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Shungwaya and The Roots of East African
Coastal Civilization

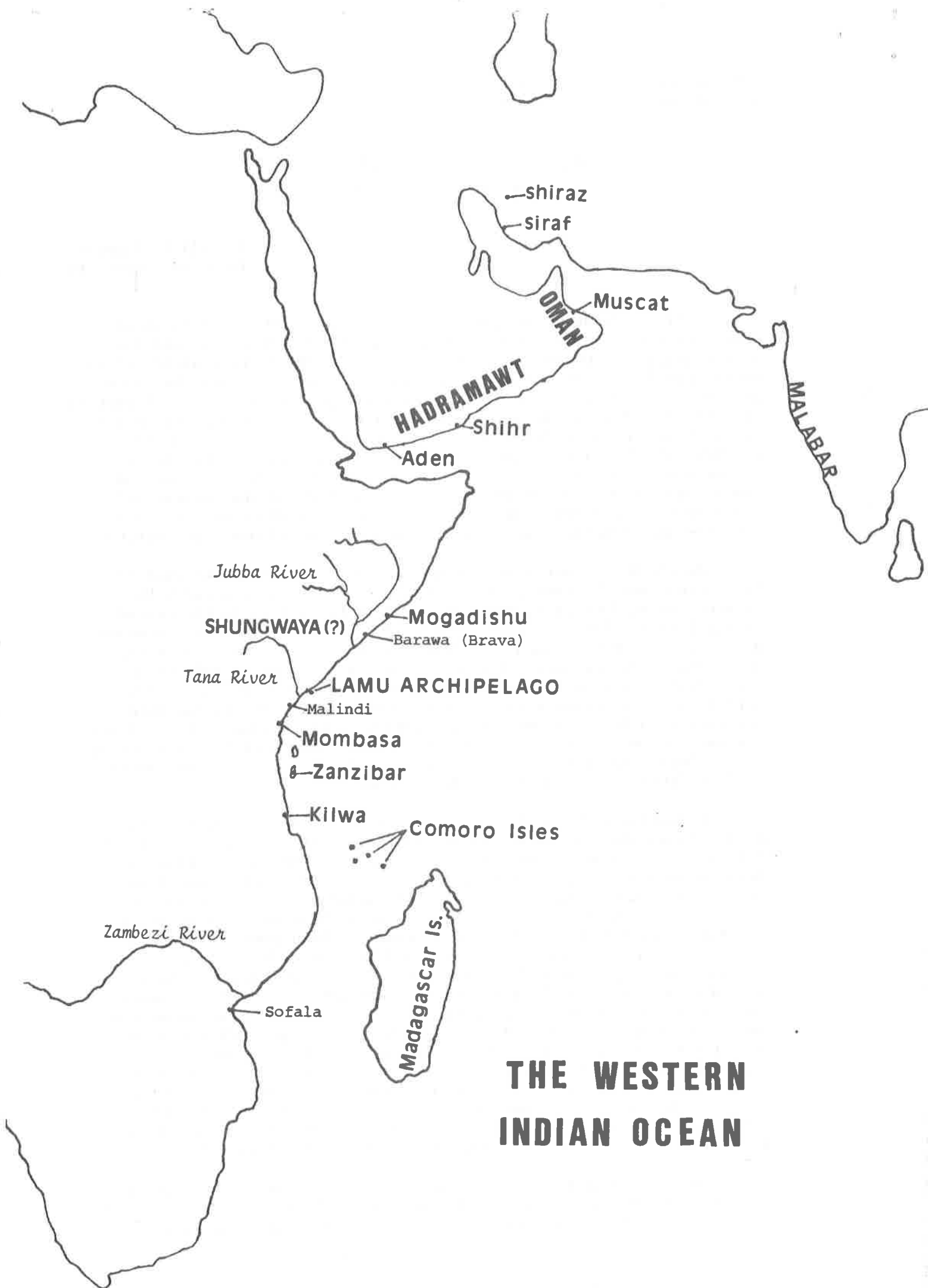
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North of Monbasa the coast stands out as a separate ecological zone from the interior. Rendering it especially dramatic definition is the nyika, a parched and jejune wilderness behind the coastal fringe which served throughout history as a natural barrier to all who contemplated travel inland. The nyika usually remains about fifteen kilometers from the sea, but as one moves north of the Lamu archipelago it begins approaching the oceanside itself. Around the present Kenya-Somalia border, this 'coastal fringe' effectively disappears. Thus, the so-called Benadir coast of southern Somalia consists largely of outcrops and a sandy shore covered by gigantic dunes of up to one hundred and fifty meters in height. North of the Jubba river there are few natural harbours and even the best of them, Mogadishu, is of mediocre quality.

As one moves southwards, however, soils and topography improve. The barren dunes gradually yield to a flatter terrain covered with grasses, bush, doum palm, and some savannah vegetation in the region of the Lamu archipelago itself, while the appearance of mangrove swamps grows more and more common. In this region north of the Tana river, soils generally are unsuitable for intensive cultivation and, being essentially sandy, shifting cultivation techniques with long fallow periods of up to fifteen years are required. Such land is suitable for herding activities and for cultivation of the dryland cereals (e.g. sorghums and millets) and some fruits. Some forests still exist, though it is likely that more extensive forests and, perhaps, somewhat better soils existed before the nineteenth century.¹

Beginning just south of the Jubba river stands a long series of coral outcroppings called variously the 'coast of isles', the Bajun islands, or the Dundas islands.² Positioned as they are between one hundred and three hundred meters offshore and stretching clear down to the Lamu archipelago, this string of islands historically has served a dual role. The first has been as a narrow shipping lane for small vessels engaged in the coastal trade from the Lamu region northwards. During the period of the long rains, when seas have been rough and storms frequent, these islands have served as naturally protective breakwaters sheltering both the mainland shores and the small coastal craft from damaging winds and tumultuous seas. The islands themselves mostly are covered with sand dunes, topped by low bush and scrub, and suffer from the same lack of water as the opposite mainland. These drawbacks notwithstanding, it is apparent from the surface fragments of pottery, tombs, and ruins frequently encountered on many of these small islands that they have served as safe harbours and settlement sites over the centuries for small groups of people wishing to avoid the mainland upheavals occasioned by desultory population shifts.³

The Lamu archipelago forms the southernmost end of this string of offshore coral formations, and consists of three islands. Of these, both Manda and Lamu are sandy; covered with dunes; and, especially



THE WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN

Lamu, ringed on the eastern side by broad sandy beaches bordering the warm azure waters of the Indian Ocean. The northernmost island, Pate, is by far the largest. It is blessed with a variety of topsoils, including fertile loams suitable in many areas of its interior for intensive cultivation. The sandy soils of Lamu, however, have given that island a reputation for having the sweetest water on the northern coast, a fact which probably attracted settlers at an early date, while they have been rich enough to support deeper rooted mango trees and coconut palms, the traditionally 'noble' trees of the coast.⁴ Finally, the harbours of the archipelago are far better than those of any other region north of Mombasa. That afforded by the northern side of Manda island (near ancient Manda town) and the barrow channel separating Lamu from Manda island are among the best on the northern coast, second only to Kilindini (Twaka) harbour at Mombasa.

