2	0.1	Smelly	0	0
Low crime/ crime free	5	0.0	Pink	2	0.1	Sense	0	0
Dramatic	5	0.0	Physical	2	0.1	Seductive	0	0
Climatic	5	0.0	Not importunate with foreigners	2	0.1	Savage	0	0
Breathtaking	5	0.0	Kind/ Kindly	2	0.1	Respectable/ Polite	0	0
Barbarous	5	0.0	Honest	2	0.1	Rainy	0	0
Uninhabited	4	0.0	Forthright	2	0.1	Primitive	0	0
Rainy	4	0.0	Finest	2	0.1	Political stability	0	0
Political stability	4	0.0	Exuberant	2	0.1	Polite	0	0
Colourful	4	0.0	Elegant	2	0.1	Picturesque	0	0
Monotonous	3	0.0	Arid	2	0.1	Physical	0	0
Legendary	3	0.0	Antique	2	0.1	Noble	0	0
Intimidating	3	0.0	Amazing	2	0.1	Naked	0	0
insecure	3	0.0	Vital	1	0.1	Monotonous	0	0
Impending	3	0.0	Violet	1	0.1	Low crime/ crime free	0	0
Fabulous	3	0.0	Verdant	1	0.1	Liberal	0	0
Extravagant	3	0.0	Unhappy	1	0.1	Kind/ Kindly	0	0
Crystalline	3	0.0	Unfriendly environment	1	0.1	Invisible	0	0
Brushed & Dusted	3	0.0	Timeless	1	0.1	Intolerant	0	0
Unspoiled	2	0.0	Spontaneous	1	0.1	Intimidating	0	0
Undignified	2	0.0	Sense	1	0.1	insecure	0	0
Turquoise	2	0.0	Intimidating	1	0.1	Impending	0	0
The sublime	2	0.0	Inhospitable	1	0.1	Imaginable	0	0
Spontaneous	2	0.0	Impending	1	0.1	Humid	0	0
Spectacular	2	0.0	Humid	1	0.1	Honest	0	0
Sense	2	0.0	Gorgeous	1	0.1	Happy	0	0
Invisible	2	0.0	Genuine	1	0.1	Gorgeous	0	0
Intolerant	2	0.0	Gallant	1	0.1	Genuine	0	0
Exotic: Land/ country, Wadi, Mosque, Palace	2	0.0	Backward	1	0.1	Futuristic	0	0
Windy	1	0.0	Untouched	0	0	Forthright	0	0
Untouched	1	0.0	Unpleasant	0	0	Flowered	0	0
Uncivilised	1	0.0	Uninteresting	0	0	Fierce	0	0

Stunning	1	0.0	Uninhabited	0	0	Fabulous	0	0
Secretive	1	0.0	Undignified	0	0	Exuberant	0	0
Mystical/Mystery	1	0.0	Uncivilised	0	0	Expensive	0	0
Exuberant	1	0.0	Savage	0	0	Exciting/excite	0	0
Elegant	1	0.0	Rainy	0	0	Dignify	0	0
Wintry	0	0.0	Primitive	0	0	Different	0	0
Violet	0	0.0	Naked	0	0	Delicious	0	0
Timeless	0	0.0	Liberal	0	0	Dark	0	0
Seductive	0	0.0	Intolerant	0	0	Dangerous	0	0
Not importunate with foreigners	0	0.0	insecure	0	0	Civilise	0	0
Forthright	0	0.0	Exotic People	0	0	Brushed & Dusted	0	0
Flowered	0	0.0	Climatic	0	0	Barbarous	0	0
Exotic People	0	0.0	Barbarous	0	0	Backward	0	0

Appendix 31. Comparison of the verbs in the three media according to the highest:

