



TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

JOURNAL OF THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

This Society came into being on 8th August, 1947. Its objects are to promote the study of ethnology, history, geography, natural history, and kindred sciences in relation to Tanganyika; to co-operate with the King George V Memorial Museum to this end; and to encourage and facilitate the publication of records and studies in these subjects.

A major activity of the Society is the publication of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, which was founded in 1936. The journal is issued twice yearly, and is priced at Shs. 12/- to non-members.

A lecture by an authority on some aspect of Tanganyika is arranged each month by the Society, to which members and their friends are cordially welcomed.

The Society enjoys the hospitality of the King George V Memorial Museum as its headquarters and members are privileged to use the Museum Library; in return the library is enriched by the exchange journals and reports donated by the Society.

The subscription rate for ordinary members is Shs. 20/- per annum, and Shs. 200/- for life membership.

For further particulars write to the Honorary Secretary/Treasurer, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, East Africa.

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ERRATUM

The drawing of "A Tribal Map of Tanganyika" by Dr. P. H. Gulliver which was published in Number 52 of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* has been found to contain some inaccuracies. This is very much regretted, and a corrected version is being prepared and will be forwarded to all recipients of Number 52 of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The grateful thanks of the committee are due to Dr. Freeman-Grenville, who not only originally put forward the happy suggestion, which the Committee gladly accepted, that there should be a special number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, to celebrate Sir John Gray's seventieth birthday, but was responsible for obtaining contributions for it and for writing the editorial.

Editor

EDITORIAL

In honour of Sir John Gray, Kt., M.A., F.R.G.S.

This issue of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* is in honour of the seventieth birthday of Sir John Gray, which took place on July 7th, and it is regretted that unforeseen circumstances have caused delay in its issue. No one living has made a more important or more prolific contribution to the study of the history of East Africa than he. Most of his work has been published by *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, and by the *Uganda Journal*; and the Committee of the Tanganyika Society, in deciding to make this special issue in his honour, did so because it is deeply sensible of its great privilege in publishing so many of his articles, on which the reputation of the Society's Journal as a storehouse of East African history now stands amongst scholars throughout the world.

Within the field of East African History there is no one who is not conscious of his debt to Sir John. The Committee therefore decided it would be most appropriate to invite contributions from his friends, so that this issue should be a tribute not only to his scholarship, but also to the honour of his friendship. Thus the first article, by Mr. Geraint C. Davis, for many years a member of the Zanzibar Education Department, is a personal portrait. It is illustrated by a photograph taken in Sir John's study by Mr. C. H. Thompson, Government Archivist and Curator of the Beit al-Amani Museum, Zanzibar. It is followed by a bibliography of Sir John's work, for some of which we are indebted to Mr. Eric Lanning, who, until recently, was District Commissioner at Mubende, Uganda, Sir John's first station as a cadet.

Dr. Gervase Mathew, Lecturer in African History in Oxford University, who is well known to many people in Tanganyika, follows with a study of Songo Mnara Island, based on his work there in 1950 and 1955. It is interesting to note that Dr. Mathew is a kinsman of Jack Haggard, British Consul at Lamu in 1883, whom Sir John mentioned in a recent article. Mr. J. S. Kirkman, Warden of the Coastal Historical Sites of Kenya, whose name is not less a household word, and who is now engaged in restoring Fort Jesus, Mombasa, has contributed an account of his excavation of Ras Mkumbuu, Pemba, the first in that island, at which remarkable architectural links with Songo Mnara, which is wholly unlike Kilwa, were found. We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar for a very substantial contribution to the cost of illustrating this article. Mr. H. N. Chittick, Conservator of Antiquities in Tanganyika, is a most welcome newcomer, and follows with an account of some of his recent work in the Kilwa region.

Dr. A. H. J. Prins, Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Gronigen, Holland, has provided a new study of the *ngalawa* and the *mtepe*, whose history is not without controversy. Dr. Prins recently visited Shiraz, where he has been searching for evidence of Shirazi emigration to East Africa from there and from South Persia, and we look forward in due course to learning the results of his labours.

Dr. W. H. Whiteley was, until recently, Secretary of the East African Swahili Committee, and it is a loss to that Committee, but perhaps not to the interests of East Africa as a whole, that we must congratulate him on his recent appointment to the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. We are indebted to him for an account of the development of the study of Swahili, and to his successor as Secretary, Mr. J. W. T. Allen, now Warden of University Hall, Makerere, for an account of the further steps required to deepen our knowledge of Swahili history and traditions. Dr. P. A. Lienhardt has travelled adventurously in Arab dress among the Trucial Sheikhdoms of South-Eastern Arabia, and is a Senior Research Fellow of the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere: his article on the Mosque College of Lamu throws fresh light on contemporary Islamic trends on the coast. Mr. G. A. Hatchell, O.B.E., who has lived in Tanganyika continuously since the first World War, needs no introduction: we are grateful to him for having recorded a Tsetse Bush clearing experiment of a quarter of a century ago, and to Mr. J. R. Welch, Director of the East African Trypanosomiasis Research Organization, Tororo, Uganda, for a brief account of its fate. Finally, Dr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville reviews the most recent discoveries in East African numismatics, which place the Kilwa coinage in a new light.

To us all Sir John Gray, to use the phrase of Dante that Dr. Mathew quotes in his article, is "The Master of those who know". Sir John's merit as a historian lies not merely in his copious erudition, penetrating criticism and felicitous style. Above all it is in the original, pioneering quality of his research. There is not one of us who, at some time or another, uneasy about a reference or some seemingly new idea, has not been glad (if we may mix a metaphor) to sit at his feet and plunder the wealth of his wisdom and memory.

Until comparatively recently there was little informed interest in East African history. There was a small number of books, some valuable indeed, which passed from hand to hand. In the 1930s Sir Reginald Coupland brought to light much new information about East Africa, but largely concerning the intervention of Europeans. Sir John's contribution, as a glance at his bibliography will show, has been concerned with what we may venture to call real African history, not only the history of the invaders, as Coupland called them, but of the African peoples, often invaders themselves. For more than half Sir John's work has been in the field of tribal history, and without such study we shall not comprehend Africa. But, so far as Tanganyika has been concerned, his most important work has been in connection with the coast; and, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler has several times reminded us, the coast, with its imports of pottery and porcelain, its local and imported coinages, its stone buildings which are not found inland, holds the key to the chronology of the history of all East Africa.

Although we are now celebrating his seventieth Birthday, Sir John is still above all a pioneer. The pioneering spirit is essentially adventurous and youthful, and we could pay no better tribute to him than to think for a moment or two of the future. Not long ago, in a private communication, he sent the writer a long list of manuscripts in different libraries in Europe and the United States, most of which no Africanist historian has yet considered. These are in addition to the 15,000 Portuguese documents microfilmed by the Central African Archives, Salisbury, Rhodesia, from the libraries of Goa, Lisbon and the Vatican. Except in Kenya, so far there has been but little excavation on the coast, and none of the sites in Tanganyika which are illumined by documentary history or by coinage have yet been fully examined. There is very much to be done, very much yet to occupy the lives of many men. Our best tribute, then, will be to go out and explore.

In all this, in all the study of East Africa's past, there is scarcely a topic on which Sir John has not touched at some time or another. Most of his work has been published since 1946—for the first six years in such leisure as he might find from the preoccupation of a Chief Justice: and in this time he has in fact opened up a new era in East African historical study. In sharp contrast to earlier work almost all based on library research, Sir John has taught us not only to attend closely to documents, but most carefully to observe the people themselves, and to interpret and evaluate their historical traditions in the light of what the documents relate. This is no dilettante task, and the difficulties, with the strict historical canons demanded, have been described by him with meticulous care in a review he wrote in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* in 1955. In this indeed is his achievement, that he has set both a pace and a standard for the future.

It is for all these reasons that, on his seventieth birthday, we wish Sir John Gray very many happy returns, and many more years of happy and fruitful work. May he long remain: "The Master of those who know".

SIR JOHN MILNER GRAY: A PORTRAIT

By Geraint G. Davies

Readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* have enjoyed for many years the scholarly articles written over the signature of "J. M. Gray". In this issue which commemorates his seventieth birthday on 7th July, a few biographical details may serve to make more vivid the personality of one who has become widely known as an authority on African history, especially that of East Africa.

After reading History at King's College, Cambridge, and serving his articles in a solicitor's office, John Gray (he was knighted in 1944) was caught up in the First World War as a Territorial Officer in the Sherwood Foresters. Twice wounded in action, he rose to be a Lieutenant-Colonel, and remained on the Reserve of Officers when he first entered the Colonial Service as an Assistant District Commissioner, in Uganda, in 1920. Invited to do magisterial work in Uganda, he was called to the Bar in 1932, and subsequently served as an Acting Judge in Uganda, Judge of the Supreme Court, Gambia (1934-42), Acting Governor of the Gambia in 1935 and 1940, and Chief Justice, Zanzibar (1943-1952).



[Photograph by courtesy of C. H. Thompson, Esq.]
Sir John Milner Gray.

As a Judge, Sir John earned the reputation of being stern but scrupulously fair, and those with legal knowledge consider his judgments to be masterpieces of learning and exposition. His reputation for impartiality has been stressed during his career by the numerous commissions of enquiry over which he has been appointed to preside.

His pioneer work in connection with Juvenile Courts in Zanzibar provides a clue to the true nature of the man beneath the judicial robes. No pains were spared in finding sympathetic solutions for the young victims of unfortunate circumstances, but the hooligan always received his just deserts.

His dealings with the young of all races show a real love of children, which is one of his most endearing characteristics. When he was Chief Justice of Zanzibar, his official residence housed the children's library; his garden was the children's playground; and for years he has filled, almost as a sacred trust, the rôle of Father Christmas for the European children at their Christmas Party. A memorable picture of these occasions is his arrival by rickshaw or motor-car with the children running spontaneously to meet him.

Sir John retired from his official duties in Zanzibar in 1952, but to him, retirement has never meant relaxation, for since that date he has been revising the Laws of Zanzibar, and filling as needed the Judicial Benches as Magistrate and Acting Judge. He has continued his interest in social work, outstanding amongst which have been the Presidency of the Zanzibar Voluntary Welfare Society since its inception in 1947, the Chairman of the Peace Memorial Museum Committee, and of the Zanzibar Book Club. His other interests have included the Boy Scouts Association, and the Zanzibar Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Zanzibar is indebted to him for the time and talents he has given to these activities, and only his most intimate friends have any idea of the extent of his personal charity.

Throughout his life, inspired by his eminent father, Arthur Gray, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, Sir John's main love has been his interest in history and his more than seventy publications based on patient research and the study and checking of original sources, bear witness to his scholarly mind. He is well known for his *History of the Gambia*, and the publication of his *History of Zanzibar* is eagerly awaited by readers whose appetites have been whetted by his recent writings on *The British in Mombasa 1824-26* and *The Early Portuguese Missionaries in East Africa*. He has a wide knowledge of languages and especially of Portuguese.

No one who has met Sir John Gray will forget his sense of humour and his remarkably exact memory, both of which are well illustrated by his virtuosity as a raconteur of the apt anecdote.

In paying tribute to a very remarkable man, my most revealing recollections of him are his indefatigable games of "Hunt the Thimble" with a six-year-old boy, in a room lined with perhaps the most comprehensive library on East and West Africa in private ownership, the reference books on his desk dominated by *Who was Who*, and the solitary portrait of Arthur Gray giving benign approval to the scene.

SIR JOHN GRAY: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, D. Phil., F.R.N.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.U.P.	...	...	Cambridge University Press.
G.P.	...	...	Government Printer.
O.U.P.	...	...	Oxford University Press.
TNR	...	...	Tanganyika Notes and Records.
UJ	...	...	Uganda Journal.

* * *

This bibliography does not include book reviews in the Uganda Journal, nor publications after December, 1958. I am obliged to Mr. E. C. Lanning for a list of Sir John Gray's works in the Uganda Journal.

* * *

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[By courtesy of the Public Relations Dept., Tanganyika]
Mihrab of the Nabahani Mosque, Songo Mnara.

SONGO MNARA

By the Rev. Gervase Mathew, F.S.A.

In the autumn of 1950 I was invited by H.E. Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining to make an archaeological survey of the Kilwa group of Islands for the Tanganyika Government. During this survey I camped on Songo Mnara island with Mr. John Moffett and made a Preliminary Report upon the scattered ruins there. I have only twice revisited the island briefly from a base camp at Kilwa in 1955. My interpretation of the site must therefore be taken as merely tentative and I am publishing it primarily in order to take part in a tribute to Sir John Gray, the founder of the scientific study of the history and archaeology of the East African Coast and, in Dante's phrase, "The Master of those who know".

The ruins of Songo Mnara consist primarily of two sites, A and B, adjoining each other, a palace town and an apparently earlier settlement. It is only site A which commonly attracts attention; it is this that was described briefly by M. H. Dorman in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 6, 1938. It consists of the remains of the Nabahani mosque with a considerable building attached to it, a fortified guard house, an extensive palace, a number of substantial houses and some stretches of city wall. It is flanked on one side by the base of a great tower, which probably gave the site its name, and on the other by a series of graves traditionally known as the tombs of the Sheikhs.

The mosque was built on a coral outcrop at the edge of the town; there are two layers of heavy masonry as its foundations. The *mihrāb* is covered with dressed stone and is surmounted by a fluted demi-dome springing from a double row of small arches resting on columns decorated with herring bone pattern. The roof of the mosque has collapsed but the two rows of high arches still remain. At the end opposite to the *qibla*, a wide rectangular doorway leads into a series of small rooms. These rooms have rectangular wall recesses carved out of solid pieces of stone. It seems probable that this was the house of the Friday preacher. The complete ruin of the mosque seems to have been relatively recent. Richard Burton stated that the *mihrāb* of the Nabahani mosque was still covered with blue Persian glaze; the mosque lamp probably survived intact still later. For when I cleared the "well of the ablutions" small fragments of fine blue glass of a late medieval Egyptian type were found 18 inches below surface while shards of 18th century Chinese export ware were found 2 feet below surface. It seems clear that the mosque remained as a centre of cult long after the site had become uninhabited. But the cult had become progressively Africanised and perhaps for a long time has taken the shape of propitiatory sacrifice. A number of single human teeth were found during the clearing of the mosque well at levels higher than that of an 18th century Chinese plate. Both in 1950 and in 1955 we noted signs of offerings recently made before the *mihrāb*. It is probable that these were and are associated with animal sacrifice. For I have noted animal bones on the surface in the "Preacher's House" and among the Tombs and have found the skull of an apparently contemporary goat perched on the summit of the base of the great tower.

Opposite the Mosque and facing it across the well of the ablutions there is a high, solidly constructed, rectangular building with the walls pierced with elaborately designed arrow-slits. It had one large room on the ground floor, and a number of small cells. It was most probably both guard house and prison.

The palace lay at a distance of some twenty yards behind the mosque and some thirty yards from the guard house and covers approximately a third of the built-up area of the town. The central block of the palace buildings was built round an interior open court at one end of which there was a veranda roofed with small cupolas; facing the veranda are three large doorways. Each doorway is of the same size and pattern; the lintel and door posts are formed from a rectangle of square-cut stone, a framework within which a pointed arch is recessed. The curves of each arch are faced with thin edgings of stone meeting in the apex. The walls of the central block are approximately from 12 to 14 feet high and the wall sockets prove that it was a two storeyed building. There is a most elaborate system of sanitation with small stone lavatories and stone piping.

This block of the palace is surrounded by a maze of smaller buildings centreing round four other open courtyards. The most probable interpretation of the small rooms and courts which stretch to the south and south-east of the central block is that these are the women's quarters. The building here is less substantial and less finished than the central block with the exception of an elaborate vaulted chamber with a barrel roofing inset with 100 circular cavities for bowls: some of these glazed bowls still remain inserted in the plaster and there are fragments of many more; they seem to be of 15th-16th century type. I first thought this the room of entertainment on the familiar Cairene model. But it is too small for this purpose and may be the King's sleeping room.

The buildings on the two other sides of the central block are perhaps the remains of the administrative offices and include some oblong store rooms. I could find no traces of any large rooms in the palace—possibly the central courtyard was used for audiences. The ground plan, the two types of masonry and the decorations of the palace at Songo are in sharp contrast to those of the palace on Kilwa island.

There would appear to have been a market place and well at the edge of the palace and among the mass of leaning walls, rubble and undergrowth I was able to disentangle the ground plan of at least nine large houses. They were built in the same style as the less substantial portion of the palace and like it were clearly once covered with plaster.

A long stretch of the town wall still survives; a trench dug along a section showed that the lowest course is only four inches below the present surface. It was perhaps built hurriedly; the lines of musket holes prove this could not have been earlier than the 16th century, probably not earlier than about 1560.

To the right of the mosque and just outside the town there are remains of substantial tombs closely packed together. I could find no trace of any pillar tomb. On the other side of Site A from the tombs in what is now a mangrove swamp there is the lower portion of a tower. This was presumably the *Mnara* which gave its name to the site. It probably survived intact as late as 1813, for this would explain the name Pagoda Point on the charts.

It was cased with thick slabs of squared sandstone, of considerable size; one of the slabs is three foot two inches by two foot one inch. It is possible that it was built *Ziggurat* fashion, for some of the stone slabs lie twenty-five feet from the base, and this would be more explicable if on falling they had ricocheted from a lower wider storey.

When Mr. Moffett and I first saw this tower in 1950 I was inclined to hold that it was the remains of an earlier settlement; now I believe it to be an integral part of Site A. For I have since noted similar blocks of squared sandstone on the foreshore at Kilwa Kisiwani and in 1955 Dr. Freeman-Grenville found a fragment of the tower's decoration, a piece of coral carved with the same herring bone decoration as that on the *mihrāb* of the Nabahani mosque.

It is most probable that this was a watch tower but it may also have helped to guard a creek-harbour now lost among the mangroves. For a little to the north-east in the mangrove swamp there are great slabs of masonry which were perhaps wharves, the *ghauts* referred to by Richard Burton.

It seems very improbable that Site A was ever a considerable commercial centre; I could find no coin of any kind. The six different kinds of beads and pendants that I found on or near the site and classified would all seem to have been ornamental. On the other hand the porcelain I have listed from site A is of finer quality than that from any other site that I have examined on in East Africa—except Amud far to the North, one of the old capitals of the Sultānate of Adal. The admirable quality of the celadon is particularly impressive.

Further, I find it hard to believe that Site A was occupied for more than about a couple of centuries. In principle I have always disapproved of digging trial trenches in order to try to determine the character of the site. In practice I must confess that I have often had to do so on my archaeological surveys. I dug four at Site A in 1950 and see from my notes that, while two of the finest shards of celadon were found at 3½ inches below surface, in no case did I cut more than 6 inches before reaching a sterile level. I am inclined to believe that site A is archaeologically a single unit built on a coral outcrop where there had been no previous settlement.

I am more hesitant about Site B. South from the tower along the foreshore, there are the remains of a considerable settlement, sharply differentiated from Site A both in masonry and in shards. It stretches along the shore for at least three hundred yards, the lower portion of it is probably lost among the mangroves and in the beach. With the exception of one small ruined mosque and the strange barrel shaped *mihrāb* of another the great majority of the remains only rise from between four inches to two feet above surface. I noted three mosques, two wide gateways and a considerable number of small houses built in coral rag. I found them curiously reminiscent of the early medieval ruins on Tumbatu island. While the shards from site A were almost exclusively far eastern I could find no porcelain on Site B. I have listed some fragments of sandy buffware, a piece of *sgraffiato* and a red-bodied ware glazed on the interior with a black linear pattern on a yellow ground. Now this coincides with the few shards I was able to find in the rectangular citadel on little Husuni, north of the Kilwa site, which I still hazard to be approximately 12th century

and the traditional fortress of Sulaimān al-Ḥasan ibn Dāūd. It is also very similar to the list of Islamic shards recorded by J. S. Kirkman from the pre-mosque levels at Gedi.

This is the substance of my notes on Songo Mnara; attempting to correlate them with such documentary history as we possess I have formed the following hypothesis. Site B is the town of Shāgh, the "Xanga" of de Barros, an Islamic trading centre of the 11th–13th century whose traditional rivalry and wars with its neighbour Kilwa are recorded in the second chapter of the Arabic version of the Kilwa Chronicle. The Chronicle describes it as the kingdom of the Matamandalin and seems to preserve the name of two of its rulers, Khālīd ibn Bakr and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain al-Mundhirī. Later it was either conquered by or coalesced with Kilwa. Possibly this happened during the reign of al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt, the first Kilwa King known to have minted coins, towards the end of the 13th century. For al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt is known by the epithet of al-Mahadālī which might be derived from the term for the Shāgh people that was corrupted into "Mandalin"⁽¹⁾. Shāgh was possibly destroyed or more probably dwindled away.

As to the next phase I would wish to be more cautious. All four versions of the Chronicle of Pate must be treated with considerable reserve but it seems probable that they derive from abbreviations of a lost Chronicle of Pate, perhaps not unlike the Kilwa Chronicle. They record that the Arab dynasty of the Nabahani established itself at Pate off north Kenya in the 13th century and then about 1340 conquered the settlements along the coast as far as the Karimba islands to the south of Cape Delgado. It seems suggested that this Pate empire survived at least till the death of Sultān 'Umar ibn Muḥammad in 1392. It is not suggested that Kilwa itself was conquered but there is other evidence to show that in the late 14th century it was in eclipse. Songo Mnara may have been the southern centre of administration of the Nabahani Sultāns from about 1340 to 1392. Only this could explain why the Nabahani are alone remembered in Songo tradition and the mosque still named the Nabahani mosque. On this hypothesis the Nabahani may have built the Tower, the mosque, the wharves, the guard house and the Friday Preacher's house and the central block of the palace.

The power of Pate collapsed and under Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān al-Malik al- 'Ādil (1412–1421) the polity of Kilwa was reorganized and became one of the great Islamic entrepôts of the Indian Ocean, a western counterpart to Malacca. Perhaps then the Nabahani stronghold became the country palace of the Kilwa Kings, and the Tombs of the Sheikhs were their royal burial grounds. All the extensions to the palace and the ruined houses might then, about 1500 perhaps, have been built with material from Shāgh. After the coming of the Portuguese the significance of Songo would have diminished with the power of the Kilwa Kings. The town wall that dates from this period was perhaps built hurriedly about 1587 at the report of the invasion of the Wa-Zimba. Then possibly when the Zimba drew closer it was deliberately evacuated, for, when I attempted to clear the well in the small market place outside the palace, I found that it had been blocked by large square-cut stones

⁽¹⁾ I am indebted to Dr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville for this suggestion and for the Pate hypothesis

at six foot below the surface. It may be significant that João dos Santos, who describes in detail the Zimba sack of Kilwa, makes no reference to a sack of Songo.

On this hypothesis Site B represents a considerable town of the 12th, 13th and possibly early 14th centuries, while the adjoining Site A was occupied from about 1339 to 1588. At least this seems to fit the evidence from pottery. Since I sent in my Report to the Tanganyika Government, Dr. William Cohn has identified three shards that I found on Site A as Yuan ware and has suggested that one of them might even be late Sung. But there is nothing surprising in good 13th century celadon on a 14th century site; fine ware would normally stay in circulation well over a century. The mass of the shards seemed Early or Middle Ming. According to my lists Blue-and-White slightly predominate over celadon. But I noted as characteristic of many of the Blue-and-White that they showed scrolls of blue tendrils on a slightly blued ground, drawn freely with black at the end of the strokes. This is typical in my experience of 15th century sites. Characteristic of the celadon were shards with a grey granular body and a sea green glaze or with a white crystalline body and an olive brown glaze. I also recorded on Site A several fragments of a brown glazed stoneware and of a white stoneware, both probably from Siam. In December 1957 I found identical fragments in a 15th century context while excavating at Malacca. The pendants and beads from Site A also seem to suit this dating; there is a carnelian pendant from Gujarat and another of amber, both with hexagonal facets, two fragments of pendants which have been identified as crystal and topaz, and some beads of admirable finish in yellow and in opaque red glass.

It is possible that a portion of the palace was re-occupied by one of the 18th century rulers of Kilwa, for I have listed a number of shards of 18th century Chinese export ware found in the mosque courtyard and in the section of the palace closest to the tombs. But this might be explained by the fact that the mosque and burial ground remained a place of pilgrimage after the site was deserted.

In the early 19th century Songo had some prosperity, most probably as a slave depot. In 1950 I was puzzled by traces of rectangular enclosures built from coral blocks on the east side of the island. Later, while carrying out an archaeological survey for the Government of the Somaliland Protectorate, I realised that these must have been slave pens. On a headland about a mile to the south-east of the Nabahani mosque there is a Zanzibari house with a carved doorway; close to it there is a small mosque still in use, probably of the same period. A number of currency beads and 19th century Zanzibar and Indian coins were brought to us apparently from this area.

But it is important to emphasise that the island has never been completely surveyed. It is so well wooded that air photographs are of little value. Its few inhabitants are singularly secretive as to its ruins, perhaps through fear of the spirits.

In 1950 it was almost by chance that Mr. Moffett and I stumbled on the remains of the town at Sanje Majoma on the west side of the southern half of the island. It was only in 1955 that I realised its extent when I came on another part of it. In all it may cover over twenty acres; fragments of small

houses scattered sparsely, with walls seldom more than a foot above surface and the broken outline of a mosque. And then on rising ground the substantial remains of a great house with high walls, two elaborately decorative plaster-work niches and some intricate stone carvings. It is so different from the small houses below it that it might be the house of the local governor. There is also a small domed mosque; this had six small domes all of which have collapsed; there is a central arcade of two piers and a *mīhrāb* similar to that of the Tongoni mosque and of the small domed mosque by Kilwa palace.

I would hazard that both the great house and the mosque might be late 15th century. The site is so heavily overgrown that I could make no adequate search for pottery or coins, though on my first visit I noted some fragments of unglazed ware. Still, on my hypothesis, Magoma might have been the commercial centre on the island in the 15th–16th centuries when Site B had been deserted and Site A was primarily a palace. But it may be significant that the geographer Ibn Sa'id, c. 1214–1284, records that there are three towns in "Kilwa island", Kilwa, Kank and Mand. If Kank is Xanga or Shāgh, Mand which is stated to lie to the south-west might be Magoma.

But there is at least one other ruined town on the island that I have never been able to find. In the District Book at Kilwa Masoko there is a German record and plan of a site on "Sanga Runga" which does not coincide with any that I surveyed: apparently it can be reached on foot at low tide from the main island, so presumably it lies beyond a tidal creek among the mangrove swamps. There is a long straight terrace surmounted by a wall and behind this "temples". This may lie on the east side of the island. I could learn nothing from air photographs and my one attempt to find it by launch failed. I quote these details from memory in the hope that someone else may be successful. The most immediate need in African archaeology is the zest to explore.

EXCAVATIONS AT RAS MKUMBUU ON THE ISLAND OF PEMBA

By James Kirkman, F.S.A.

Forty miles from the Tanganyika coast on the island of Pemba, the long narrow peninsula of Ras Mkumbuu juts out into the sea, nearly opposite Tanga. Today it is virtually uninhabited except for an impermanent fishing village at the extremity, known as Ngagu, and another at the base, known as Mirareni. Administratively it is under the Sheha of Ndagoni, a larger settlement frequently associated with it, about six miles from Chake-Chake.

The land is not unsuitable for cattle, and there are shallow wells with a limited and intermittent supply of brackish but drinkable water. Rice cultivation has proved unsuccessful, owing to the salt in the soil, but coconuts appear to grow quite well. It is patent, however, that no standard of life other than the humblest could have been maintained on the produce of the peninsula.

The ruins, known locally as Makutani but generally referred to as Ras Mkumbuu or Ndagoni, lie on the north side of the peninsula—that is, away from the creek running up to Chake. They were sited in the lee of a tall ridge, from which a wide view could be obtained of the straits between Pemba and Tanganyika. The anchorage is a flat sandy beach, well protected from the south-west monsoon by the ridge and from the swell of the north-east by Kokota Island and a line of sand banks. Today the shore is fringed with a belt of mangroves, which are growing back over the ruins as well as out to sea, but this may be comparatively recent. On the spur of the ridge on which the settlement was built are borassus palms, almonds and other large trees, and many varieties of liana. Around, between ridge and shore, are sandy meadows covered with a coarse grass, and muddy lagoons, dry at most times but submerged by three feet of water at high springs. At these times most of Ras Mkumbuu is an island.

The ruins in recognizable condition consist of a large mosque, three pillar tombs and two houses. There are also remains of another half dozen tombs of some distinction, at least two more houses and another mosque. The buildings are strung along the shore, and the breadth of the settlement does not seem to have exceeded three hundred yards. There were signs of an ample cemetery but no evidence, even by way of mounds of earth, of a residential area or of a town wall.

There is a good description of the ruins as they were half a century ago, in F. B. Pearce's *Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa*, 1920. Major Pearce was British Resident at Zanzibar and was largely responsible for calling attention to the historical monuments of Zanzibar and Pemba. The bowls had been removed from the tombs before his visit, but he mentions the sherds of porcelain and beads to be picked up on the beach. This is no longer the case, since the rubbish dumps from which they came have been washed away. Other changes since his time have been the collapse of the east wall of

the Great Mosque and of a house to the east of it. Pearce's views on the dating of the monuments are sensibly conservative. His distinction between Shirazi and Arab-African architecture may be reasonably correct in practice, but would be expressed better as mediaeval and post-mediaeval. I know of nothing to support a south Arabian origin for the non-Shirazi features he distinguishes, and the use of porcelain bowls for decoration is not necessarily a sign of early date. I believe also that the cream- and grey-coloured porcelains which he found would today be considered Ming or Yuan, not Sung.

During the month's examination recently undertaken two principal cuttings were made, one outside the north door of the mosque and the other between the House of the Tombs and Tomb A. Minor excavations were carried out to attempt to clear up specific points. In addition an excavation was made at the top of the ridge about a quarter of a mile from the mosque and tombs. There were no structural remains but the sherds found showed that it had been occupied, presumably as a look-out post.

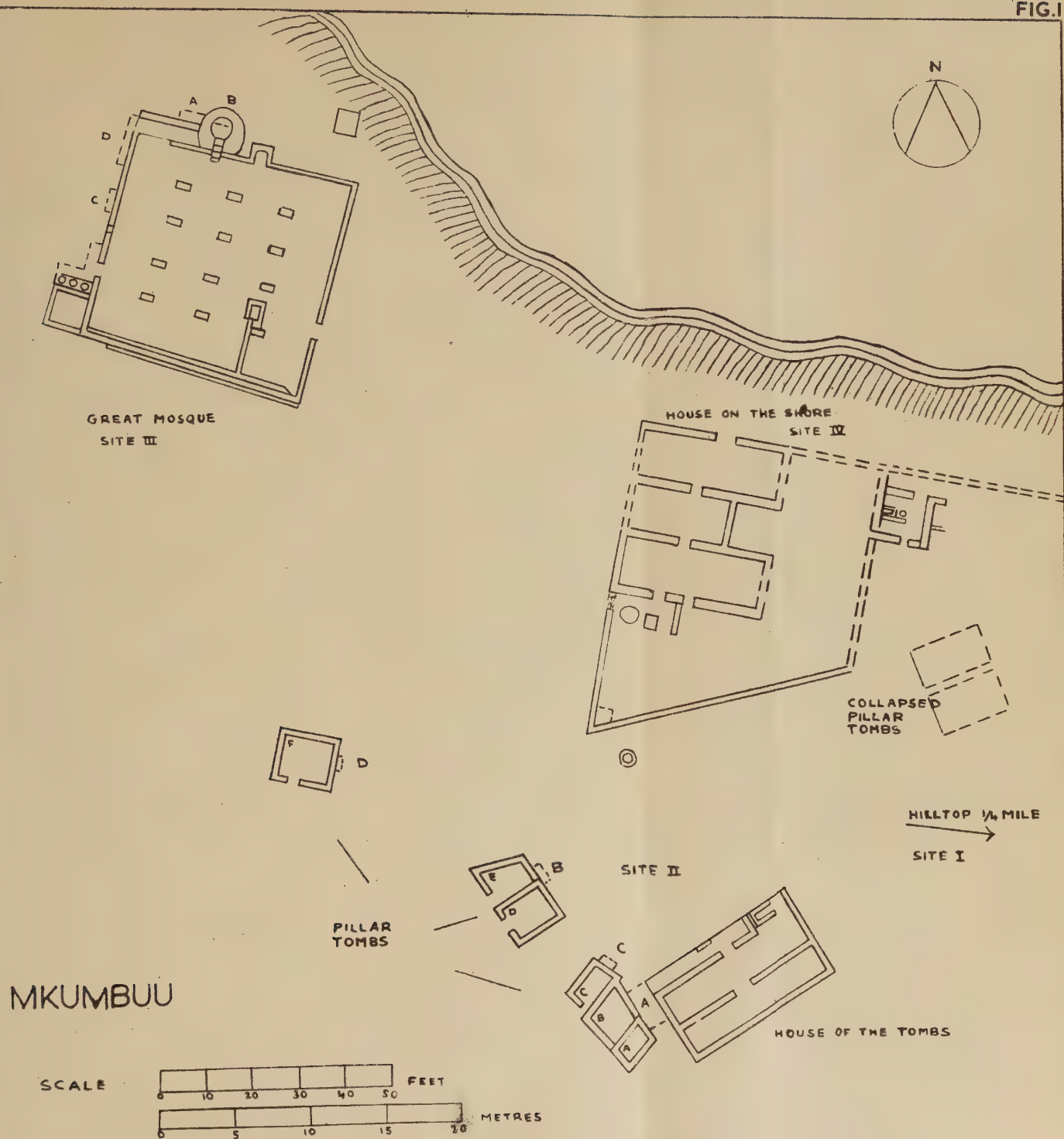
The subsoil over the sand was a hard grey loam, and almost everywhere excavation was impeded by fallen rubble firmly compacted by extensive tree roots. There was evidence of previous digging in the Great Mosque and around the tombs, and Tomb F had been consolidated. The quantity of ceramic found was small and will be discussed in connection with the dating.

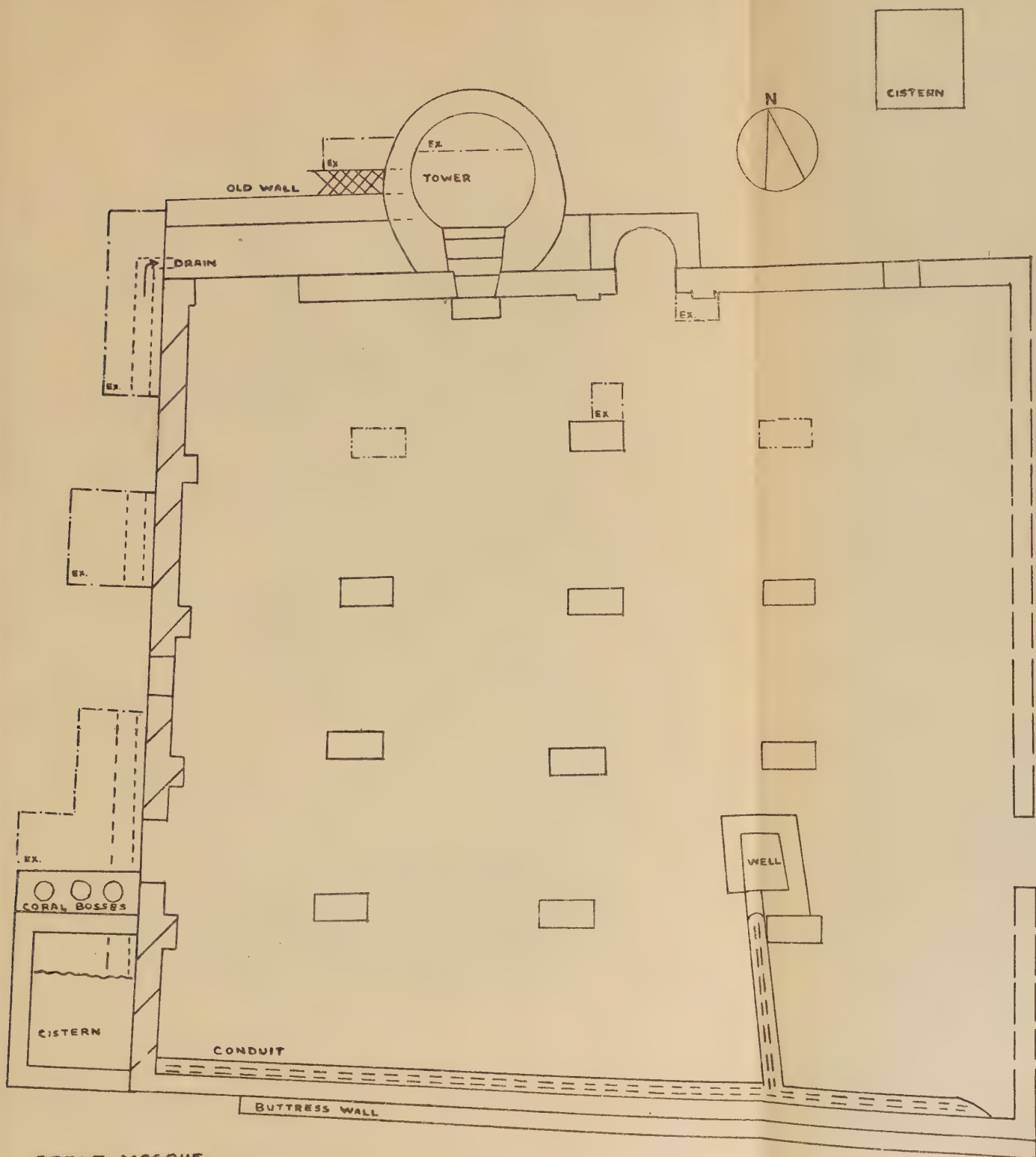
The main interest of the site is the Great Mosque, possibly the second finest *Jāmi* or Congregational Mosque, in the three territories of Tanganyika Kenya and Zanzibar, and the reason for its location in such an inaccessible place. The hope that it was the Qanbalū of Masūdī or an even earlier settlement, raised by the envelope found in the Zanzibar Museum which included sherds marked Ndagoni, and containing Roman and Ilkhānī coins, has been disappointed⁽¹⁾. To disprove an exciting hypothesis is a sad contribution to knowledge, but by these excavations one more site on the coast of East Africa has been brought from the sphere of conjecture into the realm of history.

THE GREAT MOSQUE

The Great Mosque of Mkumbuu, unlike most of the old mosques in Kenya and Tanganyika, is almost square, with three rows of four rectangular pillars to carry a roof of coral tiles and lime mortar at a height of about eleven feet from the floor. There were two doors with pointed arches at the south end of the lateral walls, one of which has survived. To the west of the *mihrāb* is a third door with a square architrave approached by two steps. A door in the *qibla* wall—"the door of the Imām"—is extremely rare in old mosques in East Africa. At Ungwana in the earlier Great Mosque (fifteenth century) there is a door to the right of the *mihrāb* which was later blocked or perhaps converted into a *minbar*. In the later Great Mosque (early sixteenth century) there are two doors approached by steps from outside, one on each side of the *mihrāb*; see plan in Kirkman: *Historical Archaeology in Kenya*. At the mosque of Shali Fatani at Faza (probably seventeenth century) there is a blocked door to the right of the *mihrāb*.

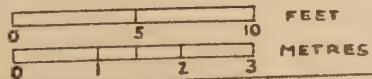
⁽¹⁾ G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese times", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1957.





GREAT MOSQUE

SCALE



FEET

METRES



Plate Ia. Mkumbuu "Mihrab".



Plate Ib. Arch of "Mihrab".