From Malindi southwards the coastal belt attains its greatest level of development and contrasts with the nyika and the huge white sand dunes which line the coastline north of Mambrui. Here mainland vegetation is most luxuriant. Green grasses and bush are interspersed with dense forests, and soils are capable of yielding a somewhat greater array of crops than the dryland cereals of the north. As early as the fourteenth century, these mainland areas were producing millet, rice and vegetables for consumption or trade at Mombasa, while Portuguese eyewitnesses reported similarly plentiful yields from Malindi. Mombasa itself historically was noted for producing an abundance of lemons, oranges, bananas, pomegranates, and figs.⁵ Standing on an island barely separated from its mainland, Mombasa possesses the best harbour facilities on the coast in Kalindini harbour to the south of the island, while the inlet to the north of the island (and Mombasa town) can accommodate all but modern deep-draught vessels.

Between Mogadishu and Mombasa three major rivers and a series of creeks break up the coastline and have served as channels of communication with the interior. The northernmost of these rivers, the Jubba, seems to have been a route used by interior Somali peoples who have followed it in migrations to the coast. In addition, it and its tributary, the Webi Shebeelle, flood semi-annually, leaving a rich black topsoil (Carro madow), which makes the region the 'breadbasket' of southern Somalia.⁶ Similarly, the Tana river is blessed with fertile alluvial soils and a large area north of the rivers benefits from generally favourable watering from the semi-annual floodings as well as from the relatively high level of rainfall enjoyed by the region.⁷ The Tana, then, has been notable primarily for rice production. The last of these rivers is the Sabaki, which debouches just north of Malindi. Permanent and tidal creeks (mto, pl. mito) also break up the shoreline and allow boat traffic up to fifteen kilometers inland. Such creeks are most numerous around the Lamu archipelago and historically have proven valuable both for their bordering thickets of mangrove, the wood of which has been a major Lamu export, and as highways of direct communication and transport between the grain-producing farms of the mainland and the island commercial centres. Between Malindi and Mombasa, the mito have served as the sites for the only significant Swahili settlements along that strip of coast, Takaungu, Kilifi, and Mtwapa.

The entire coast is subject to two major monsoon seasons, each of which is divided into a major and a minor season. The first of these, the season of the southeasterly monsoon (called Kusi), lasts roughly from May through September. It is divided into the Mwaka,

the major wet season of the year, which is followed by a season of cool, dry days which begins about July and ends in September. These months constitute the planting season. Sometime in October, the monsoon (now called Kaskazi) begins shifting to the north or northeast. This period between October and November is that of the lesser rains (Vuli) and ushers in the major season of the Kaskazi monsoon, the dry season. The dry season is usually the longest of the year, lasting from December to May, and is a period of hot, cloudless days when the ground bakes and topsoils are subject to erosion by dry winds. While obviously this season is unfruitful for cultivating, it is suited for marine activities. This is the time of the year when cultivators turn to fishing to supplement their diets of fruits, cereals and vegetables. For the major towns it also was the business season which saw the arrivals of dhows from the Red Sea, southern Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India.

From the previous description, it is apparent that the north coastal physical environment is varied and complex, and in all its facets it potentially can support a wide array of economic activities. Thus, this section has two purposes. The first of these is to give a brief account of the peoples who have inhabited the northern coast over the past eight millenia, some of whom are ancestral to the Swahili. The second purpose is to make manifest the relationships which these peoples had with this environment, and particularly the evolution which occurred in the range and complexity of subsistence 'uses' to which they put this environment. These are crucial points, as it will be demonstrated later how northern coastal Bantu culture, particularly Swahili culture, largely can be comprehended in terms of its relationship with this human and physical environment.

Coastal demography between about 6000 and 2000 B.C. was apparently dominated people who used a variety of stone blades, bone chips, and stone microliths, some of which they compounded into larger weapons; these tools of the sort classified by archaeologists as constituting the 'Wilton' stone industry. Living, as they did, in what probably were larger forests than are found today near the coast (because today's forests have been reduced by centuries of destruction by cultivators), these people were hunter-gatherers. Though they still lived passively off their environment, the use of missiles such as arrows improved the productive efficiency of these Neolithic men and women and permitted them to live in rather more successful and specialized hunting societies than their predecessors. Perhaps most significant of all, the use of barbed stone and bone points possibly made these people the first to exploit the coastal waters as fishermen and consumers of small shellfish, a pattern of life more recently followed by Dahalo hunter-gatherers in the Lamu region.⁸

Both linguistic and archaeological evidence indicate that the first food producers to arrive in East Africa were Southern Cushites.⁹ Coming from the southern Ethiopian highlands sometime before 2000 B.C.,¹⁰ the Southern Cushites were Late Stone Age peoples who herded sheep, cattle, and goats as well as cultivated grain crops such as millet and sorghum. Apparently, they both bled and milked their cattle. They might also have been responsible for introducing irrigation and manuring to East Africa.¹¹ While most of the Southern Cushites appear to have settled central Kenya, the coastal Dahalo still speak a Southern Cushitic language and there is additional loanword evidence of Southern Cushitic influence on coastal Bantu languages such as Swahili, Pokomo and Miji Kenda. Most interesting, though, is evidence that, unlike upcountry

Bantu, the coastal Bantu borrowed few herding terms from Southern Cushites, while at the same time they did borrow items related to cultivation.¹² Having had a taboo against fish, it is unlikely that the coastal Southern Cushites exploited their marine environment in the manner of their hunter-gatherer neighbors. (Dahalo, however, were an apparent exception since they descended in part from Khoisan food gatherers who adopted the language of dominant Southern Cushitic neighbors sometime in the last millenium B.C.)¹³

Other Cushitic-speaking peoples who are more familiar and who have played a more recent part in coastal history are the Somali and the Oromo. The first of these to enter the coastal scene were the Somali. Certainly, in the period 1000-1500 they were playing a determinant role in the history of the Benadir towns and there is evidence which suggests strongly that Garre and Tunni groups were settled on the mainland opposite the Lamu archipelago already in the tenth century, perhaps even earlier.¹⁴ It appears very likely, as will be demonstrated in material to be presented below, that these Somali probably played a role in Shungwaya. Their place, however, as the dominant force in the northern coastal hinterland was taken by their cousins, the Oromo, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the Southern Cushites, Eastern Cushites such as the Oromo and the Somali have a fish taboo and are camel and cattle pastoralists for the most part, although sedent- arized groups live by cultivating cereals, eleusine, sesame, beans, bananas and other fruits.¹⁵