Early travel accounts			***Travelogues***			***Travel brochures***		
(Between 1838-1959)			*(Between 1996 June2001)*			*(Collection of 2001)*		
(13 travel accounts)			(32 travelogue articles)			(18 travel brochures)		
1792 pages of **501,9362** words			**178** pages of **57301** words			**49** pages of **16263** words		
165 themes								
Themes	***Freq. T***	***% V.***	***Themes***	***Freq. T***	***% V.***	***Themes***	***Freq. T***	***% V.***
162	***19479***	***100***	***153***	***1815***	***100***	***105***	***995***	***100***
Say	1332	6.8	Take	126	6.9	Visit	101	10.2
See	1090	5.6	Speak	78	4.3	Tour	69	6.9
Take	945	4.9	Say	70	3.9	Drive	64	6.4
Make	815	4.2	Make	68	3.7	See	58	5.8
Go/ went	642	3.3	Drive	50	2.8	Take	39	3.9
Find	516	2.6	Go/ went	44	2.4	Eat	36	3.6
Tell	446	2.3	Wear	39	2.1	Offer	35	3.5
Pass through	358	1.8	See	39	2.1	Dive	33	3.3
Reach	357	1.8	Cross	38	2.1	End/ at last	31	3.1
Stand	347	1.8	Set	37	2.0	Build/t	26	2.6
Use	339	1.7	Travel	36	2.0	Fish/fishing	23	2.3
Meet	333	1.7	Use	35	1.9	Stop	21	2.1
Fell/ filled	331	1.7	Tell	35	1.9	Explore	21	2.1
Sit	311	1.6	Walk	33	1.8	Stay	20	2.0
Held/hold	307	1.6	Visit	32	1.8	Set	20	2.0
Follow	303	1.6	Sit	30	1.7	Reach	17	1.7
Visit	302	1.6	Purchase/ buy	30	1.7	Make	17	1.7
Arrive	289	1.5	Build/t	26	1.4	Find	15	1.5
Read	252	1.3	Experience	25	1.4	Cross	15	1.5
Show	248	1.3	Discover	25	1.4	Continue	15	1.5
Remain	244	1.3	Find	23	1.3	Arrive	15	1.5
Ride/Mounting	233	1.2	Start	22	1.2	Swim	14	1.4
Build/t	229	1.2	Feel	20	1.1	Relax	14	1.4
Start	221	1.1	Drink	20	1.1	Fly	14	1.4
Sleep/ Slept	207	1.1	Stay	19	1.0	Pass through	13	1.3
Kill	206	1.1	Sell	18	1.0	Say	12	1.2
Watch	202	1.0	Eat	18	1.0	Walk	11	1.1
Occupy	177	0.9	Arrive	18	1.0	View	10	1.0
Speak	165	0.8	Watch	17	0.9	Touch	10	1.0
Walk	161	0.8	Produce	17	0.9	Follow	9	0.9
Graze	158	0.8	Invite	17	0.9	Camp	8	0.8
Wear	157	0.8	Stop	16	0.9	Travel	7	0.7
Cover	155	0.8	Smell (sense of smell)	16	0.9	Feature	7	0.7
receive	154	0.8	Ride/Mounting	16	0.9	Discover	7	0.7
Import	152	0.8	Reach	16	0.9	Watch	6	0.6
Set	149	0.8	Journey	15	0.8	Start	6	0.6
Observe	145	0.7	Continue	15	0.8	Stare	6	0.6
Stop	142	0.7	Sleep/ Slept	14	0.8	Sit	6	0.6
Travel	141	0.7	Sell	14	0.8	Purchase/ buy	6	0.6
Feel	140	0.7	End/ at last	14	0.8	Clean	6	0.6