The *mihrāb* consists of the usual alcove with pointed arch of three orders (Pl. 1a, Fig. 4). The arch, like that of the west door, has a curious rounded nick at the apex (Pl. 1b), a weak version of the arch of the minaret of the Great Mosque at Mogadishu, dated by an inscription over the arch to 1 Muharram 636 which corresponds to the 11th August, 1258. The same weak version of nick occurs on the arches of the Palace at Songo Mnara near Kilwa. The arch rests on flat capitals and is surrounded by a frame with square niches on each side at the level of the impost. The design of the façade recalls the *mihrāb* at Tongoni, and the small sixteenth century mosque at Mnarani, the old Kilifi. Recesses or *kidaka* in the frame are not a common feature of mosques in the bounds of the old kingdom of Malindi, though they were used with the trefoliated *mihrābs* of the Bajun Isles and the northern mainland. The *mihrāb* is set deliberately, not in the centre of the north wall, but in the middle of the stretch between the north-east corner and the north door. The rows of pillars are, however, more or less correctly spaced so that, unlike most other mosques with three rows of pillars, the centre line does not obscure the *mihrāb*.

To the west of the *mihrāb* is a small square door, reached by a step, giving access to an attached circular tower with a floor three feet above the floor of the mosque (Pl. II. a). This tower is unique. It is reminiscent of the minaret



Plate IIa. Access to Circular Tower.

tower at the south end of the Great Mosque at Mogadishu, and it probably had the same purpose. The *mueddhin*, standing on a wooden platform reached by a ladder, would give the call to prayer perhaps through a window—in the debris outside were found pieces of the jambs of a small window. The wall stopped originally about four feet from floor level; subsequently it was carried up level with the roof of the mosque, and was presumably roofed. It may once have served as a *minbar* (or pulpit) balcony, from which readings from the Koran or addresses could be given as today on the Birthday of the Prophet. The tower was built partly over the steps in front of the north door and is structurally an addition to the mosque, but not necessarily later in date. An alternative explanation, that it is a changing room for the Imām, is less likely in view of its shape. The narrow doorway and steps show that it could never have been used as a storeroom for a movable *minbar*.

There is no sign of *minbar* in the mosque itself. It would have been of wood and removed when the settlement was evacuated. The absence of *ribāt* or anterooms, or even verandas, in a mosque of this size is unusual, but there was no trace of a roof line on the outside of the west wall, and Pearce makes no mention of any such feature against the east wall.

Against the rear pillar of the east arcade was a square well, and on the south side of the well a conduit leading to a shallow trough seven inches wide, which ran along the south wall about four feet above the floor of the mosque. The highest point of the trough was at the junction with the conduit and it sloped downwards to the south-east and south-west corners of the building. There was no outlet and it is difficult to see how it was used. Its purpose was presumably for washing before prayers.

In front of the west door were found three coral bosses which had been dug out of the plastered platform in front of the cistern on the right of the door. These were used as footscrapers, and occur at Gedi, Ungwana, Takwa, Vanga, and no doubt other places. The cistern would have been filled from the roof. I know of only one other example of conservation of water in this way, and that is at the Mosque of the Domed *Mihrāb* at Ungwana. The cistern had been cleared and the bottom broken through to disclose an earlier bottom, and at the back a building line above the level of the old floor of the cistern. The meaning of this was not apparent, but it showed that the south-west corner of the mosque had been rebuilt. The termination of the low buttress was on the south side of the mosque six feet before the corner was reached, confirmed that there had been structural changes at this point.

At the time of the first construction of the cistern, a drain ran at ground level from the cistern along the west wall and round the north-west corner under the later steps (Pl. IIb). It possibly ended up in another square well or cistern about fifteen feet from the north-east corner of the mosque. This interesting water system was only found in the last week of the excavations and it was not possible to investigate it completely. Later the ground level on the west and north sides of the building had been raised and the drain filled in.

The excavations at the junction of the tower and the steps of the north-gate were carried down to natural sand, a depth of five feet six inches from the last surface in front of the steps (Fig. 3). Parallel with the north wall of the mosque and the steps, and one foot in front of them an earlier wall was found.



Plate IIb. Steps, north-west corner.

This had been destroyed to construct the foundations of the steps but had been allowed to remain under the round tower, which suggests that tower and steps were contemporary. The strata consisted of the gravel of the three surfaces: one, perhaps two mosque surfaces, and a pre-structural surface. Between them and also below them, going down to the sand of the beach, was gritty black earth. The sherd pattern was identical in all levels and consisted of burnished red earthenware, *sgraffiato*, and celadon and white porcelain.

Three shallow cuttings were made against the west wall to trace the drain. In these cuttings there was a heavy deposit of white mortar and stones which had been used to raise the level of the surface outside the west door of the mosque (Fig. 3). It was identical with the roof debris both above and below the floor of the mosque. The drain was at original ground level and below it was the same gritty black earth as was found in the main cutting.

The Great Mosque is a homogeneous construction. *Mihrāb*, north door and steps, west door, pillars and circular tower were erected at approximately the same period, probably the beginning of the fifteenth century. The external drain and the original cistern near the west door are the only features that cannot be reconciled with the final plan. Cuttings, which were made against the first pillar of the centre line and against the east pilaster of the *mihrāb*, showed that they were contemporary. No earlier floor was revealed below them, but the identity of the plaster debris below the floor of the mosque with that on the west side of the mosque shows that there had been another large building on the site, probably an earlier mosque. The west wall and part of the south wall may have belonged to this building. The relation to it of the old wall below the north steps is uncertain. The ground level was approximately the same but the ground would have sloped towards the shore, and the factor of level is always relative not absolute.

THE TOMBS

To the west of the Great Mosque along the bank which now forms the line of the shore, are the remains of the houses. Behind again are groups of tombs of some pretensions. Two of the most elaborate at the extreme west end of the site have so disintegrated that all that can be seen are the windows in the side walls, and a projection in front of one tomb that indicates that once it had a pillar. The most complete today are the last tomb in the series sequence A—B—C, the first tomb in the series D—E, and the isolated Tomb F (see Fig. 5). Tomb C has a panelled front, a square pillar and sloping corner merlons. The top of the pillar is broken and may once have held a porcelain bowl. Sherds of a celadon bowl of good quality, with a dark green glaze, as G.GM 7, were found in front of this tomb and may once have belonged to it. Tomb D is rather more elaborate, with narrow herring-bone ornament in the line of small panels at the top of the façade and the same sloping corner merlons. The pillar is square with three bowl cavities, and was capped with a square finial which may once have supported a jar. These two tombs have foundations at approximately the same level and cannot be far apart in date. Of the other tombs in these two groups, A and E have lost their façades. A possibly, and E certainly, had a pillar; B was a plain enclosure, intended originally as an adjunct to A and subsequently curtailed by the building of C. The graves inside the tombs were marked by narrow rectangular enclosures in which head and footstone were linked by two lines of stones at an average of nine inches apart.

FIG.3

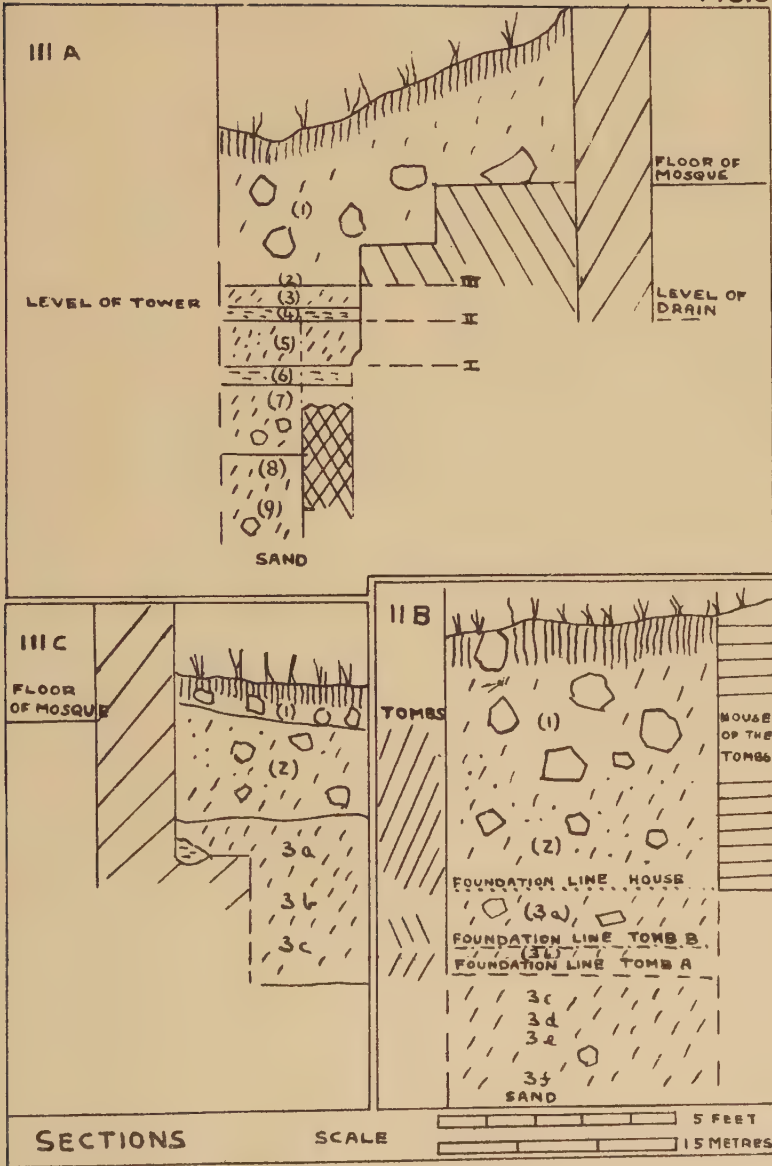
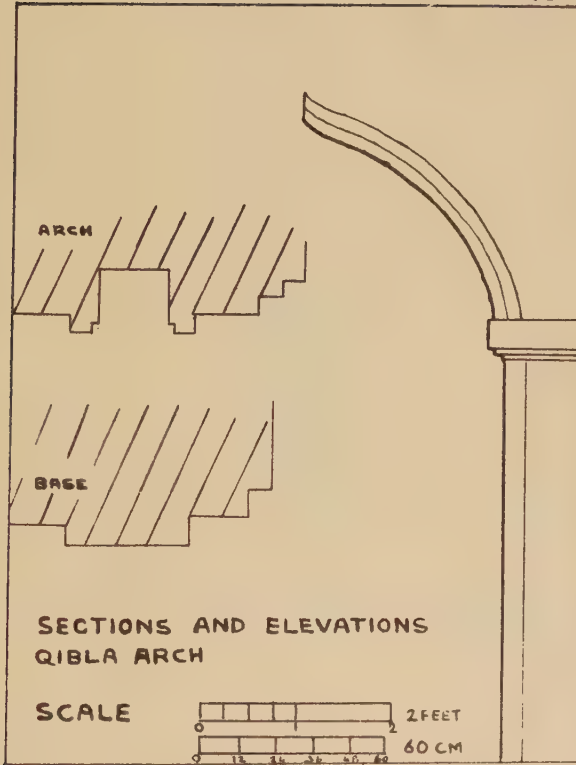
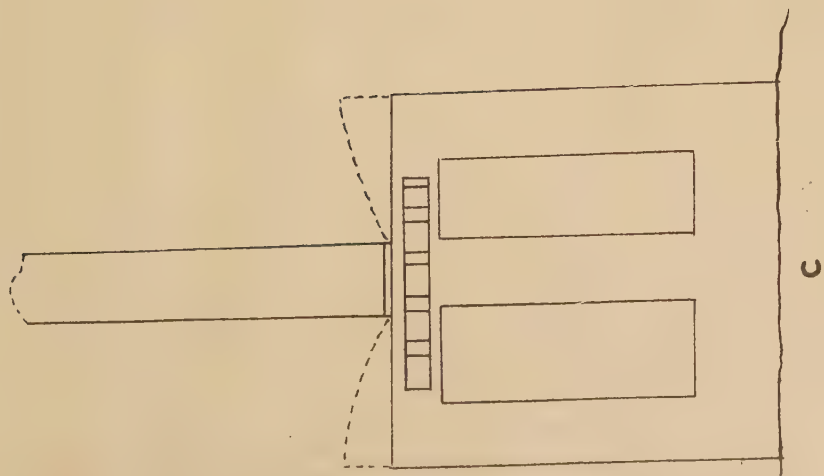
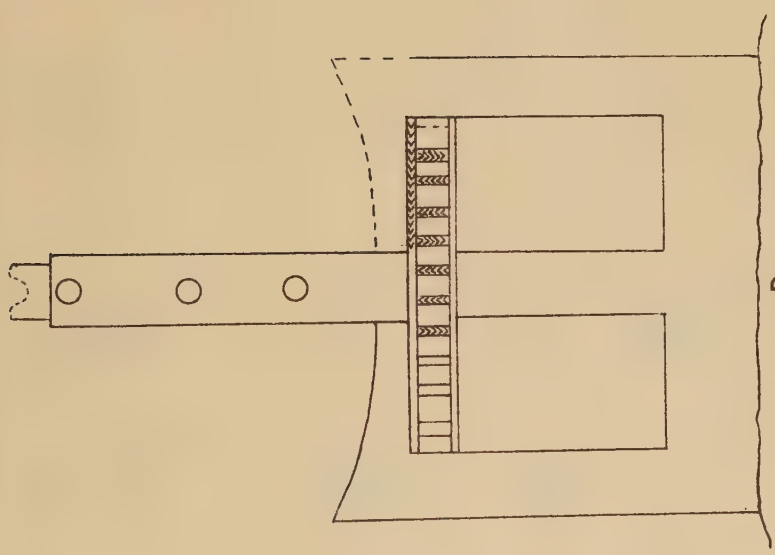


FIG.4





C



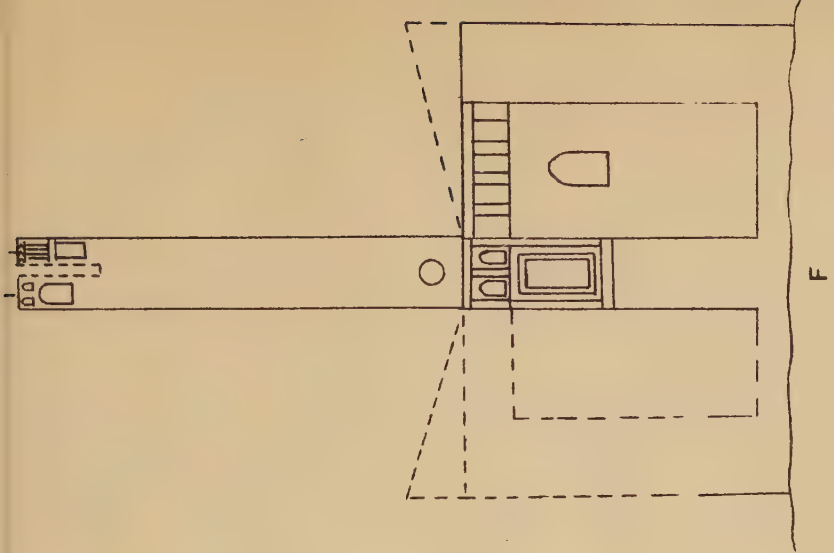
D

SCALE



5 FEET
1.5 METRES

PILLAR TOMBS AT MKUMBUU



F

FIG.6

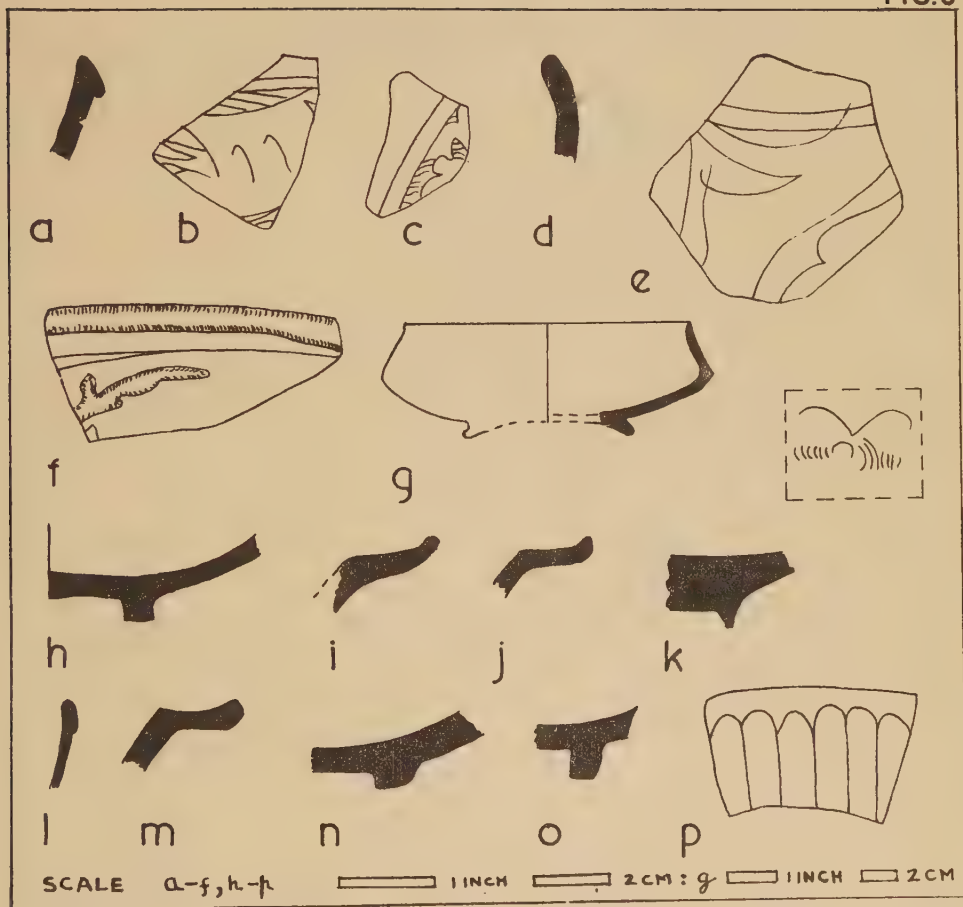
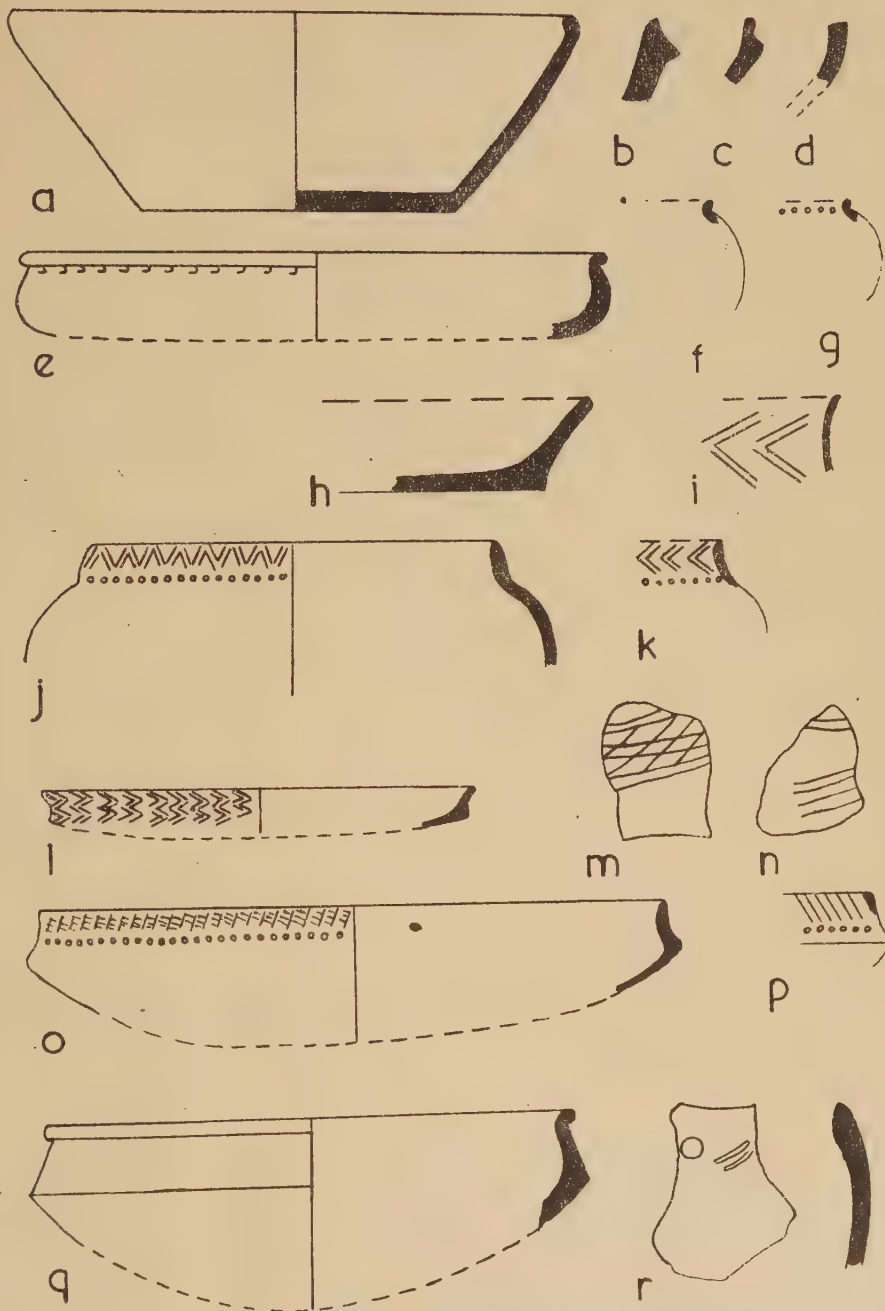


FIG.7



SCALE a, e-l, o-q 1 INCH 2 CM: b-d, m-n, r 1 INCH 2 CM

The third Tomb, F, is rather different. The façade had two pointed windows and a square recess between them. The line of small square panels below the top was varied in the middle by two arched recesses, and was originally carried round the sides of the monument. At each corner there was a sloping merlon, as in the other tombs. The pillar is square and has a bowl recess near its base. A sherd of cream coloured porcelain, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was extracted by Pearce from this cavity. It was described as Ting ware of the Sung Dynasty, but I believe it to be similar to my G.GM 5 (Chinese White) which has been found frequently in fifteenth century levels in Kenya—e.g. Geqi, G.GM fig. 32 d, Mnarani fig. 6 1, Ungwana fig. 23 A. The finial has disappeared, but there is interesting if haphazard ornament at the top of the pillar, consisting of square-headed and rounded recesses and horizontal lines of herring-bone—apparently a cloudy recollection of a square Maghribī minaret.

The relation of the foundation lines of the tombs and the two houses is set out in the table below, and on this evidence Tomb F is considerably later than the others. No other sherds were found that could have belonged to the bowl in the tomb, but the celadon sherd, Fig. 6 p, found below the level of the foundations, is more likely to be fifteenth than fourteenth century.

Inches	House of the Tombs	Tombs						Court of House on Shore
		A	B	C	D	E	F	
0	—							
- 6								
-15								
-21								
-24								—

The principal cutting in this area, between Tomb A and the House of the Tombs (Fig. 3), was carried down to natural soil which was reached four feet three inches below the foundation line of the house. The filling was of the same black earth which was encountered at the mosque, and the sherd pattern was also the same—red burnished earthenware bowls, *sgraffiato* and celadon.

THE HOUSES

The two houses which to some extent it was possible to plan, the House on the Shore and the House of the Tombs, are shown in the sketch plan of the site (Fig. 1). The House on the Shore was an important building, with a triple series of rooms and a rear court at a considerably lower level than the house. A passage leading from house to court was cleared, and in the black earth and stones were found two cut and ground coral cylinders. Each was finished at one end with a shallow depression, the other end being left rough. The dimensions of the finished end were: diameter, 1 foot 4 inches, height 9 inches, and the total length was 1 foot 2 inches. The purpose of these objects is unknown

to me; they may not be very old. No recognizable sherds were found with them. Another cutting was made in the south-west corner of the court, and the base of the wall was reached, after digging through nearly five feet of packed black earth and stones, at a level about nine inches below the foundation line of Tomb D—rather lower than the foundation line of Tomb A. The few sherds found in this cutting were similar to those found in other cuttings. A door in the west wall of the court had been blocked and it would appear that the court, though not necessarily the house, belonged to the original settlement at Ras Mkumbuu.

A lavatory in an adjacent house to the east was cleared of bush, and a square basin and a circular cavity for a bowl or jar was noticed.

The House of the Tombs is one of the last structures in the area, if not on the site. The foundation line is one foot three inches above the foundation line of Tomb B, and at the same level as Tomb F. No excavations were made in the house, but the plan was clear. It consisted of two long rooms and an open veranda, running three-quarters the length of the front of the building, with a lavatory approached from the front room at the end, as in the House of the Scissors at Gedi. On the washing bench was found the vertical neck of a medium sized jar with a rounded body. This was interesting, in spite of it being a surface find, as it shows one at least of the types of vessel used for this purpose.

THE CERAMICS AND THE DATING

References: G.GM = Gedi, the Great Mosque.

KIL. = Kilepwa.

CKC. = Culture of the Kenya Coast.

The finds from the excavations were few and consisted entirely of ceramics, apart from a single blue wound glass bead similar to G.GM 6 xx and some fragments of cobalt and green glass. The ceramics comprised local earthenware, Islamic glazed earthenware, and Chinese porcelain and stoneware. There were no types that had not already been found in Kenya, though the earthenware had expected local characteristics. It will be interesting in the future to see if these local features are closer to those from contemporary sites in Pemba or, as is more likely, to sites on the Tanganyika mainland.

The sherd pattern was remarkably consistent. Sherds of the same red burnished ware, *sgraffiato*, celadon and white porcelain were found in the lowest as well as the uppermost levels. In fact, there was no sherd evidence for the passage of time, which argues a relatively short existence for the settlement. The terminal date is fixed by the absence of Blue-and-White and the virtual absence of glossy glazed monochromes. Mkumbuu could not have continued after the middle of the fifteenth century. If the arcade pattern on the brown-olive celadon bowl (Fig. 6 p) found below the foundation line of Tomb F can be fourteenth century, or if this tomb be regarded as a late intrusion, a terminal date at the beginning of the century would be admissible. This would be the more acceptable in view of the short life I would give the site.

The date of the beginning of the settlement depends on the dating of the Islamic yellow *sgraffiato* found below the foundation level of Tomb A in II A. 3 (Fig. 6 a, b, c), and indirectly on the similar sherds from the hilltop site (Fig. 6 d-g). The *sgraffiato* sherds Fig. 6 a-f appear similar to the sherds from

Sāmarra, illustrated in "Excavations at Sāmarra 1936-1939", Part II, Plates lxxvii-lxxxii and lxxxvii, which are considered ninth or tenth century. The *champlevé* treatment of f is not unlike the style of the bowl illustrated by Arthur Lane, "Early Islamic Wares", Pl. 31B, and even closer to that of the lusted bowl Pl. 29B. The flattened concave ring base with rolled edge of the plain bowl 1, is similar to Lane's Pl. 43. These wares are discussed by Lane on pages 26 and 34 and attributed to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Similar *sgraffiato* and *champlevé* sherds have been found in the earliest levels at Gedi, Kilepwa and Ungwana, and have been attributed to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most of the best examples have come from recent excavations which are unpublished, but published examples are G.GM Fig. 23 h-t, 24 p, q; KIL. Fig. 3 a-d, C K C. Fig. 2 A. The difference between my dating and Lane's on the present evidence can be tolerated. One or other of us will have to put forward or put back his dating fifty or a hundred years. We may even both be right so far as our respective material is concerned. The difference with Sāmarra dating is more serious and, if the sherds really are similar, must be irreconcilable. I am made the more suspicious of the Sāmarra dating by the presence of the painted sherds, Sāmarra Pl. lxxiv 6, and the relief decorated sherds on Pl. xxxv. These are types I have found in fifteenth and sixteenth century levels at Gedi and Ungwana. I have the same suspicion of much of the celadon found at Sāmarra, which is attributed to the ninth and tenth centuries. I am pleased to read that G. R. Miles shares my suspicion of Sāmarra dating in his article "The Sāmarra Mint", published in *Ars Orientalis* I.

The problem of the dating of these Islamic wares is complicated at Mkumbuu by the complete absence of the yellow-and-black monochrome ware. This at Gedi and other sites, and even at Kilwa, is the commonest Islamic ware of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, preceded by *sgraffiato* and followed by the glossy monochromes. This succession may not, however, have been so consistent at other sites. At Ungwana *sgraffiato*, usually green, runs on throughout the fifteenth century, and the Yellow-and-Black is only dominant in the early part of the fifteenth century. The conclusion must be that *sgraffiato* of an archaic type continued to be made and was imported into East Africa throughout the fourteenth century. The alternative would be to take the celadons, identical in glaze and tint with those being made in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, found with them back to the ninth and tenth centuries. A date in the twelfth century without some evidence of its own to support it, would be an irrational compromise, merely obscuring the issue. An intensive study of *sgraffiato*, such as H. A. Pope's work on Blue-and-White, is long overdue and would greatly assist the problem of dating the many sites in the Indian Ocean, where there are neither inscriptions nor coins.

The Chinese porcelain from the important levels III C. 3b and A. 7, consisted of a base (Fig. 6 h), two rims G.GM 11 and 23 (Fig. 6 i, j), and a sherd of a partly glazed bowl G.GM 25. All, except the base, could be happily accommodated in early fifteenth century levels in Kenya, and would be difficult to assign to a period earlier than the fourteenth century. The base Fig. 6 h has a different look, a stronger bluish tint, and could be thirteenth century. There were two other interesting sherds from the lower levels: one, from the top of the hill, the heavy base of a white porcelain bowl with a combed wave pattern Fig. 6 k, not unlike Basil Gray, "Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain",

Pl. 79; the other, from the surface of the drain outside the mosque, the rim of a small bowl with a lip edge in a cream glaze, Fig. 6 l. These I believe to be fourteenth, possibly thirteenth century, pieces.

Sherds from the Tomb area consisted of a rim and base from below the foundation line of Tomb D (Fig. 6 m, n), and a rim with a rounded arcade ornament from below the foundation line of Tomb F (Fig. 6 p). The most useful of these sherds at the present time is the base from below Tomb D (Fig. 6 n). This low rounded ring base was used frequently with large dishes and is similar to the bases of the dishes illustrated by Pope from Ardebil, Pls. 121-123. None of these dishes corresponds with the dish to which this base belongs, which had a bold incised design similar to Zimmermann, Istanbul, Pls. 20 and 21. Sherds of similar dishes have come from, amongst other places, the anteroom of the older Great Mosque at Ungwana (late fifteenth century), and from below the Palace at Gedi, considered to have been first built in the early fifteenth century. The dishes at Ardebil and Istanbul are dated by Pope to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The Kenya evidence would recommend a date not earlier than the middle of the fourteenth or later than the middle of the fifteenth century.

The local earthenware consisted of large red burnished bowls with incurved lips and flat bottoms, Fig. 7 a-d; large shallow dishes with flat bases often with rolled rims, Fig. 7 e-h, similar to G.GM 7 B; jars with incised ornament on neck not shoulder, Fig. 7 i-k; lamps Fig. 7 l; carinated pots with incised ornament and medium necks G.GM 11, Fig. 7 o-p; and plain bowls with or without bases. There were two sherds with a red coat and a graphite linear ornament, Fig. 7 m, n.

The red burnished bowls with incurved lips were found in all early levels at Gedi, Kilepwa and Ungwana; at Ungwana they had a long life well into the fifteenth century. They were also found by H. N. Chittick in the earliest levels at Kismani Mafia. The rim Fig. 7 d, from a surface level, is identical with a sherd from above the floor of the Dated Tomb at Gedi (A.D. 1399); the more interesting form Fig. 7 b, from III A. 9, is new. One example of the shallow dish Fig. 7 h and the carinated bowl Fig. 7 q were also burnished, the carinated bowl on the inside. The large shallow dishes are not a common form in Kenya but they have occurred in all levels, generally the upper levels. The dish Fig. 7 e is in sandy-buff ware, not the usual red earthenware of which the other vessels are made. The rim with a line of dots Fig. 7 g is similar to the bowl from an early fifteenth century level at Ungwana Fig. 20 s. Medium-sized jars with ornament on the neck, not the shoulder, Fig. 7 i, j, k have been uncommon in Kenya; an example from Kilepwa, Fig. 3 e, was fourteenth century.

The favourite ornamental motif was the horizontal chevron or lightning motif Fig. 7 i, k, l. It is known from Kenya sites but was uncommon. There was also a preference for double lines, which was characteristic of Ungwana but not of Gedi. The *makuti* or palm frond motif Fig. 7 o was found in fourteenth and early fifteenth century levels at Gedi. The two diagonal lines on the small bowl with a hole for suspension, Fig. 7 r, may be a potter's mark. If so, it is the earliest example by nearly two hundred years known to me.

The graphite ornamented sherds Fig. 7 m, n are interesting. Odd pieces with this form of decoration have been found at other sites but, as at Mkumbuu, by their rarity they were either exotic or made for a special purpose. Two came

from Gedi, one from an early fourteenth, the other from an early fifteenth century level. A third came from a fifteenth century level at Kilwa and is illustrated in Fig. 2 J in my report in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 50. Graphite ornament was found in Caton-Thompson's B levels at Zimbabwe and Chiwona, and it would appear to be a southern rather than a northern fashion, coming on the *Kusi* rather than the *Kaskazi*, from Arab settlements in the Comoros or Madagascar.

The dating of the early levels at Mkumbuu, as at all sites offers great difficulties. In view of the homogeneity of the ceramic, I am reluctant, perhaps unduly, to concede a period of as much as two hundred years—that is, A.D. 1,200 to about A.D. 1,400—in which there was apparently no change in fashion in local earthenware, Islamic glazed ware and Chinese porcelain. A period of a hundred or a hundred and twenty-five years, five generations, should be ample for this appalling immobility. Suspicion is also aroused by an apparent contradiction between the evidence from the Far East and the Near East. This is made all the more interesting as the nearer in space is the farther in time. A time lag in the case of the Chinese wares, which had to come a quarter round the world, would not be unexpected but, on the contrary, the time lag is offered by the Islamic wares which had a mere three thousand odd miles to travel.

On our present knowledge I have more confidence in the Chinese than the Islamic answer to the problem. On my interpretation of it, the foundation of the settlement would have taken place at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Great Mosque would have assumed its final form at the end of the fourteenth century; Pillar Tombs C and D, and perhaps the House on the Shore, would have been built about the same time; and Tomb F and the House of the Tombs in the first half of the fifteenth century. The site was abandoned in the middle of the century.

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Pemba is mentioned as one of the places colonised in the tenth century by the original Shirazis of 'Alī ibn Husain ibn 'Alī of Kilwa, but this has still to be substantiated by archaeological evidence. The allusion to two kings of Pemba in Yāqūt (thirteenth century) is more reliable.

I owe to Sir John Gray a number of references in Pemba chronicles to later Shirazi colonists, and to a Nabhani settlement in the island with dates going back to the end of the fifteenth century. Three of these references specifically mention Mkumbuu. A manuscript called by Ingrams "Ndagoni IV", speaks of a Shirazi emigration from Paje, near Witu, ten years before the coming of the Portuguese, that is, 1495. The emigrants "discovered Pemba at its four corners", and one of the corners was Mkumbuu. The second, the Kisiwani manuscript, mentions a lost deed of sale of land, dated 1504, and described as "Copied from an old paper of the people of Ndagoni who bought the land of Mkumbuu in the island of Pemba". At this time Mkumbuu had ceased to be occupied but its name lingered, just as farms in Europe sometimes carry the names of long dead Roman stations. The third, the Jambangome manuscript, describing the seizure of Pemba in A.D. 1606 by the Sultān of Mombasa and Malindi, mentions four parties of Shirazi immigrants. One of these groups under a certain Mwana Mize binti Muamba and her husband Darhash bin Omar, settled at Mkumbuu, where one of their children subsequently built a *Jumaa* Mosque.

All these references are to Shirazis. They were emigrants of mixed Arab-Persian blood from the Persian Gulf and later from secondary centres founded by them in Africa. I do not believe they were necessarily Persian, but they were distinct from the pure Arab stock that came from the Hadhramaut and Oman. This distinction of race and manners made it difficult for them to coalesce. The isolated position of the settlement suggests that the inhabitants of Mkumbuu may have belonged to a different tribe and a different sect of Islam from the Shirazi settlers in the other towns on the island. They may have been Nabhani of pure Arab, not Arab-Persian, stock from Oman. A Nabhani contact with Pemba is attested by the reference in the Jambangome manuscript to a Nabhani ruler Mfalme Haruni and his wife Mwana wa Taka. Taka is the same word as Chwaka, and by the early seventeenth century may have been the Nabhani centre of Pemba. The tomb known as Haruni's Tomb may be the tomb of Mfalme Haruni, although I should prefer to bring it closer in time to the "Maghribi" tomb at Mkumbuu.

Sir John Gray has also drawn my attention to a possible early connection of Pate with Pemba. The Nabhani were one of the most important Arab tribes associated with East Africa and provided the ruling house of Pate. Their homeland was Oman and from A.D. 1154 until A.D. 1406, when they were driven out by the Yaarubis, they were the *maliks* or kings of Oman. The arrival at Pate of Sulaimān bin Sulaimān bin Mudhaffar, the son of the *malik*, is said to have occurred in A.D. 1203. The claim of Pate to the island of Pemba is first recorded, only in A.D. 1728, in connection with the brief Portuguese reoccupation of Mombasa. Subsequently it was admitted in part by Mombasa, who was forced to concede half the taxes of the island. It is uncertain on what it was based. It may be derived from the conquests of Omar bin Muhammad. This "Alexander of East Africa" is stated by the Pate chronicle (quoted by Stigand and Werner) to have conquered the coast from Warsheikh, north of Mogadishu to the Kerimba Isles south of Cape Delgado. The date of his accession is variously given, but his career probably covered the middle of the fourteenth century. His reign then would coincide with the existence of the settlement at Mkumbuu, and Mkumbuu may have been a base on the way to Kilwa. On the other hand, it may be based on colonisation, although the Nabhani settlers would never have been as numerous as the Shirazi.

A connection between Mkumbuu and Kilwa, and also Mogadishu, is suggested by the rounded nick at the apex of the arches of the *mihrab* and the west door. The mosque at Songo Mnara is known as the Nabhani mosque, and some of the existing buildings are believed by Dr. Freeman-Grenville to be due to Nabhani conquerors from Pate*. Unfortunately, this nick does not occur at any surviving mosque at Pate or in the vicinity. The mosques at Pate itself may all belong to the eighteenth century, but one would expect to see the Nabhani trade mark used in the home counties as well as abroad. The connection with Mogadishu suggested by tower and rounded nick should not be ignored, but in the absence of any proved Mogadishu-Pate link, can only be recorded. It is a pity that the chroniclers of all these towns were so egocentric that one might imagine that they existed in planetary isolation, rather than in almost daily contact with each other. It would be interesting to know if there are any more arches with rounded nicks in Somalia.

*Cp. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "Swahili Literature and the History and Archaeology of the East African Coast", *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee*, July 1958.

The people of Ndagoni, the nearest village, claim to have always lived at Ndagoni. They do not claim Makutani as their ancestral home and know nothing about its one-time inhabitants. The Sheha may in fact be a descendant of the man of the Jambangome manuscript, who bought the land of Mkumbuu in 1504—a Shirazi from another Shirazi.

THE PEOPLE OF MKUMBUU—A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The people who lived at Mkumbuu appear only “in a glass darkly”. They do not seem to have been wealthy or even prosperous, compared with other communities. The quantity of Chinese porcelain and Arab glazed ware, found in the excavations, was small beside that at Gedi or at Kilepwa, a site of similar size. They were no more artistic, if anything less, than the other colonials; but their building, apart from the architecture, is superior to anything I have seen in East Africa. The houses were insufficiently investigated for any conclusions to be drawn from them, but they were certainly not lacking in the comforts and conveniences which were provided, rather later in date, at Gedi.

The same mystery as to what they did for a living besets the people of Mkumbuu as it does those of Gedi. They may have been merchant adventurers carrying on their business on the mainland of Tanganyika. This business was the age-old African trade: ivory, rhinoceros horn, slaves, leopard skins, tortoiseshell, perhaps mixed with a little piracy. From the hilltop a scout could signal the approach of a dhow, in ample time for the fleet anchored below to put out and intercept it.