Without doubt, the most important and complex groups to settle the coastal region were Bantu-speakers. Originally coming from a natal area northwest of the equatorial rain forest, it appears from archaeological and linguistic attestations that Bantu were living around the East African lakes by 400 B.C., and by the end of the first millenium of the Christian era almost all of sub-equatorial Africa was Bantu-speaking.¹⁶ Some Bantu-speaking communities had settled the coast before 300 A.D. There, their presence has been associated with a particular variety of unglazed ceramic called Kwale ware, which archaeologists have determined is related to the pre-Christian era Urewe ware found throughout the Lakes region.¹⁷ Kwale ware turns up in a roughly triangular zone extending from the Ngulu mountains on the south, northwards to the Mombasa hinterland, and west to the central highlands of Kenya. Some sherds which are possibly Kwale in source have been found also farther north in the Barawa area.¹⁸

Complementing archaeological documentation of the spread of the Bantu to the coastal region is the linguistic data afforded by Ehret, Hinnebusch and Nurse.¹⁹ According to this data, a northern coastal branch of Northeastern Bantu-speakers, called the proto-Sabaki by linguists, appeared in the near interior of the far northeastern Tanganyika coast sometime around 500 A.D. and advanced northwards as far as the Jubba river. As is the usual pattern across so long an expanse of territory, dialects began to emerge in different areas of their spread. By the end of the first millenium, these had evolved into increasingly distinct dialects, well on their way to becoming the separate Swahili, Pokomo, Elwana, Miji Kenda, and Comorian languages of recent centuries.²⁰

From the work of Guthrie and Nurse,²¹ it is clear that the early coastal Sabaki-speakers primarily were agriculturalists with knowledge of pottery. They cultivated a variety of yams, vegetables, beans and

bananas, along with cereals, while they kept goats, sheep, chickens, and a few cattle. A considerable array of game was hunted to supplement their vegetable diet. Equally significant as their knowledge of agriculture were their activities as fishermen who used lines, nets, and baskets to snare their prey, while they also had knowledge of canoe-making and iron-working. Of social significance is the inference that they tended to live in compact villages wherever they settled among scattered groups of non-Bantu. Because of their generally more complex manufacturing activities (wood-working, potting, iron-working, basketry, etc.), 'the village [acted] as a center for a region and in time set standards of value'.²² Of all the groups described herein, then, it would appear that the Bantu who settled the northern coastal region in the first millennium probably were the best equipped to exploit the full range of economic possibilities presented by the coastal environment and to play a commanding role in the formation of later coastal culture.

Shungwaya?

One set of questions which seems to fit into considerations of early coastal culture involves the Shungwaya traditions. The controversies surrounding Shungwaya, of course, are long-standing and numerous: where, for example, was Shungwaya? What exactly was it? How should the claims made by certain peoples of their migration from Shungwaya be interpreted and their accuracy gauged? These are important questions whose answers bear directly on the history of the entire coastal region and the peoples who have inhabited that region. They are of particular interest in the context of Swahili history not only because the northern Swahili are linguistically Bantu-speakers, related to the other 'Sabaki' Bantu, but because Shungwaya represents what was the pre-'Shirazi', pre-Islamic cultural, social, and economic milieu from which northern coastal civilization emerged as a distinct cultural and religious entity. Indeed, like the Miji Kenda and others, in an important sense the earliest Swahili ('Shirazi') were 'from' Shungwaya.

But, briefly, what is the Shungwaya myth? Basically, it consists of a number of traditions which tell the story of a series of migrations which took place (probably) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a central region north of the Tana river by some Somali groups, Sabaki Bantu-speakers, and possibly smaller numbers of people from other ethnic groups. They tell how Katwa (Garre or Tunni Somali) came to settle the coast from Shungwaya, as well as how the Miji Kenda and the Kilindini came to settle their present homelands.²³ And, likewise, they relate how some Bajun, who previously had inhabited a string of towns on the mainland littoral opposite Pate Island and northwards, came to settle the islands from Pate to Koyama.²⁴ The usual reasons given for these population shifts center on the hostility of pastoralists -- either Somali or Oromo -- to the Bantu groups mentioned.

The historicity of Shungwaya seems beyond doubt for two reasons. First, as shown above, it appears in the traditions of such a large number of disparate, though related, peoples. And, second, Shungwaya was known to the Portuguese already by the sixteenth century.²⁵ The precise location of Shungwaya, however, is a mystery which even the Portuguese appear not to have solved, and to this day it remains a puzzle.²⁶ The Book of Zenj places it at Bur Gao near the mouth of the Jubba river; Burton, on the other hand, places it near the Tana

river;²⁷ while most sources locate it on the mainland littoral just north of Lamu.²⁸ Equally debatable is what Shungwaya was or represented. The Book of Zenj identifies it as a city, Bur Gao, but Chittick's archaeological survey of that site indicated that it was too late (post-1500) to qualify for the Shungwaya of the oral traditions.²⁹

Spear's view of a basically Bantu-only Shungwaya, too, rather oversimplifies matters, while at the same time the extensive population shift it envisions as having had to have occurred is too uneconomical.³⁰ Nurse's linguistic work on Sabaki Bantu, accurate and important as far as it goes, does not satisfactorily account for linguistic evidence of possible non-Bantu influences in early coastal history.³¹ While Nurse's recent work largely is supportive of Spear's views, ironically the linguists Hinnebusch and Ehret point out the strains which the theory of a proto-Sabaki homeland north of the Tana river (associated with Shungwaya by Spear) imposes on the overall linguistic evidence. Ehret, for example, indicates that Miji Kenda probably was spoken in its present locale at least five hundred years before the Shungwaya emigrations supposedly took place (i.e. by 1000 A.D.). More important still is that both linguists indicate that the proto-Sabaki language was brought by people coming from the Ruvu river area of northeastern Tanzania.³² Spear also hypothesizes (what would had to have been) an improbably rapid migration of Sabaki-speakers from this natal area northwards to Shungwaya. It was at Shungwaya, he says, that Sabaki Bantu split into its constituent languages and from whence the famous exodus southwards took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³³ While one cannot rule out Spear's hypothesis completely, it would seem that a simpler explanation of the Shungwaya traditions might be found if one reconsiders the possible nature of Shungwaya itself.

According to Ehret, the migrants who brought the Shungwaya traditions southwards, besides some of Spear's Sabaki Bantu, could have included some sedentarized ex-pastoralists.³⁴ Their identity is uncertain, but there are two possible candidates. The first are the Southern Cushites, mentioned already, whose former presence on the coast is betrayed in the Southern Cushitic dialect spoken by the Dahalo, as well as by evidence of Southern Cushitic influences in all five of the Sabaki-derived languages themselves (Swahili, Elwana, Pokomo, Miji Kenda and Comorian).

