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About the Author

Sarah K. Croucher is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Archaeology, and Feminist, Gender & Sexuality Studies at Wesleyan University. Her research broadly explores Nineteenth-Century African Diaspora contexts, largely through the study of East Africa. She is interested in questions of identity and power, and theoretical debates in historical archaeology. Her current research is based in Middletown, Connecticut, where she directs a community archaeology project examining the Beman Triangle, a mid-nineteenth-century free African American community associated with the AME Zion Church where she is examining racialized, gendered, and community identities in relation to the neighborhood landscape.

Chapter 1
Introduction

> *Plantation owners…have not left documents telling us what they thought about slavery, and slaves have left few documents at all.*
> (Cooper 1981, p. 271)

> *When you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa, as far as the Lakes, dances Nineteenth-century East African proverb (This proverb is common, and is cited in Craster (1913, p. 127) and Ingrams (1967/[1931], p. 6), among other works)*

Zanzibar, in the nineteenth-century, was a global place. Following a thousand years of previous complex Indian Ocean trading networks, the economy of Zanzibar had shifted to include a much wider array of trading vessels and goods (Sheriff 2010). Expeditions from Zanzibar, such as those of the missionary David Livingstone, and the explorers Sir Richard Burton and Henry Morton Stanley, were famous in Europe and America for lurid tales of adventures through Eastern Africa. The routes traveled by these men were not carved out through an impassable geography. They traveled along well-known caravan routes, accompanied by men and women who frequently traveled these same routes, often making their lifelong livelihood from them (Rockel 2006a). Having come under the control of Oman by the early nineteenth-century, Zanzibar became rich from the profits of the caravan trade in ivory and slaves. Here lies the origin of the proverb, "When you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa… dances." Caravan routes running west from the coast and connecting large areas of Eastern and East Central Africa were connected through the port of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar was not only a growing international trading entrepôt. With wealth from caravan trades flowing in to the islands, many Omani merchants and local elite indigenous Swahili began to invest money in new forms of agricultural production: the plantation. Three main regions of plantation activity developed on the Sp. East African coast during the nineteenth-century: grain plantations near Mombasa and Malindi, in present day Kenya; sugar plantations near Pangani, in present day Tanzania; and clove and coconut plantations on the islands of Zanzibar (Cooper 1977; Glassman 1995). The development of plantation agriculture in this region emerged

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Fig. 1.1 Clove trees on a contemporary plantation

from the particularities of Islamic colonialism in the area, and through global and Indian Ocean large-scale economic networks.

In this book, I examine the archaeology of clove plantations (Fig. 1.1), at once a familiar and unfamiliar topic for historical archaeologists. Familiar in that plantation archaeology has long been a mainstay of the discipline, as has the investigation of global capitalism. Unfamiliar in that this is a study of Eastern Africa, and of islands that were closely linked in to the Middle East. While recent studies have tried to globalize historical archaeology (Baram and Caroll 2002; Falk 1991; Orser 1996), the majority of work remains tied to North America and Europe, with increasing amounts of work in West Africa (DeCorse 2001; Gijanto 2011; Monroe and Ogundiran 2012; Norman 2009a) and South Africa (Hall 2000; Klose and Malan 2000; Schrire 1995). Colonialism, when discussed in reference to African archaeological contexts, usually appears to be axiomatic with European global dominance. In both West Africa and South Africa, the colonial period means simply European colonialism.

While West African historical archaeologists are increasingly turning to consider the internal power structures of West African Kingdoms (Norman 2009b; Monroe 2010), archaeologists working in Eastern Africa tend not to embrace the label of "historical archaeology" as it is used in this volume. The reasons for this draw in part from the fact that historical documentation for the coast goes back over a millennia. Those sites encompassed within "Swahili" archaeology running back to the late first millennium AD are discussed as broadly forming a part of African historical archaeology. The presence of chronicles tied to different towns and travelers account link historical texts and archaeological sites here, making the claim of historical archaeology possible (Reid and Lane 2004a). But the development of specifically historical archaeology—a field tied to periods of European colonialism onward (in this case, after the arrival of the Portuguese at the close of the fifteenth century), has been a smaller field in Eastern Africa. Some early work recorded key sites associated with European colonialism from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, and Omani colonialism of the nineteenth-century (Kirkman 1974; Lane 1993). But until recently, there has been little attempt to examine specific changes relating to later colonial periods—whether these be European or Omani—on the

coast. In this book, I take a comparative framework, placing Eastern African plantation sites from the nineteenth-century alongside those of the Atlantic World. There have been significant doubts voiced as to the utility of such comparison in this field (Schmidt and Walz 2007), and indeed the claims of coherent comparison by historical archaeologists have been challenged in various ways (Funari et al. 1999; Moreland 2001). But, I argue that such comparisons are useful for our understanding of this region, and by using historical archaeology as an intellectual framework for understanding Eastern African plantations, this study also does the work of pushing forward postcolonial perspectives into the field. Through an explicit engagement with the social archaeology of capitalism on plantation sites in this book, I not only analyze the social relations of Zanzibaris, I also explore how these might allow us to more sharply delineate the specific conditions of European rule in other areas of the world. In this way, comparison serves to both consolidate nineteenth-century archaeological comparisons and fragment a totalizing narrative of capitalism and colonialism, as they played out on European-controlled plantations (see also Croucher and Weiss 2011).

Global Historical Archaeology

The study of clove plantations begins to open up key questions as to how archaeologies of Eastern Africa might contribute to the broad field of global historical archaeology. East African plantations were unusual; they were a part of global capitalist formations, in that they produced a commodity (cloves) for a global market. Simultaneously, they emerged from East African and Middle Eastern social and economic contexts. Omani immigrants and East African Swahili elites began to plant crops, and by the mid-nineteenth-century, the Zanzibari landscape was a plantation landscape. The plantation owners were Muslims, not European colonists. However, in the *longue durée* of plantation history (long-term historical structures, going back several hundred years), Muslim plantations in Eastern Africa and European plantations worldwide had the same antecedents. These all began in the Middle East; European plantations drew on the Islamic Mediterranean for the basic forms and technical knowledge of what eventually became sugar plantations in the Caribbean (Curtin 1998, p. 5; Mintz 1985, p. 27). By the eighteenth century, date plantations were established in Oman, drawing on Middle Eastern agricultural innovations, greatly intensifying land use in the area (Mershen 2001).

Studying clove plantations therefore allows us to interrogate the nature of plantations in capitalist periods. In addressing the archaeology of plantations, capitalism has been a central theme; plantations from the seventeenth century onward have been seen to represent the development of capitalist modes of production (Bell 2005; Delle 1998). The extent to which capitalism may be understood to have been fully developed within a plantation system utilizing slave labor has been debated by various scholars, as I discuss later in this book. Powerful arguments have been put forward with regard to the ways in which the landscapes and modes of production,

particularly on sugar plantations in the Caribbean, were imbued with logics of capitalist production (Mintz 1985). Later, as plantations developed, growing a range of crops, including cotton, the driving force of industrial transformations in shaping plantations cannot be ignored (Reidy 1995). On Zanzibar, the situation was a little different. In a classic scheme of capitalist development, merchant capitalism would be understood as the dominant economic structure in place on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. Much of the wealth which allowed plantations to be first developed came directly from a thriving caravan trade in ivory and slaves (Sheriff 1987). Framing the economic basis of Zanzibar's economy in these terms allows for an understanding of a teleological narrative of development: plantations were fundamentally part of an economic formation which always already precedes that of industrial capitalism. Thus, while the very mercantile trade which sustained the Zanzibari economy was driven by demand for goods in industrialized North America and Europe, East Africa is denied coevality vis-à-vis other locations of capitalist production during the nineteenth-century.

Bracketing off nineteenth-century Zanzibar into a developmental stage such as "merchant capitalism" creates problems. The mode of production did not exist in a vacuum. Ivory and gum copal, two of the raw materials traded out of Zanzibar, were in demand for industrially produced goods. Ivory was made into billiard balls and piano keys, and gum copal was turned into varnish for such purposes of finishing railroad carriages (Shayt 1993; Sunseri 2007). Enslaved Africans were sold into the Middle East but were also sold to a growing European market, occasionally sent to the Americas, as well as taken to plantations on the Mascarene Islands and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean (Austen 1988). What did this mean for Zanzibar? Older historical studies which addressed plantations found the economy to be one of merchant capitalism, with client–patron systems still at the heart of much economic activity (Cooper 1977; Sheriff 1987). More recently, historians have become interested in the way that we might view Eastern Africa as more fully participating in global economic networks (Prestholdt 2004, 2008). This approach forces the question of how archaeology might contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the social and economic relations of clove plantations.

Space and landscape have been a central focus of historical archaeologists interested in capitalism. Those who study industrialization have noted the manner in which space is often used to help control laborers in particular ways (Casella 2005; Mrozowski 2006; Shackel 1996). Those in power gained the ability to watch over and supervise laborers, and they were also increasingly able to control the time at and duration for which they were working. This was not simply a matter of efficiency, but a way through which a particular kind of capitalist subjectivity was created (Thompson 1967). Understanding that this was also in operation on plantations in part helps us to understand the way in which the subjectivities of (enslaved) laborers and plantation owners existed within a capitalist formation. Analyzing capitalism also allows us to investigate the reaction of subaltern laborers to the system and their participation in these landscapes of labor. We may see alternative landscapes for workers which highlight their everyday resistance (Beaudry et al. 1991; Orser and Funari 2001). Capitalist landscapes are many and varied, but understanding the

way in which space was utilized on Zanzibari plantations allows for an examination of the underlying economic and social logics of Omani planters. They were not simply in a developmental stage of mercantile capitalism. Clove plantation owners were part of a specific historical context. While far from the industrialized world, Zanzibaris did travel widely, including to Europe and America (Prestholdt 2008). The goods that plantation owners and traders were producing were sold to an international array of merchants. Cloves were regularly sold to Asian markets, but it would be wrong to assume that these areas were in any way less affected by global economic forces than Zanzibar was. A world systems theory approach might place regions in relations of dependency and interconnected webs (Crowell 1997; Wallerstein 1976). But this still leaves us to assume that Zanzibar trails on behind North America and Europe. This far-flung colonial locale is viewed in a modified form of the views taken by British administrators of the late nineteenth-century: Eastern Africa in the nineteenth-century is seen as behind the West in terms of development. This type of geographic imagery plagues the field of historical archaeology. Coeval contexts—those places which exist at the same time, such as Zanzibar and North America in the 1870s—are often not properly recognized as such (Fabian 2002/[1983]). To fully analyze socio-cultural contexts of Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century, a new approach must be taken to the capitalist geographies of nineteenth-century globalization. This should, as the geographer Doreen Massey (2005, p. 83) has pointed out, not assume that globalization is an outward spread from the West across a passive surface of space. Instead, "It is a making of space(s), an active reconfiguration of meeting-up through practices and relations of a multitude of trajectories." Tackling the global connections of capitalism in the nineteenth-century in this way through plantations seems to offer up exciting routes for thinking about the nature of global colonialism and capital. This approach does not assume a linear trajectory of development in which particular stages (merchant, industrial) will be passed through, but instead sees a messier terrain of capitalist formations which draw in different influences into *multiple* formations.

Thinking of plantations in this way raises the fact that landscapes of production are not a given. While one must have trees, and the type of ground needed to grow them, there are many ways in which a clove plantation could be laid out, in which workers could be directed to care for the trees and to harvest cloves, and in which plantation owner's homes could be built. In this study, I address the realm of space and landscape on plantations as an area through which it is possible to examine how economic ideas shaped new forms of subjectivity. Studying European run plantations, archaeologists have been keenly aware of the development of certain forms of capitalist modernity, with specific spatialities of control (Delle 1998; Singleton 2001). There is a generally understood agreement of certain shifts toward a broadly shared capitalist framework on such sites, despite acknowledged regional variation. This makes it seem that capitalism was a relatively straightforward progression, formed within the Atlantic World. By shifting instead into the Indian Ocean and to an Islamic Eastern African context, it becomes possible to question how landscapes of capitalist production might be otherwise, and how we might begin to have a

broader comparative understanding of capitalism during the nineteenth-century on a truly global scale.

The development of capitalist subjectivities and the economic effects of capitalism are also examined by archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians through the consumption of artifacts. In Africa, a number of studies have addressed the complexities of consumption during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, demonstrating the ability of African consumers during this period to carefully choose particular kinds of goods to fit pre-existing, and yet often simultaneously changing, cultural desires (Akyeampong 1996; Burke 1996a, b; Piot 1999). Such studies relate to other works which demonstrate that the types of goods demanded from the sale of enslaved persons in West Africa were not simply random trinkets, but were objects desired because of their existing use in particular cultural contexts (Alpern 1995; Monroe 2007; Ogundiran 2009). These studies force questions to be raised as to the nature of consumption in Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century, particularly in relation to plantation areas. They also allow for a comparison with the development of capitalist subjectivities in Europe and America. Ceramics, for instance, have been argued to be at the heart of individualistic subjectivities formed during the emergence of industrial capitalism (Leone 1999; Shackel 1994). When tied to a metanarrative of spatial and landscape change during particular periods of capitalism, these studies also provide seemingly definitive markers of particular stages of capitalism. Contrasting with such conclusions are the multitude of studies about consumers in a globalizing world, where modernity can be understood in different ways in different contexts, understood as objects traverse the "commodity chain" of production, exchange, and use (Norton 2008; Watson 2006; West 2012). While indigenous consumers of Western ceramics are regularly argued to translate their use into radically different cultural meanings than those intended by makers (Cabak and Loring 2000; Russell 2011), there is less discussion of the manner in which imported and foreign goods could exist in a hybrid form: They could be thoroughly incorporated into a different cultural setting than that of their manufacture, and simultaneously understood to be foreign commodities, to have social effects through the very fact that the objects were global commodities. This type of approach utilizes a biographical or commodity chain approach (Appadurai 1986; Hansen 2000; Thomas 1991). In a biographical or commodity chain approach, commodities are understood as more than just an index of their intended use (e.g., the incorporation of individualistic dining practices), or as a measure of the amount of trade occurring. Approaching them in this way allows for a more complex understanding of the nature of commodity consumption in historical contexts. This approach also draws on a range of studies which have increasingly highlighted the ability of mass-produced commodities to be "domesticated" into local contexts, whilst simultaneously enmeshing consumers into growing global economic networks of which they are often well aware (Prestholdt 2008).

In these comparisons, I am interested in understanding the ways in which globalization occurs in different ways in different places at the same time. Geographers are keenly aware that globalization tends to be discussed as aspatial, lacking an explicit engagement with geographical space (Massey 2005, p. 82). In contemporary

popular and political discussions of modernity, different areas are often understood to be at a different developmental stage. Places such as Zanzibar or other areas in Eastern Africa are denied the same temporal space as the United States or European nations. We commonly hear metaphors thrown around that those far-distant places are "medieval" or similar, suggesting that these spaces exist in a different temporal framework. But all places in the twenty-first century are coeval; that is, they exist within the same framework of temporality. This was also true for the nineteenth-century. The particular trajectory of Zanzibari history explored in this book was shaped by many of the same social and economic forces as was the case in the Atlantic World. Archaeologists, by the very nature of the discipline, understand the importance of spatial connections and disparate geographies in understanding modernity and capitalism. Such connections have, albeit sometimes problematically, been increasingly recognized within the bounds of the Atlantic world (Horning 2011; Johnson 1997, 2006; Richard 2010). But there remains a stubborn problem of fitting wider geographical locations within the same temporal framework as those of clearly linked locations in the Atlantic. This problem could be usefully understood as similar to those identified by Fabian (2002/[1983]) and Trouillot (1991) as they, more than two decades ago, forced cultural anthropologists to consider the temporal frames they create in their work. Fabian's *Time and the Other* was aimed at addressing the fact that within anthropological discourse, while it might appear that ethnographies were written in the "now," a particular kind of distancing in time was going on. In tracing the intellectual roots of such distancing devices, Fabian (2002/[1983], p. 31, emphasis in original) argued that they produced a global result, which he called a "*denial of coevalness*. By that I mean a *persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than that to the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*." The subject of this critique is ethnography; it is different to highlight the fact that non-Western others were placed into the past than it is to explore the way in which different pasts are understood to be coeval when we represent archaeological contexts. I argue that historical archaeology has a lingering and subtle problem whereby non-Western "others" are not considered fully a part of the same field of inquiry. Despite the fact that anthropology may have fully embraced this issue of temporality, it still lurks in the field of historical archaeology (Dawdy 2010, p. 763).

The issue of temporality and the useful possibilities for a wider comparative field of global historical archaeology have been raised recently in critiques of "historical archaeology" as it applies specifically to sub-Saharan Africa. Peter Schmidt's work has been forceful in pushing against the increasing deployment of historical archaeology in African contexts. Critiquing the field of historical archaeology which frames itself as that of the modern world (*sensu* Orser 1996), Schmidt finds the field unable to include the study of African contexts:

> We must come to recognize that the arbitrary idea that only certain forms of historical experience—the modern and the colonial European—fit within the mission of historical archaeology denies historical practice in other cultures and inhibits us from developing a more fulsome, richer understanding of history making at a global level. It is time to break the shackles of such disabling concepts and practice. (Schmidt 2006, p. 5)

These fears have been echoed, and amplified, elsewhere by Schmidt. In particular, he has called for a move away from "the conventional foci on imperialism and colonialism," understanding that "a more international historical archaeology entails a renewed effort to develop perspectives that account for the histories of those without writing and those whose histories have been misrepresented." (Schmidt and Walz 2007, p. 54) These fears are perhaps provoked by the fact that Africanist archaeologists are venturing into recent periods (those within the last few 100 years) with increasing frequency (DeCorse 2001; Hall 2000; Monroe and Ogundiran 2012; Reid and Lane 2004a). Although framed differently from Schmidt's wariness, this shift has been accompanied by anxiety from some, particularly those who examine contexts which do not fall within an "Atlantic World" context. Calling for a multivocal field of enquiry, in which indigenous histories are treated on an equal footing as those of European texts, Reid and Lane (2004b, p. 6) also emphasize the importance of a close engagement between cultural anthropology and historical archaeology in African contexts. As with Schmidt's work, their edited volume *African Historical Archaeologies* (Reid and Lane 2004a), one of the broadest collections in the growing field, does not follow the conventional break between contexts tied in some way to "modernity," including material dating back to the first millennium BC (Edwards 2004) alongside material from Atlantic Africa (Kelly 2004).

The fears that have been expressed with regard to the introduction of historical archaeology—suggesting that there has been no critical reflection on the relevance of the supposedly universal themes of the field in Africanist contexts—are valid. Clearly, historical sources relating to nineteenth-century Eastern Africa are qualitatively different from those of a nineteenth-century plantation in the Caribbean or North America. Documents of plantation owners and accounts by enslaved Africans, as highlighted by Cooper in the opening quotation to this chapter, are almost completely absent.[1] Oral histories become increasingly important in this field, as do ethnographic accounts, for providing details of what may have happened in the past. These must be treated carefully (Lane 2005), but they are a vital part of any African historical archaeology, and are widely utilized within this volume alongside archival sources. This drawing together of different perspectives has become the hallmark of African historical archaeology, perhaps epitomized in the research of Ann Stahl in Ghana, who draws deeply on oral histories alongside documentary historical and archaeological data. As with others concerned with historical archaeology in Africa, she has highlighted the need to sometimes break out of conventional frames of understanding material culture as it travels into novel contexts, emphasizing the agency of Africans (Stahl 2008). She argues that the "fruitful engagement between history, archaeology, and anthropology/sociology" can "shed new light on Africa's past," but that taking up an interdisciplinary approach such as this may sometimes be "fraught with tensions that emerge from distinct epistemologies,

[1] There are some important accounts collected in the early twentieth century, particularly by feminist oral historians, which do provide some first-person accounts (Curtin 1983; Mirza and Strobel 1989; Wright 1993). An important account is also that of Seyyida Salme who, having eloped to Germany, wrote an account of her early life as daughter of the Sultan (Reute 1998/[1886]).

foundational categories, and assumptions about the questions that count." (Stahl 2001, p. 15). Taking the type of broad approach to African historical archaeology as I do in this book, drawing varied historical sources together, does not simply open up sets of exciting connections between different sources, it also brings with it particular methodological issues. Material remains, oral histories, and documentary history—the three forms of evidence I draw from here—all come with their own methodological challenges. But, like Stahl, I think that despite the problems in integrating the three, the end result is a richer interpretation which allows for a more nuanced understanding of the past and the agency of the Africans and others who were responsible for the material remains we address as archaeologists.

The particular concerns of Africanists regarding methodologies and the importance of indigenous epistemologies lie at the root of the fraught relationship between historical archaeology and Africanist archaeology, as discussed above. To address some of these issues, many Africanists engage with postcolonial theory. The desire is for archaeology to have a greater engagement with the multivocality of the past, drawing on indigenous sources where possible and allowing for diverse "ways of telling" (Lane 2011, p. 18). But this should not require a rejection of broader comparative questions. As Stahl (2010) has pointed out, there is a variety of ways in which something we could call a postcolonial historical archaeology might be practiced with regard to African contexts. Given the concerns of Africanists as to the exclusionary Eurocentric dimensions of historical archaeology vis-à-vis African histories, we might consider that the latter may require critical reflection as to why this is so. Such reflection would form a central part of a postcolonial archaeology. As Rizvi (2008, p. 197) has argued, "Postcolonial research is a confession of enduring political inequality; it is a condition that continues until the disparities created by colonialism, often recast into neocolonial frameworks, are deconstructed." The turn I make toward postcolonial theory here recognizes the importance of multivocality, and the often complicit history of archaeology in colonial and neocolonial discourse (Leibman 2008).

Along with shifts in theory and praxis, postcolonial archaeology also requires that we continue to question often taken for granted ideas about the progression of history in the West. The issue of temporality in historical archaeology, in relation to viewing varied contexts as fully coeval, draws upon a postcolonial theoretical critique (Croucher and Weiss 2011). Postcolonial historians have argued that history is a political practice. Ideas in the present can be altered when capitalism is understood to have a broader history than that of the Atlantic world alone, and is seen to include the heterogeneity of the conflicts, contradictions, and ambivalence of colonial history (Prakash 2000, p. 236). The project of postcolonial history, particularly through scholars forming part of the Subaltern Studies Group, has included an attempt to "Provincialize Europe" through making a theoretical move whereby Indian history and that of Europe become coeval (Chakrabarty 2008). Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that this entails understanding that histories of European capital tend to exclude the contributing factors of wider global locations (cf. Goody 2004, 2006; Hobson 2004).

In discussing a historical archaeology of capitalism in Eastern Africa, this study takes up a form of postcolonial critique. Through understanding clove plantations, we can recognize Africans as fully participating in the creation of capitalist formations in particular contexts. Modernity in this sense may become fragmented. This also fits with anthropological work which has taken up the idea of "multiple modernities" as a way to understand the fact that manifold coeval modernities exist: cultural contexts shaped by global forces and simultaneously by long-term local histories and cultures (Eisenstadt 2000; Gaonkar 2001; Piot 1999). By fragmenting our ideas of modernity into multiple iterations, anthropological theory may be more responsive to the analysis of the effects of global connections and forces—such as capitalism—while understanding that these are always understood through and shaped by local cultural forms (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003). This book suggests that perhaps the concept of multiple modernities, or multiple archaeologies of capitalism, might be usefully applied to the field of historical archaeology. In this manner, the push toward "African historical archaeologies" in the plural can be maintained (Reid and Lane 2004a). Alongside a relevance to African contexts, this work should join studies in North America and elsewhere in questioning the ability of current frameworks of classification and interpretation to allow for truly multivocal pasts, which pay attention to the agency of the full range of historical subjects under study (Silliman 2005, 2009; Voss 2008).

As with historical archaeologies of Africa overall, research into later Eastern African archaeological contexts is growing rapidly. As scholars begin to examine sites associated with Kenyan *watoro* (maroons, or self-emancipated slaves) and those associated with the intense caravan trade through Tanzania, connections and differences become readily apparent with the broader field of historical archaeology (Biginagwa 2012a, 2012b; Lane 2010; Marshall 2011). Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century was fundamentally a global place (Prestholdt 2008). This should force archaeologists to immediately have to consider the type of theoretical issues highlighted in relation to later historical periods in which "entanglement" occurs at various levels on a regional through global scale. These complexities require "new theoretical paradigms [that] explicitly articulate local and global processes in relational, non-teleological ways." (Clifford 1997, p. 7) Drawing Eastern African contexts into a conversation with the broader field of historical archaeology potentially offers just such a theoretical lens through which to more fully understand particular historical contexts.