What had happened? Where did they go? There was no sign of violence. Business on the mainland, which must have been their main source of income, may not have been so good. The power of Pate had dwindled. The fighting spirit of the original settlers, unreinforced with new blood, died away. The need for a secure base, out of reach of business partners and victims on the mainland, which had been the reason for the choice of Mkumbuu, was no longer operative. The African population had withdrawn into the hills, and local centres like Mtang’ata and Vumba, began to assert themselves and were able to monopolise the trade and to keep out strangers. Some time in the early fifteenth century the people of Mkumbuu moved to fresh fields and pastures new. The more energetic went to Mombasa and other thriving parts of the coast. The others moved across to the opposite side of the island to establish themselves at Chwaka and live comfortably as settlers instead of merchant adventurers. They were not unsuccessful. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Mombasa, and even distant Moçambique, were to draw a great part of their supplies from the “Green Island”.

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KEY TO DRAWINGS OF POTTERY

G.G.M. references to Gedi: The Great Mosque—Architecture and Finds.

FIG. 6

Islamic

Level

- | | | |
|------|--|---------|
| a. | Rim of <i>sgraffiato</i> bowl (G.G.M. 3) with projecting lip, light green glaze and hatched pattern, red body | II A.3c |
| b. } | Sherds of two similar bowls, pale yellow glaze, hatched | |
| c. } | patterns, red body | II A.3c |
| d. | Rim of similar bowl, yellow and chocolate glaze, <i>champlevé</i> pattern, red body | I |
| e. | Sherd of similar straight-sided bowl, light green glaze, linear incised pattern, red body | I |
| f. | Sherd of bowl, as e, with floral pattern in <i>champlevé</i> , pattern in yellow and chocolate | I |
| g. | Sherds of rim and base of plain rather shallow bowl with flattened inward sloping foot ring | I |

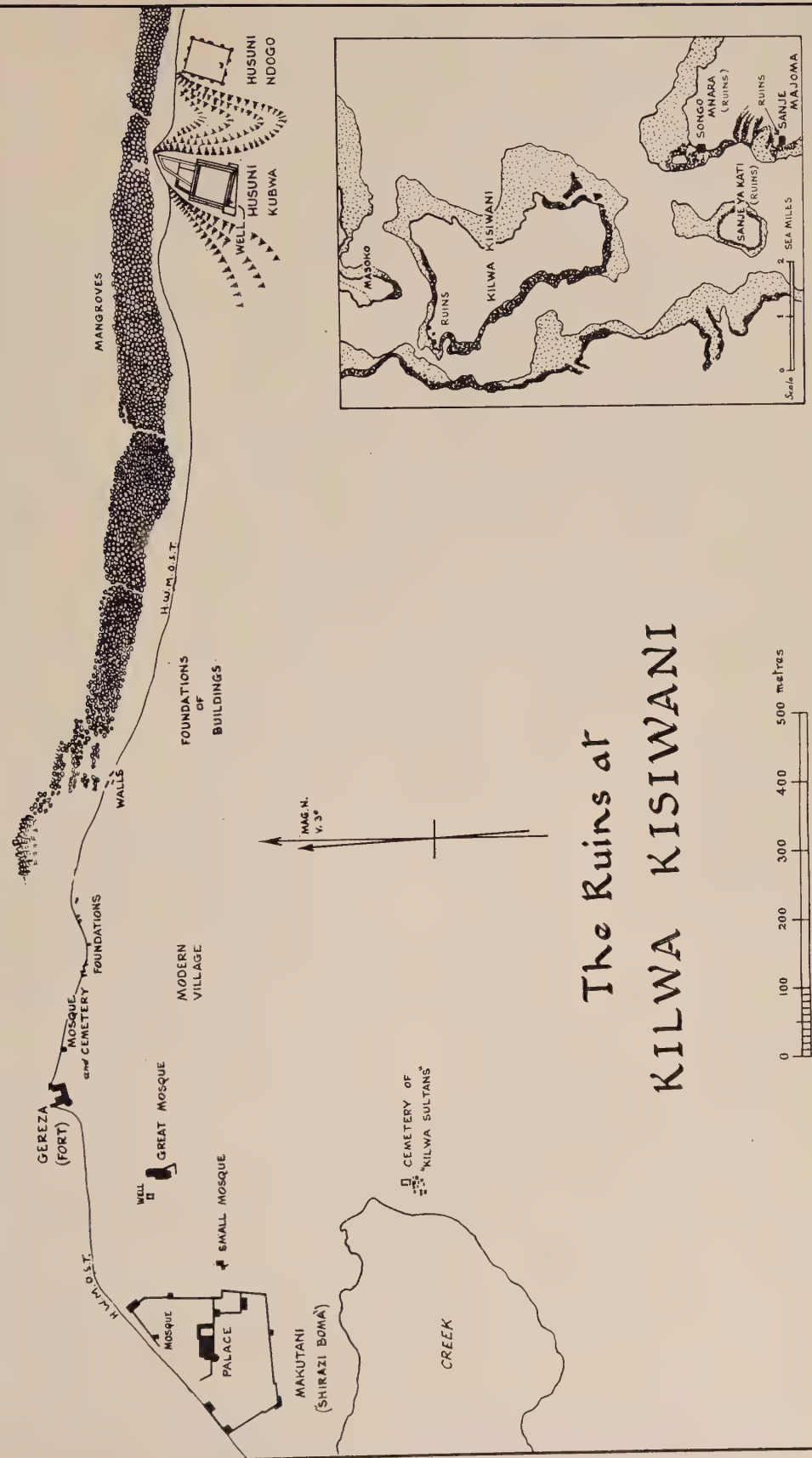
Chinese

- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| h. | Sherd of bowl with gun-metal tint, opaque glaze with flaws; low unglazed ring base, straight outside, sloping inside | III A.7 |
| i. | Rim of dish with rolled edge, transparent crackled glaze, grey-green on top and light blue underneath (G.G.M. 23) | III A.7 |
| j. | Rim with raised edge of small dish, dark grey-olive tint, many bubble spots (G.G.M. 11) | III C.3b |
| k. | Base of bowl with white body and glaze, green tint in hollows; thin tapered lip and heavy base with short tapered ring, glazed all over; combed wave pattern inside, as shown diagonally to the right, and incised lines outside | I |
| l. | Sherd of small bowl with cream glaze and elongated thickened rim (G.G.M. 3) | III C.3a |
| m. | Rim of dish with volute edge and lotus petals on outside, basic celadon glaze (G.G.M. 1) | II B.3a |
| n. | Base of dish with incised design inside; low ring nearly straight on inside, rounded outside, glazed on and inside ring, probably with bare circle inside, basic celadon glaze (G.G.M. 1) | II B.3a |
| o. | Base of partly glazed bowl, lower part unglazed and with bare circle inside, grey glaze (G.G.M. 25) | III C.3b |
| p. | Rim of bowl with straight lip and arcade pattern on outside, olive brown glaze on a dark grey body (G.G.M. 12) | II D.2 |

FIG. 7

*Local Earthenware**Level*

- | | | |
|------|--|---------|
| a. | Large bowl with incurved lip and flat base, red overall
burnish | III A.1 |
| b. | Rim variant of similar bowl | III A.9 |
| c. | Similar variant | II A.3b |
| d. | Similar variant | III A.2 |
| e. | Platter or shallow bowl with rolled rim and dragged
punched ornament below rim in sandy-buff ware ... | III A.7 |
| f. } | Shallow bowls with rolled rims and probably flat bottoms | |
| g. } | like G.G.M. 7 | I |
| h. | Large bowls or platters with flaring sides in red overall
burnished or sandy-buff ware | III B.1 |
| i. | Medium sized jar with medium neck and incised ornament | I |
| j. } | Similar jars with short necks and incised ornament ... | I |
| k. } | | |
| l. | Large platter or lamp with incised and punched ornament | I |
| m. | Sherd of red painted bowl with trellis pattern in graphite | II A.3b |
| n. | Sherd of similar bowl with linear pattern | III A.9 |
| o. } | Carinated pots with medium necks (G.G.M. 11) and incised
ornament | I |
| p. } | | |
| q. | Carinated pot with rolled rim, burnished on inside ... | I |
| r. | Small globular bowl pierced for suspension below rim, two
diagonal lines on outside | III A.9 |



The Ruins at KILWA KISIWANI

Fig. 1. The ruins at Kilwa Kisiwani, with inset showing other sites in the area.

NOTES ON KILWA

By H. N. Chittick, M.A., F.S.A.

The town known to Europe until the last century as Quiloa was situated on the east coast of Africa almost exactly on the ninth degree of latitude (south). The ruins lie towards the north-western corner of Kilwa Island, overlooking a superb deep-water harbour the further shore of which is formed by the high spit of land terminating in Ras Matuso on which the village of Kilwa Masoko lies. The harbour is completely protected from the swells of the Indian Ocean by the island itself and by a barrier reef which, with a break in its centre, runs from the north-western tip of the island to Ras Matuso.

According to tradition, emigrants from Shiraz¹ in Persia settled at Kilwa in the tenth century A.D.,² but nothing has yet been found at the site of the town which can be dated to this period or to the succeeding two centuries. The surviving buildings at Kilwa Kisiwani are to be ascribed to about the beginning of the 14th century and later. A short account of the ruins has been given by M. H. Dorman in an earlier number of this journal³.

The chief monuments (see map, fig. 1) are, first, a castle termed by Dorman the "Arab Fort" and locally known as the *Gereza* (by which name it will here be referred to); second, a very extensive fortified area to the west known as *Makutani*

¹This tradition, together with the common popular assertion that monuments on the coast are the work of the Shirazi, and indeed the existence of people who call themselves Shirazi, raises the difficult problem of the past relationship between the east coast of Africa and Persia which can only be touched on here. One feels there must be something in the traditional connection, yet Persian elements in East Africa are rare. There are few Persian words in Swahili that could not have come through Arabic, which is a vastly more important element in the language; the "mediaeval" architecture, so far as the writer is aware, bears no resemblance to the Persian; imports of Persian pottery were much less than from other areas; and the Shia element is very small among the Moslems of East Africa and in any case does not seem to be connected with Persia. The following conversation with a native of Mbweni, near Dar es Salaam, who was well-informed on the history of the *Diwans* of his village during the last two centuries, is perhaps worth recording as an illustration of the vagueness surrounding this question:

Q. What is your tribe?

A. I am an Mshirazi.

Q. Where did your ancestors come from?

A. Iraq.

It should be noted, however, that traces of the Persian calendar survive on the coast. It might be correct to take Shirazi as referring to the Persian Gulf; but if so it is most peculiar that none of the towns in that area are mentioned in this connection.

²It is not proposed to enter here into a discussion of the history of Kilwa, on which a work is shortly to be published by Dr. Freeman-Grenville; and see also his *Chronology of the Sultans of Kilwa in Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 50, 1958. It may be remarked, however, that an analysis of the lengths of reigns as given by de Barros and in the 1862 version of the Arabic History of Kilwa shows that the average regnal period declines throughout, from the inception of the dynasties down to the half century preceding the compilation of the original source, not long after the arrival of the Portuguese (c. 1520 is suggested by Freeman-Grenville). The average reign of the first eleven sultans is about twenty years, the next eleven about fifteen, and the third about nine, and the fourth (down to the fall of the town to the Portuguese) under five years; the latter part of this period is however one of instability. We can be confident that the account of the sultans from the time of al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman, whom we know from ibn Battuta to have been ruling in 1331 or 1332, is substantially correct, but (unless it can be shown that he was relying on earlier written sources) one is tempted to wonder whether the lengths of some of the reigns of these earlier sultans may not have been exaggerated, despite the assertions as to the dates of the founding of Kilwa given by de Barros and in the Arabic version, which may themselves be computations.

³The Kilwa Civilization and Kilwa Ruins, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 6 (Dec. 1938) p. 61.

(the "Shirazi Boma" of Dorman), with the "Palace" in the centre; third, the *Small Domed Mosque* and fourth, the *Great (or Friday) Mosque*, both to the east of Makutani; fifth, the *Cemetery of the Kilwa Sultans*, 450 metres south of the Great Mosque, sixth, the *Malindi Mosque*, with an adjacent cemetery, east of the Gereza; and seventh, the forts known as *Husuni Kubwa* and *Husuni Ndogo* (Dorman's Husuni and San Jago) about a mile distant in the same direction. Mr. J. S. Kirkman has recently given an account of a trial excavation against the inner face of a massive sea wall west of the Malindi mosque⁴. Some evidence bearing on the date of certain of the remains has come to light in the course of conservation and other work by the Department of Antiquities during 1958, and it is proposed to give some account of these finds and of certain antiquities not previously recorded, together with some preliminary observations on the known buildings.

ANCIENT UNIT OF MEASUREMENT

On evidence from buildings elsewhere the writer has come to the conclusion that the unit of measurement in use by masons in the 14th and 15th century was a cubit of about 48 cm. (17 inches or just under), this being the usual width of the walls of mosques of this period. Further evidence that this was the approximate value of the cubit is provided by the fact that most of the internal measurements of the earlier buildings at Kilwa (excluding the Gereza and Husuni Kubwa) work out at an exact number of cubits of this length, and, in the case of bigger buildings, at a multiple of five or ten cubits. In the descriptions that follow, measurements are on occasion given in cubits. Scales in metres are incorporated in the plans.

THE GEREZA

The Gereza is a nearly square building (see Pl. Ia and plan, fig. 2), constructed



Plate Ia. The Gereza at Kilwa Kisiwani, from the east.

⁴See Kilwa: the Cutting behind the Defensive Wall—*Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 50 (June 1958) p. 94.

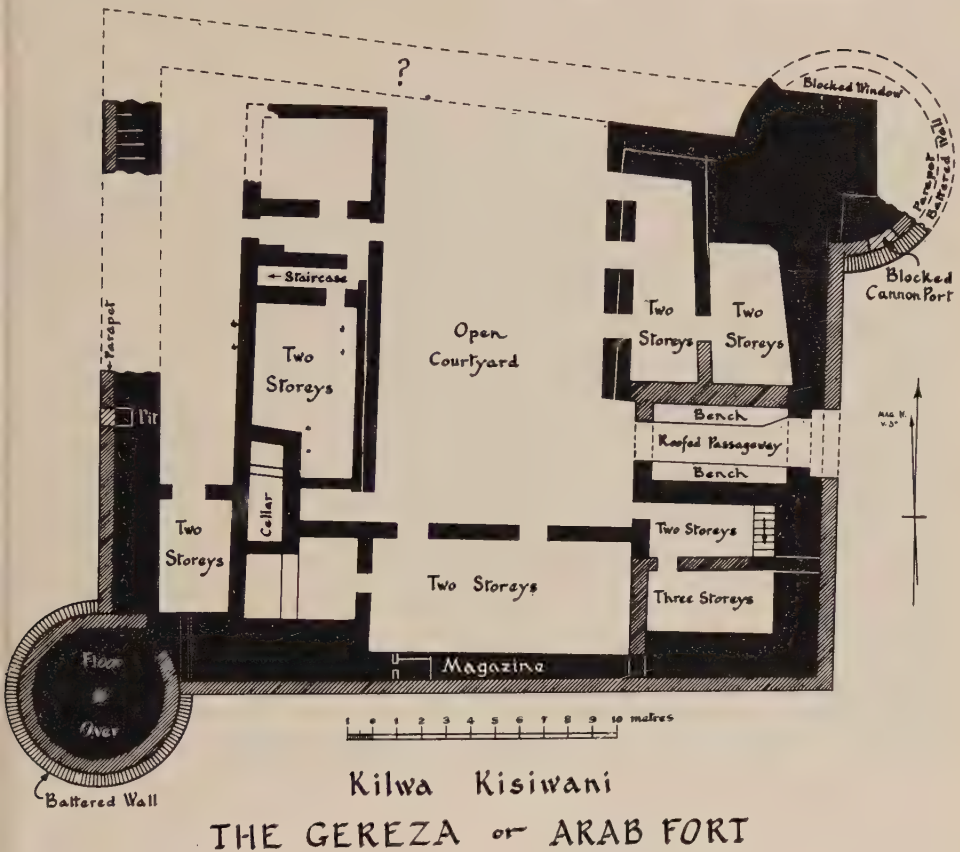


Fig. 2. Plan of the Gereza. Adapted and corrected from a German survey made in 1904.

in the usual coral-rag rubble set in lime mortar: the surface of the walls both inside and out was formerly plastered white. It is situated right on the shore, and the northern wall was probably always washed by the sea which has caused its collapse. The outer wall is of great thickness: its top forms a battlemented walk, being protected by a parapet furnished with crenellations. The parapet is pierced by a few cannon ports and musket-slits and by many cylindrical spy-holes orientated at various angles, which, however, afford a very restricted field of view; such spy-holes are also found in one of the interior walls, apparently directed towards the entrance. In the south-east corner the upper (parapet) wall is built to a considerably greater height than elsewhere, forming a sort of tower: there was probably a similar construction at the north-west corner. At the other two corners there are circular towers. That at the south-west angle is tolerably well preserved and part survives to its original height. The tower is solid to the height of the battlemented walk; a central square pillar in the chamber above supported an upper storey which was evidently unroofed. The greater part of the circular tower at the north-east corner has collapsed into the sea and little remains of its upper part save a section of wall with a big cannon port which commanded the entrance to the fort (on the east side) and which has been blocked with masonry. The collapse of the tower has exposed

part of an earlier, rectangular, tower; two blocked windows in this shows that this was not originally (as it now is) solid (Pl. Ib). The body of the castle is occupied



Plate Ib. The north-east tower of the Gereza, showing the rectangular inner structure with blocked window.

by rooms, many formerly with upper storeys, ranged round a courtyard. The highest interior wall is surmounted by castellations, whose purpose (unless merely decorative) is obscure.

We know from 19th century sources that the building was ruinous in 1842⁵, and the north wall, undermined by the sea, had certainly collapsed before 1857 when Burton visited the fort⁶. It seems to have suffered little deterioration since 1904 when the German authorities surveyed this and other buildings with a view to their preservation⁷. No conservation work seems in fact to have been carried out until 1935.

It has sometimes been stated that this fort was erected by the Sultans of Muscat and Oman at the beginning of the 19th century, and it seems opportune to review the evidence that this fort in its original form is, as the writer believes, that built or completed by the Portuguese in 1505.

⁵See Gray, History of Kilwa—*Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 32, Jan. 1952, p. 35, quoting Lieutenant Christopher of East India Company's brig *Tigris*.

⁶Burton, Zanzibar, vol. II, p. 356.

⁷Information from the surviving German file on antiquities.

It is certainly true that much of the building as it now appears dates from about 150 years ago and is of Omani inspiration. The pointed crenellations are exactly like those found on forts, still occupied, in Oman, and the curious cylindrical spy-holes are also found there, as also in the later (Arab) additions to Fort Jesus in Mombasa. Such spy-holes are also characteristic of the defensive walls (*ngome*) built round Segeju villages in the middle of the 19th century as a protection against the Masai⁸. The fine doorway with its carved frame is Arab: the date on the inscription above was read by Burton a century ago as 23 Muharram 1231 (A.D. 1807); other readings of this date, probably less reliable, have been made in recent years. The year is now quite illegible. We know too that an Omani garrison was maintained at Kilwa, almost certainly in this fort⁹.

Let us now consider what the Portuguese sources have to say about the building of this fortress¹⁰. Vespucci writes that at the time of the sacking of the town by d'Almeida in 1505 "we found outside the town a castle with four towers, which was fully half built". In a subsequent passage he repeats the statement that it was outside the town. Another member of the expedition states "we made a fortress at Kilwa of one of the better houses, pulling down all the houses round it and we completed loopholes for cannon with all that pertains thereto". Barros says that in erecting the fort "the first thing to be done was to pull down seven or eight houses adjoining the wall of that part of the city so as to unmask the towers for the better defence of the fortress". Both Vespucci and Barros agree that the castle, which was completed within three weeks, was given the name Sam (Sant') Iago: one gives the garrison as 150 men, and the other 100.

Dorman gives the name "San Iago" to the smaller of the two forts a mile to the east of the Gereza,¹¹ which I have designated Husuni Ndogo. Dorman describes this fort, which is a rectangular enclosure with many small towers, as "unmistakably European in form" and implies that it is known to the natives by the name of San Iago.¹² Sir John Gray also identifies this building with that built by the Portuguese. Though Vespucci states that the castle was outside the town, Barros makes it clear that it was close to the town wall, and both he and the third writer make it clear that the houses were built very close to the fortress. Now there are no traces of any other buildings whatever in the area of the two Husunis, and practically no potsherds or other evidence of occupation to be seen; the forts are isolated structures commanding the entrance to the harbour at its narrowest point. There are, however, traces of many walls and some feet of occupation-deposit in the region of the Gereza. Moreover the Gereza is the only building whose remains and layout are compatible with

⁸Cf Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities, Tanganyika Government, 1958.

⁹Strandes (*Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch-und-Englisch-Ostafrika*, p. 63, note) quotes a reliable tradition that the fort was built by Yakuti who was for long the Sultan of Muscat's governor in East Africa. Strandes considered, however, that the fort was on the site of Sam Iago. It is not clear what building his photograph described as "Ruins of Sam Iago", and reproduced opposite p. 62 of his book depicts, but it is certainly not the Gereza. The (misinformed?) views of the inhabitants, that Makutani was built by the Shirazi, the Gereza by the Arabs, and the Husuni forts by the Portuguese, are still put forward by the natives of Kisiwani.

¹⁰I quote from the translations of Sir John Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹Dorman, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹²Though I have asked many of the inhabitants what name they give this building, none have mentioned Sant' Iago. The building is described on page 201.

Vespucci's statement that the fort had four towers. And the earlier rectangular tower, which, as has been mentioned above, is exposed at the north-west corner of the Gereza, can plausibly be explained as part of the Portuguese building.

In the course of conservation work some parts of the Gereza were cleared of rubble. The fragments of pottery found include a fair proportion of comparatively early wares.

In the *entrance passage* within the great door some 20 cm. of rubbish lay over the floor. Here and at the entrance to the courtyard itself modern sherds were about half the total of the glazed pottery and consisted of 19th-20th century European wares and 18th-19th century Chinese blue-and-white, in about equal quantities, together with a few fragments of red-and-black modern water-pots. Sherds of jars, with yellow brown glaze over a ribbed buff body and small strap handles, amounted to about a third of the total, but most of these were from a single vessel. The writer would assign this ware to the 17th or 18th century. The remainder of the pottery consisted of celadon, and Ming blue-and-white (four sherds) of the type characteristic of the Wan Li period (late 16th century) in which the design is outlined in darker blue and filled in with a lighter blue wash. Of the celadon, four sherds have a semi-opaque dark grey-green glaze on a buff body, the fifth, the base of a bowl, has a fine transparent light green glaze over a grey-white body; in the centre of the interior is a stamp, and there are incised flutings on the exterior. A biconical wound blue-green glass bead, diam. 1.0 cm. and length 0.7 cm. (probably of 13th-14th century date) was also found together with two iron cannon balls, of diameters 6 and 9 cm. respectively, and a part of a cannon.

In the rooms at the extreme south-west of the building a considerable amount of repair work has been carried out in the past, in some cases making the positions of destroyed floors obscure. Here, in clearing rubble close to the west wall of the fort, only one sherd was found but this is of considerable interest. It is the base of a big celadon jar of good quality, probably Lung Chu'an ware of 14th-15th century date. The glaze is blue-green, crackled. The base has been made in two parts: first the ring and sides of the vessel, into which a glazed bowl has been inserted from the inside, and cemented to the outer portion by its own glaze in firing.¹³ The foot-ring is unglazed, and burnt red.

At the top of the south-western tower itself were found only a few modern European and late 18th-19th century blue-and-white pieces. Here however a cannon came to light in the debris, most of which (though probably not the cannon) had probably fallen from an upper floor. A surprising find was the base and driving-band of a high-explosive shell: the War Office broad arrow is visible on the fuse and it is thought that the shell must have been fired in the 1914-18 war when there was a certain amount of activity in the area.¹⁴

In the *south-east* "tower", were found a coin of Ali ibn al-Hasan (c. 1478-1479) and one of al-Hasan bin Sulaiman (c. 1479-1490). Of the pottery in this section, half the few sherds were modern; the others included three sherds of celadon

¹³This technique is described in Honey's *The Ceramic Art of China*, p. 74 a, and in Pope, *Fourteenth Century Blue-and-White*, Freer Gallery of Art Occ. Papers, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴The Director of the Imperial War Museum, to whom the material was submitted, and to whom the writer expresses his thanks, agrees with this view.

(two with olive-green and one with light-green glaze, all with grey body), one of blue Islamic monochrome (probably 15th century), and one fragment of a brown-glazed jar, of the type described above.

MAKUTANI: THE PALACE

Makutani is essentially a polygonal defensive wall enclosing an area of about five acres, near the middle of which is a large building which was almost certainly the palace of the Kilwa Sultans, at least in the latter stages of the history of the town. The outer perimeter wall runs along the shore on the northern side, but the whole of this part has collapsed. Most of the southern side, and parts of the other landward sections of the wall, still stand. The only entrance which can be detected and which appears to have been quite simple is on the southern side, at a point where the wall has fallen, only the threshold slabs being discernible. The shells of various buildings besides the Palace survive, most of them integral with the perimeter wall and evidently primarily defensive in purpose. One house, however, situated on the seaward side, seems to have been entirely domestic, with a sort of veranda overlooking the sea, as also another much bigger house, partly of two storeys, near the south-west corner. Besides various minor buildings there are two small mosques within the circuit; one, completely ruined, lies to the south of the Palace, and the other (the Makutani mosque, described below), is built with its north wall contiguous with the perimeter defensive wall on the seaward side.

The Palace is connected with the perimeter by a wall running west and north to the defences on the seaward side, and another running east to the landward circuit. These cross walls are pierced by spy-holes, and it is possible that they represent, together with the south wall of the Palace itself, the original limit of the fortified area on the southern side, the other defences in this direction having been added later.

The Palace is a long comparatively narrow building measuring about 55 by 25 metres, and mostly of two storeys (plan, fig. 3). The building is constructed of the usual coral rag set in lime mortar, with a white-plastered surface. There is none of the finer cut-stone work associated with 14th-15th century buildings. The rooms are mostly long and narrow, the width (about 2.70 m.) being dictated, as always, by the length of mangrove poles capable of supporting the heavy stone floors and roof. The builders evidently bore considerations of defence in mind: there are no ground-floor windows in the outside walls, and narrow slits and spy-holes are incorporated in some of the walls, chiefly on the west side.

The Palace falls into three distinct parts. First, to the east, two rows of long narrow rooms are ranged round each of two sides of a courtyard; part of the outer wall on the southern side has collapsed. In the courtyard is a well and small cistern, and also a long cannon, now lying against the north wall. The only entrance appears to have been in the north-east corner.

Secondly, to the west of the courtyard is a block of smaller rooms with long narrow rooms to the north and south. The top of the façade facing the courtyard, is ornamented by rectangular stone finials (Pl. II): a similar decoration



Plate II. The façade overlooking the courtyard of the Palace at Kilwa Kisiwani,
at the start of conservation work.



[Courtesy Public Relations Department]
Plate III. The battered wall on the north side of the Palace.

is seen on the surviving section (lately fallen) of the perimeter wall on the seaward side. The lower half of the northern wall is battered and is probably of an earlier date than most of the rest of the building; the wall of the upper storey, which is pierced by big rectangular windows, is an addition to the battered section (see Pl. III). This block has a domestic air about it, and probably served as the women's quarters. Traces of red paint and incised decoration (crosses and rectangles) are visible in places.

The third part is the tower at the south-west corner. This is polygonal, the sides being of irregular length, and battered. The structure is solid; it is surmounted by a square parapet wall pierced by arched cannon ports, and German Government files record that a cannon (perhaps that now in the courtyard) lay within the tower. It is better built and in a different style from most of the rest of the building, the walls of which abut against it and in part enclose it. The tower is thus clearly an earlier structure; it is probably contemporary with the battered lower part of the northern wall mentioned above, but it is not clear how the two structures were connected. These sections may well be part of the building which d'Almeida's party broke into in 1505.¹⁵

The remainder of the building shows general resemblances to the Palace on Kua, Juani Island (Mafia): certain details, too, such as the cylindrical latrine "chimneys" descending from the corners of upper rooms, and the incised plaster decoration, are paralleled in the Kua ruins. The latter buildings were probably abandoned after the onslaught of the Sakalava early in the 19th century,¹⁶ and I would assign an 18th century date (probably the latter half) to them. A similar date is probable for the later parts of the Palace at Kilwa, and it was no doubt here that the Sultans of whom Velten records traditions lived. A Sultan Yusuf ibn Sultan Hasan is recorded as having added to the old *boma* at the time of the visit of "the Frenchman" probably Morice, who with others was at Kilwa between 1776 and 1784,¹⁷ but the traditions repeatedly state that it is not known who originally built the *boma*.¹⁸

Dr. A. G. Mathew records¹⁹ the finding of late celadon and blue-and-white Ming ware in the Palace area, but little is now visible on the surface. One fragment of 18th century blue-and-white ware was found lying among the debris on the north side, and fragments of later, probably 19th century, blue-and-white ware and part of a plate decorated in red and gold were found at a depth of 60 cm. in the course of rebuilding a buttress in the courtyard. Sherds found in a group close to the well in the courtyard, and perhaps originally dug from the well, included fragments of olive-green-glaze celadon, with buff body; dark grey-glaze celadon with grey body; thin blue-grey celadon; and a piece of a stoneware jar with a small strap handle. Excavations for buttresses to support the south wall of the Palace produced nothing except a few unglazed sherds of an indeterminate nature.

¹⁵See Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁶In the time of Sa'id bin Sultan of Zanzibar, according to the tradition recorded by Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, p. 249.

¹⁷See Gray, *The French at Kilwa 1776-84*, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 44, Sept. 1956, p. 28.

¹⁸Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 248 et passim. His sources give the name Shangani to the place, which, it seems likely, is the same as Makutani. "Shangani" however is at the present day assigned to an area about half a mile south of Makutani where there is only a large stone-lined well and few ruined house(?) walls to be seen.

¹⁹S. report to H.E. the Governor.

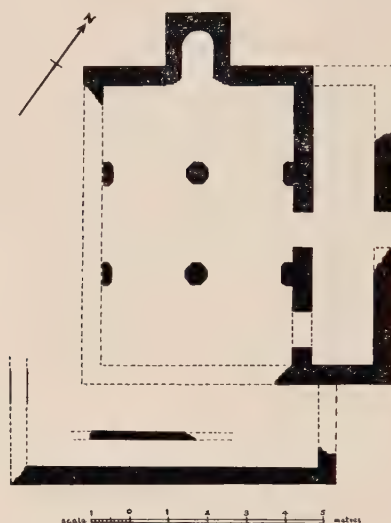


Fig. 4. Plan of the Makutani Mosque.

The *Makutani Mosque* is a small building (see plan, fig. 4) the north wall of which abutted against the perimeter wall (now vanished at this point) where the latter runs along the seashore. The building bears 39° (true) which is much further off due north than is usual: the orientation was perhaps dictated by the angle of the perimeter wall. It has two central octagonal pillars and a long room running along the west side; the ablutions lay to the south. The last-named part of the building is now much ruined, but a long narrow tank can be distinguished. The doorways of the mosque were arched. The *mihrab* has the usual rebated arch; the interior is quite plain. Recesses where plates were affixed can be seen adjoining the arch; one of oval shape has traces of rusted iron which suggests that a small enamelled metal dish may have been inserted. From this one might deduce that the mosque was in use comparatively recently. The pilasters built against the east end west walls are an addition: one has been built partly against a door on the west side which has been blocked.

Near the south-east corner of the ablutions is a well which was cleared in order to provide water for restoration work. The well, the upper part of which was empty, had evidently been in use in recent (probably German) times, a fragment of a glass of beer-bottle type being found at water level 2.60 m. from the surface; a few fragments of celadon and Islamic monochrome ware were also found in the fill. About 15 cm. below water level were found fragments of a brown-glazed jar to which an 18th century date may be tentatively assigned. The excavation was not continued further.

THE SMALL DOMED MOSQUE

A short distance to the east of the Palace is a small mosque with domed roof very similar in style to the later part of the Great Mosque. The body of the building was roofed by seven domes (two being fluted) and two barrel vaults, arranged in rows of three each way (see plan, fig. 5); the eastern side, however, had collapsed before 1921, and probably before 1904 when a German architect reported on the building.

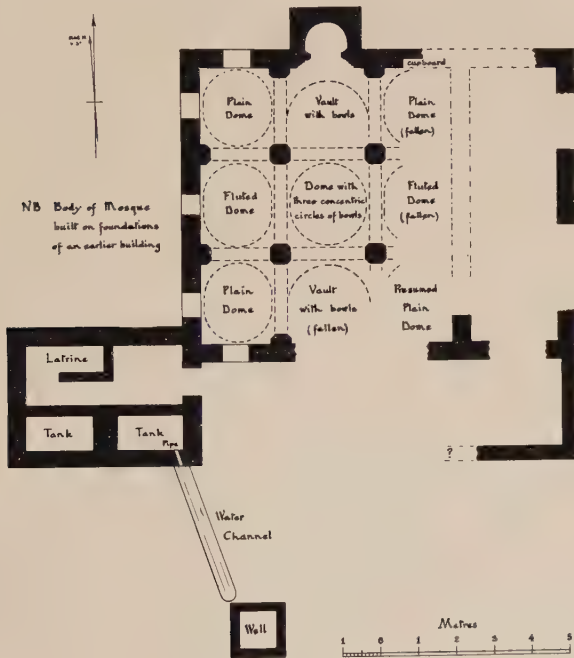


Fig. 5. Plan of the small domed mosque.

The internal length is 15 cubits, the divisions thus each being 5 cubits; the walls are one cubit thick. The two vaults and the dome (the top of which is ornamented by a curious octagonal pillar) on the central axis are slightly wider than the others, and one is ornamented with small blue-glazed bowls, some of which have been removed and all damaged.²⁰ Mathew²¹ states that these bowls are a common Cairene type of the Mameluke period (1250-1517), but the writer is unable to assign a precise date or place of origin to this ware. There are recesses for other bowls and tiles above the *mihrab*, where part of a decorated stone roundel survives.

²⁰It seems that such trophy-hunting both here and elsewhere is chiefly to be ascribed to visitors in the last century. It is clear from the records of the German administration that many of these acts of vandalism had already occurred (both here and at Kua) before 1904.

²¹MS. report to H.E. the Governor.

To the east of the body of the mosque is a long narrow room or veranda, and the ablutions are adjacent to the south-west corner. Water was obtained from a small well nearby. This well has been excavated, but little of interest was found. European wares (with some earlier sherds) occurred down to the water-table, while at the lowest level (2.75 to 3.60 m.) only sherds of a jar of the soft ribbed ware, with brown glaze, was found, to which a 17th-18th century date is ascribed.

The writer would suggest a date for the construction of the building in the second half of the 15th century, this view being based partly on resemblances to the domed section of the Great Mosque. It should be noted, however, that the mosque is built on what appear to be the foundations of an earlier building, and incorporated in the masonry of the well is a block of stone ornamented with a moulded herring-bone (or palm frond) motif. No such decoration survives in position at Kilwa, though at Songo Mnara and elsewhere such blocks are used to ornament the *mihrab* frames of mosques.

THE GREAT MOSQUE

Work on the clearing and reconstruction of the Great Mosque (see Pl. IV) is continuing in the present year (1959), so that it is not proposed to give here a complete account of this building, which is the most remarkable of all the mosques of the East African coast, and of added importance since literary references to the building have survived.



Plate IV. Part of the Great Mosque, Kilwa Kisiwani, during reconstruction.

The mosque consists of two distinct parts (apart from various minor structures): the northern, which formerly had a flat roof, and the southern, which is roofed with domes and barrel vaults (see plan, fig. 6). The northern section²² is the earlier, as most recent observers have realized, though Dorman wrongly describes it as a later addition. The history of the whole is, however, somewhat complicated, and only a brief statement of the writer's preliminary conclusions, is given in the following paragraphs²³. No attempt is made to relate these in detail to the evidence of the Kilwa Chronicle,²⁴ which matter it is hoped to discuss at length in a subsequent publication.

Three main phases can be distinguished in the development of the mosque as evidenced by the standing ruins.

Phase I. The body of the mosque was substantially the outer shell of the present northern section, though the interior was about one metre (two cubits) wider, and 25 cm. longer than the structure as it stands. It probably had three equally spaced doors on either side, but the form of these is uncertain, as is also that of the *mihrab*, and the south wall (if any); it is also doubtful how the roof was supported.

To the east of this building was a passage roofed by a barrel-vault. The line of the eastern wall of this passage was continued by a row of seven octagonal pillars built of monolithic sections of coral stone. The southernmost of these is the easternmost of a similar row of pillars running east and west, and a single fallen and buried pillar, uncovered in the course of excavations on the western side of the mosque, indicates that there was a row of monolithic columns along this side also. What structures were within the area enclosed by these monoliths (which are probably of the type which the masons were unable to imitate when the mosque was restored in the reign of Sulaiman ibn Muhammad early in the 15th century) is not known. To the east of the southern half of the eastern row, however, was a massive outer wall, pierced by a doorway, and linked to the columns by a barrel-vault, which roofed a passage wider than that mentioned above. South of this barrel-vault was a large domed chamber (not indicated on the plan); there is little doubt that this is that in which the Sultan al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman (c. 1310—1333) is recorded as having been accustomed to worship. It is virtually certain that the mosque was built before the time of that sultan, and probably at a much earlier date.

The main area set apart for ablutions was still further to the south, the range of cisterns being set apart from the mosque itself by an open space extending most of the width of the building. This arrangement does not seem to have undergone alterations in subsequent phases.

²²This part of the mosque is called by Sheikh Hussein of Kilwa Kisiwani the "Msikiti Kibarra", but he is unable to state why it is so named. "Kibarra" may be compared to the name "Kibala" recorded in the Kilwa Chronicle as that of the original mosque found by Ali ibn al-Husain and his companions when they reached Kilwa after leaving Shirazi. (See Strong, *The History of Kilwa*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895 p. 413.).

²³I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance given in arriving at these conclusions, both by discussion and advice, by Mr. D. R. Steel, whose services were kindly made available by Mr. F. Silvester White, the Director of Town Planning and Architecture.

²⁴See Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 416. The writer's dates are taken from the computations of Freeman-Grenville, for observations on which see page 179, note 2.