Another group even more likely to have played an important role at Shungwaya were Eastern Cushites who spoke dialects of the greater Somali language ancestral to present day Somali, Rendille, Tunni and Garre (Aweera or 'Boni' being a dialect of Garre).³⁵ Evidence indicates that this language group evolved in or near the Jubba watershed. Sometime in the early first millenium A.D., Somali cattle herders, who appear to have included groups presently called Garre and Tunni, migrated down the river to the Benadir coast and southwards as far as the Tana river. Some of them, being cattle herders, were not economically self-sufficient. According to Cassanelli, such cattle pastoralists tended to live symbiotically alongside cultivators, and when camel pastoralists appeared on the scene many of the cattle herders were forced to make territorial claims to pasture lands and water holes. Eventually, some even settled in villages themselves and took up dryland agriculture.³⁶ By the tenth century, some had settled at Kismayu and around Lamu.³⁷ On evidence given by Idrisi and Ibn Said, by the twelfth century other groups of these semi-sedentarized cattle pastoralists were living in the hinterland of Merka and, most likely, along river banks and the

coast itself.³⁸ Even after the Oromo had become the most powerful force on the mainland in the seventeenth century, pockets of Garre Somali still could be found in the coastal hinterland from the Jubba region to Malindi. They appear, for example, in the contemporary Portuguese documents as the 'Maracatos', an apparent distortion of 'Katwa', a name given them by Swahili-speakers.³⁹ This Somali legacy in coastal history is still apparent in the large number of Aweera/Somali lexical items in northern coastal Bantu, especially among the Bajun.⁴⁰ In conclusion, then, oral traditions of a Katwa Somali migration from Shungwaya and settlement among the Bajun also logically raise the possibility that there could have been a corresponding movement of some sedentarized ex-pastoralists (Bantuized?) southwards into Miji Kenda areas or Mombasa.⁴¹ It would have been this mixed lot of Bantu cultivators and sedentarized ex-Somali pastoralists/cultivators who were responsible for Shungwaya traditions told by Miji Kenda, Bajun, Kilindini, and Jomvu oral historians.'

What then was Shungwaya? It appears not to have been a specific place or town, first of all, but a region itself or a region in which several 'Shungwayas' might have existed. This region, judging by the various locations given for Shungwaya in the traditions, might have stretched from the Jubba/Webi Shabeelle river system, southwards to the Tana river. It included the coast and offshore islands and reached inland for an indefinite distance.⁴³ The date of its origin is open to argument since the region described apparently always has been inhabited. Yet traditionally Shungwaya was destroyed by the seventeenth century when the Oromo forced its inhabitants to emigrate to the south and to the coastal islands.⁴⁴ While traditions exist which say Shungwaya was 'ruled' by a mysterious group called the Kilio, the meaning of 'ruling' (as is the meaning of 'migration'⁴⁵) is probably symbolic of something less formal than suzerainty. Indeed, just as it appears unlikely that Shungwaya was one specific place or town, it seems equally improbable that it was under any single form of government.

If one considers this region as it probable was between about 800 and 1600, particularly if one considers its ecological diversity and the varieties of peoples inhabiting Shungwaya at that time, something slightly different is suggested. In what was basically a dry region bordered by green areas and forests in the river regions and along the coast, a wide range of human types were living often in fairly close proximity to each other and were exploiting this environment in a variety of ways. Each of these groups would have been settled in its own ecological niche, carrying on a mode of production best suited to that environment. One can imagine pastoralists, for example (Cushitic-speakers), occupying drier regions between the green areas, regions more suitable for hunting and herding activities. In among them moved the hunters who lived off the game and traded some ivory. These were the ancestors of the Aweera and Dahalo. Around the rivers and on the coast small communities of Bantu were settled in among some semi-sedentarized cattle pastoralists.⁴⁶ From evidence given in an above section of this paper, these Bantu probably cultivated a variety of cereal crops, including rice. In addition, archaeological evidence recently uncovered at a Tana river site indicates that they were iron workers who made a characteristic type of pottery called Kilwa ware. Besides engaging in cultivating, the association of fish bones with Kilwa ware strongly suggests that these early coastal and riverain Bantu were fishermen.⁴⁷

In this social and physical environment something of a community of shared economic interests evolved, much as is found in other parts of East Africa between hunters, herders and cultivators. The fact that the region is environmentally unstable no doubt contributed to alliances, exchange and even cohabitation among these various peoples as hedges against disaster.⁴⁸ Sedentary cultivators perhaps kept a little stock, for example, and tended that of their pastoralist neighbors in return for manure, much as the Pokomo in the Tana region and the Gosha/Habash of the Webi Shebeele have been observed to do in more recent centuries.⁴⁹ At the same time, the partial dependence of some pastoralists, especially cattle nomads, on sedentary cultivators insured that there was some identify of interests between groups involved in one productive mode or another. Out of these shared interests units of economic self-sufficiency evolved which included both herding and cultivating components. Agreements were worked out where critical watering sites lay in territory held by cultivators. In exchange, the pastoralists guaranteed protection of farmers' croplands from interlopers, and sometimes these agreements appear to have developed into defensive alliances (diyya). 'From there', Cassanelli says, 'it was a short step to ... the exercise of hegemony by one group over another, most commonly by the mobile and militant nomads.' However, if this was what Shungwaya was like, this does not mean that it was 'ruled' outright by pastoralists. For again Cassanelli observes, 'the two sides of any relationship depended ... on the particular needs of a herding or farming unit.' And, 'To characterize the period of Somali migrations as a time when warlike pastoralists overran societies of peaceful cultivators is to misrepresent the situation.'⁵⁰

From available traditions and recent archaeological evidence, it appears that relations between cultivators and pastoralists in the Shungwaya region varied a great deal. By way of illustration, a Jomvu tradition recalls that town dwellers/cultivators ('Shirazi') and the pastoralists (identified as Tunni), while not the same people, were closely related through intermarriage (walivyalikana, 'they bore children together').⁵¹ This is hardly surprising in view of historical evidence from the coast that pastoralists actually settled in the towns from time to time. Stigand and LeRoy, for instance, collected traditions that the first inhabitants of Siyu included Somali and Bajun whom hostile Oromo had driven from (mainland) Dondo.⁵² Cohabitation in 'mixed villages', Lewis has observed, sometimes also was the end point in the socio-economic fusion which often took place (as described previously).⁵³ Recent archaeological discoveries of camel and cattle bones in some of the earliest strata (9th-10th centuries) at Manda and Shanga suggest, indeed, that these earliest known coastal towns were just such 'mixed villages' in origin.⁵⁴

The Bajun have an interesting tradition that, over the centuries, formal pacts were concluded between Bantu cultivators and Katwa Somali which bound them together 'by condition and wealth' (waka-ahidiyana kwa hali na mali).⁵⁵ Likewise, in the seventeenth century, when Pate was becoming a paramount power on the northern coast, traditions from Faza and Siyu say that it was alliances of this sort which allowed them to resist Pate's ambitions with Somali help. In Siyu's case, however, the price of this assistance was the agreement by the ruling Famao clan to share power with their Somali allies.⁵⁶ Twice in the seventeenth century also, Pate, Siyu, Faza, Manda, and Lamu drew upon alliances with Oromo and Somali to resist Portuguese interference in

their affairs.⁵⁷ Thus, where pastoralists and cultivators did not cohabit, client relations (shegaad) and alliances (diyya) seem to have been common.