End/ at last	139	0.7	Dusted/ Brushed	14	0.8	Welcome	5	0.5
Answer	134	0.7	Serve	13	0.7	Use	5	0.5
Drive	133	0.7	Offer	13	0.7	Serve	5	0.5
View	130	0.7	Gleam	13	0.7	Seek	5	0.5
Produce	129	0.7	Marry/ied	12	0.7	Experience	5	0.5
Drink	127	0.7	Enjoy	12	0.7	Search	4	0.4
Continue	126	0.6	Climb	12	0.7	Meet	4	0.4
Raid	121	0.6	Welcome	11	0.6	Maintain	4	0.4
Dress	121	0.6	Swim	11	0.6	Fell/ filled	4	0.4
Offer	115	0.6	Embroider	11	0.6	Cover	4	0.4
Prepare	108	0.6	Cover	11	0.6	Sail/d	3	0.3
Attack	108	0.6	Touch	10	0.6	Remain	3	0.3
Stay	107	0.5	Sail/d	10	0.6	Prepare	3	0.3
Eat	106	0.5	Remain	10	0.6	Observe	3	0.3
Climb	102	0.5	Meet	10	0.6	Develop	3	0.3
Step	101	0.5	Fish/fishing	10	0.6	Control	3	0.3
Camp	97	0.5	Taste	9	0.5	Attract	3	0.3
Serve	96	0.5	Show	9	0.5	Wave	2	0.2
Marry/ied	94	0.5	Pass through	9	0.5	Trail	2	0.2
Race/d	93	0.5	Imagine	9	0.5	Tell	2	0.2
Spend	91	0.5	Greet (sense of touch)	9	0.5	Step	2	0.2
Feature	89	0.5	Dress	9	0.5	Spread	2	0.2
Purchase/ buy	87	0.4	Wave	8	0.4	Spend	2	0.2
Fly	86	0.4	View	8	0.4	Snorkel	2	0.2
Armed	85	0.4	Step	8	0.4	receive	2	0.2
Enjoy	82	0.4	Stand	8	0.4	Race/d	2	0.2
Touch	77	0.4	Seek	8	0.4	Manage	2	0.2
Invite	77	0.4	Explore	8	0.4	Journey	2	0.2
Greet (sense of touch)	76	0.4	Dive	8	0.4	Go/ went	2	0.2
Sell	74	0.4	Destroy	8	0.4	Glance	2	0.2
Cross	73	0.4	Aid	8	0.4	Feel	2	0.2
Dance	72	0.4	Veiled	7	0.4	Embark	2	0.2
Taste	71	0.4	Manage	7	0.4	Drink	2	0.2
Cook	70	0.4	Held/hold	7	0.4	Designed	2	0.2
Aid	70	0.4	Follow	7	0.4	Board	2	0.2
Spread	69	0.4	Export	7	0.4	Veiled	1	0.1
Welcome	65	0.3	Decline	7	0.4	Traverse	1	0.1
Experience	65	0.3	Control	7	0.4	Trace	1	0.1
Escape	64	0.3	Camp	7	0.4	Stand	1	0.1
Assured	63	0.3	Watered	6	0.3	Speak	1	0.1
Watered	61	0.3	Spread	6	0.3	Sleep/ Slept	1	0.1
Maintain	60	0.3	Secure	6	0.3	Sing	1	0.1
Seek	59	0.3	Import	6	0.3	Show	1	0.1
Wave	57	0.3	Develop	6	0.3	Sell	1	0.1
Clean	57	0.3	Cycle	6	0.3	Sell	1	0.1
Secure	56	0.3	Attract	6	0.3	Seized	1	0.1
Sell	54	0.3	Armed	6	0.3	Ride/Mounting	1	0.1
Seized	52	0.3	Tour	5	0.3	Retained	1	0.1
Sail/d	52	0.3	Glimpse	5	0.3	Relish	1	0.1