Feminist Archaeology of the African Diaspora

As an archaeological study of plantations, this book also forms part of the broader field of African diaspora archaeology. Plantation archaeology in North America, where most African diaspora archaeology takes place, has long had plantation studies as a mainstay of the field, but recently there has been a move toward the study of free black communities, particularly when the nineteenth-century is being studied

(Leone et al. 2005). Despite this shift, the investigation of the lives of enslaved communities through plantation archaeology continues to be practiced widely; when dealing with communities who often had little or no access to writing about themselves, archaeology has much to offer our historical understanding of those forcibly taken to labor on plantations and elsewhere (Singleton 1985). Common themes of African diaspora archaeology are picked up in this book, include the investigation of how enslaved Africans forged identities within new contexts of enslavement. Local ceramics are particularly important in addressing this question, tying in with the study of locally produced ceramics as a potential locus for understanding African identities in diasporic contexts in the Americas (Ferguson 1992; Hauser 2008).

While there are clear connections to studies on plantations in the Americas, in this book I also throw up challenging questions as to the ability for African diaspora archaeology to expand straightforwardly beyond the Atlantic world. As historians have noted, descendants of those enslaved into an Indian Ocean African diaspora often elide any visible connection to their African heritage (Alpers 1997, 2000). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO) is currently undergoing a large-scale Slave Routes project which attempts to reconnect the descendant communities of enslaved populations (not only those who descend from Africans) worldwide with their heritage, and to promote the heritage of a broader set of histories of enslavement (UNESCO 2006). UNESCO's desire to connect descendent communities with their African heritage is a problem when we turn back to scholarship which points out the complexities of slave heritage—and the rejection of such—in some areas of the Indian Ocean (Alpers 2000; Glassman 2010). As I discuss in later chapters, on Zanzibar, despite the scale of enslavement during the nineteenth-century, almost no one I have spoken to in several years of research has identified themselves as having slave heritage. The reasons for this are complex, and it raises the question of how those enslaved on plantations came to find ways to seemingly assimilate into broader East African Swahili culture.

As a qualifier for the term assimilation, used later in this book; my usage here is not meant in the sense of a "whole-culture assimilation model" where all elements of a "dominant" culture (in this case that of the Swahili coast) are adopted by a subordinate group by a process of acculturation (Armstrong 1998, p. 379). While assimilation and acculturation are important terms when trying to understand the choices of enslaved individuals in Eastern Africa, this does not imply that coastal society during the time of Omani colonialism was not a creolized colonial context (Dawdy 2008). We might think of Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century as a situation where we see clear cultural hybridity; identities were being reproduced anew, through transformation and difference (Hall 1990, p. 235). For example, as discussed in Chap. 2, "Swahili" identity shifted in meaning through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, rapidly claimed by many emancipated slaves, despite seeming to be a stable ethnonym denoting ethnic coastal origins. When recognizing cultural change on plantations with enslaved populations it must also be recognized that power relations are fundamental to understanding cultural change (Singleton 1998, p. 179). Historical studies show that enslaved and formerly enslaved Africans on Zanzibar used material culture such as dress to claim to be fully a part of

"civilized" coastal society (Fair 1998, 2001). I argue that archaeological sources show that this process of claiming coastal identity went beyond dress and public participation in Muslim society; they extended into the everyday (quotidian) practices of households across plantation areas. Food in particular was an important marker of identity. While participating in important public elements of being a civilized Muslim, such as women covering their heads, became an important dimension of an emergent Swahili identity in the late nineteenth-century, being Swahili was also based on more prosaic elements of domestic life.

By turning to domestic life and foodways, this book also takes up feminist approaches toward the archaeology of the African diaspora. Drawing on black feminist theory, several scholars have shown the ways in which women were at the heart of cultural transformations and the building of new identities in enslaved communities (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Franklin 2001; Wilkie 2003). These studies have emphasized the role of women as laborers, and as mothers, cooks, and strong figures at the center of family and community. Similarly, women—as acknowledged by historical studies focusing on aspects such as dress and music—were at the heart of transformations in the East African diaspora. Although Zanzibar was radically different from contexts in the Americas, the importance of domestic transformations underscores the ability of archaeology to provide broader feminist perspectives on the African diaspora and colonial cultures more broadly. The study of gender also goes beyond that only of enslaved Africans. Gender relations were fundamental to the structure of colonial society on plantations, as is shown by the materiality of patriarchal power on plantations and gendered roles across broad cross-sections of society.

To produce a feminist archaeology also goes beyond simply an explicit discussion of women's lives. Of course, this is important, but core tenets of feminist archaeology are to expose presentism, androcentrism, and ethnocentrism, alongside the detection of material traces of gender roles, relations, identities, and ideologies. Although first developed in the 1980s, this basic work of feminist and gender archaeology remains important today (Conkey and Spector 1984; Geller 2009, p. 66). Exposing the importance of gender and sexuality—here I discuss how patriarchal rule on plantations translated into gender norms, for instance, and I attempt to recuperate the important role concubines (*masuria*) had within the social landscape of clove plantations—helps us to see how capitalism does not hold within it a single set of norms in relation to gender and sexuality and this, in turn, will allow for further elucidation of the particular role gender and sexuality played in *varied* plantation systems worldwide. Feminist theory also introduces broader theoretical concerns. As I have written and responded to reviewers, I am reminded of the sometimes uncertainty of my interpretations. I have argued here for the importance of recognizing particular aspects of material lives on plantations—such as potential traces of concubined women, other enslaved women, and female plantation owners—which are difficult to find secure material evidence for. In part, perhaps this uncertainty can be celebrated in a feminist archaeological interpretation, where the recuperation of such lives is acknowledged to be underdetermined, although strengthened through the "tacking" between multiple sources of historical and material evidence

(Gero 2007; Wylie 2002). Following Wilkie and Hayes (2006, p. 252, my emphasis), I take the line that "Feminism is a *political* theoretical position with the stated goals, in the simplest terms, of working toward women's social, economic, and political equality while attempting to understand the societal structures that allow for the perpetuation of white patriarchy." On Zanzibar, the situation as addressed by most historical archaeologists is complicated via the hegemony of Islamic patriarchy. But the goal to address patriarchy in general, and to trace the contours of the power relations of patriarchy, in order to come to understand how such power relations continue to be perpetuated, flows through this book. Thus, while often focused on gender and sexuality, a feminist approach in the sense I refer to here is a broader theoretical framework: a particular way of engaging with data and refusing to ignore subaltern women and men, even when we struggle to represent them through archaeological data.

As mentioned above, the study of slavery on Zanzibar highlights material evidence relating to a large category of enslaved women, those held as concubines. Sexuality has been recognized as an important element in the colonial control (Casella and Voss 2011; McClintock 1995; Voss 2000, 2008). Legal or other frameworks regulating sexual relations have commonly been a means of protecting the reproduction of colonial power. The intersection of power and sexuality can easily be traced through the position of women enslaved as concubines in Eastern Africa. On Zanzibar, these women were the last to be emancipated from slavery; their legal manumission lagged several years behind that of enslaved laborers. They were simultaneously absorbed into elite households (their children were treated as equals to those of freeborn wives), and were held as slaves. A song sung by enslaved women in the Pangani area of Tanzania during the nineteenth-century highlighted this position. They warned,

> A concubine is still a slave,
> Today the concubine is still a slave.
> Do not think about lying on a mattress,
> A concubine is still a slave. (Glassman 1995, p. 90)

Material culture helps demonstrate the complexities of this position (Croucher 2011). Women held as concubines might technically be freed on the birth of a child, and seem to have been offered material comforts. And yet their position remained one of bondage. Here we see the complexities of enslavement on Zanzibar; there was not simply a dichotomy of slave versus free. As I discuss later in this book, slavery existed on a broad scale. While this is most visible in the archaeology of concubinage, it highlights the importance of breaking down a simple slave/free binary in this context, and the intersectionality of slavery, gender, and sexuality. Focusing on the material traces of concubinage also offers one way in which we might begin to enter the difficult field of addressing sexuality and slavery through archaeology.

Overall, the archaeology of enslavement on Zanzibar provides a context radically different to the majority studied by African diaspora archaeologists. Slavery was not structured by race or ethnicity on Zanzibar. Enslaved individuals (although mostly men) were able to rise socially based on their ability to claim full participation in

Muslim coastal culture. Based on these measures, we might think that the context is that of an "open" system of slavery (Watson 1980). But the development of plantations—tying Zanzibar into global capitalism—provided something which was more of a hybrid: not the chattel slavery of the Americas, nor (if such a thing should exist) a purely "African" form of slavery (Cooper 1977). Through examining plantation slavery on nineteenth-century Zanzibar, it becomes possible to complicate the archaeology of the African diaspora, demonstrating the variability of enslavement in different times and places (Miller 2012).

Methodology

This book is based on interpretations of archaeological fieldwork on Zanzibar: the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey (Croucher 2004) and excavations at the plantation site of Mgoli on Pemba. Survey of clove plantations was undertaken through interviewing local residents in four areas of Zanzibar and Pemba (two on each island).[2] This survey (which consisted entirely of surface survey, for logistical reasons) recorded 64 sites in total across the four areas. Some oral histories were also recorded in conjunction with the survey. Excavations were undertaken at Mgoli in 2004. This was a nineteenth-century clove plantation owned by an Arab man called Abdalla bin Jabir. Oral histories testified to the size and importance of this plantation within the area of Piki on Pemba, in which it was located. Artifact analysis used in this book draws from these two studies. Wherever survey sites or artifact analyses are mentioned for Zanzibari plantation sites, the discussion refers to this body of data.

As no other archaeological study of plantation sites has been undertaken so far in Eastern Africa, this data is, in some ways, rather limited. Greater comparisons have been made possible by the recent work of Biginagwa (2012a) examining caravan route sites in Tanzania, Marshall (2011) studying self-emancipated slave sites on the Kenyan coast, and Walz's (2010) broad study of the Pangani region in Tanzania. None of these studies, however, deals directly with plantation contexts. Thus, while they all provide important broader context for nineteenth-century archaeology in the region, they do not directly expand our knowledge of the material record of clove plantations. As this is the case, to some extent, the analysis of archaeological data here may be considered as somewhat tentative. It may also raise important questions for investigation through future fieldwork projects.

[2] Zanzibar is used in several senses; it may refer to the islands that make up the polity of Zanzibar (properly Unguja and Pemba), the southern island of the political unit (also referred to as Unguja), and the capital city of the islands, located on Unguja. Where possible, I have inferred the context (i.e., "the islands of Zanzibar," "the city of Zanzibar") when using the name so as to make the object clear.

In addition to archaeological data, this book draws heavily on oral histories collected in conjunction with fieldwork from 2003 to 2005. These were largely recorded on Pemba, and provide greater depth in understanding social shifts during the nineteenth-century. As none of the interviewees were alive during the period of Omani colonialism and plantation slavery, these are used carefully. They provide interesting windows onto the past, but must also be taken as a product of the present. Certainly, on Zanzibar, the narrative of slavery has been heavily shaped by twentieth-century political debates (Glassman 2010). However, much of the history I draw on here, such as the foods people ate in the past, the way they ate them, how pots were made and traded, and the nature of consumerism, while not disconnected from politics, are not perhaps so directly shaped by contemporary events. Potential issues in interpreting these sources in relation to specific elements, such as women's production of pottery, are discussed later in this book at relevant moments.

Documentary history also forms a large proportion of the evidence used in this book, mostly drawing on the record of British colonial administrators and travelers from the late nineteenth-century. Using colonial archives has many issues, particularly in relation to their potential to re-create colonial images of the past (Schmidt and Walz 2007). But in the imagination of colonial administrators and explorers we also discover "unrealized and improbable plans"—such as the hoped-for full cadastral survey of Zanzibar, discussed in Chap. 3—which express anxieties about colonial futures (Stoler 2002, p. 157). On Zanzibar, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as the British struggled to effectively administer the islands, many of the conversations that are revealed through colonial archives focused on questions of urban planning, control of different groups in particular areas, and the abolition of slavery and future of labor on plantations (Bissell 2011; Myers 2003). A major strength of historical archaeology is the ability to draw these perspectives from colonial authors into critical conversations with material and oral historical evidence; this provides a way to understand how we might see indigenous and subaltern views of the past refracted back through these documents. Such routes may aid us in locating particular forms of resistance, compliance, or many positions in-between to colonial rule—be that Omani or British. This combination of multiple sources is not uncommon for Africanists engaged in the archaeology of later historical periods in Africa (Stahl 2001). It also follows a recent broader trend in historical archaeology toward greater integration of historical sources in line with approaches taken by historical ethnographers (Dawdy 2010). While archaeological data, oral history, or documentary history alone might not provide enough information to understand the colonial social and economic transformations of nineteenth-century Zanzibar, this interdisciplinary conversation allows greater traction to critically engage a diversity of sources so as to interrogate the past. In this combination, I attempt to "tack" between different sources and theoretical arguments (Wylie 1999, 2002), providing a richer interpretation through their integration. It is this holistic approach to a range of sources that I think holds the strongest potential for a thoughtful theoretical contribution to global historical archaeology.

Organization of the Book

As this book is intended in part for an audience who may not be familiar with East African archaeology and history, Chap. 2, "Why Clove Plantations," provides an introduction to these fields. This chapter is intended to also contextualize the social changes taking place on clove plantations. Through the examination of Swahili archaeology, which dates back several hundred years prior to the period of clove plantations, it is possible to better understand cultural change on these plantations as part of the *longue durée* of Eastern African history. Taking this approach, it becomes clear that while the nineteenth-century was an era of rapid social change, foundational aspects of what emerged as Zanzibari culture also drew upon preexisting Swahili norms. Indeed, the very identity of "Swahili," as it emerged by the early twentieth century, made reference back to a perceived earlier cultural identity along the coast. Archaeologists have increasingly begun to grapple with the idea of a singular cultural identity shared along coastal sites, noting that this did not simply extend back through a thousand years; different regions and towns were likely much more fragmented (Fleisher and LaViolette 2007; Fleisher 2010a, b; Wynne-Jones 2006). Nevertheless, an understanding of cultural similitude and a real basis of broadly shared cultural traits was clearly important to nineteenth-century Zanzibaris.

Chapter 2 also introduces the specific historical context of clove plantations. Historians have taken various perspectives in relation to the history of Omani colonialism, nineteenth and early-twentieth-century social change on Zanzibar, and Eastern African plantations. Engaging with historical studies not only provides background but also demonstrates the way in which archaeology can provide a broader understanding of a historical period through the integration of material and historical sources. Moving out from history, this chapter also discusses the development of later archaeologies of Eastern Africa, and the sometimes problematic lack of connection between archaeology and historical studies. Historical archaeology as is increasingly practiced in Eastern Africa seems to offer the potential of integrating between these two fields of studies, making our understanding of the long-term regional history of the area more comprehensive.

Chapter 3, "Plantation Landscapes" discusses the way in which clove plantation landscapes can be understood in relation to the spatialities of capitalism, and of Swahili cultural approaches to landscapes. Drawing largely on historical sources, in this chapter, I discuss the way in which clove plantations were essentially hybrid landscapes. They were far from the capitalist regimes of plantations in the Americas and European-run plantations in the Indian Ocean, yet simultaneously they did not fully fit with the indigenous Swahili conventions of landholdings that may have existed prior to, and concurrently with, clove plantations. Drawing on European colonial documents from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, I demonstrate the manner in which European landscape sensibilities were frustrated by the ways in which land was held and landscapes were understood by Omani plantation owners. This chapter serves to highlight the manner in which space may be involved within a diversity of capitalist formations. It demonstrates the manner in which there may be alternatives to capitalism existing within capitalist regimes of production

(Gibson and Graham 2006/[1996]). The specificity of particular colonial contexts of capitalist production is reinforced through recognizing the presence of such hybrid forms of capitalist production and colonial rule (Dawdy 2008; Hauser 2008).

Continuing on the theme of landscape and space, Chap. 4, "The Archaeology of Slavery," largely employs an analysis of landscape and buildings to analyze the relations of slavery on clove plantations. This chapter also extends the historical introduction to slavery on plantations which was begun in Chap. 2. To examine these landscapes, the analysis turns more strongly to archaeological evidence, drawing from purposive surface survey across both islands of Zanzibar and from more extensive excavation at a single plantation site on Pemba. However, for complex reasons, few sites were identified which were directly associated with slaves, despite the fact that a specific aim of the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey was to locate these. This largely seems to be due to an active process of forgetting, perhaps relating to the distantiation of many Zanzibaris from any acknowledged slave heritage. Owing to these difficulties, in this chapter, I continue to draw heavily on oral and documentary histories through which to understand the landscapes and forms of housing plantation slaves, and the forms of buildings that these took.

What emerges is a picture of seeming assimilation by enslaved laborers to coastal forms of buildings. As plantation owners were often Omani, this seems not to have been mandated by their wishes alone. Comparison to *watoro* settlements shows a similar pattern (Marshall 2011). The fact that enslaved *and* self-emancipated Africans on the East African coast followed Swahili coastal norms in house styles suggests that building houses was part of an active choice on the part of plantation slaves, one which enabled them to show their place as members of Muslim coastal society and, crucially, as civilized (*waungwana*). An Islamic cemetery recorded on the clove plantation survey, associated with plantation slaves, seemed to demonstrate another manner in which enslaved Africans tried to publically demonstrate their conversion to Islam and their place in coastal society. This is not to question the faith behind this conversion, but to suggest that signs of Islamic practice such as this demonstrate the way that those with little social power, and who may have been excluded from worshipping in mosques, were able to materialize their assimilation into the new norms of Zanzibari society. In turn, these shifts may have enabled enslaved plantation laborers—particularly men—to claim a greater status in the client–patron relations which partially characterized plantation slavery on the islands. A final analysis of the historical records of British administrators in relation to emancipation in the late nineteenth-century serves to complicate a simple narrative of assimilation with an aim of integrating directly into a client–patron system. While the vast majority of enslaved Africans on Zanzibar seem to have rapidly converted to Islam, not all stayed within the expected confines of client–patron relations. The colonial issue of "vagrancy"—individuals with no fixed place of labor and residence—demonstrates the agency of many hundreds of individuals to choose new ways in which to live in an era of emancipation.

Remaining in the realm of spatial analysis, Chap. 5, "Plantation Households," tackles the materiality of households, changing the focus to a much smaller scale than the opening analysis of landscape. Largely focused on Mgoli and drawing

extensively on excavation data, this chapter explores a range of issues. The Omani identity of plantation owners is explored through the use of particular architectural forms on plantations. No singular architectural form is found to dominate the forms chosen by plantation owners for their homes, but it is clear that when able to build in stone, Omani planter's houses tended to make clear reference to the architectural features found on buildings in Oman, and to Omani merchants' houses in urban Zanzibar. These links seem to show a desire by at least some plantation owners to materialize an Omani identity, since the many indigenous Swahili neighboring and included in plantation areas continued to build in slightly different architectural styles. Little other material evidence points to plantation owners having worked hard to make clear their ties to Oman through material culture, but this set of evidence seems to show that, unlike enslaved Africans, Omani planters did not simply try to assimilate in to coastal culture.

This chapter also explores the nature of power on plantations. In this, the position of a clove-drying floor running in front of the planter's house at Mgoli is analyzed in relation to other spatial features of Omani and Swahili houses. I argue that the use of clove-drying floors as major features in the most public space of the plantation house was a way for male plantation owners to demonstrate their power in a social structure dominated by paternalistic relations. However, survey evidence that a number of female plantation owners existed during the late nineteenth-century complicates this gendered interpretation of power. Drawing on archaeological and historical evidence, I analyze the way in which such women may have used space in order to participate in paternalistic power structures. Here we see that being a paternalistic plantation owner did not necessarily equate to being a man. Even in a deeply gendered Muslim society, as Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century was, women could still gain positions of power. They could utilize the same kinds of client–patron bonds as was the case for men, and were able to direct plantations. In the absence of excavation at a female plantation owner's site, many questions remain open about the way in which gendered power was negotiated by such women. But the evidence from survey coupled with historical detail provides a compelling account of powerful women during the nineteenth-century.

Included in interpretations of plantation owners' homes is a discussion of the material culture associated with the possible home of a woman enslaved as a concubine. Women such as this were common on plantations such as Mgoli. The *chokaa* (lime mortar) structure of the building provides an insight into the complexities of architectural scaling on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. Following Myers' (1997) discussion of the fact that *uwezo* (power) was understood through the structure house owners were able to construct, it becomes clear that women enslaved as concubines may have held a strange place in the social hierarchy of Zanzibari plantations. As mentioned above, they were very much still enslaved, and yet they also had access to many of the better material conditions of life on clove plantations. The position of these women serves to highlight the fact that society was not simply structured between those who had wealth and power and those who did not. Subject positions in Zanzibari plantation society were understood through the complex intersections of freedom and bondage, gender, sexuality, and religion.

The final two interpretive chapters turn to artifacts. Chapter 6, "Global Goods," examines evidence for imported commodities on clove plantations. This is primarily through archaeological data; drawing heavily on evidence from survey and excavation it examines the way in which jewelry and mass-produced ceramics were consumed by different households across plantations. In taking up this theme, this chapter examines the possibility that Zanzibaris during the nineteenth-century were increasingly enmeshed in "consumerism." This means that social relations and social status was commonly mediated through the use of imported goods which had to be purchased for cash (Prestholdt 2008). Clove plantations, despite their centrality in capitalist production on the islands during the nineteenth-century, had to this point not been examined as a part of the growth of consumerism in Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century. Particularly through following the trajectory of mass-produced European ceramics, it is possible to see that commodity consumption was on the rise; however, it was tempered through the cultural relations of Omani and Swahili plantation owners. Drawing on oral historical evidence, I suggest that mass-produced ceramics were important elements in a form of transitory gift exchange. While they were purchased for cash as commodities, they were important in materializing particular social obligations, such as the proper feeding of houseguests or the feeding of guests at weddings. For poor Zanzibaris, including enslaved plantation laborers, the purchase of these items may have been out of reach, but they could always be borrowed from wealthier neighbors to whom one had connections. This may have been one of the important ways in which client–patron relations continued to exist between rich and poor, during and after abolition. Studies of African systems of slavery have argued that this type of client–patron relation has tended to characterize enslavement on the continent (Watson 1980). While the conditions and expectations of slavery on Zanzibar were shifting during the nineteenth-century, the negotiation of client–patron obligations remained important. The study of mass-produced ceramics is one way through which we can chart the realities of this type of relations on plantations.

This chapter also takes a "commodity chain" approach to mass-produced ceramics. While social relations between plantation owners and enslaved laborers are at the heart of my interpretation, by taking a multi-sited approach to the production and exchange of these objects it is possible to see how they also further our understanding of Zanzibar as a global place. The sale of imported goods on Zanzibar was one route through which an emergent shared Zanzibari identity between indigenous Swahili, enslaved plantation laborers, and plantation owners, came to be understood. The perceived mercantile role of many Indian immigrants to Zanzibar, particularly on Pemba, was used to highlight the understanding that Indians were a group apart from Zanzibaris, a fact also reinforced by perceived differences in the foods Indians ate as compared to other Zanzibaris. While acting as a medium for the construction of difference on Zanzibar, ceramics also acted in complex ways far from their use on plantations. The types of mass-produced ceramics used on Zanzibar were often in rather different forms than that graced the table of European and North American houses. In Britain and the Netherlands, where the majority of these wares were made specifically for export markets, I suggest that the manufacture

of large open bowl forms, often known to be for a foreign culture, helped to solidify a sense of difference in an era of global colonialism. Factory workers could know that the consumers far distant from them, linked through a commodity chain, were somehow different in their daily practices. While this might not have been an openly acknowledged difference, I suggest that it shows the manner in which global commodities played a subtle role in the way in which far distant places came to be known by manufacturers, consumers, and traders. By taking a range of approaches to imported commodities, it becomes clear that these were far more than simply nice objects to be purchased by merchants or planters who had access to wealth. Zanzibari consumers were careful about what they purchased, and once-owned goods might circulate in ways specific to Zanzibari society, reinforcing social rules which were quite different to those of the developing consumer culture of Europe and North America in the nineteenth-century.

Chapter 7, "Pemban People," circles around a topic familiar to Africanists and African diaspora archaeologists, that of locally produced ceramics. Understanding the production of ceramics in relation to identity has been an important research topic for many African archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists (Gosselain 1992, 2000). This work has shown that ceramic manufacture is far more than a static indicator of particular ethnic identities. But the study of locally produced colono wares found on plantations in the Americas has often turned to the potential tie between these low-fired wares and African identities (Ferguson 1992). While the frame of discussing ceramics in the African diaspora is changing (Hauser 2008), I am interested in the contrast between the approach to ceramics in Africa and that of the African diaspora. This suggests, I argue, a framing of locally produced goods as somehow tied to a particular temporal realm, outside of modernity.

Locally produced ceramics on Zanzibari clove plantations provide an interesting study because, despite widespread social change and the arrival of massive numbers of immigrants, the style of these wares remains remarkably stable from the eighteenth century through to the present day. I suggest that this conservatism in production is actually indicative of the manner in which immigrants were able to incorporate themselves into Zanzibari society. Drawing on oral historical evidence to interpret the archaeological data, I discuss the way in which pottery manufacturers, usually women working on a relatively small scale, may have been part of communities of practice. The ability to apprentice immigrant women into the skill of making Zanzibari wares may have been one way in which immigrants made themselves into constituent members of coastal society. As ceramics are also an important part of foodways, I argue that this shift was not only linked to production; the use of these specific coastal forms and designs was also a way in which newcomers were able to signal their cultural incorporation into local norms. Food was central to this transformation, as was discussed by several elderly residents of Pemba interviewed as part of my research.