Where client relations existed, of course, one group was recognized as subordinate to the other. In regions like the Webi Shebeelle where pastoralists clearly had the advantage, cultivators like the Habash were in a dependent position. Along the coast, however, Bantu-speaking agriculturalists were numerically stronger. Thus, the villages and towns of the Bantu (or early Swahili), especially when they were on off-shore islands, had the advantage, and it was pastoralists like the Garre who came to the coastal fringe and islands as clients (shegat).⁵⁸

Whatever the arrangements, occasional attempts by erstwhile client groups to refute them or the arrival of new groups claiming hegemony caused friction and broken ties. One example, provided by recent work on southern Benadir history, of a successful assertion of authority by one ruling clan over a wide area involved the Ajuran confederation. The Garen, the ruling clan, extended its hegemony over various cultivating and herding groups of the Webi Shebeelle region by a skilful combination of jihad, trade linkages and alliances.⁵⁹ One political device they employed is especially noteworthy. The Garen sultans (boqor) claimed the right of ius primae noctis, the right to initiate intercourse with brides-to-be without payment of compensation (meher), a right they appear to have exploited in creating marriage ties and reinforcing their political grasp over all the important clans of the sultanate.⁶⁰ The fact that traditions of similar customs having been practiced in the coastal region of Kenya makes this information striking, indeed. Thus, the Bajun, the Famao clan of Siyu, and the Miji Kenda all tell versions of a tradition of how a pastoralist chief, called Pununu or Ruruna, was killed, often by a youth or jealous bridegroom posing as a woman or by a woman herself, for demanding the right of ius primae noctis.⁶¹ Now, just who the chief Pununu or Ruruna represents is uncertain: does he, for example, specifically represent an Ajuran sultan? Or, in fact, was the practice of ius primae noctis a political device commonly connected with diyya alliances throughout Shungwaya (it is equally significant that all versions of the tradition collected so far come from various scattered peoples who claim to have come 'from' Shungwaya)? In any event, the meaning of the tradition is clear. All of these groups, Bajun, Famao, and Kashur/Miji Kenda, broke with Shungwaya when pastoralists, like the Oromo in the case of the Kashur, attempted to involve them too closely in an alliance or confederation of the Ajuran type which they found to be culturally unacceptable. Thus, these cultivators (including some previously settled pastoralists) 'left' Shungwaya.

Origins of Swahili Civilization

A growing body of evidence indicates, then, that coastal civilization had its origins in Shungwaya. Oral traditions certainly suggest this.⁶² And, despite the presence of pastoralists at Shungwaya, ethnolinguistic analysis previously mentioned establishes the fact that the Swahili language evolved out of Sabaki Bantu (and less so from Cushitic influences).⁶³ Kilwa ware, too, has been found at or near the lowest strata of a number of coastal sites such as Kiunga, Manda, Shanga, Kilwa, Lamu and Bagamoyo, where it appears to have been in use between about A.D. 800 at Shanga and Manda, to about 1150 at Kilwa.⁶⁴ The archaeological work which

has established this connection between a pre-Islamic Shungwaya settlement (indicated by the presence of Kilwa ware) and a later town more recognizably coastal is that which has been done at Shanga by Horton. There the 'intensive conservatism in morphology of the site through time, from pre-Islamic to Islamic or from wood to stone' firmly establishes the connection.⁶⁵ At Shanga, house construction seems to have evolved from the round, mud-and-timber huts commonly found among coastal Bantu into the rectangular coral rag and mud or limestone usually associated with the coast. Also, a timber wall gave way by the tenth century to one made out of porities coral.⁶⁶

From other evidence found at Shanga, it is clear that it remained non-Islamic until at least the late eleventh century. No mosques or Islamic burials were found until those strata were reached.⁶⁷ Village economy involved both cultivating and herding activities. In addition, evidence of fishing activities was found in the earliest levels, and there were indications that by the tenth century this had evolved into a fairly complex maritime society possessing a significant oceanic technology.⁶⁸

Finally, as at the Tana river site, iron working had a prominent part in the technological repertoire of early, pre-Islamic coastal towns associated with Shungwaya. It appears that wherever Kilwa ware is found, iron working took place. A great deal of evidence of iron working has been found by Chittick and Horton at Kilwa, Manda, and Shanga, with several furnaces, in addition, having been found at Shanga.⁶⁹ The proximity of Manda and Shanga, along with the remarkable concentration of later iron working sites around the Mtangawanda (Manda Bay) suggests that the Lamu archipelago might have been at the center of an early trade network extending to neighboring (pastoralist) peoples and the Middle East based on superior Bantu iron technology. A number of factors support this contention. First, there is a Meru tradition that the Mtangawanda was an area where 'blacksmiths gathered', while at Lamu it was said of the autochthonous Wamea 'clan' that, 'Les forgerons se recrutent en grande parti parmi eux'.⁷⁰ As far as the trade goes, Elliott mentions a tradition of Bajun trade in iron to the Somalis who 'were unacquainted with its use'.⁷¹ Lombard, obtaining his information from Biruni, also mentions the East African coast as having been a major source of iron to India and the Persian Gulf region in the eleventh century, while Idrisi and Abu'l-Fida tell how Malindi (Manda?) had become the leading producer of Middle Eastern iron by the twelfth century.⁷²

Shungwaya, then, probable was a region between the Jubba and Tana rivers which included the coast, the offshore islands, and the immediate hinterland. Hunters, pastoralists, and cultivators inhabited this area, much as they do today, in the centuries when coastal civilization began to take shape. Throughout this region various local ties, based on common interests in the land, developed between peoples and villages involved in different economies. In some instances common interests, closer social relations, and sedentarization of pastoralists even resulted in settlement of Bantu and Cushitic-speakers together in what Lewis has called 'mixed villages'. Thus, the earliest levels of coastal settlements like Shanga and Manda indicate that they probably were part of the social and economic region called Shungwaya. It was out of this environment, 'from Shungwaya', that coastal civilization emerged.