Fish/fishing	52	0.3	Fell/ filled	5	0.3	Produce	1	0.1
Employ	51	0.3	Delight	5	0.3	Meander	1	0.1
Discover	51	0.3	Celebrate	5	0.3	Invite	1	0.1
Cultivate	51	0.3	Begin	5	0.3	Impose	1	0.1
Anchor	51	0.3	Trail	4	0.2	Hike	1	0.1
Retained	50	0.3	Search	4	0.2	Held/hold	1	0.1
Trace	48	0.2	Raid	4	0.2	Enjoy	1	0.1
Sing	48	0.2	Prepared	4	0.2	Destroy	1	0.1
Chase/ chased out	48	0.2	Lurch up	4	0.2	Delight	1	0.1
Board	46	0.2	Glance	4	0.2	Dance	1	0.1
Control	43	0.2	Fly	4	0.2	Cultivate	1	0.1
Traverse	42	0.2	Employ	4	0.2	Chase/ chased out	1	0.1
Destroy	42	0.2	Colonise	4	0.2	Celebrate	1	0.1
Mastered	41	0.2	Attend	4	0.2	Begin	1	0.1
investigate	41	0.2	Traverse	3	0.2	Attend	1	0.1
Imagine	39	0.2	Spend	3	0.2	Anchor	1	0.1
Attend	39	0.2	Shake/ shook	3	0.2	Whispered	0	0.0
Begin	38	0.2	receive	3	0.2	Wear	0	0.0
Manage	37	0.2	Read	3	0.2	Watered	0	0.0
Designed	37	0.2	Race/d	3	0.2	Unify	0	0.0
Hunt	36	0.2	Meander	3	0.2	Taste	0	0.0
Impose	35	0.2	Mastered	3	0.2	Swept/ sweep	0	0.0
Export	35	0.2	Leap	3	0.2	Sneak	0	0.0
Explore	35	0.2	Expand	3	0.2	Smell (sense of smell)	0	0.0
Develop	33	0.2	Exiled	3	0.2	Shipped	0	0.0
Search	32	0.2	Dance	3	0.2	Shake/ shook	0	0.0
Veiled	31	0.2	Whispered	2	0.1	Secure	0	0.0
Shake/ shook	31	0.2	Trace	2	0.1	Scan	0	0.0
Decline	31	0.2	Swept/ sweep	2	0.1	Salute	0	0.0
Swept/ sweep	29	0.1	Snorkel	2	0.1	Resolve	0	0.0
Poured out coffee	29	0.1	Retained	2	0.1	Read	0	0.0
Smell (sense of smell)	28	0.1	Relish	2	0.1	Raid	0	0.0
Introduce	27	0.1	Relax	2	0.1	Project	0	0.0
Celebrate	27	0.1	Poured out coffee	2	0.1	Poured out coffee	0	0.0
Achieve	26	0.1	Introduce	2	0.1	Occupy	0	0.0
Irrigate	25	0.1	Flowered	2	0.1	Mastered	0	0.0
Whispered	24	0.1	Filtered	2	0.1	Married	0	0.0
Delight	24	0.1	Feature	2	0.1	Lurch up	0	0.0
Attract	23	0.1	Embark	2	0.1	Leap	0	0.0
Resolve	22	0.1	Chase/ chased out	2	0.1	Kill	0	0.0
Stare	20	0.1	Bounced along	2	0.1	Irrigate	0	0.0
Shipped	20	0.1	Board	2	0.1	investigate	0	0.0
Salute	20	0.1	Answer	2	0.1	Introduce	0	0.0
Embark	17	0.1	Unify	1	0.1	Import	0	0.0
Dive	16	0.1	Stare	1	0.1	Imagine	0	0.0