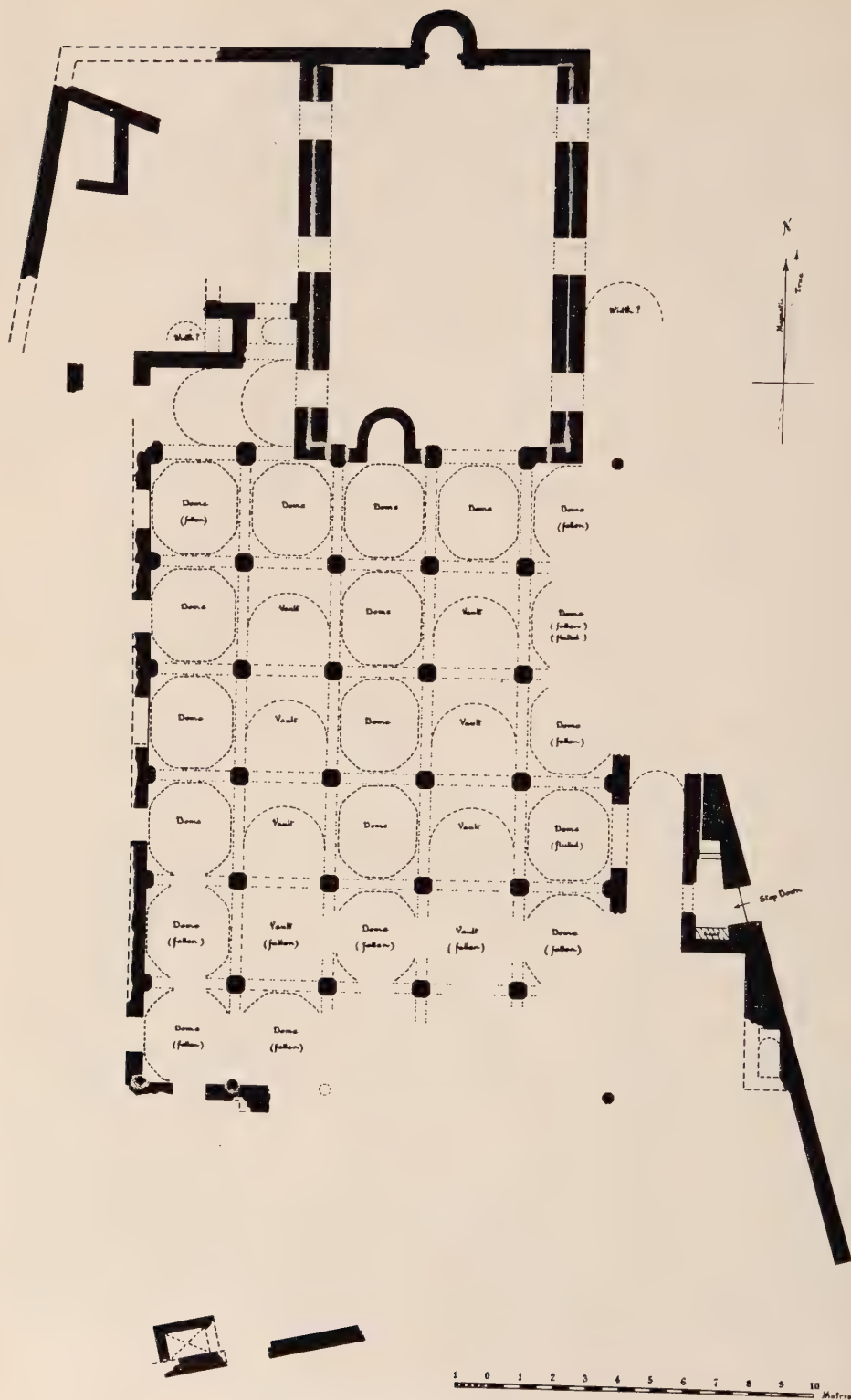


Fig. 6. Plan of the Great Mosque.

At the end of this phase either the roof collapsed, or at the least the structure was found to be in such an unsafe condition that drastic alterations were deemed to be necessary. It is also possible that at about this time the vaulted roof of the passage to the east, and the western row of columns in the southern extension, collapsed, though it is more likely that this occurred at, or rather after, the end of the following stage.

Phase II. The east and west walls of the body of the mosque were doubled in thickness, and the doors were rebuilt with a smaller width and height. The length of the building remained the same. Whether the new roof was supported by pillars or by heavy beams is uncertain; the latter is the more probable. The doors of the northern part were as they now appear, but the aspect of the *mihrab*, the rear wall of the northern part, and of the area enclosed by the monolithic columns, remains uncertain.

At the end of this stage the rear wall of the northern part of the mosque collapsed or was removed; it is probable that the roof fell in again as has been observed above, and that the vault east of the building and the western row of monolithic columns collapsed.

If we accept the statement of the Kilwa Chronicle that the mosque was in a state of ruin from the time of al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman until the time of Sulaiman ibn al-Malik al-Adil (that is, nearly a hundred years) then the building must have collapsed for the second time (*viz.*, the end of Phase II) before the end of the former's reign, c. 1333, and the date of the reconstruction after the end of Phase I would, one would expect, have been considerably before this date.

Phase III. The surviving southern section, which is roofed with domes and vaults and is described below, was constructed. Two of the northern arches of this building were inserted in the place of the vanished southern wall of the northern part which served in Phases I and II. The two arches extend a little to the north of the position of this wall, so that the length of the northern part was reduced by about 25 cm. The floor of this building was raised approximately 35 cm. and the present *mihrab* probably built. The new flat roof of this section appears to have been entirely supported on beams since there is no sign of there having been any pillars. The slots for the three east-west beams are of very great size; over these were laid three rows of north-south rafters. On top of the north-south rafters were laid small cut timbers, set on edge, over which the stone roof would have been laid. A flat roof, supported by similar cut timbers, was inserted in place of the collapsed barrel-vault over the passage to the east.

It is virtually certain that this reconstruction is that referred to in the chronicle as having been carried out in the reign of Sulaiman ibn Muhammad al-Malik al-Adil (c. 1421-1442).

The southern section is roofed with domes and vaults built with seven cubits between the centres of the six spans of the north-south axis, and five cubits between the centres of the five spans on the east-west axis, making a total of forty-two cubits as the length of the main body of the mosque (though there are extensions to the south, at present being excavated), with thirty cubits as the width. Vaults are employed only for the middle four spans of the third and fifth north-south rows; they are slightly pointed along the centre of their axis, and (like the domes) are built of a sort of concrete of lime-mortar and pebbles.

In this they differ from the true barrel vaults in other parts of the mosque, and from the "dome of al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman", which are constructed with proper voussoirs. Two of the domes on the east side of the mosque, one of which has fallen, are fluted on the interior.

The domes rest on octagons of cut cornice stones, which, through squinches, are supported by slender arches. The arches rest on short octagonal pillars built with panels of stone alternating with others of lime concrete, except on the east and south sides, where they were supported by the monolithic columns which had survived from Phases I and II. The capitals are plain and square. The fabric now has a blotchy appearance, but was originally covered with white plaster, as was all the stonework²⁵.

It should be mentioned that the poorly-built *mihrab* at the north end of the domed part of the mosque has certainly been inserted much later, no doubt after the final collapse of the roof of the original, northern, section, whose *mihrab*, which could be seen through the arches at the north end of the domed section, had served up to that time.

Coins found in the fill above the floor of the ruined southern part (south of the seventh row of pillars) indicate that this part of the mosque had ceased to be used at the end of the 15th century.

Immediately south of the Great Mosque there are the remains of two structures (the "South Building" and the "South-west Building") which it is not proposed to describe for the present.

A short distance west of the mosque is a large square well, lined with masonry, which has a remarkable vaulted chamber opening into its northern side at a depth of about three metres from the top. There is also a large cavity at the same depth on the western side, the sides of which are formed by very rough, or fallen, masonry²⁶. The well was filled with rubbish up to the base of the vaulted chamber, but it is reported that it had been dug out about fifty years ago (though it was found unpracticable to use the well). The fill was in fact found to contain modern sherds and bottle-glass in the well itself, in the upper part of the fill of the vaulted chamber, and in the cavity on the west side.

THE CEMETERY OF THE SULTANS

About 450 metres south of the Great Mosque, not far from the shore of the *jangwa*, or shallow creek, is a cemetery known to the Germans as the Sultans-mausoleum and only recently found once again by Mr. C. Little and Mrs. G. E. Organ. The graves are of the usual 18th-19th century type,²⁷ many having the characteristic stepped sides of this period; whether sultans of Kilwa of that period are buried here is however uncertain. Certain gravestones and other fragments from this cemetery are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, but I have not been able to read anything useful on the photographs the director has been

²⁵Dorman (op. cit., p. 65) wrongly implies that dressed and fitted stone is not used for doorways and so on in these two mosques: there is plenty of stonework hardly, if at all, below that of Songo Mnara in quality; but a great deal of it is hidden by plaster.

²⁶This side of this cavity has now been blocked (except for a doorway) by a masonry wall erected in 1959 to make the structure safe.

²⁷It is noteworthy that no built graves of the earlier period have yet been found at Kilwa.

good enough to supply. Among the graves are parts of an earlier building including an arch of 14th–15th century type; the purpose of this structure is uncertain, but it appears to be neither a mosque nor a grave.

In the bush some distance to the east of this cemetery is another referred to as the graves of the Forty Sharifs. They appear to be of the 18th century and are of little interest, consisting for the most part of plain head and foot stones set side by side within long and narrow enclosures formed by low walls.

THE MALINDI MOSQUE AND CEMETERY

A short distance east of the Gereza is a building referred to in German sources as the Malindi mosque. In plan it is not unlike the Makutani mosque, though it is better preserved and has a line of three central pillars instead of two. The pilasters against the walls have been added, in some cases blocking the original doors, which are of 14th–15th century type; there is a long narrow room to the east and another serving for ablutions, to the south; the axis of the building is far east of north (34° true). In all these respects it resembles the Makutani mosque, though the staircase at the east end of the ablution-room and the dome or vault which appears to have existed over the square water-tank are not paralleled. The *mihrab*, which is rather plain, is supported by a massive sea-wall.

To the east and south-east are numbers of graves mostly of the usual 18th–early 19th century types, and none apparently dating from before this period. One of these (Pl. V) is notable in that it is roofed with two small domes, and is surmounted by an octagonal pillar, the whole being redolent of the small domed mosque (which, however, is taken to be of earlier date). A gravestone (Pl. VI)



Plate V. A grave in the "Malindi Cemetery".



[Courtesy Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin]
 Plate VI. Gravestone from the "Malindi Cemetery",
 now in Berlin.

which seems from the description²⁸ to have been taken from this grave, is now in Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (no III E 9691). It commemorates one Mian Ali ibn Mian [Ah?]mad ibn Mian Sa'id al-Malindi who died on 24th Muharram 1124 (A.D. 1712). Professor Arberry, to whom the writer is much indebted for assistance in reading this inscription, states that "the term Mian (or Miyan) is an Indian usage found in reference to mystics and saints . . . this suggests that the person to whom the inscription refers came originally from an Indian family of Sufis". Although Velten in the work cited above records traditions of "Wamalindi" coming from the town of that name to Kilwa, it is strange that we should find an Indian title connected with a family of that name.

HUSUNI KUBWA

The two forts named Husuni Kubwa and Husuni Ndogo lie about a mile east of the Gereza. They are situated on a steep cliff overlooking the harbour, which is narrowest at this point, and are separated from each other by a gully. There are no traces of any other buildings in the vicinity, the "ruin field" extending only some 700 metres to the east of the Malindi mosque.²⁹ The function of these forts would therefore seem to have been to command the harbour, rather than to defend the town in a more narrow sense.

Husuni Kubwa (see plan, * fig. 7) is the most ambitious of all the fortifications on the east coast of Africa, Fort Jesus excepted. It is, however sadly ruined, and the first impression is of a jumbled mass of masonry. It is only after a detailed examination that its extent and complexity become apparent, and even prolonged study leaves many questions that can only be solved by extensive excavation which has not been undertaken.

The fort covers a narrow triangular ridge of high land, the apex and most of the western side of which is a vertical cliff of sandstone rising from the sea-shore, here closed with a narrow belt of mangroves. The remainder of the two long sides is bounded by two gullies one of which, as has been observed above, separates the fort from Husuni Ndogo.

The southern part consists of a large courtyard surrounded on all sides by double ranges of rooms (probably triple on the north side). These buildings are plainly but massively built, the walls being on average about a metre thick. In the middle of the courtyard is a great pit, about 14 metres in width. At the south-west corner of the rectangle is a small building projecting from the main block; on the western side of this is what appears to be a bank of steps running the full width of the building. In the angle between this building and the southern wall of the main block is a huge well, measuring just under four metres square by ten deep. The well is cut for the most part through the hard sandstone, though the upper part of the sides was formally lined with masonry and the whole was

²⁸"Das betreffende Grab ist als Nachahmung der kleineren Shirazimoschee von Kilwa Kisiwani gedacht".

²⁹The remains in this area ("walls" and "foundations of buildings" on the map, fig. 1) include sections of a massive sea wall (see Mathew, *op. cit.*) besides the foundations of various large buildings now exposed by cultivation. "Sgraffiato" ware is more commonly found on the sea shore in this region than elsewhere, and it is possible that this was the more important part of the town in the earlier period of its prosperity. It is also in this area that the small conical crucibles, on which traces of copper are still to be seen, are found.

*Some of the assumed (dotted) lines of the walls on the plan must be regarded doubtful.

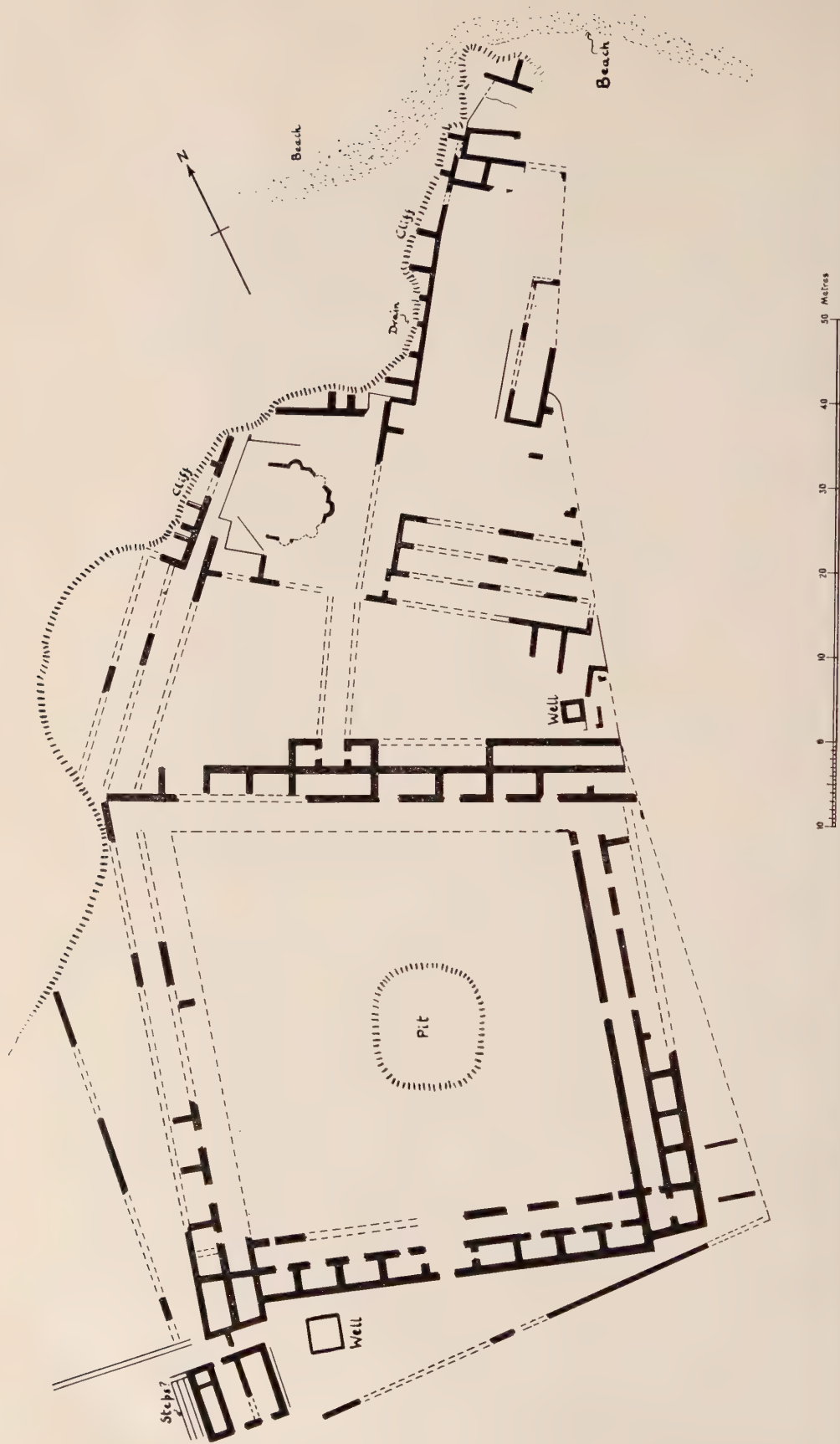


Fig. 7. Plan of Husuni Kubwa. [N.B.—The single dotted lines represent somewhat doubtful walls.]

roofed with lime concrete resting on mangrove poles. This well is thus outside the main defences, being enclosed only by a flimsy and much-ruined curtain-wall, of which traces can be seen on the east and west sides.

To the north of this main block are two small courtyards irregular in shape but, like the first, surrounded by ranges of double, triple, or quadruple walls. At the east end of the eastern courtyard is a small but deep well.

Immediately to the north of the western courtyard the outline of a most unusual polygonal building can be distinguished. Small apses, or exedrae, can be seen in each of the visible walls, but the form of the western end of the building is uncertain.

From this area northward along the cliff edge massive spur-walls project at more or less regular intervals from the single visible perimeter wall. The purpose of these spur-walls is obscure. The ground slopes down fairly steeply towards the sea in the area of the buildings on the northern tip of the fort.

The origin and date of this complex and unique building is not known. Though it has no parallels in eastern Africa the writer does not agree with those who suggest that it is of European origin. We are unlikely to know more until some excavation has been undertaken.

* * * *

Since the above was written, four coins found in the course of excavating the small well within Husuni Kubwa have been cleaned; they afford valuable evidence bearing on the date of the fort. The coins were found near the base of the rubble fill, at a depth of 13.00 metres from the top of the well. At *minus* 13.25-13.50 metres begins a fill of damp sandy clay of a greenish colour; here for the first time potsherds (all of native wares) become plentiful, and the excavation was temporarily discontinued at *minus* 13.75 metres. The coins are all of Sulaiman bin al-Hasan, who is reckoned to have ruled c. A.D. 1294-1308. This indicates that the well went out of use about 1300 A.D., and hence that the building was constructed in the 13th century or earlier.

HUSUNI NDOGO

The second fort is a very much simpler structure, being essentially a plain rectangular enclosure (plan, fig. 8). The wall is thick (just over a metre) and is reinforced by solid towers. Some of these towers are built on projecting plinths; several have fallen, including that at the north-west corner and two on the eastern side (where the reconstruction is not absolutely certain). The towers were polygonal, those at the corners having nine and the others six sides; the quoins are of cut stone, though many of these blocks have been robbed.

The entrance was at the south end, and seems to have been quite plain except for a cross wall within the face at this point, behind which is a well, four cubits square, and the deepest (about 14 metres) yet found at Kilwa. There are no other buildings visible in this interior except for some stall-like projections in the south-west corner, and a very flimsily built wall in the south-east.

The building has been laid out with great accuracy, the bearings of the east and west walls being the same within half a degree, according to measurements taken. The building measures just under 150 cubits by 110 cubits internally; the towers are regularly spaced, with 30 cubits of clear wall between each.

The origin of Husuni Ndogo is, like its fellow, obscure. For various reasons, including the finding in this area of a sherd of sgraffiato ware by Mathew, and the absence of any provision for cannon, the writer considers the fort was built before the fifteenth century. Though it is unlike other buildings of the period known to us, there is no evidence that it is of European origin.

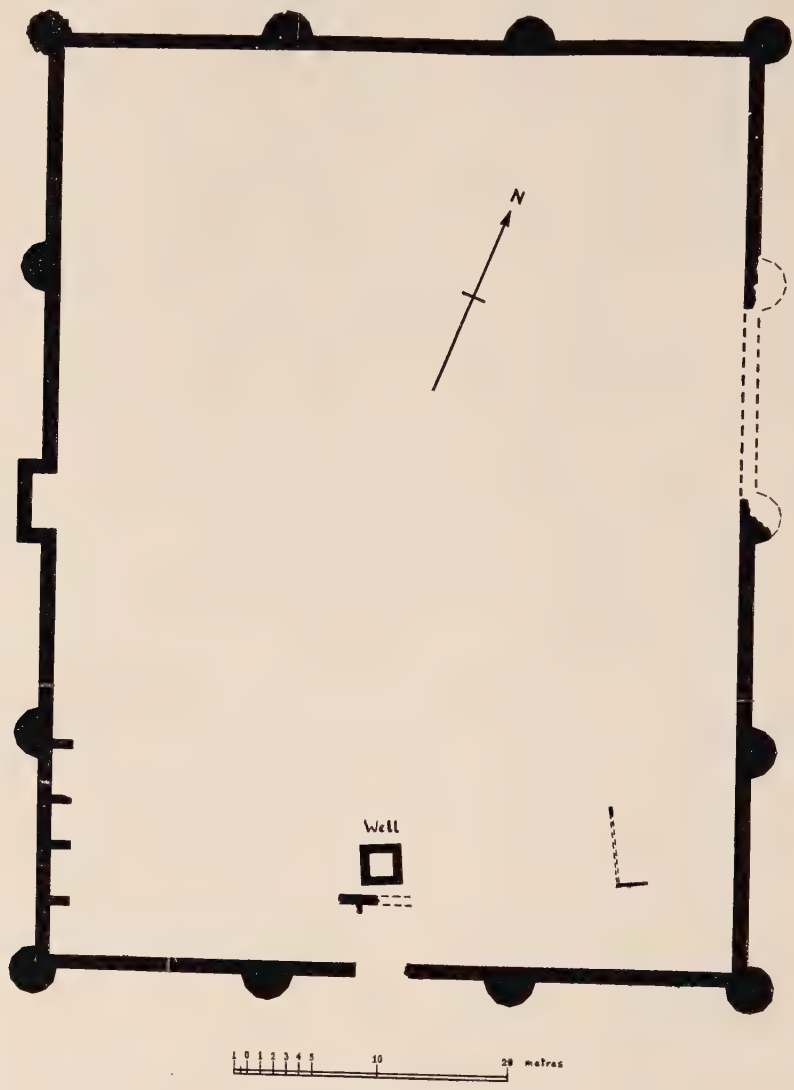
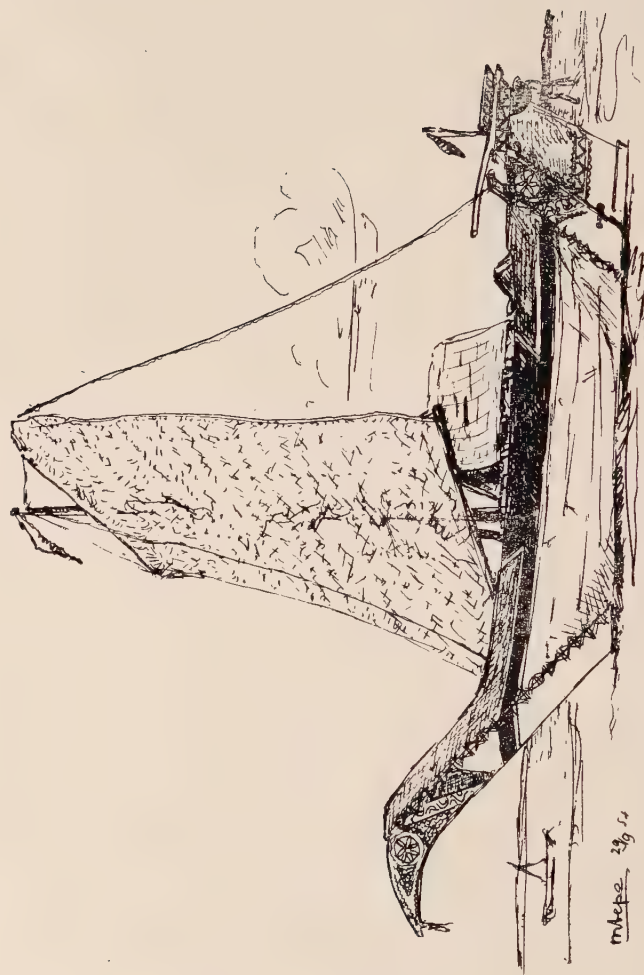


Fig. 8. Plan of Husuni Ndogo.

MVINJE MOSQUE

In conclusion, mention may be made of a ruined mosque, not hitherto recorded, which lies on the extreme eastern tip of Kilwa island at a locality known as Mvinje. It is very small, having a single plain chamber without pillars, but is unusual in that owing to the lack of water in the locality it is provided with large tanks, fed by rainwater from the roof, outside the eastern end. There is no settlement in the area, and, standing as it does in a position difficult of access on a barren headland overlooking the sea, it reminds one of the fishermen's chapels built on dangerous capes in parts of Europe, and perhaps served a similar purpose, a landmark and a place of prayer for the safe return of those at sea.



The Mtepe: drawing by the author, from the Lamu model.

UNCERTAINTIES IN COASTAL CULTURAL HISTORY: THE "NGALAWA" AND THE "MTEPE"

By Dr. A. H. J. Prins

For all of us who, like Sir John Gray, are interested in those things which gave shape to the present in the past, few can be more fascinating than the genesis of the culture of the coasts and islands of East Africa. As compared with other parts of Africa, this cultural area affords the historian ample scope for his craft. Written documents, otherwise scarce in the Southern Hemisphere, exist to some extent, and voyagers and explorers have left written reports. Folk histories and genealogies, often orally preserved so far, await further preservation. They provide a borderland where philologist, historian and ethnologist meet. But beyond this there is another realm where, on untrodden paths, ethnologists, linguists and archaeologists may still meet, but where the historian is ill at ease. Two unwritten documents from beyond this borderland are the subject of the present contribution. The problem is, for historians, in the broadest sense of the word, to let their documents speak. If they need documents, they also need methods to make proper use of them. Let us therefore try to see whether it is possible to deal with our documents so as to let them speak. Since this is our sole aim, a description of either type has only been attempted in so far as the details bear upon our several arguments.

First we may consider the *ngalawa* or double outrigger canoe. What does it look like? How many versions exist? And what sort of knowledge do we have of it?

In form the hull of the *ngalawa* consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, slab-sided, and, by itself, so narrow and unstable as to be dangerous in open sea. It is not simply a dug-out with an outrigger added, but a very special type of boat in which the lack of stability is overcome by a balancing device because two essentials of the hull, its narrowness and its shallow draught, had to be retained. Fitted onto the hull on both sides are two booms with floats attached, projecting equally on each side, thereby ensuring a considerable measure of lateral equipoise. This type of vessel is limited rather strictly to Indonesia, Western New Guinea, East Africa and Madagascar. In the latter the double outrigger has been giving way to the single one, a type that is characteristic of the Pacific Ocean, the coasts of India and Ceylon, and which also occurs in a few isolated instances, such as the coast of Java. The single outrigger of the Comoro Islands coexists with the double one.¹

The design of the *ngalawa* is a very special form of double outrigger. No one could fail to recognize its specific points which make it a distinct variety of the species. There are two sub-species, one very general, up and down the coast; the other limited to some places in the Lamu archipelago. Most readers in Tanganyika will be familiar with the principal variety, with its peculiar hull shape and oblique stanchions holding out the floats below and beyond the extremities of the booms.

¹For the general distribution: J. Hornell, *Water Transport*, 1946 and extensive literature therein quoted; for Indonesia: C. Nooteboom, *De boomstamkano in Indonesië*, Leiden, 1932.

The distribution of the *ngalawa* in East Africa is rather curious: its main numerical concentration is on Zanzibar Island, apart from the north, which is occupied by the Tumbatu people, and where the plank-built *dau* prevails. In the Mafia Islands it is rare; but on the central coast of Tanganyika, including Dar es Salaam, it is common. Further north and south there are fishing villages without a single *ngalawa* (or *ngarawa* in the Mrima dialect). This is indeed curious, and one wonders especially whether the thirty-two Shirazi jumbates in the federated jumbates of Tanga, Pangani and Bagamoyo, were not originally entirely lacking in outriggers. For Pemba I have no material,² but on the Kenya coast it is not very common. Only Digo District, a very poor area so far as ships are concerned, has a few; Mombasa has none³ amongst its many tiny fishing boats and neither have the many creeks further north as far as Malindi. This town is at present the main centre of fisheries in the north and has a small number of *ngalawas*, probably only five or ten per cent of its fleet. The far north of the Swahili coast, between the mouths of the Tana and Juba rivers, has very few indeed, *dau* and *mashua* forming the vast majority of fishing vessels.

In general, then, one can say that the *ngalawa* shows a patchy distribution, its density being greatest in Zanzibar and tapering toward the north and south. It hardly reaches beyond Lamu Island—the most northerly one I saw at Mambore, while Grotanelli⁴ reports one or two in the Bajun Islands off Jubaland; and, though I have no reports on the southern extremity and have not travelled further south than Mikindani myself, I would believe it to be chiefly limited to the coast on this side of the town of Ibo, in Portuguese Territory.

As will presently be seen, this distribution is our main clue to its history. Other clues may well be found in its design and the technical terminology of its constituent parts and by its over-all place in its cultural context. In exploring these we should need all our categories of available material, probably with one exception; for archaeology is silent, or, in so far as it speaks, does so in the negative. No evidence of this type of ship has been found amongst the several sgraffiti depicting ships so far discovered.

The term *ngalawa* presumably derives from *gaa-gaa*, *gara-gara* or *gala-gala*—to roll (of a ship). The crucial features of its design are not so much its hull and sails (called *tanga* as in other ships, the common lateen sail with a luff in its forepart as throughout the Western Indian Ocean) as in its balance gear. So far twenty-nine types of outrigger construction are known from all over the world. Of these, ten come from the Celebes and the Moluccas and are variants on a common pattern. The other nineteen are variants of a number of other patterns. Of these, one is represented in the Marquesas and in northern Java (first sub-variant), and another in East Africa, including Madagascar (second sub-variant). As compared with the rest the latter is atypical in having a stanchion penetrating the boom and pegged into the float.

²The type, however, occurs there.

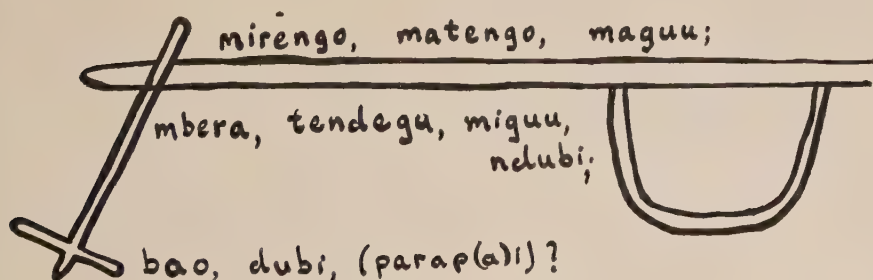
³A small number, however, are shown on Mombasa beach in a photograph in *Man*, 1918.

⁴V. L. Grottanelli, *Pescatori dell' Oceano Indiano*. Rome, 1955.

Another peculiarity of the *ngalawa*, in contrast to Indonesian canoes, is that it has a rudder fitted to the stern by orthodox pintles and gudgeons. It is of importance to notice that it is the only one with names derived from the Arabic,⁵ being *sukani*, (i.e. rudder) *kana* (tiller) and *rumadha* or *rumada*, for gudgeons and pintles.

Since the outrigger does not occur in the Arab world, one may conclude that, if the *ngalawa* reached the coast, and was not evolved locally, it arrived without a rudder. Moreover, since rudders hinged on ropes have long been known on the coast, one may deduce that the *ngalawa* is a late arrival.

As for the other important terms, none is either Indonesian or Malagasy. It seems that all of them, save *bao* for float (which is derived from *Portuguese*) can be attributed to Swahili itself, or, more precisely, to the Bantu substratum in Swahili. The fact that *bao* is derived from Portuguese points at the same late arrival, say after A.D. 1550, provisionally concluded already. It is interesting to note that in the Comoro Islands *bao* is replaced by *dubi*. In Malindi *parapai* and *parapi* are also used for float. The word for the booms, *mrengu* (Pemba: *mrengo*; Mvita: *tengotengo*; Siu: *machengo*; Ngazija: *magendo*; Mrima and Zanzibar: *rengo*; but Bajun: *maguu*) can, perhaps, be connected with the verb *kerenga* (cf. *kurengwa na maji*, to be driven off course by currents.⁶ The name for the strut which connects the boom and the float I have been given as *mbera*, though Sacleux in his Dictionary gives *tendegu*, which also means the leg of a bedstead. Morgan gives *ndubi* for strut, and Wenban-Smith adds *kileti*.⁷ *Mbera* may be derived from the Ngazija verb *kubvera*, to bend (Standard: *kupeta*). Cross-beam (*kifundo* as against *fundo* in the bigger *dau* or *jahazi*) sail (*tanga*), mast (*mwongoti*, *mlingoti*) and the like are all Swahili, that is, non-foreign, words.



Sketch showing cross section of the "Ngalawa."

⁵Whereas otherwise most nautical terms are Arabic or Persian in origin. The terms given by Crossland, *Man*, 1918, do not vitiate this statement.

⁶In this context a statement by Ibn al-Mujawir, *Tarikh al-Mustabsir*, concerning a Malagasy invasion of Aden prior to 975 A.D. is of interest: "Their vessels had outriggers on account of the danger of the currents and shallowness of the water there . . ."

⁷J. C. Morgan in *T.N.R.* No. 9, June 1940. Wenban-Smith, note to the Editor.

Now for the word *ngalawa* itself. There is only one area outside East Africa where a similar nautical term is found, the parts of India where a type of vessel called *gallawat* occurs. One would think this word sufficiently resembled *ngalawa* to establish a direct link between the two areas. But what sort of a link is this? In his Dictionary, Sacleux supposes the name to have been brought from Africa to India, but on what grounds it is not clear. If one may construct a link even if, for one thing, the ships do not resemble each other—although the terms do—even so the spelling *ghallivat* also occurs, and makes it likely that we have to do with a Hindustani variant of the Portuguese *galliot*! So, unless it can be shown that *gallawat* or its root belongs to a pre-Portuguese Indian language, for example, Sanskrit,⁸ we cannot say anything about this link at all—not even whether it exists or not.

To sum up: the main result is to be found in the likelihood that the *ngalawa*, because of the difference in terminology (*dubi* vs. *bao*) for the floats, existed in the Comoro Islands before it came to East Africa; and that it reached there after the vocabulary had been enriched by the term *bao*, which, as everyone knows, is a general term for a plank. This hypothesis, which of course is a partial hypothesis only, is strengthened by other linguistic elements—for example the term *mbera*, which, as has been seen, can be derived from *kubvera*, a Comoro verb, and not from the coastal dialects, which have *kupeta* as an equivalent.

The supposition that the introduction onto the coast itself was post-Portuguese is strengthened by the evidence of the nomenclature of the rudder already mentioned.

A further hypothesis—reasoning backwards—is provided by the fact that the whole terminology is Swahili. Up to the present it has been customary to regard the *ngalawa* as evidence of Indonesian influence in the form of migrations from Java or Sumatra to Madagascar, first via Kenya and Tanganyika, later direct. This I would reject as mere fantasy. The migrations to Madagascar certainly took place, but there is no proof of anything like an East African route: neither is there any proof of the *ngalawa* playing a part in it. I would, on the contrary, say that the terminology suggests that the *ngalawa* was either an independent invention made in the Comoro Islands, and that the similarity between the *ngalawa* struts with those of North Java (a few instances only) and the Marquesas is fortuitous; or that the *ngalawa* is a copy from hearsay, and not from an actual vessel seen, let alone an item brought with a wave of immigrants. In the latter case immigrants in the Comoro Islands or traders, and they of Malay stock, may have described their outrigger canoes to the Comorians. In that case it is not certain that the *ngalawa* is of Indonesian origin even indirectly, since the Madagascar type belongs to the west coast of the island, an area where the Indonesian rulers did not settle—whereas the area under heavy Indonesian influence is wholly lacking in outriggers. An ultimate origin in Ceylon might be more likely.

The diffusion of the second type (via Madagascar to the Comoro Islands) seems the more likely, but it cannot be judged as against the first type (via the Comoro Islands to Madagascar and Africa) as we know from written evidence that double outriggers were sailing in Malagasy waters about 1590

⁸Which, I am told by authorities, is most unlikely.

A.D. We may say that they existed in the Comoro Islands prior to that date either if they were originally invented there or if they were spread through the Comoro Islands both to Africa and to Madagascar. This is equally possible, though not certain, if they were introduced to the Comoro Islands via Madagascar.

The date of arrival on the African coast, as we saw, must have been after about 1550. But can we also find a date before which it must have occurred? And can we find the route along which it was diffused?

These are the two questions that remain. To the first no answer of great significance can be given. To my knowledge no Portuguese writers refer to the *ngalawa*, but an argument from omission does not help us to reach a conclusion. Yet what of the 19th century writers?—the 18th century for the most part being a period of silence.

In this regard it is curious that in the accounts of the famous travellers of a century ago the word *ngalawa* does not occur as one would expect. Von der Decken, treating of the single outrigger *laka* (in the Comoros, that is) does not mention the double outrigger at all, though he mentions the *dau*, *mtepe*, *baghala* and *beden*. Likewise the masterly account given by Guillain includes *laka* and many other terms for ships, but not *ngalawa*. This is in 1848. Von der Decken travelled the coastal waters in 1861. Krapf, in 1858, is also silent on the topic, and so is Owen in 1824. But the only tentative conclusion one may draw from this silence at mid-century is that, although the *ngalawa* may have existed, it was not noticed. This would tally with what I found later. And this brings us back to the distribution of the type along the littoral.

Digo fishermen between Shimoni and Mombasa opine that they are the northernmost *ngalawa* boatmen. In this opinion they are wrong, yet it is telling. They know that Mombasa lacks this boat type, and, moreover, they say it is a vessel which hails from the south. Formerly they did not use it. The next beach where one meets the *ngalawa* is Malindi, where a small number are in daily use, especially in line fishing. That they cannot be of long standing here follows from the fact that Malindi was in ruins for almost two centuries until about 1850, when it was reoccupied by people from Zanzibar and Lamu on the instigation of Sayyid Sa'id. The former may have introduced the *ngalawa* either sooner or later.⁹ In Lamu District, the next area in which we find the type, people told me that it was something modern, an innovation from the south, probably introduced by slaves. This would be likely on the strength of the fact that formerly, that is until fifty years ago, fisherfolk were largely slaves of the ancient Lamu families. Nowadays a few Bajun also use the *ngalawa*, but most fishing craft are plank built *madau*; a few are simple dug-outs, and only in Shela to the seaward of Lamu town does a fair proportion of the local fleet (four out of thirteen) consist of outrigger craft. That this should be so is interesting, for it is mainly from Shela that young men go to Malindi and beyond to come back in old age to take up line fishing during the

⁹In a letter dated 4th October, 1958, Mr. T. E. Allfree, Provincial Fisheries Officer, Coast, Malindi, informs me that of the ten *ngalawa* in use, one was built near Tanga, three in Pemba, and six found drifting at sea—hence also coming from the south. I am grateful to him for this information.

closing years of their lives. The fishing quarter of Malindi is even called Shela. All this serves to suggest that the whole of the Kenya coast should be ruled out as the place where the *ngalawa* either originated or was first introduced. On the Tanganyika coast, of which my knowledge is much more restricted, the concentration opposite Zanzibar seems thickest, and an informant on the Mtang'ata beach, twelve miles south of Tanga, told me that he thought *ngalawa* all hailed from Zanzibar. The constant va-et-vient across the channel would account, as it includes the migration of people, for the taking root of the type on the mainland shore.

On the basis of the facts so far known one can hardly resist the conclusion that Zanzibar is the secondary country of origin for the *ngalawa*, and that it was brought thither by Comorians. It is tempting to suggest that the most likely time for its introduction was when the frequency of contact with Zanzibar increased after it had become the metropolis of East Africa.

Though the degree of certainty reached remains restricted—as always in history—I would nevertheless put forward the following final hypothesis, which subsequent research will either modify, destroy or validate: the *ngalawa* was introduced into Zanzibar from the Comoro Islands not earlier than the first quarter of the nineteenth century—and from Zanzibar its use spread slowly along the mainland coast leaving a number of unaffected pockets in which its acceptance was thought unnecessary by the people concerned.

* * *

Our second document, also a type of ship, is the *mtepe*. There are many fables about this ship, probably because of its antiquity. To start with, much confusion has arisen from a lack of distinction between “sewn boats”, a general category, and, on the other hand, the *mtepe* which is a very special East African form. A further point that has been overlooked is that there were, until latterly at least, two types of East African sewn boats plying along the coast, one, the *mtepe*, a large vessel of perhaps up to thirty or forty tons; the other the very much smaller *dau la mtepe* of different appearance although built on the same general principles. For research as to their origin we must follow a somewhat different path from the foregoing section on the *ngalawa*, mainly because both *mtepe* are extinct. From direct observation it is only possible to study models which survive. Of these there are five known to me, of which the one in the Zanzibar Museum is no doubt a-typical. The other four are: two in Lamu, one in Mombasa and one in the South Kensington Museum in London. All five are of true *mtepe*; of the *dau la mtepe* no models are known to me. On the other hand photographs of the larger type are scarce, whereas the sewn *dau* has been depicted more often—though few pictures indeed have been published. One occurs in Ingrams, *Zanzibar its history and its people*, London 1931 opp. p. 300. Since it does not depict the true *mtepe*, it does not bear upon any argument.

