

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

— No. 31 —

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EDITORIAL

This is the last number of the Journal which will be sold to members at the original price of Shs. 5/-. The increased cost of paper and of printing means that the Society is sustaining a loss in continuing to publish at the old price, despite the additional revenue from advertisements. It has therefore been decided, regretfully, to increase the price to Shs. 7/50 to members (Shs. 10/- to non-members). No. 32 for January, 1952, will therefore cost half-a-crown more.

A Cumulative Index to Nos. 11-30 is being published along with this Number. An Index to Nos. 1-10 was published with No. 11 and it was intended to publish an index for every ten Numbers, but, with the journal priced at Shs. 5/-, this was more than we could afford. A Table of Contents for No. 30 is also being included with this number: it was inadvertently omitted when No. 30 was being bound.

We apologise to the International African Institute for the fact that Mr. Lyndon Harries's article on *Swahili Epic Literature* appeared in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* for January 1951, No. 30, without any indication that it had already appeared in *Africa* and that it was being re-published by kind permission of both the author and the Institute. We greatly regret that the footnote giving this information was inadvertently omitted.

The late appearance of this number, through delay at the printers, is also regretted.

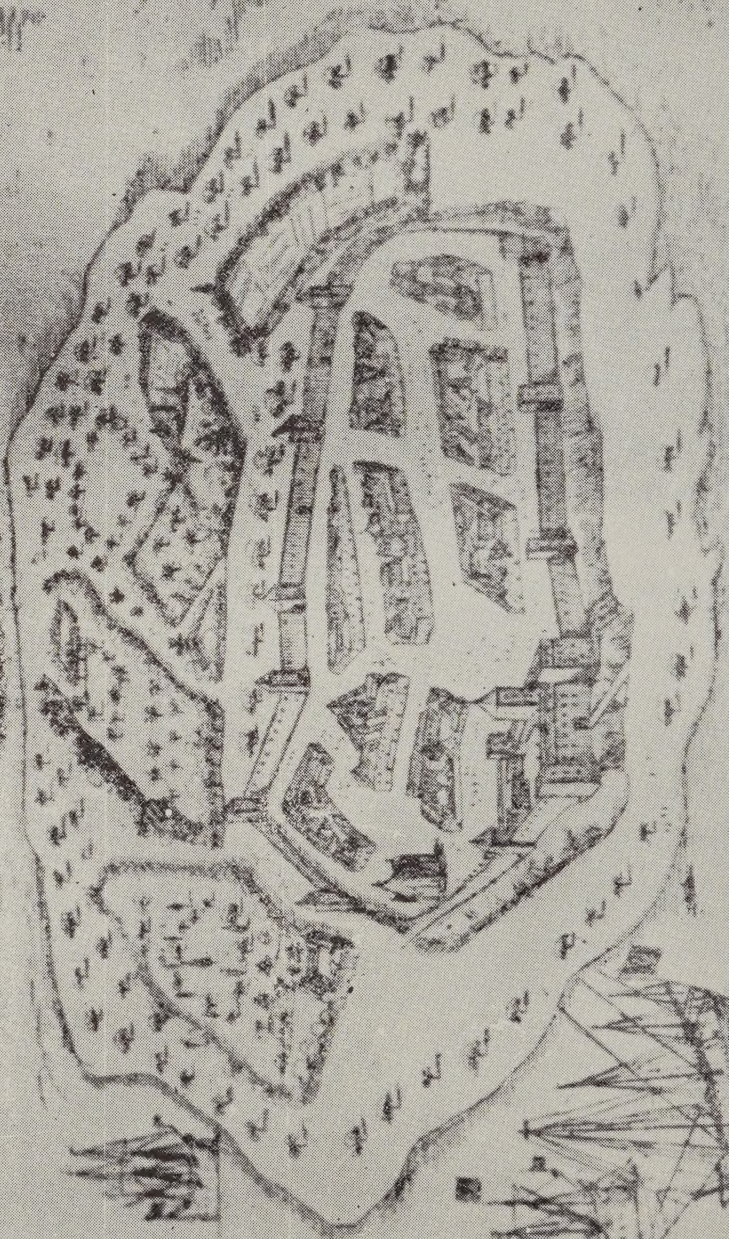
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QVILLOA



A HISTORY OF KILWA. (PART I)**By Sir John Gray**

(Prefatory Note—This account of Kilwa Kisiwani is mainly taken from Arabic and Portuguese Chronicles. It was compiled before the recent excavations were undertaken by the Rev. Gervase Mathew and Mr. J. P. Moffett. It must therefore be understood that certain observations therein may require to be altered in the light of a full report of the results of those excavations—J.M.G.).

As its second name denotes, Kilwa Kisiwani is situated on an island, which lies in $8^{\circ} 58'$ of South latitude and $39^{\circ} 32'$ of East longitude. The island is situated in an inlet, which is divided by the island itself into two harbours, which the **Africa Pilot** calls Sangarungu and Kilwa Kisiwani.

Sangarungu Harbour lies to the south of Kilwa Kisiwani. It is protected from the full onslaught of the Indian Ocean by the island of Songo Manara, which is about six miles in length and lies N.W. and S.E. It is low and narrow and has an indented rocky coast on its seaward side. There are several villages on it of which Sanji ya Majoma is the most important. The northernmost point of the island is a sandy spit which is called Ras Sangarungu by the **Africa Pilot**. Eighteenth century charts and sailing instructions called it Pagoda Point from a minaret which formerly stood there. The foundations of this minaret can still be traced. For many centuries it was a prominent sailing mark and it is from it that the island derives its second name.

The south western portion of Sangarungu Harbour is now called Port Nisus after a British man-of-war which visited the place in 1812. The northern portion is called Port Pactolus after another warship which visited the place at a later date. The mangrove island of Sanji ya Kati lies nearly in the centre of the southern branch of Sangarungu Harbour. There is at the present time—or was until recently*—a small village on this island, which eighteenth century charts call Morice Islet. Port Nisus is rather too deep in most places to afford a convenient anchorage. Though Port Pactolus is less deep and in this respect a better anchorage, it is exposed to the heavy swell that rolls in from the Indian Ocean through the wide open entrance to Sangarungu Harbour.

Kilwa Kisiwani Harbour is the eastern portion of an estuary, which extends inland in a general westerly direction for about fifteen miles. It is protected from the full force of the Indian Ocean by Ras Rongozi, which is a low sandy spit, dotted with trees and projects from the mainland to the north east of the present village of Kilwa Kisiwani. The entrance to the harbour between the reefs which border the shores of both mainland and island at this point is about half a mile wide. To the west of the Ras Rongozi the harbour expands to a width of very nearly a mile opposite to the village of Kilwa Kisiwani, where there is an admirable, well sheltered anchorage. The estuary above the town is known as Port Beaver (after the Captain of the already mentioned warship **Nisus**). It becomes very shallow a few miles up, but is navigable by canoes for the whole of its distance.

*There still is.—Ed.

The island of Kilwa separates the two harbours of Kilwa Kisiwani and Sangarungu. It has a sea face of four miles in a North and South direction. For the most part it is low lying, but the northern part is a coral plateau rising some forty-five feet above the sea. In the north-west corner are the modern village of Kilwa Kisiwani and the remains of earlier stone habitations. As already said, the channel which separates this portion of the island from the mainland to the north is close on a mile wide. That which separates the island from the mainland to the west is very narrow. At the north-west extremity of the island it is less than one hundred yards wide at high water. At low water the distance at one point is barely thirty yards. The channel at this spot is in places some three to four feet deep at low water, thus giving comparatively easy access to the island from the mainland. It is no doubt for this reason that the channel has received the name of Mlango Mugongo, or "the back door". (1)

There must undoubtedly have been indigenous Africans—fisher-folk and the like—who occupied Kilwa Kisiwa and the adjacent mainland prior to the advent of alien traders, but of the history of those earliest inhabitants we know nothing. At a very early date the later arrivals had their chronicler or chroniclers, to whom we owe the work, which an Arabic transcript now in the British Museum calls the *Kitab el Sulwa fi Akhbar Kilwa*, which by interpretation means "The Book of Pleasure concerning the History of Kilwa". Before quoting from the work, a word or two should be said regarding the different versions thereof and their historical value. The *Kitab* was certainly in existence at the time of the first advent of the Portuguese at the very beginning of the sixteenth century. One copy thereof came into the possession of some Portuguese official who took it back with him to Lisbon. This copy was translated into Portuguese and the translation was used by the historian, John de Barros, in the completion of his *Da Asia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1552. Barros calls the work *O Chronica dos Reis de Quiloa* (The Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa). Perusal of Chapters IV and VI of Book VIII of the First Decade of *Da Asia* and of Chapter II of Book IX thereof shows that he has relied very extensively on this work. Barros quotes from the Chronicle in *oratio obliqua* and in place it is not always easy to determine whether certain of the passages in *Da Asia* are actual quotations from the original manuscript or are merely glosses on the part of Barros. Comparison with the other extant copy of the Chronicle shows that Barros has omitted a number of passages in his translation and has also fallen into a number of errors, which may in some cases be due to mistranslations into Portuguese. On the other hand *Da Asia* contains interesting passages which do not appear in the other version and also corrects certain palpable errors into which the copyist of *Kitab el Sulwa* has fallen.*

Barros, who was factor of the Indian House at Lisbon from 1532 until his death in 1570, had access to the journals, letters and reports of the early Portuguese discoverers and officials in the East Indies and Africa. He has incorporated a large amount of these materials in the First Decade of his *Da Asia*, where he gives us a very detailed account of the brief Portuguese occupation of Kilwa and the events leading up to it. In that account he clearly strives to be impartial but, as was perhaps only to be expected, he

* When quoting from Portuguese and other records and books, which refer to a proper name current at the present day, I have adopted that spelling of the name which is at present current. Where there is any doubt as to what is the proper name referred to by the writer, I have retained the spelling used by the writer.

looked at those events through Portuguese spectacles and describes them as the narrator and apologist of the great exploits of his fellow countrymen. For a more critical account of those events one looks to **Chronica** of his contemporary, Damian de Goes.

The following note by Sir John Kirk appears on the fly leaf of a copy of the *Kitab el Sulwa*, which is now in the British Museum:

"This MS given to the British Museum is the copy of an abstract prepared from a large Arabic history known as *Sinet el Kilawia*, of which no copy is known to exist now, although there (may) yet be one found on the African coast. The abstract came from among the papers of Sheikh Moheddin; they were stolen after his death and fell into my hands as Judge of the Court; before being returned the Sultan (Barghash bin Said of Zanzibar) had a copy made for me."

Sheikh Moheyddin bin Sheikh bin Abdulla Al Khatany was a Kathi of the Sunni School at Zanzibar from 1837 until his death in 1870 and was largely responsible for the building of the Juma Mosque in the Malindi quarter of that town. In all probability Sheikh Moheyddin employed an amanuensis to make the copy. Whoever the copyist may have been, doubtless not a few of the errors which may have crept into the manuscript are to be attributed to him. Others of these errors must undoubtedly be attributed to the attempt to condense the *Sinet el Kilawia* into an abridgement. In more than one place the author of the abridgement expresses his dread of prolixity and this dread must largely be responsible for a number of errors of omission. The author of the original manuscript remains anonymous, but he has supplied us with a few autobiographical details. He tells us that he was born in 904 A.H. (corresponding to 1498 A.D.) and that he was commanded to complete the *Chronicle* by a certain Muhammad, who became Sultan of Kilwa some time after the Portuguese had evacuated the place. The author also invokes the testimony of Sultan Muhammad regarding an incident connected with the rebuilding of the principal mosque at Kilwa in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The chapter headings at the beginning of the book show that the author originally intended to carry the history of Kilwa down to the reign of this Sultan Muhammad, but when he comes to a recital of the events connected with Vasco da Gama's visit to Kilwa in 1502, he breaks off abruptly with the words: "There ends what I have found." The truth in fact was that what followed was a humiliating story, of which no loyal citizen of Kilwa could be proud and which distinctly made the title which he had given to his book a complete misnomer. Apart from this there are, as already said, a number of omissions from his book. He, for instance, skips over about a century and a half in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era and makes the eighteenth Sultan in Barros' list succeed the eighth in the same list. This gap, moreover, is not satisfactorily explained by the writer's information that the eighth Sultan was seventy years old when he began to reign and thereafter reigned for seventy years! In other places the reigns of two or more Sultans have already been elided into one reign. On the other hand, the British Museum manuscript supplies us with several interesting details which are not given by Barros.

Notwithstanding the abrupt ending to the British Museum manuscript, there is reason to believe that the *Chronicle* was continued—doubtless in

a somewhat sketchy form—right down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his *Voyage à Canton* (published in 1799) a French naval officer, named Charpentier Cossigny, says "I have some curious memoirs on the subject of Kilwa, which I can publish, if the public desires them, or if they will approve my work," but apparently the public was not responsive. When H.M.S. *Nisus* visited Kilwa in 1812, the officers were informed that "the Sultan boasts of his kingdom having been established for a period of 1200 years, that it was once extensive and powerful, and that written testimonies remain of the crown having descended without interruption in his family. These vouchers we have not seen, and being in Arabic, could not read, had they been published"; but they were assured that "they have continued their records to the present time." Possibly Sheikh Moheyddin had access to these records for the compilation of his abridgement, but it is perhaps too much to hope that in some place hitherto unknown a complete version of *Sinet el Kilwa* has survived to this day. One can only express the hope that the Arabic chronicle, to which Barros had access, may one day be unearthed from amongst the archives at Lisbon.

Doubtless John Milton would have stigmatised the different versions of the History of Kilwa as "obscure and blockish chronicles" written by those "shallow and obscure writers", regarding whom he had so many hard things to say in his History of Britain, but the manuscripts have a very real historical value and receive some measure of corroboration from the chronicles of other East African islands and seaports and from the writings of early Arab travellers and geographers as well as from archaeological remains. (2)

The earliest mention of Kilwa in any chronicle is to be found in one version of the Pate Chronicle (Bwana Kipini). In it we are told that "the beginning of these coast towns, he who first made them was a ruler called Abdul Malik bin Muriani (Marwan). The date was the seventy-seventh year of the Hijra (=697 A.D.). He heard of this country, and his soul longed to found a new kingdom. So he brought Syrians, and they built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa and Kilwa."

Abdul Malik bin Marwan (680-705 A.D.) was the fifth of the Ummayyad Caliphs. *Khabar el Lamu* (the Chronicle of Lamu) also states that Abdul Malik founded settlements in East Africa, though it does not specifically mention Kilwa as being one of them. In about the last decade of the seventh century of the Christian era Hajjaj bin Yusuf, Abdul Malik's governor of Iraq, invaded Oman and we are told that two brothers, Suleiman and Said of the family of El Azd, stoutly resisted him for several years. Eventually, however, their resistance was overcome and the brothers fled with their families and a number of fellow tribesmen to "the land of Zinj." It would appear possible that the two stories must be connected together. The forces of Abdul Malik, whose capital was at Damascus, drove Suleiman and Said out of Oman and they and their followers fled to the land of Zinj, where they established a number of settlements, of which, if the Pate Chronicle can be believed, one was in the region of Kilwa Kisiwani. (3)

I purposely do not say that these refugees from Oman established this settlement on the island of Kilwa itself. If they established it at all, they would appear to have done so on Songo Manara or else Sanji ya Kati.

According to Barros' version of the Kilwa Chronicle the founder of Kilwa found it necessary to defend himself "against certain settlements of Moors, who were his neighbours, and inhabited certain islands called Songo and Xanga". In his **Descrizione dell' Africa** (1526) Leo Africanus says that "without the port (sc. of Kilwa) lies Misa and three miles off Songo and Xanga which are inhabited by Moors." If Xanga was, as Barros says, an island, it would appear to be identifiable with Sanji ya Kati, where recent excavations by the Reverend Gervase Mathew and J. P. Moffett have revealed traces of a number of small oblong houses grouped around a central citadel. But with our present meagre data it may also be possible that Xanga is now represented by Sanje Majoma, the principal village on Songo Manara, where there are some ruins including those of a mosque. Songo is clearly Songo Manara, the northernmost point of which is separated from the southernmost point of Kilwa Kisiwani by about two miles of water at high tide.

On the northern point of Songo Manara are the remains of a minaret, which gave the island its name. This minaret appears in two of Alexander Dalrymple's **Collection of Charts of South and East Africa**. The earliest of these charts is dated 1786 and the latter 1794, but both are taken from earlier French charts. That of 1794 somewhat significantly styles the structure as a "ruined pagoda". When H.M.S. **Nisus** visited Kilwa in 1812, the building had completely collapsed. Before it became ruinous, it had been a useful landmark for mariners.

At the north-west end of the island there are at the present time the remains of a large walled town. The remains have been described by M. H. Dorman in the sixth number of **Tanganyika Notes and Records** (pp.68-70). The perimeter of the town walls is over one thousand yards. Within that perimeter are the remains of four mosques and three large rambling buildings. The largest of these mosques has what was evidently a guest house in close proximity thereto. Two of the other mosques are small ones built on to the town wall. One of the long rambling buildings would appear to have been the Sultan's palace. History knows nothing as to the origin of this city. Chinese coins, dating between 713 and 120 A.D. and pieces of porcelain have been found on the seashore, washed up from the reefs. The place of their discovery suggests that they came from wrecks, in all probability wrecks of vessels unsuccessfully trying to round Ras Sangarungu at the north end of the island. One must of course be on one's guard against attaching undue significance to the dates and place of origin of these coins. They need not necessarily have been recently minted when the vessel or vessels carrying them met with disaster and those vessels were in all probability not Chinese. Chinese coinage was constantly finding its way into foreign lands. A Sung historian records that during the tenth century of the Christian era it had taken flight abroad to many parts of the world, including East Africa, in such quantities that there was a cash famine at home, which had led in 970 A.D. to the issue of a paper currency. According to Dorman, native tradition ascribes the town's foundation to people from the south. If that tradition is correct, then the style of architecture suggests that they were a back wave of emigrants from Arabia or the Persian Gulf, who had originally reached some place farther down the coast or else the Comoro Islands or Madagascar in search of a home. The architecture definitely resembles that of other cities of Arab or Persian origin farther up the East African coast. But, as Dorman

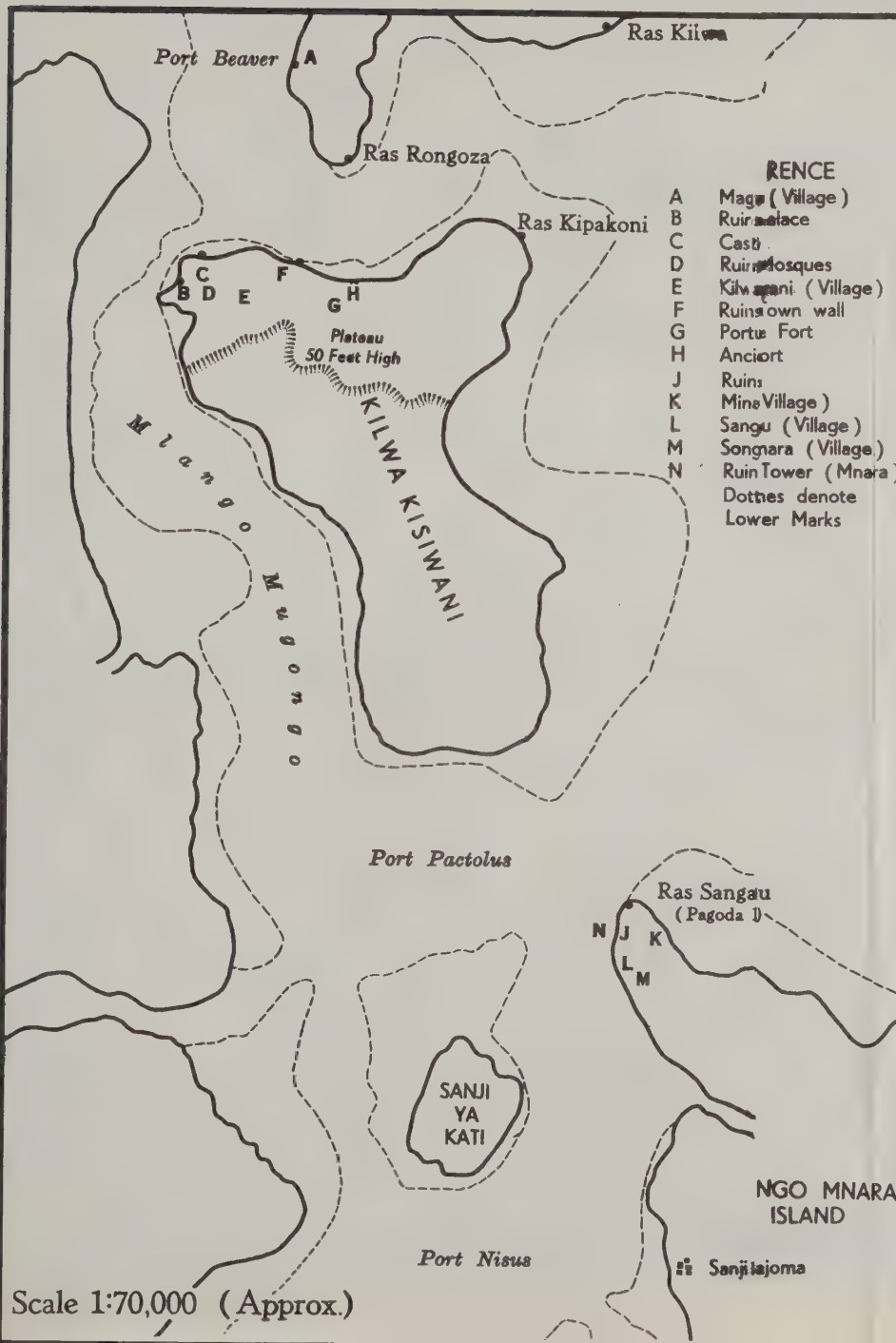
says, "whatever may be the origin or antiquity of Songomanara, there is no doubt that the buildings still standing are of higher architectural attainments than anything in Kilwa" and that the purity of the architectural details "suggests it was built before any degeneration in style (such as is to be found at Kilwa) had set in". According to Barros, the founders of Songo Manara and their descendants had prospered exceedingly. At the end of the tenth century of the Christian era the people of Songo and Xanga "ruled the land up to Mompana about twenty leagues from Kilwa."

The traditional history of Kilwa itself opens with the story of Sultan Hassan bin Ali, who migrated to East Africa from Shiraz in Persia with his six sons. They first of all made Mogadishu, which had been settled some seventy years before by people from the province of El Hasa in Saudi Arabia. Hassan and his sons were Shiites of the Zaydite sect and the people of Mogadishu were Sunnites. "As Hassan's intention was to found his own settlement of which he could be lord and not the subject of any other person, he sailed down the coast to this port of Kilwa." Other members of the party settled at Mombasa, Mundakha, Shoughu, Yunbu, Munfisa, "the green island" (Pemba) and Anjuan in the Comoro archipelago.

The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that "at the time of immigration Kilwa was an island only at high tide, for the water, as it subsided, uncovered a neck of land which it was easy to traverse on foot. The newcomers found a Muslim already settled there with his family, and a mosque. From him they learnt that the island belonged to the chief of the neighbouring district, called Almuli, who was absent on a hunting expedition. After a few days he returned to Kilwa, and the stranger, being pleased with the island, offered through the mediation of the friendly Muslim to buy it. The chief named his terms which were that the stranger should surround the whole island with coloured cloth. This was done, and the chief took the cloth and surrendered the island. All this while, however, he cherished the secret intention of returning with an armed force to destroy the immigrants and carry off their goods. This was guessed by the Muslim, who had acted as interpreter; so he warned the strangers to provide for their safety in time. Accordingly, as soon as the chief's back was turned, they set to work and dug a trench in the neck of land joining Kilwa to the continent. After a short time the chief re-appeared at the usual spot and waited for the tide to go down and leave a dry passage to Kilwa; but the water never subsided; and so he returned to his own country defeated and disappointed. And that is how Kilwa came to be an island."

The story of the acquisition of land by surrounding it with cloth or strips of hide is to be found in the traditions of other places. For example, it was in this manner that Dido acquired the site of Carthage from the local king, Hiarbas. Local traditions give one or two variants of the story as applied to Kilwa. Thus, Burton was told in 1859 by certain of the local inhabitants that the purchaser was "a certain Sheikh Yusuf from Shungaya" (near Kismayu) and that the vendor was "Nepondu, the heathen headman". Burton was further informed that the purchaser rid himself of all danger from the vendor in a much more simple and expeditious way than by deepening the channel between the island and the mainland. He 'won the savage's daughter, slew his father-in-law, and became the sire of a long race of Shirazi Kings of Zinj.' Forty years later Herr von Rode,

KILWA SIWANI



RENCE

- A Mag (Village)
- B Ruins of Palace
- C Castle
- D Ruins of Mosques
- E Kilwa Kisiwani (Village)
- F Ruins of town wall
- G Port of Fort
- H Ancient
- I Ruins
- J Mine (Village)
- K Sangu (Village)
- L Songara (Village)
- M Ruin Tower (Mnara)
- N Dotted lines denote Lower Marks

Scale 1:70,000 (Approx.)

a district officer in the German service, was told a story, which approximates more closely to that of the Arab chronicler. The newcomer was Ali bin Suleiman El Shirazi. The island was occupied by the Yassi branch of the Kinamarango tribe and was owned by Mzee Mrimba, the chief of Mschinga. Some time after the sale of the island, Ali married Mzee's daughter. Eventually Ali decided to buy the original inhabitants out. His father-in-law agreed to quit on condition that his son covered the road into the interior with cloth. This was accordingly done, but in order to make assurance doubly sure Ali deepened the channel between the island and the mainland. (4)

According to Barros' version of the Kilwa Chronicle, the approximate date of this settlement would be about 975 A.D. Barros further tells us that the founder of the Shirazian colony "began to subjugate his neighbours and he sent his son, a goodly young man, to rule over the island of Mafia and other islands in those regions". Thereafter, except for one or two brief interludes, the political connection between Mafia and Kilwa lasted for some eight hundred years. In this connection it is interesting to note that the great majority of the coins of the Sultans of Kilwa have been found on Mafia. (5)

As already mentioned, Songo Manara and Sanji ya Kati appear to have been already flourishing settlements when the Shirazian immigrants first began their colonisation of Kilwa. Doubtless, in the very early days the people of these two places could look on the efforts of the newcomers on the adjacent island with a lordly air of contempt. They may even have claimed to be the overlords of those newcomers. Barros tells us that five and a quarter centuries later, "the Cafres of the island of Songo, which is one league from Kilwa" claimed to have a say in the appointment of the sultans of Kilwa and this claim may well have dated back to the first days of the colonisation of that place. In 1859 Burton was informed of a somewhat confused tradition that Kilwa was once ruled by the "Wasongo, a tribe of Shirazis". (6)

If the people of Songo Manara or Sanji ya Kati originally assumed an air of patronage towards their neighbours of Kilwa, they had reason to adopt a different attitude about half a century after the arrival of those newcomers. At a date, which may be fixed approximately as being about 1030 A.D. the sultan of Kilwa, Daud bin Ali, was driven out of Kilwa and fled to Mafia where he died. His enemy is styled by Barros as the "king of Xanga", which it is suggested is Sanje Majoma on Songo Manara or else Sanji ya Kati. As the Arabic version of the chronicle tells us, the invader was assisted by a tribe called the Matamandalin, who clearly belonged to an indigenous African race. Neither version of the chronicle explains the cause of this war. It may have been a war of religion, as the people of Songo Manara and Sanji ya Kati would appear to have been Sunnites, whereas, as already said, the settlers in Kilwa were Shiites. It is even more likely that trade rivalry was responsible or it may be the island of Kilwa had become Naboth's vineyard. When Daud bin Ali was thus driven out, the visitors installed as governor of Kilwa a person who is stated to have been a nephew of "the king of Xanga" and whose name. Khalid bin Bakr, indicates an Arab origin. Khalid did not, however, enjoy the fruits of victory for long. After some two or two and a half years he "was driven out by the Persians of Kilwa", who put Hassan bin Suleiman bin Ali on the throne. This Hassan was a nephew of the recently expelled sultan and a grandson of the founder of Kilwa.