Overall then, as I discuss in the concluding Chap. 8, we see the way in which Zanzibari clove plantations play out a narrative of local histories of colonialism and capitalist formations. In some ways, this study is particularistic; the findings in this book relate to a specific historical context, quite unlike that studied by the

majority of historical archaeologists. But these specificities cannot be disengaged from the fact that the shifts occurring were also tied in to global networks. Zanzibaris themselves were often aware of such networks, but their power may have been more often felt through the ways in which local practices came into contact with multiple possible ways of doing. Clove plantations came into being only because they could grow for a global market, only because Omani merchants were already on the islands of Zanzibar, and only because there was already a vigorous slave trade in Eastern Africa. The social relations and cultural shifts on these plantations can be understood within larger global shifts in colonial contexts, whereby newly creolized cultural practices came into being. By being simultaneously so rooted in local conditions and so much a part of global connections, the study of clove plantations allows for reflections back on the broader field of historical archaeology. This may help us to more clearly understand the particularities of colonialism and capitalism in many different places, including those more traditionally the subject of study in this field.

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Chapter 2
Why Clove Plantations: East African Archaeology, History, and Anthropology

Clove plantations such as Mgoli—the site on Pemba discussed in detail later in this book—were a typical part of the rural landscape of nineteenth-century Zanzibar. During the eighteenth century, Zanzibar, along with much of the rest of the East African coast, had come under the rule of Oman. It was only from the beginning of the nineteenth-century, however, that Zanzibar became a serious colonial outpost of Oman, with significant numbers of Omani immigrants (mostly men) coming to the islands. Omani colonial interests were largely focused on mercantile profits from the caravan trade, but the beginning of the nineteenth-century saw a shift; mercantile profits became increasingly invested into plantations. On Zanzibar, an accident of geography and history meant that clove plantations came to dominate the islands' agrarian economy. By the close of the nineteenth-century, Zanzibar was one of the world's major suppliers of cloves (Martin 1991).

This last fact hints at the scale of transformation in the agrarian sector of Zanzibar during this period. But this was not simply a shift in terms of what was being grown. Clove plantations are interesting as they were also a root cause of social transformations across much of the islands. They were the institutions through which plantation residents came to understand their lives, through which social positions were often structured, and they were the context of the majority of day-to-day practices of Zanzibaris through the nineteenth-century. Slavery was at the heart of these transformations; agricultural and domestic labor was carried out by enslaved men and women from mainland Eastern and East-Central Africa. Enslaved women were also commonly present as concubines in elite households. As I discuss in greater detail in Chap. 4, the scale of slavery was immense; by the close of the nineteenth-century, enslaved or recently manumitted individuals outnumbered indigenous Swahili and other immigrant populations (even if the line between these groups were not always clear-cut). As several historians have discussed, the large immigrant African population, along with continued labor migration from mainland Africa, came to be decisive in the social and political formation of contemporary Zanzibar (Cooper 1980; Fair 2001; Glassman 2010, 2011). Alongside this massive influx of enslaved Africans lived Omani immigrants (often merchants and plantation owners), Indian immigrants, indigenous Zanzibaris (who I refer to for simplicity as Swahili), and other

S. K. Croucher, *Capitalism and Cloves,*
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immigrants from the Middle East, mostly from the Hadhramaut coast of present-day Yemen (Walker 2008).

While urban Zanzibar was the site for many significant transformations, as has been more commonly explored by historians (e.g., Fair 2001; Prestholdt 2008), plantations were bounded spaces in which large numbers of immigrants came to live with one another under Omani colonial rule, negotiating day-to-day tensions of social difference, slavery, and the development of a new *habitus* for clove plantation residents. I refer here to practice theory and the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1990); *habitus* is the "structuring mechanism" of social actors (Wacquant 1992, p. 18). While *habitus* is a structure of social life—a set of rules (e.g., the obligation to a patron after a gift has been bestowed)—it is learned. Thus, we understand *habitus* to be flexible. It has structure and it has space for creativity. But clove plantations immediately throw up a problematic case for the anthropological study of social structure and small shifts in this brought about by the agency of social actors. There was no established *habitus* for clove plantation residents prior to the nineteenth-century. Omani plantation owners came with a set of rules from their home context, indigenous Swahili residents of Zanzibar had their own established norms, and enslaved Africans would also have come with their own knowledge of diverse social structures.

So what changed for these diverse coastal East African residents during the nineteenth-century? How did new social structures become established, and why did they take particular forms? To understand how existing structures were transformed and how new social norms rapidly became understood by this population, it is important to understand what came before. For archaeologists aware of the importance of the *longue durée,* it is vital to turn first to archaeology so as to understand the cultural context of Zanzibar prior to Omani colonialism. The field of archaeology in the region, particularly as it pertains to the study of the last two millennia, is relatively young, limiting the amount of comparative data available. It is only during the 1950s that the "serious study" of African history and archaeology began (Iliffe 1995, p. 4; Robertshaw 1990). For the study of Swahili archaeology and of Eastern African history, a shift towards postcolonial narratives, beginning in the late 1960s has opened up important directions in the interpretation of the region (Rockel 2006b, p. 231). In archaeological terms, the region has long been focused on the study of "stone towns." These are mostly urban sites, varying in size, with stone architecture. They are found along a relatively narrow East African coastal strip, and on several islands in the Indian Ocean; the region in which these are found is usually glossed as the "Swahili coast," (Fig. 2.1) although recent scholarship has pointed out some of the clear differences between such sites within this region (Fleisher 2010a).

Urbanism

From the earliest European colonial investigations, archaeologists working in Eastern Africa have been fascinated by the ruined stone towns of the coast, easily classifying the Swahili as an urban society. Throughout the twentieth century up until

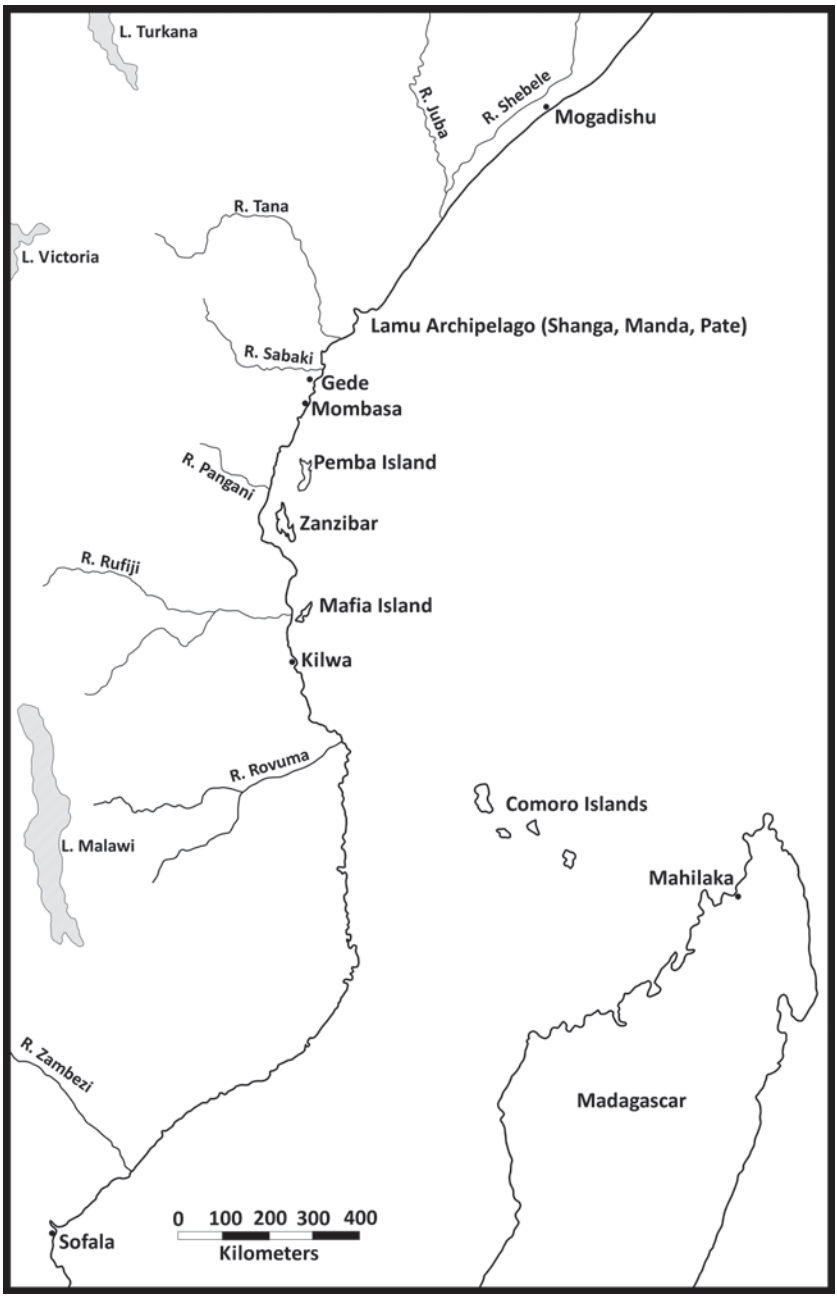

Fig. 2.1 Swahili sites. (After Horton 1996)

the 1980s, archaeological scholarship argued that the urban landscape was a foreign form on the African coast: Arabs, trading in the region, had stayed on the coast and had brought their "civilization" with them. Swahili society in this iteration was fundamentally Arab, often fitting with origin stories of specific Swahili towns and families (Chittick 1974, 1984; Kirkman 1957). During the 1980s, historical, archaeological, and linguistic analysis all shifted in a new direction: Swahili society was argued to have firmly African origins. New scholarship critically examined all historical and material evidence available. Instead of Arab traders arriving and putting down roots on the coast, as had been previously assumed, they now argued that Swahili culture grew out of an African population. Linguistic evidence was a primary tool in this reorientation (Nurse and Spear 1985). The Swahili language was argued to be clearly a Bantu language in structural and lexical form, with extensive loanwords in areas "where Arab influence was strongest (such as jurisprudence, trade, religion, non-indigenous flora, and maritime affairs)" (Spear 2000, p. 259). These linguistic arguments were also carefully weighed up against historical narratives of Swahili towns, which often pointed to origins in the Middle East. These were largely reconciled against a reassessment of the very nature of Swahili society. Allen (1981, p. 330) in an early and important critique of the Arab origins hypothesis presented a convincing argument for scholars to think otherwise of Swahili sites:

> The so-called "stone towns" were mixed stone and mud-and-thatch settlements, which in some cases became quite large towns, founded by indigenous Africans, gradually Islamized with the assistance of immigrants from Asia, but never culturally alienated (in spite of the fact that in many places immigrants managed to install themselves as rulers) before the late eighteenth or nineteenth-centuries.

The interpretation offered by Allen is important. It signals the shift towards understanding Swahili urban (and nonurban) sites as comprising more than just stone buildings. This point, as I discuss below, has framed further research into Swahili sites in important ways. It is also important to highlight that Allen recognized that there was a significant shift during the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries relating to the way in which Swahili towns constructed their identities vis-à-vis the Middle East. He raises the point that the late eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries—the time during which Omanis ruled significant areas of the coast and during which European colonial powers became increasingly involved in the coast—was a period during which Swahili towns became increasingly "culturally alienated" from Africa. The period of clove plantations, then, was also a period in which indigenous Swahili culture was shifting, with Swahili identities (particularly those of elites) becoming increasingly presented as Arab in nature. Such an interpretation goes against the idea that Swahili patrician culture developed through a long-term symbolic and physical delineation from neighboring African societies (e.g., Donley 1982).

Archaeological evidence was in lockstep with the historical and linguistic reevaluation. Excavations at the site of Shanga, located on the Kenyan coast (Fig. 2.1), allowed for interpretations of the African dimensions of Swahili origins and the process of Islamization through specific evidence. The stone town was shown to have developed from early structures of timber, thatch, and earth in the eighth century

AD to later coral rag and mortar houses, the earliest of which dated to the fourteenth century CE (Horton 1996, pp. 235–242). The building tradition of houses was paralleled by that of the earliest mosque sequence. The earliest settlement layers showed no indication of a mosque structure, although there was a central enclosure which Horton suggested was tied to the settlement forms of neighboring African cultures. This interpretation provides some of the strongest evidence for arguments that Swahili towns were first African, with later Muslim immigrants bringing Islam to East African coastal residents. The first mosque building at Shanga was in the central enclosure and was a small wattle-and-daub building, potentially only for foreign visitors. The use of this wattle-and-daub technique, with the structure placed in a location which may have held ritual importance for the indigenous African founders of Shanga, provides a strong argument for the syncretic nature of Islam on the Swahili coast. The mosque was repeatedly rebuilt in the same location, utilizing stone architecture by the fourteenth century, fitting with an overall shift to stone in domestic architecture (Horton 1991, p. 105).

These earliest phases of coastal settlement are found in association with a locally produced ceramic called Tana tradition or triangular-incised ware, which are dated to between 600 and 1000 AD (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2011; Kusimba 1999, p. 35). These ceramics have been another crucial strand in discussing the African cultural basis for Swahili towns. Ever increasing evidence shows the widespread use of Tana wares; they are found on offshore islands and much further inland than the later limits of Swahili settlements (Spear 2000, p. 267). Evidence of iron working is common at Tana sites, and spindle whorls and bead grinders at sites such as Shanga show that a range of nonsubsistence craft production activities were taking place during this early period (Horton 1996). Regular finds of imported ceramics from the Persian Gulf, China, and India are found at Tana sites on the coast, demonstrating the growing importance of trade at these early African town sites (Kusimba 1999, p. 35). Tana forms the final key strand of evidence in arguments for the African origins of Swahili towns. Felix Chami in particular has been vociferous in using these ceramics as the basis for arguing that the later material culture of urban sites developed from African cultural roots (Chami 1998; Chami and Msemwa 1997). It is important to critique ceramics as a singular line of evidence for the ethnic origins of a cultural group (Gosselain 2000). As is discussed in Chap. 7, ceramics on the East African coast have clearly been malleable in terms of their relation to identities. Nevertheless, Tana wares are an important strand in understanding the African roots of Swahili society. While broader sociopolitical shifts encouraged nineteenth-century Swahili elites to demonstrate stronger ties with the Arab world, the first millennium AD saw the emergence of broadly shared roots of Swahili society from African cultural origins.

In the early second millennium AD, urban sites on the coast flourished (Kusimba 1999, p. 38). As mentioned previously, around the fourteenth century AD stone architecture really began to become more common. On the northern Zanzibari island of Pemba (Fig. 2.1), one of the only areas for which systematic survey work has been undertaken, urbanism is really seen to take hold in the period post-dating 1050 AD (Fleisher 2010b, p. 274). We now know that stone towns developed

sequentially from wattle-and-daub structures, but during the second millennium AD, many elegant stone houses and mosques were constructed in towns around the Swahili region (Garlake 1966; Horton 1996). Ceramics shifted from the more broadly shared Tana tradition during this period. Although archaeologists understand diversification to exist across the regions of the Swahili coast (e.g., ceramics in Shanga are not precisely the same as those in Kilwa), it is difficult to understand these changes owing to a lack of comparability between assemblages (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2011, p. 248). On the Zanzibari island of Pemba, the eleventh century AD saw the production of "finely crafted large bowls burnished with red hematite … larger than bowls in previous centuries, and fancier in their decoration" (Fleisher 2010a, p. 207). Fleisher argues that these bowls were important in feasting rituals, a vital part of the cementing of power in growing urban centers. In some areas, styles are found to be specific to particular centers, such as Husuni-modeled ware, found at the site of Kilwa between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Wynne-Jones 2006, p. 337).

As East African coastal sites became more recognizably the urban society which archaeologists originally found so intriguing, production of goods such as iron, textiles and ceramics continued; sites such as Vumba Kuu on the Kenyan coast show evidence for large-scale production (Wynne-Jones 2010). But imported goods are also a key component of assemblages from this period. Evidence points to the fact that, at least in some areas, imported goods were largely restricted to stone towns (Wynne-Jones 2006). Imported ceramic vessels clearly played an important role in Swahili urban culture, often displayed in wall niches and cemented into the exterior and interior walls of mosques and tombs (Donley-Reid 1990; Garlake 1966). These ceramics may also have been linked to the ritual power of feasting, as urban elites began to develop new structures of power (Fleisher 2010a). This importance of feasting—and the tie between imported ceramics and feasting—may be one thread we can see continuing on in some form into the era of clove plantations.

Despite the increasingly sophisticated understanding of the use of material culture at some Swahili sites, the remnants of wattle-and-daub village sections of towns and villages—the "hidden majority" of Swahili culture—have only recently come under serious investigation (Fleisher and LaViolette 1999). Current understandings of archaeological data suggest rural settlement patterns were not homogenous across the Swahili coastal region. Some areas showed shrinking numbers of rural sites as towns grew more prominent, while villages remained relatively stable in other areas. For instance, village sites seem to be distributed equally through time in the Kilwa region even as the town became one of the most important on the coast (Fleisher 2010b; Wynne-Jones 2006, 2007).

Key points to draw out from this brief depiction of early Eastern African Swahili archaeology and history is that by the dawn of the fifteenth century—the advent of Portuguese incursions on the coast—there was a flourishing urban culture stretching along the Swahili coast. However, this was by no means homogenous; different forms of material culture in use (such as local ceramic types) may signal regionally or town-specific practices, and different settlement patterns in locations such as

Pemba Island and the Kilwa region signify also that this "urban civilization" was differentiated. Archaeological and historical scholarship has tended to put forward a singular narrative for all Swahili sites, but increasingly fine-grained studies show that this conclusion does not hold true (Fleisher 2010b). During the nineteenth-century, the time of clove plantations, European colonial administrators viewed the region as relatively homogenous. Taking up archaeological data, we can see that, going back in time, this gloss of "Swahili" culture actually overlay a more varied set of local practices and potential identities. This is important in considering the way in which the nineteenth-century—even as immigrants flooded to the coast—may have been a period in which larger identities of an imagined community of coastal "Swahili" came into existence. In addition, understanding Swahili origins also matters for understanding the long-term cosmopolitanism of the coast. Early coastal sites were largely populated by Africans, but were also sites where international trade took place. At early sites such as Ras Hafun in Somalia, pre-Islamic imported Partho-Sassanian wares from the Gulf attest to very early trade relations, and these were clearly continued on in the mercantile focus of many towns (Sinclair 1991, p. 181). The archaeology of Swahili urbanism can also be viewed in a metaphor of a mosaic. While coastal sites had clear trajectories of development focused on Indian Ocean trade networks, these sites were also producing goods, consuming produce grown locally, and trading with inland communities. A consideration of the African roots of Swahili culture must take account of its "mosaic quality…in which foragers interacted with agriculturalists, peripatetic herders passed through the courts of kings, and so-called tribal societies formed on the margins of complex polities" (Stahl 2004, p. 147). The archaeology of Swahili urbanism pushes away from seeing the cultural context in which plantations came to exist as that of homogenous Swahili culture running up and down the East African coast, but also reminds us that the kind of international connections and immigration of the nineteenth-century, while clearly intensified, were by no means novel for the region.

Early Colonialism

Moving on from the mid-second millennium AD moves this brief survey of Eastern African coastal history into the period of colonialism. This shift means that I can now talk of the archaeology of Swahili sites fitting neatly with umbrella definitions of historical archaeology which cite European colonialism as a key comparative area for the field (Deetz 1991; Orser 1996). Early Swahili settlement appears in documents such as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* and Swahili archaeology can be argued to be part of historical archaeology inasmuch as it has documents such as the *Periplus* and various town-centered chronicles attesting to early settlements (Fleisher 2004). However, documentary history certainly shifts as one enters the sixteenth century. I do not wish to spend time writing about when precisely the coast might be considered to become comparable with other areas falling under the purview of "historical archaeology of the modern world" (Orser 1996). As I outlined in the introduction, the nineteenth-century sits securely within global comparative

analytical frameworks of historical archaeology. But something important happens in terms of scholarship when one reaches the period of Portuguese connections with Eastern Africa.

A clear break in Swahili history is generally assumed to have occurred with the voyage of Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. This voyage included several brief calls at Swahili towns, including a brief one-day visit to Zanzibar (Gray 1962, p. 30). Contact was more sustained from da Gama's second voyage in 1502. Sailing with a much larger force, Portuguese colonial rule was formally established on the coast. However, it would be wrong to assume that this was a sudden force for change in the lives of most Swahili coastal residents. Few Portuguese lived on the Swahili coast—the main Portuguese area of control was centered south of Cape Delgado where they were interested in the gold trade from inland areas (Alpers 1975, p. 40). At more northerly sites, from Kilwa up to Mogadishu, there were probably never more than a thousand Portuguese, all men, at any one time (Lofchie 1965, p. 28). This small force was concentrated mostly in Kilwa and Mombasa, and their role was limited to "occasional collection of tribute" (Sheriff 1987, p. 16). Hardly a radical break with previous patterns of life, although clearly there were shifts in the main centers of power and realignments of trade during this period.

Mombasa and Kilwa saw the only significant building projects for housing Portuguese garrisons, with Fort Jesus at Mombasa completed in 1593 (Gray 1962, p. 41). Kilwa remained one of the more prominent ports of the coast, frequented by a number of European traders from the sixteenth century onwards, with a thriving slave trade to the French in the eighteenth century (Allen 2008b). Outside of these two main ports there was little activity, although the Portuguese did build a small trading settlement on Zanzibar by 1591 (Bennett 1978, p. 9; Gray 1962, p. 39). A chapel was built at this site sometime between 1590 and 1610, and this was later incorporated into the Omani fort which still stands near the seafront in Zanzibar Stone Town today (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 13).

Due to the increase in commerce, the traditional Ibadi (the austere denomination of Islam followed by most Omanis) rule of Oman through an elected Imamate began to change, with an increase in secular power focused on wealth from customs revenues (Pouwels 1987, p. 125). By 1650, the Portuguese had lost control of their fort at Muscat to Omani forces (Alpers 1975, p. 62; Cunha 2009, p. 214). The then ruling Ya'rubi clan of Oman also held a navy by 1650, causing problems with Portuguese shipping routes and beginning "raids" along the East African coast (Cunha 2009, p. 213; Sheriff 1987, p. 17). In 1696, the Omanis laid siege to Fort Jesus in Mombasa, partly at the request of the town. Their success in removing the Portuguese from this East African stronghold was to result in increased Omani powers across the Swahili region.

This shift set the scene for the growth of Omani power on Zanzibar. These islands eventually became the seat of Omani power on the East African coast. Prior to the eighteenth century, while there had been a small Portuguese trading settlement on Zanzibar, no settlement on these islands matched the scale of cities such as Kilwa. Larger towns such as Chwaka on Pemba did not have the kind of widespread stone architecture and grandeur of some of the more prominent precolonial cities on the coast (LaViolette and Fleisher 2009). Each island was, prior to the

nineteenth-century, under the separate control of local indigenous rulers such as the *Mwinye Mkuu* (this translates literally as "the great ruler") on Zanzibar (Middleton 1992, p. 42). Under indigenous rulers such as the *Mwinyi Mkuu,* Zanzibaris had fluttering alliances with the Portuguese and Omanis throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The attraction of the southern island of Unguja to the Portuguese and Omanis was always its good sheltered ports, whereas Pemba was important as a regional agricultural producer, serving as Mombasa's "bread basket" (Sheriff 1987, pp. 26–27). As political power shifted to the Bu'saidi clan of Oman, Zanzibar became an increasingly strategic port, offering a good harbor between the important cities of Kilwa and Mombasa. An Omani governor of Zanzibar was established alongside the indigenous ruler of Unguja in 1744, and 400 Omani merchants were reported to be present at Zanzibar by 1754 (Alpers 1975, p. 131; Sheriff 1987, p. 26). In 1828 Said bin Sultan made the first visit of a ruler of Oman to the East African coast. His visits to Zanzibar became increasingly frequent, and by the 1840s the port city of Zanzibar had become the main residence of the Omani sultan (Bennett 1978, pp. 21, 44). By contrast, final Omani control of Pemba was established only in 1823 and was always concentrated on the importance of the agrarian potential of the island (Sheriff 1987, p. 30). Politically, Omani power waned in the later nineteenth-century as the British increasingly intervened in Zanzibar's affairs, particularly from the succession dispute in the mid-nineteenth-century which split Oman and Zanzibar once more. The two states were divided politically in 1856, after which time a division of the Omani sultanate continued to rule Zanzibar, and migration continued between the two countries (Middleton 1992, p. 47; Pearson 1998; Sheriff 1987, p. 214).