Burton called the *mtepe* the lineal descendant of the sewn boats¹⁰ of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, of the first century A.D. This, of course, is pure fantasy; first because the sewing of the hull of plank-built ships was the technique common to all the coasts of the Indian Ocean and further east until the coming of the Portuguese; and further because nothing is known of the form of the ships of the first century. Obviously many types, both regional

¹⁰“*Ploiaria rhapsa*” in the Greek original of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

and functional, of sewn boats once existed. These types themselves must have followed the laws of development through internal evolution and/or diffusion. Of the *mtepe* it can be said on logical grounds that it represented a final stage in one of the local lines of development through which sewn boats have gone. It is unknown how old the *mtepe* type is. Of the many references to sewn boats in the early accounts, whether they derive from Vasco da Gama at Mozambique in 1498, from Marco Polo in the Persian Gulf in the 13th century, or from James Bruce who travelled in one in the Red Sea some one hundred and fifty years ago, it is not known of what type they were.¹¹ The records of the *mtepe* that deal with it certainly are all of the nineteenth century.

Only one piece of evidence is undoubtedly much older, though exact dating will remain difficult. It is a sgraffito on the wall of a house in the ruins of Gedi in the hinterland of Malindi: it depicts the peculiar hull of what is unmistakably a *mtepe*. I would date it provisionally as sixteenth or fifteenth century work.

The vanishing of the *mtepe* from maritime history is as obscure as its beginnings, though within a narrower range.¹² Careful enquiry in the Lamu archipelago leads me to date the building of the last of the type in the early or middle thirties of this century. What remains of it is part of a rudder which is used as a door in Manbore. Part of the hull planking of another is used in the construction of a guard room in Fort Jesus at Mombasa.

This latter piece, which I discovered by accident, is, together with the models, the few photographs and two or three notes on sailing *mtepe* written when they were still under sail, our only remaining factual evidence. Such important information as can be found in terminology exists, but is corrupt. Under these circumstances a comparative study of form seems to be our best method of research. But before starting this analysis it is first necessary to marshal some other facts.

It appears from records that the *mtepe* were mainly engaged in traffic between Zanzibar and the Lamu Islands, and that the crews were exclusively Bajun. This latter fact should not mislead us into trying to locate its origin in the Bajun coast without further ado, as it is likely that this stretch of coast represents a *Rückzugsgebiet* rather than an independent and vigorous centre of cultural efflorescence. Another detail, however, would seem to support the idea that the *mtepe* might originate in that harbour of Jubaland now known as Port Durnford which still conceals the secrets of the lost metropolis of Shungwaya. The detail to which I allude is the story told by Pearce (following Steere ?) that the flags and streamers of the vessels represent the founder and first sultān of Shungwaya, Ḥasan 'Alī of Shiraz—also known from the Kilwa Chronicle—and his sons, who lived about 950 A.D. This would link the ship with the Shirazi immigrants also known from other parts of the coast and outlying islands, even as far afield as the Comoros.

This tradition, collected before 1920, seemed ridiculous, however, to present-day Bajun, amongst whom I tried to evoke positive comment. This, according to the well established rules of source-criticism, no doubt weakens

¹¹Cf. G. Edye, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1834.

¹²The transitory stage in which sewn *madau wa mtepe* and nailed, but similar, *madau wa misumuri* existed side by side had already begun in 1824, judging from a *locus* in W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages*, 1833 (published in London and New York).

the assertion of Pearce. His second remark, that no coconut or its derived products were to be shipped in it, remains a valuable note. The main cargo of these ships seems to have been mangrove wood, cattle and general produce. The tradition that their swan-like neck was really to represent the she-camel sent "according to the Koran"¹³ from heaven to admonish the pre-Islamic Arabs of Themoud¹⁴ has not been verified. Another story makes the *mtepe* hail from Wadiba people who wrecked their ship on the Somali coast. These ship-wrecked sailors were from the Maldives.

Surveying this meagre evidence, we see that the four threads lead in three different directions: one to the Persian Gulf and Shiraz, two to a country where the coconut has some ritual meaning—either the Maldives, the Laccadives or South India, and the last to the shores of Arabia, perhaps the Red Sea. It would be interesting to know whether there is a sequence in the three notions—as obviously they do not belong together! Finally, the word *mtepe* itself may, in my view, be connected with the verb *kutepetea* (to be tired, to sag)¹⁵ and with the noun *utepe* (reinforcement along the seam of a sewn cloth). The above suggestion is made tentatively only, and I am aware that, even though the explanation may be plausible, it does not go beyond guesswork. The idea would be that the stitching of the hull of the vessel would prevent it from sagging.

We may now turn to the vessel itself, to try to locate, as with the *ngalawa*, the relevant details for examination. It will be agreed that these are not to be found in the rigging: that the mast should not rake forward is natural with a square matting sail. The raking of the mast in the Zanzibar model is clearly a mistake of the maker. Further elements in the rig are not open to inspection as they are apparently not adequately represented, differing as they do in the various models. What remains, then, is the hull. That it is double-ended and very broad in the beam (a second a-typical element in the Zanzibar model is its rakishness) is nothing peculiar. What has to be taken into account is the ornamentation and colour scheme, including the several flags: the stem, the rudder and rudderpost: and the thatched pent-house well forward of the rudder.

The ornamentation itself (*materessi*, *nchikichi* = arabesque) is very peculiar.¹⁶ Several forms are not found anywhere else, although the general idea of having two *oculi*, or eyes, one pair on the bow (or, as in this case, the stem) and one pair on the stern, occurs in the sixth century A.D. in India and also in China. *Oculi* on the fore part alone are very common, but this duplication in the *mtepe* is of importance. Stem and stern have many curved lines, which are

¹³Sura vii, verse 71.

¹⁴To the north of Mecca, on the "Spice Route".

¹⁵Cf. A. Voeltzkow, *Die Witu-Inseln*, 1923, p.43: (my translation); . . . "The *mtepe* tires and loses shape"; this being a literal rendering of a Swahili statement, may have been formulated as: *mtepe utepetea*.

¹⁶The terms are from Hornell, who obtained them partly by letter from someone who had interrogated an old sailor, and partly following Lydekker, *Man*, 1919. Many are definitely corrupt: vide Hornell, *Mariner's Mirror*, 1941. I have checked all these terms in the dictionaries of Sacleux, Johnson and Steere, but they are not included.

almost naturalistic, though highly conventionalised; the rudder, on the other hand, has geometrical patterns resembling the border of Shiraz carpets. Now any central rudder is, in the evolution of shipbuilding, much later than the hull, and does not appear before the twelfth century A.D. both in the western and eastern seas. It is difficult to follow any clue of this sort, but, like the double *oculi*, the discrepancy in patterning of the hull and the rudder may be important. We are on easier ground when dealing with the flags (*ziberamu* and *deramu*), as tradition and name both point to Persia. The colour scheme, red, white and black—an exceptional combination in East Africa outside the Lamu area, is found in the *pattamar* type of coasting vessel on the Bombay coast.

The stem with its animal beak in such a highly stylized form, resembling somewhat the Scythian animal style, is said to be known as *kasama*. I think this is an erroneous rendering of the word *hanamu*, a term of Indian derivation denoting hypotenuse in geometry, otherwise any oblique line (Sacleux), or the cut-water of a vessel (Johnson). No doubt this word can only mean an oblique cut-water, and this is exactly what the *mtepe* has. A ship's prow resembling an animal head is utterly un-Arab, but was a common practice in early India, both according to Sanskrit texts and in paintings of the second century B.C. and of the sixth century A.D. The custom still survived in Bengal in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ I also know of one Persian painting depicting ships with animal figure heads. It stems from Herat and is dated 1526 A.D.,¹⁸ and so is under Northern Indian influence. The utter simplification of animal outline in the *mtepe* prow and the execution of the *oculi* in form of crescent and star could be accounted for as an Arabization of an Indian theme.

The primitive pent-house abaft the mast is equally Indian and is to be found in non-Arabized Indian craft. So too the general shape of the hull, with the stem equal in length to the keel, resembles Indian ships, especially the *pattamar*.¹⁹

In conclusion I would venture to propose that the *mtepe* represents a Perso-Arabization of a medieval Indian prototype of ship which, in East Africa, stagnated in its development, whereas its closest collateral kin, the *pattamar* in Western India, went through further stages of evolution.

¹⁷R. K. Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, 1912, pp. 13-19, 152, 158 and 111.

¹⁸G. Migeon, *Manuel de l'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1927, Tome 1, p. 161.

¹⁹For the *pattamar* see: J. Hornell: "The sailing craft of Western India" *Mariner's Mirror* Vol. 32, 1946.

SWAHILI AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

By W. H. Whiteley

Observations on some grammatical descriptions in English and Swahili.

"Words do neither take roots nor bear fruits in our country". Such, records Dr. Krapf, was the local response to his enquiries about noun and verb roots; but if such a reaction was unexpected it was perhaps also stimulating, and the Reverend Doctor was soon producing the first grammar of Swahili, which appeared a little over one hundred years ago. The German Missionary, like most of his contemporaries and many of his successors in the field of grammatical studies, was brought up in the Classical tradition, and while conceding that such exotic languages might exhibit features not to be found in Greek or Latin primers, nevertheless felt that the differences might best be expressed in terms of a predominantly Classical framework.¹ This view, with modifications here and there, has persisted until the present day, increasingly condemned by students of the language from many aspects, but still condoned by those who feel that such a framework may not be unsuitable for those whose education is increasingly concerned with English.²

Krapf observed that ". . . in Kiswahili . . . the whole business of Declension, Conjugation, etc., is carried on by prefixes, and by the changes which take place in the initial letters of words subject to grammatical Government . . ."³ and drawing on the earlier work of Boyce⁴ finds this "Government" in terms of "concord" in which the important element is termed the "Euphonic or Alliteral Concord". This enabled Krapf to proceed to the setting up of a category of Nouns, which are "prefixed, part-prefixed or non-prefixed", though it is not easy to see why, for example, "niúmba" should be regarded as "part-prefixed" while "símba" is "non-prefixed". Following the Classical conception of declension, though failing to find any inflection for case in the noun itself, a system of "post-prefixes" was established. The post-prefix, noted elsewhere as expressing the Genitive case, is a ". . . letter which undergoes a modification according to the governing noun on which it is dependent. . . ." thus, "mto wa nti/mito ya nti—River(s) of the country". Passing to the verb system, most of the customary features were found to occur. Thus, there is a division into Voice (Active and Passive), Mood (Infinitive, Imperative, Optative, Subjunctive and Participle) and Tense, with a triple division into Present, Past and Future time, and Indefinite, Imperfect and Perfect state, thus:—

Present Imperfect	mimi nipendai—I am loving
Past Indefinite	nina penda—I loved
Future Present Perfect	takúa nlio penda—I shall have loved
Future Past Perfect	ningali dáka ku penda—I should have loved

¹Though in this respect Krapf was not so closely bound to the Classical conceptions as some of his German successors like Veltén and Seidel.

²This is by no means only a modern view. In the Introduction to the little "Maelezo ya Sarufi (Grammar) ya Kiswahili" produced by the U.M.C.A. in 1893 there is a sentence "English terminology has been freely used, because it is almost wholly derived from the original Latin, and practically the same as in general use among civilized nations". This little Swahili grammar in Swahili is followed—within the same covers—by a grammar of English in Swahili!

³Outline of the Elements of the Kiswahili Language (With special reference to the Kinika dialect). J. L. Krapf, Tübingen, 1850.

⁴Grammar of the Kafir Language, W. B. Boyce, 1834.

and the derivative nature of such labels need not be stressed further. In addition, a number of "Derivations, or rather Modifications" of the simple verb are listed, including the Causative (-pendésá), Objective or relative (-patia), Reflexive (jipenda), Reciprocal (-pendána) and Iterative or frequentative (-pendeléa). From this list the Passive "modification" is excluded since this is Classically regarded as a Voice, and in this Krapf was to be followed by several generations of British grammarians.

Having dispensed with the two most important categories or parts of speech, Adjectives, Adverbs, Pronouns, Prepositions and Conjunctions are given little discussion, though enumerated in some detail.

In his grammatical description Krapf not only followed the Classical tradition, but also clearly felt that grammatical categories in general were evidence of particular mental dispositions, thus "the mind, which in its contemplation of the world assigns a different position to every noun . . .", and Mood is described as consisting of the ". . . changes which the verb undergoes, to signify various intentions of the mind". This mentalist or notional attitude towards the description of the language has dominated the British approach since Krapf's time; the general classical bias has been maintained concerning which categories should be recognized, but the categories themselves seem most often to have been defined in terms of their translation into English, so that Swahili grammar has remained—for English writers at any rate—largely a "translation" grammar: X is labelled a Subjunctive because its English translation is the same sort of thing that one gets when translating a Latin Subjunctive.

The name of Edward Steere, Bishop of Zanzibar, is familiar to most students of the language, though it is probably through the editions revised by Canon A. B. Hellier that the majority have received their first introduction to the language. The first edition of the Handbook, was, however, published as long ago as 1870,⁵ and the writer even then was able to benefit from the work of Dr. W. H. I. Bleek whose "Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages" had appeared a year earlier.⁶ Bleek had established Class-pairings for the Nouns and numbered them in a manner substantially retained up to the present day, but while Steere recognized the validity of this classification he preferred for practical purposes to retain the descriptive labels. There the treatment of Noun-classes has remained until the present, and it remains to consider later, some of the respects in which this classification seems inconsistent. Steere did not think it necessary to define Adjectives, since "proper" adjectives were for him, and for later writers, merely the single words which corresponded to English adjectives and which agreed with the noun. This was, however, not maintained consistently; "-ote" though translated by an adjective in English, nevertheless was classed as a Pronoun, perhaps because of the different prefix-series associated with it, though this is not discussed. Pronouns themselves are not discussed as a category but include Personal Pronouns, Possessives, Demonstrative, Reflective, Relative and Interrogative, together with the prefixes ". . ." used in conjugating the verb . . . which may be regarded as shortened forms

⁵A Handbook of the Swahili Language as spoken at Zanzibar, E. Steere, London, 1870. All the quotations are from this edition.

⁶Comparative Grammar of South African Languages, W. H. I. Bleek, 1869.

of the Personal Pronouns".⁷ Of these, Possessives and Demonstratives are variable words associated with specific prefix series: Personal Pronouns and Interrogatives are invariable; and Reflective and Relative pronouns are not words at all but affixes, so that such a classification can hardly be said to describe by form or by meaning, since if the traditional definition of pronoun—as "standing for" a noun—be adopted, this ought surely to include adjectives, when not preceded by an associated noun. Verbs are treated in much the same manner as Krapf, and the force of the translation element is most marked; consider, for example, the view of Participles, ". . . . The present participle in -ing may be represented by the -ana- tense of an incomplete action. . . . " or ". . . . existence merely in place and time, whether the place and time are in English expressed or no, is denoted in Swahili" Krapf's five types of "modified" verb are reduced to four; Causative, Reciprocal, Applied (his Objective) and Neuter (not listed by Krapf).⁸ Krapf's Reflexive is treated as a Pronoun and his Iterative not discussed. There remain to be considered Adverbs, Prepositions and Conjunctions, all of which receive rather summary treatment from the Bishop. It is noted that adverbs follow "the words they qualify" but then so do adjectives, so we learn little about the distinctiveness of such words. Of prepositions there are few, one of these being the piece "-a" described by Krapf as a post-prefix, and the others are clearly viewed as translations, thus, ". . . . Many of our Prepositions are expressed by a Noun or Adverb" or ". . . some can scarcely be expressed at all, the Preposition *from* seems to be almost wholly wanting in Swahili". The same treatment is accorded to conjunctions.

With the appearance of the Handbook and later the Exercises, the description of Swahili grammar remained at approximately the same level of sophistication for many years. There was no shortage of new grammatical studies but on the whole they were concerned with presenting much the same material, suitably arranged for different teaching techniques. Thus Burt adopted the Berlitz method while A. and M. H. Werner preferred the "Direct" approach.⁹ By the early 1920's it was possible for the American linguist Sapir to say with confidence that the linguist was not in the least interested in parts of speech established by logical or other non-linguistic criteria,¹⁰ but this did not apply to studies of Swahili; indeed by Sapir's criteria it is doubtful whether a satisfactory grammar of Swahili has yet been written in English, or Swahili.

In 1931 there appeared a book by G. W. Broomfield entitled *Sarufi ya Ki-Swahili*.¹¹ It was by no means the first Swahili grammar to be written in Swahili but it certainly became the best known to generations of school-children

⁷Though in the later editions revised by Canon A. B. Hellier they are transferred to the chapter on Verbs ". . . to which, being purely formative syllables used in verb-construction, they necessarily belong." (1943 Edition).

⁸Those writers who have made descriptions of the language in Swahili, notably Madan, Broomfield and Kopoka, regard this as a Voice.

⁹Swahili Grammar and Vocabulary, F. Burt, 1910. A First Swahili Book, A. and M. H. Werner' London, 1927.

¹⁰"A part of speech outside of the limitations of syntactic form is but a will o' the wisp. For this reason no logical scheme of the parts of speech—their number, nature and necessary confines—is of the slightest interest to the linguist. Each language has its own scheme. Everything depends on the formal demarcations which it recognizes." "Language" E. Sapir, 1921 pp. 118-9 (Harvest Books edition).

¹¹Sarufi ya Ki-Swahili, G. W. Broomfield, London, 1931.

in East Africa. While prepared primarily for teachers and teacher-trainees, as a guide to Swahili grammar, the hope is expressed that it may be of use in the learning of English grammar, for although the two languages are not strictly comparable, a student well-versed in one may the more easily assimilate the other.¹²

The seven main categories distinguished by earlier writers are here defined according to their function in the sentence,¹³ that is to say they are considered only from the syntactic point of view; but this is not wholly true, since nouns at least are defined by attribute, i.e. that of naming. Further, the functional criteria for the categories are not stated exhaustively, so that it is possible to re-allocate some words merely by applying the criteria provided. Thus, "adjective" is a word which "adds to" the meaning of a noun (neni liongezalo maana ya noun) but, by the same token ought then to include a word like "hasa" in the phrase "huyu ni mtu hasa—He is a real man!" which would fall into Broomfield's adverb category (adverb za kadiri). Again, on such criteria, one ought surely to group the preposition "a" with adjectives, since not only does it never occur in isolation, but always functions with its associated noun or demonstrative as an adjective. Thus, "kisu cha Ali—knife of Ali, kisu kizuri—fine knife". This raises another inconsistency: the categories are stated to be word categories yet quite clearly include both prefixes and infixes; the "-o-" of "wanaokimbia—they who are running" is considered to be a pronoun, while the whole word is an adjective, "watu wanaokimbia—people who are running".

The procedure of classifying by function also involves the necessity for multiple classification;¹⁴ "hiki" is an adjective when preceded or followed by its associated noun, but a pronoun when not. It is clearly useful for the student to realize that categories may function as other categories in other contexts, but only, surely, if the categories have been established on criteria other than function, otherwise they become so unwieldy as to become confusing, and certainly obscure the real and perhaps equally important differences which exist between members of such categories. For example, "hasa" would be classified by Broomfield as an adverb, and "-zuri—fine" as an adjective, on the grounds that it adds to the meaning of the noun. Yet, as noted earlier "hasa" can also add to the meaning of a noun, and thus may be functionally an adjective. So too, is "wanaokimbia"—they who are running". All three are adjectives in comparable contexts, but—to put it at the simplest level—they do not look alike, their forms are different. But since our categories are defined functionally there is no means of describing these differences. What is required is a re-statement of categories by form, so that it may then be possible to say that members of a category defined formally may, at a functional level, behave as members of other formal categories. This is not to say that members of formal categories have a characteristic behaviour in Broomfield's sense, which they somehow abandon in certain contexts. Rather is behaviour understood in the sense of being "substitutable by", thus:—

¹²"... Nadhani kitasaidia watu wanaojifunza Sarufi ya Kiingereza. Kweli Sarufi ya Kiingereza na ya Kiswahili si sawasawa, walakini, kama mtu ameelewa sana na Sarufi ya Kiswahili na taratibu yake, ataona ni rahisi zaidi kuelewa na Sarufi ya Kiingereza na taratibu yake." (p. ix).

¹³"Aina za maneno hupambanuka kwa ajili ya kazi yanayofanya katika sentence." (p. 5).

¹⁴"Ikiwa kazi yake hubadilika, aina yake hubadilika pia." (p. 6).

mtu *yule* alianguka—man that fell down
 mtu *mrefu* alianguka—man tall fell down
 mtu *aliyekimbia* alianguka—man who ran away fell down
 mtu *wa Kenya* alianguka—man of Kenya fell down

All the words italicised are thus functionally adjectives, and are substitutable for them.

One of the objections to the grammatical treatment as outlined above, concerns the position of nouns with final “-ni”. Broomfield regards such nouns as adverbs, thus, “amekwenda *nyumbani*—he went to the house” because “nyumbani” “adds to” the meaning of the verb. Earlier, Steere had regarded such nouns as in the “Locative Case”.¹⁵ Despite the occurrence of sentences like “Nyumbani *kwangu kumbomoka ukuta*—Over at my house there has been knocked down a wall” in which the agreements associated with “nyumbani” are clearly analogous to those associated with “nyumba” in a sentence like “nyumba *yangu imebomoka*—my house has been knocked down”, Broomfield persists in demonstrating elsewhere¹⁶ the adverbial nature of such agreements and refuses to recognize them as “class-concords”. This argument is unconvincing and derives directly from the principles of “translation” grammar.

Another point in which there has been some confusion concerns the “Infinitive” and the so-called “verbal-noun”.¹⁷ Steere had recognized earlier¹⁸ that it was difficult—if not impossible—to regard these as members of two different categories, thus:—

1. *Kuimba kwake kulinipendeza*—His singing pleased me
2. *Nataka kurudi*—I want to return

but the classical tradition dies slowly, and in this case the matter is complicated by the fact that many nouns of this Class may be associated with an object-infix, in distinction from other nouns, and in an example like “alitaka *kumpiga mtoto*—he wanted to hit the child” there are features which suggest a verbal as much as a nominal affinity. The term *nomino-verbal* has been suggested for such forms.

In descriptions of the verbal system the classical tradition was still very much alive for Broomfield: he distinguished five Moods (*Nia*): Indicative, Subjunctive, Infinitive, Imperative and Conditional; and three Voices (*Kauli*), Active, Passive and Neuter, differentiating the two latter from the Derived forms of the verb with which they clearly are closely linked formally.

By the middle 1930's a general departure from the Classical framework was being advocated by C. M. Doke, who stressed that “. . . Bantu grammatical structure is Bantu, and must not be expected to conform to European or Classical

¹⁵But in Canon Hellier's Revision of the Swahili Exercises he notes that, “It is probably correct to say that all nouns in the Locative Case are transferred from their own original class to this class, and take whichever set of concords is suitable, . . .” (1934 Edition).

¹⁶Memorandum on Prof. C. M. Doke's “Bantu Linguistic Terminology” in the Bulletin of the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, No. 10, 1936, pp. 13-19.

¹⁷For a very full discussion on this see “Infinitive in Swahili” K. F. Ruzicka, *Archiv Orientální*, XXIV, 1956 Nos. 1 and 2, in which the author comes to the conclusion at an early stage that “It is indisputable that the term “Infinitive”, both in the Indo-European and the Bantu sense of the term, is, as has been admitted by the majority of authors, entirely inconvenient and that a new and better term should take the place of it.”

¹⁸In his essay on Bantu Orthography (1876), included in the *Swahili Handbook* (Revised by Canon A. B. Hellier) 1943. Thus, “I do not think that any distinction can be made between the Infinitive regarded as a Substantive and as a Verb.”

standards in every respect".¹⁹ At the same time, Mrs. E. O. Ashton was presenting what she considered to be a specifically new approach to Swahili grammar, in which the function rather than the form of words would be emphasized. (But see above.) Mrs. Ashton maintained that emphasis on form derived from the attempt to view Swahili ". . . through the medium of English grammar. In English we are taught to draw a somewhat hard and fast line between adverbs, adjectives, nouns and pronouns. The student tends to do the same in Swahili".²⁰

This may well be true, but is not wholly relevant. As I hope to have shown above, the real preoccupation of writers of Swahili grammar had been with descriptions in terms of translations. A Swahili word was a pronoun because it was translated by a pronoun in English. In this sense Mrs. Ashton was undoubtedly right, but it should be stressed that in English, definitions of grammatical terms—certainly at that time—were made in functional rather than formal terms, and in this respect I consider that she was wrong in her diagnosis of the disease from which descriptions of the language were suffering.

The central thesis of the "idea" approach must be quoted in full: it is that ". . . throughout a Bantu language there runs a wonderful pattern logically and precisely woven by means of "idea" particles, in correct contextual situation, based upon clear-cut underlying principles. The key to Bantu idiom is the recognition of the ideas expressed in these particles, and the understanding of the principles which govern the syntactical relation of words in a sentence."²¹ The particles in question are "-a, i, vi, ki, ku, pa, mu" together with the root "-o" and various particles occurring in verb tenses, all of which had received varying treatment in earlier descriptions. Without discussing all these particles, attention may be drawn first, to the "-a" particle which is held to denote a "prepositional idea" which depends for its precise meaning on its formative particle and its function in the sentence. Thus:—

kiti *cha* mti—a wooden chair. Denotes an adjectival idea.

kiti *cha* mtu—somebody's chair. Denotes a possessive idea.

bakuli *la* kutilia mayai—basin for putting eggs in. Denotes a usage idea.

kisa *cha* miji miwili—story of two cities. Denotes a general relation.

It seems, however, legitimate to ask in what way the function of the particle *in Swahili* differs in each of the examples. Are not the different ideas cited merely further examples of the use of translation concepts? In any case what evidence has the linguist at his disposal for believing that such ideas can be inferred from his texts?

To the examples noted above may be added those cited with the indefinite particle "i", thus:—

kando *ya* mlima—on the side of a mountain

mbele *ya* nyumba yetu—in front of our house

It would be simpler to say that any noun (including those with *ku-* prefix) or demonstrative associated with the pre-prefix *-a* may function as an adjective, in the manner noted above. The exception to this concerns the units (*kwa*+ noun)

¹⁹Bantu Linguistic Terminology, C. M. Doke, London, 1935.

²⁰The "Idea" approach to Swahili, E. O. Ashton, B.S.O.A.S., Vol. VII, 1935, p. 838.

²¹Ibid. p. 840.

and (noun + kwa + noun-adjective): such units are outside concordial agreement and may have substituted for them an invariable word which may be designated "adverb". They may be said, in this sense, to function as such.

It may be true as Mrs. Ashton points out, that to treat the "ku, pa, mu" particles as "Locatives" limits the speaker's outlook on them, but I am not sure whether regarding them as representing "Adverbial ideas of Time and Place" marks much of an advance—other than in the provision of such a wealth of detailed material. The subsequent examples²² of a pattern "*pale alipokufa pakaota maboga*—on the place where he died there grew pumpkins" seems to the present writer less difficult to understand if the "pa-" is regarded as a normal concordial agreement for the Noun Class of "place", i.e. Cl. 16-18. It only becomes difficult to understand if one thinks of the "pa-" as an English adverb, and the subject of the sentence.

These ideas are all fully treated in the author's "Swahili Grammar" which is certainly the fullest description of the language to date.²³ In the treatment of "derivative" verbs the ghost of Latin has certainly been laid; there is no division into Voices, and the Passive is treated as just one other derived form. The "Infinitive, however, is still regarded as in some subtle way different from the verbal-noun, and the Subjunctive is still treated—on the Latin analogy—as distinct from other tenses, though functionally and formally it seems difficult to maintain the concept of "mood".²⁴ One of the many improvements on earlier descriptions is the decision to avoid labelling "ni/si" as the present tense of the verb "To be". This has been a characteristic not only of earlier work but also of some very recent studies and clearly serves no useful purpose for either African or European student. It not only ignores the fact that "ni/si" are patently unlike any other verb that the student may have met, but also that the label present tense, as used for other verbs, is not applicable to the connotation of "ni/si". Finally, note must be made of the "Nominal Construction" which raises a query concerning the validity of "Transitive" and "Intransitive" as well as "Direct" and "Indirect" as applied to the "Object" of a verb. Indirectly, of course, it raises the whole question of relationships between words; how they are to be described and on what basis. In the past this has received very little attention, and if Mrs. Ashton does not solve anything she certainly draws attention to the need for further work.

The matter has been taken up again recently by Mr. O. B. Kopoka in a series of experimental pamphlets on Swahili Grammar entitled "*Sarufi na Ufasaha*".²⁵ Mr. Kopoka is one of the generations nurtured on Broomfield and while he differs from Broomfield in certain respects, he is, nevertheless, a traditionalist in many ways. For him the Passive is a Voice, together with the Active, Stative and Reflexive, and he recognizes at least the Infinitive, Subjunctive and Indicative Moods. He maintains that "ni/si" are part of the verb "To be" (*Tendo la hali*),

²²See "The Structure of a Bantu Language with special reference to Swahili, or Form and Function through Bantu eyes", B.S.O.A.S., Vol. VIII, 1937, Also the "Swahili Grammar", London, 1944.

²³To my knowledge the only author who expressly disassociates himself from both the concept of "Mood" and "Subjunctive" is J. W. T. Allen in a most stimulating manuscript grammar (1937). Mr. O. B. Kopoka disassociates himself from the term "Subjunctive" in an article "The -e form of the verb in Standard Swahili" O.B. Kopoka, Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, No. 25, 1955.

²⁴See, for example "Teach Yourself Swahili", D. V. Perrott, London, 1951, pp. 72-5, and pp. 79-80.

²⁵"*Sarufi na Ufasaha*" O. B. Kopoka. I—Vihusiano, II—Miao, III—Matendo, East African Swahili Committee.

and discusses relationships between words in terms of the trinity Subject, Object, Predicate, considered as notional concepts. In contrast, he makes a most interesting attempt to subsume the categories previously labelled preposition and conjunction under a single category "Miao" (Struts), and his treatment of "place" shows several innovations. However, it is his discussion of the relationship between a verb and a following noun—commonly called the object—which is worth examining in some detail since it has been so little discussed elsewhere. Kopoka labels the object "kitendwa" and distinguishes two kinds; "kitendwa kikuu" and "kitendwa kidogo". The former may be associated with an object-infix in the verb, whereas the latter may not; the former may also form the subject of a passive verb where the latter remains as object of the passive verb—an illuminating observation! Thus:—

alimpikisha mtu chakula—He made the man cook food

Here, "mtu" is the "kitendwa kikuu" and "chakula" the "kitendwa kidogo", the conditions being fulfilled by the second sentence:—

mtu alipikishwa chakula—The man was made to cook food

In addition to the "kitendwa" Kopoka has found it necessary to set up a "kitendewa", one of the characteristics of which is that it represents the reason for which the object was acted upon (*kwa ajili yake kitendwa kilitendwa tendo na fulani*).²⁶ This is termed the "kitendewa-faidi" in contrast to the "kitendewa-chombo" which represents the thing used to perform an action (*. . . maana ndicho kilichotumiwa kutenda tendo fulani*). Thus:—

nilimpikia mtoto chakula	Kitendewa-faidi
nitapikia makaa, sina kuni	Kitendewa-chombo

The "kitendewa" can only occur following the -i/-e extension to the verb root (*shina la kutendea*), and while the treatment is undoubtedly illuminating, there seem to be a number of illogicalities. Why, for example, is it necessary to set up a special kind of "object" for the so-called "Prepositional" verbs, when no comparable treatment is accorded the object following a "Causative" verb. This would seem to be the logical step if one is describing the "object" in notional terms. On the other hand in the two examples:—

1. alimpikisha mtu chakula	Kitendwa-kikuu
2. alimpikia mtu chakula	Kitendewa-faidi

there appears to be no difference in the relationship between the verb and the following noun: in both cases there is an object-infix, and in both cases the noun may occur as the subject of a passive verb:—

1. mtu alipikishwa chakula
2. mtu alipikiwa chakula

so that one doubts the necessity for the extra term. Is not the main distinction between nouns which are associated with an object-infix in the verb, and those that are not? Then assuming that any given verb may be followed by not more than two nouns, one may expect to find one of six sequences occurring, since in Swahili it is only very rarely that two object infixes may occur. These sequences would then need to be further examined and possibly sub-divided. However this may be, Mr. Kopoka's work is an important reminder that our data on such matters remains woefully inadequate.

²⁶But see the full definition in III—Matendo, p. 49.

During the hundred years since Krapf wrote his Outline of the language, a great deal of time and effort has been devoted to the description of Swahili, and if we undoubtedly know a great deal about it, yet our knowledge is patchy particularly in the field of syntax. In no case has anyone consciously set out to describe the language in purely formal terms, as being the only basis for a description which is not derivative from other languages.²⁷ While linguists in other parts of the world have gradually dispensed with the classical models, Swahili grammar has remained largely the result of adopting classical parts of speech, defined according to their translation into English. In considering the reasons for this state of affairs a number of factors need to be borne in mind.

Swahili, in pre-European times, was the language of the coastal strip, of the off-shore islands, and a trade language in many parts of the interior. It was thus particularly suitable for a *lingua franca* over a large part of East Africa, and welcomed by the alien administering authorities who were faced with the problem of administering large numbers of generally small tribal groups, each speaking its own language. Adoption of the language was, therefore, primarily a response to an administrative and educational problem. As such it was clearly necessary for servants of these authorities to learn the language, and for it to be used in schools by members of many tribal groups as a means of communication with the authorities and with themselves. In consequence the aim of most grammatical studies has been entirely practical. I imagine that most writers would disclaim any pretence of presenting a "scientific description" of the language, and indeed might aver that such a description was quite irrelevant to their needs. It is undoubtedly true that many who speak Swahili as a mother tongue find that education deepens rather than dispels their confusion about it, and that many competent speakers hold quite erroneous views about its structure. However lamentable this may seem, it is probably not an unusual phenomenon, as Whorf reminds us, ". . . Every language of course seems simple to its own speakers because they are unconscious of structure."²⁸ It is probably useless to claim that people might avoid this state of affairs if teaching methods were based on non-derivative descriptions, and unlikely that such descriptions, if available, would currently appeal to authorities concerned increasingly with imparting English, unless it could be shown that the teaching of English would thereby gain.

It has, of course, been particularly difficult for the teacher of Swahili, cut off as he is from the fertilizing influence of centres of Higher Education. How much more fortunate is the teacher of language courses in Europe, who—one imagines—is in closer contact with those carrying out research into literature and language. Yet even here there may be difficulties, as is noted—a trifle condescendingly—in the Introduction to a recent description of English: ". . . the cultural lag in assimilating the results of this modern scientific study of language has been so great that the views and practices of a prescientific era

²⁷The concern of linguists with formal definitions and descriptions has been stated explicitly for many years. See the quotation from Sapir (fn. 10 above), and L. Bloomfield's comment in his book "Language", London, 1935, thus, ". . . The meaningful arrangement of forms in a language constitute its grammar." (p. 163).

²⁸"Thinking in Primitive Communities" in "Language, Thought and Reality" the selected writings of B. L. Whorf edited by J. B. Carroll, M.I.T. (U.S.A.) 1956.

still dominate the schools.”²⁹ In Swahili, factors precluding the introduction of new techniques include not only a reluctance to depart from the *status quo* but also—and perhaps particularly—the absence of recognized centres at which some general linguistics may be taught.³⁰ Languages like Swahili—or indeed Luganda or Maasai—are susceptible to description by the same general techniques as is English: the categories of words which are established may differ, but the principles by which they are established are the same. This seems to be the reverse of what has hitherto been assumed, namely, that the categories are universal but the techniques by which they are established will differ according to the interpretation of the grammarian. One result of this has been the emergence of local experts who believe their problems are unique because basically their data are unique. What is required at this stage is a body of workers dealing with diverse data, but making use of general linguistic techniques. In this way teachers of English—as well as teachers of Swahili—may not only gain a new insight into their respective languages, but also acquire a keener awareness of problems common to both.

²⁹“The Structure of English”, C. C. Fries, New York, 1952.

³⁰In the Belgian Congo, often cited with approval by those who advocate an increased attention to European languages, there is at least one university where courses are given in general linguistics as applicable to African languages.

THE COLLECTION OF SWAHILI LITERATURE AND ITS RELATION TO ORAL TRADITION AND HISTORY ⁽¹⁾

By J. W. T. Allen

My subject is a field of research that has been and still is neglected. ⁽²⁾ It has never had an organized programme, skilled guidance or trained field workers. A few scholars have done good bits of sporadic work, almost entirely on the Kenya coast and in Zanzibar, but even this work has never been fully catalogued for reference. My purpose, therefore, is to draw attention to an urgent need, with a view to planning future action.

Swahili is unique amongst the languages of Africa in having a written tradition dating back some centuries before the arrival of the Europeans. It seems to be less well-known that there is a great mass of written material, some of it of great value and almost all of it in danger of being lost in the near future. I hope to give some idea of what material there may be and in so doing to indicate why there is urgent need for action to collect and preserve it. I shall also try to indicate where, how and by whom this work could be done. My personal experience extends over some years and I regret that I did not in time realize the urgency of the matter. It is distressing to think how many opportunities I have lost because I did not understand the importance of haste.

I was in Tanga from 1930 to 1932 and had the good fortune to be taught Swahili by Sheikh Mohamed Hemedi el-Buhriy. The el-Buhriy family has for long been one of the leading literary and scholarly families of the coast and to many members of it I owe my appreciation of the scholarship of those learned people of the coast whose existence most of us overlook. In those years I made a large collection of manuscripts. I collected in the most desultory way, largely with a view to ensuring that I myself should never be short of material to read in my old age. I never pressed anyone to sell me manuscripts, but if somebody offered to sell something that looked interesting I used to buy it and often I salted it down without more than a cursory glance, because I did not expect to find time to study it at length for some years. I eventually took home with me some forty thousand verses of Swahili poetry, several large prose works and a considerable amount of material given to me by people who were not themselves interested in it. What this collection contained I do not know. The collection itself I lodged in a bank where it perished during the war.

I still did not realize the speed with which these records were being lost. In those days it was easy up and down the coast to find a man who owned a chest full of manuscripts and who was willing to discuss them at length. The owners were often unwilling to part with manuscripts and it was obvious that alone I could not possibly make any attempt to save them. But on the whole they

(1) This paper was presented at the Conference of the East African Institute of Social Research, July, 1959.

(2) Attention has been called to the topic in E. Dammann, *German Contributions to Swahili Studies in Recent Decades*, *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee*, No. 26, June 1956; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Literature and the History and Archaeology of the East African Coast*; A. H. J. Prins, *On Swahili Historiography*, both in *J.E.A.S.C.* No. 28/2, July, 1958.

seemed safe in the hands of their owners. I made no systematic attempts at collection and for some years all I did was from time to time to collect a single manuscript on which I worked until I had finished it.

After the war I was again on the coast in 1946, but I was at Pangani for six months and although I found there a cultured community, interested in poetry, history and music, my time was too short to do any serious study.

In 1952 I returned to Tanga and there my eyes were opened. One of the first things I did was to attempt to repair an omission of previous years and to make a collection of the boating songs and shanties of Tanga Bay. I failed because the songs of twenty years before had been forgotten. I began to search again for manuscripts, to replace my lost collection and failed, partly because the time at my disposal was not great, but mainly because during the previous twenty years many of the manuscripts had been thrown away as useless old junk. The new generation is not interested in the past and wants to be modern.