We learn from the Arabic version of the Chronicle that Hassan bin Suleiman "had not been long in possession before the enemy (sc. the Matamandalin) overran Kilwa a second time. Hassan fled to Zanzibar, and his place was given to an Amir (governor) named Muhammad bin El Hassan El Mandri, who belonged to an Arab clan from Oman which followed the tenets of the Sunnite Imam, Shafi'i—a fact which would appear to confirm the theory that Songo Manara was originally founded by political refugees from Oman. But the Amir did not enjoy office for long. "The people of Kilwa combined once more to overthrow the government of the stranger, and under the leadership of the son of the exiled Sultan they went to the house of the Amir and imprisoned him there. They sent a deputation to Zanzibar to bring back the Sultan. Meanwhile the Amir, who had managed to escape, hurried to the seashore to encounter the Sultan and oppose his landing, but he was slain by the followers of Hassan, who then returned in triumph to his kingdom."

After this second eviction we hear no more of Songo Manara for close on five centuries. When after that lapse of time the inhabitants of the place are once again mentioned, they are "Cafres", that is, pure-blooded Africans, and are no longer "Moors" or people of mixed African and Asiatic descent. Recent excavations by the Reverend Gervase Mathew suggest that part of the palace was occupied as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, as porcelain of that date has been found in the women's quarters. Pottery and coins of the fourteenth and fifteenth century have also been found amongst the ruins. This is of course evidence that portions of the site of the walled town were occupied during those centuries, but the occupants may have been no more than squatters amongst the ruins of the place. At Gedi a seventeenth century Arab grave amidst Shirazian ruins indicates that upon occasion the ready availability of good building materials could overcome a squatter's fear of the dead and the spirits of the departed in a ruined town.

One version of the Pate Chronicle (Bwana Kipini) tells us that Sultan Muhammad of Pate, who died in 1340 A.D., "fought the towns of the coast" including Kilwa, until he came to the Kerimba Islands. Again, according to the same version, during the reign of Omar, the successor of Sultan Muhammad of Pate, who died in 1397 A.D., "the Pate people passed on overland and fought the whole of the Mrima coast", including Kilwa and Kilwa Island. Another version of the same chronicle fixes Sultan Omar's death as occurring in 1348 A.D. and tells us that he "became very powerful and smote the whole of the Swahili towns till he came to the Kerimba Islands; he gained possession of all the towns from Pate to Kerimba, and in each town he placed a man of his own as judge." The Kilwa Chronicle says nothing of any such incursion by the people of Pate, but such silence does not necessarily mean that the incursion never took place. Songo Manara was far more exposed to a piratical raid than Kilwa and it may well be that the people of Kilwa watched with the utmost complacency the devastation of the neighbouring habitations of their commercial rivals. In the absence of any other evidence to suggest the fall of Songo Manara it seems not unreasonable to infer that its glory suddenly departed as the result of an attack by sea raiders such as the people of Pate appear to have been. (7)

To return, however, to the fortunes of the people of Kilwa, the chronicler descends to being little more than a genealogist during the next cen-

tury or so. He does inform us that certain of the Sultans of Kilwa were wicked men. Thus, in about 1114 A.D. he tells us that the inhabitants rose against Ali bin Daud, "because he was a wicked man, and (they) threw him alive into a well". Again, about twenty-five years later the inhabitants cut off the head of a Sultan, named Suleiman, "because he was a wicked man".

Nevertheless, it was during this period that Kilwa acquired the monopoly of the trade of Sofala, including the gold trade from what is now Rhodesia. Barros suggests that the discovery of this trade was more or less accidental.

"A man was fishing in a canoe outside the harbour of Kilwa close to an island called Miza. He caught a fish on the hook of a line, which he had cast into the sea. Thinking from the struggles of the fish that it was not very large, and not wishing to lose it, he weighed anchor and left himself to the whim of the fish. Sometimes the vessel went where the fish took it and sometimes where the currents, which are very strong there, took it, with the result that the fisherman was unable to reach the port from which he had set out. Finally, being more dead than alive, he came to the port of Sofala, where he found a ship of Mogadishu, which had come there to trade. In this vessel he returned to Kilwa and related what had happened and what he had seen of the trade in gold."

"It was part of the trade agreement between these Gentiles and the Moors of Mogadishu that they should bring every year some young Moors so that there might always be there certain people of this race. When the king of Kilwa learnt from the fisherman of this part of the contract and of the conditions thereof, he gave orders that a ship should be sent there so as to arrange to enter into commerce with these Cafres. With regard to the young Moors for whom they asked, he was ready to give so many cloths for each head for which they asked, or if they wanted these Moors so far as to have a race of them there, some of the inhabitants of Kilwa would agree to go and live there in a factory for merchandise and they would be glad to take their daughters as wives, by which means the people would be multiplied."

"By means of this entry the Moors of Kilwa got possession of the trade. In course of time by means of the trade which the Moors had with these Cafres, the kings of Kilwa became absolute masters of the trade in gold From that time onwards the kings of Kilwa sent their governors to Sofala, so that everything might be transacted through their factors." (8)

As will be seen, Sofala remained an appanage of Kilwa until a very few years before the advent of the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century. Some nine hundred miles of water separated Sofala from Kilwa. It was therefore very desirable and necessary that the people of Kilwa should be in possession of intermediate ports of call. A Duarte Barbosa tells us, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese they had such ports at Mozambique and the mouths of the Augosha and Zambezi Rivers, which were "all under obedience to the king of Kilwa" and were all good places for provisioning and watering. Barbosa also tells us that the Moors of Kilwa, Mombasa and Malindi came to Sofala in small vessels, bringing cloth and beads which they had obtained from merchant vessels from Cambay. (9)

The Moors of Sofala traded this cloth to the natives of the interior for gold and the natives were quite content to accept this form of barter without seeing the gold weighed, with the result that the Moors often "gained a hundred for one." Ivory and ambergris were also obtained from the natives and like the gold, was eventually sold to the Cambay merchants for further stocks of cloth. To a less degree the settlements at the mouths of the Angosha and Zambezi Rivers also supplied gold and ivory in exchange for cloth. As can be imagined from the above information, the persons who had more or less a monopoly of this description were the rand magnates of their time and their wealth brought increased prosperity to Kilwa.

In about 1140 A.D. the representative of the Sultan of Kilwa at Sofala was Daud, the son of the Sultan Suleiman, who, as already mentioned, was beheaded for his misdeeds. Daud was summoned back to Kilwa to succeed his father and is said to have reigned for forty years. He was succeeded by Suleiman bin Hassan, whom Barros obviously erroneously called his son. Barros tells us that Suleiman "with his father's support became master of the trade of Sofala and of the islands of Pemba, Mafia and Zanzibar and a large part of the mainland coast. Besides being a conqueror, he beautified the city of Kilwa, erecting there a fortress of stone and lime, with walls, towers and many other buildings, whereas up till that time nearly the whole of the dwellings of the city had been made of wood. All these things he accomplished during the eighteen years in which he reigned."

In view of the description of Kilwa given nearly a century and a half later by Ibn Batuta, one is disposed to think, that the chronicler's story of the beautification of Kilwa by Sultan Suleiman bin Hassan is somewhat exaggerated. But there is contemporary corroboration of the story of his conquest of Zanzibar. Yakut bin Abdullah Ur-Rumi was a Greek by birth, who was enslaved in his boyhood. After his master's death he became a bookseller and began to compile in Arabic a work called the **Mu'jam al Buldan**, or **Dictionary of the World**. The first draft thereof was ready in 1224. The book is best described as a geographical lexicon, containing in alphabetical order a list of all the places mentioned in the literature or stories of the Arabs. Concerning Kilwa he has nothing more to say than that "it is a place in the land of Zenj." But he has this to say regarding Zanzibar, which he calls Languja, that is, the Unguja of the Waswahili:

"A large island in the land of Zenj, where their king lives. All the vessels which trade in this coast come there to disembark. There are some vines, which bear fruit three times a year. **The inhabitants have been removed from this island to another called Tumbat (Tumbatu), the inhabitants of which are Muslims**". (10)

This migration from the larger island of Zanzibar to the adjacent waterless island of Tumbatu would in the circumstances appear to be due to the invasion and conquest of Zanzibar by Sultan Suleiman bin Hassan of Kilwa, whose reign came to an end about 1195 A.D. that is, some thirty years before Yakut penned the above words.

Except for the brief statement that one Sultan, whom Barros called "Hale Bonij" (? Khalid bin ?) (f.c.1222-1232 A.D.), "was the most fortu-

nate of his race, because anything that he undertook he accomplished," the Kilwa chronicler confines himself to bare genealogical details for close on a century after Sultan Suleiman's death. At the end of that period, there was a change of dynasty, the supremacy passing from the house of the founder of Kilwa to that Abu'l Mawahib. This change took place in about the year 1285 A.D. This is what the Arabic version of the chronicle has to say about it:

"Thereupon the kingdom was transferred from them to the house of Abu'l Mawahib. The one who took over the control from them was Al Hassan bin Talut, who was renowned for his mentality and fortitude. He seized the kingdom by force along with his people, but they were unequal to the government; so he became independent, and seized the kingdom by violence. The length of his reign was eighteen years. Then he died."

The Portuguese version of the Chronicle informs us that, in addition to being renowned for his mentality and fortitude, the usurper was "a most excellent horseman". Hassan bin Talut also minted the first known specimen of Kilwa coinage, a quantity of which has been discovered on the island of Mafia. These coins were of copper. Gold was regarded as a merchantable commodity, imported for purposes of resale and export at an enormous profit. As Ibn Batuta tells us, "most presents in this country consist of ivory, and gold is very rarely given."

The change of dynasty appears also to have involved a change of state religion. Whereas the old dynasty had been Shiite in origin, the members of the new dynasty were Sunnites of the School of Shaf'ii. At the same time one rather gathers that the new dynasty was not very securely seated on the throne. Hassan bin Talut was succeeded by his son Suleiman, who earned the soubriquet of Al Matun, or "the accursed". Barros tells us that he "was killed through treachery, when leaving a mosque, having reigned fourteen years." (c.1302-1316 A.D.). From a passage in the Arabic version (which, however, entirely ignores the existence of this Sultan) we learn that his assassins either came from, or else took refuge in, Mala. Close on fifty coins of Sultan Suleiman's reign have been discovered, mostly in the island of Mafia.

At the time of Sultan Suleiman's assassination his eldest son, Hassan, was on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he acquired great proficiency in sacred sciences. Another son, Daud, took temporary charge of the government until Hassan returned two years later, when Daud voluntarily renounced his claim to the throne. The AraB version of the chronicle tells us that "the first act of Abu'l Mawahib, as soon as he felt that his power was secure, was to avenge his father by chastising the people of Mafia. He ravaged the country and subjected it to his rule. And he was the first one to rule Mafia with absolute power until our time."

In 1332 A.D. Kilwa was visited by the greatest of Muslim travellers, Ibn Batuta, who tells us that

"Kilwa is one of the most beautiful and best constructed towns. It is built entirely of wood; the roofing is made of dis. The rains are plentiful. Its inhabitants are devoted to the *jehad* (holy war), because they live in an island close to the infidel Zenjs. Their chief qualities are their piety and devoutness and they profess the doctrine of Shafi'i."

Ibn Batuta also gives us the following personal details regarding Sultan Abu'l Mawahib:

"When I visited the town, the Sultan was Abu'l Mazaffar Hassan, who was nicknamed Abu'l Mawahib because of the number of his gifts (Mawahib) and acts of generosity. He frequently invaded the land of the Zenjs, attacking them and carrying off plunder, of which he took the fifth part and expended it entirely in the manner laid down by the Quran. He used to put the part which belongs to the Prophet in a separate chest, and when the Sharifs came to look for him, he used to hand it over to them. People used to come to him from Iraq and other countries. I found several people from Hejaz at his court, namely, Muhammad bin Jamez, Mansur bin El Fida bin Abu Nemi and Muhammad bin Jamalia bin Abu Nemi. This sultan is very humble; he sits and eats with Fakirs and venerates pious and noble men."

"I was with him one Friday, when he had just left the place of prayer and was returning to his house. A fakir stood in front of him and said: "Abu'l Mawahib". He gave answer to this Fakir: "Here am I. What is your desire?"—"Give me the clothing that covers thee."—"Very well, I will give it thee."—"This very hour?"—"Certainly, at once". He returned to the mosque and entered the preacher's house, put on other garments, and said to the Fakir: "Come inside and take them". The Fakir went inside, took them and tied them up in a cloth, placed the cloth on his head and went away. Those present bestowed their thanks upon the Sultan for the humility and generosity which he had shown. His son and heir apparent obtained the clothing from the Fakir and gave him ten slaves in exchange. On hearing how much his subjects were praising his act, the Sultan gave orders that ten more slaves should be given to the Fakir as well as two tusks of ivory; for most presents in this country consist of ivory and gold is very rarely given." (11)

Despite all that Ibn Batuta has to say in regard to this Sultan certain things call for comment. The Arab version of the Kilwa chronicle tells us that "in his time the mosque at Kilwa had fallen into such a state of decay that the people were obliged to worship in tents." Despite all his piety, Abu'l Mawahib did nothing to build a new place of prayer and a whole century was to pass before the mosque was restored. Then again, it is distinctly a matter for comment that, whereas both his predecessor and his successor coined money, there are no coins extant of the reign of Abu'l Mawahib. Finally, as will be seen, he appears to have left behind him an empty treasury. His fasts and his prayers, his rigid observance of all the rites of his religion and his lavish alms-giving doubtless made him the admiration of his age, but like many another "sore saint for the crown" he left a *damnosa hereditas* behind him.

Abu'l Mawahib reigned fourteen or, according to Barros, twenty-four years. His son would appear to have predeceased him and he was succeeded by his brother, Daud, who, as already mentioned, had acted as regent during Abu'l Mawahib's two years' absence in Mecca. Several hundreds of this Sultan's coins have been discovered—mainly in Mafia. The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that he was noted for his

piety, but Ibn Batuta tells us that after Abu'l Mawahib's death "his brother Daud became king and showed himself to be the opposite of him. When a poor person came to seek him out, he used to say: "He, who used to give is now dead, and has left nothing to give." Visitors used to stay for many months and then he used to give them a mere trifle; so that in the end nobody used to seek him out." He may have been parsimonious, but the evidence suggests that he succeeded to an empty treasury, which at the end of his twenty-four years' rule had once more been filled. The Arab version of the Chronicle says that, "in addition to being a pious ruler, he was the master of the princes of his time."

Barros tells us that Daud was succeeded by his son Suleiman, who, however, reigned for only twenty days, after which the throne was wrested from him by his uncle Hussein bin Suleiman Al-Matun. The uncle himself reigned about six years and a half (c.1364-1371 A.D.), when he "died a martyr in the holy war against the infidels of Almuli," that is, the mainland adjacent to Kilwa. He was succeeded by his son Talut, who died shortly afterwards whilst on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Another son, named Suleiman, succeeded Talut, but after a reign of a little over two years he was driven out by his uncle, likewise called Suleiman. Despite the fact that he is said to have reigned for over twenty-four years no coins of the unsurprising uncle have been discovered, whereas over five hundred coins of his nephew whom he supplanted have been found in Mafia, which may perhaps show that after his expulsion (c.1374 A.D.) from Kilwa that nephew established himself as an independent ruler on that island.

In about 1422 A.D. Muhammad bin Suleiman bin Ali Al Hussein Al Malik Al Adil became sultan. His nickname of Al Malik Al Adil means "the just king." He was also known as Al Matar Al Jadid, or "the new rain". The Arabic version of the Chronicle says "from his original post of Amir (governor) he was raised to the supreme power by the will of the nobles and people. When he undertook the government, everybody adhered to him and the great ones of the state obeyed him." Several coins of his reign have been discovered in Mafia.

It is not clear whether he deposed his predecessor, Hussein bin Suleiman (c.1399-1422), or whether he succeeded on this latter's death. But his original post shows that there had by this time come into being an institution which was later profoundly to affect the history of Kilwa. The rulers of Kilwa had by this date delegated a certain amount of their power to an Amir (governor), who gradually assumed a role not dissimilar to that of the mayors of the palace during the later days of the Merovingian Kings of the Franks. As time went on, the Amir, like the mayor of the palace, became sufficiently powerful to make and unmake Sultans and even to assume the sovereignty himself. Unlike Pippin of France, Muhammad Al Fadil was not sufficiently farseeing to suppress his former post. He not only appointed an Amir but also a Wazir (chief counsellor).

Muhammad Al Fadil was succeeded by his son, Suleiman (c.1431-1452). The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that:—

"It was in the reign of this sultan that the mosque was rebuilt, which in the time of Abu'l Mawahib we saw in a state of decay. A son of the Sultan Hussein bin Suleiman (ft.1399-1422), named Haj

Rush, asked permission of Suleiman to rebuild the mosque and Suleiman, whilst he granted permission, insisted on defraying the cost himself with a thousand mithkals of gold. Haj Rush objected to the condition, but, feeling that if he refused the condition he would lose the grace, he outwardly complied and took the money; nevertheless he built the mosque entirely out of his own resources, and when Suleiman died he was careful to return the thousand mithkals to his heirs. The work, however, could not be completed without divine assistance. The original columns had been of planed stone, but the workmen were incapable of restoring them; so the new columns had to be made of wood, and the difficulty of procuring it of the right size had almost brought the work to a standstill, when the providence of God guided the people to the discovery of some wood that in size and quality was exactly suitable. And against such as might be inclined to doubt the miracle the author appeals to the credible eye witness of two persons, one of whom was Sultan Muhammad, by whose order this book was written."

Confirmation of part of this story is forthcoming from an examination of the ruins of the mosque itself. As originally built, the mosque had a roof cut up into cupolas, which were supported by hexagonal pillars springing from simple pointed arches. To the north of this is a later addition, which must have had a flat roof and where there are no traces of stone pillars. (12)

It is interesting to note that the cost of restoration of the mosque was defrayed with gold. The mithkal (Portuguese "metical") was originally a weight. Barros tell us that in the early days of the Portuguese 500 meticals were deemed to be worth 584 crusados. Later, the exchange became regulated at the rate of 420 reis to the metical. But it would appear from this and from the already cited passage from Ibn Batuta that in Kilwa before the advent of the Portuguese the mithkal or metical was a measure of weight and not a coin. Gold was one of the commodities which the inhabitants of East Africa exchanged with Cambay merchants for cloth, beads and other articles of import. None of the Sultans of Kilwa ever struck **dinars**, or gold coins. From Portuguese records it would appear that the recognition of the golden metical as a basis of exchange originated with their visits.

Apart from the restoration of the mosque the only other event recorded in Suleiman bin Muhammad's reign is that the Amir Muhammad, who had been appointed to his post by the Sultan's father, tried to get the throne. He was unsuccessful, but the attempt was symptomatic of things to come.

Suleiman bin Muhammad had a son named Hassan but for some reason he was succeeded by his uncle Ismail bin Hussein. During this reign a pretender to the throne appeared in the person of one Said bin Hassan. The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that "he went to Zanzibar and begged the Sultan there, namely, Hassan bin Abubaker, to aid him in his designs on Kilwa. The Sultan consented. Accordingly Said and Amir of Zanzibar, named Zubeir, started for Kilwa, but the threatening coalition was dissolved by means of a trick, by (the Sultan) Ismail's Amir and governor, Muhammad bin Suleiman. Said himself reached

Kilwa with only four attendants, to learn that a reward had been offered by Ismail to anyone that would bring his head. At first he went in disguise to the house of the Kathi but, finding himself recognised, he fled and his goods were then seized by order of the Sultan. Eventually the tide of popular feeling turned in his favour. Hassan, the son of Sultan Suleiman bin Muhammad (fl.1431-52) sought him out and presented him to Ismail, by whom he was pardoned. Nevertheless he thought it prudent to live disguised and in retirement until Sultan Ismail was dead. In about 1453 A.D. he went with his father on a pilgrimage to Mecca. As will be seen, at a later date he succeeded in obtaining the throne.

After the death of Sultan Ismail (c.1466 A.D.), we are told that the Wazir Suleiman and the Amir Muhammad, who had held their respective posts ever since the days of Sultan Muhammad Al Fasil (c.1422-1431 A.D.), "debated the matter of the succession, and privately agreed that it ought to fall to one or other of them; so the Wazir, when he saw that public feeling was on the side of the Amir, withdrew in his favour and the Amir made himself Sultan." By this time both were getting on in years. The Wazir died within twelve months of the making of this arrangement and the Sultan followed him to the grave a few days later, after having appointed as Wazir, Said bin Hassan.

Barros tells us that after Sultan Muhammad's death "they chose as king a poor man named Ahmed bin Suleiman, because he was of the lineage of the kings, but he was unable to remain in power more than one year because of his poverty." During his reign the already mentioned Said was Wazir and Suleiman bin Muhammad, son of the Sultan, succeeded to his father's original post of Amir.

After Ahmed's abdication the Wazir and Amir set up as Sultan Hassan, the son of the former Sultan Ismail bin Hassan (fl.1453-1466). Before he became Sultan, Hassan bin Ismail had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca in company with his son Said and he appears to be the person who is called "Hassan the preacher" in later pages of the Arab version of the Chronicle. When Hassan bin Ismail became Sultan, his son Said was already Wazir. This and the esteem in which he was held for his learning no doubt accounted for the apparent peacefulness of his reign.

In due course the Wazir Hassan succeeded his father as Sultan. His death appears to have thrown Kilwa into confusion. According to Barros, "the governor (sc.Suleiman) of the place wished to set himself up as king and he remained in power for one year." During this time he made his brother, Muhammad (Kiwab), governor. This man had three sons. "As this tyrant was afraid of his nephews, because they were very good men, he sent them away from Kilwa to govern the lands subject to that place. Sofala was allocated to one of them named Yusuf... He was lord of that land at the time when Pero d' Anhaya went there to build a fort (sc.in 1505).... He was a blind man, whom Pero d'Anhaya found there and who styled himself king of Sofala, because he did not want to be subject to the kings of Kilwa on account of the rebellions and quarrels which existed in that kingdom." (13).

It would appear that Sofala was not the only place which seceded from Kilwa at about this time. Close on a hundred coins of about this date

have been found in Mafia bearing the name Daud bin Al Hassan, who may perhaps have been a brother of the Sultan Ali bin Hassan. But Daud bin Al Hassan is not mentioned in either the Portuguese or the Arabic versions of the Chronicle as having been a Sultan of Kilwa. As coining is generally regarded as being a royal prerogative, it may perhaps be legitimate to surmise that after the death of the Sultan Said bin Hassan, a brother of his named Ali set himself up as an independent ruler of Mafia. (14).

The usurper Suleiman ruled for no more than eighteen months. We are told by Barros that "in place of the tyrant the people set up as king Abdulla bin Hassan, the brother of the former Sultan Said, who after a very brief reign was followed by another brother named Ali." The approximate dates of this last named's reign were 1480-1482 A.D. During that time he struck a number of coins, over a thousand of which have been found in the island of Mafia.

After Ali's death the Amir, Muhammad Kiwabi, set up the Wazir Hassan bin Suleiman as Sultan (c.1482-1487), "with the object", as Barros tells, "that the said governor might be more absolute than the one who was in his hands. Nevertheless the people did not agree to this and they as soon as possible set up as king a member of the royal family called Sabhat bin Ali Malik Al Adil." But this legitimist ruler lived only for one year. On his death the Amir Muhammad, who had not opposed Sabhat's appointment, once more set up Hassan bin Suleiman as Sultan (c.1488-1493). As the Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us, "during his reign there was a disturbance amongst the people", some of whom went off on a pilgrimage to Mecca. It must also have been about this time that an Arab of Yemen, who had formerly received much hospitality at the hands of Sultan Said bin Hassan, returned to Kilwa in the hope of meeting once more with a similar reception. But we are told that the magnates of the country said to him: "We ask you not to come to us a second time, for the country has declined and the folk are enfeebled: so do not come here to disgrace us and yourself."

The Amir Muhammad and the ex-Wazir Hassan bin Suleiman fell out with one another for the second time, with the result that the latter was again deposed and Ibrahim, the son of the ex-Sultan Ahmed bin Suleiman Al Malik Al Adil, was set up as Sultan in his place. The ex-Wazir made an attempt to recover the throne, but the Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us "this, however, Muhammad in his desire for order and decency would by no means allow. He urged that Hassan was disqualified by the fact of his origin. He belonged only to a house of Wazirs, whereas the chief of the state was the descendant of kings... Nevertheless, Hassan held to his point until he had provoked a tumult with bloodshed; but in this Fortune declared against him and he retired a fugitive."

But Ibrahim failed to give satisfaction. After two years the Amir Muhammad deposed him. Muhammad then "determined to taste himself what he had so often bestowed upon others; so, having ejected Ibrahim, he assumed the style and performed the functions of royalty. When he had thus sufficiently gratified ambition or curiosity, he abdicated and called Alfudali bin Suleiman to the vacant place."

The author of the Arabic version tells us that Al Fudail became Sultan in 901 A.H. that is 1495-1496 A.D. As soon as he heard of the new Sultan's accession, the ex-Sultan Hassan made another bid for the throne. An ambassador was sent from Zanzibar to try to mediate between Hassan and Al Fudail, but he was told at Kilwa that "it was out of the question to eject a prince of the blood royal in favour of the son of a Wazir. When it happened before, it was for a reason which no longer existed." Before the ambassador could set out from Kilwa with this reply, the Amir Muhammad died after having in fact, though not always in name, ruled Kilwa for fifteen years. He was succeeded in office by his nephew Ibrahim, the son of the former Sultan Suleiman bin Muhammad. In the meantime the deposed Sultan Hassan was advancing on Kilwa and reached a place called Kisibi. The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that after parleying with the new Amir of Kilwa, "he despatched his son Said with a numerous following to Kilwa. They entered the town to all appearances like ordinary travellers, and took up their abode at their own houses. As soon as they were settled, the Sultan and Amir sent a large force to bring Said into their presence. At first he offered resistance, but he was overpowered and brought with some of his following before the Amir, who demanded the reason of his coming in such force to Kilwa. Said replied that his father had merely sent him to get a house ready for him, and that Hassan himself would arrive shortly, but with no hostile intention. When it was urged that he could hardly have brought such a large following, if he had not meant mischief, he again denied it; so, to make sure, they compelled him to swear to the truth of his denial by God the Most High and the Glorious Quran. He was then instructed to communicate the fact to his father, warning him at the same time to make no move that night, but to wait till the following day when he would be met by the Sultan and Amir and escorted peacefully to Kilwa. Accordingly the deputation set out, consisting of some of Said's followers reinforced by a party from the town. But when Hassan learnt all that had been done in his name, he killed those of them that belonged to Kilwa, and proceeded to advance on the place that very night. But the people were on the alert and kept guard with all their forces until daybreak, when they were suddenly attacked by the troops of Hassan. A great battle was fought, the result of which was so decisive, that Hassan's one care, when he heard of it, was to save himself by flight to (?) Maghamghub (?Magogoni*). Here he founded a kingdom which passed in succession to his son Muhammad and his grandson Hassan."

Barros tells us that Sultan Al Fudail "did not last for long" (*durou mui pouco*), but the Arabic Chronicle tells us that he was still Sultan when Vasco da Gama reached Mozambique on his first voyage round the Cape of Good Hope to India. Vasco da Gama reached that place on March 2., 1498. It appears to have been realised quite quickly what manner of people these newcomers were, notwithstanding that they had reached the East African coast by a route which had hitherto been unexplored. As Franks and Nazarenes they were clearly unwelcome visitors who could only be regarded as potential enemies. Vasco da Gama had intended to visit Kilwa after leaving Mozambique, but the current carried him past that place and, after calling at Mombasa and Malindi, he made his way

* There is a village called Magangani on the Ras Rongozi peninsula opposite to Kilwa, but it seems hardly likely that a rival hostile sultanate should have arisen and endured for three generations so close to Kilwa itself.

across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. Kilwa was to be spared a visit from him for another four years.