Glimpse	15	0.1	Sneak	1	0.1	Hunt	0	0.0
Dragged	15	0.1	Seized	1	0.1	Greet (sense of touch)	0	0.0
Glance	14	0.1	Scan	1	0.1	Graze	0	0.0
Amble	13	0.1	Resolve	1	0.1	Glimpse	0	0.0
Leap	12	0.1	Observe	1	0.1	Gleam	0	0.0
Journey	12	0.1	Kill	1	0.1	Flowered	0	0.0
Embroider	12	0.1	investigate	1	0.1	Filtered	0	0.0
Project	11	0.1	Impose	1	0.1	Export	0	0.0
Trail	9	0.0	Hunt	1	0.1	Expand	0	0.0
Hike	8	0.0	Hike	1	0.1	Exiled	0	0.0
Swim	7	0.0	Graze	1	0.1	Escape	0	0.0
Scan	7	0.0	Escape	1	0.1	Employ	0	0.0
Relax	7	0.0	Dragged	1	0.1	Embroider	0	0.0
Sneak	6	0.0	Designed	1	0.1	Dusted/ Brushed	0	0.0
Relish	6	0.0	Cook	1	0.1	Dress	0	0.0
Gleam	6	0.0	Clean	1	0.1	Dragged	0	0.0
Behold	6	0.0	Assured	1	0.1	Decline	0	0.0
Meander	5	0.0	Amble	1	0.1	Cycle	0	0.0
Dusted/ Brushed	5	0.0	Achieve	1	0.1	Cook	0	0.0
Colonise	5	0.0	Sing	0	0.0	Colonise	0	0.0
Unify	4	0.0	Shipped	0	0.0	Climb	0	0.0
Lurch up	4	0.0	Salute	0	0.0	Bounced along	0	0.0
Expand	4	0.0	Project	0	0.0	Behold	0	0.0
Exiled	4	0.0	Occupy	0	0.0	Attack	0	0.0
Administered	4	0.0	Maintain	0	0.0	Assured	0	0.0
Tour	2	0.0	Irrigate	0	0.0	Armed	0	0.0
Bounced along	2	0.0	Cultivate	0	0.0	Answer	0	0.0
Filtered	1	0.0	Behold	0	0.0	Amble	0	0.0
Snorkel	0	0.0	Attack	0	0.0	Aid	0	0.0
Flowered	0	0.0	Anchor	0	0.0	Administered	0	0.0
Cycle	0	0.0	Administered	0	0.0	Achieve	0	0.0

Appendix 32. Shared nouns in the three media

Shared nouns between early travel accounts and travelogues (92 words)		**Shared nouns between brochures and travelogues (11words)**
Wise Men	Mask, Borqa/ bourkos	Wise Men
Wife	Male	Wife
Wedding	Lawrence	Wedding
Warrior	Law	Warrior
Wali (Governor)	Lake	Wali (Governor)
Umm as Samim Sands	Kingdom	Umm as Samim Sands
Traveller	Invader	Traveller
Territory	Hare (desert hare)	Territory
Tent/ Shelter	Hamlet	Tent/ Shelter
Temple	Halwa (sweetmeats)	Temple
Syria	Gun	Syria
Sword	Groom	Sword
Spice	Greek	Spice
Son	God	Son
Soldier	Goat	Soldier
Society	Geographer	Society
Slavery	Garrison	Slavery
Slave trade	Foxes	Slave trade
Slave	Fortune	Slave
Sister	Foreigner	Sister
Sheikh	Fishermen	Sheikh
Season	Female	Season
Seafarer	Expatriate	Seafarer
Rose water	English	Rose water
Roman	Empire	Roman
Ritual	East	Ritual
Rifle	Dishdasha	Rifle
Rice	Delight	Rice
Rhythm	Daughter	Rhythm
Religion	Custom of greeting	Religion
Raid & rider	Cultivation	Raid & rider
Purda, Abayah	Cow	Purda, Abayah
Prince	Court	Prince
Prayer	Cotton	Prayer
Power	Companion	Power
Plane	Colony	Plane
Persian	Church	Persian
Persia	Christ & Christian	Persia
Pasture	Chief	Pasture
Orange	Brother	Orange
Omani Etiquette (Custom of eating and sitting)	Bride	Omani Etiquette (Custom of eating and sitting)
Officer	Boy	Officer
Myrrh	Arab world	Myrrh
Mother	Ammunition	Mother
Mission/ary	Al-Belaid / Al Balad	Mission/ary
Meat/ Lamb	Acacia	Meat/ Lamb
Wise Men	Mask, Borqa/ bourkos	Wise Men
Wife	Male	Wife
Wedding	Lawrence	Wedding
Warrior	Law	Warrior