There is still, however, much material that has not yet fallen into the fire or the water, or been eaten by white ants or silver fish. Some of it is very difficult to collect and all of it requires a whole-time collector or collectors. The purpose of the journey that I undertook in June, 1959 was to attempt to discover what does still remain and how to collect it. I chose Kilwa and Mafia as my main objective because, as I have said above, there has been very little study of written records south of Zanzibar. I also remembered that in 1934 the islands around Kilwa and Mafia were reported as being full of old culture. It was, in fact, reported that on some of these islands both sexes were one hundred per cent literate in, of course, Arabic script.

I found that in the quarter century since that report was written there has been a population shift. Many of the small islands are now uninhabited or only seasonally inhabited by people who do not bring their written records with them. Nevertheless, I did find that there is much still in existence. I met, for example, some miles south of Kilwa an old man with an enormous memory. He said that he had nothing in writing. I think that if I had stayed for some days I should have found that in fact he has, but he did have unquestionably an immense store of poetry and legend in his head. This was, in fact, the only occasion on which I regretted that I did not have a tape-recorder with me. It would be worthwhile to send a tape-recorder down to listen to this one man alone.

I found, further, that many of the persons who still possess written literature are most unwilling to discuss it, but that an hour, or a day, or a week, or month of friendly intercourse will frequently succeed. I found also that those who are willing to show their own manuscripts are often unwilling to part with them; and why indeed should a man who has valued a family heirloom for many years suddenly be willing to part with it? Many, however, are willing to allow these documents to be photographed, and I have collected some photographs of interesting material. None of it was of first quality because my time was too short, but I am satisfied that material does exist and that a tactful collector, travelling very slowly, could collect a great deal.

From previous experience I recommend for this purpose a 35 mm. film. Although it is more expensive than microfilm it has great advantages because it is not necessary to have a large projector. A table viewer is quite adequate and is convenient for readers who cannot come to libraries.

Now what is this material? There is firstly literature. The long poems known as "Tenzi" deal largely with history, both ancient and modern, and many of them are both history and literature. As in all countries poets wrote not solely to please but also to preserve factual history. "Utenzi wa vita vya Wadachi" ⁽³⁾ is a remarkably accurate factual history of the Abushiri Rebellion, as seen by an eye-witness, and I suspect that these poems, as chanted by professionals must closely resemble the performance of the troubadours and the rhapsodists. I am not qualified to study the rules of chanting but it is urgently necessary that this should be done before the art is lost.

Then there are the "chronicles". These are probably the most rewarding from the historical point of view, but they are perhaps the most difficult and most frustrating type of document. The owners are most unwilling even to admit their existence and frequently destroy them if their existence is even suspected. They will sometimes put off the enquirer by producing "extracts" or "translations" and they tend to say that they have "lost the book" or that they can "find it next week". After the exercise of much tact and patience the collector will often find that at considerable expense he has copied a bad version of a document that has already been published. There must, however, be gold among the dross and I submit that it is worthwhile to collect a great deal of nonsense if a few genuine local chronicles are found among it. I am sure too that the publication of some inferior bits of history is likely to encourage others to produce their own version. Nothing is more calculated to produce a good version than to show a bad version: the owner of the good version then being spurred to say "This is nonsense—my own is much better". It seems likely, for example, that the recent publication of the autobiography of Tippu Tip ⁽⁴⁾ will induce members of his own family to produce corrections and more authentic versions.

I was myself, of course, handicapped. Much of this material is in Arabic, of which I do not know enough to be of any use. I have not hesitated to photograph some Arabic documents in the hope that they may be of interest.

I also photographed for experimental purposes a plantation log book. This had to be done in a hurry as the light was failing and I have little idea what it contains. There are, however, still in existence many such log books and they must contain valuable material for the compilation of social history. They give, for example, statistics of the purchase and sale of slaves and of their treatment in sickness and in health, giving receipts, medicines, charms, etc. The example that I photographed was earlier than others I have seen. It appeared to run from 1111 to 1167 A.H. ⁽⁵⁾ i.e. from well back into the eighteenth century.

Lastly there are lyrics. Lyric is a large and difficult field and few Europeans, if any, are competent to discriminate. I fear that in this field, unless we can find a really reliable anthologist, the only thing to do is to assume that the vast majority is poor, but that a poem that survives for a century or more has something to recommend it. I should like at this point to record my thanks to Sheikh Kassim Hemed, Liwali of Mafia, who put a great deal of time at my disposal and has promised to help to collect further material. As examples of

⁽³⁾ J. W. T. Allen, *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi*, Supplement to J.E.A.S.C. No. 25, 1955.

⁽⁴⁾ Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el-Murjebi yaani Tippu Tip, historical introduction by A. Smith, translation by W. H. Whiteley, Supplement to J.E.A.S.C. No. 28/2, July, 1958, and No. 29/1, Jan., 1959,

⁽⁵⁾ A.D. 1699/1700 to 1753/4.

the disappointments that a collector must expect I must mention that he introduced me to two most interesting people. One of these had made an amateur collection of poetry and history, but this had been lost in a dhow in 1941. One had a large sack of manuscripts belonging to his father and had thrown it away only last year. I must also record my gratitude to the District Commissioners, Mafia and Kilwa, who were most patient and helpful. I also paid brief visits to other places to find out what was going on. At Tanga I am confident that with a little advice and a small injection of money a great deal could still be collected. In Zanzibar, Sir John Gray has done a great deal of work and there is still material available for collection. In Pemba, I met several interested and interesting persons, who have promised to help if they can. In Mombasa, there is a keen and interested committee busily collecting material under the chairmanship of Sheikh Mbarak Ali al-Hinawy, K.B.E., with Sheikh Hyder Mohamed el-Kindy as organizing secretary. ⁽⁶⁾ The committee asked me to take away with me the material already collected and to catalogue it and lodge it for safety in Makerere. Sheikh Mbarak also allowed me to borrow two manuscripts, one of which I have photographed with a view to reading it later and one of which I hope to be able to have carefully repaired, as it is a manuscript of considerable beauty and interest. This committee has also collected a chronicle and gave me a complete photostat of it. It seems probable that this is a copy of a chronicle that has already been studied and is, therefore, not a valuable addition to our knowledge. This committee shows what valuable work can be achieved by a few keen people, willing to work voluntarily. It was, however, not a full meeting because there are no funds whatever, even for the travel expenses of the members who live away from Mombasa, and my visits to other centres were arranged with a view to meeting them also. It has been and I hope again will be possible to supply a small amount of money for the transcription of material collected on a tape. But this haphazard method of collecting material is clearly not good enough and I have asked the committee in Mombasa to produce some sort of estimate of the minimum that would enable collection and transcription to continue in the coming years. I do not feel that a great sum will be required, but it is quite obvious that if the material now available is to be saved a whole-time collector with travelling expenses and reasonable terms is essential. I hope that if a reasonable estimate is made there may be some chance of finding the necessary money.

When the material has been collected and transcribed the question arises what to do with it. Much of it clearly cannot be published as it is, but will be valuable to historians in due course. Much that is of literary and historical value should be published. Learned theses, such as Dr. Ernst Dammann's "Dichtungen in der Lamu-Mundart des Suaheli, or Jan Knappert's *Het Epos van Heraklios een proeve van Swahili poezie*" are no doubt very valuable, but for the ordinary reader they would be too expensive, even if he ever heard of them.

A series of cheap editions of Swahili classical literature is needed and this valuable series is shortly to be started by the East African Literature Bureau under the name of Johari za Kiswahili.

⁽⁶⁾ It also includes members from Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Pemba.

THE MOSQUE COLLEGE OF LAMU AND ITS SOCIAL BACKGROUND

By Peter Lienhardt, D. Phil.

Independently of government education systems, reading and religion are taught to children throughout Muslim East Africa in the traditional way in Koran schools, whilst for adults religious instruction is often provided in the mosques. For the most part, such teaching is directed only at local students. The Mosque College, called in Arabic *Ribat al-Riyadah*, at Lamu is an exception. Its influence, though by no means dominant, spreads not only the length of the Kenya coast but also into Tanganyika south of Dar es Salaam. Similarly, its annual celebration of the Prophet's birthday, the *maulidi*, attracts visitors from far and wide: Bajun and Somalis from the north, Galla and Pokomo from the Tana River area, Arabs, Swahilis and even a few Indian Muslims, from Mombasa, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Pemba. As part of the celebrations, visits are paid to the tomb of Habib Salih, founder of the Mosque College and inaugurator of its *maulidi* celebration, who has now taken his place as a local saint.

Even at the present time, when the practical advantages of a western type of education are increasingly plain to the people of East Africa, the influence of this traditional Muslim school, which teaches no modern subjects whatever, is still growing. It is not without rivals. The success of the Indian Ahmadiyah movement in spreading their own interpretation of Islam among Africans has caused the Sunni Muslims some heart searching. Whilst generally opposing the Ahmadiyah on grounds of orthodoxy, the Sunni leaders cannot lightly dismiss the greater energy and determination which have made their achievements possible. A situation has arisen where modern circumstances must apparently be faced. At the time of the *maulidi* celebrations of 1958, a meeting of Lamu people and their visitors was held to discuss the starting of a Sunni religious magazine in Swahili for general circulation in East Africa, possibly to be edited from the Mosque College in Lamu. The meeting also discussed the possibility of selecting some religious leader who should be recognized as *mufti*, qualified to give decisions upon new problems of religious law for the East African Sunnis as a whole. The College therefore, like other *sufi* organizations of the past, is able to turn its attention to practical matters as well as to mysticism. Verses of the author of its *maulidi* text, Habib 'Ali al-Habshi⁽¹⁾ painted on the outer wall of the mosque proclaim:

"This is a meadow of learning, these are streams
Flowing that dwellers here may drink their sweetness.
He who abides here gains his final goal,
And those who visit get their wishes too."

Though we describe the Lamu College as traditional, it is obvious that some of its success must be owed to differences between what it represents and the normal pattern of mosque instruction in East Africa. I shall suggest later in this paper that the differences are wider than those of simple teaching. The College

(1)So pronounced by those who know Arabic in Lamu. The name appears in print as *Habashi*.

indeed seems to be illustrative of an institution which has grown naturally and flourished by virtue of a peculiar adaptation to local circumstances, reminiscent in a modest way of the early spreading of the Sanusiyah Order through Cyrenaica⁽²⁾. The movement came into being under leaders of unusual personal qualities. Their reputation for holiness and learning, and their influence, spread to the music of the pipe and the tambourine among a people peculiarly sensitive to drums.

The word *Habib* which appears in the name of the founder of the Mosque College, Habib Salih, is a title used in the Hadramaut as an alternative to *Seyyid* or *Sharif* to denote a descendant of the Prophet, particularly after his death. The sharifs have great respect accorded to them in the Lamu area, where Hadrami influence is strong. There is a striking contrast between the position of sharifs in Lamu and in places under Ibadi influence such as Zanzibar, the Ibadi sect recognising no special virtue in descent from the Prophet—the title *Seyyid* as used by the ruling families of Muscat and Zanzibar simply means “master”. In Lamu, the sharifs are believed to be held in special favour by God and by their ancestor Muhammad. Inheritors of blessedness, *karama*, they are able to impart this quality and also, when they wish, to use it for the undoing of those who offend them. When one of the greater sharifs, particularly those of Habib Salih’s family, walks through the streets of the town, not only do those greeting him kiss his hand as a sign of regard and for the *karama* that it imparts, but others grasp the hand from behind and some of the old and feeble ask for it to be brought down to them as they squat on the ground. It is said that some sharifs resent it if this attention is not paid and are liable to criticise those who neglect them as being people of free-thinking tendencies, thus making them unpopular with the masses.

In Lamu and in the predominantly Bajun area to the north, it is thought by most that the prayers of a sharif have particular efficacy. People will ask sharifs to pray that special wishes of theirs may be granted, and will pay them for their trouble. They, particularly, are asked to make amulets to ward off evil and disease. Sometimes a sharif will be asked to read the *Ahl Badr*, a long prayer of which most households have a copy. This mentions by name all the Companions of the Prophet who fought on his side at the famous Battle of Badr and then asks protection from many kinds of evil. It is thought to be effective for warding off spirits and the evil eye and to be able to cause death if read against an enemy who has done one an injury. The reading by a sharif increases its power.

Many are unwilling to give their daughters in marriage to sharifs for fear that if domestic quarrels arise the girl and her family will be injured by supernatural means. On the other hand, in the coastal districts of the Lamu area a visiting sharif will often have a girl of one of the humbler families given to him in what is effectively, though not in law, temporary concubinage, her father hoping that she will bear a sharif’s child. It is simple to arrange a form of divorce in which bride wealth is returned. Sharifs rarely give their daughters in marriage to non-sharifs, and the more important Arab families will not usually give girls in marriage to those who do not give girls to them. It is said that if an ordinary

(2)cf. E. E. Evans-Pritchard: *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, 1949, to the underlying analysis of which I am much indebted.

man marries a sharifah he has to treat her with such respect that many of the normal familiarities of love making become impossible.

When a sharif is also a scholar, his position is particularly high, since learning by itself is much respected. In addition it is often thought to confer supernatural powers. The word *riyadah*, which occurs in the name of the Mosque College, has more than one meaning. It means religious learning with a *sufi* bias, but also mathematics and, following from these, the well-known type of Muslim magic drawing upon the numerical values of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, squares in which all columns of numbers add up to the same total, a little astrology and the like, together with the names of God and other religious phrases. Habib Salih condemned this magic as fraudulent. Still, out of a delight in ingenuity, the final words of the Arabic inscription which commemorates the opening of the College's junior school have been so arranged that the total numerical values of the letters used add up to the opening date. A similarly ingenious inscription was composed for the College itself by a former Chief Qadi of Zanzibar.

The date at which the founder of the Mosque College first arrived in Lamu is uncertain. The date of his death is recorded on his tomb in an Arabic inscription which reads:

"The grave of the distinguished in learning, the knowing of God, Habib Salih ibn Habib 'Alawi ibn Habib 'Abdullah Jamal al-Lail, who died on Saturday, the Second of Muharram, in the Year 1354. May God have mercy upon him, upon his parents and upon the Muslims."

This date corresponds to April 6th, 1935. At the time of his death, Habib Salih is said to have been probably over eighty years old. His age when he first arrived in Lamu is said to have been about thirty. This sets the date of his arrival very roughly at 1885, though the local assessment is that he arrived almost twenty years earlier.

A remote ancestor of Habib Salih is said to have emigrated from the Hadramaut and settled in Siu on the Island of Pate. From Siu, another ancestor had moved to Anjouan (Johanna) in the Comoro Islands. It was there that Habib Salih was born, son of an Arab father and a Comorian mother. His family, like other Arab families settled for generations in Africa, was under the influence of his country of adoption. Arabic was not spoken in the home, and to the end of his life Habib Salih never used that language for conversational purposes. He laboured, therefore, under something of the same difficulties as the Swahili peoples, speaking Kiswahili but having to follow his scholarly pursuits in another and extremely difficult language which he had to learn. He had the advantage of coming of a learned family. His first teacher was his father. Then, partly it is said because of an outbreak of plague and partly because of political disturbances at home, it was decided that he should go to visit his father's brother in Lamu.

This uncle, Habib 'Ali, had been living in Lamu since before the death of Seyyid Sa'id in 1856, since he used to reminisce about the mystery which prevailed for a time in Lamu over that event⁽³⁾. He was a scholar and had associated

⁽³⁾Seyyid Sa'id died at sea whilst returning to Zanzibar from Muscat. He is said to have expressed an intention of calling in the Lamu area on his way, which caused some alarm. It was some time before it was known why he had failed to arrive, news of his death having been suppressed for political reasons.

himself in Lamu with a rich sharifal family, the Al Husain. Habib 'Ali was able to continue his nephew's education. When Habib Salih died he was buried next to his uncle's grave, the latter having died in 1915. These two graves lie near to that of Sharif Mansab, a member of the Al Husain family, who was one of Habib Salih's teachers and among his main supporters. Habib Salih also studied with Bwanye Kai al-Ma'awi, Imam of the Mwana Lalo Mosque. Religious studies were only a part of Habib Salih's early concerns. When a doctor, Seyyid Muhammad Makki, came to Lamu, he apprenticed himself to him to learn traditional Arabic medicine and used to dispense for him.

Habib Salih himself first began to teach in the Shaikh Bilad Mosque which is in the Langoni quarter of Lamu—this small town has a total of nineteen Sunni mosques. When he had gathered some students, he began to celebrate the birth of the Prophet by reading the Barzanji *maulidi*⁽⁴⁾ in his own house. He and his students then began an innovation in Lamu by accompanying the *maulidi* with tambourines. Habib Salih had not been teaching for long when he was summoned back to Comoro by his father. In the course of the year for which he stayed there, his father advised him that if he wished to avoid quarrels it would be wiser to withdraw from his teaching in the mosque, and this he did shortly after his return. He and his students then built a hut on the outskirts of the Langoni quarter at the southern end of the town on land belonging to Habib Salih's teacher, Sharif Mansab. The main purpose of the hut was for the celebration of the *maulidi*, over which the students were particularly enthusiastic. The hut served also as a praying place, *musalla*, and its site is where the Mosque College now stands.

The introduction of music into the *maulidi* was a highly controversial issue in Lamu. There can be little doubt that the quarrels which Habib Salih's father advised him to avoid by leaving the mosque in which he was teaching included this question. No one else in Lamu at that time used musical instruments for devotional purposes, though they were used in private by recent Hadrami immigrants elsewhere. Critics of Habib Salih are said to have accused him of heresy. But there may well have been other rivalries involved. By the circumstances of his birth, Habib Salih had one great advantage for his life in Lamu: that of being a sharif. He had also an apparent disadvantage, that of being a stranger and not a member of one of the established families.

Among the strongest social values in Lamu, as in many other towns and villages of the East African coast, are those connected with established position in the town, a matter around which there revolve many quarrels and divisions. Lamu has many quarters but divides into two main halves, Mkomani on the northern side and Langoni on the southern. The oldest-established families are identified with the northern, Mkomani half of the town, in which the Friday mosque is also situated. In choosing a mosque in which to teach and later in building the hut which was to become the present College, Habib Salih followed the general pattern, settling as a stranger on the southern side.

These are not simple differences of superiority and inferiority. In some matters, the comparative newcomers have the upper hand. Those who claim to be Arabs but whose families have been settled in Africa since time immemorial are the most likely to have their claims doubted. The Ma'awi, the oldest clan

(4)The Barzanji *maulidi* is that used for the official celebrations in Zanzibar and, I believe, in Dar es Salaam

in Lamu, claim descent from the Umayyads of Spain⁽⁵⁾ but there is very little intermarriage between them and those Arabs whose tribes still exist in the Hadramaut as well as in East Africa. The Mafazi, another old clan of Lamu and the neighbouring island of Pate, who intermarry with the Ma'awi, are spoken of as Swahilis when they emigrate to Zanzibar. The complete newcomer, on the other hand, is almost invariably at a disadvantage. For example, the Swahili for "Arab", *Mwarabu*, is rarely used for other than those Arabs born in East Africa. Hadrami immigrants are called *Washihiri*, a word generally considered insulting. Strangers are expected to show a fitting modesty and to leave the leadership of the community to those longer established.

This applies to religious as well as to secular affairs. Though there is no absolute right involved, every religious office tends towards heredity. It is socially recognized that so long as a son shows an inclination towards religious learning he has a greater right than others to succeed to the office held by his father or uncle. Such a system makes for a sort of stability, but as a general principle it has obvious disadvantages, obstructing the path of those who are personally more able and depriving the community of their services. It sometimes happens, in a general atmosphere of disputes, that part of a mosque congregation consider that one man's personal qualities outweigh another's hereditary claims. Then, the congregation may split and one half go to build another mosque. There are several examples of village communities praying the Friday prayer in two mosques at the same time after such a quarrel, regrettable as this is canonically. The fact that most towns and villages are, like Lamu, already divided socially into halves between which a rivalry exists, and the halves themselves subdivided, tends to encourage these quarrels and to determine the way in which sides are taken.

An illustration of the deeper significance of establishment is to be found in the position of one lineage of the oldest clan in Lamu, the Ma'awi, a lineage called the Makhatibu. *Khatibu* means "preacher" and the Makhatibu lineage holds by tradition the office of reading the Friday sermon for the whole Lamu community. In addition, the *khatibu* has the duty of performing a rain making ceremony when the major rains of the year are late. He sacrifices a bull which is eaten at a communal meal. On the day before the sacrifice, a man goes round the town with a horn asking each household to contribute to the cost of the bull and to prepare rounds of bread for the meal. The next day, the bull is led round the town, starting from the Mwana Lalo Mosque in the northern half, and then it is led outside the northern end of the town and sacrificed, after prayers, at a particular baobab tree. It is cooked and eaten there with the bread rounds which may be of any grain but are usually of rice or millet. The bones and inedible intestines are wrapped in the skin and buried in the ground near the tree. In the past, it was considered disastrous to bring any part of the animal back into the town.

This sacrifice is described by Lamu people as being simple Islamic charity, *sadaka*, but though this is no doubt the present motive of the sacrifice it fails to explain the form taken by the ceremony—the burial of the skin, which could be given away for alms, the sacrifice at the baobab tree and the taboo against bringing meat back into the town. An agricultural ceremony similar to that

⁽⁵⁾Their name is similar to that of the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'awiyah, whose dynasty survived in Spain after its extinction in Damascus.

of Lamu in almost every detail is practised in Pemba where, however, it forms part of an elaborate and coherent cult of spirits which seems definitely non-Islamic and is perhaps a survival from an earlier religion⁽⁶⁾. If this parallel is taken to explain the form of the Lamu ceremony, we find the oldest-established clan in the town not only enjoying hereditary leadership in the Friday Mosque but combining with that office the representation of the community in a function of much less orthodox origins in which the religious action has survived a change of doctrine.

The junior half of the Lamu community has its established offices as well as the senior. We may observe that Habib Salih, being a complete stranger, was far from being identified with either half of the community. He aspired to the appointments of neither half, going instead with his students to build not a mosque but a semi-private hut. He introduced an innovation but did not use it to oust anyone else from his rightful position. Amongst the qualities of Habib Salih most remembered in Lamu were his lack of self-interest and his talent for avoiding strife. Even in the controversy over his use of music for religious purposes, it is said to have been his students who were particularly anxious for this to continue, and his students at that time were the children of the people of Lamu. By a person of Habib Salih's character, the disadvantage of being a stranger could be turned to good purpose. What he introduced, being identified with no section of the town and with no faction, was able to embrace the whole.

Not long after changing his place of instruction, Habib Salih decided to change the *maulidi* he and his students performed from that of Barzanji to that of Habib 'Ali al-Habshi. Here again, he is said to have acted at the request of his students. It is not known how the news of the Habshi *maulidi* reached Lamu. Its author was at that time still alive at Sai'un in the Hadramaut, and it is thought that the news probably came through Shaikh 'Abdullah Ba Kathir, who was then working in Lamu as a tailor but had studied in Egypt and the Hadramaut. He used to read sufism with Habib Salih, and later the younger son of Habib Salih married his daughter. Shaikh 'Abdullah Ba Kathir afterwards became a religious leader, and in Zanzibar, where he spent the later part of his life, he was one of the influences under which the important Barwani clan left the Ibadi sect and became Sunnis. He was among those most active in obtaining financial support for the Mosque College.

In form, there is a noticeable difference between the Barzanji and the Habshi *maulidis*. The former has two versions, one in rhyme and one in ordinary prose. It is mainly read out by individuals, though in performance songs, often by children, are included. The Habshi *maulidi*, which is in rhymed prose thickly interspersed with verse passages, has a much stronger communal element in the performance. In the Mosque College, the verse passages are sung as choruses by the students, whilst the sharifs beat a rhythm on tambourines of different pitch and the students bend forward to the rhythm as they sit and sing. At certain points, the whole audience takes part.

In intention, both *maulidis* are of course the same, people gathering to bless the Prophet, recite his praises and recall the incidents of his life, with the motto: "Paradise and its bliss favour him who prays upon, greets and blesses the Prophet".

(6) I describe this cult in a forthcoming paper.

As for content, there is perhaps a stronger element of sufism in that of al-Habshi. The following passage will convey some impression of its tone and of the general import of the celebration:

"Now is the time for the pen to describe, as the fingertips direct it, the account which the mind transmits of this beloved and perfect servant; to tell of his, the finest of qualities. It befits us here to affirm what the traditions tell, so that pen and paper may be ennobled with the writing and sight and hearing may saunter in the garden of this knowledge. Famous traditions relate that the first thing God created was the light which He made instinct with His message in this form. The light of this beloved one was the first creation in the universe, and from it, in the act of creation, there proceeded all existing things, new and old. 'Abd al-Razzaq relates a confirmed tradition from Jabir ibn 'Abdullah al-Ansari, that Jabir (may God be well pleased with him) asked a question of the Prophet, saying: 'O messenger of God, by my father and mother I ask you to tell me what was the first thing created by God before all else?' He replied: 'O Jabir, verily God created before all things the light of your prophet Muhammad (blessings and peace be upon him) from His light.' A tradition of Abu Hurairah (may God be well pleased with him) relates that the Messenger of God (blessings and peace be upon him) said: 'I was the first of the prophets to be created and the last to be sent forth . . . ' When in mystery Eternal Beatitude formed the intention of its special choice within the creation, it entrusted this clear light to the loins and the wombs of those whom it chose for honour. And the light was transmitted from the loins of Adam and Noah and Abraham until the Hand of Primaeval Wisdom bore it to those chosen for the highest honour, the noble father of the Prophet, Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, the repository of fate, and his mother Aminah.'"(7).

There is no need to attempt any discussion of the difficult theological concept raised here. The passage does, however, make apparent the intensity of, and the reason for, Muslim devotion to a figure who has been shaped otherwise for western readers by survivals of old polemic from which the imagination does not easily free itself.

In reply to a letter from Habib Salih, Habib 'Ali al-Habshi sent not only his permission for the performing of his *maulidi* but also two of his students. One was to teach how the *maulidi* should be performed. The other was a singer and he with some of the students formed a group to perform religious songs with pipe and tambourine. Habib Salih considered these performances quite suitable for his house, his hut or the mosque, and when his hut became a mosque the music making continued there.

Habib Salih's hut was replaced by the present Mosque College in 1900. By that date, the controversy over the use of music was at an end and indeed other mosques in Lamu had taken up the Habshi *maulidi*. Various people came to pray in Habib Salih's hut thinking that it was in fact a mosque (it being better to pray in a mosque than in an undedicated place), and the idea was spread by his supporters that it was shameful that the place should not be made into a real mosque now that it was becoming famous. Then an Indian Muslim of Lamu quarrelled with his wife and in the course of the quarrel the wife returned

(7)The text is published in Cairo under the title of *Simt al-Durar fi Akhbar Maulid Saiyid al-Bashar* (in or after A.H. 1358).

her bridewealth to him. The husband was unwilling to divorce the wife, as the return of the bridewealth was an invitation for him to do, whilst the wife refused to take the money back. The husband, ashamed and embarrassed, went to ask Sharif Mansab what he should do with the money and was advised that he had better give it to charity, a most desirable work of charity being the building of a mosque on the site of Habib Salih's hut. The sum is said to have been six hundred dollars. The mosque was Shafi'i whilst its builder was a Hanafi⁽⁸⁾.

Of Habib Salih himself, there remains little to say. He had two sons, both of about the same age. The younger of them, Habib Ahmad Badawi, whose mother was a Comorian of Lamu, was industrious in spreading the teaching activities of the College. At his father's death, he succeeded him as its head, but died himself only four years later when in his early fifties. He was succeeded by his brother. Habib Salih also had two daughters, both of whom married outside Lamu: the heads of the College did not connect themselves by marriage with the established families of the town, though they came to provide an establishment of their own. Habib Salih married several times in his later years but had no more children. As he grew older, he retired from most of his teaching duties and rarely went into the town except for the Friday prayer. In the last thirty years of his life he is said never to have gone outside Lamu, even to other parts of the island. Many sick people used to resort to him in his house, and he would write for them in saffron on a white plate and wash the words off into rose water to be drunk as a medicine. He objected to patients' saying that they were afflicted with spirits, and if they did would tell them to consult a witchdoctor. Those who thought themselves so afflicted found it best not to mention it. They assumed that Habib Salih knew but would not say, since the medicine or amulet he gave them was found to be effective in driving the spirits off. His opinion was also sought on religious and legal matters. Those who went to his house to consult him in his old age say he was often to be found wearing old clothes, plastering up a wall or sweeping the floor, but when the visitor came he would wash his hands and lead him out to the formal seats for a learned discussion. He taught the women of the family so that they could lead prayers for women in his house and also give advice.

Perhaps the main impression left by the foregoing details of Habib Salih's life is that of the extraordinary lack of activity upon which his achievements were founded. He seems always to have been in the position of being thrust forward by the enthusiasm of others, of being given help which he made no effort to obtain. Yet the achievement was undoubtedly his. We may know a little more of him from one of his favourite songs composed in colloquial Arabic by Habib 'Ali al-Habshi and sung in the mosque to the accompaniment of a Hadrami pipe:

I shall build my words to-night on a sure foundation,
Laying open the secret within me, hidden and concealed:
There is open knowledge and of old something known behind knowledge,
Musk giving forth its scent, unsensed by those with colds.

⁽⁸⁾Both schools are, of course, Sunni. A stranger example is the Liwali Saif Mosque in Lamu. This was first an Ibadi mosque but had fallen into ruins, the Ibadi community having almost disappeared. Liwali Saif ibn Salim, himself an Ibadi, rebuilt it in 1924, but was told, so it is said, that if he made it an Ibadi mosque no Sunni would pray in it. He therefore made it a Shafi'i mosque and obtained a student of the Mosque College to act as *imam*, but he himself prayed in his house.

It is smelt by those cut off from the busy world; from it that world is cut off.
 By the wisdom of God, some wrong others, others are wronged:
 We dismiss critics—their carping turns on themselves—
 And we praise God, supported through His favour in His mercy.
 Purity not in others is lodged within us
 Who have loved him who will head mankind on the Day of Judgment⁽⁹⁾.
 In human love there are two each distinct from the other,
 But in our love for him is a principle beyond conception.
 Tell Gabriel not to hasten his gallop on Haizum,⁽¹⁰⁾
 All written here has a meaning, but how is a commentary to explain it?
 It is written on the board of the door⁽¹¹⁾, those who love are recorded,
 An inscription he knows who knows “Byzantium has been defeated”⁽¹²⁾.
 O my companions, I shall settle here in Dha al-Haiy and rise
 And here in seclusion with its inmates pray and fast.
 O nights when my heart has obtained all I desire!
 In theology we have been able to tell in prose what was poetry—
 A poetry granted by our gracious Master for students of learning to feed on,
 A word of good omen written on the slate of gifts,
 Its rules of declension lying within a self-existent Mystery.
 Each loving devotee has joined gatherings where emotion rose within him
 Such as those of sinful ignorance attribute to passion of the body;
 But we are told by appearances of what is concealed within.
 Hail to him who is granted such surpassing food!
 Hail to him who drinks from a musk-sealed cup!⁽¹³⁾.

The sharifs of the Mosque College describe themselves as belonging to a dervish order, or *tariqah*, the ‘Alawiyah or Ba ‘Alawi, an order of which the core is formed of Hadrami sharifs. Its founder was an early sharif, ‘Ali ibn ‘Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Muhajir, who left the Hejaz to settle first in Iraq and subsequently in the Hadramaut. The author of the *maulidi*, and of the poem quoted above, also belonged to this order and his school in the Hadramaut survives, though impoverished by the loss of *waqf* incomes from the Far East. There is no central organization to control those who adhere to the order, but rather, a tenuous association between the various mosques. Members of the order agree in thinking the pursuit of religious exaltation a possible danger and seek to avoid the excesses into which some other orders have carried their devotions in the well-known *dhikr* ceremonies. The Mosque College of Lamu restricts its more elaborate religious exercises to a very few times of the year, principally the *maulidi* and visits to the founder’s tomb. Like the rest of their order, the sharifs of the College teach that improvement of character and pursuit of learning are more important than the *dhikr*. It will have been observed that in the poem

(9) Muhammad.

(10) The name of the horse of the angel Gabriel, cried out by Muhammad at the Battle of Badr when he called on Gabriel to aid the Muslims.

(11) The door of Paradise, where the names of those who shall enter are written.

(12) A reference to the thirtieth *surah* of the Koran, which begins with these words.

(13) The poem is taken from a manuscript in the possession of Mwalim ‘Abdullah ibn Hamid al-Ma‘awi.

quoted above theology, or religious learning (*'ilm*), is spoken of as being the best way of expressing mystical insight, not as a thing fit only for those who do not achieve such insight.

The younger son of Habib Salih, Habib Ahmad Badawi, was active in extending the teaching of the Mosque College during his father's lifetime. When he was old enough to teach (he was born about 1886), he gradually took over most of the teaching duties from his father, and whereas Habib Salih had been content to teach those who came to him, Habib Ahmad Badawi went out to search for students. His first students from outside Lamu were brought back from the Pokomo of the Tana River area and this connection has been maintained. There are several Pokomo students studying in the College at the present time among a total of about forty students from outside Lamu. The only Arab students of the College at present are those from Lamu itself, the rest being Swahilis and Africans, and since the time of Habib Ahmad Badawi there have usually been many more non-Arab than Arab students. Those who come from outside Lamu are given their meals by the head of the College from charitable gifts he receives and funds at his disposal, and sleep in the College. Their families are expected to provide them with clothing and pocket money. The books from which they study were mostly bought by Habib Salih from money given to him. Most students know very little when they first arrive. They study the Koran, Arabic, the traditions of the Prophet, law and, in the later stages a little sufism. Some stay as little as two years and others five years or more. There are no examinations. Since 1937, there has been a junior Koran school attached to the College.

There has been an attempt to found one college like that of Lamu at Mamburi but it has given its efforts to the *maulidi* rather than to teaching. Schools connected with the College and run by ex-students have come into being in various other places, mainly among the Pokomo, Galla and Bajun. There are also ex-students teaching in mosques along the Kenya and Tanganyika coasts and a few teaching in government schools. Schools of the former type are built and supported by the local communities. Sometimes there is an element of rivalry between these traditional schools and schools of a modern sort. In supporting traditional schools, parents often seem to hope to educate their children without changing their system of values, and so avoid the estrangement between old and young which the introduction of modern education so often produces. The quality of the education provided by this traditional system depends in the extreme upon the quality of the teacher (who is usually paid little). Even the older student does and can do little to teach himself until he has reached an advanced stage, there being no Swahili-Arabic dictionary and no Arabic grammar written in Swahili.

The great event of the year for students and teachers of the Mosque College, and indeed for the whole of Lamu, is the College's *maulidi* celebration, and to this subject I now revert.

Every Sunni mosque in Lamu holds a *maulidi* in the month of the Prophet's birth. Mosques are cleaned and often redecorated and are adorned with strings of cardboard lamps and small, painted coconuts, with flags and arches of palm leaves put up outside. The *imam* of a mosque holding a *maulidi* sends round notes inviting the congregations of other mosques to attend. These *maulidis* stretch through the month. The greatest, that of the College, is held on the

last Thursday night of this month, *Rabi 'al-Awwal* (*mfunguo sita*), with the result that it does not clash with the official *maulidis* of the big towns which are held early. As the time of the great *maulidi* approaches, visitors arrive and the town becomes busy. Most of the visitors are people either born in Lamu or having some kinship connection with the town. This has become the customary occasion in the year for returning to visit their families.

It is probably true to say that Lamu's prosperity has declined since the later Nineteenth Century, but what is more important, the prosperity of Lamu relative to that of other towns of the coast has declined enormously. Very many of the men born in Lamu leave home and go to work in the bigger towns. The census figures suggest that about half of the adult Arab men born in Lamu are working elsewhere. This is partly an economic necessity, but also the amusements and variety of life in the big towns have their own attraction. In comparison with the life there, life in Lamu is thought dull and restricted and the young men who work elsewhere complain of the narrow interests, the lack of activity and the conservatism of those who have stayed behind. The week in which the *maulidi* is performed is a complete contrast with the rest of the year. The streets are crowded with visitors, the coffee shops are full and an open market springs up where auction sales are held. Those who come back to Lamu for the occasion are able to see not only their own families but also their friends who have gone away like them to work but to other towns. It is quite common to hear people say that if only Lamu were like this all the time they would be content to live there permanently.

For the few days before the *maulidi*, dances take place in the afternoons and evenings in the space around the College. Following the afternoon prayer, groups of children form up outside other mosques and move up to the College in procession, carrying banners bearing the name of 'Ali al-Habshi and singing songs. As the dances round the College end towards sunset, young men gather round similar banners and hold short and apparently light-hearted *dhikrs* to the accompaniment of drums, singing:

"O Lord have mercy upon us and be gracious to us and all the Muslims.
Ah Allah! Ah Allah! Ah Allah!"

The performance of tribal dances in the space around the College during the days which lead up to the *maulidi* is not only tolerated but encouraged. Tolerance is conspicuous along the coast, but it is common to find Arabs rather despising African dances, and Muslims of the stricter (or sometimes merely narrower) sort harbouring a positive distrust of them. Many dances, including the *kirumbizi* (a formalized stick fight elsewhere called *kiumbizi*) which is danced outside the College, appear in other places in association with spirit cults which are naturally anathema to strict Islam. In the *mlala* dance, leg rattles (*viwamba*) are worn, and these also have spirit associations. This dance, sometimes called *ngoma ya uta* because danced with a bow, is a dance of ex-slaves and takes place just outside the house of one of the important sharifs of Habib Salih's family. Habib Salih is said to have been fond of it. Lamu, like Prospero's island, is characterised by religious metamorphoses, and a local legend has it that the dance was invented by a devout slave named Shaikh Farraj, who was left behind when his master went on the pilgrimage but spread out his prayer mat on the seashore and was miraculously transported on it to Mecca as on a magic carpet. The only instrument frowned upon is the *zumari* pipe which

has a particularly close association with spirits. This is played by sailors as their boats approach and leave Lamu but is not allowed outside the Mosque College. In Lamu, the *zumari* is said to have been invented by the devil himself and first played by him to distract the people from the psalms sung by David.

What is to be permitted outside the mosque and what inside it are, of course, two very different questions. The sharifs of the College say that there is religious authority for the use of the tambourine in devotions, there being a *fatwa* supporting it by a Hadrami shaikh, on the grounds that when Muhammad fled to Medina the Medinese asked his permission to welcome him with tambourines and he allowed them to do so. Those for whom pious legend has more force than legal opinion find a different justification. It is said that a past member of the 'Alawiyah *tariqah* in the Hadramaut named Aidarus shocked the people who lived around Aden by using the tambourine so that they refused to accept him as a real sharif. He and his students therefore would not enter Aden until they had held a *dhikr* with the tambourine, ending with the rhyme: "O rain, rain down milk, Habib Aidarus has entered Aden." After this, in a shower of milk, he was able to enter Aden amidst general acclamation.

Some say that to visit Habib Salih's tomb brings special favours from God, even going so far as to say that in merit such a visit is equal to half of the merit of the pilgrimage to Mecca. This is not, I believe, accepted by most people, but vows are made at the tomb, there is a space for the burning of incense, and many either kiss the tomb or touch it with their hand and kiss the hand. The tomb is visited on the anniversary of Habib Salih's death and on the day after the *maulidi*. There are also visits on the days before the *maulidi* arranged for the convenience of people who wish to leave Lamu promptly, and one special visit for the students of the College. On the day after the *maulidi*, a great procession forms in the town. People are in separate groups, representing the College, each of the two halves of the town, and various separate areas of the islands and the coast near Lamu. They are led by sharifs and other religious leaders (with tambourines) and pause and sing as they make their way to Habib Salih's tomb, which is in the graveyard of the southern half of the town. One can do no more than guess at the numbers present. Taking into account women concealed at a distance in and behind the houses, there were perhaps three thousand people present on the day on which I attended the ceremony.