Barros tells us that, after Al Fudail ceased to reign "his governor did not want to make a king and held the kingdom in his power with the intention of keeping it in this state for a son of a deceased king Suleiman (bin Muhammad fl.1431-1452) who was a kinsman of the said Al Fudail, who had left no children except a son by a slave woman. . . . Although this Ibrahim was absolute lord of the city, the people did not call him king, but only Amir Ibrahim." Osorio, Castanheda and Goes state that a certain Muhammad "Ankoni", of whom more will have to be said at a later stage, subsequently informed the Portuguese that the Amir Ibrahim had murdered the Sultan Al Fudail. But it is to be observed that Barros does not make this allegation. More significant still is the silence of the Arabic version of the Chronicle on this point. It has to be remembered that the author of that version composed it on the instructions of a nephew of Al Fudail and one would have thought that he would have mentioned the murder, if the story thereof had the slightest foundation in fact. It has also to be remembered that the story of the murder originated from a man who played the part of a quisling in the history of Kilwa, and that it was to the interest of this quisling to blacken the character of the Amir Ibrahim as much as he could. In the circumstances there appears good ground for mistrusting any allegations made by him. (15)

As Barros says, the people of Kilwa quickly realised that Vasco da Gama's first voyage in the Indian Ocean was not likely to be an isolated one. It was for that reason that they preferred to leave the question of the succession to the throne in abeyance and to leave the Amir Ibrahim in charge of the affairs of state.

The first Portuguese visitor to Kilwa was Pedro Alvares Cabral, who arrived in the harbour with six ships in July 16, 1500. Two years before, Vasco da Gama had fired on some Arab boats off Mozambique and news of this had of course reached Kilwa. Though Cabral was of a different character to Vasco da Gama, it is not surprising to learn that his visit was regarded with the utmost suspicion. Cabral announced that he was the bearer of a letter from the King of Portugal and that he wished on behalf of his master to have an interview with the ruler of Kilwa. In reply he was told that he must come on shore. To this Cabral demurred saying "the instructions of the king his master forbad him to do so, except to give battle to whomsoever refused to receive him in friendship; nevertheless, in honour of so great a prince, the most that in the circumstances he could do for the purpose of the meeting was that he, Pedro Alvares, would leave his ship in a boat or wherry, and the other could embark in a zambuco, and the two would meet at sea in front of the city." On receipt of this message the Amir temporised for two days by offering various excuses, but Cabral insisted that the meeting should take place. Then, as the Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us, "the Amir and people would not venture to let the Sultan go in person; so they disguised one Lukman, son of Al Malik Al Adil, in the fashion of royalty and sent him instead." The interview between Cabral and the *roi faineant* accordingly took place. Cabral put forward several proposals, to which Lukman could only reply that he must communicate them to his principal councillors. He promised to give a reply in two days' time, and then procrastinated saying "that the

principal men of his council were gone away to wage war against the Cafres and then, when they came back, he would reach a decision." Sheikh Omar, a brother of the friendly king of Malindi, happened to be in the harbour at that time. From him Cabral learnt that the ruler was making use of the respite to repair the town's defences and to bring in Africans from the mainland. Sheikh Omar managed to persuade the inhabitants to supply water to the Portuguese vessels, but the crew had to go on shore to fetch it. On landing they found the water pots had been broken by one of the Amir's servants, named Haji Ibrahim, who was half witted.

"When", Barros tells us, "Pedro Alvares saw that this business could not now be finally settled without effecting a landing, he called a council of war on the matter and it was agreed that it would be most inconvenient to risk the men on such a small enterprise as the punishment of this Moor for his malice and that it would be better for the King's service if he continued his voyage and left this punishment till another time." So Cabral and his ships continued their voyage to Malindi and thence to India.

Before leaving Kilwa, Cabral left on shore a ship's carpenter, named Antonio Fernandes. This man was one of those *degradados*, or political or criminal prisoners, who accompanied the early Portuguese expeditions "to be ventured on land" as spies to spy out new countries. The Arabic version of the Chronicle tells us that "the people were at first in doubt whether they should receive the uninvited guest; but in the end their fear of the power behind him prevailed and they quartered him upon a distinguished citizen, named Muhammad bin Rukn Ad Din Al Dabuli. This man was a merchant of great wealth and high character, under whose guidance the Christian spy made himself acquainted with all the internal affairs of the country, small and great. Muhammad was peculiarly fitted to act as an informer, seeing that he had long been meditating treachery on his own account." According to Fernandes himself his host was secretary to the treasury and, if it had not been for Muhammad, the people of Kilwa would have killed him.

Muhammad bin Rukn's clan name is interesting. It suggests that he belonged to a tribe whom native tradition calls the Wadebuli. According to those traditions they were the earliest inhabitants of Mafia. Possibly these people may also be identifiable with "the Wadebuli, a Muslim clan", who according to a story told to Burton at the time of his visit in 1859 were the original occupants of Songo Manara. Tradition suggests that they were of Asiatic origin, but beyond the resemblance of the name there is nothing to connect them with Dabhol on the west coast of India. What would seem to be clear is that Muhammad bin Rukn, who figures in Portuguese chronicles as Muhammad Ankoni, was not a native of Kilwa. The fact that he had no sense of allegiance or loyalty to the town serves largely to explain his subsequent conduct.

In 1501 another Portuguese fleet called at Kilwa under the command of a Spaniard, named John da Nova. According to Barros, "they were welcomed more by words than deeds." Antonio Fernandes got in touch with John da Nova, and explained to him that he thought Muhammad Ankoni was a man "who could be trusted in our affairs". Da Nova accordingly got in touch with Muhammad and "found him so faithful, that he would

have met with some disaster, if this other had not warned him of the treacherous manner in which the king was preparing to receive him". These last are the words of Barros. The Arab Chronicler tells us that John da Nova came "in appearance but in commerce, but in reality a spy" and that "he too made friends with Muhammad in whose treacherous schemes he saw his opportunity." In other words, Muhammad Ankoni, as a man of considerable wealth, had decided that the Franks and Nazarenes were the safest people to back. To return to Barros, he tells us that, without in any way showing his mistrust of the ruler of Kilwa, John da Nova "bade him farewell with all possible caution" and set sail for Malindi and thence for India. (17)

On July 12, 1502, Vasco da Gama anchored in front of Kilwa with a large fleet. Barros tells us that "the city was much alarmed and saw with terror the manner of the admiral's entry, firing all the time with a continuous roar of artillery." The Arab chronicler tells us that Antonio Fernandes at once proceeded on board and gave Vasco da Gama the full information as to the political state of Kilwa and more "especially that the Government was in danger from the influence and wealth of Muhammad (Ankoni)." He advised the admiral to demand an interview with Amir Ibrahim. "At first the people were inclined to play their old tricks and send a substitute, but the spy was too acute for them." So after a certain amount of parleying it was agreed that the Amir and the Portuguese commander should meet on the water. In order to reassure Ibrahim, Vasco da Gama provided him with a safe-conduct.

The Amir Ibrahim accordingly proceeded by water to meet Vasco da Gama, accompanied by Mohammad Ankoni and two "lawyers", named Ayub and Omar. Vasco da Gama was also there in his boat and the two met amidst much pomp and ceremony. The Amir Ibrahim was persuaded to enter Vasco da Gama's boat. He was then told that he must acknowledge the King of Portugal as his overlord and pay tribute. Ibrahim demurred. Vasco da Gama then announced that, unless he consented, he would burn the city and kill all the inhabitants. An old man, who had accompanied the Amir, begged for a respite so that they might go on shore and consult the council. The Portuguese Commander refused, and repeated his former threat. After a hasty conversation with the few elders who were with him, "the King, constrained by the manifest peril in which he saw his life and city, and counselled by his people, granted all the captain-major asked, begging him not to add afterwards further demands, which the captain-major promised him". The King then promised to hand over forthwith jewellery, gold, and silver to the value of five thousand crusados (or over £2,000 of contemporary English money). He also "sent for his scribe from the shore with a leaf of gold, upon which all was written down, and signed by the king and those who were with him."

In his *Lendas da India* Gaspar Correa tells us that Muhammad Ankoni had urged Ibrahim to make this visit to the Portuguese commander. The "King" now had his revenge. Correa tells us that "he said to the captain-major that he would be pleased if Mohammed Arcone remained there until he sent him what he was to send; at this the captain-major was very much pleased, and the king left with him two other Moors besides."

Amir Ibrahim then went on shore and sent provisions to the ships. Vasco da Gama agreed to wait several days to enable the king to collect

the tribute money. In the meantime the Portuguese crew were allowed on shore "to amuse themselves, without doing injury or outrage, because so the captain-major had ordered it to be proclaimed under pain of death; and none dared stir against that because they had great fear of him. But nevertheless the city was much damaged, because no one would take upon himself to complain." Later complaint was made that some of the sailors had carried off to the ships a number of the wives of the inhabitants and Vasco da Gama, who was a strict disciplinarian, had to give orders for their release. Meanwhile the tribute money was not forthcoming and eventually Muhammad Ankoni announced that he had received a message from Ibrahim bidding Muhammad pay the tribute himself, "since he had deceived him, and made him go and speak with the captain-major." In response Vasco da Gama ordered the hostages "to be stripped naked and bound hand and foot, and put in his boat, and to remain thus roasting in the sun until they died." When the "king" heard of this, he sent a message to Vasco da Gama saying "he had not sent the money only in order that he should ill-treat Muhammad Ankoni, who was bad and proud and had done him many injuries."

In description Muhammad Ankoni sent ashore to his house for a jewelled necklace worth ten thousand crusados. After receiving this, Vasco da Gama released the hostages.

After receiving the tribute money Vasco da Gama gave the Amir Ibrahim letters patent in the name of King Manuel of Portugal, declaring that Manuel accepted the "king" of Kilwa as his vassal and in consideration of the payment of tribute he would undertake to defend and protect him. A banner having the royal arms of Portugal was also placed on the top of a tower in the Sultan's palace. All this having been done, the Portuguese set sail for Malindi and thence for India. When eventually Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal the gold, which had been paid as tribute, was worked into a monstrance for the church of Our Lady at Belem. The monstrance is now in the Museum of Ancient Art at Lisbon. (18)

In 1503 a single Portuguese ship called at Kilwa. This was commanded by Ruy Lourenco Ravasco, who had become separated from his two companions during a storm in the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed twenty-two days at Kilwa waiting for his companions. Corret tells us that during that time the ruler of Kilwa, who was greatly alarmed by what had happened at the time of Vasco da Gama's visit, "did him much honour", which Ravasco repaid at the time of his departure by handing over to him two zambucos from the rival state of Mombasa with their Moorish crew. (19)

In February, 1505, Lopo Soares d'Alvarenga reached Kilwa on his return voyage from India to Portugal. He demanded the tribute which Amir Ibrahim had agreed to pay. But by this time the Amir had regained some of his courage and the Portuguese commander met with a flat refusal. D'Alvarenga had only two ships with him and set sail for Mozambique without making any attempt to extract the tribute by forcible means. (20)

The people of Kilwa nevertheless realised that they had met only with a respite and that the day would soon come when the Portuguese would arrive in force to demand their dues. Preparations were therefore put in hand to put the island in some state of defence. In all probability it was

at about this date that they started to erect the building, which the local inhabitants now call Husuni and which lies about half a mile to the east of the walled town of Kilwa. They evidently had realised that by allowing Vasco da Gama's fleet to anchor right opposite to the town itself, they had placed themselves entirely in his hands. So they decided to erect a fort at a spot nearly opposite to that at which Ras Rongozi projects out from the mainland and thus reduces the width of the harbour approach. Here Husuni was erected on the edge of a cliff about fifty feet high commanding a view over the outer reefs to the Indian Ocean, and protected on its west side by a natural moat in the shape of a gully. But either because the work was started too late or else because of lack of building materials or because of great dilatoriness, the fort was never completed. Later in 1505 Amerigo Vespucci, who was to give his name to the two continents in the western hemisphere, landed on the island in the course of certain operations, which will be described later, and found there "a castle with four towers., which was fully half built." This half built fort would appear to have been Husuni.

Before d'Alvarenga could reach Lisbon and report that the ruler of Kilwa was recalcitrant, a large fleet had set sail from that place for India under the command of Francisco d'Almeida. The royal instructions to him sealed the fate of Kilwa. D'Almeida was to seize Sofala, erect a fortress there, and gain possession of its gold trade. A fort was also to be erected at Kilwa to protect the Sofala gold trade. If the "king" of Kilwa showed himself loyal to Portugal and had paid, or was willing to pay, tribute, no harm was to be done to him personally, unless he opposed the building of a fortress and factory. But even if the "king" were to make an unqualified submission, "we have been assured that the king and the merchants who are there possess great wealth" and steps should be taken to acquire it.

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(3) **Pate and Lamu traditions as to foundation of Kilwa.**

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(4) **Acquisition of Kilwa from local chiefs.**

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(5) **Mafia.**

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(6) **Wasongo.**

Burton—*op.cit* ii. 361, 362.

(7) **Pate conquests in S.E. Africa.**

Stigand *op.cit.* p. 38, Warner—**A Swahili History of Pate** (printed in **Journal of Africa Society** xiv. 158, 159).

(8) **Discovery of Safala.**

This story appears in Barros—**Da Asia**—First Decade, Book i, Chapter i.. It had been translated into English. Theal *op.cit.* vi 273, 274 and into French by Guillain *op.cit.* i. 179.

(9) **Kilwa Settlements South of Cape Delgado.**

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(10) **Conquest of Zanzibar.**

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(11) Ibn Batuta's visit to Kilwa.

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(12) Restoration of Kilwa Mosque.

Dorman *op.cit.* p.65.

(13) Yusufu, Sheikh of Safala in 1505.

Barros *op.cit.* First Decade, Book viii, Chapter vi, and Book x, Chapters ii & iii. Translated into English in Theal *op.cit.* vi. 243, 273-281.

(14) Daud bin Al Hassan.

Walker—**History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa** (printed from **Numismatic Chronicle** Fifth Series, Vol. xvi, 2, 29, 30.

(15) Fate of Al Fudail.

Goes—**Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel**—Part ii, Chapter ii, and Oserius—**De rebus Emmanuelis** (Gibb's translation i, 230) and Castanheda—**Extractos do Descobrimento e Conquista da India** Book ii, Chapter iii, allege, on the strength of information given by "Muhammad Ankoni to Francisco d'Almeida, that Al Fudail was murdered at the instigation of the Amir Muhammad. Against this, however, must be set the fact that Barros—*op.cit.* First Decade—Book viii—Chapter vi—and the Arabic version of the Kilwa Chronicle make no mention of the murder.

(16) Cabral's visit to Kilwa, 1500.

Axelsson—**South-East Africa, 1488-1530**, pp. 49-51 and Welch—**South Africa under King Manuel** pp. 157-158 give the fullest accounts in English. Theal *op.cit.* i. 7, iii, 93 vi. 200 gives translations of extracts from Portuguese Chroniclers.

(17) John da Nova's visit to Kilwa, 1501.

Axelsson—*op.cit.* pp. 54-55, Welch *op.cit.* pp. 150, 159, Theal—*op.cit.* iii. 98, vi. 207.

(18) Vasco da Gama's visit to Kilwa, 1502.

The fullest account in English is a full translation of **Lendas da India** of Gaspar Correa, Hon. E. J. Stanley—**The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama** pp. 291-302. Other accounts in English are to be found in Axelsson *op.cit.* p. 57, Welch *op.cit.* p. 159, Theal *op.cit.* i. 9, iii. 100, v. 374, vi. 213.

(19) Ruy Lourenco Ravasco's visit to Kilwa in 1503.

Axelsson—*op.cit.* p.9, Theal *op.cit.* i. 10, vi. 216.

(20) Lopo Soares d'Albergaria's visit to Kilwa in 1505.

Axelsson—*op.cit.* p. 60, Theal *op.cit.* iii. 105.

(To be Continued)



Ahmed bin Nooman

Sir John Gray, who has very kindly made the above portrait available, writes as follows:—

After seeing the photograph of Ahmed bin Nooman I wrote to make enquiries of the Director of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. He informs me that the original is a portrait in oils, which was presented to the Museum in 1918. The artist was a certain Edward Mooney. Shortly after Ahmed's arrival the New York Common Council voted five hundred dollars to purchase his portrait. Ahmed was invited to sit and Mooney was selected as the artist. He also made a copy, which is now in the Peabody Museum. The original is still in the New York City Hall.

The Director informs me that the portrait was the subject of an article in the **Century Magazine** (New Series) LVII 935 (November, 1909—April, 1910), which is entitled "An Odd Portrait in the New York City Hall". According to that account Ahmed brought gifts from Seyyid Said bin Sultan to President Van Buren, which are said to have included two Arab horses, a couple of lions, and assorted textiles and perfumes, but there is nothing in Ahmed bin Nooman's accounts which indicates the presence of horses or lions on board **El Sultani**.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ARAB ACCOUNT BOOK, 1840-1854.

by Abdurrahim Mohamed Jiddawi

In Volume 13 of the **Uganda Journal** Mr. H. B. Thomas published an article dealing with some correspondence, which was captured in Uganda in 1895 from some Arab or Swahili slave traders and which was translated by Sheikh Yahya Alawi, now an Administrative Officer in the Zanzibar service.

Doubtless a great deal of such correspondence has been, and still is being, thrown away as waste paper, but we nevertheless think there must still be a good deal of it surviving in the families of prominent Arab traders who in the old days ventured into the heart of Africa and even as far as the Congo. We would, for example, give a great deal to be allowed to see the correspondence or the account books of the famous Tippu Tib or his partner Rumalisa.

Recently there has been brought to light in Zanzibar an account book which was once the property of Ahmed bin Nooman, the Persian secretary of Seyyid Said bin Sultan of Zanzibar. The owner was entrusted by the Sultan with a number of business commissions, which appear in his account book and which supply interesting information about Arab life in East Africa a hundred years ago.

These notes are written in the hope that publication of some of these details may induce owners of letters and other books of the like nature to produce them. It is hoped that it will be shown by the particulars given here that old business letters and account books often contain really interesting information about the past which sometimes cannot be obtained from any other source.

The full names and title of the person who kept these accounts was El Haj Ahmed bin Nooman bin Muhsin bin Abdulla El Kaabi El Bahrani. As the last of these names shows, he was a native of the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf; and as the title prefixed to his name shows, he at some time or other went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was the private secretary both to Seyyid Said bin Sultan, ruler of Zanzibar and Oman, and to his son Seyyid Majid bin Said. In **The Lake Regions of Central Africa**, Burton tells us that Ahmed bin Nooman was more generally known as Wajhayn, or "Two Faces"—a name which appears to tell us a great deal. Colonel Hamerton, the British Consul at Zanzibar, wrote in 1855 that

"The Imaum has not any regular Ministers, or Secretaries for different Departments; he has two men who write his letters and convey messages to Europeans. These men are ill-paid and not trustworthy—the one here, Ahmed bin Nooman, is a man of dangerous character—given to falsehood and double dealing, and always asking for one thing or another, but the Imaum understands him."

Perhaps Seyyid Said bin Sultan understood amongst other things that, when he commissioned his secretary to receive money on his behalf, the secretary would in all probability appropriate to himself a certain portion of the sum received as a temporary loan and that he would be fairly liberal

in his debit of his own out-of-pocket expenses to his master. The account book shows that "loans" and "personal expenses" of this description were quite frequent items in Ahmed bin Nooman's business transactions.

In Rajab, 1270, (March, 1854) Ahmed bin Nooman was commissioned by "Our Grand Master Seyyid Said bin Seyyid Sultan—may God save him—" to sell the shamba of the children of "the late brother", Seyyid Ali bin El Maburri El Seyyid Sharaf. It would appear that the property had come into the Sultan's hands because the children of the deceased owner either were minors or else were not residing in Zanzibar. Therefore the Sultan took charge of the property in his capacity of protector of all properties of minor or absent heirs. The shamba was sold to one Suwedi bin Songoro for 3,375 dollars. There were a number of slaves on the shamba but these were not included in the sale price. Each of them had to be bought by the new owner separately. The highest price was sixteen dollars. The lowest price was five dollars for "a slave suffering from fever and very weak". By the Sultan's orders certain freed slaves of the late owner were given presents of from ten to five dollars. Ahmed bin Nooman himself got a commission of one and a half per cent on the transaction which amounted to fifty-two dollars.

The total purchase price of shamba and slaves (less commission and payments to the freed slaves) came to 3,725½ dollars. Ahmed bin Nooman informs us that

"We have put the above amount in seven bags. In each bag there are five hundred dollars, and there is one bag which has in it two hundred and twenty-five and a half dollars. We handed over the whole amount to our Grand Master, Seyyid Said bin Seyyid Sultan—may God save him—according to his obeyed command on 18th Rajab, 1270, (March 16, 1854)".

The accounts in connection with the voyage in 1840 of "the blessed ship" El Sultani from Zanzibar to New York give a lot of information which should be interesting to modern readers.

The vessel was built as a man-of-war to carry twenty guns at Matrah in Oman. Its tonnage is not known, but it would appear to have been quite a small ship. It is described as a corvette, that is to say, as a vessel having three square-rigged masts and carrying portholes for its guns under a covered deck. After the final subjugation of Mombasa in 1837 Seyyid Said bin Sultan had no longer any need to maintain a large navy on a war footing. He accordingly converted a number of his fighting ships into merchant vessels and despatched them with merchandise to India, Europe and elsewhere. A treaty of commerce and friendship had been concluded between Seyyid Said and the United States of America in 1833 and thereafter American vessels had frequently called at Zanzibar bringing trade goods in exchange for the produce of East Africa, Southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Seyyid Said therefore decided to send his own ship to America to see whether regular trading voyages to and from that country would be profitable.

Ahmed bin Nooman sailed in **El Sultani** as supercargo. He gives the captain's name as "Darnkeh". Though Seyyid Said employed Arab Nahodas to sail his ships in the Indian Ocean, it was his usual practice to engage

a European or an American for a voyage to the west of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, on **El Sultani's** next voyage, which was made to England in 1842, he employed one Captain Wilson, who was the brother-in-law of the American Consul at Zanzibar, but I find it difficult to anglicise Captain Darnkeh's name.*

A certain Suleiman would appear to have been second in command and to have been responsible for the discipline of the crew. When **El Sultani** reached New York, he dismissed two of the steersmen and eventually himself took a passage from New York for London at a cost of one hundred dollars, which were provided out of money belonging to his royal master—whether with or without his knowledge or consent I cannot say.

The **El Sultani** must have left Zanzibar towards the end of 1839. Her cargo comprised the following:—

- 300 carpets (from Persian Gulf)
- 1,035 hides (probably in part from the Persian Gulf and in part from East Africa)
- 1,287 sacks of dates (from Arabia)
- 100 bags of coffee weighing 664 frasilas less five pounds (from Mocca)
- 108 ivory tusks (from East African mainland)
- 138 bags of cloves (from Zanzibar)
- 71 boxes of gum copal (from East African mainland and possibly also a small quantity from Zanzibar)

The consignment of cloves is interesting. The weights of two of the bags are not given, but the total weight of the remainder was 664 frasilas less five pounds, or 23,235 lbs. When Captain Hart of H.M.S. **Imogene** visited Zanzibar in 1834, he reported that the island produced "a few cloves", but the Sultan was "improving the island by planting clove trees and sugar cane, which thrive in a remarkable manner". In the following year some officers of U.S.S. **Peacock** visited the Sultan's shamba at Kizimbani, which "contains nearly four thousand trees, and each tree yields, on average, six pounds of cloves a year". There is no indication as to the shamba or shambas from which **El Sultani's** cloves came, but this consignment is the earliest known record of a large export of cloves. The cloves sold for \$9,892.90 or something over fourteen dollars a frasila, or about two shillings a pound.

Most of the cargo belonged to the Sultan, Seyyid Said bin Sultan, but some belonged to "our grand lord Seyyid Khalid", the Sultan's second son, who in 1844 was nominated by his father as successor to his African possessions. Colonel Miles gives us the following information regarding this son:

"Khalid was born in 1819 of a Malabar concubine, who had a great influence over Said and did not scruple to use it; he was a man of a mean and penurious disposition, and was as much despised by the Arabs as he was petted and indulged by his father. His energies were entirely absorbed in trade, by which he amassed a great fortune, and on account of this he was known and generally spoken of as the "Banian". . . . Khalid, after a long illness, died on November 7th, 1854, (about two years before his father)".

El Sultani appears to have reached Cape Town in January, 1840, where she took fresh water, additional stores, and some ship's tackle. Mr. "Jess" or "Geish", the American Consul, acted as agent for the ship, but not gratuitously. On January 7, 1840, he sent in an itemized bill which included his own commission.

El Sultani set sail from Cape Town and reached Saint Helena at the end of March 1840. One item in Ahmed bin Nooman's account reads as follows:—

"cost of one bottle of perfumery for the Liwali of Saint Helena, on 9th Moharram (March 31, 1840), \$10.00".

Another item of expenditure was \$46.48 for fresh water.

From Saint Helena **El Sultani** appears to have taken a north-westerly course straight across the Atlantic to New York and to have called at no other port on the way. The voyage of some five thousand miles appears to have taken rather less than a month, which was very good time for a sailing vessel. On May 2 the ship was in New York harbour and an entry in the account book shows that by that date a very considerable portion of the cargo had already been sold. On May 22 the vessel left New York and was towed sixty miles up the Hudson River to Newburgh, where it stayed until July 20, 1840, when it was towed back to New York. It cost twenty dollars to tow **El Sultani** upstream, but only fifteen to tow her downstream. The reason for this voyage is not clear from the accounts any more than is an item of \$9.57 "paid for carts and fares from Newburgh to New York whilst we were there". One guesses that this river voyage must have been undertaken in order to load a rather special cargo for the return journey to Zanzibar. As will be seen, the return cargo included a vast quantity of china and glass ware, which obviously needed handling with care. The payment for the carts shows that there was no railroad in 1840 between New York and Newburgh and that it would be both cheaper and safer to convey goods of this description by water with as few transshipments as possible—more especially as many of them were intended for Seyyid Said and his son Khalid. This would, however, appear to have been the first, and perhaps the only, time that the red flag of Zanzibar was ever seen on any of the inland waterways of the United States of America.

The return journey to Africa must have begun in the very last days of September, 1840, or the early days of October. The charges for towing **El Sultani** out of the dock, which come to sixty-two dollars, are dated 10 Jamadul Akhar, 1256, or September 28, 1840.

Most of the cargo from Zanzibar appears to have been purchased in New York, but the accounts show that the dates were sent to purchasers in Philadelphia and Boston. Some of the goods had to be put into a saleable condition before they could be put up for sale. Thus, the accounts show that the hides had to be cleaned. Seventy of them were in such a damaged condition that they fetched only \$59.4, or less than a dollar a piece, on being sold. An expense of \$37.12 was incurred for packing boxes of gum copal and charges for carriage of the same to the house of the purchaser.

The return cargo included the following:

- 10 cases containing 30 guns each.
- 300 barrels of gunpowder
- 667 dozen large saucers
- 550 yards red joho
- 2 boxes of red beads
- 4 barrels and one box of white beads
- 20 dozen boxes of gold leaf or leaf metal, each leaf being 16 x 15 inches
- 125 bales (amounting in all to 88,101 yards) of Amerikani cloth.

The above appear to have been general merchandise intended for sale on arrival in Zanzibar. The guns and gunpowder rather look as if they were intended for sale to prospective caravan leaders, as no doubt were the beads. The large quantity of gold leaf was undoubtedly intended for sale to **fundis** for the purpose of gilding ornaments.