Notes

- 1 Ylvisaker points out that deforestation and overworking the land on the Lamu mainland in the nineteenth century probably contributed to soil exhaustion in many areas. There are indications, too, that the entire coast might have enjoyed more rain and higher water tables before the sixteenth century. See M. Ylvisaker, Lamu in the Nineteenth Century: Land, Trade, and Politics, (Boston, 1979), pp. 7 *passim*; and G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The Coast, 1498-1840', in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), History of East Africa, vol. I, (London, 1963), 144.
- 2 Map in A.H.J. Prins, The Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast, (London, 1967).
- 3 J.A.G. Elliott, 'A Visit to the Bajun Islands', Journal of the African Society, 25 (1925-26), 10-22, 147-63, 245-63, 338-58; V. L. Grottanelli, Pescatori dell'Oceano Indiano, (Rome, 1955); C. W. Haywood, 'The Bajun Islands and Birikau', Geographical Journal, 85 (1933), 59-64; M. G. Yevoil, 'Voyage chez les Benadirs, les Somalis et les Bayouns en 1882 et 1883', Le Tour du Monde, 49, 50, & 56 (1885 et suiv.) 385-400, 401-16.
- 4 For a full account of the archipelago, see Ylvisaker, Lamu, 2-7.
- 5 Ibn Battuta in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (ed.), The East African Coast, Select Documents, (London, 1962), 31; 'Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the East Coast, 1517-18', in *ibid.*, 132; 'Father Monclaro: A Journey from Kilwa to Pate in 1569', in *ibid.*, 140.
- 6 I. M. Lewis, Peoples of the Horn of Africa, (London, 1955), 57-59.
- 7 F. G. Dundas, 'Exploration of the Rivers Tana and Jubba', The Scottish Geographical Magazine, IX (1893), 113-26; F. Elliott, 'Jubaland and Its Inhabitants', Geographical Journal, 41 (1913), 554-61; A. Werner, 'Some Notes on the Wapokomo of the Tana Valley', African Affairs, 12 (1912-13), 359-84; Ylvisaker, Lamu, 7-9.
- 8 No evidence of such early fishing activities along the northern coast or rivers has been found yet principally due to lack of investigation. However, evidence of such an association between Wilton industries and fishing has been found at Ishango.
See M. Posnansky, 'The Prehistory of East Africa' in B. A. Ogot (ed.), Zamani (Nairobi, 1973), 64-66; J.E.G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa', *ibid.*, 85-86. Clark's investigations on the eastern coast of Somalia, on the other hand, has shown that fishermen were settled there both before and after the introduction of iron. See J. D. Clark, The Prehistoric Cultures of the Horn of Africa, (Cambridge, 1954), 282-290.
- 9 See C. Ehret, Southern Nilotic History (Evanston, 1971), 39-41; *idem.*, Ethiopians and East Africans (Nairobi, 1974), 7-31; *idem.*, 'Cushites and Highland and Plains Nilotes to A.D. 1800' in Ogot, Zamani, 153-155; Sutton, 'Settlement of East Africa', 86-88.
- 10 Ehret, Ethiopians, 7-8; *idem.*, 'Cushites', 153; Sutton, 'Settlement of East Africa', 86.

- 11 This is attested through loanword evidence found in Ehret, Ethiopans, passim, but especially 30-31. Sutton, in 'The Settlement of East Africa', 86-87, mentions finds of the bones of cattle, sheep and goats, as well as grindstones, pestles, stone bowls and earthenware pots in burial cairns he attributes to Cushites. See also, C. Ehret, 'Cattle Keeping and Milking in Eastern and Southern African History: The Linguistic Evidence', Journal of African History, VIII, 1 (1967), 1-17.
- 12 Personal communication, Christopher Ehret, 28 December 1981.
- 13 Ehret, 'Cushites', 168, idem., Ethiopians, 34.
- 14 See Lewis, Horn, 33 and 95.
- 15 I. M. Lewis, Horn, 71; idem., 'Conformity and Contrast in Somali Islam', in I. M. Lewis (ed.), Islam in Tropical Africa, (London, 1966), 253-67. Concerning the absorption of the Katwa Somali in Bajun culture, one Swahili informant remarked that they came to the coast with camels, cows and goats, millet, sorghum, maize and bullrush millet. They introduced milking of camels and cattle, 'and every person who eats fish is not of their descent.' See 'Kurratil Ayun fi Nisbatil Bajun', in Grottanelli, Pescatori, 367.
- 16 The literature on the Bantu 'migrations' is vast. Representative of this literature, however, is M. Guthrie, 'Some Developments in the Prehistory of the Bantu Languages', J.A.H., III, 2 (1962), 273-82; R. Oliver, 'The Problem of the Bantu Expansion', J.A.H., VII, 3 (1966), 361-76; C. Ehret, et. al., 'Outlining Southern African History: A Re-evaluation, A.D. 100-1500', Ufahamu, III, 1 (1972), 9-27; J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa (Bloomington, 1963); Peter Schmidt, 'A New Look at Interpretations of the Early Iron Age in East Africa', History in Africa, 2 (1975), 127-36; D. W. Phillipson, The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa, (New York, 1978), 102-230.
- 17 R. C. Soper, 'Kwale: An Early Iron Age Site in South-eastern Kenya', Azania, II (1967), 1-17; idem., 'Iron Age Sites in North-eastern Tanzania', Azania, II (1967), 19-36; and idem., 'A General Review of the Early Iron Age in the Southern Half of Africa', Azania, VI (1971), 5-36.
- 18 Phillipson, Later Prehistory, 109-110; H. N. Chittick, 'An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Somali Coast', Azania, IV (1969), 122; G.G.Y. Mgomzulu, 'Recent Archaeological Research and Radiocarbon Dates from Eastern Africa', J.A.H., XXII, 4 (1981), 447.
- 19 Q.v. T.J. Hinnebusch, Prefixes, Sound Changes, and Subgrouping in the Coastal Kenyan Bantu Languages, Ph.D. thesis, U.C.L.A., 1973; idem., 'The Shungwaya Hypothesis: A Linguistic Reappraisal', in J. T. Gallagher (ed.), East African Culture History, (Syracuse, 1976), 1-41; D. Nurse, 'Bantu Migration into East Africa: Linguistic Evidence' in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds), The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History (Berkeley, 1982).