The tomb itself is of carved wood. It is about six feet long and three feet high with a pointed top as of a gable. It and the surrounding graves are enclosed in a flimsy hut made of sticks with a door. Before entering, people remove their shoes. The ceremony of the visit lasts for about an hour and a half, the greeting to the dead being read together with the *Fatihah* and the *Yasin surahs* of the Koran and a *dhikr*. The greeting to the dead is in the following form:

"Peace be upon you, O ye of the graves. May God have mercy upon us and upon you. You have gone before and we are to follow. You have attained to noble good and outstripped protracted evil. Peace be upon you, transient breaths, decaying bodies and crumbling bones, who have left the world trusting in God. O God, make penetrate to them breath from Yourself and greetings from me."

One does not hear in Lamu of the belief that the bodies of Muslim saints lie in the grave without corrupting. In company with pious, and perhaps in some

cases credulous, beliefs, there are also to be found strict and almost egalitarian attitudes. It is said that Habib Salih's tomb is of wood because he is buried on *waqf* land not dedicated by himself and that no one in such a position may have a tomb constructed of permanent materials. This, it is said, would exclude the people of the future from burying their dead on the same land whereas ordinary graves disappear in the course of time and others can be buried later in the same place. This is also given as the reason why it is acceptable to build a flimsy hut over the grave but not a permanent mausoleum. The hut is explained as sheltering those who visit the tomb from the sun, but this can scarcely be accepted as a full reason. It will be remembered that a mausoleum for Seyyid Sa'id was started in Zanzibar but was left, as it stands at present, uncompleted and without a roof because of the outcry of religious leaders.

The Lamu celebrations end abruptly with the visit to Habib Salih's tomb on the day after the *maulidi*. Some of the visitors stay behind for a week or two, but most depart, and the town quickly returns to its normal state. The Mosque College and the Koran school, after their exertions, have a vacation.

In considering the reasons why an institution should have developed in a particular way, or developed at all, one is inevitably faced with possible causes and influences of quite different orders between which little or no comparative evaluation can justly be made. I have attempted to describe here the circumstances in which the Mosque College of Lamu developed as well as the intentional acts of those responsible for its early history and present form. Without under-rating the work of these men, we may seek some of the causes of their success in the circumstances in which they worked and try to discern some pattern which includes both what lies within human control and what outside it. Of the relative importance of different parts of such a pattern, we can have little hope of judging.

We take first the social structure of Lamu. It is a town divided into moieties and further divided by factions within these moieties. An atmosphere of rivalry and disputes prevails as particular people and their associates try to assert or better their position against other similar groups. Often, the matter at issue in a serious dispute seems trivial, as though it were little more than an excuse for the assertion of status. For example, Lamu people recently came near to blows over the question of whether a certain phrase in the Friday prayer should be said aloud or under the breath, and the police were sent to keep order in the Friday Mosque. The general composition (though not every individual member) of such groups is pre-determined by traditional divisions, divisions which the frequency of the disputes themselves does a good deal to keep alive. Every assertion of one group invites a counter-assertion from another which stands to lose prestige in proportion to the other's gains. The society preserves its structure (which I can do no more than outline here) at the expense of a good deal of bitterness, disunity and frustration.

One of the groups in the town, that of the sharifs, is of a different order from the others. The sharifs have a special status arising from their being thought to be in God's special favour and endowed with supernatural powers. Since their status is of a different sort from that of other groups, minor changes in the status of the latter leave that of the sharifs untouched. Except in an extreme disturbance of the general order of status, an extremity which the structure described in the preceding paragraph does much to prevent, the sharifs do not gain status as others lose it or lose as others gain. In some ways, therefore,

they lie outside the other rivalries of the town. These they might enter by trying to add the status of ordinary men to their own, which would in effect be to monopolise high status and destroy the position of all other than themselves, but such a possibility is also resisted by the social structure. The special status of sharifs, for example, causes them to marry usually either among themselves or with quite inferior families and disables them from marriage alliances with the leaders of the community whom they might thereby supplant, whilst their separateness and supposed supernatural powers discourage supporters, since support could not make them leaders but only masters

I assume, for want of evidence or opinion to the contrary, that in the later part of the Nineteenth Century the structure of Lamu society in these respects was much the same as it is to-day. What is said now is that its divisions were more rigid than at present. Into this situation, Habib Salih may be said to have come as a sharif *par excellence*: save for an uncle who was an earlier immigrant he was a complete stranger to Lamu factions, and he was endowed with learning and character such as could increase the status he had as a sharif. Apparently without ambitions towards personal gain or self-assertion, he was also an adherent of a school of mysticism which set a high value on learning but was able to tolerate and even absorb many of the things which Muslim puritanism feared and rejected. As well as teaching, he introduced a kind of religious celebration which was immediately attractive to both Hadrami Arabs and Swahilis. His teaching provided him with students able to perform it. The performance led to opposition, but this was tempered by the fact that the performance was in a hut and so not of the same public concern as if it had been in a mosque. Moreover, the students who performed it came from all parts of the town, attracted in the first place by Habib Salih's superior learning, and we may suppose that had their parents wished to suppress Habib Salih's *maulidi* by forbidding their children to perform it they would have found it as difficult to unite on this matter as on any other. When acceptance and support had changed the hut to a mosque, the performance became a mosque performance. The *maulidi* was associated with a school of students, and their range was extended by Habib Salih's son with every effort made to introduce students who were not Arabs. In most places, there was an Omani Arab aristocracy which adhered to a sect other than that of the local people and tended to favour its own sort. They would, in charity, give money to those who would teach the Swahilis and Africans, but were in some ways unprepared and in others unsuited for doing the teaching themselves.

The reputation of Habib Salih's College and of its *maulidi* grew together at a time when Lamu was declining with the building of the Uganda railway which developed Mombasa, the ending of the slave trade and of legal slavery, and the passing of authority into the hands of the British which deprived those of the coastal towns of some of their former privileges relative to the interior. Lamu people went elsewhere to work. The *maulidi* was a general time of rejoicing, managed by people who were ready to encourage accompanying amusements so long as they were not actually opposed to Islam, sufis whose own religious exercises make a distinction between devotion and solemnity. The *maulidi* provided an excellent occasion for visiting Lamu, and the more visitors came, the more activities there were and the more visitors were attracted. The fame of the *maulidi* brought more subscriptions and students for the College.

The Mosque College still remains, in general, outside the factions of the rest of Lamu. A few years ago, it successfully resisted an attempt to draw it in. The Comorian community of Lamu, through the mother of Habib Salih and the mother of Habib Ahmad Badawi, was in the general relationship of maternal kin to the sharifs of the College, and its members used to have a regular place for sitting and talking near the College. They began to presume on their connection to make free with the College and the Mosque itself. The sharifs regarded secular use of the mosque as intolerable and reacted so strongly that nearly twenty of the Comorians were driven from the town and the College's Comorian connection was effectively broken. Up to now, the Mosque College has succeeded in encircling Lamu without itself being out-flanked.

This paper was written in the course of fieldwork supported by the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere College. I am grateful also for help of various sorts to Shaikh Mubarak ibn 'Ali al-Hinawi, Sharif Muhammad ibn Ahmad Badawi Jamal al-Lail, and Mwalim 'Abdullah ibn Hamid al-Ma'awi.

Usually I have given words in their Arabic form, but as they are all common I have omitted diacritical points, which would be of little help to those who know the language and a distraction to those who do not. I have preserved the Swahili form of the Arabic words *maullid*, *saiyid*, *sadaqah*, and *khatib*.

I regret that, writing away from libraries, I am unable to give literary references.

RESETTLEMENT IN AREAS RECLAIMED FROM TSETSE FLY

By G. W. Hatchell, O.B.E.

During the early months of 1932 the Director of Tsetse Research stationed at Shinyanga in the Lake Province (the late Mr. C. F. M. Swynnerton, C.M.G.) announced that as a result of his efforts in certain areas it had been possible to eradicate the fly in an area of about fourteen square miles lying west of the Mwanza-Tabora Railway and not far from Old Shinyanga and that in the following November this area would be available for resettlement.

The area, which consisted of two contiguous blocks of about 2,000 acres and 6,000 acres, had during the previous quarter of a century suffered gradual encroachment of the fly before which the resident tribesmen, ignorant of means to combat the invasion, had been forced to retreat.

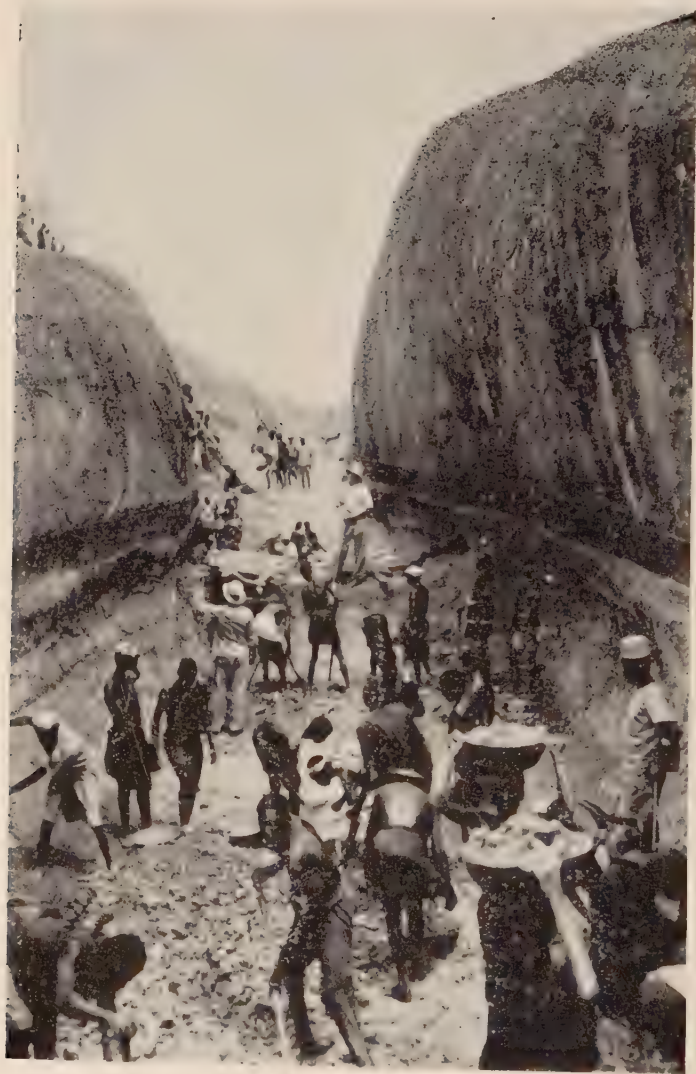
It was desired by the Director that when the area had been freed of fly in the following November, it should if possible be reoccupied by the former residents under guidance, so that the reoccupation might be permanent and that the reclaimed area might be extended towards the west with the eventual eradication of the fly belt which lay in that direction and prevented access to extensive grazing grounds.

Experiments in Shinyanga and elsewhere (see *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 7, page 35, and No. 27, page 60) had shown that a comparatively small alteration in shade conditions and in the nature of the soil might render selected areas unsuitable to the fly, which move away in search of more suitable conditions or in the absence of such gradually die out.

The Shinyanga District had for many years suffered from overgrazing and overstocking which was in some measure due to the encroachment of the tsetse fly, and the Administration was glad to have the opportunity to increase the grounds and at the same time to demonstrate to the tribesmen how they might prevent fly encroachment in the future and make use of their land to better advantage than in the past.

A survey of the reclaimed area showed that generally in both blocks the quality of the soil did not vary and was suitable for millet and legumes, the favoured crops of the people. No complicated division of the land in order that every settler obtain his fair share of the arable land was necessary and this greatly simplified the task of re-settlement.

A survey of the water resources, however, indicated a less satisfactory situation and it soon became clear that, while ample water might be available in the rainy season, supplies would be reduced to a few holes in the beds of three small streams during the dry season. It did not appear that much could be done to improve the supply except by the construction of dams and storage pits and other devices for the storage of rain water. Work was commenced on this but the former residents, who were anxious to return, expressed themselves satisfied that the natural supplies from the waterholes had been sufficient in the past and would be sufficient in the future, and it was hoped that anxiety on this matter might have been, to some extent unnecessary.



At this juncture Mr. Napier Bax, of the Tsetse Research Department, investigated the possibilities of certain natural reservoirs in the rocks of which there were a number in the rocky kopjes scattered throughout the area. It was discovered that in one of these kopjes there was an enormous cleft in the rock which was partly filled with soil but which, it was calculated, could contain a hundred thousand gallons of water once the soil had been dug out. This could be increased by the construction of containing walls on the catchment faces of the rock and thereafter the annual intake might be expected far to exceed the probable consumption of the settlers and their cattle. A photograph of this cleft while the operation of clearing out the soil was in progress appears on page 244.

With the co-operation of the tribesmen the soil was removed and at the cost of a few barrels of cement, containing walls were built on the catchment faces and there appeared good reason to hope that the cleft would be filled in two rainy seasons and thereafter remain full. The educative value of the work would, it was hoped, induce the people to make use of similar clefts in the rocks to provide themselves with permanent water storage.

The needs of the settlers in arable and grazing land were investigated and with the assistance of the Agricultural Department and the Veterinary Department it was possible to estimate requirements. It immediately became clear that the acreage required for pasture would far exceed that required for cultivation and that it would be convenient to base calculations on family units of three adults and three children with twelve head of adult stock plus goats and sheep.

Information available indicated that such a unit might not require more than four acres of arable land but, in order to allow for any instruction in methods of rotation which might afterwards be given, it was decided to allow five acres per unit. As we have seen, such a unit would be expected to have twelve head of adult stock plus small stock, but, owing to the poor quality of the grazing and for other reasons, it seemed desirable to allow ten acres per adult beast. At first sight this may seem to have been an extravagant allowance but it was necessary to take into consideration that during several months in the year severe droughts might be experienced when the recovery of grazed pasture would be delayed and that in such periods immigrant stock from areas suffering from shortage of grazing might be expected, for amongst these people grazing is common to all and not allocated to the sole use of individuals. Moreover the grazing was not of a very high quality, much of the grass being tough and rank.

The measures taken by the Department to eradicate the fly included the cutting of the low bush and scrub and encircling the area so cut with a cleared barrier which would separate it from the fly bush. In considering re-settlement it was therefore necessary to arrange that immigrants should commence cultivation along the inner edges of the barrier and in subsequent years advance their cultivation into it and at the same time push it forward, while grazing would be available in the areas to the rear and protected from the fly by the cleared and cultivated areas. It was found that a very considerable area of cultivation—perhaps as much as 800 acres—would be required and it was doubtful if sufficient settlers could be brought in to the area to deal with this if the cattle population were to be kept at a sufficiently low level to avoid overgrazing. The position therefore resolved itself into a choice between increasing the immigrant units with consequent overstocking and overgrazing, and risking a new

infiltration of the fly for want of adequate cultivation barriers. It was at this point that the value of the Tsetse Research Department scheme to break through the fly bush to the westward and into the extensive and fly-free grazing grounds in the Huruhuru *mbuga* system became evident. There was every hope that by means of a corridor driven through the fly bush these pastures might be available by 1933. This did not provide a solution to the problem which had arisen in the resettlement area in the immediate future but the day was saved by the immigrants themselves who announced that they did not propose to introduce their cattle in any numbers into the reclaimed area until they had satisfied themselves by residence there that it would be safe to do so.

In resettling the reclaimed area the first consideration must be to avoid overstocking and to provide sufficient humans to maintain the fly barriers. On the basis of five acres of arable and 120 acres of grazing per unit it might be possible to absorb about 200 units and by allocating to each unit an area with a frontage of 110 yards facing the fly barrier it would be possible to support adequately the fly barrier by cultivation and provide for its expansion.

Once these calculations had been completed and conclusions reached it became possible to inform the Chief of the people and his council of the amount of grazing and arable land which would be available and the safe limits of human and cattle population which the area might be asked to carry. Considerable enthusiasm was evinced by the Chief and his councillors and by the former inhabitants of the area and it became something of a problem to stem the rush of would-be settlers. As the area had been inhabited within living memory and a great many of the residents who had been driven out by the fly—including the Chief himself—were still alive, the problem of re-allocation of the land subject to limitations of humans and stock and the siting of the cultivation was comparatively easy. As has already been noted grazing amongst these people is common to all and the allocation of grazing to individuals is unknown. There could therefore be no question of allocating the grazing land in the same way as in the case of the arable. Moreover seasonal shortages of grazing in nearby areas would create an immigration of additional cattle in need of grazing but not belonging to those resident in the re-claimed area. Nevertheless these immigrants had a right to the grazing in such circumstances. It therefore became necessary to maintain a close watch to prevent overstocking and the Chief was advised to consider whether it might be desirable to make rules to that end.

The Director of Tsetse Research announced that the reclaimed area would be ready for re-settlement as soon as the fierce fires, which would clear out the remnants of the fly already reduced in numbers by bush-cutting, had been put through. The first week in September was fixed and during that week fires which were started on a five-mile front were driven by a strong wind through the bone dry grass. Moving at high speed the fires presented an awesome spectacle and the results were very satisfactory, for a survey of the area revealed that with the exception of a few which had taken refuge in pig holes and were easily dealt with, the fly had been exterminated.

By this time however September was advancing and the short rains might be expected in November. It was essential that the first planting should take place by mid-November and time was short. It was decided therefore to assist the settlers by the construction of their houses with outside labour. Work commenced without delay and by the end of October upwards of 100 houses

were completed and occupied while by the end of November there were 53 males, 69 females and over 100 children resident in the area and cultivation was proceeding. With the advent of the short rains immigration ceased and the pause might be expected to continue till the end of the long rains in about eight months' time when considerable experience would have been gained and it would be possible to modify the scheme if necessary before the remaining immigrants arrived.

TO SUMMARIZE:

1. An area of about 14 square miles had been reclaimed from the fly and made available to the tribesmen for cultivation and grazing.
2. A scheme of re-settlement had been initiated which it was hoped would start a process of driving back the fly by cultivation and clearing.
3. Measures had been taken to educate the people in the limiting of overstocking and overgrazing and the improvisation of improved water storage by the use of natural reservoirs;

and it was hoped that as a result of such measures the history of the previous twenty-five years would not repeat itself and that the tribesmen would attack and drive back any fly which attempted to invade them.

A NOTE ON THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE RESETTLEMENT AREA

By J. R. Welch

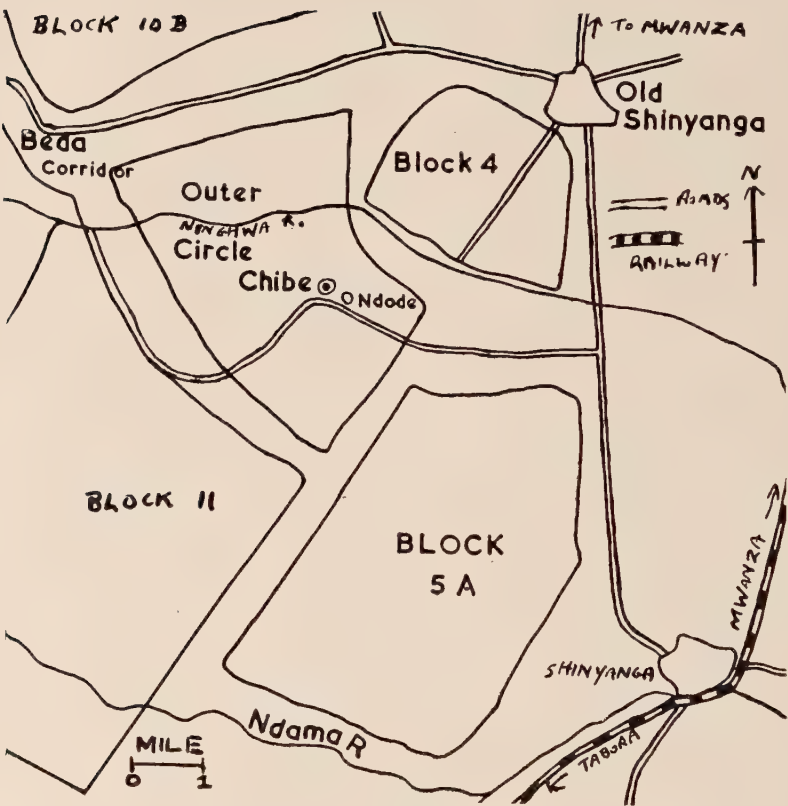
East African Trypanosomiasis Research Organization, Tororo, Uganda

I have been requested by the Editor to write a note on the subsequent history of the area described by Mr. Hatchell, and to supply a map. As I did not come to Shinyanga until 1949, I am dependent on hearsay for the intervening period, but continuity was maintained in that Mr. W. H. Potts and the late Dr. C. H. N. Jackson, both of whom worked in Shinyanga in the early days, were still here when I arrived.

The "two contiguous blocks" referred to by Mr. Hatchell are the areas once known as "Block 5A" and the "Outer Circle", and are shown on the accompanying map.

These areas include the old chiefdom headquarters at Chibe, which had been evacuated in favour of a new location at Kizumbe. With the elimination of the tsetse flies from this area the people returned with great rejoicing to Chibe and built a large new house for the Chief. However, the area was not to be occupied so easily and, after a year or two, it was virtually abandoned again. The area around Chibe contains a number of granite kopjes, which had become infested with baboons and, at that time, the people were not sufficiently well organized to deal with them, nor was there the demand for land that exists today. In addition, their crops were attacked by striga, a pale pink- or mauve-flowered plant, parasitic on the roots of cereals, known in South Africa as "witch-weed".

When I first saw the area in 1949 Block 5A was fairly well settled, with enough cultivation to keep down the regeneration, but the Outer Circle had been overgrazed and not cultivated, so it was rapidly reverting to bush. The ruins of the Chief's house stood (and still stand) at the foot of Chibe rock and, although the area was still almost free of flies it showed signs of becoming fly-bush again in a few years.



Area Map.

To the west Block 11 was still in existence as bush. It had been cleared of *Glossina swynnertoni*, by fire-exclusion and clearing, but still contained *G. pallidipes*. In 1950 the Veterinary Department started to clear the northern end of this block to make a holding-ground for trade stock, and the southern end was opened for settlement. The people moved in, many with large herds of cattle—one man alone had 500 head—and apparently very few of the cattle died, so an area that was bush eight years ago, is now typical Sukumaland cultivation steppe, supporting large numbers of people and their cattle. This success seems to have stimulated the Wasukuma to move in elsewhere and one place being rapidly repopulated is the Outer Circle and Chibe, which now has a sub-chief's *baraza*. Two inter-related factors assisting the present occupation of land, factors which did not help in 1953, are the use of ox-ploughs and the adoption by the Wasukuma of cotton as a cash crop. Much larger areas are cultivated and more complete clearing is necessary to enable a plough to work so, in this and other areas, cotton is doing a great deal to destroy the bush and so get rid of the tsetse flies.

Ndode tank is still used as a source of water supply for the people. During the rains the overflow, together with water from other catchments on the rock, flows into concrete cattle troughs, but these are soon exhausted in the dry season and the water in the tank itself is mainly reserved for human consumption. Later in the dry season this water becomes so foul that it is hardly used at all and, this year, which had very poor rains, I have seen African waterboys digging in the sand at the foot of the rock to find water. This year, too, the water supplies at Sayu in the Huruhuru *mbuga* have dried up and cattle are being brought fifteen miles to water at holes dug in the bed of the Ninghwa River. The hopes that Ndode would prove an example to the people have not been justified as I know of only one other rock catchment in the district which has been developed and that is a very small one. The present water supplies are completely inadequate and plans are being made for the construction of a large dam on the Ninghwa River.

The original plan for resettlement of this area failed because all the factors had not been considered and economic considerations which now assist the people to drive out the fly did not exist in 1932.

SOME PROBLEMS OF EAST AFRICAN COINAGE: FROM EARLY TIMES TO 1890

By G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, D.Phil., F.R.N.S.

Five years ago the study of the coinage of East Africa seemed static: it had stood still, indeed, for want of material, since Dr. John Walker's work on the Kilwa coinage in 1936 and 1939⁽¹⁾. It is to Sir John Gray that I owe a debt of gratitude for having allowed me to examine the coin collection of the Beit al-Amani Museum, Zanzibar: in this issue of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* which is honouring him as a pioneer historian of East Africa, I can think of no better way of acknowledging my debt than by discussing some of the problems this collection, and some others I have more recently examined, have raised.

The Beit al-Amani collection contains more than 5,000 pieces, mostly from Zanzibar, but also from Mafia and the mainland. In 1957 Dr. John Walker, of the British Museum, kindly put me in touch with a gentleman in Mogadishu, who possesses some 7,300 medieval Islamic pieces, which seem to have been minted there. This gentleman desires to remain anonymous, but I cannot conceal my gratitude to him. I have not yet been able to publish his collection, for there are many difficulties about it. Here I can only discuss the new light it throws upon the Kilwa coinage, which it places in a new perspective. I must also express my gratitude to a considerable number of persons who have given me access to their small private collections.

East African history is poorly documented, and the paucity of written record makes coinage almost the only link, with porcelain, between its archaeology and its recorded history. The Mogadishu collection, as it seems convenient to call it, introduces a new element into the study of medieval times on the coast, while for post medieval times there has so far been no study of what little has been known of coinage. Just as Dr. Walker's establishment of the Kilwa coinage in 1936 was in itself a surprise, so too is that of Mogadishu, more than twenty years after. For both these periods we have probably very much more to learn, and perhaps new mints to discover: if this article should provoke others to further study, it will more than have achieved its object.

FINDS OF PRE-ISLAMIC COINS

The earliest known mint in East Africa, including Somalia, is still that of Kilwa. Before the end of the 13th century it does not appear that any issues were minted locally, or that, as in the 19th century, foreign issues were imported for local use. From the small number of finds, we may reasonably presume that barter was the rule.

⁽¹⁾John Walker, *History and Coinage of the Sultāns of Kilwa*, Numismatic Chronicle, 1936; idem, *Some New Coins from Kilwa*, NC 1939; cp. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *A New Hoard and Some Unpublished Variants of the Coins of the Sultāns of Kilwa*, NC 1954, all reprinted in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 45, December, 1956; idem, *Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese Times*, NC 1957; E. Cerulli, *Somalia, scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Vol. I, Rome, 1957, *Di Alcune Monete raccolte sulla costa Somalia*, reprinted from *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, X, 1923; *Regio Governo della Somalia*, Museo della Garesa, Catalogo, ed. F. Caroselli, Mogadiscio, 1934, pp. 163-170; R. H. Crofton, *Zanzibar Affairs*, 1953, ch.7, *Currency*, pp. 66-74.

In the Beit al-Amani Museum there were found four envelopes tied with red tape, of which two include Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Mongol coins. In all they numbered seventeen. The other two envelopes contained sherds of different dates, of which two were marked NDAGONI. In another envelope were five coins marked CTESIPHON, which contained two Parthian and three Sassanian issues. It is impossible to say precisely where any of these were found, for the museum records are incomplete, but all the coins had the dirt typical of Zanzibar and Pemba adhering to them. It seemed reasonable enough to connect those marked NDAGONI with the site on Ras Mkumbuu described by F. B. Pearce, but the recent excavation there by J. S. Kirkman, which he was kind enough to invite me to visit, has shown clearly that these coins cannot be connected with it. He found no currency at all⁽²⁾.

It is not impossible that these coins were found elsewhere in Zanzibar or Pemba: they are not improbably of local provenance. In 1911 C. W. Hayward, an administrative officer in the Kenya service, found eighty-five Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk and Turkish coins at Bir Gao, or Port Durnford, just over the modern border of Somalia from Kenya. Although Hayward published some remarks about the site in 1927, he made no mention of his coin finds. They were first published after an examination in the British Museum by H. Mattingly in 1932. Mattingly's conclusions as to their identification are unquestioned, but V. L. Grotanelli, a leading Italian authority on the area, has cast serious doubts upon Hayward's memory of their provenance after so great a lapse of time. But Hayward does claim to have "dug over" part of the site, and it would seem reasonable to accept his statement. In 1955, however, the site was visited by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the Rev. A. G. Mathew: on this occasion nothing was seen which could be attributed to a period earlier than late medieval times, and no coins were found at all. This was indeed disappointing⁽³⁾.

In Tanganyika only one pre-Islamic coin seems to have been found, a gold piece of Ptolemy Soter (110-108 B.C.). One must say "seems", for it may be just such a stray as the Roman coins which have been found at Nairobi and Cape Town⁽⁴⁾. It was first reported by F. Stuhlmann, who, since, when the coin was first seen in 1901, it was being offered for sale by an African in Dar es Salaam, averred that it *might* have come from Msasani. It might well have come from anywhere else, and Stuhlmann was most careful not to make a definite statement⁽⁵⁾.

⁽²⁾F. B. Pearce, *Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa*, 1920, pp. 363 ff.; Freeman-Grenville, *op. cit.*, 1957; and J. S. Kirkman, elsewhere in this number.

⁽³⁾C. W. Hayward, *To the Mysterious Lorian Swamp*, 1927; H. Mattingly, *Coins from a Site-Find in British East Africa*, NC 1932; V. L. Grotanelli, *Pescatori dell'Oceano Indiano*, Rome, 1955, pp. 385-7; Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, *In Search of East Africa's Past*, *The Times*, 24 Sept. 1955, and information kindly communicated by him and the Rev. A. G. Mathew.

⁽⁴⁾M. P. Charlesworth, *A Roman Coin from Nairobi*, NC, 1949, pp. 107 ff.

⁽⁵⁾F. Stuhlmann, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte von Ostafrika*, Berlin, 1909, p. 843.

His scholarly scepticism did not prevent W. H. Ingrams from turning it into a definite statement that Msasani is the Rhapta of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, largely on these grounds⁽⁶⁾. Yet more astonishing is a statement by H. C. Baxter, who says: "In the fourth century before Christ the Greeks, after overthrowing the Persian Empire in 336, came into the African picture. Greek coins of this era have been picked up all along the coast from Tanga to Lindi. . . ." ⁽⁷⁾. If this is so, I can only say that I have searched the beaches diligently myself; and that moreover there is no record of such coins in printed literature, in any District Book or in any museum. It would seem that this is the apotheosis of the Msasani legend.

The blunt facts for this period are, at present, wholly disappointing. In spite of J. W. T. Allen's convincing hypothesis that the Rhapta of the *Periplus* is somewhere in the region of Pangani⁽⁸⁾, there is as yet no convincing evidence of the identification of any Graeco-Roman site. The most that can be said for the coin finds of this period is that they are valuable pointers. Among them Egyptian and Syrian mints predominate, as we might expect from the *Periplus*. The small finds of Parthian and Sassanian issues suggest that the ancient connection with Persia, the "Shirazi" tradition of later times, may be of remote antiquity. They also serve as a warning that as evidence surface finds are almost valueless when the place of finding has not been properly and carefully recorded.

CHINA, INDIA AND CEYLON

As early as the ninth century a Chinese writer purports to give a description of East Africa; yet among the ample Chinese historical literature there is no Chinese visit recorded earlier than that of the eunuch Cheng Ho, who commanded fleets which visited Mogadishu and Malindi in 1417-1419, and Mogadishu again in 1421-1422⁽⁹⁾. The exhaustive studies which underlie Professor Duyvendak's *China's Discovery of Africa* make it unlikely that we shall learn of any other Chinese visits.

Chinese coins have been reported from a number of places. In small numbers they have been found at Kilwa, Mafia, Gedi, some unidentified sites in Zanzibar, and in the region of Mogadishu. In 1945 a very remarkable hoard of no less than 250 pieces, all Chinese, was found at Kajengwa, near Makunduchi, in Zanzibar⁽¹⁰⁾. With the exception of the unpublished Mogadishu collection, all of these have been of the Tang and Sung dynasties, ranging between 618 and 1295 A.D. The eight exceptions from the Mogadishu collection are six Ch'eng Tsung, of the Ming dynasty, (Yung Ho: 1403-1424), and two pieces of the Ch'ing dynasty, one of Shih-Tsung (1644-1662) and one of Wen Tsung (Hsun-Feng: 1851-1862). Of these the first group may not unreasonably be connected with the voyages of Cheng Ho already

⁽⁶⁾W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, Its History and Its People*, 1931, p. 55.

⁽⁷⁾H. W. Baxter, Pangani, *The Trade Centre of Ancient History*, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 17, June 1944, p. 16.

⁽⁸⁾J. W. T. Allen, Rhapta, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 27, 1949.

⁽⁹⁾J. J. L. Duyvendak, *China's Discovery of Africa*, 1949, pp. 26 ff.

⁽¹⁰⁾Freeman-Grenville, NC 1957, gives a detailed description and full references to previous finds.

mentioned, while the remaining two should probably be dismissed as strays. It therefore remains to be explained why, in view of quite numerous finds before 1295, the arrival of Chinese coinage in East Africa should virtually have ceased after that date. This is made all the more difficult by the fact that J. S. Kirkman's excavations in Kenya have shown that imports of Chinese porcelain do not begin to become common there until the mid-fourteenth century, and not in heavy quantities until the fifteenth⁽¹¹⁾; they lasted indeed as a coastal import until quite recently when they were elbowed out by modern and cheaper European wares.

In the eleventh century, Duyvendak records, "The Chinese exports consisted largely of gold, silver, copper, cash, silk and porcelain. Chinese cash was widely spread from Japan to the countries of Islam in the Far West. As someone in the Sung period expressed it: "Coins were originally treasures of the middle kingdom, but are now in common use with the barbarians of the four quarters." There were serious complaints about the drainage of metal, which continued in spite of severe prohibitions, causing a "cash-famine"⁽¹²⁾. Thus in 1147 Chinese ships going abroad to trade were inspected to prevent cash being taken out of the country. A man convicted of taking out two strings of cash received one year's banishment, and, for more than three strings, death. An edict of 1219, showing that these measures had failed, took the more practical line of ordering that silk, porcelain and lacquer ware must be paid for in foreign goods. The fact that Chinese coins continued to reach East Africa, not to mention Singapore, Java and South India, shows that even this was not wholly effective. It was not until the end of the thirteenth century, it seems, that Chinese coins ceased to reach East Africa.

In the years that followed the great trade in porcelain was probably conducted almost wholly through middlemen in India and in South Arabia. Both Kilwa and Mombasa maintained trade agents in Malacca as late as 1515⁽¹³⁾, and probably this was no small part of their business, in exchange for East African ivory, which China was already importing in quantity by the ninth century, and in all likelihood long before⁽¹⁴⁾. We need not suppose direct contact, although Grotanelli records Chinese settlers in the Bajun islands, who have been there for more generations than they can remember and who have lost not only their language but all memory of their original settlement⁽¹⁵⁾.

It is against such a background that we may consider the problem of how a hoard of 250 Chinese coins came to be buried at Kajengwa in Zanzibar. Was it a Chinese settler? Did the coins arrive through an intermediary? Or was it some adventurous Zanzibari who had returned from China? The only clue, perhaps, is in the circumstances of their finding. In a letter in the Beit al-Amani files from the District Commissioner, Zanzibar, dated 7th

(11)J. S. Kirkman, *Historical Archaeology in Kenya*, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Jan.-Apr. 1957, pp. 18, 22.

(12)Duyvendak, p. 17.

(13)The *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, (c. 1515-1517), Hakluyt Society, 2 vols., 1944, Vol. I, p. 14.

(14)Cp. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Some Recent Archaeological Work on the Tanganyika Coast*, *Man*, Vol. LVIII, July, 1958, p. 108.

(15)Grotanelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-70, and fig. 235.

January, 1946, it is stated that the finder was an Mhadimu, Makame bin Mwalimu, who found the coins while preparing the ground for planting in his coral rag *konde*. "He prepared the ground in the usual manner, by digging holes in the coral with a crowbar (*mtaimbo*). Having removed a particularly large piece of coral, he was removing smaller pieces from the same hole when he came across a single coin. On further investigation, he found a small cavity in the coral which contained more coins. These were not in any sort of container, but merely mixed up with earth in the cavity. This cavity, he states, was about three feet below the surface of the ground." Whoever it was who buried them, assuredly he knew how to use an *mtaimbo*; and that skill, like the English scythe, is not one which can be acquired in a short time.

With such comparatively numerous finds of Chinese coins, it is indeed surprising that so far the only medieval Indian coin known to have been found in East Africa is a copper piece of Shāh Firūz al-Bahmanī (1397-1422). It is not until the 19th century that the rupees and pice of the East India Company begin to be found at Kilwa and in Zanzibar. The single Bahmanid piece was found in Mogadishu, as also were four Ceylon coins: Queen Tilavati (1197-1200): 1; Parakrame Bahu II (1236-1271): 2; and Bharanika Bahu (1273-1284): 1. This again is surprising, for Ceylon, like India, has long been an importer of East African ivory, and one might have expected greater evidence, even of indirect contacts, from both.

KILWA, MOGADISHU AND ZANZIBAR

The first sultān of Kilwa known to strike his own coinage was al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt (1277-1294)⁽¹⁶⁾. It is certainly strange that, of his twenty-seven successors before the coming of the Portuguese, we have so far only knowledge of six having minted coinage. The first was his son, Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan (1294-1308), who in turn was succeeded by both of his sons. We have coins only of the younger, Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān (1308-1310; 1333-1356). Then there is a gap until Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥusain (1364-1366), and another until al-Malik al-Ādil Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān (1412-1421). Then, at the end of the fifteenth century, there are issues by 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (1478-1479) and by al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān (1479-1485; 1486-1490). The Liwali of Dar es Salaam has told me that in 1939 he saw some coins from Kilwa bearing the names Isma'il and Ibrāhīm. The whereabouts of these is not known, but possibly they are of Isma'il ibn al-Ḥusain (1442-1454) and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad (1490-1495).

One would have expected all of the sultāns after al-Ḥasan bin Ṭālūt to have minted coins, and perhaps the explanation is that almost all of the finds of Kilwa coins so far, some 5,800, have been from the surface or from eroding cliffs. At Kilwa, in 1955, I was told by the inhabitants that the majority came from an area west of the Portuguese fort. This area was deliberately razed to the ground in 1505, when the fort was built by Francisco d'Almeida⁽¹⁷⁾. In Mafia more than 5,000 coins, mostly of the Kilwa sultāns, are known to have

⁽¹⁶⁾The dates follow those established in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Chronology of the Sultāns of Kilwa*, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 50, June 1958, pp. 92-93, and not those given in previous writers.

⁽¹⁷⁾E. Axelson, *South-East Africa, 1488-1530*, 1940, p. 69.

come from the eroding cliff of Kisimani Mafia. The precise provenance of the Kilwa finds at Kua, Juani Island, Mafia,—125, and in Zanzibar—194, is unfortunately not recorded. Likewise there is no precise record of the finds at Kilwa Masoko—25, Lindi—5, Pemba—66, and Mogadishu—475, of which 473 are of Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān. Kenya has been very poor in coin finds, and though there is some evidence of finds in an eroding cliff at Lamu⁽¹⁸⁾, recorded finds at Lamu—1, Gedi—3 and Mnarani—1, are too few to be of significance. Thus, until there has been substantial excavation at either Kilwa or Mafia, we are unlikely to know whether the series was really complete.

The Kilwa coins are rhyming coins, that is, the obverse legend rhymes with the reverse. Certain Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt had rhyming mottoes on the faces of their coins, but the Kilwa issues are the earliest known Islamic coins with the whole legend rhyming. Later it becomes not uncommon in Persian and Indian coinage: in the latter the first was the Bahmanid dynasty which assumed power in the Deccan in 1347. Kilwa did not borrow the fashion from India, and the rhyming mottoes of Fatimid Egypt are not a precise parallel, although they may have suggested the idea⁽¹⁹⁾.

It is impossible here to give a complete account of the newly discovered Mogadishu series. It comprises the coins of fifteen rulers all of whom are unknown to recorded history and twelve of whom are unknown to numismatics. In addition there are a further eleven rulers who issued coinage in imitation of that of Turkey, and who employed the *tughrā*, a decorative monogram which first makes its appearance on Turkish coinage in 1402. The total of rulers is thus twenty-six.

In the first group there is a remarkable likeness to the Kilwa coinage, which, likewise, we shall note later in connection with Zanzibar. Only one of these issues, a billon, or base silver, issue bears a date.