One of the key impacts of Omani political control was their dual combination of merchant capitalism and austere Ibadi religious values. While their merchant capitalist role, in a world that was rapidly changing to industrialized capitalism, can be viewed as "anachronistic" (Pearson 1998, p. 162), it is also clear that their power was embedded in control of trade for monetary gain and an awareness of their place in global markets. This solidified over the nineteenth-century, a time during which some of the sultan's advisers were sea captains, and he apparently requested translations of newspapers from the U.S. (Pouwels 1987, p. 127). These actions highlight the cosmopolitan and worldly aspects of Omani rule on Zanzibar. Set against this was the manner in which Omani rule increased "traditional" values of Islam, deeply affecting areas such as women's role in society (Askew 1999). Omanis followed the Ibadi denomination of Islam, tied in to a culturally distinct world of the Gulf, differing from the Sunni denomination followed on the East African coast (Potter 2009, p. 5; Pouwels 1987, p. 101). Omani Islam has been argued to be a denomination focused on literate practices, whereas East African coastal Muslims practiced a syncretic form of Sunni Islam, sometimes drawing on "African" practices. These two forms of Islamic practice were joined in the nineteenth-century by competing religious ideologies of Sufi Islam, where participants included women and those of lower social status, and whose worship included dance, drums, and the use of the Swahili language (Fair 2001, p. 19; Glassman 1995, p. 93; Lienhardt 1959; Martin 1969; Prins 1961, p. 114). Social impacts of colonialism were thus embroiled in

tensions between the increasingly secular power of capitalist values and the growth of a range of Islamic traditions, some leaning towards conservatism and largely focused around male-only mosques (especially the for Omani Ibadis) and some more open to local spiritual practices, including incorporating spirit-possession rituals.

Omani colonial rule ostensibly remained in place until the mid-twentieth century, when Britain granted Zanzibar's independence. It has been argued that most of the period of Omani rule in Zanzibar was guided by the politics of Britain, since Oman was increasingly reliant on Britain to protect their shipping interests in the Gulf, beginning of the nineteenth-century, laying the foundations of a subjugative relationship between the states (Sheriff 1987, p. 5). Throughout the nineteenth-century, British political interests grew, and anti-slave trade treaties were signed in 1828, 1873, and 1876. In 1890, Zanzibar formally agreed to become a British protectorate. In 1896, British naval forces directly intervened in the succession of the sultanate; this seemingly signaled the end of Omani rule "proper" and the sultanate was gradually pushed out of having an independent voice in the ruling of the islands (Pouwels 1987, pp. 163, 165). It is a tightly bracketed period, certainly ending by the late nineteenth-century, in which we see the true control of the islands of Zanzibar by Omani colonial rule; even during this period, in some political matters Europeans were increasingly vocal, such as the succession dispute between Majid bin Said and Thuwaini bin Said. It is crucial to bear in mind that, for the majority of Zanzibaris, the nineteenth-century was a period in which they felt the direct impact of Omani rather than British rule. It is these cultural influences that we must pay attention to, while still considering the political hand of Britain in Zanzibari affairs. British interests are important when we consider Zanzibar as a location of global capitalism. But colonialism here was complicated. In terms of the social effects of rule, Omani governance was crucial during the nineteenth-century, but the British push towards such major shifts as the ending of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery were also important in the nature of social relations on plantations.

The Caravan Trade, Arabs Move Inland

Plantations were secondary to the economic importance of the caravan trade in Eastern Africa, with Zanzibar serving as a major entrepôt for the sale of ivory, slaves, and (in smaller quantities) copal and other goods. Wealth generated in the form of tax revenues from the sale of caravan trade goods through Zanzibar was the economic basis upon which the Omani Zanzibar Sultanate was based (Sheriff 1987). During the eighteenth century, Kilwa had continued to be a significant port of trade, with inland caravan routes running from the southwest area towards Lake Nyasa, supplying slaves and ivory (Alpers 1975; Iliffe 1979, p. 40). Demand for enslaved Africans increased with the establishment of French plantations on the Mascarene Islands, fueling trade from East African ports (Allen 2008a). But by the mid-nineteenth-century, trade routes had shifted further north. The central caravan route, which ran through to Ujiji on the shores of Lake Tanganyika (see Fig. 2.2),

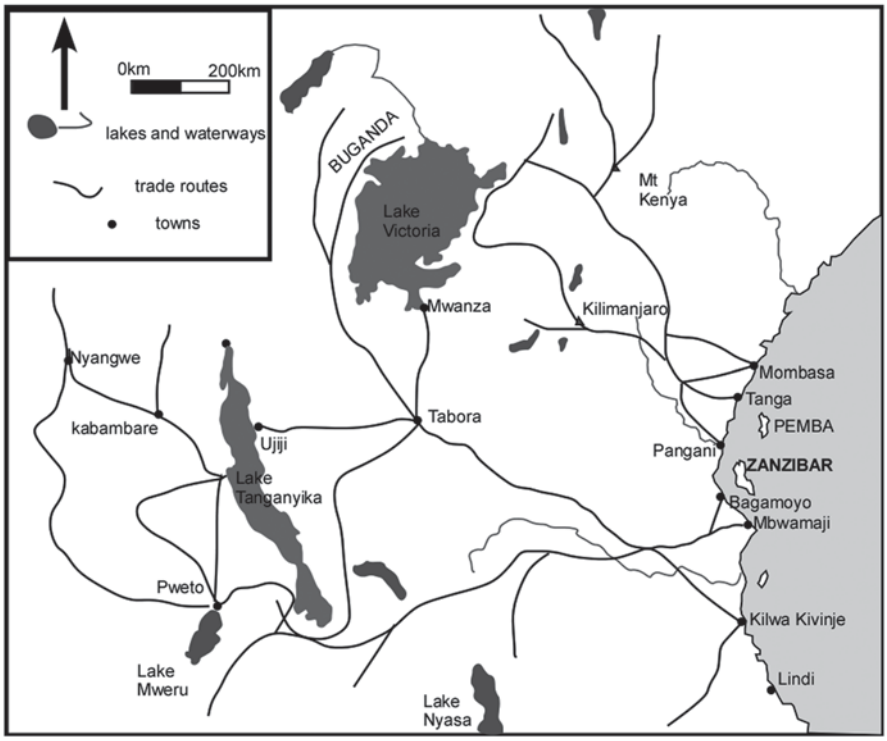

Fig. 2.2 Major caravan trade routes. (After Sheriff 1987)

was well established by the time European explorers such as Speke and Burton traversed these same journeys in the 1850s (Sheriff 1987, p. 183). In part, because of these histories, the majority of in-depth historical studies have focused on these central routes (e.g., Rockel 1995, 2000, 2006b).

Ivory was the primary commodity of interest for merchant vessels calling at Zanzibar. In industrializing nations, ivory was in demand for combs, billiard balls, piano keys, and other trinkets. Gum copal, another commodity on sale at Zanzibar, was manufactured into varnish, increasingly used on railway carriages from the mid-nineteenth-century (Sunseri 2007). While colonialism was dominated by European powers, in trade terms, the U.S. was also of importance, with ships from New England commonly calling at the port of Zanzibar (Prestholdt 2008, p. 72). These trade links between the U.S. and Zanzibar gained official recognition in the first formal agreement between the Omani Sultanate and a Western nation, taking the form of a commercial treaty between the two nations in 1831 (Sheriff 1987, p. 93). These American ships commonly traded *merikani,* a cheap calico cloth manufactured in New England, guns, and beads, as is discussed in greater detail in Chap. 6. But this trade was not just global; Indian Ocean networks and markets continued to be of vital importance. American demand for ivory supplemented a long-standing Indian

market (Alpers 1975, p. 234). As late as 1940, a significant number of dhows were still sailing to Zanzibar from Oman, India, and Somalia. Their cargoes included dates, dried fish, spices, textiles, livestock, and ghee (clarified butter), all staples of Zanzibari culture embedded in Indian Ocean cultural realms (Sheriff 2010, p. 176). Merchant capitalism on Zanzibar in the nineteenth-century was involved in multiple scales of trading which included mass markets of the industrialized world alongside smaller regional markets. In this commerce, Zanzibaris were savvy players; caravan routes were not able to keep up with global demand for ivory, and the resultant rising prices bought a diverse range of goods for East African consumers (Prestholdt 2008; Sheriff 1987, p. 103).

The movement of people along caravan routes, whether through involuntary enslavement or voluntary labor migration, spurred a wide range of new cultural practices, promoting shared ties between previously distinct cultural groups and connecting coastal society culturally with peoples as far inland as the Congo. Ethnic groups such as the Manyema and Nyamwezi have persuasively been argued to, in part, have come into existence through the new social terrain of the caravan trade routes (McCurdy 2006; Rockel 2000, 2006b). Contextualizing the social shifts occurring on clove plantations in this manner reminds us that for those enslaved individuals who were newly arrived on Zanzibar, life back "home" was potentially anything but stable. Forging new identities was a common practice for many in Eastern Africa throughout the nineteenth-century.

Throughout East Africa, with the development of the caravan trade, "Arab" identities also take on an interesting fluid quality. I discuss plantation owners, such as Abdalla bin Jabir, as "Arab." On Zanzibar, this regularly connoted a specific kinship tie to the Middle East, most often Oman. Abdalla bin Jabir, the plantation owner at Mgoli, for instance, is said to have come from Mombasa and to have been a Sunni Muslim (Croucher 2006, p. 407). Local leaders in areas connected to the coast regularly drew on aspects of Arab identities to present themselves as powerful figures (Glassman 1995). Such identities were obvious to European travelers, since they clashed with their expectations of African leaders. Charles New, traveling through the Usambara region in the late nineteenth-century (located to the northwest of Tanga), wrote of meeting a local chief, Samboja. In part, Samboja's authority seemed to have gained authority through his retinue of followers, described as "about 300 of the wildest looking fellows I ever saw; every man armed with a flint musket, and most with a sword of some sort" (New 1875, p. 416). Samboja, however, also utilized visible Arab characteristics, presumably in an attempt to present himself as a powerful man in this local East African context. He was, "in appearance and dress an Arab: with white kanzu, black surtout braided over the shoulder with tinsel, coloured girdle and turban, sword and dagger mounted in silver, an oblong case of silver like a large snuff box, and stuffed with charms at his breast" (New 1875, p. 416). This adoption of Arab style to present oneself as *being* Arab fits with later shifts in the nature of Arab and Swahili identities on Zanzibar (Eastman 1971; Fair 2001, p. 85). Arab identities were not, however, the only route to power. Willis (1992, p. 197) has suggested that during the mid-nineteenth-century, as the Kilindi kingdom (based in Vuga) declined in its ability to protect people,

individuals instead "sought security and protection through membership of smaller, more local groups." As people within the region sought to become members of these local groups, identification in "clans" named after individuals took precedence over ethnic identification. Thus, identities were formed at this local "clan" level, while political power revolved around access to firearms and other symbols of authority gained through trading networks with the Indian Ocean coast.

Understanding Arab identities in nineteenth-century Eastern Africa, including clove plantation areas, is therefore complex. Identity was understood through routinized norms, but was also signified through the semiotic power of material culture to allow people to truly become someone else. Identity was comprised of instrumental and unconscious elements. Eastern Africa identities in the nineteenth-century were in flux. Ethnicities such as Manyema (McCurdy 2006), Nyamwezi (Rockel 2006a, 2009), Arab, and Swahili (Glassman 2000) were mutable. However, this did not mean that they could simply be switched from one day to another, and subjects were constrained in the shifts that they could make. Freed slaves in the twentieth century found that there were limits on the manner in which they could shift their identities (Fair 2001). As I discuss in greater detail later in this book, terms such as "Arab" did not connote a fixed racialized identity based on phenotype, but they were related to the actions, practices, and appearance (through dress), of subjects, which were, in turn, constrained by social position. We must also recognize that these were meaningful identities to those who inhabited them. Identity was surely an active discursive field in a context where so many thousands of forced and voluntary immigrants were moving to new areas, but this does not mean that we should treat the practices of identities undertaken by subjects in a glib manner, or assume that these were not understood as real phenomena by individuals who came to *be* Arab, Manyema, Nyamwezi, and Swahili.

Clove Plantations

How then did clove plantations come about? If mercantilism was the primary economic basis of the rise of Omani colonialism on the islands of Zanzibar, why did plantations come to dominate the agrarian economy? The answer is complex. Plantation agriculture on Zanzibar developed directly out of the elite merchant capitalist society of Omani elites, well aware of the market value of mono-crop agriculture. Originally, the clove tree grew only in the Moluccas, part of present-day Indonesia (Martin 1991, p. 450). Within Indian Ocean and Chinese trading networks, cloves had long been a valued commodity, even known in the Roman Empire, where the spice was imported via Egypt (Crofton 1936, p. 6). The establishment of clove trees on Zanzibar was another result of the fermenting colonial-commercial world of the Indian Ocean. The route of transferring the trees from the Moluccas came via the Mascarene Islands, where they had been transplanted by the French, who had obtained seedlings in 1770 to plant on Mauritius. Following on from this, there were attempts to grow clove trees at other French colonies, and by the British at Penang,

Malaysia (Bennett 1978, p. 24; Martin 1991, p. 450). The income to be gained from the cultivation of this spice, echoing earlier motivations for initial European colonization of the Indian Ocean, was clearly well worth the speculation. A large and expansive global market awaited the introduction of these trees, based in the Indian Ocean, but with sizeable portions outside of the region. By the 1920s, when clove growing was well established on Zanzibar, almost half of the annual crop was exported to India, with the remainder shipped to Britain, other European countries, and the U.S. (Martin 1991, p. 452).

The first clove trees planted on Unguja reflect the cosmopolitan nature of agricultural experimentation in the Indian Ocean during the early nineteenth-century. Saleh bin Haramil al Arabay, an Omani born in 1770, is the key figure in this story. He had visited French colonies in the Indian Ocean as a young man, later becoming an interpreter for the sultan, and utilizing his French connections to obtain the first clove seeds and seedlings which he planted in the 1810s (Sheriff 1987, p. 50). One British visitor to the islands just 50 years after the date Sheriff suggested for al Arabay's introduction of the trees suggested that cloves "were introduced about 30 years ago from Mauritius" (Rigby 1861, p. 22). While not confirming directly the route, this fits broadly with the idea that the trees came via European colonial networks within the Indian Ocean. While European networks helped to propagate the movement of crops, Islamic knowledge of intensive cultivation also promoted other plantation forms around the Indian Ocean, including coffee seedlings grown by the Dutch in Java (Topik and Clarence-Smith 2003, p. 5).

Agriculture in which a single crop was grown by a large enslaved workforce was not a foreign idea to the Omani sultanate, since irrigated date palm plantations had been another strand of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wealth of Oman (Sheriff 1987, p. 35, 2010, p. 183). Thus, the idea of clove plantations may have been a natural one for Omani immigrants. Al Arabay's plantations were eventually confiscated by the sultan of Zanzibar, cementing their place as an agricultural crop of the highest elite of Zanzibari colonial society (Sheriff 1987, p. 50). These also formed a part of Said's experimentation with other forms of plantation agriculture, including sugar, coffee, and nutmeg (Pouwels 1987, p. 104). Interest in plantations was not only limited to the sultan; many Eastern African residents, Omani and Swahili alike, began to develop plantation schemes. From the 1870s, sugar plantations were established in Tanzania along the River Pangani, requiring a much harsher system of labor than cloves (Glassman 1995, p. 101). Further north, grain plantations were established around Mombasa and Malindi (Cooper 1977). Despite these being pockets of plantation agriculture, it is obvious that the idea of large-scale plantations with enslaved laborers was easily and widely accepted within Swahili colonial coastal culture.

Although not requiring the same backbreaking labor as was the case on sugar plantations, clove trees still required fairly intensive labor, which was carried out almost entirely by enslaved laborers on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century (slave labor is discussed in greater detail in Chap. 4). In comparison to the Moluccas, where the clove tree originated, the islands of Zanzibar have a slightly lower rainfall. To compensate for this, nineteenth-century plantations relied on labor-intensive

techniques such as watering to care for young trees. Regular weeding and keeping the area between trees clear of other crops was another crucial step in maintaining the trees (Martin 1991, pp. 456–457). Plantations, therefore, required regular labor for tending the trees between harvests, during which time enslaved laborers worked for approximately five days a week to attend to planting and weeding (Middleton and Campbell 1965, p. 33). Harvesting the cloves, which occurred twice a year in August and December, was heavily labor intensive (Bennett 1978, p. 28). Buds had to be picked before they flower, meaning that each tree had to be picked several times to ensure a full harvest, and care had to be taken that delicate branches were not broken, requiring the use of ladders and skilled pickers (Cooper 1980, p. 156; Martin 1991, p. 457). Following their harvest, prior to sale, the fresh buds of the clove tree are laid out to dry, usually on mats, before the desiccated cloves are sent to market. This drying process—laying out the cloves each day and gathering them up again—is another vital element of labor for successful clove growing and harvesting. The requirements of enslaved laborers on clove plantations were not as harsh as those in other plantation regimens. Rest time was allowed, and this included, outside of the picking season, a day free for personal cultivation and another for prayer (Cooper 1977, p. 159). The worth of enslaved labor was also raised by merit of the degree of skill required in the picking season.

Cloves quickly spread across the two islands of Zanzibar, supplanting other crops to such a degree that a "mania" for planting described by one visitor in the 1840s (Sheriff 2001, p. 66). Pemba, although it is the better island of the two for clove growing, did not outstrip Zanzibar in production volume until a hurricane of 1872 wiped out much of the Zanzibar crop and further stimulated plantation growth on Pemba (Sheriff 1987, pp. 51, 64). Documentary history is unclear as to the nature of land acquisition by Omanis as they developed plantations and the precise ethnic makeup of planter society. A sketch can be drawn from a (problematic) 1922 British survey of plantations, by which point 3 million trees had been planted. On Zanzibar, 69 percent of trees were owned by Arabs, 33 percent by Africans, and 8 percent by Indians. Figures were similar for Pemba, where 46 percent of trees were owned by Arabs, 46 percent by Africans, and 8 percent by Indians (Martin 1991, p. 452). Historical scholarship, discussed further below, has demonstrated the problems with British classifications of identities (Glassman 2000). If we assume that plantations owned by Indians consisted of foreclosures, we can figure that at least half of plantations on Pemba were owned by Arabs, and a greater proportion on Zanzibar were owned by the same. Indigenous African plantation owners (likely Swahili elites) appear to have had a more equitable share of landholdings on Pemba, although this is still only equal, at best, to the holdings of those identified as "Arab" (likely Omani immigrants or their immediate descendants). As mentioned above, plantations owned by Indians in the early twentieth century likely reflected foreclosed mortgages, and the emancipation of slaves in the early twentieth century may also have shifted the manner in which trees were owned (Cooper 1977, p. 58). As these data were recorded in 1922, it is safe to assume—due to the high rate of Indians foreclosing on mortgages from the beginning of the twentieth century—that there were higher numbers of Arab and Swahili (indigenous African) plantation owners

on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. Historical data also give us glimpses into the scale of these plantations: Despite the fact that plantations tended to be divided between siblings upon inheritance, thus creating ever smaller landholdings, by the late 1940s, there were still some plantations consisting of over 10,000 trees, testifying to the massive scale of some nineteenth-century plantations. Today, with shifts following the 1964 revolution, a smaller pattern of landholding is seen, since many of the larger plantations were redistributed in smaller plots by the revolutionary government (Martin 1991, p. 452).

Slavery

The plantation system, as of those for most capitalist economies in the modern world, existed because of the availability of coerced labor: primarily enslaved Africans from the mainland. Slavery was not novel in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Eastern Africa, although archaeologists and historians have struggled to place any firm date on the origins of slavery in the region (Alexander 2001). The lack of an archaeology of slavery (until very recently) is surprising, given its scale. Many hundreds of thousands of Africans, if not more, were forcibly taken as slaves through East African ports in the past 500 years. Although projects such as that of UNESCO examining slave routes are promoting greater awareness and study of slavery in the region, scholarship of the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean remains an incipient field of scholarship, aptly described as "one of the most neglected aspects of the global diaspora of African peoples" (Alpers 2000, p. 84). I summarize key historical points for understanding Eastern African slavery as an introduction here, but this topic is examined in greater detail and in relation to archaeological evidence in Chap. 4.

Taking persons as slaves, often as social dependents, was a widespread practice within many African societies, with established rules governing the practice for Muslims (Cooper 1979, 1981; Fisher 2001; Fisher and Fisher 1970). Revolts by enslaved Africans in southern Iraq are known from history as early as the eighth century AD, so the nineteenth-century slave trade was certainly building on long established patterns, albeit on a totally different scale. Portuguese traders never seem to have lacked in their ability to buy enslaved Africans from East African settlements. The trade in slaves grew substantially at Kilwa through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with increasing demands from the French in particular for plantation slaves, and with a smaller proportion of enslaved Africans also being sold southwards to South Africa and into the Atlantic world (Allen 2008a; Alpers 1975, pp. 95, 186). From the seventeenth century, there was an increasing demand for slave labor in the Gulf for domestic labor, dhow sailors, soldiers, pearl divers, and to work on Omani date plantations (Sheriff 1987, p. 35, 1988; 2009, p. 183).

Major studies of slavery within African societies (Campbell 2004; Miers and Kopytoff 1977; Lovejoy 1983) have tended to stress the importance of slaves as an alternative form of wealth; "wealth in people" rather than in land being the route to power (Miers and Kopytoff 1977; cf. Guyer 1993, 2004). Within Omani colonial

society, enslaved followers were certainly important for personal status, with domestic laborers and women enslaved as concubines providing part of the social prestige of elite households (Cooper 1977, 1979; Sheriff 1987). Plantation agriculture, however, was a major impetus for a shift from enslaved Africans forming part of Swahili society as social dependents to them becoming viewed instead as productive labor, albeit in a "mutually reinforcing relationship" with continuing ideas of the importance of personal followers (Cooper 1977, pp. 159, 6). In contrast to models of buying persons as social dependents who would work but could also become an integral part of one's household, persons bought from the clove plantation boom onwards were largely to be a part of an agrarian labor force, or were young girls and women bought as concubines (Cooper 1981). Contestation over the social place of enslaved laborers appears to have been a major disruptive force in nineteenth-century coastal society, with elites attempting to apply their view of persons being seen as analogous to chattel slaves, while also being tied to older obligations of client–patron relations between the enslaved and their owners (Glassman 1995). The changing social role of enslaved Africans on plantations, and the manner in which they were identified and came to identify themselves within Zanzibari society, is a major theme that I primarily return to in Chap. 4, but it is also important for the interpretations presented throughout the remainder of this book.

Outside of social history, major questions also revolve around the volume of the slave trade. Due to a paucity of documentary records, it has proved impossible to produce a fully quantified history of the slave trade in the Indian Ocean, although the picture is certainly clearer for the nineteenth-century than that of earlier periods (Clarence-Smith 1989, p. 1; Sheriff 1987, p. 33). Major studies of the southern trade through Kilwa by Alpers (1975) and the trade through Zanzibar by Sheriff (1987; 1988), along with the careful work of Cooper (1977; 1979; 1981) more broadly on plantation slavery on the coast, have provided the framework for understanding basic facts about the slave trade and plantation slavery. All of these studies show that the trade grew throughout the nineteenth-century, subject to changes in demands which were often charted through the gradual push for anti-slave trading treaties from the British and the cessation of the use of slave labor by other European colonists. In the early nineteenth-century, the annual trade from the East African coast, largely through Kilwa, has been estimated at between 6,000 and 13,000 individuals (Alpers 1975, p. 192; Sheriff 1987, p. 60). Drawing on figures from Zanzibar as the trade shifted northwards, it is thought that these numbers rose to between 14,000 and 15,000 in the 1850s to a peak of 20,000 in the 1860s (Sheriff 1987, p. 60). By the mid-nineteenth-century, many of those bought and sold on the coast were being utilized for plantation labor (Cooper 1977). Customs house records suggest that around 10,000 individuals were being retained annually on Zanzibar and Pemba during the 1840s (Sheriff 1987, p. 61). Other estimates are vague (further discussion is provided in Chap. 4), but suggest that around two-thirds of Zanzibar's total population of about 300,000 were enslaved Africans (Bennett 1978, p. 28). This would not be surprising, given the 10,000 per year figure.

The areas from which persons were enslaved matched closely with the caravan routes running inland (see Fig. 2.2). Prior to the nineteenth-century expansion of

trade, most of those enslaved were bought along southerly routes, and once the central route through Tanzania was established, people were taken from a wide range of societies across East-Central Africa, and ethnic origins included groups in eastern and southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, Malawi, and as far afield as Zambia and Congo (Sheriff 1988, p. 144). Some direct recollections of Africans freed from Arab vessels by British anti-slavers as early as 1869 record origins as Yao, Nyasa, Ngingo, and Nyamwezi, although these European records of ethnonyms must always be treated with caution (Alpers 2000, p. 88). As the nineteenth-century progressed and guns became more widely available, major upheavals occurred across Eastern Africa. This meant that some individuals were passed through multiple hands before being sold on the coast into a permanent state of enslavement (see narratives in Wright 1993).