Other purchases were the result of special commission. Thus, fifty-three of the carpets on board belonged to Said bin Khalfan bin Ahmed and the proceeds of sale thereof were used to pay part of the cost of two chandeliers which Ahmed bin Nooman purchased for the vendor. Two bags of cloves were the property of Said bin Hamed bin Jaad. They sold for \$53.87 and this money was used towards the purchase of two mirrors costing \$68.47. As the painting or drawing of pictures of men and animals was declared by the Prophet to be unlawful, strict Muslims at this date were fond of hanging mirrors as decorations on the walls of their houses.

Other commissions came from far more important persons. Thus Khalid appears to have had a sweet tooth. Amongst other goods bought for him in New York were ceases of pineapple syrup and orange syrup and bottles of almonds covered with sugar as well as a supply of crockery.

One other commission of his should be mentioned. On one page of the account book there is the item:—

“Cost of one watch and one shot gun for Suleiman bin Hamed by order of Seyyid Khalid, \$73.”

This was a present from Seyyid Khalid to a senior member of his family, who had once been his tutor and was now his principal adviser. Colonel Hamerton gave the following description of Seyyid Suleiman in 1855:—

“He is not a clever man, but a kind, good sort of person; he is the adviser of the Imaum's son at Zanzibar, and was Regent during the minority of the Imaum's late son the governor, the Prince Khalid, who died in November, 1854. This man has much influence with the pagan chiefs on the coast of Africa”.

He is said to have been born in the same year as Seyyid Said bin Sultan, namely, 1791. He outlived both the Sultan and his son, Khalid, dying on December 10, 1873, when over eighty. He was Wazir (adviser) to three Sultans, namely, Said, Majid and Barghash. When he died, Sir John Kirk reported that he had always been a great supporter of the ruling family in Zanzibar, and after Seyyid Said bin Sultan's death all the people looked to him as the father of the house of El Busaidi.

During **El Sultani's** stay at New York certain members of the crew appear to have got themselves into trouble. One item in the accounts reads

"Paid to the Police in New York for two people who had been arrested, \$8.00".

This rather suggests that each of the offenders had to pay a four-dollar fine, but an item recording a payment of eighty dollars "to brother Mohammed Abdulla for crew and the Policeman" is a bit more mysterious. Perhaps further inquiry would be impolitic. Another item reads:—

"Paid to Mr. Lex, a police officer, who kept policemen to stop people from coming on board the ship, \$53.00".

The reason for this arrangement is shown by Colonel Hamerton, who tells us that during the visit the crew "were tormented continually by the mob crowding to see the Arabs, looking on them as a curiosity. Their privacy was intruded on; they were pulled by the beards and otherwise insulted".

Just before **El Sultani** sailed on her return voyage, the New York police had to be called in again and twenty dollars had to be paid out to them "for two sailors who tried to run away on the day we were to leave New York".

There appear to be no items in the account book relating to the incidents of the return voyage. All we know is that **El Sultani** reached Zanzibar in safety and set out again in 1842 for England, partly on a political and partly on a trading mission. Seyyid Said bin Sultan does not appear to have repeated the experiment of sending a ship to America. Ahmed bin Nooman's accounts are somewhat difficult to untravel but the voyage to New York would appear not to have been profitable. Port, customs and wharfage dues, incidental repairs to the ship and commissions paid to agents appear to have involved a lot of expenses and to have eaten up a good deal of the money available for the purchase of a return cargo.

The crew may have disliked the behaviour of the citizens of New York, but it is clear that Ahmed bin Nooman was greatly impressed by his visit to the United States. Whilst in New York he had his photograph taken. A copy of it is still in possession of his descendants in Zanzibar. In the back-ground on the left of the photograph there is depicted a three-masted man-of-war, which is intended to represent **El Sultani**. On his return to Zanzibar Ahmed was loud in his praises of the Americans and full of disparagement of the English. On February 3, 1842, the British Consul, Colonel Hamerton, described him in a letter as "a fellow who went to America in the Imaum's ship **Sultaneh** and who has led all hands to believe that we are a very inferior people to the Americans".

As already seen, Ahmed bin Nooman continued to be entrusted with commissions by Seyyid Said up to the latter's death in 1856. After his master's death Ahmed continued to work for the new Sultan, Seyyid Majid, but on October 5, 1860, Colonel Rigby reported that "the Secretary to His Highness Syed Majid, a Persian, by name Ahmed bin Nooman, who

was for many years the confidential secretary of the late Imaum, is now in so feeble a state of mind and body that he is unable to give information". As an inscription on one copy of his photograph shows, Ahmed lived for ten years more after this report was made, dying in the year 1286 of the Hijra, corresponding to 1870 A.D.

AN EARLY HISTORY OF MOMBASA AND TANGA

Written by Sheikh Omari bin Stamboul*
and translated by E. C. Baker

Translator's Note.

[The typescript of this History was formerly among the files in the office of the Bezirksamtmann of Tanga and I made copies of it in 1918 or 1919. When I searched for it later it had disappeared; what has happened to it I cannot say.

It may, perhaps, be questioned whether such records are worth publishing, for much of the contents is legendary, the facts are often garbled and the genealogies are incomplete, but we have so few records of past events in East Africa that every item of information is worth preserving. Legends often refer to past happenings if only one can unravel the clues, while incidents and genealogies afford means of checking up on other similar records.

The translation is practically literal except in the matter of the genealogies. These I have tabulated as it is irksome to read that "so and so ruled and when he died so and so ruled" and so on *ad infinitum*.]

Kadhi Hamisi bin Salim has asked me for information as to why the land of Mvita is called Mombasa and what happened there in early days.

The reason for its being called Mombasa is that in the ancient days there was a Portuguese ruler named Mombasa. And he was a great ruler and had armies and many vessels and soldiers and much war material and he used to sail everywhere and take with him his soldiers with their rations and weapons. And many chiefs feared his might and the town of Mvita was called Mombasa after him. And when Almighty God wished to disrupt his kingdom, it so happened that a daughter of one of the important families of Mvita went to draw water at the well beneath the fort and the Sultan (i.e. Mombasa) was drunk and desired her. But she refused him so he caught her by force and drew his sword threatening to kill her. And the girl became terrified and he ravished her though she was a virgin. And when her father and relatives heard the news they were exceedingly embittered.

Now in those days Imam Seffu bin Sultan bin Malik Liyaarbi was Sultan of Muscat and he had a vessel which sailed round the coastal towns collecting information and when the captain of this craft entered Mvita, the relatives of the girl told the captain what had happened and made an agreement with him. And Mombasa was a great drunkard and did not cease his drinking either by night or day and this dhow-captain returned to Muscat and reported to Imamu Seffu bin Sultan; for he had made a covenant with the people of Mvita to bring Imamu Seffu bin Sultan to Mvita.

Then Imam Seffu bin Sultan collected the people of Muscat to take counsel with them and they decided to send Amiri Shahadadi bin Shauta, Rajihajir, Baluchi, who was born at Makarani in the Muslim year 1060 and

died at the age of eighty-two. He was born in the town of Jehe in Makarani and when he was eighteen years and nine months old he went to Imam Seffu bin Sultan who, when he saw him, liked him greatly and appointed him to be generalissimo. Every town which he attacked he conquered in a few days and his rank was increased until the other Amiris, his companions, grew envious and intrigued against him with Imam Seffu bin Sultan but he refused to listen to them.

Eventually Imam Seffu bin Sultan sent Shahadadi bin Shauta to Mvita; ostensibly to trade there. And he bought clothes and fruits and dates and everything which would be appreciated in Mvita and embarked on his dhow, which was named Fedhul on the Muslim day of Friday the 4th of Rabii Liawali, 1086 and reached Mvita on the 17th of the same month, which was a Thursday. And the people of Mvita lodged him in a house in the town and for two months he bought and sold and gave many presents to the townsmen. And he praised the conduct of Imam Seffu bin Sultan telling the people how he ruled with justice and treated his people in kindly fashion and loved them. Until the hearts of the people of Mvita, when they heard that justice stood with Imam Seffu bin Sultan, prompted them to appeal to him but they agreed among themselves to say nothing to anyone for they feared that Chief Mombasa would forceably enter their houses and confiscate their property.

And he (Mombasa) subjected the people to every kind of oppression until, one day, a woman of Mvita went by on her way to the beach. When Sultan Mombasa saw her he desired her but the woman refused him which made him desire her the more and, when she refused him again he told her "I will kill you". The woman submitted in fear of death so he ravished her and kill her.

When her husband and her family heard what had happened they beat the war drum with the intention of going into battle but Amiri Shadadi bade them desist and told them. "You will not be able of fight him for he is powerful and has many soldiers and much money. He will stop vessels coming to you and you will get no more food while his vessels will go to every land to bring food. He will shut himself in his fort and no bullet can pierce it nor can it be climbed by a ladder nor can it be entered. He will fight you every day with guns and bombs; he will break down your homes and burn your dwellings. You will be scattered on the mainland and, in the bush, you will be poor and weak—no-one will listen over the your regrets will not avail. When the people of Mvita thought over the words of Shahadadi they saw that they were true and they agreed to follow his advice and to drop their plan of fighting. And Shahadadi told them, "Send one of your young men with a letter from you to Imam Seffu bin Sultan at Muscat telling of your afflictions and how you are situated and give him a firm promise". And he further told them, "For my part, I will tell Imam Seffu bin Sultan all that has passed from the first to the last and, if Almighty God wills, steamers and dhows will arrive with cargoes of money and soldiers and weapons and food. You will be together, you and Imam Seffu bin Sultan."

And they favoured this plan and their hearts cooled and they sent a man with a letter and with him went the messenger of Amiri Shahadadi. And when they reached Muscat Imam Seffu bin Sultan was pleased with them and made ready to wage war. He sent vessels and money and 4,000

soldiers in eleven vessels and 2,000 men in dhow—altogether 6,000 soldiers and when they arrived at Mvita the soldiers landed and they fought by land and sea. Food and arms came regularly from Imam Seffu bin Sultan at Muscat and the Chief Mombasa became afraid when he saw that the strength of Imam Seffu bin Sultan increased daily. And in the fighting the men of Chief Mombasa were defeated fourteen times—except once when they attacked suddenly when the Amiri had gone on board his war vessels and they killed 2,000 men of Imam Seffu bin Sultan. Soon the Amiri came ashore and was told the news and, after that day, Amiri Shahadadi never left another man in charge but always stood himself in every fight.

Eventually the soldiers of King Mombasa grew afraid and complained to each other, saying, "Imam Seffu bin Sultan cannot but rule the land because you have forsaken the Christian religion. You drink wine, you rob people of their property, you eat things which are forbidden, you have spread fornication, your wilfulness passes the limits of the law and violates all truth. On this account the Arabs have been helped. But yesterday, your ruler Mombasa caught a woman and wanted to lie with her but she refused and he killed her. Who has ever done such a thing. You want help that the kingdom may endure but no kingdom has ever endured except by pursuing the course of justice. Without doubt Christ is angry at your violent deeds."

They all said, "You speak the truth; we have done so and he (the speaker) answered them "Your kingdom must cease because of your many iniquities."

So the Arabs fought for a long time—about four years. But King Mombasa wanted to conquer them by guile and he wrote a letter to Amiri Shahadadi asking for a truce for fifteen days in which to think; his intention being to fight them by surprise attacks by day and night. But in the fort was a man who heard of this stratagem and he wrote to Amiri Shahadadi telling him of the trick and asking him to write to King Mombasa telling that that the request to cease fighting was extended for a further fifteen days but that Mombasa should beware, for anyone acting treacherously would himself suffer.

After four days the festival of Mombasa's people took place and they drank wine and danced and became very drunk.

In the meantime Amiri concentrated two hundred warriors under the west side of the fort at two o'clock in the morning. Now on that side the wall was low, so they made short ladders and, on a night of rain and thunder they entered the fort. Abdulwahibi was the first man to enter and they killed the defenders one by one and opened the doors and ruled in Mvita.

They then reported to Imam Seffu bin Sultan at Muscat. Amiri appointed Muhammed bin Athman, Mazrui, to be Liwali and he remained in office for fifteen years after which Imam Seffu installed Liwali Masudi bin Nasir who ruled for twenty-five years. Then followed Abdullah bin Muhammed for a period of eight years and after him Liwali Hamed bin Muhammed for thirty-three years. They were succeeded by Abdullah bin Hamed for ten years, Selemani bin Ali for two years and after him Salim bin Hemedi for ten years, Hamisi bin Hemedi for two years and Rashidi bin Salim for two years. Altogether there were nine Mazuri Liwalis and they ruled in Mvita for a span of one hundred and seven years.

Liwali Hamisi bin Hemedi was deposed and Rashid bin Salim was appointed in his place. But Nassor bin Hemedi plotted with the Swahili to expel the Mazrui and for this purpose they went to bring Seyyidi from Muscat. Those who went were Mwalim of Mwishafi and the people of Mji wa Kale and they took letters to Seyyidi at Muscat asking for Nassor bin Hemedi to be appointed Liwali. Seyyidi came to wage war and they led him through the town and harbour. Seyyidi retained the port of Makupa and fought Rashid bin Salim and Arabs and Swahilis. Rashid was repulsed but he still occupied Likoni until, during the night he went to Jonvu. Salim Mazrui was killed and Rashid heard the news as he lay behind the fort and in his retreat, he went along the shore to Jonvu in search of food and then passed on to Makupa. Mwinyihamisi of Mtai was killed by gunfire; Seyyidi kept his soldiers in the fort and Rashidi was expelled and lived on the main road.

Seyyidi kept askaris Viriboto and Baluchi in the fort and brought his son, Halidi bin Said, and Said Selemani bin Hemedi and Shehe Muhadini bin Shehe. He imprisoned twenty-five Mazrui and deported them to Makarani on the 14th Lihaji, 1245.

During the period when the Mazrui held the posts of Liwali, Stamboul bin Bwanakombo was appointed Liwali of Tanga. He resigned and Liwali Kassim bin Gharib succeeded him and he was succeeded by Akida Chuma. Akida Chuma was Liwali when the Mazrui Arabs were imprisoned by Seyyidi.

Then Akida Reza of Hoho came from Gazi and robbed the people who were living at Tanga. A Banyan, Mona, was robbed and so were the Shihi-ris and a Bohora woman was robbed and killed. So Mona went to Zanzibar while Akida Reza and his men built a fort at Tanga. Seyyidi at Zanzibar heard the news and sent Seyyid Selemani bin Hemedi who, after passing through Mvita, recruited soldiers and defeated Gazi. The Arabs of Gazi retreated with the Akidas:—Akida Bwashehe, Fundi Hamsini an Arab, Said bin Hemedi, the father of Kamadan (?) and Muhammed bin Gaharani. Seyyid Selemani bin Hemedi then waged war against Tanga and Tanga was defeated and set on fire. The people of Tanga retreated and went back to Gazi and all who lived there were under the orders of Seyyidi. When Gazi was defeated and the fight came to Tanga Akida Reza and Akida Chuma had built forts on the shore at Mbuyukenda and one on the shore at Mkwakwani and one, also on the shore, at Chumbageni.

Then came the forces of Seyyidi and destroyed the fortifications and set Tanga and Chumbageni on fire. All the people of Chumbageni and Tanga fled to Mvuuni and Digo—there were shops at Mvuuni; some of the refugees were at Mvuuni and some at Mzingo and Kwatembo. Fifteen days later peace was declared and the people returned to the town. The houses at Tanga and Chumbageni were but little damaged by the fire.

Seyyid Seffu bin Selemani then returned to Zanzibar leaving fifteen soldiers in Tanga. Shehe Muhadini and Ahmadi bin Shehe, the Liwale, built forts on the Island. In those days all the people lived in the town of Tanga. Later, there was a disagreement between the Wasegeju of Chongo-leani and Wakiongwe because of the murder of Mkandi Haji by the Wasegeju. Thereupon the Wakiongwe followed Ahmed bin Shehe, Liwali and went to the island.

The following Liwalis were appointed and succeeded each other—Ahmed bin Shche who retired and was succeeded by Ali bin Mansuri, who died; Abedi Hathwareni was appointed and expelled; Selemani. Baluchi, retired; Jemadari Abdallah Baluchi, died; Muhammed bin Abedi expelled; Selemani bin Abedi succeeded him and was dismissed for striking Sarhani bin Abdulla with a sword.

In the reign of Seyyid Majid, Abdullah bin Ali, Mazrui, was Liwale and died. The Salim bin Muhammed who died. Muhamadi bin Abedi succeeded and was expelled in the reign of Seyyid Barghash. Then followed Nassor bin Muhahmadi Liyarubi who was expelled and Zahoro bin Muhammadi who was also expelled. Saidi bin Rashidi followed and he was dismissed for fighting with a Mazrui who launched a dhow. Salim bin Saidi Lifarsi followed and was dismissed, Saidi bin Halifani Saadi was dismissed, Seffu bin Shekhani, Liaduwani, was dismissed; Saidi bin Rashidi (for the second time) was dismissed; Hashili bin Salim, Lidhadabi, was dismissed; Saidi bin Halfani Tobi dismissed; Salim bin Saidi Lifarsi (second time) dismissed; Harubu bin Hamad Lihusni dismissed; Habis bin Slin, Lihusni, dismissed; Hemedi bin Salim, Lihusni, dismissed; Selemani bin Nassor, Liharusi, dismissed. Zahoro bin Suwedi was installed in Selemani's stead.

On the 17th Rajabu. 1305, Seyyid Barghash died and Seyyid Halifi came to the throne. In the time of Zahoro bin Suwedi the Germans waged war and Zahoro fled and was succeeded by Muhammadi bin Hawetor, Lihusni. When the German regime was established they appointed Liwali Kombo bin Waziri who was dismissed and, following him, Liwali Muhamadi bin Selemani, Liharusi, who was also dismissed. Then came Liwali Abdallah bin Ahmedi, Liajmi, who is Liwali up to the present time.

This is the record of what I know of the history.

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NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA (TANGANYIKA)

By P. J. du Toit.

HISTORICAL

The coinage of this territory is to some extent linked up with its history and development. A few general remarks may therefore be of interest.

In the tenth century A.D.* the Arabs moved southward along the East Coast of Africa and founded many towns, some of which (e.g. Mombasa, Kilwa, etc.) still exist to-day.

Then, after Vasco da Gama's visit in 1498, the Portuguese occupied the country, but they were forced to leave it again about 1740.

In the nineteenth century the sultans of Zanzibar held sway over a narrow strip of coast on the mainland of Africa, otherwise the territory opposite to the island of Zanzibar was practically a no-man's land.† And then in 1884 Dr. Carl Peters (who has been described as 'the Cecil Rhodes of Germany') appeared on the scene.

Carl Peters was determined to acquire colonies for Germany in Africa. From his friend Count Joachim von Pfeil, who had lived in South Africa, he learned that the country opposite Zanzibar belonged to nobody and was suitable for colonisation. So they founded the "Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation" (28th March, 1884) with funds, mostly from private donations, amounting to 3 to 4 million marks (£150,000-£200,000).

On 1st October, 1884, Peters, Von Pfeil and a few of their associates departed for Zanzibar. Bismarck was not sympathetic towards the undertaking and warned them that the Reich could offer them no protection. Nevertheless they proceeded and on 10th November, 1884, the expedition landed on the mainland of Africa. They crossed the strip of country claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar and then struck inland. They encountered many difficulties and all of them got ill, but in spite of this they covered a great distance and, in a very short space of time, concluded treaties with several native chiefs.

On the 19th December the main part of the expedition returned to Zanzibar, a few members having remained behind on the mainland. Peters hurried back to Germany. His friends were enthusiastic and, in view of Bismarck's unfriendly attitude, they approached King Leopold of Belgium in the matter. The Congo Conference was on at the time and the King was more than willing to extend his colonial empire to the Indian Ocean.

* And, probably, long before this—Ed.

† Although sovereignty was only effectual in the coastal areas it was claimed over the interior as well—Ed.

Then suddenly Bismarck swung round and one day after the close of the conference, on 27th February, 1885, he and the Kaiser (Wilhelm I) signed a Charter for the "Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation", of which Carl Peters was one of the chairmen. In September 1885 the name of the Company was changed to the **Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft**.

The territory acquired by Peters in the few weeks of his sojourn in Africa extended north and south of Morogoro on the present central railway line and west as far as Mpwapwa. Immediately after obtaining the Charter the territory was enlarged. Negotiations were carried on with the Sultan of Zanzibar from 1887 on, with a view to acquiring the coastal strip.

In April 1888 the Company took over the administration of the strip. A treaty with the Sultan was to come into force on 15th August, 1888; but on that date a rebellion broke out. The aid of the Reich had to be invoked. The Reichstag voted the money on 2nd February, 1889 and Von Wissmann was sent out a month later to suppress the rebellion. By March 1890 the rebellion was over.

The negotiations with the Sultan were resumed and were concluded in July 1890 with the payment of 4 million marks. The actual boundaries of the territory were laid down in the treaty with England of 1st July, 1890, by which Heligoland was ceded to Germany and England obtained suzerainty over Zanzibar.

On 1st April, 1891 the German Government took over the administration from the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft and the territory became a German colony known as **Deutsch Ostafrika**.

COINAGE

It will be convenient to deal with the coins of German East Africa under three headings:

- (a) Coins issued by the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft;
- (b) Coins issued by Deutsch Ostafrika;
- (c) Coins minted in German East Africa during World War I.

(a) Coins issued by the D.O.A. Gesellschaft.

This Chartered Company was granted the right of mining coins. The work was undertaken by the Royal Mint in Berlin and between 1890 and 1902 a large quantity of silver and bronze coins was issued. According to one record 708,000 silver rupees and 31 million bronze pesas were minted between 1890 and 1893. It should be noted that whereas the Company ceased to exist in 1891, coins bearing the inscription Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft on the reverse side continued to be minted until 1902.

The series comprises the following coins:—

1. Two rupees. Silver. Obverse Kaiser Wilhelm II with helmet and eagle and the inscription "Guilelmus II Imperator." Reverse Coat of Arms with palm and lion; inscription "Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, Zwei Rupien" and the date.*

* No attempt is made here to give a detailed description of these coins, nor are my records sufficiently complete to give a list of all the dates when the several denominations were minted.

2. One rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to 1. Reverse similar except "Eine Rupie."
3. Half rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to 1. Reverse similar except " $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupie."
4. Quarter rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to 1. Reverse similar except " $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupie."
5. Pesa. Bronze. Obverse German coat-of-arms with inscription "Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft" and date. Reverse inscription in Arabic in wreath.

(b) Coins issued by Deutsch Ostafrika.

From 1904 until the outbreak of the war in 1914 coins were minted for German East Africa, both by the Berlin Mint (A) and the Hamburg Mint (J). This series comprises the following coins:—

1. One rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to previous series. Reverse crossed palm leaves and inscription "I Rupie" with date and mint mark (either A or J).
2. Half rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to 1. Reverse similar except " $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupie."
3. Quarter rupee. Silver. Obverse similar to 1. Reverse similar except " $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupie."
4. Ten heller† (100 heller—1 rupee). Nickel. Hole in centre. Obverse crown with streamers, date and "Deutsch Ostafrika." Reverse two branches; inscription "10 Heller" and mint mark (A or J).
5. Five heller. Nickel. Similar to 4 except "5 Heller" on reverse.
6. Five heller. Bronze. Obverse crown with streamers, date and "Deutsch Ostafrika." Reverse two branches; inscription "5 Heller" and mint mark (only J).
7. One heller. Bronze. Similar to 6 except "1 Heller" on reverse.
8. Half heller. Bronze. Similar to 6 except " $\frac{1}{2}$ Heller" on reverse.

The following list‡ gives the dates when these coins were minted. The list may not be quite complete.

1 Rupee A. 1904, 1905, 1906, 1909, 1911, 1913.

1 Rupee J. 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.

$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee A. 1904, 1906, 1909, 1913.

† The term Heller was used in Austria before the first World War to denote a hundredth part of one Krone which, at that time, was equivalent to one French franc.

‡ For which I am indebted to my friend Dr. W. O. Neitz of Onderstepoort.

- $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee J. 1906, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.
 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee A. 1904, 1906, 1909, 1913.
 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee J. 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.
 10 Heller A. 1911.
 10 Heller J. 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1914.
 5 Heller (Nickel) A. 1913.
 5 Nickel (Nickel) J. 1913, 1914.
 5 Heller (Bronze) J. 1908, 1909, 1910.
 1 Heller A. 1904, 1905, 1906, 1912, 1913.
 1 Heller J. 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Heller A. 1904, 1905.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Heller J. 1905, 1906.

(c) Coins minted in German East Africa during World War I.

In 1916 coins were struck at Tabora, on the Central Railway Line. It is stated that the minting was done in the railway workshops in Tabora. All the coins bear the "mint" mark T (for Tabora).

Only three denominations were minted:

1. 15 Rupees in gold; sometimes referred to as "the Tabora pound", although it is smaller than, and the gold content is less than that of the British sovereign. It is a beautifully made coin and shows on the reverse side an elephant with trunk raised and mountains in the background, also the date 1916 and the mint mark T. On the obverse side is the German coat-of-arms and the inscription "Deutsch Ostafrika, 15 Rupien." There is in existence a variety of this coin, but as I have not seen it myself I cannot indicate in how far it differs from the commoner specimen. Apparently two separate dies were used in the minting of these coins.
2. 20 Heller in brass or copper. These coins (and the 5 heller pieces) are rather crudely made. The metal used was, according to reports, obtained from empty shell cases and probably other sources. On the obverse side is a crown with streamers, somewhat similar to the design on coins Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in the Deutsch Ostafrika series, also the date 1916 and the letters DOA as well as the mint mark T. On the reverse is a wreath and "20 Heller."

Two dies were used for the 20 heller coins. In the one the crown on the obverse side is bigger and the lettering smaller than in the other. The differences on the reverse side are less noticeable.†

3. 5 Heller in brass. Obverse similar to 2; reverse "5 Heller" and the mint mark T. It will be observed that the mint mark appears on the reverse of the 5 heller piece, whereas on the 20 heller piece it is on the obverse.

† No attempt has been made to describe in detail all the varieties of these coins which exist. The main object of the present article was merely to introduce the whole subject. The hope may therefore be expressed that some other numismatist will supplement and, where necessary, amend or correct the information here supplied so that we may eventually have a complete picture of this interesting chapter of African numismatics. (Some further details are given in the **Handbook of Tanganyika**. This unfortunately is now out of print, but a revised edition is in preparation.—Ed.).

It has been stated that the 20 heller and 5 heller pieces are rather crude and it seems most probable that the dies were "hand-made" by some craftsman in Tabora. On the other hand, the 1'5 rupee pieces must have been struck with dies made by an engraver of great skill and artistic ability. It is safe to assume that these dies were made in Germany, and the question arises how were they brought to East Africa in 1916? It is, of course, possible that they might have come through neutral countries, but it seems more likely that they were delivered in German East Africa by a German submarine.

ZANZIBAR TO MASASI IN 1876 THE FOUNDING OF MASASI MISSION

By Archdeacon R. Lambourn

On the 18th October, 1876, the inhabitants of Lindi saw a small British Gunboat with a dhow in tow approaching the entrance to the bay. The warship for some reason lighted blue flares. The Arabs amongst the on-lookers were quite clear as to the reason for the blaze. "See", they said, "have we not always said so? The seamen on that ship have captured a slaving dhow and now they are burning the slaves". These slave traders lost no opportunity to make Africans fear release. The warship was H.H.S. **Flying Fish** (Captain Crohan, R.N.), and the dhow did indeed contain slaves, but released slaves, who were being brought to Lindi with the intention that they should found a settlement up-country. These released slaves were part of an expedition consisting of three Englishmen: Chuma, Livingstone's faithful servant; and some seventy Zanzibari porters under Chuma's orders. The released slaves numbered thirty-one men, twenty-two women, four boys, and two girls. The party had left Zanzibar on 16th October, and now they had arrived at their chosen landing place, Lindi, after quite a rapid journey.