Wali (Governor)	Lake	Wali (Governor)
Umm as Samim Sands	Kingdom	Umm as Samim Sands
Traveller	Invader	Traveller
Territory	Hare (desert hare)	Territory
Tent/ Shelter	Hamlet	Tent/ Shelter
Temple	Halwa (sweetmeats)	Temple
Syria	Gun	Syria
Sword	Groom	Sword
Spice	Greek	Spice
Son	God	Son
Soldier	Goat	Soldier
Society	Geographer	Society
Slavery	Garrison	Slavery
Slave trade	Foxes	Slave trade
Slave	Fortune	Slave
Sister	Foreigner	Sister
Sheikh	Fishermen	Sheikh
Season	Female	Season

Appendix 33. Unique nouns in early travel accounts and travelogues[86]

Unique nouns in early travel accounts (47 words)		*Unique nouns in travelogues (8 words)*
Wolf	Kadi (Qadhi)	
Wellsted	Jew	Tour operator
Wahabi	Jan Morris	Sand lover
Umm Al Hait	Insect	Orchestra/ Symphony
Turkey / Turkia	Indigenous	Hummus
Surf (windsurfing)	Hyena	Barbecue
Sugar	Husbandry	Backpacker
Stick	Husband	Umm Sammim
Spring	Gunboat	Renascence
Soil	Firewood	
Skirt	Custom	
Sect, tenant, doctrine	Crew	
Scarf /head dress	Christianity	
Sahib	Caravans	
Robe (men)	Butterfly	
Rabia	Buraimi	
Persian Gulf	Bents	
Mohammedan	Belt	
Minna (Manah)	Banians	
Miles	Bahrain	
Locust	Baggage	
Lizard	Adam	
Koran	Ibadhi / Ibadhiyah	

86 The findings showed no unique nouns in travel brochures.

Appendix 34. Shared and unique adjectives in the three media

Unique nouns in early travel accounts (47 words)	**Unique nouns in travelogues (8 words)**	**Unique nouns in early travel accounts (47 words)**
Wolf	Kadi (Qadhi)	Wolf
Wellsted	Jew	Wellsted
Wahabi	Jan Morris	Wahabi
Umm Al Hait	Insect	Umm Al Hait
Turkey / Turkia	Indigenous	Turkey / Turkia
Surf (windsurfing)	Hyena	Surf (windsurfing)
Sugar	Husbandry	Sugar
Stick	Husband	Stick
Spring	Gunboat	Spring
Soil	Firewood	Soil
Skirt	Custom	Skirt
Sect, tenant, doctrine	Crew	Sect, tenant, doctrine
Scarf /head dress	Christianity	Scarf /head dress
Sahib	Caravans	Sahib
Robe (men)	Butterfly	Robe (men)
Rabia	Buraimi	Rabia
Persian Gulf	Bents	Persian Gulf
Mohammedan	Belt	Mohammedan
Minna (Manah)	Banians	Minna (Manah)
Miles	Bahrain	Miles
Locust	Baggage	Locust
Lizard	Adam	Lizard
Koran	Ibadhi / Ibadhiyah	Koran
Unique nouns in early travel accounts (47 words)	**Unique nouns in travelogues (8 words)**	**Unique nouns in early travel accounts (47 words)**
Wolf	Kadi (Qadhi)	Wolf
Wellsted	Jew	Wellsted
Wahabi	Jan Morris	Wahabi
Umm Al Hait	Insect	Umm Al Hait
Turkey / Turkia	Indigenous	Turkey / Turkia
Surf (windsurfing)	Hyena	Surf (windsurfing)
Sugar	Husbandry	Sugar
Stick	Husband	Stick
Spring	Gunboat	Spring
Soil	Firewood	Soil
Skirt	Custom	Skirt
Sect, tenant, doctrine	Crew	Sect, tenant, doctrine
Scarf /head dress	Christianity	Scarf /head dress
Sahib	Caravans	Sahib
Robe (men)	Butterfly	Robe (men)
Rabia	Buraimi	Rabia
Persian Gulf	Bents	Persian Gulf
Mohammedan	Belt	Mohammedan
Minna (Manah)	Banians	Minna (Manah)
Miles	Bahrain	Miles
Locust	Baggage	Locust