From this historical study, the size, diversity, and shifting social relations of enslavement are clear; these are key points for my later archaeological analysis. Within clove plantation areas, enslaved Africans (laborers, domestic workers, and concubines) formed the majority of the population. They were drawn from a variety of communities across Eastern Africa and therefore were unlikely to share a common language or cultural background (Cooper 1977, p. 218). Their position within Zanzibari society was also changing. Many of those in the sultan's household remained in older roles such as soldiers and domestic workers, and enslaved workers in urban centers could also exercise a great degree of autonomy at times (Cooper 1977; Reute 1998/[1886]). Even as plantation regimes pushed enslaved laborers towards a position analogous with chattel slavery, there would still have been a wider awareness of the presence and importance of older models of social dependents, as these were still common within Zanzibari society. These factors immediately alert us to the fact that slavery on Zanzibari plantations was quite different to that on plantations in the Americas and Asia which were run by Europeans on the basis of racialized slavery.

Immigration

It should now be clear from the history of nineteenth-century Zanzibar that the islands were part of a region experiencing major immigration. The majority of this was from the involuntary settlement of tens of thousands of enslaved mainland Africans, but many thousands of other immigrants also swelled the East African population from around the Indian Ocean world. Along with the indigenous Swahili, these all contributed to a diverse and cosmopolitan society. Omani immigrants were drawn to the East African coast initially to trade, settling at the port of Zanzibar and other trading towns, and traveling inland on caravan routes. The possibility of establishing clove plantations acted as further stimuli for this trend in immigration (Sheriff 1987, p. 54). By the 1840s, 5,000 Omanis, mostly men, were estimated to have emigrated to Unguja alone (Burton 1872a, p. 368; Fair 2001, p. 13). When the significance of clove plantations as a draw to Pemba post-1840 is taken into

account, it is safe to assume that Omanis would have formed the largest voluntary immigrant group to the islands. Their presence was most concentrated at plantations and in the city of Zanzibar.

Indian relations with the East African coast have been demonstrated from archaeological evidence to exist since at least the eleventh century CE, and documentary history records an Indian presence on the coast from the sixteenth century (Horton 2004, pp. 66–67). The Indian population of the nineteenth-century was not a new stream of migration therefore, but a continuation and intensification of long-standing relations. Indian immigrants were deeply entrenched in trade, and the roots of their interests in capitalist trade relations date back to an eighteenth-century Indian presence at Mozambique (Alpers 1975, pp. 127, 148). Around 1819, the Indian firm of Jairam Sewji was given control over the customs house of Zanzibar, demonstrating the central role of Indians in the economic sphere. Although by 1840 some Indians owned land outside of the city limits of Zanzibar, mostly they formed part of the merchant society of urban centers along the coast (Sheriff 1987, pp. 86–87). By the 1820s, 3,000 Indians were estimated to have migrated to Zanzibar, with numbers rising slowly but continuously through the nineteenth-century (Fair 2001, p. 13).

A final minority of immigrants came from the Hadhramaut coast of Southern Yemen and from the Comoro Islands. Both groups tended to be fairly poor, and assisted in the transfer of Sufi Islamic ideas to the coast (Pouwels 1987, p. 112). Their numbers were smaller than the Omani and Indian immigrant groups, but they still contributed to the overall diversity of Zanzibari colonial society.

Swahili, Arab, and African Identities

I want to return now to the earlier discussion of archaeological approaches to the East African coast. Here, it seemed that by the fifteenth century there was a clear Swahili culture, shared around a geographic area stretching from Somalia down to Mozambique running along the coast and shared by many residents of offshore islands. To archaeologists, the basic factors of this identity seem clear: widely shared material culture in the form of architecture, ceramics, and means of life (although, as discussed above, the homogeneity of this identity is increasingly critiqued). This is coupled with historical linguistics to provide the basis of an assumed cultural–linguistic unit stretching back well over a thousand years. Archaeologists have rarely troubled themselves with the problems of contemporary issues surrounding Swahili identities, since largely, as I shall discuss below, the colonial period is assumed, on the basis of little evidence, to have provided a break with some of the politics of the past, while still providing a direct link to some cultural continuities of practice.

Recent problems of Swahili identities really begin under European colonial rule. The first Europeans were quick to label coastal residents as Arabs, while recognizing a supposed racial mixture between Arab and African origins on the coast (Mazrui and Shariff 1994, Chap. 1). Archaeologically, we know that Africans provided the foundations for the Swahili communities whom the Portuguese met on the coast.

But Europeans, drawing on Orientalist and racist ideologies, could only view the "civilized" Islamic stone towns as originating from Arab cultural origins. These ideas were strengthened as the British began to increasingly intervene in East Africa, seeking to solidify tribal boundaries in their policy of indirect rule (Vail 1989; Willis 1993).

Being Swahili was a category that proved somewhat perplexing for many European commentators. It was apparent that the self-definition of Swahili (or "Shirazi," another term denoting a coastal identity) was situational (as was discussed in relation to "Arab" identities, above). Those who had been enslaved and bought to the coast from the mainland were commonly defining themselves as Swahili by the early twentieth century (Beech 1916; Fair 2001, p. 29). In so doing, they were drawing on their status as having adopted the Swahili language, Islamic religious practice, and other coastal cultural elements such as dress. These are factors that Cooper (1977, p. 219) cites as key in no "slave subculture" forming on nineteenth-century Zanzibar. Instead, it seemed that there were routes available for ex-slaves to integrate themselves into preexisting coastal frameworks of identity. The other ethnonyms available for the majority of coastal residents by the early twentieth century was those of "Arab" or "African." Arabs were those who could trace their lineage back to Oman, or other regions such as the Comoro Islands or the Hadhramaut. This was not a racial category, but relied on a conception of ancestry along with cultural practices (Glassman 2000, p. 403). Africans were those whose recent ancestry and lack of coastal culture cast them out as uncivilized (*washenzi*) in the eyes of coastal communities.

Studies by linguists (Eastman 1971), historians (Fair 2001; Glassman 2000), and anthropologists (Arens 1975; Caplan 2003) have done nothing if not sketch out the deeply situational nature of Swahili identity. Writing in 1971, Eastman seemed to confuse herself, along with her readers, as she tried to find out just what the categories were for those who carried the Swahili ethnonym. All of those she interviewed seemed to offer multiple definitions, with subtle gradations and variations of residence and parental descent (Eastman 1971, pp. 232–234). During the nineteenth-century, it was certainly possible to change from, say, African to Swahili, or Swahili to Arab, but this was largely achieved through ties of kinship in some manner. Most of these were through the paternal line. Children of relationships between enslaved women taken as concubines and their masters were considered entirely free and equal to those of free wives, and so by birth many children of enslaved mothers were understood to be Arab (Cooper 1977, p. 198). The ability of high-ranking men to marry African women, but their dislike of allowing their daughters to marry African men, became a deep point of contention in the racial politics of Zanzibar in the mid-twentieth century (Glassman 2000, p. 419).

In the performance of identities, material culture was far more important than any somatic feature. Dress, housing, and symbolic items associated with Islam were all used on the coast and inland to signal Arab or Swahili identities by different individuals and groups. Many scholars have stressed such instrumentalist factors when discussing colonial East Africa, suggesting that, particularly on Zanzibar, racial and

clearly divided ethnic identities were of social import *only* under British colonial rule (Fair 2001). But recently, some scholars have attempted to understand the way in which East African communities understood the historicity of identities and manipulated these in new formulations. It has been argued that some recent studies of Swahili and Arab identities in East Africa may have adopted too narrow an instrumentalist view leading, in turn, to "neglecting local agency, [and] overlooking the complex ways that traditions and identities are reconstructed from earlier historical artifacts, and denying the very historicity that gives ethnicity its raw social and political power" (Spear 2000, p. 284). Glassman (2004, p. 426) discusses the racial politics leading up to the 1964 revolution on Zanzibar and qualified the influence of colonial discourse in the development of racial thought on the islands as "but one of many influences, some of which must be traced to pre-[British] colonial cultural and intellectual history: the concept of barbarism and civilization, for example, existed on the coast and in Swahili, before Europeans ever arrived." In a study of Bondei identities in late nineteenth-century Tanzania, not far from Zanzibar, Willis (1992) also highlights the manner in which Africans themselves, not just British rulers, could, and did, manipulate particular group identities which were imbued with specific histories, to suit situational requirements.

Parsing together a history of identities on Zanzibar is shot through with complexity. The indigenous Swahili, while sharing broad cultural practices, may have utilized more localized conceptions of group identity, such as the Wapemba on Pemba, and the Wahadimu and Watumbatu groups on Unguja (Prins 1961, p. 8). Continually swelling their ranks were immigrants with a wide range of identities. Many were Arab, and others could aspire to be so through practice and social ties. Swahili residents of the islands may have made this shift. Others were from Africa, but came to *be* Swahili, later distinguishing themselves from other, more recent, African immigrants. Such a situation clearly requires more dynamic thinking about the relationship between stylistic trends and identities than has, until quite recently, been the case for earlier periods of Swahili archaeology (Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006). It is also vital to realize that identities were in flux during the nineteenth-century. As colonial rulers (both Omani and British) established power through various routes, the identity one claimed mattered. This was not simply about a label; it was about the ability to signify a place recognized as "civilized" (such as those who used a Swahili ethnonym to demonstrate their full participation in Islamic culture), as other than a recently arrived slave, and to form part of new social networks. These latter were a vital conduit for individuals to develop strong social ties with other immigrants to the islands of Zanzibar. As I discuss in later chapters, while the terms Swahili and Shirazi have been important in studying how people were identifying themselves within colonial regimes, we can also view these shifts through the lens of becoming Zanzibari. That is, becoming tied to social networks on these islands which tied individuals up in the webs of commensality they required to get by on a day-to-day basis. This was not simply about ethnonym; ethnicity related more to the way individuals dressed, the houses they lived in, the religion they followed, and the food they ate.

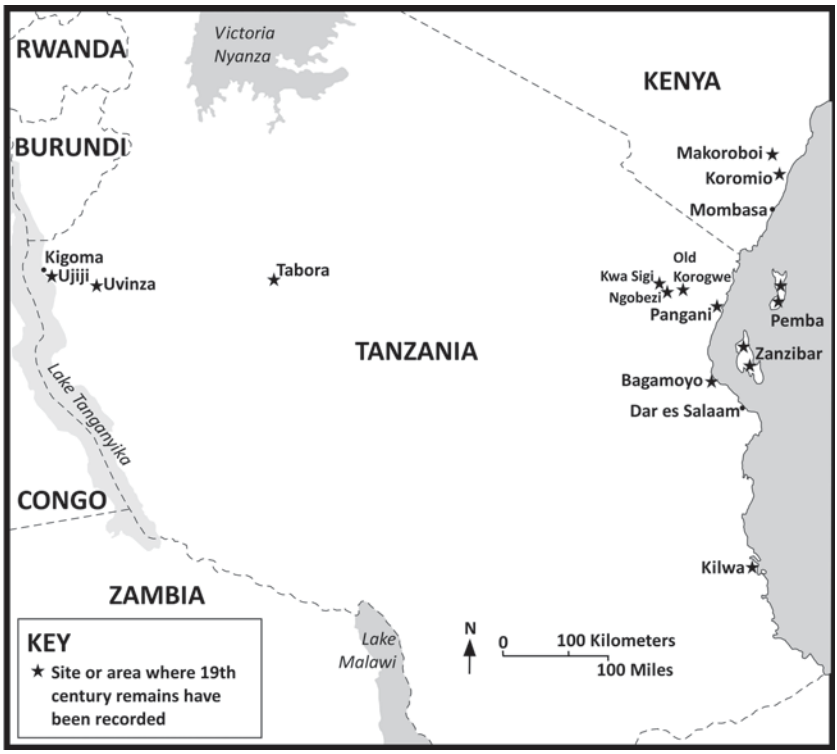

Fig. 2.3 Map showing sites or areas in which archaeological remains from the nineteenth-century AD have been recorded

Historical Archaeology in East Africa

Archaeological investigations have provided a careful analysis of the formation of Swahili culture to the fifteenth century, and continue to produce innovative studies which are enhancing our understandings of the social and economic dynamics of Swahili sites. What then of the periods post-dating the first Portuguese colonial settlers? The answer is, unfortunately, brief: Very little archaeological work has taken place which records later periods on the coast (see Fig. 2.3 for a map of sites investigated which date to later historical periods). But while studies are limited, three new PhD studies have significantly advanced our knowledge of later archaeological periods on the coast. These latter studies have addressed *watoro* (maroon, or self-emancipated slave) settlements near the Kenyan coast (Marshall 2011), sites along the central caravan trade route (Biginagwa 2012a), and multi-period survey and excavation of the Pangani area (Walz 2010). As is discussed in Chaps. 6 and 7, these studies have provided in-depth comparative data through which we can more carefully understand patterns on clove plantations. Each of these studies also engages,

to a greater or lesser extent, the idea of historical archaeology, as is discussed here. Marshall's work is, as with the work I present here, a comparison between international themes of historical archaeology (in her case the archaeology of maroons), and Eastern African examples. These studies each take up quite different material than that of Omani plantation sites, but they all provide an incredible depth of data as to locally produced goods (primarily ceramics), settlement forms, and imported goods, through which it is easier to comprehend the choices made by clove plantation residents. The types of local ceramics manufactured and purchased, and the types and proportional quantities of trade goods at these sites, such as imported mass-produced wares, provide vital comparative data.

Until very recently, the most significant historical archaeological study of later periods on the East African coast were the excavations of the Portuguese-constructed Fort Jesus at Mombasa, built in 1593 and later occupied by Omanis. This site was excavated from the late 1950s to the 1960s. A large descriptive report was produced, although this provided no quantitative details of finds and little interpretation of artifacts beyond their culture and historical setting (Kirkman 1974). Excavations were also undertaken at the nineteenth-century *caravanserai* (an Arab term for a trading inn or halt) in Bagamoyo (Chami et al. 2004). Coastal surveys have taken place at various locales on the Tanzanian coast and on the island of Pemba which all systematically recorded later archaeological sites when these were encountered (Clark and Horton 1985; Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006; Fleisher 2003; LaViolette et al. 1999; Wynne-Jones 2005). Of particular note was the survey undertaken by Clark and Horton (1985) of sites on Zanzibar for the purposes of producing a government gazetteer. Nineteen sites dating to the nineteenth-century were recorded by this survey, but the information recorded largely related to the standing stone buildings or ruins (stone remains were present at all sites recorded). The only artifacts recorded as part of this work were ceramics dating to the nineteenth-century set into Shumba Mosque, described as "Maastricht Wares" (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 33). Most of the sites, such as palaces and baths at Beit El-Rais, Chuni, Chukwani, Kidichi, Marahubi, Mtoni, and the hunting lodge at Sebleni were built by the sultans of Zanzibar (Clark and Horton 1985, pp. 14–16), with the remainder of sites consisting of an elite stone house at Finga, Dunga Palace, Chake Chake Fort, the Anglican Cathedral, Livingstone's house, and the remains of an abandoned town and well. This survey had an explicitly limited purpose, and it is difficult to extrapolate more than a cursory idea of sites connected with elites in colonial eras from the recorded data. Inland surface recording was undertaken at the Omani-built Tongwe Fort, located along the Pangani River (Lane 1993), surface survey around Tabora and Ujiji, both of which were major halts along the caravan route and developed into urban centers (Wynne-Jones and Croucher 2007), and following this survey work, excavations near Ujiji.[1] Further north, a study of fortified rock shelters in Kenya has demonstrated the impact that slave raiding had even on an area which was peripheral to the main areas of the slave trade (Kusimba 2004).

[1] This latter fieldwork was carried out by the author and is, as yet, unpublished.

The field of later historical archaeology in East Africa began in a similar manner to other regions in sub-Saharan Africa, with work at Fort Jesus intended to further document a physical point in the landscape associated with the history of colonialism (Reid and Lane 2004, p. 11). Beyond this, information has largely built up as a sideline to other studies, providing a patchy recording of later ceramic types, but with little careful analysis of their place within history. It is only since work by Lane (1991; 1992; 1993), Kusimba (2004), Biginagwa (2012a), Marshall (2011), and Chami et al. (2004) that the detailed study of later historical archaeological sites, addressing research questions of relevance to these specific periods, can really be said to begin. Several excavations that have been directed at precolonial periods have also excavated remains that date from the fifteenth century or later, along with the regional surveys mentioned above. From these, we know that there is no sudden bifurcation of Swahili culture; sequences of local styles of ceramics and stone architecture continue unbroken to the present (Chami 2000; Chami et al. 2004; Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006; Fleisher 2003; LaViolette et al. 1999). Local ceramics are remarkable for their homogeneity throughout the nineteenth-century around the coastal region. Previous work had subsumed these within one long archaeological period, tied to colonialism. Felix Chami, a pioneer of earlier ceramic analysis on the coast, labeled the period of *c.* 1500–1850 CE as "Post Swahili" (PS ; Chami 2000, p. 7). Ending this PS period at 1850 seems rather arbitrary, since there is neither stylistic nor historic justification for a break at this date. In work on Pemba, a longer categorization has been used to cover later historical material. "Period IV," stretching from 1500 to 1950 CE, is described as one which "marks the beginning of a period of colonial incursions into eastern Africa" (Fleisher 2003, p. 131). Three sites recorded by Fleisher fall within this period, and the archaeological signature for these is characterized as "European imports" (Fleisher 2003, p. 125), with a single type of local ceramic (Type 13) given as the common form (Fleisher 2003, p. 258). Other work has taken up ceramic sequences on a rather ad hoc basis. Work on caravan trading sites tied to Zigua communities (Biginagwa 2009, 2012a, b) and Kenyan *watoro* sites (Marshall 2009, 2011) has demonstrated similar long-term continuity of stylistic trends through later historic periods. While Chami's postulation of PS is one of the clearest typological schemas for the sequencing of later historical ceramics, it must also be seen to represent an artificial break and characterization of colonial-era material culture in Eastern Africa.

Directions of Research

Many questions are raised by histories of nineteenth-century Zanzibar that beg to be investigated through archaeological means. Little is understood of the ways in which immigrants integrated themselves into the life of coastal society, although it is clear that they were actively doing so in the twentieth century (Fair 2001). Many questions remain in relation to our knowledge of the period just before the better studied early twentieth century. Did Swahili cultural practice change significantly

because of immigration and colonization, or were cultural norms retained despite, or because, of Omani colonial rule? From the studies discussed above, it seems that this question is a complex one, with instrumental uses of historical practices being made by twentieth-century residents of the coast (Fair 2001; Glassman 2000; Willis 1992, 1993). A final major question relates to the manner in which capitalism impacted the daily lives of East Africans, especially as enslavement shifted towards the commodification of persons and cultivation was increasingly aimed towards global markets. The investigation of the way in which Islam, capitalism, and colonialism were intertwined in nineteenth-century East Africa raises issues which resonate with current global events. Drawing these questions out presents a timely questioning of the idea that Islamic practice somehow lies outside of modernity; as will become increasingly apparent in later chapters, this really was not the case on Zanzibar. Drawing on continuing ideas of tradition and Islam to negotiate aspects of modernity remained central to the cultural life of Zanzibaris.

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Chapter 3
Plantation Landscapes

Gazing at Plantations

> From the sea the island [Zanzibar] presents the appearance of an unbroken forest of cocoa-nut, mango, and other trees, with the clove plantations on the hills forming the background; the island is intersected by paths and green lanes in every direction, affording a never-ending variety of pleasant rides and walks. The country-houses of the Arab proprietors, and the huts of their slaves, are thickly dotted over the surface, surrounded with gardens and fields. The hedge-rows are formed covered with flowering creepers, chiefly varieties of jasmine and wild pea. The hedges are formed of a species of laurel, wild orange, lime, and other evergreens; and pineapples grow everywhere in profusion. In many parts are glades of undulating-grass land of park-like appearance, dotted with gigantic mango trees…. The ponds are covered with rushes and white and blue lilies; and the air is perfumed with the blossoms of the mango and clove. (Rigby 1861, pp. 2–3)

So wrote Lieutenant Colonel C.P. Rigby, consul and British agent at Zanzibar in 1861, laying out one potential gaze over the clove plantation landscape of the island of Zanzibar. The landscape depicted is an African one, but one that emerges—is given "density of meaning"—through material referents to a very English kind of landscape. By producing this relation, European commentators of the nineteenth-century to were able to produce a certain kind of mastery over the landscape, while also providing a clear relationship for metropolitan reading publics (Pratt 1992, p. 204). As should become clear through this chapter, this is just one of the complex ways through which landscape on Zanzibar has been perceived. Examining the variety of landscapes in existence, at levels of practice and through scopic regimes (sensu Jay 1988), demonstrates the complex ways in which clove plantations may be placed within capitalism, colonialism, East African cultural practices, and modernity.

At the time Rigby was writing, Zanzibar was increasingly under the influence of British imperialism. Although still under the autonomous rule of the Sultanate, within the next 40 years, a British administration had largely taken control of the governance of the islands (Bissell 2011). Narratives of Zanzibar could be seen to be still part of a "contact zone"—an initial period of spatial and temporal copresence of different groups previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures (Pratt 1992, p. 7). British colonial and other European economic interests

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were increasingly intersecting with the presence of Omani colonists, Swahili elites and commoners, Indian traders, enslaved Africans, and others who were present on nineteenth-century Zanzibar. As British interests increasingly solidified into imperial rule, a discourse emerged in relation to the nature of production on Zanzibar, viewed through landscape. Autonomous Omani and Swahili conceptions of the Zanzibari landscape also existed prior to British rule, and during it, and these were also fundamental to the manner in which new forms of intensive agrarian production were emerging.

This chapter addresses the topic of plantation landscapes, largely through the realm of archival data (in contrast to later chapters, which draw more heavily on archaeological data). To open this topic, I first unpack the very nature of what forms a plantation in historical discourse. The multivocality—the variety of perceptions—of plantation landscapes immediately becomes clear through an examination of plantation landscapes (Rodman 1992). The first question I therefore want to raise is whether we can actually think of clove plantations *as* plantations, in the sense that we usually mean in historical archaeology. This requires unpacking what a plantation might actually be, and whether it is limited to a singular temporal period or geographical area. This question is also linked to complex debates as to the potential relationship between plantations and capitalist modes of production.

These are important historical questions, but for the purpose of this chapter, equally important is scholarship demonstrating that conceptions of landscape and cartography are tied in to the political–economic underpinnings of modes of production and social relations on plantations. From these starting points, it is then possible to open up the nature of plantations on Zanzibar; through British attempts to map plantations, frustration at the lack of clear land ownership, and Zanzibari conceptions of holdings of trees and the importance of some large land-holdings. Capitalist networks of trade, with rapidly fluctuating prices, were where the output of plantations was directed, and capital could be required for their financing (one of the reasons that many Omani and Swahili plantation owners became heavily indebted to Indian mortgage lenders by the end of the nineteenth-century), and yet clove plantations, as they were understood on a day-to-day level, do not fit with the visual and philosophical regimes which have been argued to be so fundamental to modern capitalism. Dissonance exists within clove plantation landscapes when seen from British and Omani perspectives simultaneously, and this is precisely the point: these plantations defy easy definition, showing how plantations must always be carefully understood as particular formations within a given set of social, temporal, and geographic relations.

The Plantation as an Object

For many historical archaeologists, “plantation” is a keyword within our disciplinary language and seems a straightforward term. Plantations have long been a mainstay of research within the discipline, but it is temporally and geographically contingent

and requires thorough interrogation so as to disturb any seemingly straightforward assumptions (Jay 1988, p. 5; Williams 1985). Plantations are bound up with the development of capitalism, seen to be at once the forerunner of modernity, while simultaneously having their genesis in the Medieval Islamic world (Mintz 1985).

In semantic history, the term plantation in the English language has its origins in postmedieval England. Following the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century, a plantation in the English language came to mean a settlement of people in a new country, a term it retained through the earliest years of British colonialism (Aiken 2003, p. 5; Vlach 1993, p. 2).[1] Only at the close of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth did the term begin to connote a specifically agrarian meaning. The *Oxford English Dictionary* records plantation used in this manner by 1626 in Virginia, and in New Haven, Connecticut, where residents and visitors to the town were forbidden in 1654 from purchasing "any plantation or land… of any Indian." The word itself then has shifted from the idea of a settlement of people to a more straightforward association with agrarian production in the English-speaking Americas (Aiken 2003, p. 5). However, such a term remained very different in the English-speaking Americas from the kind of object we usually summon up with plantation. Throughout the seventeenth century, planters in the southern U.S. were mostly poor farmers with only a few hundred acres, and often without the use of enslaved labor.[2] During this time, a very small group of planters did own large estates of the kind we more typically associate with plantations and began to build houses according to Georgian models of proper gentleman's houses and estates (Vlach 1993, p 3).[3]

By contrast, the plantation can also be traced as a mode of production—as done by Mintz (1985) in his study of sugar production through time and space. Typical plantation crops—sugar, tobacco, coffee, tea, cotton—are deeply embedded within specific colonial histories, highlighting the intertwined nature of the plantation with contexts of colonial rule. Sugar is perhaps the plantation crop par excellence, and if we are tracing the form of the plantation—as a specific kind of intensive agricultural form of production—it is the earliest "plantation crop." Sugar itself had origins in Asia, and became known to Europeans through the Islamic presence in the Mediterranean. From cultivation on the Canary Islands, during the late fifteenth century sugar was taken to some of the earliest settlements in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas. Although far eclipsed by British and French colonial possessions from the seventeenth century, it was the Portuguese and Spanish who really pioneered early sugar planting in the Caribbean and Central and South America,

[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary,* for instance, records its use in context by Hooker 1857: "Not for anie religion or plantation of a Commonwealth." This usage refers to colonial settlement rather than to any agrarian formation.