- 20 See T. Hinnebusch, 'The Shungwaya Hypothesis', 24-25. Also, see T. T. Spear, 'Traditional Myths and Linguistic Analysis: Singwaya Revisited', History in Africa, 4 (1977), 229-46, which attempts to reconcile the linguistic evidence with Miji Kenda traditions of origin in Shungwaya. For the record, it should be pointed out that the Sabaki dialect might have been preceded on the coast by speakers of a language closer to Thagicu (Central Highland) Bantu, according to Ehret (personal communication). It is likely that it was these earlier Bantu who were the makers of Kwale ware, while Sabaki speakers might have been the makers of Kilwa ware, as discussed below.
- 21 M. Guthrie, Comparative Bantu, vol. 2 (Farnborough, 1971), 17-20; Derek Nurse, 'A Hypothesis about the Origin of Swahili', unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Swahili Language and Society, S.O.A.S., University of London, 20-22 April 1982, p. 6 and passim.
- 22 P. D. Curtin, et. al., African History, (Boston, 1978), 29.
- 23 The best summary of the Miji Kenda and Pokomo traditions are in T. T. Spear, The Kaya Complex, A History of the Mijikenda Peoples, 1500-1900, (Nairobi, 1978), chap. 2; and idem., 'Traditional Myths', 229-46. Material on the Katwa is found in L. Talbot-Smith, 'Historical Record of Tanaland', Kenya National Archives (hereafter K.N.A.), DC/LAM/3/1, 44; Alice Werner, 'A Swahili History of Pate', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XIV (1915), 157, note 9. For the Kilindini, see C. Guillain, Documents sur l'histoire, la geographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale, vol. III, (Paris, 1852), 240.
- 24 Oral traditions collected at Siyu by Mr Howard Brown, personal communication, 5 May 1982. See also, 'Kurratil Ayun', 371-72; evidence from a Bajun vave in D. Nurse, 'Bajun Historical Linguistics' Kenya Past and Present, 12 (1980), 39; F. W. Isaac, 'History of the Lamu District', unpublished MS in the possession of J. de V. Allen.
- 25 A.v. V.L. Grottanelli, 'A Lost African Metropolis', Afrikanistische Studien, 26 (1955); A.H.J. Prins, 'Sungwaya, die Urheimat de Nordost Bantu', Anthropos, 50 (1955), 273-82; J. Strandes, The Portuguese Period, 204, 206, 207.
- 26 See discussions in previous sources. Also J. H. van Lindschoten, Itinerario Voyage ofter Schovaert van Jan Huygen van Lindschoten naer oost after Portugaels Indien, 1579-1592 (s'Gravenhage, 1910-39), III end, IV end; Blaeu map of 1644 in J. Denuce, L'Afrique au XVI^e siecle et le commerce anversois (Anvers, 1937), 112; O. Dapper, Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikensche Gewesten (Amsterdam, 1668), frontispiece. All these sources are cited in T. T. Spear, 'Traditional Myths and Historians' Myths: Variations on the Singwaya Theme of Mijikenda Origins', History in Africa, 1 (1974), footnote 31.
- 27 Q.v. E. Cerulli, Somalia, scritti vari editi ed inediti, I (Rome, 1957), 254-255; R. F. Burton, 'The Lakes Region of Equatorial Africa', J.R.G.S., XXIX (1859), 51 and 310.

- 28 Guillain, Documents, III, 240, note 1, places it 'a une vingtaine de milles dans le nord-ouest de Patta'; while a number of other early sources similarly placed Shungwaya northwest of Pate, such as J. L. Krapf, Suaheli-English Dictionary (London, 1982), 335; *idem.*, Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa (London, 1860 and 1868), 182; J. Rebmann and J. Erhardt, Petermann's Mittheilungen, II (1856), map 1 and J. Strandes, The Portuguese Period in East Africa, 2nd ed., (Nairobi, 1961), 204. Sacleux, however, placed it 'at the bottom of the Bay of Manda' (i.e. around the Mtangawanda, q.v. text below), in Ch. Sacleux, Grammaire des dialectes Swahilis (Paris, 1909), xiv. Burton simply located Shungwaya on the coast north of Lamu in Zanzibar; City, Island and Coast, I (London, 1872), 410. See also, Cerulli, Somalia, I, 254, note 2.
- 29 H. N. Chittick, 'An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Somali Coast', Azania, IV (1969), 115-130.
- 30 Spear, 'Traditional Myths', 67-84; *idem.*, 'Traditional Myths and Linguistic Analysis: Singwaya Revisted', H.A., 4 (1977), 229-246, especially see the map on p. 246. Regarding the strains this puts on the linguistic evidence, see Hinnebusch, 'The Shungwaya Hypothesis', 25.
- 31 D. Nurse, 'A Hypothesis about the Origin of Swahili', paper presented at the Conference on Swahili Language and Society, S.O.A.S., April 22-24, 1982 (hereafter, C.S.L.S.).
- 32 C. Ehret, personal communication, and T. Hinnebusch, 'the Shungwaya Hypothesis', 22-36.
- 33 Spear, 'Singwaya Revisted', passim.
- 34 Views presented in this paragraph and the following, concerning Southern and Eastern Cushitic linguistic influences on coastal Bantu were obtained from Christopher Ehret, 28 December 1982.
- 35 C. Ehret, personal communication on unpublished results of research undertaken, 1982, on Somali language relations and history.
- 36 Lewis, Horn, 95; Lee Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past: Essays in Southern Somali History', Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973, 9, 10-12; H. C. Fleming, 'Baiso and Rendille: Somali Outliers', Rassegna di studi Etiopici (1964), 83-90.
- 37 Fleming, 'Baiso', 84; and Lewis, Horn, 33, citing M. Colucci, Principi di Diritto Consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana Meridionale (Florence, 1924), 109.
- 38 Quoted in Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 21; and Ali A. Hersi, 'The Arab Factor in Somali History: The Origin and Development of Arab Enterprise and Cultural Influences in the Somali Peninsula', Ph.D. thesis, U.C.L.A., 1977, 102.
- 39 See evidence presented in E. R. Turton, 'Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: A Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area', J.A.H., XVI, 4 (1975), 530-34; J.A.G. Elliott, 'Bajun Islands', 10, 148 and passim; J. Strandes, The Portuguese Period, 187, 298;

- L. Krapf's 'Journal', 18 March 1844, Church Missionary Society records, CA5/016, 265. James Allen has noted how in the past Somali and Oromo could be found in mainland settlements, living in almost every stage of transformation into Swahili. See J. de V. Allen, 'Swahili Culture Reconsidered: Some Historical Implications of the Material Culture of the Northern Kenya Coast in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centures', *Azania*, IX (1974), 128-31; and *idem.*, 'Swahili Culture and the Nature of East Coast Settlement', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14, 2 (1981), 322.
- 40 Personal communication, D. Nurse, July, 1982. Nurse, however, hypothesizes that the Somali influence on northern coastal Swahili came through the Bajun, rather than directly from Shungwaya. Nurse's notion of a relatively low level of Eastern Cushitic/Somali influences on Miji Kenda fits my hypothesis - and Hinnebusch's and Ehret's data - that most Miji Kenda, in fact, did not experience direct contact with Shungwaya.
- 41 Elliott, 'Bajun Islands', 147, 251-52; L. Talbot-Smith, 'Historical Record of Tanaland', KNA DC/LAM/3/1, p. 44; Turton, 'Bantu', 529; Howard Brown on Siyu traditions, personal communication, 5 May 1982. The historical accuracy of these traditions is supported by the fact that almost all Bajun groups have Somali eponyms. See Grottanelli, *Pescatori*, 204-05; A. Werner, 'A Swahili History of Pate', *J.R.A.S.*, XIV (1915), 157, note 9.
- 42 Guillain, *Documents*, III, 237-38. It is also noteworthy that in the Miji Kenda versions, the migration from Shungwaya is associated with the founding of the age-set institution among them. Age-sets, of course, are characteristic of many of the Eastern Cushites and are found among certain southern Somali groups. Thus, the tradition could, again, represent a memory of when peoples having this institution arrived and Miji Kenda-land and introduced it there along with the traditions about Shungwaya origins.
- 43 It is, of course, possible that Shungwaya could have been in the Jubba/Webbi Shebeelle region and then shifted southwards over time. Thus, a series of 'Shungwayas' could have been created along the coast, just as there have been a string of Mungeas or Jundas.
- 44 See the traditions mentioned above, plus archaeological attestation from J. Kirkman, 'Historical Archaeology in Kenya, 1948-56', *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXXVII, 1 and 2 (1957), 16-28; *idem.*, 'Some Conclusions from Archaeological Excavations on the Coast of Kenya, 1948-1966', in H. N. Chittick and R. Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient* (New York, 1975), 226-47.
- 45 See J. Miller, 'Introduction: Listening for the African Past', in J. Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks* (Folkestone, 1980), 24-34 for a discussion of historical cliches, but especially 31-34 for migrations as cliches.
- 46 It should be remembered that the Southern Cushitic economic terms picked up by the Pokomo and the Swahili terms gotten from Somali all relate to cultivating activities and food items - and not herding.