Obverse: within a circle, a circle of dots and a circle containing a square, with the legend:

يثق	yathiku	trusts
بلاحد الصمد	bi'l-āhad as-ṣamad	in the One Eternal (God)
أبو بكر بن محمد	Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad.	

in the four segments between the square and the circle:

i. ضرب—struck; ii. ٧٢٢—(in the year A.H.) 722;

iii. and iv.—erased.

⁽¹⁸⁾I am grateful to J. S. Kirkman for this information. He was offered the coins at Shs. 5/- each, an exorbitant demand which he most rightly refused.

⁽¹⁹⁾H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shāhs of Irān, 1500-1941*, 1945, gives many rhyming examples; P. Balog, *Etudes numismatiques de l'Egypte musulmane*, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*, tome xxxiii, Cairo 1951, pp. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15-17, the earliest rhyming motto being of Abū 'l-Kasim Aḥmad al-Mustalī-billah (1094-1101); but the practice seems only to have continued until c. 1171, a century before the accession of al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt. All these coins follow a pattern in their mottoes إمام أحمد الله الصمد al-Imām Aḥmad/Allah as-ṣamad (The Imām Aḥmad/Allah is the Eternal (God)). It is possible that there are further issues as yet undiscovered which may bridge the gap.

Reverse: within a circle, a square containing the Kalima, or Muslim confession of faith.

A.H. 722 corresponds to A.D. 1322, so that it is already later than the Kilwa coins of al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt and of his son Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan. It is immediately obvious, however, that it is in the same *genre*:
al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt:

Obverse: within a circle, with ornamentation in the field and flowing script:

الحسن	al-Ḥasan	
بن طالوت	ibn Ṭālūt	—
سعد	sa'ida	(May he be happy!)

Reverse: within a circle, with ornamentation in the field and floriated script:

يثق مارب	yathiku bi'l-Rabbi	trusts in the Lord
الملكوت	'l-Malakūt.	of the Kingdom (of Heaven).
عز	'azza.	(He is glorious). ⁽²⁰⁾

The rhyme lies in the ending of the second lines of the obverse and reverse, the remaining slogans being added. With the exception of Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān, all al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt's successors known to have minted coinage have a reverse beginning with the word *yathiku*—trusts, and the correspondence can hardly be accidental.

The coins of Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān of Kilwa (1412-1421) are different in *genre* from the other Kilwa issues, and it comes at first sight as a surprise that while 473 have been found in or near Mogadishu, very few have been found on the Tanganyika coast. Finds elsewhere so far known to me are: Kilwa Kisiwani—6; Kisimani Mafia—8; Kua, Juani Island, Mafia—1; Zanzibar: 1; Lamu—1; Garesa Museum, Mogadishu: 10; and Warsheikh—31. The majority by far have been found in Somalia.

It might be thought that this is really a Mogadishu issue. The identification with Kilwa was made by Walker in 1939⁽²¹⁾, on the grounds of its rhyming obverse and reverse and that it bears the title or throne-name al-ʿĀdil, which is given to Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān by the Kilwa history⁽²²⁾. Certain arguments may be offered against this. All the other Kilwa issues give the name of the sultān and his patronymic, but here only his personal name, Muḥammad, is given. No Kilwa issue bears a title, yet here the title sultān occurs, as in nine of the Mogadishu issues. Again, although there is some variation in the weights of the Kilwa issues, no other ruler has such a range of different weights as 1.16, 0.68, 0.45 0.34 and 0.17 gm. Yet this characteristic is also present in the Mogadishu series.

But there are certain differences. Here the word sultān appears in last line of the obverse: in the Mogadishu series it is invariably in the first line in the coins of no less than nine sultāns. Rhyming is rare in the Mogadishu issues, while as to weight, although there are variations, none of them distinguish themselves by having a series of differing weights as does

⁽²⁰⁾Walker, 1936, p. 63.

⁽²¹⁾Walker, 1939, pp. 223-5.

⁽²²⁾S. A. Strong, The History of Kilwa, JRAS 1895, p. 406.

Muhammad ibn Sulaimān. (It must be remarked that no coin issued in East Africa in medieval times bore any word to state its value: weight would therefore have been the only criterion.) Thus, if it were not for the greater quantity of finds in and near Mogadishu, there could be no real difficulty in continuing to ascribe these coins to Kilwa. If quantity then is the only real basis of the argument, it is a weak one: it might be upset at any time by further excavation or by surface finds.

Eight of the Mogadishu sultāns employ a rhyme between obverse and reverse. Of these at least six appear to be of the fifteenth century, and it therefore may be argued that the Mogadishu fashion was in point of time, and most probably in point of fact, following the lead of Kilwa.

The writer has already given a detailed description of the coins of the Beit al-Amani Museum, Zanzibar ⁽²³⁾, and it would seem clear, from the fact that 3,934 of the issues of al-Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad, Ishāq ibn Ḥasan and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ali have been found in Zanzibar, as against 7 of the first and 13 of the second found probably in Kilwa, that they would have been medieval rulers of that island. None of their coins have been found elsewhere, and here the quantities are overwhelming. They would all appear to belong to the late 15th century, for present in the hoards have been a very small number of the coins of 15th century rulers of Kilwa. Like these, the characteristic rhyme is present and the word *yathiku*.

The right to strike coinage has always been an attribute of sovereignty. In medieval Islam certain rulers were careful first to obtain the permission of the Caliph ⁽²⁴⁾, for properly speaking the word sultān implies one who exercises temporal authority on the Caliph's behalf. It is doubtful if this was ever done at Kilwa, for there is at least one example in the Kilwa history of a usurper who had himself named in the Friday prayers, a similar prerogative, immediately. He ruled, however, for only three weeks ⁽²⁵⁾. He could not have had time to have obtained the necessary authority. On two occasions in the 15th century the ruler of Zanzibar attempted to foist would-be usurpers on Kilwa, though without success ⁽²⁶⁾. The independence of Mogadishu in medieval times has never been doubted. Certain writers have, however, stated that Zanzibar was subject to Kilwa, although there are no firm indications that this was ever so ⁽²⁷⁾. The existence of a Zanzibar coinage in the 15th century makes it certain that, whatever their relations may have been, Zanzibar was not a tributary of Kilwa.

PORTUGAL, THE MAZRUI AND THE BUSAIDI

With the coming of the Portuguese, so far as is known, the issue of coinage at Kilwa ceases. In 1936 Walker concluded from a remark of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Kilwa never issued any gold coinage, and this is borne out by a chance remark of an anonymous Portuguese writer, who mentions a copper coinage at Kilwa, but nothing else. Yet Castanheda mentions that on his return

⁽²³⁾NC 1957.

⁽²⁴⁾The question was at the root of some of the troubles of the Bahmani rulers of the Deccan: cf. J. C. Powell-Price, *A History of India*, 1955, p. 193 ff.

⁽²⁵⁾Strong, p. 424.

⁽²⁶⁾*Ibid.*, pp. 419, 424.

⁽²⁷⁾Ingrams, pp. 131, 132; R. Reusch, *History of East Africa*, 1954, p. 119 ff: both postulate a "Zinj-Empire", which certainly never existed.

voyage from India Vasco da Gama intercepted a vessel, probably somewhere between Tongoni and Mafia, which bore gold bullion⁽²⁸⁾. In 1882 Lieutenant (later Sir John) Eustace, and an Admiral, recorded in his diary⁽²⁹⁾ as follows: "The sandy beach (of Kisimani Mafia) has a great many potsherds, among which pieces of copper and brassware are found, while several copper coins were picked up by myself. The natives, hearing that I wanted them, brought me some handfuls, but all so corroded that the inscriptions on many had disappeared. Some jars have been unearthed in the neighbourhood containing silver and gold coins, which later were sold to a Frenchman, in the late Rue Recynet (sic) et Cie at Zanzibar".

This firm was Roux, Frassinet and Cie: they were the contractors who supplied Sayyid Barghash with coinage of which we shall presently speak. It has not been possible to trace these coins they are said to have obtained in Mafia. A single find which may be gold has been made at Kisimani Mafia by H. N. Chittick. It appears to be unique, and so cannot be broken down for analysis. It seems, however, to be Mongol in origin⁽³⁰⁾, and is wholly unlike the Kilwa coinage. None the less, Correa relates that the Sultān of Malindi appreciated a present of gold Portuguese coins from Vasco da Gama⁽³¹⁾, but more, perhaps, with a view to melting it down for ornaments than as specie. The Portuguese writers speak of gold being exchanged by weight.

As to silver, two billon, or base silver, issues, that of 1322 already described, and another of medieval times, have been found at Mogadishu. There is no hint that silver was ever issued at Kilwa or in Zanzibar. Medieval Gedi used cowries as the means of exchange; but the Jesuit Father Monclaro, when he visited Mombasa in 1569, found "in the bazaar, that is the market-place, a silver coin is current like the scale of a fish, and worth 4 reis". No such coin has ever been found. Another Mombasa visitor, Captain William Alley, who went there in 1666/7, says: "The current coines are peeces $\frac{8}{8}$ and larrees, and the weights bahars and rattles." The pieces-of-eight are presumably those of Spain, which had a popularity superseded only at the end of the 18th century by the Maria Theresa *thaler*, from which the word dollar is corrupted. No *larins*, a rare type of coin shaped like a fish hook, and issued only in certain parts of Persia, in the Maldives and Ceylon, have been found so far anywhere on the coast⁽³²⁾. At Mogadishu it seems probable that a coinage imitating

⁽²⁸⁾Walker, 1936, p. 53; Axelson, p. 234; F. L. de Castanheda, apud G. M. Theal, Records of South-East Africa, Vol. III.

⁽²⁹⁾I am grateful to Dr. J. Walker, of the British Museum, for a copy of the ms. in his possession.

⁽³⁰⁾I am also grateful to him for this opinion.

⁽³¹⁾The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, from the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa, ed. and tr. the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, 1869, pp. 142-5. The passage also mentions "the money of the country", a reference which cannot at present be explained.

⁽³²⁾J. S. Kirkman, The Arab City of Gedi, 1954, p. 155; Monclaro, apud Theal, op. cit.; I am grateful to Sir John Gray for a copy of his transcript of Alley's diary; on the *larin*, J. Allan, The Coinage of the Maldiv Islands with some Notes on the Cowrie and the *Larin*, NC 1912, and H. Wood, The Gampola *Larin* Hoard, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 61, American Numismatic Society, New York, 1934.

that of Turkey persisted at least until the end of the 17th century: no doubt the rest of the coast had to be content to use such foreign coinage as came its way.

This remained the case far into the 19th century. It was not until 1890 that Sayyid 'Ali ibn Sa'id forbade in Zanzibar coins other than those of the Zanzibar or Indian governments. From the end of the 18th century the Maria Theresa "dollar"⁽³³⁾ was the ordinary silver coin, while in 1840 Sayyid Sa'id bought 5,000 dollars of pice from India to supply small change. There have been numerous finds of the East Indian Company's copper coinage earlier than this date all along the coast from the north as far as Kilwa: no doubt Sayyid Sa'id was doing no more than increasing the quantity of the already common *pesa* in the market. Such shortages gave rise to some small local issues. Miss M. F. E. Pelham-Johnson, O.B.E., possesses a forged copper imitation of an 18th century gold Venetian zecchin, which was found at Kilwa. One wonders where it was made—perhaps on the coast. The Garesa museum at Mogadishu possesses some genuine gold zecchins which once circulated there.

At Mombasa a unique issue was made during the governorate of Salīm ibn Aḥmad al-Mazruī (1826-1835). It bears no date, and only the Arabic words for O/. "struck" R/. "(in) Mombasa". According to Guillain, it was struck from a bronze cannon on account of the financial difficulties encountered by Salīm ibn Aḥmad during his struggle with Sayyid Sa'id. It is difficult to know the precise period that is meant, but presumably it was toward the end of the reign. At Lamu similar coins were issued, also without a date, but of similar legend and pattern, so that they may reasonably be attributed to the same period. Dr. Lyndon Harries has been kind enough to tell me that in his recent article, in which they were described as *burubuku*, this was a printer's error for *buruzuku* ⁽³⁴⁾. The word derives from the Portuguese *bazaruco*, small change, and clearly this was their purpose. It is of interest that their modest legends bear no assertion of sovereignty⁽³⁵⁾. Specimens of these issues are very rare, and the only examples known to me are in the British Museum.

⁽³³⁾The best account of this coin is H. G. Stride, *The Maria Theresa Thaler*, NC 1956; see also Crofton, op. cit.

⁽³⁴⁾Lyndon Harries, *Supplementary Vocabulary: Swahili-English*, Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, No. 28/2, July 1958, p. 55: his statement that there was a Pate coinage derives from W. Hichens, *al-Inkishāfī*, 1939, p. 119, which ascribes the coinage of Ishāq ibn Ḥasan to the Ishāq of Pate whose daughter Sulaimān ibn Sulaimān, the founder of the Nabahāni dynasty of Pate, married c. 1204 (not, as all texts agree, in the 11th century). In view of the fact that not one of these coins has been found in Pate, and almost all of them in Zanzibar in conjunction with 15th century Kilwa issues, it seems impossible that Hichens' view can be correct. For the history of the Mombasa issue, see M. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, 3 vols., Paris, 1856, II, p. 269: Harries is not correct in ascribing it to "about the sixteenth century".

⁽³⁵⁾For an illustration of these coins, see W. H. Valentine, *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan Dynasties*, 1911, p. 83: Valentine says these pieces are of tin, Harries pewter and Guillain, loc. cit., bronze.

The first British Consul was appointed to Zanzibar in 1841, the year after Sayyid Sa'īd's import of Indian specie. It might have been expected that Sa'īd would have minted his own coinage after his establishment in Zanzibar, but the use of foreign and Indian coinage continued. Throughout the 19th century the French challenged the paramount British influence in Zanzibar⁽³⁶⁾, and no doubt it was an aspect of this struggle when Sayyid Barghash issued his own coins, but of French manufacture. There were three silver issues, one dollar, a half and a quarter dollar, dated A.H. 1299=A.D. 1881, and copper issues of the same date and of A.H. 1304=A.D. 1886. The silver issues were partly in imitation, though a bad one, of the Maria Theresa dollar, while the copper issues bore the same decorations as the pice of India.

For legend, the second copper issue simply bears the word Zanzibar on one side, and the date, 1304, in Arabic characters, on the other. The 1881 issues have identical inscriptions, the obverses reading: Sultān Sa'īd ibn Barghash ibn/Sultān; with, above and below, God/guard him. The reverse has the date.

The ruler's name is thus wrongly given: Barghash was the son of Sayyid Sa'īd, not vice versa. The official genealogy of the royal house of Zanzibar mentions no person named Sa'īd ibn Barghash⁽³⁷⁾. This mistake perhaps explains why the second copper issue was so plain, to avoid such mistakes again. One wonders what Sayyid Barghash's comments were when he saw this travesty of his name. This mistake is one which is unique among coins of comparatively modern times⁽³⁸⁾.

The Barghash issues close the story of native East African coinage. Those which follow, the coins of the Imperial British East Africa Company, of German East Africa and of British East Africa, follow frankly imported patterns. The present pattern of coinage was first issued for Kenya and Uganda in 1906, and, after some changes, extended to Tanganyika in 1921: it was not adopted in Zanzibar until 1936⁽³⁹⁾. The present British pattern has thus endured for more than fifty years. His late Majesty King George VI and Her present Majesty have approved most elegant new designs in some other parts of the Commonwealth, and one may be permitted the reflection that Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar have been more conservative than elsewhere⁽⁴⁰⁾. If thought were being given to the introduction of new designs, it would be happy if, at least in design, some commemoration were made of the medieval Kilwa issues, the pioneer issues of East Africa, which seem to have influenced both medieval Mogadishu and medieval Zanzibar.

⁽³⁶⁾Sir R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890*, 1939, p. 338.

⁽³⁷⁾P. Pulicino, *Aulad el Imam, A List of the Members of the Royal Family of Zanzibar*, Zanzibar Government Printer, 1954.

⁽³⁸⁾For the diplomatic history of the issue, see Coupland, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-4; Crofton, *loc. cit.*; the copper issues are illustrated by Valentine, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁽³⁹⁾For a complete description, see Wayte Raymond, *Coins of the World, Twentieth Century Issues*, 4th edition, New York, 1951; *idem*, *Nineteenth Century Issues*, 2nd edition, New York, 1953, which also give illustrations.

⁽⁴⁰⁾My reflection is inspired by, albeit not derived from, a paper read on 16th January, 1957, to the Royal Numismatic Society by Sir Lionel Thompson Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint, entitled "The Development of Distinctive Commonwealth Coinages".

Correspondence

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

Dear Sir,

With reference to your comment on the *Souspha* (sc. Albatross) in Dr. Freeman-Grenville's article about *Cosmas Indicopleustes*:—

I have not been able to trace the allusion to *Souspha*, but do not think you are necessarily right in thinking that Albatross are literally confined to the southern hemisphere.

The standard book on sea-birds (W. B. Alexander's "Birds of the Ocean") says:—

"The distribution of the Albatross family is somewhat remarkable. Of the thirteen known species nine are found in the southern oceans, chiefly between latitudes 30°S. and 60°S., ranging south to the Antarctic ice and sometimes north to the tropic of Capricorn. On the west coast of South America several of the southern species follow the cool waters of the Humboldt current well into the tropics. One species is found only in the tropics, ranging from the Galapagos Islands to the coasts of Ecuador and northern Peru. The other three species are confined to the North Pacific Ocean. Very occasionally individuals of southern species have been met with on the coasts of Europe and North America, but whether they got there unaided may be doubted. From sailing ships these birds are not infrequently captured, and it is noteworthy that the records of southern Albatrosses in the northern hemisphere mostly date from the period when sailing ships had not yet been largely displaced by steamers on the ocean routes. Very possibly some at least of these individuals "had been brought across the tropics by ships and liberated north of the line".

In addition, R. D. Macleod: "Key to the Names of British Birds", says of *Diomedea* (which is the name of one of the main genera of Albatrosses):—

"*Diomedea* *Linnaeus*. After *Diomedes*, a Greek warrior who fought at the siege of Troy and whose companions were later transformed into sea-birds. Pliny (X, 61) refers to "the birds of *Diomedes* ("*aves Diomedae*")"

The allusion to size is a little vague:—

"like kites, but somewhat more than twice their size".

As a description of the Albatross, some species of which reach a 12 ft. wing-span, this is none too helpful; but possible Kites were a well-known bird suitable for indication of the size of others. One way and another it does not seem impossible that Albatrosses so long ago should have collected near ships on the voyage from Alexandria to Ceylon.

Yours faithfully,

E. G. ROWE

Commonwealth Services Club,
3 South Park Road,
OXFORD

Dear Sir,

I am most interested in your footnote about the Albatross (T.N.R. 52, p. 59) and agree that its normal habitat is the Southern Hemisphere.

I have before me as I write Bartholemew's Oxford Advanced Atlas, p. 15, which shows the S.-W. and N.-E. Monsoon Drift, and, pp. 18-19, the prevailing winds.

It seems to me logical that a sailing ship proceeding to Ceylon might well come south of the Horn in order to take advantage of the drift. Cosmas would thus be describing an area somewhere near modern Somalia, which is but little north of the Equator. He says "the weather was unsettled": if one looks at the passage carefully, were they not sailing into a storm coming up from the south? This might explain the arrival of the albatross outside their natural habitat.

In Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, the word souspha (or soispha) is recorded only once in the Greek language—in the present passage. It is McCrindle who gives it the translation albatross; but in the absence of any other reference in Greek literature, the translation is at best doubtful. Quite likely it was some other sea-bird. But I have left McCrindle's translation as it stands. (So far as I know there are no other questionable passages in the present matter).

Yours faithfully,

P.O. BOX 43, MTWARA

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

CENTENARY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir,

In my article in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 4 at pp. 6 and 7, on *Dar es Salaam under the Sultans of Zanzibar* I cite a letter in the Zanzibar Archives, dated January 16, 1866, in which the British Consul informs the Senior Naval Officer on the East Coast of Africa that he had issued a pass to sixteen of the Sultan of Zanzibar's slaves to proceed to Dar es Salaam "to be employed on the works in progress there."

In another letter in the same custody, dated July 8, 1866, the Acting British Consul informs the Bombay Government that the Sultan of Zanzibar placed his yacht at the disposal of himself and Captain Pasley, R.N., "for a trip to the site of the newly projected town Maziziza (sic), or place of peace, on the African coast."

From the above letters I infer that building operations began in all probability in early days of 1866.

Seyyid Majid first conceived the idea of establishing a harbour at Dar es Salaam in 1862. Thereafter he had to acquire the site. I am not aware of any precise evidence as to when negotiations for this purpose began or as to when they were successfully terminated.

Yours faithfully,

J. M. GRAY

The High Court,
Zanzibar,

29th September, 1959.

Book Reviews

THE BRITISH IN MOMBASA, 1824-1826

Sir John Gray: The British in Mombasa, 1824-1826, being the history of Captain Owen's Protectorate: Vol. I of the Transactions of the Kenya History Society, Macmillan, 1957, 216 pp. with a map and five illustrations.

Kenya has no society precisely corresponding to the Tanganyika Society, and the formation of the Kenya History Society, to study the history of the Colony and the Protectorate, which took place in 1955, is something warmly to be welcomed here. Indeed much of the earlier history of Kenya, and especially of its coast, bears upon our own history.

The Kenya History Society have made an excellent start in securing Sir John Gray as author of their first publication. It is not the aim of the society to produce a journal, but rather to publish monographs and, from time to time, miscellanies of articles.

The present work describes, in an admirably lucid manner, the shortlived British Protectorate over Mombasa in the years 1824-1826—when Captain W. F. Owen, engaged in a hydrographical survey of the coast, found himself faced with a demand on the part of the Mazrui Governor for protection against the rising power of Oman. Instead of treating him as a rebel, Owen believed that Mombasa could furnish Britain with a base from which the slave trade could be destroyed. The India Office and the Admiralty saw things otherwise, for Sayyid Said was already a not unimportant ally in the Persian Gulf. But the motives of the Mazrui family were wholly different from both. They had governed Mombasa since the middle of the eighteenth century, and the demand for British Protection was in truth a request for a shield under which they could proceed to secure for themselves what Sayyid Said likewise wanted—the hegemony of the entire coast. The story is too rapid and too complex to permit of a brief summary. Sir John makes it a fascinating tale, meticulously documented and interestingly told, with an urgency and a suspense which never palls. For those whose primary interest is the history of Tanganyika there is invaluable information on the relations of the coast with Oman during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

It is known that Sir John has recently completed a History of Zanzibar, and the present work certainly whets the appetite: One hopes that the publication of the History of Zanzibar may not be long delayed.

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

IT STARTED WITH HERODOTUS

By Kenneth Ingham, M.C., M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon): Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.

This is an inaugural lecture delivered by the Professor of History at Makerere College on 31st March, 1958. If the remainder of the course was of the same calibre, in the same charming, dissertative style, revealing the same wide knowledge, then one's first thought may be regret that the whole series of lectures was not published to reach a wider public than the few history students who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Ingham. The subject of the series is the history of East

Africa, though strictly it was the history of West Africa that started with Herodotus. However the lecturer in his address does not attempt to instruct us, but to interest us and to confess to us his faith in his subject. At times he wanders so that it is difficult to follow the thread of his thought, but the final impression he leaves is one of an intense love of and an overwhelming faith in the value of the learning of the history of East Africa. His words may be read with much pleasure and may also be taken to heart not only by his colleagues and the student body whom he addresses directly, but also by all those who are interested either in East Africa in a historical way or in history in a general way.

Here in Tanganyika his words have peculiar point. There sometimes seems to be a tendency to think that, just because we have no university college, we can afford to do without history and the other "arts". It is true that in many ways we are a pioneering community; for we are engaged in creating a nation out of a wilderness and in pushing forward across a vast territory the frontiers of civilization; and almost by definition pioneers have no time for culture. Yet the value to us of history is indeed all the greater. Perhaps the most impressive point that Mr. Ingham makes is that: "a man who has made no attempt to study the history of his country is a plant without roots". He may be thinking particularly of his own students, but to every man the maxim may be applied that a man who knows nothing of the past of his own people is a rootless, shiftless being. Mr. Ingham does not go on to argue the need for roots, and perhaps it is self-evident. Roots give stability to life and that essential feeling of security from which springs all courage and self-confidence. But, as the cultures clash and ring, the old traditions, habits and foundations of social life are scorned, upset or merely forgotten in the turmoil. In the murk of conflict and in the hurry towards the future there remains little of the past to which those seeking stability may cling. It is the same for a nation; a country without a history is an unstable structure. Tanganyika far too often tends to spurn her past, seeing it as one either of ignoble savagery and superstition or of cruel oppression and exploitation. Yet there is so much on which she may look back with pride; there are more than enough heroes in the past worthy of all her respect; every element in present society may reflect with admiration upon its former leaders and their achievements. Mr. Ingham recalls with regret that recent "East African history has often been described as consisting simply of the history of the expansion of European administration". This is unfortunate, particularly because the mass of Blue books and White papers in which it is recorded make dull reading. So it is time that a real and full history of Tanganyika were written.

First of course there must be that essential research as yet only sporadically undertaken by anthropologists of the tribes in their "undocumented past". The traditions must be noted and the memories of the village elders must be sifted before they are all gone. To these must be added the accounts we have of the early explorers, missionaries and (Arab) traders. In this would surely be found a fascinating tale and a worthy background to the age of documents and of immigrants of the twentieth century. Then this latter age should not merely be seen as a mass of commission reports and economic statistics, but it may be revealed as an intricate warp and woof in which the new elements weave in with the old, each playing its own peculiar contribution; the "Banyan" traders, and the sisal planters, the caravan porters and the great German scientists, the chiefly families and the railway builders, each old tribe and each new community offering its special portion to the common weal. It would be a

"popular history" and a patriotic story for the "new Tanganyikan", but it would at least be worthy of his pride, and not the ignorant scorn he so often affects.

I feel that the need to stir our pride, and to strengthen our bonds with the past is more urgent in Tanganyika than that other historical value which Mr. Ingham recalls. "Above all", he says, "the study of the history of East Africa can demonstrate to our students the importance of the individual and the need for individual decision and action." Indeed one was well taught at school that a knowledge of "the follies, crimes and mankind" of former ages helps us to recognize them in the present and to avoid them in the future; and an understanding of the workings of the minds of the leaders of the past teaches us to comprehend those of today and to appraise them according to time-honoured values. Such an understanding is particularly valuable in view of the peculiar difficulties present here today: that is the "stunning" and bewildering effect that the flood of ideas pouring into East Africa from the outside civilized world has had upon the peoples of these territories. Possibly in terms of real civilized conduct, the outside world has become too "over-developed", just as this continent is still too under-developed, but this only adds to the violence of the shock of contact.

There is one further point which Mr. Ingham makes, which I consider is especially applicable to Tanganyika. He reminds us: "we are not careful enough of our archives". It is so difficult to realize that what seems to be a heap of useless files on last year's work is often enough a series of invaluable records to the historian. Ideas are changing so fast, developments succeed each other so rapidly that history, trying to condense into a mere half-century the events of a thousand years of European history, places great value upon the least relic of these terrifyingly swift changes. Just as there is a strong case for an official historian of this country, so I feel much could be said for an "Archives Officer" to prevent the vandals and the ants from immolating any more government records and to collect from all sources whatever remains in the dust-laden storerooms of the recent past.

The history of East Africa, if we ignore it now, will soon be obliterated. Mr. Ingham, in reminding us of the values that would thus be lost, does us a great service and is worthy of a hearing.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIPPU TIP.

Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammad el Murjebi yaani Tippu Tip, kwa maneno yake mwenyewe (the autobiography of Tippu Tip): historical introduction by Alison Smith; translation by W. H. Whiteley: Supplement to the E.A. Swahili Committee Journals No. 28/2, July, 1958 and No. 29/1, January, 1959, 171 pp. and two maps.

During Dr. W. H. Whiteley's time as Secretary of the East African Swahili Committee a number of unpublished or out-of-print Swahili works have been brought to the light of day. Dr. Whiteley has now left the Committee to be a Reader in Bantu Languages at London University, and the tradition established by him, invaluable to East African scholarship, is being carried on by Mr. J. W. T. Allen.

The latest supplement, more substantial in size than any of its predecessors, is perhaps the most important so far. It is the first known biography in the Swahili language, and covers the period between 1840 and 1890, the peak of the commercial influence of Zanzibar on the African mainland. The text, first published by Brode in 1902, has long been out-of-print and hard to obtain.

The author, popularly known as Tippu Tip, was the most successful of the Arab pioneers of commerce in the African interior. His reputation has, however, suffered by being blackguarded by Stanley, both as a man and as a slave trader. Stanley's version, needless to say, written in his habitual highly coloured style, has had the widest currency. It is salutary that we should again have access to Tippu Tip's version of the events to redress the balance.

Certainly Tippu Tip traded in slaves, but he was infinitely more than a mere slave trader. His primary commercial interest, as both his own statements and those of others bear witness, was in ivory, which, with a rare skill in organization, he bartered for the trade goods made available for the first time in the African interior by the increased industrial expansion of 19th century America and Europe. His work is the description of a trading career which lasted some fifty years, at the height of which, before the European powers asserted their dominance, he was for a time *de facto* ruler of the Congo basin.

The organization of caravans across Tanganyika as far as the Congo was no armchair job. Tippu Tip was no armchair scholar. His writing is that of a man alert to the alarms and excursions of safari, but abrupt and clumsy with the pen. The very pungency of his account makes it worth reading: as Lawrence said of Doughty's Arabia Deserta, "it stinks of camels and samn". It is not less exciting than the carefully "ghosted" Trader Horn, or Lord Birkenhead's editing of The Adventures of Ralph Rashleigh. For the historian it provides a first hand account of the trading conditions and customs of the time, and in this it is invaluable.

Dr. Whiteley has provided the English reader with a translation which is invariably impeccable: so much so that sometimes it obscures the rough hewn character of the original. Miss Smith's historical introduction largely consists in a summary of the text: and perhaps one may be pardoned for saying that this is a task that the intelligent reader can do for himself. She has provided an admirable apparatus criticus in the notes, but one would have preferred that the summary should have been curtailed in favour of a fuller treatment of the historical issues involved, more particularly Tippu Tip's relations with Stanley. The impression remains that more questions are raised than answered, and that a genuine sense of chronology, which Tippu Tip, with his rough style, fails to impart, might well have supplied. It would have been better, perhaps, too, if Miss Smith has visited the areas described, and had been able to supply some of that sense of distance which, in what may be termed Tippu Tip's brief safari reports, is lacking.

Dr. Whiteley's editorial introduction mentions that Sheikh Mohammad Nasoro Lemky, of Zanzibar, has in his possession an unpublished manuscript of Tippu Tip's autobiography, and deplores that Dr. Whiteley's approach to him to be able to consult it "failed to elicit any practical co-operation". It can now be reported that Sheikh Mohammad has given access to his manuscript, and that it has been photostatted. It is at present in process of transcription and will shortly be published under the auspices of the East African Literature Bureau. This is pleasurable news indeed, and the pleasure is increased by a report that Sheikh Mohammad's manuscript is a very much better one than that which has been reproduced here. Sheikh Mohammad is the grandson of Tippu Tip, and it is a matter for gratitude that he has at length consented to the publication of a document which, like the present one, enables a juster appreciation of his grandfather than what may be derived from the one-sided account of Stanley.

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

PHILOSOPHY FOR NEFA

By Verrier Elwin, with a foreword by the Prime Minister of India. Published by Sachin Roy on behalf of the North East Frontier Agency (First Edition, 1957), Shillong, Assam, 1959. Price: Rs. 5/-.

This is an important book on applied anthropology which will prove doubly interesting for administrators in Tanganyika, because it deals with situations in Assam which bear comparison to areas of Tanganyika and because it is written by an Englishman who is probably in the most important position held by any non-Indian official in the Republic of India.

NEFA is an abbreviation for *North Eastern Frontier Area of India*, i.e. the highlands of Assam, inhabited by a variety of mongoloid shifting cultivators, to whom cattle husbandry, hunting and also a certain amount of food-gathering are economically basic activities, and who did not experience any kind of foreign rule until the advent of the British at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. After partition and Indian independence the administration of these areas fell to Indians, and important decisions had to be taken. Among the highlanders, especially the Naga, there were, and still are, some who sought complete independence for themselves. Among Indian administrators, police, military and especially businessmen and politicians, there were some who thought to solve the posed problems in terms of assimilation, acculturation, cultural absorption and Hinduization. It was at this crucial moment that Mr. Nehru as the Prime Minister of India gave a very definite direction to the administration of NEFA which was based on the acceptance of, and even admiration for, tribal value systems and the cultural individualism of non-Indian highland cultures of Assam, as well as other parts of the Republic. His choice for an advisor in the formulation of this philosophy and the solving of day-to-day problems in administration fell upon Verrier Elwin, the author of the book under review.

This remarkable man had come to India as a missionary, but later distinguished himself by independent social work among the Gondhs and other tribes of Central India, some of which he described in a series of anthropological monographs which brought him the doctorate *honoris causa* from Oxford.

"Philosophy for NEFA", this latest work of Elwin, deals with all problems facing administrators of "tribal societies" with well established traditions of political systems, religious observance, mythology, legends, forms of art, ornaments, dress and an etiquette of their own.

The material is presented in eight chapters under the following headings:—

- I *The North-East Frontier Agency*—a descriptive definition.
- II *The Fundamental Problem*—a philosophical handbook for administrators in "tribal" areas.
- III *Material Aims*.
- IV *The Problem of Dress*—these are two chapters of special significance for East African questions.
- V *Psychological Aims*.
- VI *Religious Aims*.
- VII *Social Aims*—these last three chapters are dealing, among other things, with the particular situation of Assam within the Indian Republic.
- VIII *Cultural Aims*—summing up the main trends of the book.

Remarks on the basic role, which dress fashions play in all such acculturation situations (pp. 128, 131, 132, etc.), will be of special interest to readers in East Africa, as well as the author's balanced and timely judgment regarding the powerful, though not always entirely happy influence which missionary organizations exercised on the great numbers of Christian converts amongst the peoples of NEFA. Equally sound are the warnings to those among the Indian administrators and their wives who follow an unfortunate tradition of colonialism by trying to curry favour with individual highlanders by giving them petty presents such as mechanical gadgets, money and most of all, articles of poor taste and cheap clothing.

To the administrator, the book reads like an illustration to an anthropological theory course; to the professional anthropologist, like a summary of an administrator's diary. To the present reviewer it conveys the charm and personality which Sir Arthur Grimble wove into his "A Pattern of Islands" (John Murray, 1953).

U. R. EHRENFELS.

"ACACIAS"

Flora of Tropical East Africa, Leguminosae Sub-family Mimosoideae

By J. P. M. Brenan, M.A., B.Sc., F.L.S.⁽¹⁾

The first part, Mimosoideae, of the large and important family Leguminosae has now been published and it is available at all the Government Printers in East Africa as well as the Uganda Bookshop, Kampala, Uganda. Nineteen genera are represented in East Africa amongst which are the Acacias and the Albizias.

The genus *Acacia* is one of the most important and the dominant constituent of the vegetation of the drier parts of Eastern Africa and the large number of sixty-seven species are described and represented by six figures in which most of them are represented by drawings of their pods, an important specific character.

Albizia is represented by twenty-one species, many of these are flat-crowned trees found in the higher rainfall regions of Eastern Africa although *A. anthelmintica* Brongn grows in dry country.

Economically important for its timber, is what used to be known as *Piptadenia b Buchananii* Baker, as it is now considered that the genus *Piptadenia* is restricted to the New World this species has to be called *Newtonia b Buchananii* (Baker) Gilb. & Bout., it is a 120-ft. tall tree found in upland and lowland rain forest at an altitude between about 2,000 and 7,000 ft. and it occurs in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika thence through Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa, Angola, the Rhodesias to the Belgian Congo. The genus *Newtonia* contains two other species, *N. paucijuga* (Harms) Brenan, found in lowland rain forest and riverine forest and restricted to the coastal regions of Kenya and Tanganyika and *N. hildebrandtii* (Vatke) Torre found in riverine forests, dry areas with a high water table and in bushland, it ranges from the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya through Tanganyika then Portuguese East Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Zululand. The genus is characteristic in having long strap-shaped leathery pods with very flat shiny dark brown seeds which are margined with a narrow papery wing.

⁽¹⁾ Published under the Authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Crown Agents for Overseas Governments and Administrations, 4 Millbank, London, S.W. 1, pp. 1-73 + Index and 23 figs.; price Shs. 12/-.

The author, Mr. Brenan, not only deals with the indigenous species in this part of the flora but describes some of the more commonly cultivated species as well. In *Acacia*, "Mimosa" of the florists shops of the U.K., he has a key to the 20 exotic species grown in East Africa including *A. mearnsii* De Wild, the Wattle of commerce. The same applies to *Albizia* as several exotic species are used as shade trees.

Keys to the 19 genera are provided as well as keys to the species, each genus is described, as is each species. Under a species references to the literature are given and its distribution throughout East Africa with extensions of geographical range when a species occurs elsewhere. A limited number of collectors specimens are also quoted under each area where they are found, an advantage to a Herbarium worker making an intensive study of the East African flora as it is a help in elucidating a species, particularly when an author's interpretation of a species may be obscure.

Most of the genera are illustrated by full page line drawings showing a branchlet with flowers and where possible fruits and seeds including analytical drawings of parts of an individual flower as well as other important characteristics. With these illustrations, which are a credit to the various artists who drew them, most people with little botanical knowledge should be able to recognize a genus in the Mimosaceae which he is trying to name.

The illustrations of the pods of *Acacia* should be particularly helpful along with the two keys to the species as two are provided, one based mainly on floral and vegetative characters, the other on pod and vegetative characteristics.

Mr. Brenan is to be congratulated on the accomplishment of a very exacting piece of work during which he had to examine many types as well as hundreds of specimens. A task by no means easy as so many of the type specimens described by German botanists, particularly those named by Dr. Harms are no longer in existence.

The Mimosoideae are some of the most important constituents of the woody vegetation of East Africa and for all those who live and work in the area and wish to be able to identify the plants by which they are surrounded this part of the Flora of Tropical East Africa is essential if they wish to know the names of the Acacias and Albizias, which they will see every day even on the shortest of safaris. The price Shs. 12/- is cheap considering the vast amount of painstaking work entailed before it reached the printers.

P. J. GREENWAY

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EDITORIAL NOTE—THE KINLOSS PRIZE

The small number of African and Asian contributors to *Tanganyika Notes and Records* has long been a matter of concern to us, but now a practical step has been taken which, we hope, will improve the situation.

Dr. Freeman-Grenville and his wife, the Baroness Kinloss, are generously offering a Prize, to be called the Kinloss Prize, of £5 a year for the next five years, for the best article submitted to *Tanganyika Notes and Records* by an African or Asian writer. In addition the Committee of the Tanganyika Society are offering each year five subsidiary prizes of a year's free membership of the Society. Details of the conditions of entry for these prizes are set out below.

The competition is being publicised with the assistance of the Public Relations Department and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation, and a notice has appeared in the Press. However, in matters of this kind we feel the personal approach is likely to be by far the most effective, and so we hope that every reader in this Territory will co-operate with us by telling his Asian and African friends about the prizes and encouraging them to write.

The only limitations regarding subject matter are that articles should concern Tanganyika, and should not be such as to give rise to political or religious controversy. Tribal history, the early history of immigrant Asian families, native customs, religion, medicine, dances, societies, music and crafts, are some of the more obvious themes, but others will no doubt occur to readers, and nearly every locality has its special points of interest which may be worth putting on record.

The conditions of entry are as follows:—

Articles should be addressed to The Hon. Editor, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam.

Articles must be in English, typewritten in double-spacing, on one side of the paper only. They should be between 2,000 and 10,000 words in length.

Articles, which should not previously have appeared in print, will become the property of the Tanganyika Society, and the Editorial Board will reserve the right to make any use they think fit of material submitted to them. The award will be announced in December each year in respect of articles submitted during the previous twelve months.

TANGANYIKA