[2] Historical archaeologists are not unaware of this shift. Work has been done in the Chesapeake (Deetz 1993; King 2006) which shows such early forms of plantations. My point here is to highlight the way we draw a variety of continuously changing landscapes, social relations, and modes of production under one umbrella of scholarship.

[3] See West (1999) on more general discussions of "Georgian" form and the development of formal estates in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England.

becoming the first exporting colonies of sugar to Europe (Curtin 1998, p. 46; Mintz 1985, p. 36). By the mid- to late 1600s, increased reliance on enslaved African labor was also occurring in these same areas (Thornton 1998, p. 147).

The merging of the English term plantation with that of the type of large-scale agrarian production now generally signified by the term plantation occurred in the Caribbean. "Plantations" of the large estate form became established in Anglo-Caribbean colonies only during the late seventeenth century. These early plantations had a shifting nomenclature, with Drax Hall in Jamaica, founded ca. 1690 and recorded in contemporary documents as both a "sugar estate" and a "plantation." In this context, sugar estate connoted the specific nature of Drax Hall, while plantation was in more general use, referring to properties on Jamaica where non-sugar crops might also be cultivated (Armstrong 1990, p. 15). It was no coincidence that sugar estate and plantation were merging in this particular colonial context. Sugar rapidly came to be the most important crop for British Caribbean colonies (Mintz 1985). By 1730, Jamaica was the major producer of the region (Higman 2001, p. 8). These sugar planters were joined by the end of the 1600s by those on other islands such as Montserrat, a shift that also altered the population; enslaved Africans came to outnumber indigenous and European colonial residents (Pulsipher 1987, p. 312). Through the eighteenth century, sugar monoculture came to largely replace diversified agrarian production on other Caribbean islands such as Barbados, Montserrat, St Kitts, Nevis, and Antigua (Hicks 2007, p. 3).

Back in North America, great estates—"atypical, showpiece plantations"—began to be constructed in the Chesapeake and Carolinas in the early eighteenth century. Such plantations laid the groundwork for a transformation of the Anglo-American idea of the plantation, so that by the mid-eighteenth century, as America lay on the cusp of declaring independence, "the ideal plantation was a large, tastefully appointed country estate belonging to a prominent gentleman" (Vlach 1993, p. 5). By the time of the American civil war, in the mid-nineteenth-century, plantations were established in the vocabulary of the nation as large commercial farms, largely utilizing slave labor, and with an extensive literature discussing the ideal landscape form of a working plantation (Aiken 2003, p. 5). While acknowledged to have their origins in the Mediterranean (Curtin 1998, p. xi; Mintz 1985, p. 27), plantations remain most readily associated with the Atlantic world. Scholars might acknowledge the fact that plantations had "outliers" in other areas (Curtin 1998, p. xii), but the general definition of plantation in historical archaeology, following on from mainstream historical and anthropological studies, has remained in the Atlantic, particularly the Americas.

East African plantations, established from the early nineteenth-century, were known in the Swahili language as *shamba,* the same word connoting any form of farm. However, they were recognized by English-speaking commentators as belonging to a particular form—the plantation. Such institutions have been defined specifically as large agricultural holdings, usually worked by slave labor, which require significant capital for their establishment. Early work by anthropologists Wolf and Mintz (1957, p. 380), drawing on research in Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and

Mexico, summarized a plantation as: "an agricultural estate, operated by dominant owners…and a dependent labor force, organized to supply a large-scale market by means of abundant capital, in which the factors of production are employed primarily to further capital accumulation without reference to the status needs of the owners." Philip Curtin (1998, p. 10) in a set of essays on *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* is clear on defining the "full-blown plantation complex," separating this from earlier medieval and Islamic antecedents and from agricultural production in Europe. Curtin (1998, pp. 11–13) finds six characteristics that mark off such plantations most clearly: (1) the use of forced labor, usually enslaved, forming the majority of the labor force; (2) a population that was not self-sustaining, requiring constant addition to maintain demographic levels; (3) agricultural production in large-scale capitalist plantations usually ranging from fifty to several hundred workers; (4) plantations also maintained "feudal" features, with planters usually controlling laborers both during and outside of regular working hours; (5) plantations supplied distant markets, with most of the produce exported; and (6) political control of the system was held at a distance.

These definitions were created with a deliberate broad aim so as to encompass the type of mature agrarian institution to which the term "plantation" can be securely attached. For nineteenth-century European visitors and early twentieth-century British colonial administrators, such clearly defined definitions were not required. They knew of plantation systems—these were operational in the Indian Ocean in other European colonies, growing rubber, sugar, coffee, and other crops (Allen 2008; Duncan 2002; Murray 1992). As I discussed earlier, East African plantations of the nineteenth-century had their origins in the continuation of the Arab plantation systems, which gave rise to the plantations of the Americas, the observation of European plantations in the Indian Ocean, and the ability to participate in the same global markets, which involved Caribbean and American planters. When Europeans and Americans named clove-growing operations on nineteenth-century Zanzibar as "plantations," no specific definition of capitalist production was being checked off. What such contemporary descriptions and the continued use of the term in historical scholarship are referencing is the recognition that clove plantations fit with this broad definition of what constituted a specifically *modern* plantation. There was something recognizable in the growing of cloves that was synonymous with the type of large-scale agrarian export-orientated production of sugar in the Caribbean or cotton in the U.S. While performing a type of referential layering (Pratt 1992, p. 204), Sir Richard Burton, viewing the island of Zanzibar in the mid-nineteenth-century, found comparison between the Sultan's "prim plantations" and "the coffee plantations of Brazil" (Burton 1872a, p. 30). My point is to demonstrate that there was a clearly defined notion of "plantation" which existed in the nineteenth-century, within which Zanzibari clove plantations were recognized to fit.

These definitions point to an abstracted form of the plantation. This relates to another attempted definition of the plantation, where we see again the similarities with nineteenth-century Zanzibar: "a form of labor organization, the plantation is an agricultural enterprise distinguished by its massive use of coerced or semi-coerced labor, producing agricultural commodities for markets situated outside of the econ-

omy within which the plantation itself operates" (Trouillot 2002, p. 200). But while recognizing the broad form in which plantations exist, Trouillot—an anthropologist—also recognized that these generalized forms are only ever an umbrella. The task of the anthropologist becomes to probe beneath the generalizations. I repeat his work here because it outlines the type of work that historical archaeology may do in terms of going beyond recognizing broad similarities.

> Needless to say, few, if any, actual populations ever exactly matched the prototype. Whether inferred or planned, social models are peculiar kinds of abstraction, the dual products of the typological exercise that projects them and the historical units through which they are actualized. In other words, *the* plantation as such never existed historically, not even in the Americas of slavery. Rather, thousands of plantations did try to conform to the ideal type, but always within the limitations imposed by specific circumstances (Trouillot 2002, p. 201).

While Trouillot is peeling back layers so as to expose the "room to maneuver" which existed for enslaved populations, this definition also pushes us to think about the "room to maneuver" for *planters*. Was it possible for Zanzibari clove plantation owners to manipulate existing social structures and cultural norms from Swahili and Omani society so as to have plantations which existed as fully embedded and participant in global capitalist economies, and yet which were also still somehow different? Could capitalist production have greater cultural room to maneuver than we have so far given credit to in historical archaeology? I want to open up what we might actually mean by "plantation" in historical archaeology. This is not with the intension of limiting its use. The idea is to have a clearer idea of the actual social and economic logics embedded in specific plantation systems, pushing for a more precise analysis of plantations in historical archaeology.

The Scopic Regime of Plantation Landscapes

The chronology of the shift in the term "plantation" to mean a specific agrarian form of capitalist production utilizing enslaved labor occurred at a time when changes in Euro-American culture were occurring. These changes are generally grouped together as major aspects of modernity; a crucial shift for historical archaeologists of the modern world. Following the early arguments of James Deetz (1996), it has come to be broadly accepted that a major change in the worldview of most Europeans and Euro-Americans occurred in the postmedieval period. In colonial North America, this was pinpointed by Deetz (1993, p. 71) as occurring between 1660 and 1760, with a shift from "folk society" where "small-scale community life" was central, to a world of individuality, this latter being more secular and impacted by Enlightenment thought. Deetz argued that these changes were those in "worldview," a change in belief and philosophy at a deep cognitive level. Later work has argued that the changes Deetz identified may have already been well underway in England by the time they are visible in the Chesapeake, and were more gradual shifts as European society came to be ordered through capitalism (Johnson 1993, p. 5, 1996).

In America, shifts in housing and the ordering of landscapes have also been tied to the development of capitalist ideologies, designed to naturalize inequalities to those who were gaining through economic changes (Leone 2003/[1988]).

The shifts into more modern or capitalist orderings of space are recognized across a range of disciplines, including history, anthropology, and archaeology. They are broadly defined as the transition to capitalism, away from feudal social and economic orders. Pinning down the origins of capitalism is difficult, with some scholars viewing colonial mercantile capitalism and early plantations as outside the bounds of capitalist production proper, which came only with industrial production (Wolf 1982, p. 415). Despite these issues, the development of capitalism is also recognized as playing out over several hundred years, tied to agrarian production as well as industry. Such transitions are often summarized in narratives, which are spatially based, mirroring historical archaeologists' interests. In the capitalist transition:

> The self-contained universes of manor and parish [in Europe] which we take as the model for the spatial order of feudalism gave way over time to the integrated and structured space economy of the nation state with its urban hierarchy and specialized agricultural and industrial regions. Its geography is fundamentally different from that of the precapitalist space economy and the changing spatial order at all its scales is intimately involved as both effect and cause with the social and economic transition observed by historians. (Cosgrove 1998/[1984], p. 5)

Some of the changes that Cosgrove discusses are tied to Europe, and do not fit with the colonial landscape of plantations. Placing plantations into the transition to capitalism also raises arguments that plantations were tied to forms of feudalism; because they operated with slavery rather than with wage labor, they were in some ways an anathema to capitalist production (Weik 2012, p. 217, citing Egerton 2006, p. 637). But despite their labor relations (which are examined in following chapters), the types of large-scale plantations defined above were fundamentally a part of new "modern" landscapes of agrarian capitalism. They are, perhaps, not so easily identified with capitalism as a Glasgow factory producing export wares in the mid-nineteenth-century. But it is impossible to refute the fact that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantations were very much capitalist in their mode of production and in the logics and ideologies, which underlay their material forms.

At the heart of the rural transition to capitalism in Europe was the process of individuals coming to own land in segments that could be mapped out on paper. In order for capitalism to gain hold, populations had to gain "new dominant mental constructions and material practices with respect to space and time" (Harvey 1996, p. 239). In Cartesian–Newtonian conceptions of rational systems of measurement, which came to dominate capitalist conceptions of the world, both space and time became absolutes. For capitalist exchange to work, plots of land and hours of labor had to be clear units so that they could become monetary values. Enclosure did not simply entail erecting new hedgerows and fences that delineated the land. As a varied and long-term historical event, enclosure was also about the alteration of legal and customary rights to land, as well as new ways of envisaging this land as an alienated commodity (Cosgrove 1998/[1984], p. 64; Johnson 1996, p. 71).

At the site of Flowerdew Hundred, a long-term tobacco plantation in existence (in shifting forms) from the seventeenth through nineteenth-centuries, James Deetz

(1993) documented changes in the locations of planter housing in relation to servants, slaves, and the shifting place and nature of industry. These changes were not just a march toward capitalism; Deetz viewed transformations in the colonial relations between England and North America as important in the shifts in landholdings and industry. But I would argue, in line with David Scott (2004, p. 201) that the increasing segmentation of space and ordering of landscape was not only based on "the techno-logic of the industrial organizational form itself, but also on its transforming effects on the social and familial life of the labor force." Just as rural English landless peasants found their lives ordered by wage labor on landowners' holdings, in the Americas, those living in the areas dominated by plantations had their lives ordered by a logic of capitalist production which controlled time and space. The closing off and segmentation of houses across the social spectrum also signaled the broad shift to individualized and ordered life (Deetz 1996; Johnson 1993). On plantations, some of these changes were also intertwined with the conceptual development of racial difference. By the eighteenth century, enslaved Africans were consistently shifted to a separate domain of residential space than that inhabited by white plantation owners, helping to materialize a growing sense of racial difference between white and black (Epperson 1999; Upton 1984).

These shifts demonstrate that transitions to capitalism and modernity were not monolithic. They were regionally and temporally specific, and they affected different people within the same communities in different ways. But the capitalist conception of landscape, where specific areas were owned, was at the heart of the landscape of plantations. By the eighteenth century, planters could find sources that guided them to construct rationally ordered landscapes. On Jamaica, for instance, in 1798, planters could examine Pierre-Joseph Laborie's guide, *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo,* to an idealized coffee plantation landscape (Higman 1988, p. 159). Coffee plantations were advised to be laid out on a symmetrical grid plan, with domestic and industrial spaces in the geographic center of the plantation, and pastures and provision grounds laid out near the settlements (Delle 1998, p. 108). Sugar planters from 1823 could follow Thomas Roughley's *Jamaica Planter's Guide,* another practical manual suggesting placement for various features, including that overseer's houses should have a clear view of all the works buildings and slave hospital (Higman 1988, p. 81). In part, these guides were driven by new ways of organizing labor, related to the capitalist order of plantations, but they were also tied in to the shift toward larger landholdings in the control of fewer individuals from the mid- to late eighteenth century and legal requirements for plantation owners to map their properties (Higman 1998, p. 113).

While plans in various areas have particular histories, the desire to plan out and see landscapes as bounded and owned, from the perspective of the landowner, forms a particular way of engaging with space. Tied up with the legal enclosure of land in England and the bounding and ownership of plantation land in colonial regions came wholly new ways of envisaging and relating to land, often packaged up in arguments about the "idea of landscape." When we think of the major reformulations of landscape, therefore, we are looking at not only physical processes but also the trialectic move between spatial action, historical change, and human engagements

with the world (Soja 1996). In the field of historical geography, Denis Cosgrove's (1998/[1984], p xiii) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* brought to widespread attention the historical–spatial process of broadly understood "*ideas* about landscape as they have evolved and changed in Europe and North America since the fifteenth century." This text still stands as a seminal theoretical work in moving understandings of capitalism into a firm socio-spatial realm, as it addresses visual aspects of landscape, engagements, and understandings of being in these places, albeit understandings focused problematically around the figure of the individual European male as the universal subject of seeing and experiencing. In a very widely quoted passage, Cosgrove (1998/[1984], p. 1) defines what is meant by the ideological aspect of landscape:

> [T]he landscape idea represents a way of seeing—a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world around them and their relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations. Landscape is a way of seeing that has its own history, but a history that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society; that has its own assumptions and consequences, but assumptions and consequences whose origins and implications extend well beyond the use and perception of land; that has its own techniques of expression, but techniques which it shares with other areas of cultural practice. The landscape idea emerged as a dimension of European consciousness at an identifiable period in the evolution of European societies: it was refined and elaborated over a long period during which it expressed and supported a range of political, social, and moral assumptions and became accepted as a significant aspect of taste.

This "idea of landscape" can also be drawn into the concept of a new "scopic regime" of modernity—that is viewing and seeing, inseparable from the mapping and conceptualizing of idealized plantation landscapes as areas, which could then be placed in visual representations as a whole. These Jamaican plans, for instance, were often to be gazed on by absent plantation owners, who would gain a sense that they could actually see the landscape that they owned and controlled (Higman 1988, p. 17). This vision was part of a new "gaze"—a way of seeing reduced to one point of view, usually a man of European origin. New geometric, linear, and uniform ways of seeing became accepted within a particular form of what Martin Jay (1988, p. 4) has termed a "scopic regime" of modernity. The dominant scopic regime of "Cartesian perspectivalism" included renaissance ideas of perspective in the visual arts, which became important in cartographic representations, and "Cartesian ideas of subjective rationality in philosophy." While about visualizing and seeing, the scopic regime of Cartesian perspectivalism facilitated capitalism: "Separate from the painter and the viewer, the visual field depicted on the other side of the canvas [or map] could become a portable commodity able to enter the circulation of capitalist exchange" (Jay 1988, p. 9). This view was empirically oriented, seeking to fix knowledge into visual forms. In understanding plantations, we are not only seeing new forms of capitalist agrarian production in colonial locations. Plantations in their capitalist form were entities embedded in hegemonic European conceptions of landscapes. They were spaces which were owned and which were, particularly from the eighteenth century, formally planned. By the late eighteenth century, planters could increasingly turn to guidance, which assumed that they were part of a singular

scopic regime of Cartesian perspectivalism, which would encourage them toward particular ways of laying out their productive enterprise. As seen by plantation owners, the landscape of a plantation was a form in which engagement came through the gaze. Plantation owners were disembodied from their landholdings, which were laid out in measureable units on paper, contiguous with the logics of capitalism.

Cartography

Cartography itself—the act of making the plans on which European and American plantation owners could cast their gaze—has been seen as a corollary to the expansion of modern forms of power and knowledge. The act of enclosure in Britain from the fifteenth century, the crucial period of developing agrarian capitalism, was assisted by the techniques of surveying and the production of local maps (Johnson 2007, p. 12). The development of the modern nation state was tied to changing forms of mapping. Individuals were able to visualize themselves as part of the territory of the nation state through new cartographic visualizations, which emphasized modern forms of power. These ways of seeing contributed to reshaping mental structures and material processes (Harvey 1996, p. 240). Cartography was a form of power, which also facilitated forms of modern European colonial rule. Maps were not only important in Europe. Maps were also crucial in the expansion of European power and the control and subjugation of indigenous populations: "knowledge of the territory [of empire] is determined by geographic representations and most essentially by the map. Geography and empire are thus intimately and thoroughly interwoven…. To govern territories, one must know them" (Edney 1997, p. 1). The importance of maps to European colonies intertwined with the growing use of plans to visualize and control production on plantations.

Cartography itself shifted as it became a more crucial part of domestic and colonial power for modern European nation-states. Techniques used in the colonies were not always as cutting-edge as those in Europe, but through the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, there were major shifts in mapmaking toward professionalization and accuracy. No longer were plans the products of landscape painters (the originators of the Cartesian perspectivalist gaze on the landscape). Increasingly, precise measurement and accurate techniques became the tools of those making maps and plans of plantations (Higman 1988, p. 71). Relevant to Zanzibar in the nineteenth-century is the role of mapmaking and cartography in British imperialism. To make a "real" territory of colonial rule required a visual representation of a geographic whole. Maps were a form of geographic panopticon, forming a kind of all-seeing-eye over colonial territories and facilitating the state's discipline and surveillance of their territories (Edney 1997, p. 24).

Visualizing landscape within scopic regimes of Cartesian perspectivalism and making various scales of plans and maps appear then to be vital to the technology of plantations. By the nineteenth-century it was a given that Euro-American plantations would be planned out in some form. They would exist on paper, an essential

corollary to their spatial reality for the plantation owner, even if this was an idealized form of landscape, far from the realities of everyday life within the space of the plantation itself. Power was expressed over space through the ability to visualize the landholdings of the plantation owner. Control of land was expressed through mapping. For nation-states, this involved control of the boundaries of territories and an empirical geographic knowledge of these spaces. For plantation owners, boundaries had to be fixed in formal cartography, allowing for rational planning of space. Such was the scopic regime of capitalist plantations. Turning back to Zanzibar, an initial question to level at clove plantations, so as to evaluate their place in capitalist modernity, is to question whether these were also mapped spaces. Did Zanzibari plantation owners follow the gaze of Cartesian perspectivalism?

Methodologies

The interpretations of landscape on Zanzibar draw on a range of material: surface survey, oral historical interviews, and archival documents. Archaeological survey was carried out in four different areas across Zanzibar and Pemba, centered on Mahonda, Dunga, Mtambile, and Piki (Fig. 3.1). Each of these four areas was dominated by clove plantations by the late nineteenth-century, supported by historical maps showing clove-growing areas (Ordnance Survey, Great Britain 1913, 1933). The results of this survey are discussed briefly here, and are explored in more detail in Chap. 5.

Each area had a slightly different relationship to the capital city and previous Swahili settlement, to coastal trade links, transport infrastructure, and settlement history. Non-probabilistic methods were used, as nineteenth-century sites were known to be easily visible on the ground surface, and generally known by local residents (Fleisher personal comment 2003). Interviews were carried out in conjunction with the survey, and a further set of interviews were carried out the following year. This strategy did, however, result in a greater recording of sites that were prominent in local memory, often the plantations of larger owners, those associated with family members of elderly Zanzibaris interviewed, or with more recently abandoned old village sites. Very few sites associated with enslaved clove plantation laborers were recorded, likely due to the stigma of slavery and with their lower surface visibility to local farmers.

The Mahonda area was 20 miles north of the city of Zanzibar in the northern reaches of clove lands. Only a few miles to the east were the “slave caves” of Mangapwani (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 15). The direct association of these with the illicit slave trade may be problematic as with other such caves (Wynne-Jones and Walsh 2010). But there were clearly easy maritime links to this area, and discussions about plantation owners showed connections to the urban elite of the city of Zanzibar. Mahonda lay only about 12 miles north of some of the most elite sites of Zanzibar: the clove plantation holdings of various sultans, Sultan Seyyid Said’s mid-nineteenth-century Kidichi Persian Baths and palace, Beit et Mtoni, and Sultan

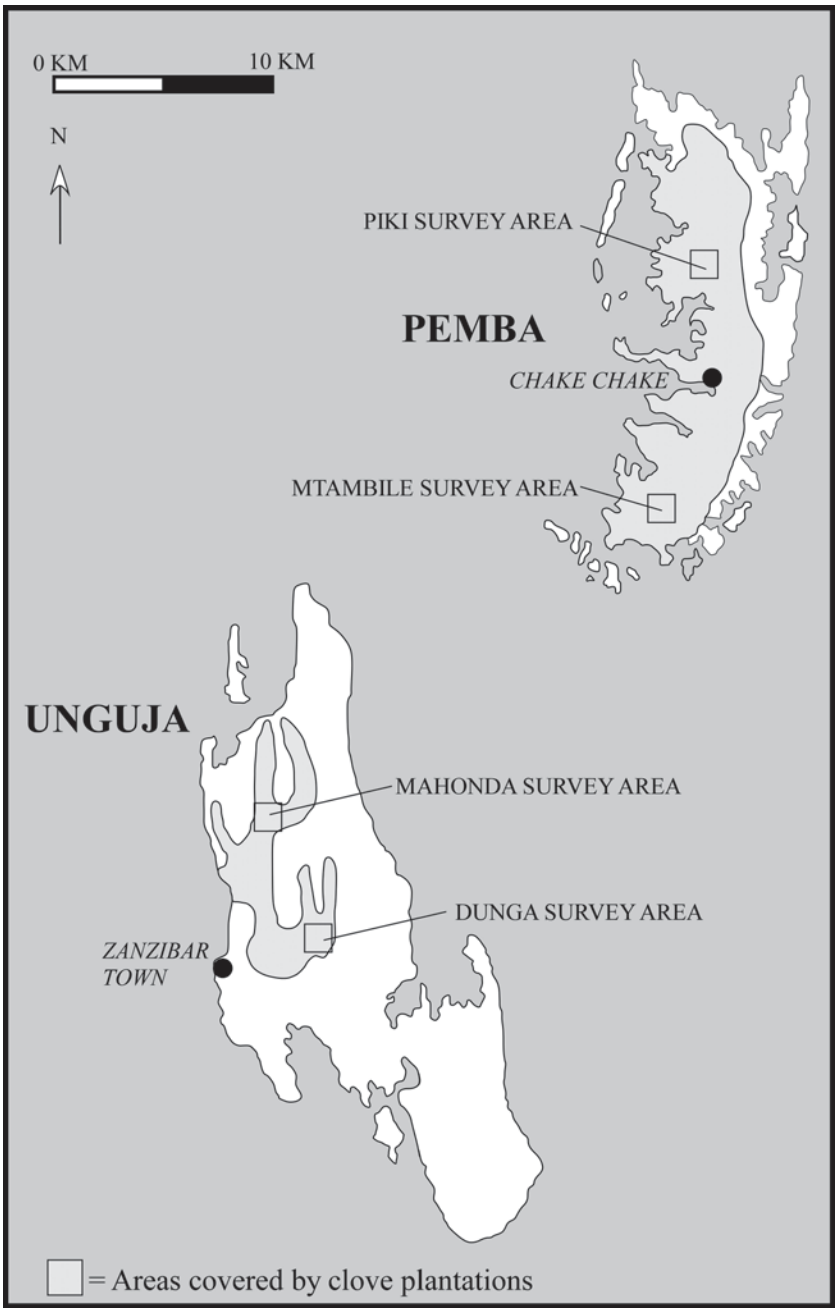

Fig. 3.1 Clove growing areas and survey areas

Barghash's 1882 Mahurubi Palace (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 15). Eleven sites were recorded in the area surrounding Mahonda, of which 40 percent had visible remains of stone buildings. Chinese porcelain ceramic sherds were visible at two sites,[4] and local farmers told us that they had found coins minted under Sultan Bargash (who ruled between 1870 and 1888) at another site. Taken together, such findings suggested that plantations were well established in this area by the mid- to late nineteenth-century.