Captain Crohan gave the three Englishmen a very happy time on board the **Flying Fish**, which was engaged in anti-slavery patrols on the East Coast of Africa. It will be well to note these three men. The first was Bishop Steere whose 'Swahili Grammar' is still a standard text book. He had done this journey before when he had made his way in spite of great difficulties as far as Mwembe, in Portuguese East Africa, the capital of Sultan Mataka, of the Yao tribe, between the Lujenda and Rovuma rivers. That was in 1875; and now he was coming back to plant this colony of released slaves at a spot that he had heard of in his journey, called Masasi; or perhaps, if all went well, they might be able to find a place even further up-country, perhaps near Mwembe itself; perhaps they might even be able to take some of the released slaves right back to their own almost forgotten homes near Lake Nyasa. *

The second Englishman was William Johnson, a Cambridge rowing "blue" who had come out to the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, of which Bishop Steere was the head. He was later to make himself a name as a great pioneer missionary, and died at Liuli in the Songea District, after a lifetime of service to Africa, in 1928, but not before the University had conferred on him the rare honour of giving him an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

The third Englishman, Beardall by name, has achieved less fame than his two companions, but he must have been a "good fellow" even as Johnson writes of him. No sooner had the party reached Masasi and settled there, than he went with no European companion to Mwembe, a journey of some two hundred miles, and came back with wonderful stories of that country, burning alive and other excitements. After that he was alone with Johnson for six months at Masasi; and they must have been very trying months, for Johnson was ill with tropical ulcers and some slight nervous disturbance that made him suspect that everyone was in league against him. It speaks much for Beardall that things went as well as they did during that first year at Masasi.

Chuma was a Yao from the south of Lake Nyasa. He had been rescued from slave raiders, and had been taken on by Rowley, one of the original members of the Universities' Mission, as his personal servant some years previously. At that time Livingstone was in constant touch with the Mission that had been founded at his suggestion, and some years previously, when the conduct of his own Makololo followers became intolerable, he took on Chuma, (together with Susi and a boy called Wikitani) as one of his personal servants, and Chuma accompanied Livingstone's body on that remarkable last journey to Bagamoyo. He had been to England to give an account of Livingstone's last travels, and then returned to Zanzibar, where he again took service with the Universities' Mission, the Mission inseparably connected with the name of his late Master, in the capacity of head of their "safari" work. But the porters that he recruited in Zanzibar were men of a different stamp: they were "hardy ruffians".

At this time England was engaged in the active suppression of the slave trade. The Sultan of Zanzibar had been prevailed upon to issue a decree that slaves might not be transported by sea, and this decree was enforced, so far as might be, by British warships by their right of search. Ships of H.M. Navy stopped any dhow suspected of carrying slaves. If slaves were found on board, the dhow was confiscated by the Sultan, the owners fined, and the slaves released. But where could the slaves go when they were released? There was no way by which they could be repatriated to their homes hundreds of miles up-country; just to set them free on the African mainland would be to allow them to be seized again at once by some new traders. The British Consul in Zanzibar (Sir John Kirk), in whose hands they were placed by the commanders of the naval vessels, would have been at his wits' end had it not been that the Universities Mission had established its headquarters on the island of Zanzibar and was willing to take in these destitute human beings. First the Mission founded a village for these people a few miles out of Zanzibar city, Mbweni by name. Now the plan was to make a similar settlement on the mainland, and these men, women, boys and girls were the advance guard. The four boys in particular seem to have been fine characters, for Johnson nearly half a century later wrote, "One longs for them as for ancient comrades in the great fight".

Such, then, was the party that landed at Lindi on the eighteenth of October, 1876. They spent a week in Lindi collecting stores and engaging porters. Previously the people of Lindi had been very unhelpful when Bishop Steere had landed there the year before, but now, for some reason, they were only too willing to help, and there was no difficulty about getting porters and seventy were taken on.

On his previous journey Bishop Steere had kept to a main path that went more or less due West from Lindi, past Lake Rutamba, through the Mwera country, crossing the north of the Rondo Plateau to join the main slave route from Mwembe to Kilwa. He now determined to take another and less well known path. He says that this was a less hilly path, and that was a big consideration, for they had some donkeys and a cart with them. These donkeys and the cart were to take the place of porters, for it was one of Bishop Steere's convictions that men lost their self respect when employed as beasts of burden. There was also another reason, and a more important one, for choosing this new route; Bishop Steere had in mind to settle the released slaves at a place that he had heard of on his previous

journey, a place that he had but seen in the distance but which he had heard was peaceful and well-watered, Masasi. The new route that the party took is believed to be more or less the same as that today followed by the motor road from Lindi to Masasi, that is, between the Makonde and Ronod Plateaux by the gap through which the Lukuledi River flows.

On the twenty-first of October, 1876, they left Lindi, a party some two hundred strong. Every one was provided with a hoe and all the men carried axes to help to widen the path through the bush for the cart. They have left but little news of their journey. Probably they had little heart or time for writing, for the country was short of food, and they could not get enough to eat in the land through which they passed. They had several cases of preserved food, but this was strictly conserved, except one day when Bishop Steere had fever and he opened a pot of piccalilly—strange medicine! No doubt they felt that with a journey of unknown length before them it was essential to husband their supplies. From the country they did get some pumpkins, and made a miserable pumpkin soup. One day someone shot two ducks, but their cook must have been unusually inefficient, for Johnson remembered that “they were a hopeless failure; there were no sort of trimmings, they had merely been passed through the hot water, and their legs stuck up in an uncompromising way, showing muscles that only two old muscovy ducks could produce.” They did possess, however, a good supply of cocoa in the form of great squares that were then used on ship-board. One wonders whether perhaps Captain Crohan had taken pity on their inexperience and given them a part of his ship’s supply. That cocoa and some bags of very dry toast seem to have been their staple diet.

The cart was a failure. The labour of cutting a path was too great and delayed them too much; so it was abandoned. But the donkeys were taken on, for they wished to know whether there were tsetse flies in the land. They thought that the best way to discover this was to see whether the donkeys lived or died, for it was then believed that it was the actual bite of the tsetse that was fatal to them. Nevertheless the cart was not without its uses, for at one point, before they abandoned it, one of the Lindi porters was caught stealing and was sentenced to be flogged; for which purpose he was tied up to the wheel of the cart. It must be remembered that there was no real government of the country, that though the writ of the Sultan of Zanzibar carried some weight in matters of high policy it was of not the slightest use in combatting theft, and that therefore the party had to rely solely on their own efforts to ensure justice and maintain discipline. The man who was thus punished seems to have regarded his punishment as just, as some years later he was again one of the porters who went with William Johnson on his journey to Lake Nyasa, but on this journey he was lost on the way when a canoe overturned.

At last they came in sight of the mountains of Masasi, ninety miles from the coast. There are three big mountains very much of a height, though the centre one, Mtandi, is slightly higher than the other two and rises to a little over 3,000 feet. These mountains lie in a line from south-west to north-east; Masasi is the name of the mountain farthest to the north-east (for some reason this mountain has given its name to the whole district) and to the south-west is Chilonji. At each end of this range of mountains are smaller rocky hills, and it was amidst the rocks at the north-east end of the range that Bishop Steere and his party made their camp on 8th

November, 1876. They write of the country being open and their camp situated between two rocky points; the mountain of Masasi and a big flat-topped out-lyer called Mkweta. They were welcomed by a Yao headman from Nyasa named Bin Fumu, and here they rested.

Now Bishop Steere had reached the district where he thought he might establish his settlement of released slaves. They might indeed have tried to push on, perhaps even as far as Mwembe where Sultani Mataka lived, but the season was late, the rains close, food short, and the travelling harder than they had anticipated. If the party went on, it would have to split up, those released slaves who had no hope of reaching their own homes staying where they were, but others wanting to try to get home. Masasi was attractive as they approached, they had passed "Two streams of purer water than we had seen for a long time." The night they arrived more than a hundred and fifty fowls and a great number of pigeons were killed for food, so the party felt that they had reached a land of plenty. The two streams of purer water were the Liloya and the Namakongwa, but it would be difficult now to find running water, pure or otherwise, in their stream beds in October, as the country seems to have dried up in the last fifty years.

Even those who should have gone on to Mbweni came to the Bishop and said, "Here we are among our own people (Bin Fumu had but recently come from Lake Nyasa), here is no fear of war, here is food in plenty, here let us stay." It is strange that these words and the decision of Bishop Steere to stop at Masasi have given the historians of the Mission the idea that his original plan was to return all the released slaves to their own homes, and that the difficulties of the journey compelled him to give up this plan. It is clear from letters written before sailing from Zanzibar that from the first the idea of a settlement about a hundred miles up from the coast was his main object. The only point about which he altered his plan was to settle all the released slaves at Masasi instead of trying to find the actual homes of those who remembered whence they had come.

Bishop Steere pondered long before he finally decided on Masasi. Everything he heard confirmed favoured Masasi; the country ahead was distracted with wars, and there was little food, but here was peace and plenty. But to decide that the party should stay at Masasi was only the first part of his problem. He had also to find a good site for their settlement. He does not seem to have been at all impressed with Bin Fumu, whom he referred to as, "A stuffy old gentleman." Also Bin Fumu was himself a stranger in the land; having come from Makanjila's at the south end of Lake Nyasa, he had planted his village at Masasi only three or four years before Bishop Steere's arrival. The real ruler of the country was the Makua Chief Namkumba. Namkumba himself was a smelter of iron, like many Wakamba, and seems to have been somewhat famed for his skill. Chief Namkumba had come to Masasi and after a few days a better site and a more attractive host were found at the other end of the line of mountains eight or nine miles further on beyond Chilonji, at a well-watered spot almost surrounded by rocky hills, called Mkomahindo, close to where Masasi "Boma" now stands. Here Chief Namkumba offered them the site they wanted, with ample ground for all the houses and gardens they would need. The prospects being good, Bishop Steere decided on Mkomahindo.

Once established at Mkomahindo, building began, and in a fortnight bamboo houses for all were ready, each house had a fence and garden dug

round it, and most had their own hen-houses and dove-cotes. The three Missionaries themselves were housed in a big building seventy feet long, built of bamboo and thatched with grass. For the Church to be, a building of somewhat greater dignity was required. It was found that what they called the "granite" rocks (actually they are gneiss) broke up into pieces of suitable size, so building at least the chancel in stone was considered. But what to use for mortar? It was the ingenuity of Bishop Steere that first devised the idea used by every builder in East Africa since that day, of using the earth from ant-hills. A mason from Zanzibar was in the party and he was set to work on the chancel. His work stands to this day; for, although there have been many changes and rebuildings of Mkomahindo Church and station, the stone and mud walls of that chancel have been incorporated into every succeeding church. In 1950 a new permanent church is to be built on this site and this original chancel will be incorporated into the building.

That church and its chancel will stand as a memorial to a great adventure and a noble journey.

THE KIONGA TRIANGLE

By H. B. Thomas, O.B.E.

When Portugal was finally evicted from Mombasa at the end of 1729, her most northerly foothold on the east coast of Africa remained at Mozambique, where effective settlement hardly extended beyond the environs of the fort. By the end of the eighteenth century the power of Portugal in East Africa was at its lowest ebb, while Oman, under the Albusaidi dynasty, from which descends the present Sultan of Zanzibar, was establishing her supremacy over the coast towns, thus asserting claims long antedating the first arrival of the Portuguese.

But Portugal did not relinquish all claims to the coast north of Mozambique. In an **Additional Convention** made at London on 28th July, 1817, which, supplementing the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty for the prevention of the slave-trade of 22nd January, 1815, sets out the territories within which traffic in slaves should continue to be permitted to the subjects of His Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal, Great Britain acquiesced in Portugal's claim to the possession of territory lying between Cape Delgado and Lourenço Marques (Hertslet, **Map of Africa by Treaty**, 3rd, 1909, No. 298).

It was perhaps during the long and progressive reign, over both Oman and Zanzibar, of Seyyid Said from 1804 to 1866, that an Arab settlement, possibly from the not distant Comoro Islands, came into being on the shores of Tunghi Bay of which Cape Delgado (lat. $10^{\circ} 41' 18''$ S. Admiralty Chart No. 690) forms the northern and Ras Afunji the southern extremity. Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. who traversed this section of the Coast in **H.M.S. Barracouta** in February 1824 records that Ibo was then the northern frontier port of the Portuguese, (Owen, **Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa**, 1833). The French naval commander, Guillain, who was studying conditions on the Coast in the brig **le Ducouëdic** in the year 1846—48 records, when speaking of the subjugation of Mombasa and the Mazrui Arabs by Seyyid Said in 1837, that thereafter "la domination de ce price s' etendit sans conteste sur la cote au nord du cap Delgado". In his general chart Guillain marks a village Tonggui as existing adjacent to Cape Delgado, (Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, Paris, 1856). In the spirit of the times the export of slaves and ivory brought in from the hinterland towards Lake Nyasa is likely to have been prominent among the original functions of the settlement.

In September, 1882, the British Consul at Mozambique, H.E. O'Neill, travelled through this region (**Proc. R. Geog. Society**, Vol. V (1883), p.394). There was no sign of Portuguese occupation. He found that the original Arab settlement at Tunghi on the north shore of the Bay about three miles west of Cape Delgado was being superseded by Minengani a few miles away on the north bank of the small river of that name. This latter, which lies at the head of the bay some $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the open sea at Ras Afunji, has developed into the present Portuguese town of Palma (lat. $10^{\circ} 47'$ S. **Africa Pilot**, III, 1939). O'Neill records that the liberal commercial policy of the Sultan of Zanzibar was attracting the trade of the neighbouring district; caravans from the interior made it their port of call; and Banyan traders from British India were finding it worth their while to settle there.

In the course of protests to Germany (Hertslet, No. 210) following the German Emperor's "Charter of Protection" of 27th February, 1885 (No. 209) whereby protection was granted to the Society for German Colonization for their mainland territorial acquisitions, the Sultan of Zanzibar claimed that his territories extended as far south as Tunghi Bay.

By Proces-verbal of 9th June, 1886 (Hertslet, No. 261) delegates of Great Britain, France and Germany meeting in Zanzibar recognized that the Sultan of Zanzibar's sovereignty on the mainland extended along the Coast for a depth of ten sea-miles, and that its southern limit was a line which followed the Minengani River at the head of Tunghi Bay for a distance of five sea-miles and thence due west until it struck the right bank of the Rovuma River. Portugal resented the absence of an invitation to join these delegates. As between Great Britain and Germany the delegates' findings were incorporated into an Agreement on 29th October/1st November, 1886 (Hertslet, No. 264).

By a Declaration between Germany and Portugal dated at Lisbon on 30th December, 1886 (Hertslet, No. 216), the course of the Rovuma River from its mouth westwards was recognized as the boundary line "which shall separate" Portuguese and German possessions in south-east Africa, (though Germany had not then acquired any "possession" so far south). Germany at the same time gave conditional recognition to Portugal's claim to a vast belt of territory across Africa connecting Mozambique and Angola.

This Declaration evoked protest from Great Britain (13th August, 1887, Hertslet II P.705) regarding the territory between Mozambique and Angola. The Sultan of Zanzibar likewise protested that he could not submit to be deprived of the northern half of Tunghi Bay, which had belonged to Zanzibar for generations, where he had a station and custom house, and which had just been recognized by three great powers as his.

Nevertheless Portugal was in no mood for appeasement. The Sultan received an ultimatum that if he did not give up all claim to Tunghi Bay the consequences for him would be dreadful. At Zanzibar the Portuguese flag was hauled down and a bombardment was expected. However the Portuguese contented themselves (early in 1887) with bombarding the defenceless villages on Tunghi Bay. This display of high-handedness, in which the principal sufferers were innocent British Indian traders, aroused great indignation in England. Portugal refused to yield; but later offered as frontier a line of latitude to the north of Cape Delgado leaving to Zanzibar a small area south of the mouth of the Rovuma River. This Zanzibar refused to accept and here matters rested, Portugal meanwhile occupying the coast to the mouth of the Rovuma (approx. lat. 10° 30'S.).

By Concession of 28th April, 1888 (Hertslet, No. 213), the Sultan of Zanzibar made over to the German East African Association (which later became the German East Africa Company) the administration of all his mainland territories south of the British sphere. The Arab revolt against German rule followed; the Imperial Government replaced the German Company; and in 1890 Germany purchased from the Sultan those mainland territories over which rights had been leased to the German Company by the 1888 Concession.

Germany, having thus become the immediate neighbour of Portugal, now saw fit to repudiate the recognition of Portuguese sovereignty as far north as the mouth of the Rovuma River which was a part of the Declaration of 30th December, 1886. Strong arm tactics were once more employed, on this occasion by Germany. After prolonged wrangling Kionga, which was little more than a village, (approx. lat. $10^{\circ} 35' S.$) was seized by a German gunboat and Portugal was forced to withdraw to Cape Delgado.

A compromise was effected by an Exchange of Notes, 30th August, 1st September, 1894, between Germany and Portugal (Hertslet, No. 217), whereby parallel $10^{\circ} 40'$ south latitude from the coast to the Rovuma River was adopted as the boundary between German and Portuguese East Africa. A small area south of the mouth of the Rovuma comprising about 225 square miles which included the village of Kionga but excluded Cape Delgado was thus confirmed to Germany and became known as the Kionga Triangle. This with minor local adjustments(1) was the position until the 1914—18 War.

(1) These adjustments are shown on the 1: 300,000 Karte von Deutsch-Ostafrika, Sheet G.7 Mikindani (1901), which was reproduced in the British War Office series G.S.G.S. 3026 (1916). The eastern end of the frontier was deflected southward to transect the Cape Delgado promontory, giving to Germany the whole southern shore of Mbwisi Bay, while the actual Cape Delgado point remained with Portugal.

Such a frontier was obviously inconvenient and distasteful to Portugal, and World War I afforded an opportunity for alteration in Portugal's favour. By a decision of the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied Powers dated 6th May, 1919 (re-affirmed on 30th May and 23rd September, 1919), the Kionga Triangle was assigned directly to Portugal "as original and rightful owner" in absolute sovereignty and not under mandate. It was thus severed from German East Africa before the Versailles Treaty was signed on 28th June, 1919; and before the British and Belgian mandates over Tanganyika and Ruanda Urundi were accepted by the Supreme Council on 21st August, 1919 and ratified by the League of Nations on 20th July, 1922.

The practical convenience of the Rovuma River as the international boundary is so obvious that it serves little purpose to remark on the generous—to Portugal—interpretation of what constitutes "original and rightful" ownership. Tanganyika Territory as successor to German East Africa, itself the successor in title to the Sultan of Zanzibar's southern possessions, could seemingly have sustained a better claim than could Portugal to the Kionga Triangle.

NOTE.

From reports written at the time (1919) when Portugal's claim to the Kionga triangle was being considered, some additional information has been obtained about this little-known area. It is described as "particularly rich and fertile," as "valued very highly by the Germans" and as containing "the best coconut land on the entire coast". The harbour of Kionga is at the only really navigable mouth of the Ruvuma, the main mouth not being easily navigable. (As, indeed, Livingstone discovered in 1861, vide p 240 *et. seq.* of *Coupland's Exploitation of East Africa* and authorities cited there). As regards the economic importance of the area, the following appreciation was written in 1917:—By acquiring this territory, more-

over, the Germans not only ensured a greater control over exports and the prevention of smuggling, but they also gained a great deal of the Portuguese trade. Safaris used to come regularly from as far as Mataka's country mainly with ivory, tobacco and beewax, which was smuggled across the Portuguese border and sold to the Germans at Kionga.

Previously when the Germans held no territory south of the Ruvuma this illicit trade could not be carried on without the use of boats, as the Ruvuma near the mouth is always unfordable, and it was therefore much easier for the Portuguese to stop smuggling when their territory extended up the river.

The prices paid by the Germans at Kionga were better than any other prices that could be obtained in Portuguese East Africa and German silver was negotiable anywhere, whereas the Germans would not accept Portuguese money.

Owing to the Portuguese having lost the outlet to the sea, a trader up the Ruvuma who wished to dispose of his goods at Palmas had to engage porters from Madai, where the Ruvuma crossed the German border. Although the distance to Palmas from Madai was only one day's journey, owing to the scarcity of labour the exorbitant price of 50 cents per load had to be paid to the carriers. The natural result of this was to induce all traders, European and native alike, either to dispose of their goods to the Germans on the Ruvuma or to smuggle them through into the Kionga district and sell them there.

By this means the Germans undoubtedly gained an enormous quantity of the trade which should have passed through Portuguese ports.

Apart from the commercial aspect, the value of Kionga District from a military point of view is clear. It entails the command of the mouth and widely ramifying delta of the Ruvuma River, including Ruvuma Bay, and also Kionga Bay. During the 1914-18 campaign all smuggling from Portuguese territory into German East Africa, after the declaration of the blockade, was carried out via Kionga and German correspondence showed that they (the Germans) were constantly afraid lest Kionga should be occupied and thereby all further imports by that route made impossible.

Ed.

SAN RAPHAEL ONCE AGAIN

By G. W. Hatchell

In the November 1942 issue of this Journal and, in subsequent issues* the stranding of the "San Raphael", one of Vasco da Gama's fleet, was discussed and an attempt made to fix the point at which she went ashore.

Much information was obtained by Dr. Scott and the late Clement Gillman from various sources, including the works of Justus Strandes which contain an account of the voyage based on the journal of Kapoke and Paivi who were in the "San Gabriel," of the same fleet, and it was possible to deduce that the "San Raphael" went ashore somewhere in close proximity to the sand bank which is now known as Fungo Tongoni and situated half way between Tanga and Pangani.

On re-reading, recently, "Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa," by Major F. B. Pearce, C.M.G. (Fisher Unwin) I was greatly interested to come across an account of the San Raphael business based on information derived from a translation by Ravenstein of "The Journals of the first voyage of Vasy da Gama" published by the Haklucot Society. The information contained in this journal tallies very closely with that to be found in the Strandes account: it refers to the "townlet of Mtangata", to "the lofty range of Mountains of beautiful aspect which we called the "Seras da Sao Raphael". It records the arrival of the oranges and notes that when the tide fell the "San Raphael" was high and dry. It also records that at 4 a.m. on the 6th April, 1498, on a North-westerly course, the ship grounded. It adds one other piece of interesting information: that the figure head of the "San Raphael" was taken to Portugal and lodged in the Church at Belem.

Major Pearce pointed out that the evidence in this Journal suggests that the fleet passed to the East of Zanzibar and out of sight of land and, that during the night of the 5th April, on a north and by west course, passed through the Pemba channel sighting Ras Nungwe the northern tip of Zanzibar. The journal then goes on to relate that course was changed to N.N.W. and examination of the Charts suggests that such a course would, if persisted in, take the ship to the southern end of Karange Island.

Karange Island is situated just north of Mtangata. It is covered with scrub and rises to a height of about 30ft. It is, as it were, erected on a submerged coral reef but its appearance gives no indication as to the extent of the reef which in fact extends some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles or more to the South and South-East and is awash at low side. The reef is here pierced by a deep channel which runs in a south-westerly direction with a depth of as much as 15 fathoms; it is however no more than about 200 yards in width. The reef extends southward from this point for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles until it appears above the surface in the shape of the white sand-bank now known as Fungo Tongoni.

On the 6th April, 1498, it seems likely that the Moon was new or in the dark period and the tide at Springs and Karange Island would not be

No. 15, P.82, letters from R. E. Moreau and C. Gillman and No. 17, P.66. Supplementary Note by C. Gillman.—Ed..

readily visible owing to its dark appearance and the dark background to the west. Fungo Tongoni, on the other hand, with its white sand would be more readily visible. It seems possible therefore that the "San Raphael" edged northward to give Fungo Tongoni a wide berth, not appreciating the extent of the Karange reef. I have myself noticed that even in daylight this reef is deceptive and have been forced to change course rather hastily, to the Eastward, to avoid it.

According to Strandes the "San Raphael" drew about 11 ft.; it was dark; it is probable that the navigators had not encountered an island and coral reef of this type before and, with the island itself faintly visible some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, did not realise the outlying dangers. Moreover, having regard to the view of Commander Cole and Mr. Moreau it is likely that the shallows were a good deal more extensive in 1498 than they are today.

In view of all this it looks as if the scene of the stranding can be more closely fixed as being on the southern edge of the Karange reef, in approximately $5^{\circ} 15'$ South and $39^{\circ} 7'$ East latitude.

Dr. Scott's query as to the reason for the disappearance of the name San Raphael has not been answered but it is possible that while Vasco da Gama may have decided to call the mountains and the reef after the ship and so to record them in his log he may not have informed the local inhabitants; the more so that any conversation which he may have had with them would have been conducted through an interpreter and probably confined to essentials. It is possible therefore that although the name appeared in European maps and records the local inhabitants never heard of it at all and that it never became established on the coast. In any event the name would be a difficult tongue-twister for the locals and unlikely to find favour.



Plate No. 1.

The wells, showing the curved, stepped, cattle paths and narrow limestone walls, leading down to the cattle troughs.



Plate No. 2.

Cattle returning from the troughs, showing clearly the steps.



Plate No. 3.

"Masai pouring water from the wells into the troughs".



Plate No. 4.

Masai, standing on the ledges, in action throwing up the water in **lolibene** (i.e. leather water-containers) from ledge to ledge. The Masai on top is just catching the **lolibene** thrown to him by the man below.

NOTE: **Lolbene**, one of Masailand's highest mountains, is also a "water-container", holding water in the springs at its summit (6,500') which is now piped down to water the Masai cattle in the area.

THE ANCIENT WELLS OF NGASSUMAT IN SOUTH MASAILAND.

By O. Koenig

Most Masai experts agree that the wells at Ngassumat (pronounced Ngismyet) are beyond the capabilities of Masai constructors. There is, therefore, much room for speculation into the ancient history of these wells. My personal impression is that they are similar to the water tanks at Aden, built by Alexander the Great of Persia. There is certainly a sense of artistic display in the wells and a pronounced architectural sense of beauty as well as of design reminiscent of the classic architecture of the ancient Middle East. The history of South Masailand, in which the wells are situated, is largely speculative, but the following comments and authorities open up possible lines of research.

- (a) The German Scientists, who have produced considerable literature about Tanganyika, believe that the Phoenicians invaded South Masailand in search of gold, ivory and slaves, using as ports of entry either Pangani or Sadani or even possibly Bagamoyo.
- (b) Professor Fisher, in his *History of Europe*, describes the Phoenicians as a semitic people.
- (c) The Wapare of the Pare Mountains have an ancient legend that the Wahudi (Jews) passed through the Pares near Kisuani, crossed the Ruvu near Same and penetrated into South Masailand. This compares with another trade route suggested by the Germans from Pangani, via Korogwe and Masinde to Same, approximately following today's railway line. Some 15 years ago I found in Kisuani some old heavy tin ornaments, said to be of "foreign make, though local information traced the blacksmith who manufactured them to Marangu. The blacksmith, so the Wapare said, had the monopoly of making ornaments out of **their** raw materials (tin), but he was no longer alive. Professor T. E. Lawrence of Cambridge denies the possibility of Phoenician influence but points to possible Chinese infiltration in East Africa.
- (d) Professor Debenham, also of Cambridge, doubts the presence of Phoenicians in the past unless South Masailand was then blessed with more water than it is now.
- (e) Marchand states that the Phoenicians went far South of the Equator in their Colonial expeditions.
- (f) "L'Histoire du Monde", a history book written 300 years ago, a copy of which is in my possession, also stresses the vastness of the Phoenician Colonial Empire and its expeditions South of the Equator.
- (g) The most recent scientific opinion comes from L'Abbé Breul, who from discoveries made in Southern Rhodesia, states that there has been influence from North Africa, Egypt or Phoenicia.

Though, therefore, there is some support for Northern influence in the construction of the Ngassumat wells, we lack any definite proof, but if we can find one of the oldest human beings in North Masailand in existence at Olduwai and rock paintings close to South Masailand at Babati, a detailed investigation should prove interesting. Indeed an investigation not only of the wells but of the geological history of South Masailand would be rewarding. For here we find a striking example of archaic times in a land which is supposed to be one million to two million years old and where the influence of enormous tectonic disturbances of countless years ago are still possible in the island-mountain landscape for which the country is so well known.