- 47 D. W. Phillipson, 'Some Iron Age Sites in the Lower Tana Valley', Azania, XIV (1979), 155-160; G.G.Y. M Gomezulu, 'Recent Archaeological Research and Radiocarbon Dates from East Africa', J.A.H., XXII, 4 (1981), 447-48.
- 48 For one excellent illustration of how neighboring peoples, occupying contrasting natural environmental zones, establish kinship and exchange networks as hedges against disastrous crop failures, see S. Feierman, The Shambaa Kingdom (Madison, 1974), Chapter 1. On alliance, kinship, and exchange, see C. Meillassoux, 'From Reproduction to Production', Economy and Society, 1 (1972), 93-105; M. Douglas, 'Raffia Cloth Distribution in the Lele Economy', in G. Dalton, Tribal and Peasant Economies (Garden City, 1967), 103-122; and P. Bohannon, 'Some Principles of Exchange and Investment among the Tiv', American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), 40-70.
- 49 For the Gosha, see Lewis, Horn, 18-44 passim, 71-75; Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 85-92. On the Pokomo, see A. Werner, 'Some Notes on the Wapokomo of the Tana Valley', African Affairs, 12 (1912-13), especially 360-61; R.P.A. Le Roy, 'Au Zanguebar Anglais', Les Missions Catholiques, 22 (1890), 496-97, 546-48, 568-73.
- 50 Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 9; also see Lewis, Horn, 95.
- 51 'Usulu wa Wajomvu', in Lambert, Chi-Jomvu, 71-72.
- 52 Le Roy, 'Au Zanguebar', 461; C. H. Stigand, The Land of Zinj, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966), 165.
- 53 Lewis, Horn, 95, 120-21.
- 54 Communications from James de V. Allen, 9 August 1982; and Mark Horton, 22 May and 2 July 1982.
- 55 See 'Kurratil' in Grotanelli, Pescatori, 366 and 367.
- 56 Turton, 'Bantu', 534; Ylvisaker, Lamu, 66; Howard Brown on Siyu traditions, personal communications, 5 May 1982.
- 57 Strandes, Portuguese Period, 186-187, 204. In another incident which took place in 1686, the Portuguese themselves sought assistance. What is especially remarkable in the context of this discussion is that an expedition was to go to Shungwaya to seek allies. There, specifically, it was Somali and Bajun (Wagunya) who were designated for recruitment. Ibid., 203-04.
- 58 Traditions collected by Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 86; and Bajun traditions given in Turton, 'Bantu', 531.
- 59 See Hersi, 'Arab Factor', 134-37; Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 20-35; Lewis, Horn, 47. Just who or what the Ajuran were is not clear. Were they a Hawiya clan, a confederation, or a ruling Arab-Somali aristocracy?
- 60 Cassanelli, 'The Benaadir Past', 31-35.

- 61 For Miji Kenda versions of this tradition, see Spear, The Kaya Complex, 21. Again, I am indebted to Mr Howard Brown (personal communication, 5 May 1982) for the Famao version of this tradition. Talbot-Smith, 'History of Tanaland', and J. Clive, 'Short History of Lamu', in KNA DC/LAM/3/1, both give a version related to them by Bajun historians, while another version gotten from the Bur Gao area is given in Elliott, 'Bajun Islands', 354-55.
- 62 Consult footnotes 25 and 26.
- 63 Hinnebusch, 'The Shungwaya Hypothesis'; personal communication, C. Ehret.
- 64 Momezulu, 'Recent Archaeological Research'. 447; Mark Horton, personal communication, 22 May 1982; H. N. Chittick, Kilwa, An Islamic Trading City of the East African Coast, vol. II (Nairobi, 1974), 320-21, 336-38; and idem., 'Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago', Azania, II (1967), 37-68.
- 65 Personal communication, Mark Horton, 2 July 1982.
- 66 Mark Horton, Shanga 1980, An Interim Report (Cambridge, 1980), section 5.3, and personal communication. Chittick found similar mud and wattle houses in the earliest, pre-Islamic Period Ib layer at Kilwa, but rectangular in shape. See Chittick, Kilwa, I, 235-37.
- 67 At Kilwa, H. N. Chittick found evidence of Islamic habitation datable to about the same time or slightly later. See Chittick, Kilwa, I, 237-39.
- 68 Mark Horton, personal communication, 22 May 1982. Chittick, too, found evidence of a fish diet at Kilwa at about the same time, again; Chittick, Kilwa, I, 235 and 236.
- 69 Chittick, Kilwa, I, 235-36; Mark Horton, personal communication, 22 May and 2 July 1982; Phillipson, Later Prehistory, 155; idem., 'Some Iron Age Sites', 155-59.
- 70 If one accepts Fadiman's hypothesis of coastal origins for the Meru, Meru remembrance of the Mtangawanda as an area, 'where blacksmiths gathered' would be significant in this context. J. Fadiman, 'Early History of the Meru of Kenya', J.A.H., XIV, 1 (1973), 10-11; Sacleux, Dictionnaire, 61.
- 71 Elliott, 'Bajun Islands', 254.
- 72 Abu-l-Rayhān al-Birūnī, Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rifat al-Jawāhir, (ed.) S. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1355/1936-37); M. Lombard, The Golden Age of Islam (New York, 1975), 179; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, East African Coast, Select Documents (London, 1962), 20 and 24. Phillipson, it should be noted, argues that Freeman-Grenville might have mistranslated Malanda as Malindi, when Manda might have been meant. Phillipson, Later Prehistory, 155. Linguistically, this would make some sense since, as Prof. Ehret notes, the intervocalic l has widely been dropped in Swahili. Thus, *Malanda would have become Manda in current Lamu or Bajuni speech.