The area of Dunga lies only 10 miles to the east of the city of Zanzibar. While lying a shorter distance from the Omani Sultanate's political center of power, the Dunga area has a particular association with earlier indigenous rule of the island. It was here that the palace of the Mwinyi Mkuu, the Swahili ruler of Zanzibar, was situated. Remains of both the palace of the Mwinyi Mkuu and a nineteenth-century stone house and mosque, believed to have been used by his brother, are visible today (Clark and Horton 1985, pp. 14, 17). Twelve sites were recorded in the Dunga, 67 percent of which had stone remains present. The largest amounts of Chinese blue and white porcelain were found in the area, suggesting that this site had the most significant early nineteenth-century settlement history out of the four areas surveyed. There were three sites relating to villages of smallholders which had relocated to be closer to a newly built paved road sometime around 1920 (Croucher 2006, p. 368). These smallholders existed alongside settlements of large Swahili and Arab plantation owners. The density of settlement history included more unusual features, such as a communal well and a simple Islamic cemetery.

On Pemba, the first area surveyed was in the south of the island, around the contemporary village of Mtambile. Clove plantations were known to have been a later development on the island of Pemba, particularly after the 1872 hurricane, with fewer of the landowners splitting their time between the city of Zanzibar and their plantations (Cooper 1977; Sheriff 1987). One of the divergences visible between Zanzibar and Pemban clove plantation areas came in the proportion of stone-built sites recorded (this difference is discussed further in Chap. 5). Of the 25 sites recorded in the Mtamblie area, just eight percent had any evidence of stone architecture. Ceramics in both Pemban areas were almost completely dominated by European imported wares alongside locally produced sherds, supporting a generally later beginning for clove plantation sites on the island in comparison to sites on Zanzibar. On Pemba, some sherds of Indian manufactured (possibly manufactured locally by Indian potters) red-bodied ware with black painted decoration (Indian coarse earthenware) were also found. Overall, the picture that emerges from the Mtambile survey area is that of dense clove plantation settlement by the late nineteenth-century, dominated by wattle-and-daub architecture.

Mtambile may also have benefited from the nearby location of a nineteenth-century port called Jambangome. Surface remains show that there were formerly several stone buildings here, including a mosque. Although visible in the 1913 map of Pemba (Great Britain, Ordnance Survey 1913), Jambangome was bypassed by

[4] Chinese porcelain seems to have been almost completely replaced by European manufactured imports in southern and eastern Africa by the late nineteenth-century (Klose and Malan 2000).

early twentieth-century road construction (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 20). Historical documents suggest that, by the mid- to late nineteenth-century, most large dhows were taking their passengers to the town of Chake Chake, which then became the center of British rule on the island. Jambangome perhaps gives us a glimpse into the type of local infrastructure of clove plantations that may have been important in the nineteenth-century, when local centers for dhow shipping were vital for the easy transportation of clove cargoes by foot or donkey to port.

The area surrounding the modern village of Piki was the final area surveyed, located 20 miles to the north of Mtambile, north of Chake Chake, and south of Wete. Sixteen sites were recorded in this area, of which 94 percent showed no evidence of any stone buildings. Sixty-two percent of these sites were associated with generalized old settlement sites, not distinguishable as relating to plantation owners, enslaved laborers, or any other notable person. One clove plantation site from the survey was chosen for excavations: Mgoli. This lay in the Piki survey area and was one of the largest plantation sites we recorded (excavations were conducted in 2004). In the Piki area, oral histories suggested that plantation owners with large holdings were remembered as clearly as those in any other area we surveyed; there was no lack of tales about Adballa bin Jabir. However, it may be that the shorter chronology of clove plantations in this area meant that fewer plantation owners had settled before the abolition of slavery in 1897 and the resulting shift to smaller squatter-type clove growers (Cooper 1980), resulting in the smaller proportion of sites recorded in this area overall, which were tied to large landholdings. The greater distance to coastal transportation may also have been a disincentive to immigrant clove planters, possibly resulting in a greater number of potential Swahili smallholders owning a small number of trees to compliment other agricultural activities.

Variance confirms the subtle microscale of plantation settlement history in each of the four areas surveyed. Singularly wealthy figures, distance to town, and the relationship between clove planters and neighboring Swahili communities all seem to have impacted the manner in which clove plantation landscapes came into being. This was not simply a matter of Arab planters laying out a singular form of plantations across the islands. But this type of survey should also perhaps remind us that, despite a push toward idealized formats through publications such as plantation guides, most modern plantation areas remained deeply affected by the history of individual landowners and local geographical conditions (Trouillot 2002, p. 201).

Mapping Zanzibar

Cartography—the mapping, measuring, and visualization of space—has already been identified as a key technology of European colonial powers. By the nineteenth-century, on Jamaica, an area dominated by plantations, surveyors were an important part of governance. Professionally trained, white males found “continuous employment from the inevitable boundary disputes” (Higman 2001, p. 19). These boundaries fit with Cartesian perspectivalist views of the landscape. As “products of Europe” surveyors:

> …shared the same essential geometric ordering concepts of their employers. In the transformation of the landscape which occurred in some regions of the island [Jamaica] after emancipation, the surveyors applied the same set of spatial rules, dividing the land into rigidly defined geometric units. It mattered little whether their employers were planters or missionaries. In this way, the surveyors were tools of economic and cultural imperialism, broadly defined, not merely dependents of the plantation system. (Higman 2001, p. 291)

The view that the landscape of Jamaica, so dominated by the scopic regime of plantations, should be made into neatly bounded areas on a map was fundamental to the extension of plantations into new areas. In the nineteenth-century, coffee plantations expanding into areas that had lain outside of previous plantation enterprise, owing to their unsuitability for sugar planting, had to be divided into "culturally constructed bounded units" on a map as the first phase in developing coffee plantations (Delle 1998, p. 124). In areas of European-controlled plantation areas, by the nineteenth-century, cartography was an essential part of transforming space into that of plantations. As with the Caribbean, in the Indian Ocean, plantations by the nineteenth-century were irrefutably part of the logics of capitalism: "microcosms of the colonial capitalist effort" (Stoler 1995, p. 2). Generalized histories of plantations seem to show that whether in the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean, plantations required particular forms of geographic ordering for the spatio-temporal logics of capitalism (Duncan 2002).

The development of clove plantations on Zanzibar was clearly bound up within the global capitalist economy. But they lay outside of the gaze of Cartesian perspectivalism, at least until the British rule at the close of the nineteenth-century. By 1920, it was possible to list four different British sanctioned projects for mapping Zanzibar in various ways, soon to be joined by another of Zanzibar in the 1930s (Ordnance Survey, Great Britain 1933–1937). The first had been carried out by General Sir Lloyd William Mathews between 1896 and 1900, which completely mapped the island of Zanzibar. In conjunction with this, Mathews also mapped the city of Zanzibar, a feat replicated by an Indian surveyor working in conjunction with the Public Works Department between 1912 and 1916.

Our clearest window into the process of mapmaking, as seen through British eyes, comes from Captain John Craster, an employee of the Ordnance Survey who came to head a small team in producing a map of Pemba utilizing modern techniques of triangulation just before the First World War. His writing speaks of a landscape that he found wild, precisely for his lack of ability to gain an overall view of the land—the perspective that he so desperately wanted—and the impediments placed in his way by nature and islanders to a mapping project that appeared to have no relevance to any Zanzibaris. There was little in his depictions to suggest the type of ordered landscape being laid out by Europeans in other plantation areas. In his anecdotes of the two years he spent mapping the island, he wrote of continually struggling through the "thick bush" and having to make his way along "generally… the most villainous paths" (Craster 1913, pp. 151, 115). One of his stories also seems to perfectly capture the manner in which local residents were easily making their way across a familiar landscape, but one which was almost incomprehensible and far from orderly for the cartographer:

> We had not gone far before we found ourselves descending a precipitous slope; the path became a mere rut in the slippery red clay of the hillside, and we kept our feet only by holding on to the lower branches of the trees. I thought the guide might have chosen a better path.
> "But this is the only path!" he exclaimed. "The cloves from all the plantations round about are bought to Weti by this path." So I scrambled down without further protest. (Craster 1913, p. 36)

What Craster could not find in rural Pemba was order fitting with the type of rational planning which underlay European scopic regimes and landscape ideals. The colonial project of establishing sovereignty was embedded within spatial ideologies and realities: "In the African context, as elsewhere, European powers sought to consolidate control not only by exercising command over people but also by mastering and maneuvering through space…. They were challenged not only to seize turf but also to render it sensible and remake it in conformity with their own spatial designs" (Bissell 2011, pp. 109–110). On Zanzibar, this process was complicated by the prior colonial regime of the Omani rule. There was not always a sharp divide between Omanis and other Zanzibaris, as I discuss in later chapters, but nevertheless, many Omani planters had established their control on the islands only through their own takeover and control of space. This control was recognized slightly by mid-nineteenth-century European visitors, who found some order in rows of clove trees. But these ordered rows of trees were not orderly enough for European logics. By the early twentieth century the British colonial administration was attempting to impose a rigorous form of spatial order on Zanzibar. In part, this was through projects of urban planning. In 1897, one of the first annual reports of the British vice-consul on Pemba noted that he had made Indian traders in Chake Chake, the main town, "pave the streets in front of their shops, and to keep the same clean." This resulted in them becoming "markedly less unhealthy than formerly when garbage and filth of all kinds used to be festering in the roadways" (Zanzibar National Archives, Zanzibar, [ZNA] 1897: 'British Vice Consul, Pemba: Report upon the Island of Pemba, 1896−7.' AC 2/24: O'Sullivan). Craster, visiting the urban center of Wete, the second largest town on Pemba, 15 years after the vice-consul O'Sullivan's reports, found these type of improvements as a radical change on the Pemban landscape. Describing Wete, he wrote:

> …the Assistant Collector's house is a well-kept garden gay with flowers…. Before us were the jail and court-house, single storied, whitewashed buildings with corrugated iron roofs. On our left was the post-office, and a large, roofed-in market place [all built under British direction]…. The contrast between this orderly civilization and the unbroken expanse of apparently virgin forest that I had seen from the lighthouse was bewildering. (Craster 1913, p. 33)

Despite the fact that much of his work took him through areas which, by the early twentieth century, were densely settled with clove plantations, including many headed by Omani immigrants or their children, Craster wrote only of the wildness, the untamed nature, and the forest-like qualities of the Pemban landscape. As a product of the Ordnance Survey and the culture of scientific geography in the United Kingdom, Craster was presumably cognizant of the importance of being

able to impose cartographic order on new British territories, and his role in helping to create this order within the literally uncharted lands of Africa (Collier and Inkpen 2002, p. 277).

The writing of Craster also highlights the type of heterogeneous representations and narratives involved in British colonial interests in Zanzibar (Lowe 1990, p. 142). In contrast to the writing of Sir Richard Burton (Burton 1872a, b), two different ways of seeing Zanzibar through British eyes emerge, separated by only 60 years. Burton, fitting with the general pattern of colonial ideology, found little to admire in the Arab and African urban landscapes of Zanzibar, but at least in a narrow range of the plantation landscape, he had found order. As British visitors and residents wrote increasingly about clove plantations from the late nineteenth-century, their views did not only reflect a singular inability to comprehend a productive landscape. At best, their writing suggested that clove plantations might have a great potential in the world economy. But in the twentieth century, the failure of most planters to realize large profits was blamed on the cultural system of the Omani and Swahili landowners, and the greed of Indian moneylenders who were largely not interested in actually owning and managing plantations.

British administrators were not united in their desire for clear maps and plans of clove plantations on Zanzibar. They were not essential for public works projects such as roads and sanitation projects, where more limited survey, generally targeted at urban areas, would suffice (Bissell 2011, p. 120). But maps were essential to the imposition of particular forms of power and control, and for the full realization of the easy flow of capital through plantations, and for these reasons the issue of mapping plantation areas remained a prominent one for British administrators from the late nineteenth into the 1930s and beyond. Those who labored for decades for the never-realized dream of a full cadastral survey of Zanzibar were desirous of creating geographic knowledge, which could help to create colonial subjects in abstract form (Duncan 2002; Yeğenoğlu 1998, p. 17). But this was not simply an issue of the desire of the British to map, faced with ambivalence and hostility from Zanzibari residents. Underlying these different attitudes was a different set of logics of ownership, and a desire by the British for land to be more easily commodified.

Land Ownership

In 1912, the British administration on Zanzibar was working hard to draw up legislation and a framework for a full system of land titles. It was realized that this would be a massive undertaking, but some members of the British administration were hopeful that enacting such a plan would realize a fully capitalist working economy, and would therefore reap financial rewards. As Mr. Clark, the British Resident on Zanzibar, wrote to the Foreign Office in support of draft land title legislation:

> [I]t is a thing which *must* be faced if the land, the sole wealth of the country, is ever to be rescued from its present hopeless state and the sooner it is faced up the better…. The sale of free land in these islands is much hindered by the rooted dislike of the Arabs to parting

> with their estates even when it may be mortgaged up to and beyond its full value; but it is still more so by the impossibility in which a buyer finds himself of being able to make sure what he pays for becomes really his. The only way of enabling him to do so is to give him a Government title which is good against anything and anybody…. And it is quite possible that the mere facility of being able to dispose of his land by the simple process of producing a Government title will actually induce the Arab to dispose of it. (ZNA, 1912: Memorandum, 27th June, 1912, AB 40/5, Land Titles Decree [LTD], Mr. E. Clark)

This discussion demonstrates that plantation land could be easily seen by the British as a potential commodity. In views similar to those at play today, the simple availability of title deeds was seen to be vital to the functioning of free-market economics, which could then propel landowners to greater prosperity (de Soto 2000). What was needed for Zanzibar was a policy for secure land title, lest Zanzibar not be "a dying proposition" (ZNA, 8 April 1922: Registration of Title to Land [RTL], AB 40/7, Letter, Adamson, Senior Surveyor to the Department of Public Works).

In the view of those who were not well acquainted with the actual desires of Zanzibari landowners, there was a clear need for cadastral survey of rural land at a scale that would allow for the production of title deeds tied into an actual cartographic representation of land boundaries. Various survey schemes were suggested throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century. As with many urban schemes, these never came to fruition (Bissell 2011). For those drawing on a more general view of the requirements of a colonial administration, there was a desperate need for surveys, which would go far beyond the basic one-inch to one-mile scale of Craster's map of Pemba and Mathew's topographic survey of Zanzibar.

Optimism was raised by the promulgation of a land title decree in 1915, which drew on legislative form from other areas of the British Empire (ZNA, 1915: AB 40/6: Decree by His Highness, Sultan of Zanzibar. 1915. The Land Settlement Decree [LSD]). When this was drawn up and published, instructions were clear that all plantations were to be clearly marked with boundaries. These instructions suggested at least a modicum of hope that landowners would happily follow the cultural logics of landscape desired by the British. Instructions sent out to low-level administrators across both islands made this clear:

> Having made yourself fully acquainted with the proposed policy I am to request you to take every opportunity to explain carefully to the land owners of your district the intention of Government with regard to the delineation of estate boundaries. The success of the measure will largely depend on their cooperation. The temporary boundary marks are now on order in England, and pending their arrival it is desirable not only (as explained above) to acquaint land owners with what is about to be undertaken, but also to prevail upon them to utilize the time which will elapse before the enforcement of the Decree to decide upon the boundaries they propose to claim, and further to come to some mutual arrangement with their respective neighbours as to any doubtful boundaries of their estates. At the same time they should be urged especially to endeavor to agree to simplify crooked and irregular lines by mutual concession with each other. (ZNA, 1915: LSD, AB 40/6, Letter from Sinclair, Chief Secretary)

But this failed to have any effect on plantation areas, beyond very limited survey work, by local Assistant District Commissioners (ADCs) who were lacking in skill and time to successfully survey land and place boundary markers. The ADCs did attempt to undertake some survey, apparently with initial success in 1916. But the

elaborate plans for boundary markers shipped in from England to be neatly placed along straight boundaries ultimately failed. The ADCs had only limited survey knowledge "especially in drawing plans, which requires some technical training to make them of value for record purposes." Only a few holdings were ever marked out along their boundaries, and even fewer were turned into sketch plans. The climate of Zanzibar also conspired against them; many of the markers were rotten and lost within a year (ZNA, 29th July 1924: LSD, AB 40/6, Report to Resident).

But enthusiasm for this type of cadastral survey, at a scale which would permit land titles with mapped boundaries, was not steady. Some of this reluctance clearly stemmed from the cost and the fear that, despite hopeful projections by those in its favor, land title survey would not reap financial rewards. Failed early schemes clearly highlighted issues of practicality and cost. Concluding the failure of the 1915 decree, by 1924, the chief secretary acknowledged that the kind of survey work required could not be "efficiently be carried out by administrative officers. It requires whole teams of surveyors, assisted by Administrative officers" (ZNA, 30 July 1924: LSD, AB40/6, Letter, Resident to Chief Secretary). Despite arguments, cadastral survey was "somewhat of a luxury" to be undertaken only if there were a clear means to defray costs (ZNA, 9 May 1927: AB 40/149, Land Surveys in Zanzibar and Pemba [LSZP], Land Officer to Chief Secretary). Despite this, an offer of consultancy in 1929 from the firm "Moore's Modern Methods Ltd." led to the employment of Sir Ernest Dowson to investigate and suggest solutions for the ongoing land title and survey issues. Following his visit in 1935, Sir Ernest Dowson's conclusions were clear: A full cadastral survey must be completed in order for there to be an effective land register seriously needed "for the economical management and development of its resources." All previous measures to this point had, he opined, been "wasteful" as they all failed to do the full job of survey and reform required (ZNA, 8 Dec 1935: Land Survey and Registration [LSR], AB 40/151b, Letter, Sir Ernest Dowson). The desire for full survey of landholdings, buttressed by the argument that this was vital for the functioning of Zanzibari economy and governance, continued well beyond the main period of interest here. Recurring within these arguments was the spatial logic of capitalism; buying and selling land was important, owning land was important, and these activities required clear plans and surveys of the boundaries of landholdings.

Owning Land on Zanzibar

British colonial officers who were resident on Zanzibar were also often aware of the deep ambivalence of plantation owners to their schemes and of the ability for plantations of cloves and coconuts to be perfectly functional in the absence of cadastral plans of the islands. Emerging clearly from the writings of the colonial administration is a glimpse of an alternate set of logics that governed ownership of land and the correct way in which this could be transferred. Craster (1913, p. 111) realized that the work he understood to be absolutely vital was viewed in a different way by

Zanzibaris. Discussing local Pemban residents, he commented that the notion "that any one should wish to have a map of the island, or that the map could be of any use when it was made [aside from the potential for the government to steal land], seemed to them absurd." The survey of Pemba also ran afoul of local residents sabotaging the survey by stealing vital beacons and other materials. A telegram sent by Craster to the authorities on Zanzibar outlined the issue of having had "many survey beacons" destroyed and "flags and materials stolen" (ZNA, 1 July 1911: Survey of Pemba by Captain Craster, R.E. [SPCC] AB 40/148, Telegram). Despite official backing from the British colonial authorities on the islands, Craster found villagers unhelpful, at times refusing to be clear on the naming of particular places (ZNA, Aug 1911: SPCC. AB 40/148, Progress Report). These obstacles suggest a local population that was unwilling to aid in the cartographic project and saw no reason to assist the mixed British, Indian, and African survey team.

On Zanzibar, producing commodities for export and, at least in the initial stages, making profit in the process clearly did not entail a requirement that land should be planned out. The type of surveyor who thrived in plantation areas of Jamaica was seen by Zanzibaris to be working at an "absurd" task. Again and again, in discussions of survey work, reference is made to the potential antipathy of plantation owners to survey for the purpose of land tiles. Colonial officials recognized the difficulty of convincing them that a land titles decree "was devised in their own interests as well as those of the Government…. An Arab or native who read section 16 would at once conclude that the Government was cunningly scheming to expropriate the holders of the land with the object of taking it for themselves" (ZNA, 1912: Draft of Land Titles Decree, amended by letter from Captain Barton, First Minister, AB 20/5, LTD). By the 1920s, the attempt to plan individual landowners' boundaries on an ad hoc basis was abandoned, prompting some of the consultant Sir Ernest Dowson's later comments on the failure of earlier half measures to produce a system of land title.

Discussions of historical plantation owners by contemporary Zanzibaris also provided narratives that further fleshed out the picture of how landholdings may have been conceptualized during the nineteenth-century. While these have to be taken with caution, filtered through over a hundred years of local historical change, they do provide some insights beyond the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century records of Europeans. One site in the Mahonda region, where stone foundation remains were visible,[5] was associated with a plantation owner who clearly had a conception of the extent of his holdings. While not referring to land ownership, local residents recounted that the owner was believed to have said of his holdings: "it cannot rain without raining on my *shamba* [farm or plantation]" since he owned plantations across a wide area on both Zanzibar and Pemba (Croucher 2006,

[5] This site was recorded as part of the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey 2003 as SC19. The mound from which stone foundations were visible covered approximately 10 by 15 m. A wide range of imported ceramics were visible on the ground surface, including Chinese and South-East Asian porcelain and European refined white earthenwares. Overall, this evidence suggested a sizeable planter's home, with the ceramics pointing to an early settlement date (Croucher 2006, p. 366).

p. 403). This seems clearly to indicate a sense of how broad landholdings were and a projection of social importance through these holdings.

Turning back to historical documents, there are some further insights into the way in which clove plantations and other holdings may have been clearly under the "ownership" in terms other than those of Western capitalist norms. Part of this issue starts to emerge through the lamentation that trees were more important for plantation owners than the land on which they stood. Reporting on the survey of rural Zanzibari landholdings in 1923, Senior Surveyor of Zanzibar, A.E. Adamson, wrote that, when appointed to the post, he was:

> …under the impression that it was then intended to make a complete Cadastral Survey of the two islands, and thus rectify the unfortunate position of the Shamba Owners, in that at present they have no undisputed boundaries, or perhaps, I should say, undisputable boundaries, to the LAND on which their crops are growing, and therefore any property Title they may be in possession of, consists of TREES only—the LAND, is I believe, in most cases actually marked by Boundary Trees, but these are not Surveyed, and relatively fixed, but their positions are supposed to be fixed only in the memories of the adjoining owners. (ZNA, 9th June 1923: LSZP, AB40/14, Report, Adamson, Senior Surveyor)

Adamson appears to have been perceptive about these matters. In an earlier letter, also discussing the issue of land tenure on Zanzibar, he laid out what he understood to be widespread East African coastal norms:

> At the present time, judging by what happens on the Coastal Belt the ownership of land is accepted, in most cases, by the asserted ownership of certain trees, which he states are on the Boundaries of his property; planting of trees is going on continuously and it often happens that a tree is planted over the boundary line between the two original terminal trees, and his line is therefore altered encroaching on his neighbours land and excising a portion therefrom. Several cases of this have occurred, and the adjudicator has been forced to give the ownership of the land to one person, but the ownership of trees to another. (ZNA, 8 April, 1922: RTL, AB 40/7, Letter from Adamson, Senior Surveyor)

The logic of this system escaped Adamson, for it seemed that trees—a part of the agrarian landscape—could only be actually owned if the land that they were growing on was legally owned prior to the planting of trees. The solution was clear: "When the mutually agreed boundaries of properties have once been laid down by right lines, this jumping of land cannot occur, as trees planted on a man's land become his property, as he is entitled to the fruit of his own soil."