Appendix 35. Shared and unique verbs in the three media

Shared verbs between early travel accounts and travelogues (50 words)	**Shared verbs between early travel accounts and travel brochures (4 words)**	**Unique verbs in early travel accounts (8words)**
Achieve	Anchor	Administered
Aid	Cultivate	Attack
Amble	Maintain	Behold
Answer	Sing	Irrigate
Armed		Occupy
Assured		Project
Bounced along		Salute
Climb		Shipped
Colonise		
Cook	**Shared verbs between travelogues and travel brochures (1 word)**	**Unique verbs in travelogues (2 words)**
Decline	Snorkel	Cycle
Dragged		Flowered
Dress		
Dusted/ Brushed		
Embroider		
Employ		
Escape		
Exiled		
Expand		
Export		
Filtered		
Gleam		
Glimpse		
Graze		
Greet (sense of touch)		
Hunt		
Imagine		
Import		
Introduce		
investigate		
Kill		
Leap		
Lurch up		
Married		
Mastered		
Poured out coffee		
Raid		
Read		
Resolve		
Scan		
Secure		
Shake/ shook		
Smell (sense of smell)		
Sneak		
Swept/ sweep		
Taste		
Unify		
Watered		
Wear		
Whispered		

Appendix 36. The portrayal of people and landscape in travel brochures

Company Name	*GFM*	*Guest F*	*Guest M*	*H. & Guest*	*Host MF*	*Host F*	*Host M*	*N*	*B*	*NB*
Amathus	4			1				1	10	6
Arabian Odyssey	6	2		2	2	4	2	10	17	8
Axis World Wide	1						1		1	1
Cox and Kings										1
Elegant Resorts		1							1	1
Elite Vacations										
Explore Worldwide		1				2		2	4	2
Kouni Worldwide										
Limosa Holidays				2			2	1		1
Luxury holidays										3
Naturetrek								4		
Pearls of the Ocean									2	2
Somak holiday						1		1		
Sovereign Worldwide	1					6		6	4	
Steppes East									3	2
Sunset Faraway holiday									2	3
Tropical locations									1	2
Western and Oriental							1		1	1
Total	***12***	***5***		*7*	***2***	***14***	***9***	***26***	***50***	***40***

GFM: Number of pictures portrayed guest females and males
N: Number of pictures portrayed natural attraction
B: Number of pictures portrayed built attraction
NB: Number of pictures portrayed natural and built attraction

Total and percentage of the host and guest pictures in travel brochures

	Guest	% of guest	% from the total of G&H	G & H	Host	%	% from the total of G & H
MF	12	70.6	24.5	7	2	8	4.1
Male	0	0.0	0.0		14	56	28.6
Female	5	29.4	10.2		9	36	18.4
Total	17	100.0	34.7	14.3	25	100	51.0

Total and percentage of people and landscape pictures in travel brochures

Themes	*Frequency*	*%*	Theme	*Frequency*	*%*
Natural attraction	26	22.4	People	49	29.7
N. and B. attractions	40	34.5	Landscape	116	70.3
Built attraction	50	43.1			
Total of pictures featured landscape	***116***	***100.0***	***Total & % of People & Landscape***	***165***	***100.0***