MAP SHOWING POSITION OF OLDONYO L'ENGAI.



Adm

CLIMBING OLDONYO L'ENGAI.

By N. J. Guest.

Oldonyo L'Engai, or the mountain of God to the Masai, is reputed to be the only active volcano in British East Africa. Whilst working in the Lake Nairon—Engaruka area during 1949 and 1950, I could not help but wonder, time and time again, at the beauty and form of this volcanic cone. My curiosity was roused even further by reading some of the literature. So, with four African members of the Geological Survey of Tanganyika, I climbed the volcano on the 10th of July 1950, to try and satisfy my curiosity, and, at the same time, to look for any evidence which might suggest a further period of activity.

A good summary of the past history of this mountain, together with a description of the 1940-41 eruption, has been written by Mr. J. J. Richard.* In order to show at a glance how few people have reached the summit, and also to indicate the number of periods of volcanic activity, much of Mr. J. J. Richard's carefully collected information is summarized below, with one or two additions or alterations, to bring these records up to date.

Lits of known ascents.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| 1. | 1904 | Jaeger Dr. F. |
| 2. | 1913 11 Dec. | Reck H. |
| 3. | 1915 | Schulze G. |
| 4. | 1931 9 July | Thompson G. W. St. Clair. |
| 5. | 1932. | Reck H. |
| 6. | 1941 17 Jan. | Richard J. J. |
| 7. | 1949 19 Mar. | Reusch Dr. R. |
| 8. | 1949 19 Mar. | Stephenson J. G. |
| 9. | 1949 19 Mar. | Cowley D. |
| 10. | 1950 10 July | Guest N. J. (accompanied by four African members of the Geological Survey). |

List of known and rumoured volcano activities.

- 1880 Possible "eruption with a thunder-like noise and thick smoke."
- 1882-3 "Fischer saw smoke escaping from the summit and the natives who accompanied him, spoke of stretches of fire on the flanks, and rumbling noises inside the mountain."
- Between December 1913 and April 1915. "Schulze mentions that a lava stream 1-2 metres thick, and 100 metres broad, had flowed in a southerly direction for about 200 metres from a cone 25 metres high on top."
- 1917 Jan.-June. "The main features of the 1917 eruption were the disappearance through explosions of the white needle about 150' high, which formerly occupied the northern edge of the crater. The thick vegetation, which in 1913 made an ascent very long and difficult, was completely destroyed." Small volcanic cones east and south of L'Engai were active in 1917.

* "Volcanological observations in East Africa. Oldonyo L'Engai. The 1940-41 Eruption." By J. J. Richard. Journ. E. African and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc. Vol. XVI Nos. 2 & 3 (71 & 72). P. 89-104.

5. 1921 Feb. Barnes T. A. "saw Oldonyo L'Engai in eruption."
6. 1926 Aug. Eruption observed by Mr. Billington from Magadi, who maintained this eruption lasted longer than the 1940-41 eruption."
7. 1940-41 (Periods between July and Jan. 1941) Eruption noted and written up by Mr. J. J. Richard. (loc. cit.).
8. 1944-45 Local Masai speak of a small eruption during this period, but this has not yet been confirmed.

Mr. J. G. Stephenson, then D.O. at Loliondo, in a written communication, states, that after his ascent in 1949, "Some thirty feet from the edge of the lip (of the crater on the western side) we struck a deep crack from which steam was issuing, not forcefully, and along which were sulphurous deposits. We failed to see any other signs of activity and the floor of the crater—some 600' below us appeared dry and hard."

The above collection of facts and rumours show that, over the last 70 years the history of L'Engai has been, to say the least, extremely interesting and not a little exciting. Even so, there must be gaps in this information, and it is a matter of speculation as to how many small eruptions have passed unrecorded, except perhaps, in the living memory of some of the older Masai.

The new crater was coated on the inside by white, pink and orange incrustations of alkali salts. (Figs. 2 & 3). On one of the steps or ledges inside the crater, (Fig. 2), two small persistent columns of dark smoke were noticed, issuing from cracks along the ledge; and on the eastern rim of the crater white steam was seen, rising from small holes and cracks, around which tiny flowering shrubs and mosses were growing. On this scanty vegetation drops of water had condensed. Whilst in the vicinity of the crater sulphur was smelt from time to time. It was regretted that no thermometer was taken to the summit, with which to measure the temperature of the escaping gasses. A general rise of temperature over a number of years, indicating increased thermal activity below, might well be the prelude to another eruption.

After descending some 350' into the inner crater, where the actual floor lay some 250' below, unconsolidated ash would have prevented ascent, if further descent, which was possible, was made. The various steps inside the crater, (Fig. 2) corresponding to the periods of eruption, have been clearly described by Mr. J. J. Richard (loc. cit.), but are well worthy of note. There were no signs of any stalactitic formations, which were such a feature when Reck climbed to the summit on his first ascent. Then it was that his "Die Teufelsnadel" rose 150' high on the northern edge of the crater. (Figs. 3 & 12).

It should be gathered from what has been said, that the writer does not profess to be a climber. For those that want to rock climb L'Engai should provide plenty of scope, for others, all one need is the will to keep going on the western ash slope. It is hoped, now that a good route of ascent has been recorded, more regular information will be forthcoming; and for this purpose it is intended to place this year on the summit of the mountain, a book in which climbers may record their observations.

The descent of the mountain is comparatively easy, and the dust and the heat of the world below arrive all too quickly.

OLDONYO L'ENGAI

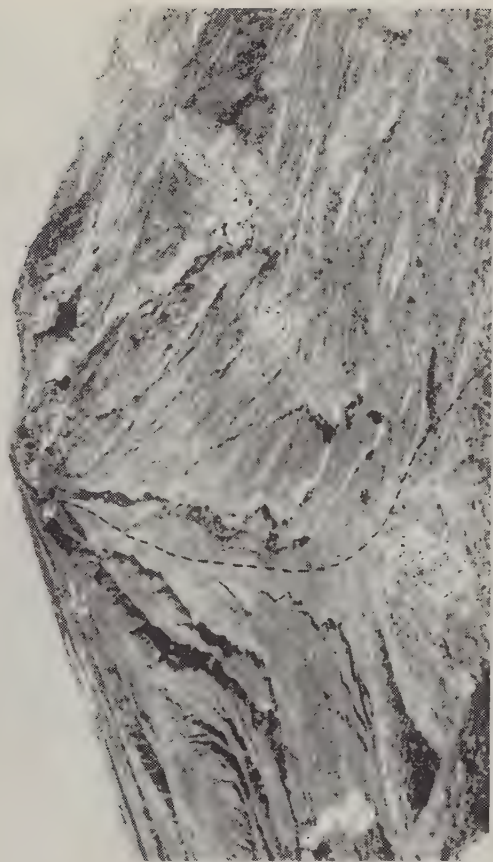


FIG. 1

West flank; the dotted line shows the route of ascent described.



FIG. 2
Steps inside the new crater.



FIG. 1

The bottom of the active crater, looking north.



FIG. 4
White soda encrustations.



FIG. 5
The Vegetation zone.

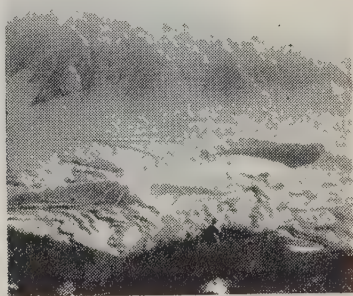


FIG. 6
Looking down the path of ascent,
Rift wall scarp in middle distance.

Let me conclude with a delightful story told to me by my Masai guide, who joined the party at Engaruka, but who steadfastly refused to climb the mountain of his God. As L'Engai is approached from the south, many small subsidiary and parasitic craters and vents are to be seen. Two of these larger craters are called by the Masai "God's footsteps." Apparently, The God of the Masai is a mighty God in size, who, before he climbed into his present abode, Oldonyo L'Engai, left his footsteps beneath for all to witness and believe it.

My grateful thanks are due to Mrs. B. C. Wilmot who kindly translated Hans Reck's 1913 paper for me, whilst I was in the field.

Note:—Since writing the above article, Mr. Guest has informed me that he climbed L'Engai again on 19th July, accompanied by Mr. Strydom of the Geological Survey Department and one survey boy. He noted fumes rising from places different to those observed in the previous ascent. On the summit he built a small cairn of stones under which was placed a notebook in which future climbers can record their names and observations.
—Ed.

SOUTHERN PROVINCE ROCK-PAINTINGS.

By W. H. Whiteley

There are three rock painting sites at present known to me in the Southern Province; Masai, Matekwe, and a recently found but rather dubious site on Chitowe rock.

(1) **MASAI.** Location. The deeply recessed cave in which the paintings are to be found lies above the present Boma. It is best to approach from behind the Native Treasury, and after climbing the first rock slab, to bear left and climb the main rock face directly below the cave mouth, which is by then easily visible. The whole ascent does not take more than ten minutes and while quite straightforward, is facilitated by wearing rubber-soled shoes.

The cave is V-shaped, with a width at the mouth of c.20ft. and a depth of c.40ft. Viewed from the entrance the paintings extend from the apex about a third of the way along the right hand wall, from just above floor level to a height of about 6ft., and spread out onto the ceiling.

The Paintings. These are all in red, chiefly of the geometrical style which characterizes so many of the Central Province 'Late White' paintings, described in detail in a recent number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.* In addition, there are a number of curvilinear figures, wandering rather aimlessly across the apex and on to the ceiling, where the likeness of a flower, also, may be discerned. Many of these lines appear very recent, and have the colour of red-lead. It is perhaps possible that the military residents of the 1914-18 war imitated their predecessors.

The most striking figure, certainly the most coherent, is the sun figure. This differs from other sun figures at Pahi and Kandaga in that the perimeter of the sun is not delineated nor are dots a feature of the interior.

Again viewed from the entrance, the left hand wall contains a number of holes, which the local population seem to have fired from time to time to facilitate the extraction of honey. In the hole nearest the cave apex and along the wall, paintings appear to have been burnt and the oxidization of the pigment has left a white impress, the most noticeable figure being a likeness to a fish's backbone.

At least two layers of painting may be distinguished, but the whole panel is in a bad state of preservation and the gneiss wall is continually flaking off. A considerable number of military autographs from the 1918 war only serve to confuse the issue still further.

The cave floor is also not without interest, and might well repay the attention of a trained archaeologist. The present floor slopes upwards from the entrance, reducing the height of the cave at the apex to about 5ft., whereas the rock floor at the entrance slopes down and suggests an apical height of about 15ft.

An experimental trench, dug transversely to a depth of 3ft. or so, brought to light a great quantity and variety of animal bones and a number

of waste flint flakes, possibly intended for arrowheads. These were worked in a fine red stone, which comes from the Makonde plateau above Ndanda, some 25 miles away. A nodule of red hematite and another of a black graphitic substance were also found.

Finally, it is hoped that visitors to the cave, who are not trained in archaeological investigation, will refrain from digging holes in the hope of finding 'things'.

* No. 29, for July, 1950—Ed.

(2) **MATEKWE.** This site seems to have been first visited and described by J. D. Panton of the O.F.C., Nachingwea, in 1948.

Location. Matekwe lies some 54 miles W.N.W. of Masasi, and may be reached either from there or from Nachingwea, although both roads are dry season roads and are liable to be closed from December to May. From Masasi the Kihatu road is followed for 51 miles, where it is joined from the right by the trace from Nachingwea. About 1½ miles further on, the Kihatu road is left on the right and after crossing the end of a small lake, the road proceeds, with Matekwe hill on the left, to the site of the O.F.C. experimental farm. From Nachingwea the West trace should be followed for 28 miles beyond Noli to the point where it joins the Masasi road. From the O.F.C. house, two routes may be followed. Matekwe hill behind the house may be scaled directly, the rock shelter being formed out of one of the larger slabs on the summit. This is rather more difficult than the alternative route, which is to continue past the house, following the base of the hill south-westwards for some 300 yds., and then to climb the hill diagonally, retracing one's steps until again above the house. Neither climb takes more than 10-15 minutes. The rock shelter faces south-westwards, overlooking the Upper Lumesule valley and westwards towards Kongowera, 4-5 miles away, and beyond that to Kilimarondo.

The Paintings. There are three panels of paintings. On the right are a number of figures of geometrical design, in two shades of red. Again, as in the Central Province 'Late White' paintings, box designs, with no apparent regularity in the number of contained dots, predominate; curvilinear figures, similar to the 'aimless figures' at Masasi are also visible.

In the centre panel there are several strikingly crude white figures: these appear to be very recent, but they are in fact overlaid in several places by red drawings of an indeterminate nature. On the left of this panel curvilinear figures in a dark, purplish red are again visible.

The main panel, on the left, contains naturalistic paintings in at least two shades of red, on two different levels. The most striking feature of the panel is a human figure, anatomically well-proportioned, in the act of hurling a spear, or possibly drawing a bow, at two sheep-like creatures. Other standing human figures are visible, below, behind and above the first, one of whom has his legs flexed as though he were dancing.

At the top of the panel, some six feet above the floor, are the hind-quarters of two superimposed running buck, which bear a striking resemblance to the buck at Cheke, in Central Province. These I assume to be

the figures described by Panton as an elephant and calf, though I do not think his hypothesis is tenable. On the left, at a height of about 5ft., there is the head and shoulders of a large animal, probably Eland.

Again, on the extreme right there is the figure of a giraffe, ill-proportioned, and not easily distinguishable

All the above figures are executed in miniature; the human figures are not more than nine inches tall, and the sheep-like creatures are both about three inches tall and six inches long. The distinguishable parts of the buck, do, however, extend about three feet across the panel.

One of the most striking things about the above figures is the inequality of workmanship. Generally in Tanganyika the execution of animal figures is of a far higher standard and they occur far more frequently than the human figure. Here, however, in the main scene, it is the human figure that is well developed and the two animals which are crudely depicted. That the same or contemporary artists were capable of more refined animal depiction is shown, if not very conclusively, by the running buck, and other fragments. If this were a hunting scene, as at first sight seems likely, then one might expect fuller treatment of the quarry, which would anyway not be likely to be facing the hunter. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the scene depicted is a sacrifice, and the attendant figures dancers, as at least one suggests.

The above examples have been selected out of what has, undoubtedly, been an extremely rich panel, but the surface has weathered considerably, facing as it does, South-West, and not being deeply recessed. In fact a great number of details are not visible at all without first wetting the panel with water. Some visitors to the shelter during the dry season, after first visiting it during the rains, have assured me that the paintings are fading; this apparent effect, however, is due simply to the drying out of the rock.

(3) **CHITORE.**

Location. Chitowe may be reached by two roads, both of which may be impassable during the rains. First, the main Tunduru road should be followed to a point 4 miles West of Masasi, where the old German road to Lukwika forks left. It should be followed for 27 miles to the village of Chitowe. Second, the main Tunduru road should be followed to a point 25 left. This should be followed for 12 miles, and joins the first route, just miles West of Masasi, to Nangomba, where the new road to Lukiwa bears north of Chitowe. The rock shelter is on the East side of Chitowe rock, about one quarter of the way up, at a distance of 15 minutes walk from the road.

The Paintings. The rock shelter has one small group of red designs, which have, however, been partially destroyed by the flaking of the gneiss wall.

The chief interest of the rock is that Mwera legend records that it was here that the 'little people' were last seen by the Mwera, before they crossed the Rovuma, going Southwards.

I am hopeful that further examination of the other faces of the rock may bring other paintings to light.

SOME SOUTHERN PROVINCE TREES WITH THEIR AFRICAN NAMES AND USES

By R. E. S. Tanner

These notes were made on a series of **safaris** in the Southern Province and are only the result of a natural inquisitiveness, although the scientific identifications were made by the East African Research Station at Amani for whom specimens were being collected.

There was no means of checking the true properties of the African medicines produced, but all discussion on their uses and the trees producing them was carried out in groups, in which there were no dissenting voices.

ANACARDIAECEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| (1) Heeria Reticulata | ... | ... | Kiyao
Kingoni
Kingindo | ... | Nowanguku
Mura
Ntunkwangbako |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|

This medium-sized tree is distinguished by its thick pubescent elliptical leaves and is widespread in Tunduru District. Both the Wayao and the Wangindo use the roots cooked in water as a cure for diarrhoea.

ANNONACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|--|-----|--|
| (2) Annona Chrysophylla | ... | ... | Kiyao
Kimatumbi
Kinyasa
Kimakua | ... | Mtopemptope
Mpunju
Mdope
Mope |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|--|-----|--|

This squat tree is widespread over the Southern Province having large glabrous leaves and a stunted crooked trunk.

It is used universally for the handles of implements and on the coast for dhow fittings, but nowhere for house building. The Wamwera chew the inner bark, and swallow the juice as a cure for coughs. The Wayao, firstly, scrape the green bark and place the paste on boils, and secondly, women suffering from prolapse of the womb sit over a pot in which the roots are being boiled.

APOCYNACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|-----|---|
| (3) Rauvolfia SP. | ... | ... | Kiyao
Kingoni
Kimwera | ... | Msiyalele,
Nyaula
Mtangalimbo
Mnyalele |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|-----|---|

This tree, growing widely in valleys in Tunduru, has large, long and narrow leaves and a milk-like sap. It has a small cherry-like fruit hanging in clusters from the base of the twigs, round which the leaves are arranged radially.

The wood is very light and is used for the Koranic board book seen outside the houses of the pious. The bark is also used for string and the sap for making birdlime for traps.

- | | | | |
|---|---------|------|----------|
| (4) Diplorhynchus Mossambicensis | Kiyao | ...) | |
| | Kingoni | ...) | Mtomoni |
| | Kimwera | ...) | |
| | Kimakua | ... | Rochochi |

This tree, growing throughout the Southern Province, is easily recognized by its glossy green leaves, and profuse white sap, which might be described as a African iodine, for putting on all minor cuts and abrasions.

The Wayao use the sap also for an eye medicine, whereas the Wangindo use it for fixing feathers to the shafts of arrows. The Wangoni in bush places use the leaves in connection with rain-making ceremonies.

BIGNONIACEAE

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|------|------------|
| (5) Markhamia Acuminata | ... | Kingoni | ...) | |
| | | Kiyao | ...) | Mtandawala |
| | | Kimatumbi | ... | Mpugupugu |
| | | Kirufiji | ... | Mtaranda |

This small bush-like tree, growing in the thickets and dense bush, has paired leaves and long ribbon-like seed pods.

The wood is used for the handles of implements throughout the Southern Province, the leaves for wrapping food and strips of the bark for the soles of rough sandals.

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|----------|------|-----------|
| (6) Markhamia Obtusifolia | ... | Kingoni | ...) | |
| | | Kinyasa | ...) | Mpugupugu |
| | | Kiyao | ... | Msewa |
| | | Kingindo | ... | Mpugupugu |

This tree, growing in Tunduru and Songea, with much the same characteristics as the previous tree, is used by the Wangoni and the Wangindo for arrow making

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|---------|------------|--------|------------|
| (7) Kigelia Aethiopica | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Mguta |
| | | | Kingoni | ... | Mbongoti |
| | | | Kirufiji | ... | Mnyegea |
| | | | Kingindo | ...) | |
| | | | Kimatambwe |) | Mukungutwa |
| | | | Kinyasa | ... | Mukungungu |
| | | Kimwera | ... | Mtandi | |

This is the "Sausage Tree", and is easily recognized by its large sausage-like fruit and red trumpet flowers. It is common in the Southern Province and grows near to water. Although it is of no use to builders, it is used for making small boats and grain mortars. The fruits smell bitter and resemble chutney, and are considered a delicacy by elephants. According to Mwera custom, a spray of the leaves is hung over the door of a house, to prevent strangers entering, for seven days after a woman has given birth,

BOMBACACEAE

- (8) **Bombax Rhodognaphalon** ... Kimatumbi ... Mkunya
 Kiyao ... Ntandi
 Kimatambwe Mumambile
 Kimakua ... Muma and
 Rumampili

The wild kapok tree grows irregularly over the whole Province as far inland as Tunduru, and is distinguishable by its green smooth bark and elliptical seed pods containing a reddish fluff. The seeds, if dampened, automatically form a considerable quantity of a glycerine-like substance round themselves.

The Wayao use the broken up twigs, soaked in water, without boiling, for washing the body as a general cure for aches and pains.

- (9) **Adansonia Digitata** Kiyao ... Mbuyu
 Kingindo ...)
 Kimatumbi ... Nonji
 Kimatambwe Lonji

The universally known baobab is distributed as far inland as just inside the Tunduru border on the main Songea road and also up the Ruvuma valley. Its principal use is for string, made from the inner bark and pounded out by a specially cut hammer-like piece of wood, the string being used for baboon nets etc. The dried fruits are used for drawing water, and a string of the outside bark is widely used by women, tied round the chest above the breasts, to encourage lactation.

CAESALPINIACEAE

- (10) **Brachystegia Microphylla** ... Kiyao ... Mchinji
 Kingoni ... Hinyani

This tree, occurring in Tunduru District, tall and widespreading with very small leaflets, is characteristic of the tops of barren escarpments where other trees and vegetation are almost non-existent. It is much in demand for rope as the great length of the trunk makes it superior to the shorter bark-rope trees and therefore well worth the extra trouble involved.

The Wayao use the bark for cloth in times of great adversity, this species being more suitable than other forms of *Brachystegia*.

- (11) **Burkia Africana** Kiyao ...)
 Kimatambwe) Nkalate
 Kingoni ... Ngongkoma
 Kingindo ... Malakilo &
 Mbarakiwa

This tree, distinguished by its reddish sap, is common in Tunduru, Songea, and Masasi. It is widely used for implement handles and for burning charcoal.

(12) Afzelia Quanzensis	Kiyao ...)	
	Kimatumbi ...)	Mkongo
	Kimatumbwe	Mkongo
	Kingoni ...	Ngongkona
	Kingindo ...	Malakilo & Mbarakiwa

This tree is widely distributed over the whole Province, providing good shade and being easily identified by its attractive green leaves and large red-capped seeds.

It also has the additional asset of sprouting new leaves at the end of the dry season before the rains, when the rest of the forest is brown and bare. The bark is used as a cure for toothache by the Wangindo, who make a paste of the ground bark, wrap it in a cloth and place it in the ear nearest the toothache.

(13) Caesalpinia Crista	Kiyao ...)	
	Kimwera ...)	Msoro
	Kingoni ...	Muhoro
	Kirufiji ...	Muhoro

A medium-sized tree that grows in the coastal parts of the Province as far inland as the Songea border, with smooth bark and round yellow fruits, which are eaten by eland and duiker.

The wood itself is used on the coast for the ribbing of small boats. Scrapings from the roots, when cooked and eaten by the Wamwera, are regarded as a cure for gonorrhea, and the Wayao eat the pounded up leaves for severe pains in the stomach.

However, this tree is principally known for its spiritual qualities and is universally venerated by the Wayao, amongst whom each household has its family tree; these trees are protected by custom, whereas other trees of the same species not so designated are cut down without restriction.

"The Mbugu in Usambara are Kwavi, i.e., Nilohamitic origin, and arrived at their present domicile via Pare only three generations ago".

Most Wayao go so far as to say that it is their "god," and ceremonies are performed in front of it with regard to initiation and divination, as well as day-to-day requests for better crops and rain.

(14) Cassia Petersiana	Kingoni ...)	
	Kiyao ...)	Mtewelevu
	Kimatumbi ...	Mkenikeni
	Kimwera ...	Mlewilewi

A tree that is common throughout the Province, and is distinguished by its long round seed pods. The fruits are edible and the Wayao use a concoction of the roots for stomach ache.

(15) Erythrophloeum Africanum	Kimatumbi ...)	
	Kimwera ...)	Nnjembi
	Kimakua ...	Nakari

This is primarily a coastal tree that reaches inland as far as Tunduru District, and is noted for its hard wood. It is regarded as a relative of ebony, and is used by the Wayao for charcoal burning.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----------|------|---------|
| (16) Bauhinia Thonningii | ... | Kimatumbi | ...) | |
| | | Kimwera | ...) | Kitimbi |
| | | Kingoni | ...) | |
| | | Kiyao | ... | Msegese |
| | | Kinyasa | ... | Mtukutu |

A small and rather stunted tree that grows everywhere on low lying ground. It can be recognized by its simple leaves, cordate in appearance, and divided into two halves folding together. Coastal people eat the leaves without preparation as a cure for stomach ache.

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| (17) Bauhinia Petersiana | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Muwauwa |
| | | | Kimakua | ... | Mpare |

A close relation of the previous tree which also prefers low lying ground, but is more shrub-like in form but with the same bi-lobed folding leaves. The Wayao use the pounded up leaves for sore eyes.

EBENACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----------|
| (18) Diospyros Kirkii | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Msakala |
| | | | Kimakua | ... | Mkula |
| | | | Kingoni | ... | Mkulakula |

This tree, growing in Tunduru, with medium-sized leaves with pubescent undersides and edible fruit of about 2 cm. diameter, ripening in September, has bark that is widely used, when burnt, as excellent lime for eating or chewing.

The Wayao use the colourless sap for closing cuts.

EUPHORBIACEAE

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|---------|-----|-------------|
| (19) Antidesma Membranaceum | | Kiyao | ... | Nakapwesa |
| | | Kimwera | ... | Mkundwaooyi |
| | | Kiswa | ... | Mchongwa |

A riverside tree from Tunduru with thick and rather sticky leaves and colourless sap. The fruits are edible. The Wayao pound up the roots and drink it as a tonic for serious debility or tuberculosis.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|----------|------|-------------|
| (20) Ricinodendron Viticoides | ... | Kingoni | ...) | |
| | | Kimwera | ...) | Mkangaula |
| | | Kiyao | ...) | |
| | | Kingindo | ...) | Mkangananga |

A large tree that grows irregularly over Tunduru District but flourishes in Masasi, where a forest of it can be seen a few miles out of town. The seed is a large fresh tasting nut which is eaten by humans and squirrels in times of food shortage. The very light wood is cut off the living tree in large hunks for the making of koranic board books.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----|-----|---------|------|----------------------------|
| (21) | Uapaca Kirkiana | ... | ... | Kiyao | ...) | |
| | | | | Kingoni | ...) | Msuku |
| | Uapaca Nitida | | | Kiyao | ... | Mpotopoto and
Mtotosuku |

Both these related trees are easily distinguishable by their large glabrous leaves, sprouting radially round the twig ends, the leaves pointing upwards and outwards, giving a candelabra effect. Small areas of these two distinctive trees, growing by themselves, occur in Songea and western Tunduru. Both species are used for building purposes.

The Wayao are of the opinion that a sprig of the tree, attached to their hunting nets, will ensure that while out hunting duiker are caught. The fruits are edible.

FLACOURTIACEAE

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-----|-----|---------|------|-----------|
| (22) | Flacourtia Indica | ... | ... | Kimwera | ...) | |
| | | | | Kiyao | ...) | Mtawa |
| | | | | Kingoni | ... | Mtawatawa |
| | | | | Kimakua | ... | Ntema |

A small tree growing throughout Tunduru with little or no shade. It has thorns at the base of each leaf, and the fruit is edible. The Wayao use the pounded up green leaves for the cure of intestinal worms.

HYPERICACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|--|-------|-----|-----------|
| (23) | Psorospermum Febrifugum | | Kiyao | ... | Msylanyma |
|------|--------------------------------|--|-------|-----|-----------|

A small tree growing in Tunduru, distinguishable by the orange bark showing under a covering of grey peeling. The leaves are brown in colour and the wood soft and eaten by white ants.

The Wayao pound up the leaves with oil and smear it on the body for scabies and for minor cuts.

LOGANIACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----|-----------|-----|---------|
| (24) | Strychnos Suberifera | ... | Kiyao | ... | Mtonga |
| | | | Kimatumbi | ... | Mnyaiya |
| | | | Kingindo | ... | Ngeshe |
| | | | Kingoni | ... | Mambuka |
| | | | Kinyasa | ... | Mbuka |

This tree grows all over the Southern Province. It has leaves that sprout on the branches as well as on the twigs, its fruit resembles a felty tennis ball, and is edible. The Wangindo pound up the leaves as a cure for stomach ache; the Wayao also use the pounded leaves for boils. The Wamwera rub the leaves over their faces prior to cutting up eland, which is endowed with animistic properties.

MELIACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|-------------|
| (25) | Ekebergia SP Gillman 333 | ... | Kiyao | ... | Kikumbo |
| | | | Kiswa | ... | Mnungambusi |

A medium-sized tree giving little shade, and producing gum in quantity which becomes very hard on drying. It sprouts readily from cuttings, which are used for hedges. The very long roots make excellent fine light rope. The Wayao use the tree as a medicine for stomach ache in the following original manner; the bark is stripped up without severing it from the tree, cleaned and then chewed three times, after which the strip is knotted and left. The intention being to leave the ache in the tree.

(26) Khaya Nyasica	...	...	Kingoni	...	Mwawa
					Mjo
			Kiyao	...	Mbawa

A fine timber tree growing in valleys throughout the Province and easily recognized by its height and size. The Wayao place slices of the bark in their pots of washing water, as a cure for all aches and pains; a custom that is widely indulged in judging by the extent of damage done to tree trunks at washing places. This tree is also endowed with mystic properties for the Wayao; slivers of bark are taken from both sunny and shady sides of the trunk and placed in a bowl of water; a man wishing to have the same strength and power as the tree washes in this water standing on an ant hill at midnight.

It is interesting to note that exactly the same ritual is carried out with the bark of the wild kapok tree (*Bombax Rhodognaphalon*), No. 8 in this article, which is not such a fine tree.

MIMOSACEAE

(27) Acacia Campylacantha	...	Kiyao	...	Mtonya & Chitonia
		Kingoni	...	Kinyuma & Chiruma
		Kimakua	...	Itchitonia & Luweletele

This typical acacia grows all over Tunduru and carries a small pair of hooked thorns. The Wayao use the green and dry roots pounded up as a medicine for aching spleen; the skin near to the ache is cut with one of the thorns and the paste is rubbed into the scratch.

MORACEAE

(28) Ficus Brussei	...	...	Kiyao	...	Mkuju
---------------------------	-----	-----	--------------	-----	--------------

A large spreading tree with exposed roots generally accepted as being indicative of water, which grows only in valleys.

A café-au-lait coloured sap runs freely from cuts made in the bark. The fruits are edible, and the tree is distributed over most of the Province. The Wayao use the leaves soaked in water as a compress to restore breast milk, if it is not sufficient.

MYRTACEAE

(29) Syzygium Owariense	...	Kiyao	...	(Myonyo Mkwozi Muhuhu Mnyonyo Mayonywe Muu & Mbuu
		Kiyao	...	

Common everywhere in dry wet places both in Songea and Tunduru Districts, an evergreen with a wide variety in the size of its fleshy leaves, which begin to droop almost as soon as the branch is cut. The fruits are edible and are highly favoured by civets and baboons. The Wayao use the bark for a black dye, and the Wangoni use a paste made of pounded bark to waterproof their pombe baskets. They also use it as a medicine for stopping diarrhoea.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|---------|------|---------|
| (30) Syzygium Guineense | ... | Kiyao | ...) | |
| | | Kimwera | ...) | Mtepela |
| | | Kingoni | ...) | |

Widespread in Tunduru where the Wayao use the bark for a black dye. The fruits are also edible, and the tree seems to be confined to low-lying mbugas.

PAPILIONACEAE

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|----------|------|--------|
| (31) Afromosia Angolensis | ... | Kingoni | ...) | |
| | | Kiyao | ...) | Mbanga |
| | | Kingindo | ... | Manga |
| | | Kimakua | ... | Mwanga |

This tree, with a rather elliptical profile, is common in Tunduru. The light grey bark flakes off like a plane tree to expose a rusty yellow interior. The small round fruits are not edible, but the wood is widely used for the handles of implements, and for carving wooden spoons; the wood itself being both hard and heavy.

Both the Wangindo and the Wayao use it as a medicine for stomach ache and for tooth-ache; for the former, the bark is cooked green and the water from it drunk; and for the latter the bark is boiled in water and the sufferer sits over the pot with a blanket over his head, inhaling the steam through the mouth.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|---------------|
| (32) Pterocarpus Angolensis | ... | Kiyao | ... | Mtombati Kavu |
|------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|---------------|

This tree is common throughout the Province, and is universally known and widely used. It sprouts readily from cuttings and has a reddish sap, the colour of which caused it to be used as a protection from menstruating women, who can potentially ruin a crop of rice or groundnuts by coming near at planting time. A sliver of bark placed amongst the seeds will prevent this. These two crops, together with bambara groundnuts, are connected, as they are regarded as difficult to grow as rice, or used particularly in the times of hunger.

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|---------------|
| (33) Dalbergia Nyasae | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Nundo, Nundwe |
| | | | Kimakua | ... | Mtipakali |
| | | | Kingoni | ... | Nyungandembo |

This tree grows widely in Tunduru, and is distinguishable by reddish coloured sap and numerous leaflets near to the end of the twigs. It flowers in October. The Wayao use it for violent diarrhoea, when all food of the sufferer is mixed before cooking with the ground bark. The sap from the bark is also used to squeeze over a serious wound as an antiseptic, and to promote quick healing.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|---------|-----|----------------------|
| (34) | Swartzia Madagascariensis | Kiyao | ... | Chinenye &
Mnenye |
| | | Kingoni | ... | Kingenye |

A rough-barked tree occurring in Tunduru, producing a very hard wood much used for charcoal burning. The Wayao cook the green leaves in water as an aperient, and the fruits are beaten up and used as a fish poison. The seeds themselves look like a bunch of dark-brown "cocktail" sausages.

POLYGALACEAE

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---------|-----|-----------|
| (35) | Securidaca Longipedunculata | Kiyao | ... | Chiguruka |
| | | Kingoni | ... | Uguruka |

A small tree or shrub, throwing very little shade, with small irregularly-placed leaves all over the twigs and branches.

The winged seeds are like those of the Sycamore. It is spread wide in Tunduru, where the branches are used for rough brooms, and the leaves are eaten by eland. The roots of the tree are regarded as an aphrodisiac by the Wayao, who rub the roots in water until they become frothy, and then eat the froth.

PROTEACEAE

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----------|
| (36) | Protea SP. | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Chinchisi |
| | | | | Kingoni | ... | Khaywa |

An average-sized tree with large, thick, blunted leaves and orange coloured twigs. It is used a lot for minor carpentry such as doors. The Wayao pound up the green leaves and use them either raw or in water as an aperient.

ROSACEAE

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|--------|
| (37) | Parinari Holstii | ... | ... | Kingoni | ... | Mbura |
| | | | | Kiyao | ... | Mpembu |
| | | | | Kimwera | ... | Mula |

A large tree with edible fruit, growing all over the Province. It is a good shade tree and is distinguishable by its leaves having silver under sides and serrated edges; the leaves are of medium size. The fruits are eaten by civets and baboons, in whose dung the nut-like seeds are frequently seen.

It is a good timber tree. The Wangoni use the pounded up leaves as a cure for stomach-ache, and the Wayao strongly believe that a leaf tied to a walking stick will protect the holder from rain during his safari; two leaves protecting two persons and so on.

RUBIACEAE

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-----|---------|-----|-------------|
| (38) | Crossopteryx Febrifuga | ... | Kiyao | ... | Mkako |
| | | | Kimakua | ... | Nukuchajeli |
| | | | Kingoni | ... | Nchenoheli |

A small Tunduru tree with medium-sized pubescent leaves, much used for local carpentry such as spoons. The wood is reported to be resistant to white ants. The Wayao drink water, in which the bark has been soaked, as a cure for intestinal worms.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----------|
| (39) | Randia Taylorii | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Msondaka |
| | | | | Kimakua | ... | Papa |
| | | | | Kingoni | ... | Mukondoka |

A medium-sized tree growing in Tunduru with prominent, paired thorns on the twigs and the leaves sprouting in tight groups.

The Wayao use the pounded up seeds as a fish poison and inhale the pounded up roots to reduce the pain of tooth-ache.

The fruits when pounded up cause violent vomiting and are frequently used in initiation rites.

SAPINDACEAE

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| (40) | Dialopsis Africana | ... | ... | Kiyao & | | |
| | | | | Kingoni | ... | Mjuju |
| | | | | Kingoni | ... | Kimanji |

A small tree with a light canopy of leaflets that vary very much in size. The Wayao pound up the roots while still fresh and bind the paste on to aching legs.

A common tree in the higher parts of western Tunduru.

UMBELLIFERAE

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----|--|-------|-----|----------|
| (41) | Steganotaenia Analiacea | ... | | Kiyao | ... | Nakapewa |
| | | | | | | Nahauti |

A smooth tree smelling slightly of lemons, growing in Tunduru, where the Wayao pound the green leaves and smear them over infants suffering from convulsions. The leaves are concentrated near to the end of the twigs and branches and the bark peels off easily.

VERBENACEAE

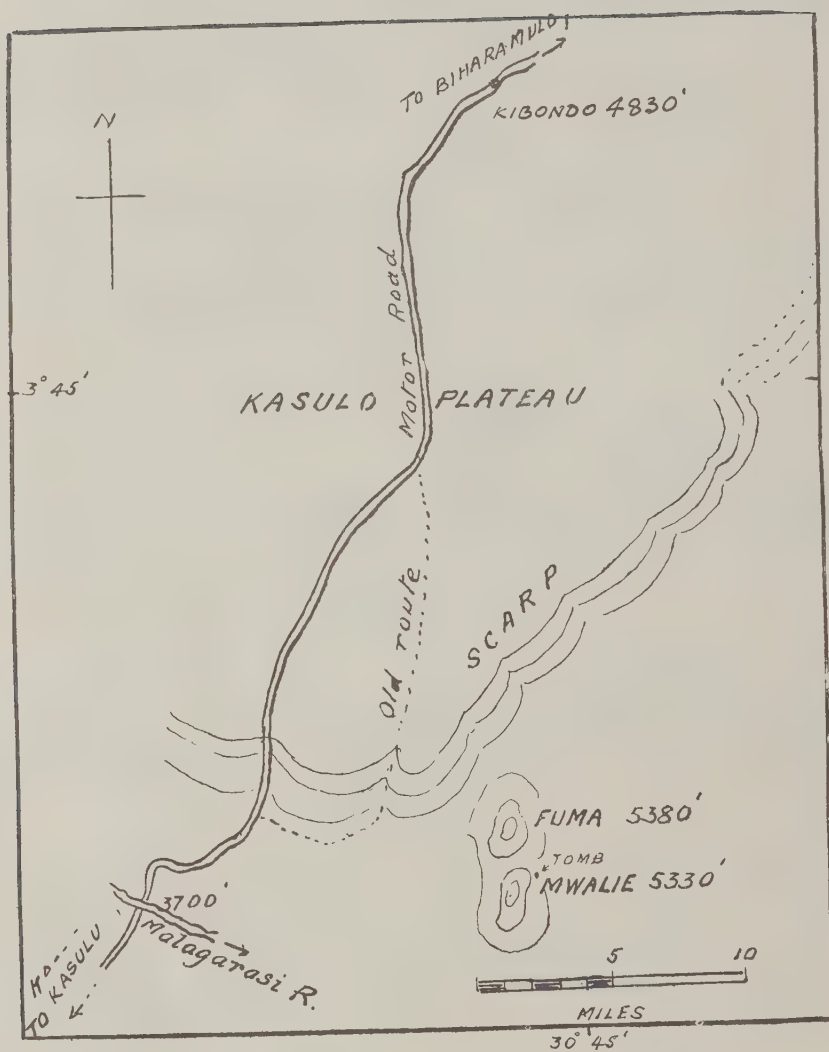
- | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------|-----|--------------|
| (42) | Vitex SP. | ... | ... | ... | Kiyao | ... | Nakapintimbi |
| | | | | | Kinyasa | ... | Mkuro |

A common Tunduru tree with leaflet in groups of three, and of no economic uses owing to its large number of small branches.

The Wayao pound freshly gathered leaves and wrap the paste in a clean cloth, which is applied to sore eyes.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----|-----|--|---------|-----|-----------------|
| (43) | Vitex Doniana | ... | ... | | | | Mpindi & Mpinji |
| | | | | | Kingoni | ... | Mpingi |
| | | | | | | | Mpichi |

A close relative of the previous species and equally common, but it has edible fruits and yellow stalks. The Wayao inhale the steam of cooked leaves as a cure for toothache, and also drink the water, in which pounded up leaves have been cooked, as a cure for stomach ache.

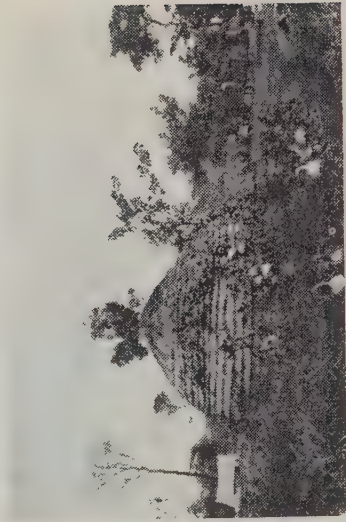




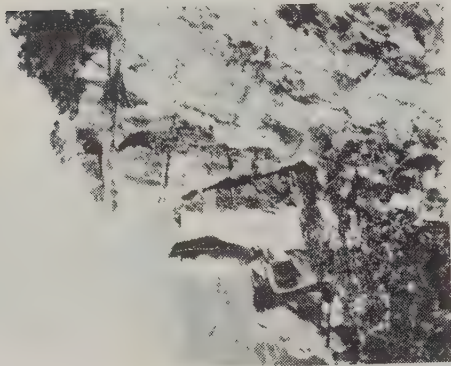
Tomb of Sultans, Mwalie Mt. S.E. Kibondo



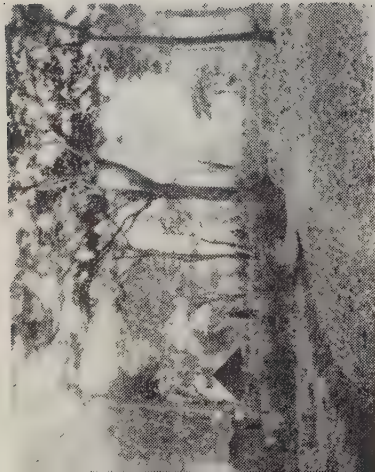
Slopes of Kihungwe Mt. from S. end,
Kahanga ridge.



Gourds growing, Kalilo, N. Kasulu.



Mwale Mt.—sacred mt.
S.E. Kibondo,
chert-sandstone



Kasulu-Kibondo road Mpemvi Cp.



Open forest.

AN UNUSUAL PLACE AND FORM OF BURIAL

By Sir Edmund Teale

In a very unfrequented and sparsely inhabited part of the Kibondo district of the Territory there is a natural cavern used as a tomb for the chiefs of that region. It is situated about thirty miles in a straight line south from Kibondo, but only ten miles east of the nearest point on the motor road from Kasulu at about six miles on the north side of the Malagarasi crossing.

The site lies amidst most impressive and unusually rugged cliff scenery, providing an appropriate setting, particularly to those influenced by superstitious traditions.

Here are the twin mountains of Fuma and Mwalie with precipitous sandstone cliffs and forming outliers of an imposing eastern scarp of the Kibondo plateau.

The interesting feature of the burial is that the bodies of the departed chiefs are embalmed, enclosed in the skins of cattle and hung from the roof of the cavern. It would be interesting to know more about this practice and its history, so this note is written in the hope that it will call for a more detailed contribution from some administrative officer or other person in a position to collect the information.

The tomb itself consists of a rough tower-like mass of sandstone about a hundred feet high, isolated from the main cliff and surrounded by large fallen blocks of sandstone, dislodged in the course of ages by the weathering of the cliffs. The cavern itself is narrow but lofty, and owes its origin to the atmospheric decay of the rock along a major vertical joint.

The place was visited by the writer in 1928 when making a geological survey of the region and apparently had only been visited about twice before by an administrative officer of the district. An old man belonging to a small neighbouring farm village was the caretaker and he willingly acted as a guide on the understanding that he was rewarded as on the two previous occasions.

On arrival at the tomb, the old man made a great demonstration, first throwing several eggs at the face of the rock, then he harangued in a loud voice the spirits of the departed chiefs, calling for their blessing on the local people, their farms and on the white visitor, after which he stood at the entrance holding out his hand for the reward.

Any intending investigator should be provided with an electric torch which unfortunately I did not have. Are there any other known instances of embalming in the Territory?

LAYING THE GHOSTS

By H. A. Fosbrooke

The highest point in Kondoa District (Central Province) is Mkonke Mountain (7,195 feet) (*Fig. 1*), which forms the highest and easternmost point of the scarp which bounds the Masai Steppe on the West. Rising a sheer 3,000 feet from the plains it forms a conspicuous landmark and has attracted to itself amongst Europeans the name "Ghost Mountain".

Strictly speaking this is erroneous, as the particular rocks (*Fig. 11*) from which the ghost legend springs are about three miles distant from and three thousand feet below the peak of Mkonke. The legend, which is reproduced below, is of interest not only in explanation of the name but also as a good example of a legend extolling to Africans a virtue—help to the aged and weak—which Europeans also hold in admiration. This is in contradistinction to many local fables in which spiv-like trickery is held up as a model for the rising generation to follow.

The legend, according to one informant, is this.

Long, long ago, before the Germans or even the Arabs had come into Irangi country, a group of young men and women were going from their homes to dance in a neighbouring village. On the road they met an old woman who had been cutting firewood; she had made up her bundle but was unable to lift it on to her head. But she appealed in vain for help from the group of thoughtless young dancers on pleasure bent. Behind the main body of young folk however there was a group of four, two youths and two girls, who, when they observed the old woman's plight, helped her by placing the bundle on her head.

She then told them that on their way to the dance they would be overtaken by a heavy storm and that all their companions would run to a cave to shelter from the rain. She warned her helpers not to do this, but to seek shelter under some trees, which they would find nearby. Thereupon she disappeared.

The rearguard then caught up with the main party, and, as the old woman had foretold, the rain came on and everyone rushed for shelter into a cave formed by a jumble of big rocks. But those who had been warned stood under some nearby trees, from the shelter of which they were horrified to see one of the rocks fall down and trap the sheltering party.

The voices of the entombed party could be heard inside calling, "Mother, Mother" and "Father, Father". But the relief party whom the survivors called from the neighbouring villages laboured in vain. The more they dug, the more the stone settled down. The voices inside got weaker and by the tenth day were silent. Since then the spot has been known as *Imalavavini*, the place of destruction of the dancers.

This legend has been repeated to me by numerous informants and not unnaturally variations occur. One is that the survivors consisted of a group of six, two men, their two wives and their two sisters. The village from which they came and the scene of the dance which they were making for



Mkonke Mountain, 7,195 feet, viewed from the plains 3,000 feet below.



IMALAVAVINI—"The Place of Destruction of the Dancers"

also varies, and some say it was on return from a dance that the disaster occurred. But all agree on the main points of the tale, and on the lesson to be drawn from it. There is no record of the number who died, but the locals estimate that a party going to a dance from one village to another would consist of anything between twenty and forty youths and maidens.

Sacrifices are still performed on the site of the disaster; cattle and sheep are slaughtered and beer poured out as a libation. As one informant said, "When there is trouble in the family, perhaps sickness of your children or your cattle, the diviner may say 'the spirit of one of those whom the old woman killed is troubling you', so you make sacrifice on the spot accordingly".

Others say that the voices of the entombed ones can still be heard. But to hear this is a portent of disaster which can only be avoided by prompt propitiation.

These beliefs are widely held, even in a region in which Christianity and Islam have both made considerable progress, so it cannot be claimed that the ghosts of the dancers have been effectively laid; but this record has at least pulled them down three thousand feet from the lofty position to which incomplete enquiry into the legend had exalted them.

SOME NOTES ON THE DUCK AND GEESE OF USUKUMA.

By B. J. Dudbridge

The heart of Sukuma is the four districts of Mwanza, Kwimba, Maswa and Shinyanga. The first borders the shores of Victoria Nyanza, the second has only a few miles of coast line and stretches south to Shinyanga, and is bordered on the east by Maswa. This area is termed semi-arid and seen in the dry season this is only too true. The rainfall varies between twenty-eight and forty-five inches. It tends to be heaviest on the shores of Nyanza and becomes less toward the south and east. Towards Lake Eyasi it is very sparse. This rainfall is very erratic both in quantity from year to year and in its distribution throughout the rainy season.

Such a country does not sound inviting to wild fowl, but during the rains it is yearly visited by large numbers. Besides natural swampy areas in the basins of the major rivers and sometimes on higher ill-drained ground, there is the attraction of the paddy fields and the dams built by the Native Administration. Some of the major dams are very definite attractions as the geese use them as their headquarters and towards the end of the rains go out morning and evening to feed on the paddy fields.

Good shooting can be had in the rains and, if the country is well known, in some areas shooting can be had most of the year. The sport varies considerably. A walk round the paddy fields in December-January or again toward the ends of the rains will give a reasonable bag. Again the various dams can be shot but the birds after making a few circles tend to move off though they may come in again towards mid-day or at dark. But the best shooting of all is at the skeins of geese as they flight. These birds usually make a large dam their headquarters. At dawn they move off to feed. If there is plenty of water about they stay on the feeding grounds until the evening when they flight back to their headquarters, sometime between sunset and darkness. But toward the end of the rains when the feeding grounds are drying up they often come in again between nine and ten a.m. and flight out again in the evening. To ensure a successful shoot local knowledge and a study of their behaviour is essential.

In 1947 at Ngudu, the headquarters of the Kwimba District, the Water Development Department built a haffir of about 20,000,000 gallons capacity. This did not take in a great quantity of water until the end of March 1948 and it was some time before the duck found it. In January it was used by the Whistling Teal for a few days and occasionally by a couple of Pochard. In April the duck and geese found it. From May to December counts were made of the number of wild fowl on the dams.

These are of considerable interest as they give an indication of migration dates. The counts were usually made in the evening and at irregular intervals owing to absences from the station, etc. The results are detailed in the table below.

Species.	Numbers counted on various dates, 1948.											
	25/5	29/5	8/6	26/6	13/7	14/11	21/11	28/11	12/12	29 12		
KNOB-NOSE GOOSE	200	100	300	200	300	100	—	2	3	17		
WHITE-FACED DUCK *	50	100	30	50	30	50	20	11	11	20	50	
SPUR WING	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
EGYPTIAN GOOSE	—	2	—	—	80	83	—	—	—	—	—	
RED-BILLED TEAL	—	—	—	—	—	2	6	—	2	—	—	
SHOVELLER	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	
AFRICAN POCHARD	—	—	—	3	11	1	—	—	—	—	—	
COOTS	5	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	7	10		

* 50 seen on 18/8, 23 on 25/8, 16 on 29/9, 40 on 1/10, 14 on 2/11.

The wild fowl of this area may be divided into four groups though there is considerable overlapping between the groups. In the short rains from November to January comes the first migration which is characterised by the Fulvous Whistling Teal, the Shoveller, Hottentot Teal and a larger number of Red-Billed Teal than usually found. Gargany and Pintail are sometimes seen. This group of duck is definitely migrating and does not stay for long. Toward the end of March the second wave appears and this is almost entirely made up of Knobnose Geese. At first they are few and then can be seen in large gaggles. A considerable proportion of the birds are young and in their first season. The third wave comes in September—October when the Egyptian Geese arrive from the Lake shore. This wave is local and based on certain of the larger dams. The remaining group consists of the birds that can be found somewhere or other during the greater part of the year. It contains the ubiquitous White-Faced Duck, the African Pochard and the Red-Billed Teal. The Maccoa and White-Backed Duck also belong to this group though they are very local in their distribution.

The Lake shore is a natural breeding ground for a number of wild fowl and the inland areas of the Sukuma Districts are primarily feeding grounds which are left when the time to breed draws near. This is well exemplified by the behaviour of the Egyptian Goose and Knob-nosed Goose. At first sight it would look as though some of the larger dams would provide excellent breeding sites. They would but for the cattle. These dams are built to water cattle and as they come down everywhere to the water edge, the reeds and grass are trampled and the birds scared away. Breeding does take place on some of the smaller dams which are forbidden to cattle and serve solely as a domestic water supply, and on the Malya dam which is protected. It is certain that the White-Faced Duck, Red-Billed Teal, Egyptian Goose, Spur-Winged Goose, and Knob-nosed Goose have bred on the dams. Also there is reason to believe that Hottentot Teal, Maccoa Duck and White-Backed Duck breed, though this has yet to be confirmed.

The list of species found in the Sukuma Districts is considerably larger than found on the Ngudu dam. Some are common and some are rare. Below is a list of species recorded from the four districts:—

Genus *Erismatura*

E. Maccoa—Maccoa Duck.

This species is confined to shallow and reedy dams which are not disturbed by cattle. It can be seen on and off all the year round and is believed to breed on these dams. It provides little sport unless walked up waist deep amongst the water weeds.

Genus *Thalassornis*

T. Leuconotus leuconotus—White-Backed Duck.

This duck is found together with the Maccoa duck. It is rather less common.

Genus *Nyrocca*

N. Erythrophthalma: African Pochard.

This duck is erratic in its distribution though it has been seen at all times of the year. It is most plentiful and can be seen in groups of up to thirty during the early months of the year.

Genus *Spatula*

S. Clypeata—Shoveller.

This bird passes through Sukumaland between November and January. It does not stay long in any one locality. It is always seen in eclipse. The identification needs checking as it possibly may be *Anas capensis* the Cape Shoveller.

Genus *Anas*

A. Crecca—Common Teal.

A duck resembling this bird in eclipse has been shot in the Sibiti river area, the boundary between Maswa and Singida at the beginning of the short rains. It is quite common and flies in packs which wheel and change direction in the typical manner of teal. The identification requires checking.

A. Erythrorhyncha—Red-Billed Teal.

This duck is found in small numbers, usually not more than 5 at a time throughout the year on dams, paddy fields and even road spoil pits. It is commoner during the short rains. Given undisturbed conditions it will breed locally. Flappers with their parents were seen on Alimasi (Shinyanga) dam in April 1950.

A. Punctata—Hottentot Teal.

The habits of this bird are the same as the Red Billed Teal. It pairs in March and is believed to breed locally. My labrador picked a full grown and undamaged specimen from the long grass bordering a dam wall but despite search no nest was found. It was a healthy bird and there seemed to be no other reason for it hiding. There had been a pair on the dam for some time.

A. Querquedula—Gargany.

An occasional bird passes through Sukumaland during the short rains. A rather rare visitor.

Genus *Dafila*

D. Acuta—Pintail.

An occasional visitor passing through in the short rains.

Genus *Dendrocygna*

D. Viduata. White-faced Tree Duck.

This bird can be found all the year round in Usukuma. It is known to breed on the dams and swamps. It probably breeds twice as flappers have been seen in April (Malya) and late June (Mwasita). It is only the disturbance caused by cattle that stops this bird from breeding on all suitable waters.

D. Fulva. Whistling Duck.

Large packs of this duck pass through Sukumaland during the short rains. They do not stay long in one place before they move on. In 1951 they could be found in quantity in May, presumably returning. This had not been noticed before.

Genus Sarkidiornis

S. Melanota. Knob-nosed Goose.

This goose visits Sukumaland and is mainly attracted by the lush feeding in the paddy fields. It is seldom seen in large numbers before the beginning of April and the main body usually move off before the end of July. The earliest birds to arrive are usually full grown but in April there are a great number of immatures in the gaggles. The dry season of 1949 upset the breeding of this goose. When they arrived in April 1950 a large number of them were very small though very strong on the wing. It is certain that in 1949 they bred very much later than usual. There were many fewer than usual in 1950 and as yet they do not seem to have made up their numbers. As the season advances the yellow colour in the lower part of the abdomen of the males becomes very distinct. They then move off. This goose bred on Malya dam in April, 1951 but I consider this to be usual. The normal breeding time, in some place unknown, would be about July—September as many of the birds reaching Sukumaland in April are not full grown. This goose raids the rice shambas and does considerable damage. On a number of occasions four ounces of paddy have been taken from their crops. As they often go about in gaggles of over a hundred birds the amount eaten by them is a season must be enormous. This goose is often to be found grazing on young grass.

Genus Alopochen

A. Aegyptiacus—Egyptian Goose.

Normally this bird pairs and breeds on the Lake shore between January crater is now almost completely infilled with ash from the many explosions cit.), must have resembled the saucer-shaped southern crater of today. of the newer northern crater. The latter, in 1913, according to Reck (loc. and June. One pair bred on Malya dam in April, 1951. Later in the year it visits Usukuma in large gaggles which base themselves in the larger dams. This species may be found fighting in to the dams in the evening between May and October. Such gaggles contain a number of immature birds. Although these geese may be seen every year the big skeins fighting in to water in the evening are local in their distribution and commoner on the dams within thirty miles of the Lake shore.

Genus Plectropterus

P. quambensis quambensis. Spur-Winged Goose.

This goose is widely distributed among the dams and flooded areas in the rains. It is rarely found in large numbers at a time and not particularly common. They pair toward the end of the rains. A nest was reported on Alimasi dam (Shinyanga) in April. They bred in the rice pans near Malya in April of 1951.

This list may not be exhaustive as other ducks have been reported but their identification is not at all certain.

The question is often asked whether the wild fowl are on the increase or decrease or just holding their own. It is not easy to attempt even a guess at an answer as the numbers arriving fluctuate from year to year. Observations over four years suggests that they are holding their own

save the Knob-nosed Goose which are definitely fewer since their breeding was upset by the drought of 1949. The number of shotguns is on the increase but wild fowl are not always easy to approach, and it is very doubtful if more are shot now than in the past. But the increase in the number of guns does mean that the dams are shot more often even if more are not killed. This continual disturbance on some waters keeps the birds on the move. In the past they used to settle for long periods. The solution to this appears to be the formation of gun clubs. All guns shoot together and then leave the water undisturbed for a period. An occasional shoot by four or five guns does less to harass the birds than continual disturbance by solitary guns.

The number of dams increases from year to year but unfortunately the larger are used to water cattle and the disturbance prevents the duck and geese from breeding. On the protected dams such as Alamas (Shinyanga) and Malya (Maswa) and on some of the shallow but large reedy stretches of water on dams built for domestic water only, they breed. If more breeding places could be protected a larger resident population would soon be built up. This may well happen when the dams are built to open up areas for dry season grazing. They would be undisturbed except by game in the rains and should provide ideal breeding sites.

TRIBAL HISTORY AND LEGEND

HOW THE WADOE GOT THEIR NAME

By A. B. M. Mtawa

This word Wadoe is not the name of a tribe, but is only a word which has appeared recently. In the country of Kibwebanduka or Kiwebanduka there is no tribe called Wadoe, but there were other tribes there: Wanyamwendo, Wavilila, Wasukuma, Wamilao, Wakazumba, Wapimbili and many more. Over all these people there was only one king, called Mwene (the word means King). This king who ruled all the tribes had to be an Mnyamwendo. The people who lived in Kiwebanduka were greatly skilled in fighting, and tribes far off heard the praise of the warriors of Kiwebanduka. Now at that time the Wakamba were making trouble with Mwekambi, a Shirazi who lived on the Bagamoyo coast, and this Mwekambi journeyed to Kiwebanduka to get the King to drive the Wakamba away. Mwene collected together a large number of his subjects and put them into service as soldiers, and in a short time taught them all to fight well. When they arrived in the hinterland of Bagamoyo, the Wakamba and the warriors of Kiwebanduka fought together, and at the end of the battle the Wakamba were beaten and fled to Mombasa and part of Kenya Colony. Mwene was then regarded for his skill in driving out the Wakamba. The Wakwere said to Mwekambi, "If we give this Mwene a reward and he returns home, when the Wakamba hear of it will they not come back and plague us again?" Mwekambi said "Truly it is better that Mwene should stay here" Mwene replied, "I could stay here, but I am a king and do not hoe the fields, now if you want me to stay who will hoe for me?" The Wakwere said, "If you become our ruler, we will agree to bring you food every year." Mwene agreed to stay, and became a great king. Not one company of his people went home, but all of them settled with their king Mwene. Now when the people who live on the coast see how the soldiers of Mwene carry bows and quivers full of arrows in their hands, they ask: "Where are you going, men of Kiwebanduka?" And they reply: "You may call us settlers, for do you not call the men of Kiwebanduka to settle here?" So it was that they came to be called settlers, for they had forgotten that their home was at Kiwebanduka. But in the end the coast people stopped calling them settlers, for they said: "You are not really settlers, because a settler comes to live in a country as a citizen; but you are just spongers (Wadoezi), you come and sponge upon the country and rule it by your strength". When they were called this, even Mwene answered to the name without objecting to it; then the name was abbreviated to Wadoe instead of Wadoezi, and a single person is called Mdoe to this very day. This name of Wadoe was shared by all those who came from Kiwebanduka. If you want proof of this story, ask any one of these Wadoe: "What is your tribe?" and he will reply, "Mdoe". Then ask: "An

Mdoe of what tribe?" and he will reply, "Mpimbili", or "Mnyamwendo" or "Mmilao", telling you his particular tribe. And if he replies: "I am just an Mdoe, I have no other tribe", you will know that he is not a real Mdoe. For there were some who paid their way into the tribe in the days of Mwene, when this name appeared, because many wanted to be called Wadoe and to get the reputation of having come from Kiwebanduka with Mwene. So some of the other people paid slaves or cattle for the privilege of being called Wadoe and being feared; for the Wadoe were greatly feared, and are still a tribe well known for their civilization to this very day.



"The bird escaped. . . ."

Drawn by A. J. Neville

STORIES OF THE WANGINDO**By C. J. P. Ionides****No. 1**

A man and his wife lived at Ndapata and had two children, both of whom were girls. One day the man, who often trapped birds on his shamba for food, caught a most beautiful bird "LIKENGERE" (an imaginary bird) which he decided to tame because of its beauty. One day the younger daughter took the "LIKENGERE" out to play with it and the bird escaped. On her confessing this to her parents, they flew into a fearful passion and threatened to kill her if she failed to recapture the bird. The child therefore went off to where the bird was sitting in a tree, scattered maize on the ground, and sang, "Likengere, kengelea wale wapite, ruka ruka chemedi nenda kalinge gwa mnamu" (Likengere, come near, and eat this maize)—this song is repeated several times). The bird then sang in reply, "Ngengeng, ngengeng," (repeated several times), while it was eating the maize and flying from side to side to avoid being caught by the child. The bird finished the maize, flew off, and arrived at Singino still pursued by the child. When the bird reached Singino the whole population turned out in wonder at its beautiful appearance. The child came up and again scattered maize and sang to the bird as before, "Likengere, etc." (repeated several times). The bird again came down and also sang as before, "Ngengeng" etc. (repeated many times). This time, however, while evading the child, the bird was caught by a merchant. Upon this, the child begged the merchant to take her away, keep her until she was grown up, and marry her, since she would be killed if she returned home without the bird. The merchant agreed and in due course the girl grew up and was married to him while they kept the bird. After travelling about in many places, they returned one day to Ndapata, where the girl made herself known to her parents who of course did not recognise her. When they did they trembled very much with surprise upon seeing the bird; and begged her to remain at Ndapata but the girl said, "No, I have this bird entirely to thank for my good fortune and not you, my parents, and I never wish to see you again". Upon this she departed for Singino with her husband and the bird and never saw her parents again.

No. 2

The lion had three cubs, the eldest was a male, and the two younger were females. The hyena and the baboon wanted to marry the two females and the lion agreed that they should do so in return for meat as he was getting old.

On the first day the baboon went out and found some wildbeeste, upon which he turned himself into a lion, stalked, and killed a wildebeeste and, turning himself back into his proper shape, started to carry back the meat to the lion.

On the way back he met the hyena who was bringing in a load of crabs, all he had succeeded in killing. The hyena offered to carry the baboon's meat for him while the baboon brought in the smaller load of crabs and, after some demur, the baboon agreed.

The hyena then hurried in ahead with his load of meat, which he claimed that he had killed himself, and took all the credit, while the baboon only had the crabs to show.

The next day, the baboon, who determined to revenge himself on the hyena, persuaded the lion to accompany him while he killed a wildebeeste. He set a noose in the path in a bushy place, jumped easily over it himself, and eventually goaded the lion into trying to do so too, when the lion, being old and unable to jump high, was caught in the noose and strangled.

The baboon then wrapped the lion's carcass all over with grass and started to carry it in. As before, the hyena offered to exchange loads with him, and the baboon again agreed to take in the hyena's load of crabs while the hyena carried in his meat.

The hyena again hurried in first, dumped his load, and told the three lion cubs that he had brought them in the meat. First the youngest lioness peeped into the bundle and said, "This looks like father". The hyena told her not to be a fool. Then the larger lioness peeped in and said, "This does look like father", and was also told not to be a fool. Then the young lion tore open the load and said, "This is father!" The hyena in vain tried to explain that this load was the baboon's and not his. The baboon pointed out that his load was only crabs like the day before. The young lion then leapt on the hyena and mauled him until his back was raw all over and the lionesses refused to have anything more to do with him.



"The baboon had only the crabs to show"

Drawn by A. J. Neville

SEEN IN THE OPEN

Notes on Birds, Beasts, Butterflies, Beetles, etc.*

1. The Black-bellied Florican or Long-legged Bustard

(*Lissotis melanogaster melanogaster*)

This is a common bird in the open grassy parts of the Bukoba district and I have seen it frequently when out for an evening stroll. The first I saw I located after hearing its most unusual—indeed extraordinary—cry, and after that I found that, like many birds, I heard it more often than I saw it. Priest records that its call is a drawling whistle, a long pause and then a pop, like a cork drawn suddenly from a bottle; but this is an inadequate description of one of the queerest bird calls to be heard in Tanganyika. I spent nearly an hour on two occasions watching the bird make this call repeatedly and will endeavour to describe how it sounded to me.

On each occasion the bird was standing on the side of an ant-hill and I seated on another ant-hill close by, watched it through binoculars. The call, which takes about five seconds to make, reminds one irresistibly of a dowager taking umbrage—and then retaliating in a most un-dowager-like way by spitting in the offender's eye! This may sound far-fetched but any one who has seen the extraordinary behaviour of the bird will, I think, agree that the comparison is justified. As it commences to call it lifts its head, tilts it backwards on its long neck and utters a strangled sound like "wark"; it then suddenly sinks its head between its shoulders and somewhat malevolently takes aim for exactly four seconds; finally it shoots its neck straight out in front with an explosive "pitt". Priests "drawling whistle" is really a strangled bull-frog-like cry and the "pop like a cork" is more reminiscent of an errand-boy spitting through his teeth or of the lash of a whip.

It is rather shy and the observer should watch from a distance of about fifty yards if he does not want the bird to take to the wing and, looking remarkably like a flying-boat coming in to land, disappear into the long grass.

J.P.M.

2. Out of the strong came forth sweetness

Some locals came upon the carcase of an elephant that had recently died. When cutting up the animal it was discovered that a bees' nest had stuck in the animal's throat. The type of nest is one commonly

* We hope that all who have seen something of interest out of doors will send us an account of it for this new series of "Notes". The series is designed to include notes of a kind which would not perhaps normally be published in one of the more scientific journals, but we would ask that they should be of general interest, add to our knowledge of the subject described and relate to Tanganyika.—Editor.

seen in the "Miombo" forest, in the fork of a tree. It is thought that the elephant, while putting a branch into its mouth, forced the nest to the back of its throat and was either choked or stung to death. The weight of the nest was $7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

3. Serengeti Safari

While on safari on the Serengeti Plains in January, the Game Warden (Mr. G. H. Swynnerton) and Game Ranger (Mr. O. Milton) noted the following items of interest:—

On the road from Ngorongoro to Loliondo, near the hill called Lemutaa, a Golden Jackal (*Canis aureus bea* (Heller) was noticed engaged with something on the ground. The car was stopped and through binoculars it was observed that the jackal had a large snake, five or six feet long (? Hissing Sand Snake, *Psammophis Sibilans* (Linnaeus)). On seeing the car stop, the jackal managed to coil the snake up and carry it off in its mouth across the plain to safety.

In the same area there was a continual stream of animals trekking north. The advance guard consisted of "Tommy" (Thomson's Gazelle) and Greater Bustards. Towards the rear of the advancing Tommy, a smattering of zebra appeared. The latter gradually increased in number until they predominated. These in turn gave way to wildebeeste, the whole lot moving in a steady stream northwards. It was estimated that at least twenty thousand animals were involved in this migration, which probably originated in the Ngorongoro Crater. From leading Tommy to rearmost wildebeeste was about ten miles.

On the borders of Kenya a pair of birds was noted perched on the branch of a tree. They flew from tree to tree carrying on a duet and seemingly making love to one another. In the evening, one of the birds was seen to drop to the ground and vanish down a small hole under a short shrub. A few minutes later the second bird arrived and disappeared in the same way. It was confirmed that the birds were Ground Barbets (*Trachyphonus darnaudi usambiro*, Neumann) which apparently nest underground.

Near Klein's Camp, at about ten o'clock in the morning, three caracal (*Caracal caracal nubicus*, J. B. Fischer) were seen together bounding away in the bushes. These are mainly nocturnal animals, and are rarely seen by day.

On the west of Naabi (Lion) Hill on the Ngorongoro -Banagi Hill road, another migration of wildebeeste, "Tommy" and zebra, larger than the one referred to above, was witnessed. There must have been two to three hundred thousand of them as the herds stretched to the horizon on all sides. They took little notice of humans or vehicles but went on grazing. It was a most wonderful sight.

This migration had probably originated in the dry season grazing grounds along the Grumeti and Mbalageti Rivers towards Speke Gulf, the animals being attracted to the fresh green grass on the plains

which had sprung up after the first rains. It was noticed that the wildebeeste were divided into male herds and female herds. It was the beginning of the calving season and a few calves were noted.

G.H.S.

4 Geckos

Sometimes at night when I have been walking about the hard earth or sandy space around my camp I have seen small creatures running from my bare feet or sandled feet according to the dryness of the weather. Usually they have been mole-crickets or large beetles, something like cockroaches but harder and with yellow epaulettes. Recently however I have been puzzled by the "wiggly" look of some of these fugitives from my ambulations and towards dawn this morning I was able to confirm my suspicion that they are geckos, called in India "tucktoos."

So those night lizards who crawl on white walls to catch moths and other light-attracted insects go rambling on the ground for a change of food—other types of insects. I have seen them jump a foot or two from branches to other branches or from the great grey bole of a baobab tree to some other stance but I did not know they liked a night journey on the land almost as their kindred lizards—crocodiles—do.

The one I saw this morning ran to hide in a pile of firewood. He was a very gruesome-looking creature, pallid grey with an unusually large head.

R. de la B.B.

5. Instinct?

Large "elephants" ticks pulled off a three-months old elephant outside Utete Boma, Rufiji, in 1937, and thrown away, at once began crawling back to their host from whom the late Captain C. C. O'Hagan and I had pulled them.

What sense or instinct guided them? It could hardly be smell because we threw them in all directions. Relentlessly, with no hesitation, they made straight for the baby elephant—even from a dozen yards.

Another day I sat in the shade of the spreading palm-thatch eaves of a native house in Rufiji, resting with my hunting followers during a journey. From the debris of a storm-felled banda or palm-thatched shelter a dozen feet in front of us, across the sand-mud street, a rat came leaping in the bright midday sun. He fled past us into the house behind us. We went on talking.

In about two minutes, a five-feet long lead-coloured cobra came from the place in the debris whence the rat had emerged and unerringly followed in the tracks of the rat.

What guided that snake?

R. de la B.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor.

"Tanganyika Notes and Records",

Sir,

Messrs. Elliott's and Maguire's interesting letters and photographs of the late Chief Lugaga's wall paintings at Nyantakara led me to search through my old photographs but I was only able to find one picture which had not already been reproduced.

A recent safari took me through Nyantakara and I went prepared with colour film and flash bulbs ready to photograph the complete series of paintings in colour, but, alas, I was about 7 years too late, as Chief Lugina, Lugaga's successor, informed me that the house containing the paintings had collapsed about 1943.

An elder sister of the present Chief recollected the time when the paintings were done. According to her the British had been in the country for some time, so this would date the paintings as being done in the early twenties. The artist was said to be one, Zarama, (father's name unknown) by tribe a Sumbwa, trained in the Mission at Ushirombo. If this is correct perhaps the similarity of the name Zarama and the tribe Zaramu led to the idea that the artist came from the coast.

Your journal has indeed served a useful purpose in placing these paintings on permanent record before they became entirely lost. There must be many other records of the past in danger of destruction, and where by their nature it is impossible to preserve them *in situ* or to remove them to the Museum it is hoped that readers will supply you with photographs and descriptions, to which future generations in Tanganyika (African as well as European) will be able to turn to obtain a picture of the interesting past of their country.*

Yours faithfully,
H. A. FOSBROOKE.

* We echo this hope.—Ed.

25th February, 1951.

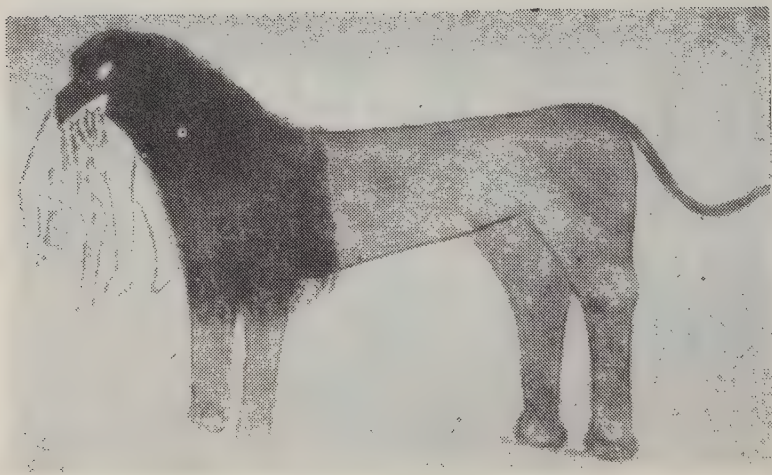
Dear Sir,

The reference to the late Chief Lugaga of Busambiro made by Mr. Maguire in his letter at page 109 of Tanganyika Notes and Records for July, 1950, led me to my diaries which show that the chief died on October 5th, 1932.



Mundusi
Key:—Mutoni Chief Lugina
Bwire

Photo by A. W. Wyatt, taken at Nyantakara, 13/10/1932 at the Ngoma to celebrate Chief Lugina's accession. Late nilotic fringe to hut in background.



Wall painting at Nyantakara

Photo by H. A. Fosbrooke

As District Commissioner of the Biharamulo District at the time and for some years, I knew the late chief very well and gladly endorse Mr. Maguire's tribute to him; although illiterate, he possessed, to a marked degree, qualities which made him a sage leader and a man "beloved of many".

I enclose a photo shewing the present Chief Lugina, who seems to be proving a worthy successor, taken with some of the "batoni" who were selected to act as regents during the boy's minority. The photo was taken a few days after Chief Lugaga's decease during the ceremonies held at Nyantakara to present the new chief to his people.

I may add that photos of the Nyantakara wall-paintings mentioned in your columns are now in the British Museum.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) A. W. WYATT.

Dear Sir,

I would greatly appreciate space in your Journal to seek the assistance of readers in the matter of a tribe called the Mbugu, who form a small island, ethnographically unidentified, amongst the more numerous Sambiaa in the Usambara Highlands.

One reads in the "Report to the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika, 1947" that "a negroid race, speaking a monosyllabic language, is believed to have migrated from southern Asia about the beginning of the pluvial period and to have overrun north and east Central Africa. The Mbugu in the Usambara Hills and the Gaya, near Shirati, Lake Victoria, are believed to be the only remaining descendants of this race, but ethnographical remains of them have survived amongst the Zaramo in the hinterland of Dar es Salaam, and the Uluguru Hills."

This perhaps follows H. H. Johnston who on page 16 of his monumental work "A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages" states "Yet it is evident that Equatorial Africa was at one time almost continuously Bantu in speech (save for the enclaves of Hamitic or Sudanic tongues such as Mbulunge and Mbugu or the click-using Useria and Sandawi) from the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza to the Indian Ocean;—"

But the Lushoto District Book in an unsigned article records:—

"The Wambugu are said to originate from Laikipya in Kenya Colony.

There was a famine and sickness and some of the people with their cattle moved from there and crossed the Ruvu (Pangani) River near Bwiko and settled on Lhassa Hill (near Bendera Hill) in the Mkoamzi Valley (or Mkoaszi). Here they remained, herded their cattle and increased in numbers.

"They were however frequently raided by the other Masai and the Wakwavi (Walumbwa) and left Lhassa and settled on the Usambara Mountains near Shume. They found the climate here too cold and damp, however, and moved on to Chakododo (Myitui) in Mlola area (Usambara Mountains).

"They were followed here by the Masai, but a tall fence was erected and they kept the Masai at bay.

"There is a legend that the Masai were anxious to capture from the Wambugu an exceptionally large bull with a particularly loud "bellow", and that this was the principal cause of their persecution by the Masai.

"The Elders advised that this bull should be placed outside the "Fence" so that it could be captured by the raiding Masai.

"This was done and the bull was captured and it is stated that from this date the fighting ended.

"The Wambugu still look on Lhassa as the tribal headquarters and all their principal ceremonies take place there".

The Nilo-hamitic connection suggested in the foregoing is confirmed by a colleague, Mr. Cory, who, writing in connection with the recently published ethnographic map, stated:—

"The Mbugu in Usambara are Kwavi, i.e., Nilo-hamitic origin, and arrived at their present domicile via Pare only three generations ago".

Finally, Mr. Graham Hunter, Curator of King George V Museum, was kind enough to give me the following note:—

"The "Wambugu say (Jumbe and others) that they were originally 'connected' with the Wambugwe, but that they broke away long ago. One old man told me of certain observances (this old man was not Mbugu but Pare, I believe) that the Wambugwe have to observe when an Mbugu stays in their area".

As far as is known the Mbugwe, of Mbulu District, are pure Bantu both ethnically and linguistically (save for a ruling clan), so this 'connection' is more likely to be in the nature of 'utani' (joking relationship) than by way of common origin.

Thus we have the one tribe described as remnants of "a negroid race, speaking a monosyllabic language", as, linguistically speaking, one of the 'enclaves of Hamitic or Sudanic tongues such as Mbulunge and Mbugu', as of Masai origin from Laikipia, and at the same time suspected of being related to the Bantu Mbugwe.

Thus any help your readers can give in resolving this problem would be much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,
H. A. FOSBROOKE.
P.O. Arusha.

Sir,—The following note on the food of the Rainbow trout in the Mgeta River at Bunduki in the Uluguru Mountains, Morogoro District, may interest some of your readers. It is based on about half a dozen stomachs of trout taken in September, 1950, and January, 1951 and it is amplified by the information of local Africans who seem to have perhaps a too significant knowledge. The Luguru equivalents are given and names in bold type are of food species actually seen in stomachs. The food of trout in European waters is stated to fall into the five groups which are here followed for comparison.

(a) **Insects.**

1. KIDANUKILA. Grasshoppers (Seen in stomachs from Western Usambaras).
2. FINGI. **Caddis-fly larvae**, the nymph of the fly-fisher's "Sedge".
3. — **Adults of the gnat, Simulium**, the nymph of which is an important trout food in Europe.
4. — **Larvae of May-flies**, these as in Europe appear to be important food species.
5. MENDE. Cockroach-like **Larvae of the Dragon Fly**, taken also in Europe.
6. KILUNKULIA. **Adult Pentatomid Stinkbug**.
7. MBEMBERA. **Flying form** with abdomen banded alternatively yellow and brown (Scoliid?).
8. — **Adult Praying Mantis**.
9. SIAFU. **Adult worker ant**.
10. BALANGULU. Locust-like.
11. Nyerenzi. Crickets.
12. FODONGO. Cuckoo-Spit insect, Cercopid.
13. KIMBULUMBULU. Lepidopterous adult probably a moth.
14. MVUMUU. A dung fly?
15. KIWEMBO. Small insect, pollinator of the Mango flower.

Of the above numbers, 2, 4 and 5 appear to be the most important in Stomach contents taken in January. No. 7, is the only one that approaches the likeness a fly-fisher's fly. In imitation the membranous wings would require hackle points and the body a brown floss ribbed with gold tinsel; length about half an inch. More observations are required as to the seasons of emergence of the local May flies, sedges, and gnats of which there are a great range of European imitations some of which might suit this water. Among May flies the March Brown seems to be the only one commonly used by local anglers.

- (b) **Minute Crustaceans** (water fleas etc.). No information.
- (c) **Snails and Mussels.** The slug (KOVA) up to three inches long is said to be taken by trout. No information on aquatic species.
- (d) **Large Crustaceans** (Shrimps etc.). There are two Crabs (Ngadu) a **black river species** and a red forest species both of which are probably taken. These crabs, grass-hoppers and the caddis fly larvae are said to form together the most important food of the local trout. Crab shells over one inch in diameter are found in trout stomachs. The dung of otters of which there are about ten holts in a short stretch of the Mgeta is rich in crab parts and fish bones are rare or quite absent. It would appear that others are injurious to the trout chiefly as competitors for the same food in this instance but further check is required.
- (e) **Small Fishes.** The MANGALA indistinguishable from *Amphilius krefftii* of the Pangani River system is very like the Kenya species, *A. grandis*, considered an excellent food for large trout and local African information received before that just given states that the fry of this fish are preyed upon by the local Rainbow. The fish has a head and whiskers like a barbel but does not belong to this group. Lengths are said to be up to about ten inches.
- (f) **Miscellaneous.** NYENGELELE, tadpoles are stated to be eaten.

Fishing after the recent very high floods a trout was taken with two half-inch pebbles in the stomach. These may have been swallowed in very fast water at mid-depth?

The information of this note requires checking and amplification during other seasons. Thanks are due to Mr. Hugh Copley, Fish Warden, Game Department, Nairobi, for identifying the fish and to Mr. Gordon Swain, Entomologist, Agricultural Department, for putting insects 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 in their families.

Yours faithfully,
LEONARD WIGG.

P.S.

Since writing the letter referred to the following identifications have been received from Dr. Van Someren. We have also a history of growth derived from scale examination of a six-year old fish taken by Dr. Eggeling from the Mgeta River.

Identification of Trout Stomach Contents

Mayfly Nymphs—*Baetis* sp.

Caddis Fly larvae—Mainly *Hydropsychidae*

1 Philopotamid 1 Sericostomatid

Dragonfly nymphs—*Libellulidae*

(*Trithemis* sp.)

(det. C. E. Longfield).

Simuliidae—*Simulium hirsutum* Pomeroy o

and o taken by trout **in cop.** ?)

NOTE:—

We draw attention to the International African Institute's recent publication **African Abstracts**. This is a quarterly bilingual review (in English and French) consisting of abstracts of ethnographic, social and linguistic studies appearing in current periodicals (including material published since 1939). The review is produced by the Institute with the assistance of a grant from UNESCO, and is edited by Professor Daryll Forde, the Director of the Institute, under the general direction of the Institute's Executive Council and with the assistance of a panel of editorial advisers having special knowledge of different areas of Africa or specific branches of African studies. It is invaluable to all those who are closely concerned with the study of human problems in Africa.

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