Two systems of understanding how "ownership" could be apportioned appear to have clashed in these discussions of Zanzibari land tenure. As interest and potential financial support for cadastral survey and land tenure reform waned, British colonial officials on Zanzibar made it clear that, by and large, the ownership of clove plantations and other agrarian property was not at issue. This leaves few documents beyond the 1930s from colonial archives to draw on for interpreting land ownership. But in a review of twentieth-century anthropological studies of communities on Zanzibar and elsewhere along the Swahili coast, Middleton (1961, 1992; Horton and Middleton 2000; Middleton and Campbell 1965) suggests a very different formulation of land ownership and established patterns of land use in the region which differed substantively from those developed under principles of capitalist agrarian production in Europe and European colonies. Various means of land ownership ex-

isted when Middleton first carried out fieldwork in the mid-twentieth century, but these were not simply related to carving out plots of land belonging to this person or that person. Some lands were held by particular individuals, and some trees were certainly held under the ownership of individuals. Primarily, however, land ownership, particularly in indigenous Swahili areas, often rested on shared group interests between various networks of persons. These were often linked to descent group, but a person could belong to different groups through various registers of real and joking kinship links, allowing them access to different pieces of land at different times in their life (Middleton 1992, p. 88).

The anthropological work discussed above was most concerned with the Swahili society, seeking to create clear boundaries between different ethnic groups. Plantation areas of Zanzibar were argued to be "very different" from those of the indigenous Swahili and urban areas of the islands. This difference was encoded by the idea that plantations had all been new settlement in pristine areas: "The original owners of clove plantations were in all cases Arabs, who were granted areas of forest land by Seyyid Said bin Sultan and his successors" (Middleton and Campbell 1965, p. 32). However, later scholarship has broken down such stark ethnic divides on the islands, noting that the 1960s was the time when these were reimagined in local politics (Glassman 2010, 2011). The comments of Adamson suggest that there was perhaps greater overlap between indigenous Swahili conceptions of land rights and ownership and that of plantation areas than might be supposed by the division outlined in Middleton's work.

Many plantation owners were newcomers to the islands. They were immigrants from Oman, influenced by cultural norms of their homeland. They were also part of the type of cosmopolitan sociopolitical climate of the nineteenth-century western Indian Ocean discussed in the introductory chapters (Bose 2006). If the fact that the original propagator of clove trees to Zanzibar, Saleh bin Haramil al Araby, "doyen of the Omani merchant class," was a man who was working as a translator for Europeans is taken as an indicator, clove plantations did not simply emerge from Middle Eastern genealogies (Sheriff 1987, p. 49). East Africa in the nineteenth-century was a cosmopolitan place (Prestholdt 2008), and it is important to realize that at least a segment of plantation owners may have been aware of the type of landscapes that dominated European colonial plantation regions such as those of sugar planters on Mauritius (Allen 1999). The enterprise of rapidly establishing investments in large plantation holdings seems to suggest a clear awareness of the growing commodity trading in the Indian Ocean by the early nineteenth-century, perhaps linked to the knowledge of the profits, which could be gained from the sale of ivory from caravan trading. Omani, Swahili, and European conceptions of productive agrarian landscapes might potentially have been drawn on in varying measures by Omani plantation owners.

As Omani planters initiated their agrarian spaces, there seems no evidence that their work began with mapping their landholdings. The vital step of establishing title and cartographic vision of plantation space, as was so crucial elsewhere (Delle 1998, p. 124), seemed unimportant to the emergence of plantation owners in Eastern Africa and, frustratingly so for the British administration, continued to be of

little relevance to holding these spaces under plantation owner's control. Instead, their work—or rather that of their slaves—started with the planting of trees. Local residents recalled the arrival of nineteenth-century Arab planter Abdalla bin Jabir at Mgoli, Pemba (this plantation was the site of a major stone-built planter's home and is discussed extensively in later chapters). He arrived at Mgoli via Mombasa, already as the owner of many enslaved Africans. Their first task was said to be laying out trees, which they did in careful straight lines, perhaps drawing on ideas from European landscapes (Croucher 2006, p. 407). It is this action, which potentially solidified Abdalla bin Jabir's control of these landholdings in the eyes of Zanzibari neighbors. Placing boundary markers and having a title deed would have done nothing to demonstrate land ownership for this man. As discussed above, within anthropological and historical discussions of East African norms, it is clear that the trees themselves, including clove trees, are able to be personal property, whereas land generally lies outside this type of clear individual ownership. But covering a very large area with clove trees seems to have been a route to establishing individual control over land. In placing their authority of ownership into newly settled clove holdings, the nature of cloves as a tree crop may have helped to create Omani planters as effectively the owners of large tracts of land which could then be passed on and which the British colonial government was later, against the wishes of most Zanzibaris, to transfer into a different kind of cartographic reality.

Capitalist Production, Alternative Spatial Logics

Historical archaeologists have viewed the landscapes of plantations in the Americas as tied to the development of capitalist spatial logics (Delle 1998). These shifts mesh with the linear trend of rural landscapes from feudalism to agrarian capitalism that began in Europe (Johnson 1996, 2007; Williams 1994/[1944]). These forms of spatial control and ownership have also been linked to the development of the power of nation-states and that of colonialism, where the spatial entities of states and bounded territories became the containers for political action (Brenner 1999, p. 46; Sparke 2005). In refining the spatial tendencies of capitalist nation states and colonial states, wider forms of hegemonic control were important, such as the development of racial difference (Kobayashi and Peake 1994; McCann 1999). Africa, however, figures into such developments only through the control of European powers. In postcolonial Africa, states have often failed to manage this same spatial hegemony (Herbst 2000; Sidaway 2002). On Zanzibar today, maps remain inaccurate in comparison to GPS data. A new mapping project—funded though foreign development money—is taking place, showing that cartographic representation is still understood to be a foundational part of a working state. With new maps in place, bureaucratic functions—particularly the land registry—will function more efficiently. This contrasts with the fact that most Zanzibari landowners (from anecdotal experience) still think about their holdings through non-cartographic knowledge of the landscape. In the usual teleological discussions of space, European spatial and

geographic hegemony developed through certain routes, which are absent within indigenous histories of non-Western areas. Withdrawal of European power equates to the collapse of these forms of control and the demonstration that indigenous African forms of power largely lack the same kind of gaze and scopic regime as exercised by colonial Europe.

In many ways, Zanzibari clove plantations lie outside of these norms. At the close of the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth, the British were desperate to extend control through mapping and spatial ordering. Yet through this period, it is also clear that there were alternative forms of clear spatial control of Omani and Swahili plantation spaces. Trees were owned and large areas of space were known and controlled within a system of production where crops were gathered to be sold into the capitalist world economy. Here lies impossible territory for observers such as Craster or Adamson, both surveyors trained within a system of ordered landscapes. To their eyes, the landscapes of Zanzibar were untenable as landscapes that fitted within the same system of capitalism that existed in rural Britain or the United States. Yet the production of these wild and untamed landscapes fed into market economies. Zanzibari clove plantations thus begin to emerge as geographical spaces, which sit simultaneously within and outside of capitalism. The possibility that the history of capitalist landscapes is not as straightforward as the study of Europe and America alone may suggest (Goody 2004) is followed through the next chapter. If Zanzibari plantation owners were able to be plantation owners in the ownership sense, without mapping and bounding their spaces, how were other forms of control enacted? How was slavery conceptualized in spatial forms? How was labor controlled? How was power exerted? Demonstrating the discordant landscapes of control—those of trees and those of Cartesian perspectivalism—opens up possibilities for more complex forms of colonial geographies than perhaps realized at present within historical archaeology.

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Chapter 4
The Archaeology of Slavery

The Archaeology of Slavery on Zanzibar

> The slaves employed on the plantations lead an easy life…. Two days in each week—Thursday and Friday—the slaves do what they please; all the produce they carry to market on these days is on their own account, and consequently these are the chief market days on Zanzibar…. Each slave in the country has a good-sized hut, with a garden round it…. (Rigby 1861, p. 11)

European observers such as Rigby characterized enslaved life on Zanzibar as one of ease, a trope that was to continue in later colonial frustrations over the failure of the emancipated population to fully participate in waged labor (Cooper 1980). Population estimates from Zanzibar make clear that the majority of plantation residents were enslaved. Throughout the nineteenth-century, over 10,000 individuals each year were enslaved on the African mainland and marched to the coast where they were to be sold for labor in areas around the Indian Ocean or, increasingly as the nineteenth-century progressed, for labor on East African plantations. Ten thousand individuals per year were estimated to be purchased for various labor roles on Zanzibar annually through the 1860s, at the height of clove plantation production (Sheriff 1987, p. 60). In 1901, while trying to work out a figure for the number and proportion of those freed following the 1897 emancipation decree, Basil S. Cave, British Consul at Zanzibar, ran through a number of previous estimates of the enslaved population of the islands. The earliest had been that of Captain Smee of the Indian Navy in 1811, who thought that of an estimated population of 200,000 for the two islands, around two-thirds, or 133,000, were enslaved. In 1835, Dr. Ruschenberger had estimated a slightly higher enslaved population of 150,000, and another German, Dr. Krapf, in 1844 had estimated 100,000 for Zanzibar alone. By 1858, Sir Richard Burton had raised the estimate for the two islands to 400,000, but thought a similar proportion of the population as Smee, around 266,000, were slaves. But these were all rough estimates, many based on only a poor knowledge of plantation areas. By 1897, as manumission became reality for at least a proportion of this number, Sir Lloyd Mathews, resident on Zanzibar, dropped an earlier estimate and thought that the enslaved population was not higher than 100,000 (Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford (RH).

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Anti-Slavery Papers (ASG) G118/A, Printed Papers on Slavery in Africa (PPSA), 15th April, 1901: Correspondence Respecting the Status of Slavery in East Africa and the Island of Zanzibar and Pemba (CRSS), Letter from Mr. Basil Cave to the Marquess of Landsdown).

These varying numbers, while making it hard to determine an exact slave population on nineteenth-century Zanzibar, irrefutably demonstrate the scale of the enslaved population. Around two out of each three individuals living on the islands during the era of Omani-run clove plantations were enslaved. The clove plantation owners and indigenous Swahili population were a minority of the population. Any visitor to a clove plantation would have found that the majority of those around them were enslaved persons of African origin. This enslaved population may not, however, have been viewed purely as chattel. Their position, following African and Islamic convention, as indicated by Rigby's description, would likely have been far more humane than that of enslaved counterparts in the Caribbean or North America under regimes of plantation slavery. But the scale of plantation slavery allows us to draw interesting comparisons with other areas with intensive plantation slavery. Comparison raises an interesting set of questions: How was slavery different on Zanzibar to these other plantation areas? Why were the relations of slavery different? How did changes in the nature of slavery and the social relations of East Africa impact on the development, or lack of, an African diasporic culture within Zanzibar? This chapter turns more fully towards archaeological data, integrated with that of history, to address these questions.

The study of the lives of enslaved Africans on plantations has, since the 1960s, been a mainstay of historical archaeology. Through this lens, archaeologists have turned keen eyes to find the traces of autonomy and resistance within the material remains of the enslaved. Spatial practices have been as fundamental to this examination as they have to understanding the ideologies of plantation owners. Areas such as provision grounds and yards utilized by enslaved populations have increasingly been examined for traces of the social lives of enslaved populations. These were key spaces where enslaved individuals and communities were able to come together in shared cultural practices outside of the mandated parameters of the plantation owner and white society (Heath and Bennett 2000; Battle-Baptiste 2010). As a counterpoint, the spatialities of slavery have also been understood through the types of regimes designed to control the lives of enslaved populations. Being able to observe different stages of labor was one way through which plantation owners could control enslaved bodies through spatial practices (Delle 1998). More obvious control, such as the prison-like housing of those enslaved in nineteenth-century Cuba, may also highlight some of the more harsh and inhumane treatment of enslaved laborers (Singleton 2001). These latter spatialities have been linked with some of the most inhumane iterations of plantation slavery in the Americas. These also align closely with the most intense forms of capitalist production (Delle 1998, 2000).

Examining archaeological and historical evidence for the ways in which landscape and space was used in relation to slavery allows for investigation into the very nature of slavery on the islands during the nineteenth-century. Studying the way in which enslaved laborers may have been controlled, or whether there was a complete

lack of spatial domination over their lives, is one route to examining the manner in which plantation owners may have been increasingly controlling slaves in order to increase their labor output on plantations. Conversely, the resistance of enslaved populations to their conditions may be seen through the creation of autonomous spatial practices within Zanzibari plantation landscapes. Clearly, the relationship of enslavement goes far beyond a simple domination and resistance binary. Acts interpreted as resistance may simply be a means by which those oppressed managed to get by on a day-to-day basis, and resistance is not the only reaction to oppression and control (Leibmann and Murphy 2011, p. 9). The control of slavery and the lives of those enslaved must therefore be considered within a wider framework, examining domination and resistance, but also attuned to more complex relations between the two, through which a fuller picture of plantation slavery on nineteenth-century Zanzibar may emerge.

Islamic Slavery in Africa

Slavery, at one level, is a straightforward relation where individuals are held and controlled by another against their will. But when examined in closer detail, it is far from straightforward. The U.S., the nation of liberty and freedom, has plantation slavery within the core of its history (Davis 1988), the legacy of which continues to haunt politics and social justice in the U.S. today. Slavery, despite seeming to have "ended" in the nineteenth-century through a series of abolition campaigns and emancipation in the Americas, is a specter that has never disappeared. Work on the issues of slavery in the contemporary world, including the U.S., highlights ongoing practices of slavery and forced labor (Bales and Soodalter 2010; Made in a Free World 2011). But a woman forcibly trafficked to work in what is effectively slavery in a home in the contemporary U.S. would be hard to compare to a nineteenth-century slave warrior in the Senegambia (Klein 1977, p. 338), or with an enslaved washerwoman in late eighteenth-century Cape Town (Jordan 2005). Although slavery might seem to be some form of ahistorical institution, begging us to always address the inhumanity of those held in bondage, clearly when approached in specific situations slavery is not something static; relations of bondage can be understood only within their own context. As the historian Joseph Miller (2012, p. 18) has recently argued, the study of slavery needs to be carefully historicized. It needs to be understood within the terms and relations of the historical context in which it existed. The study of slavery in the past must be approached by viewing "slaving as both a product and a strategy of change itself, of time and timing." Miller argues that slavers must be contextualized "as they have thrived in specific times and places in enormously varied ways, and also to contextualize the enslaved to sense their meaningful experiences as human beings and to identify their resultant responses." Rather than seeing slavery as abstracted simply into an institution, slavery must therefore be recognized as occurring within historically particularistic ways. But in the writing of *plantation slavery* as a specific institution, a singular origin is usually traced.

For most historians of plantations, the genealogy of this agrarian institution comes via the Islamic world. Out of the Middle East came the development of sugar plantations in the Mediterranean, thus providing the Spanish—after the Reconquista—with a model they could implement in their expansion through the Atlantic world. Thus suggests Curtin (1998, p. 3): "Europe's involvement in the plantation complex began when it encountered sugar in the eastern Mediterranean at the time of the Crusades." Much of this tracing of the genealogy of plantations in the Americas comes through Sidney Mintz's (1985) exploration of the rise of plantation slavery in the Caribbean. His work was masterful in connecting the complex interrelations of Western capitalism and plantation slavery. But as this genealogy is traced out, slavery becomes detached from Islamic roots. Instead of being discussed in relation to slavery in other parts of the world, plantations in the Americas and the Atlantic African diaspora become viewed as a singularity. We have arguments by important historians making the case for remembering plantation slavery as central to the history of the Americas: "Simply put, American history cannot be understood without slavery. Slavery shaped the American economy, its politics, its culture, and its fundamental principles" (Berlin 2004, p. 1257). One could find similar quotations to highlight the importance of slavery to the Caribbean and South America. What is lacking from such discussions, however, is a broader comparative perspective. If American history cannot be understood without slavery (an argument with which I wholeheartedly agree), what about areas with histories also shaped by plantation slavery, which lie outside of the Atlantic world? We could take up the same statements as made by Berlin for African nations such as South Africa (Hall 2000) or Ghana (Bredwa-Mensah 1999) and find them to be equally relevant. Plantation slavery has come to be seen as isomorphic to the Americas. But as is made so very clear in thinking about Zanzibari clove plantations, the history of plantations goes outside of the Atlantic world, and also exists outside of direct European control. Recognizing the diversity of slavery and plantations is vital for archaeologists to produce the type of fine-grained analysis and contextualization called for by Miller (2012).

To begin to address a broader, more comparative approach to plantations through Zanzibari contexts requires an understanding of long-standing historical and anthropological debates on the nature of slavery on the African continent and Islamic world. Such debates rest on the broad comparative study of slavery, which tends to place a binary division between "open" and "closed" systems (Watson 1980). When considered within these broader comparative studies, racially based chattel slavery of the Atlantic world from the seventeenth through nineteenth-centuries has largely been seen as an aberration in the *longue durée* of comparative world history. As specifically African forms of slavery were viewed through scholarly lens from the 1970s onward, they were increasingly differentiated from that of the Americas, helping to make a point about the nature of African societies in an era of African postcolonialism. This difference also heightened the uniqueness and monolithic nature of plantation slavery against other economic forms. This type of historical study was critically summed up by Frederick Cooper (1977, p. 103) several decades ago:

> Americanists have found African slavery to be a conveniently benign foil against which the exploitation and degradation of American slavery stand out. Africanists have been anxious to dissociate slavery in Africa from its bad image in the Americas. Eager to call attention to the achievements of African kings and entrepreneurs, scholars have often refused to face the question of whether in Africa, as in most of the world, the concentration of wealth and power also meant exploitation and subordination.

Cooper, in this quote, highlights the oft-identified exceptionalism of African slavery—something always other than that of the West. Such generalizations also rested on a body of scholarly literature which have created a somewhat monolithic vision of slavery (often including Islamic slavery) within the African continent. He also highlights the fact that scholars had often failed to point out the exploitative nature of African slavery in the same manner as had been the case for racialized slavery in the Americas.

To contextualize this understanding of African slavery requires context for the way in which scholars came to address the topic. The study of specifically African forms of slavery developed in a newly postcolonial context of the 1960s onward, in which scholars were keen to show that Africa and Africans had a history other than that of colonialism (Cooper 2005, p. 43). Historians and anthropologists began to look at slavery in Africa as something separate from the Atlantic slave trade. African slavery became something that existed within a particular structural framework: John Fage (1969) argued that land was more abundant in Africa than the human labor required to make it productive. This was a key structural difference to Europe, where land was in shorter supply, and therefore where control of land was crucial to being at the top of a social hierarchy. By contrast, on the African continent, holding slaves for the purpose of agrarian labor meant that the abundant land supply could be effectively utilized to support social hierarchies. An individual or group at the top of a hierarchical society needed *demographic* support. Slaves therefore could be viewed as a "demographic resource" (Fisher 2001). Introduced by Miers and Kopytoff (1977), the concept of "wealth in people," although not always limited to enslaved people, has remained a powerful lens through which scholars have understood equatorial Africa (Guyer 1993, p. 243).

In the study of African slavery, slaves were defined as outsiders within slaving societies, whose chief defining quality was their origin as people who had been wrenched from their home communities and brought forcibly into that of their masters (Fisher and Fisher 1970; Miers and Kopytoff 1977). In the "wealth in people" model, they were understood to function as personal clientele, providing their owners with the social power gained from a large group of followers, while also providing labor resources. Those enslaved within such relations could over time, to varying degrees, work to become more integrated into the society of their owners through processes of acculturation (Fisher 2001; Lovejoy 1983; Robertson and Klein 1983). Therefore, although slaves were outsiders, the broad structures of African societies were seen to largely allow for slaves, over time, to begin to assimilate into the society into which they had been enslaved.

Slaves within this framework were not viewed as commodities, certainly not in the way in which chattel slaves became commodified within European systems of

slavery in the Americas (Kopytoff 1986, p. 65). The religious context of slavery further altered the general conditions of slaves. The origins of slaving in indigenous Africa are unclear, but archaeological evidence seems to point to the fact that slave holding was a pre-Islamic practice in at least some West African contexts (McIntosh 2001). Despite this, Islam had a definite impact on patterns of slavery on the continent due to the rules and customs surrounding Islamic practice (Cooper 1981). Slavery in Muslim societies was structured through a clear set of rules and was "deeply ingrained in historical, mainstream Islam" (Fisher 2001, p. 16). Although the rules surrounding slavery in historical Muslim societies varied and were adhered to in varying degrees of stricture, fundamental to these was that the enslaved at the time of their capture should not normally be Muslims. Slave owners should, however, attempt to convert their slaves to Islam (Fisher 2001; Segal 2001).

These interpretive frameworks were developed through the examination of a range of slaving societies. Many of these were focused on West Africa (Kopytoff and Miers 1977; Klein 1977), although the general patterns of servitude were also traced into Eastern Africa, including Tanzania (Hartwig 1977). This generalized structure could then be contrasted with the more "closed" nature of racially based slavery on plantations. As scholarship on African slavery developed, studies were careful not simply to label it as benign. But they noted that it did not conform to the image of slavery which was developed in Euro-American plantations. A person enslaved within an American plantation system could be characterized thus:

> He [sic] is a chattel, totally in the possession of another person who uses him for private ends. He has no control over his destiny, no choice of occupation or employer, no rights to property or marriage, and no control over the fate of his children. He can be inherited, moved, or sold without regard to his feelings, and may be ill-treated, sometimes even killed with impunity. Furthermore, his progeny inherit his status. Slaves form a "class" apart, at the very bottom of the social ladder…. (Miers and Kopytoff 1977, p. 3)

This quotation, of course, produces an overgeneralization of plantation slavery in the Americas. Even within the Americas the form of slavery most certainly differed through time, within different national and regional contexts, and also in relation to different forms of labor, whether this be growing varied plantation crops (sugar, rice, cotton, etc.), or for domestic labor, all with different labor requirements. Historians and archaeologists are also increasingly drawing our attention to the place of slavery in the northeastern U.S., and in the process further breaking down the possibility for a monolithic portrayal of slavery in the Americas. However, the characteristics presented above by Miers and Kopytoff provide a useful frame for the legal and social bondage broadly associated with plantation slavery in many different political regimes and temporal contexts.

The scale and the productive regime of nineteenth-century East African plantation slavery seems to have no easy parallel however with the African system of slavery. Slavery in Eastern Africa did, however, develop out of earlier Islamic and African norms. Although evidence is hard to come by, historical references and archaeological evidence suggest that slavery was part of Swahili societies prior to the intensification of the later slave trade and plantation systems (Alexander 2001; Kusimba 2004; Newitt 1978). The seeming anomaly of plantation slavery in

nineteenth-century East Africa was addressed by Frederick Cooper's work (1977, 1979), which attempted to draw together economic and social aspects of slavery to gain a more complex picture of the institution in this particular context. Assessing the changing nature of slavery in nineteenth-century East Africa, he argued that as planters became enmeshed in capitalist global economies their view of the position of enslaved individuals may have changed, allowing them to conceptualize them more as commodities (Cooper 1977, 1979; see also Glassman 1991, 1995). Plantation owners were growing goods for sale through straightforward commodity transactions. The economic relations of their production may have aided the alienation of slaves' social position to something more in line with slavery in the Americas and European colonies through the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

The social position of slavery on the East African coast was complex. There was no simple dichotomy between free and unfree. Enslavement could pass from one generation to the next, but this varied, with hereditary slavery most apparent in plantation contexts (Glassman 1991, p. 290). Within Omani plantation and elite urban households, children born of *suria* (concubines) were largely treated as the equal to those of freeborn wives (McCurdy 2006, p. 445). Enslaved men might raise their social standing through demonstrations of Muslim religious practices, demonstrating their ability to be part of *uungwana* (civilization) or *ustaarabu* (Arabness), in contrast to the *ushenzi* (uncivilized, barbarian, or foreign) characteristics associated with slaves (Eastman 1994, p. 87).

Gradations of bondage and degrees of freedom can be viewed through the terms recorded in the Swahili language as relating in some way to the broader term of *utumwa* (slavery). These included terms for bodyguard, agent, head of a group of plantation slaves, overseers of labor gangs on plantations or construction sites, house or domestic slave, plantation slave, ship's slave, male slave, homeborn slave, raw slave (*mshenzi*),[1] foolish slave, female slave, concubine, servant, day laborer, and boy (Lane and MacDonald 2011, p. 5). The status of individuals we might gloss simply as "slave" was therefore a complex one. Glassman has argued that in the Pangani region, located opposite to Zanzibar on mainland East Africa, where a comparable plantation economy (although growing sugar) developed during the nineteenth-century, the broad relationships of slavery were shifting. This was a complex process, involving numerous small shifts in different contexts. For example, fewer slave owners may have taught Islamic practice to the individuals they held as enslaved laborers. Coming to practice Islam was one route through which slaves moved away from their *washenzi* (barbaric) status in coastal society. We could view this change as a transformation from something more akin to the broad structures of Islamic and African slavery into that of plantation slavery in the Americas. But this does not come close to understanding the type of conflict that Glassman identifies in the historical record:

[1] The word *mshenzi* translates roughly to 'savage.' *Washenzi*, the plural term of the word, was able to connote the group of slaves furthest from civilized, urbane Muslim culture.

> The transformation of "absorptive" or clientelist slavery into "closed" plantation slavery was not a process of one "system" replacing another. Rather, it was the product of increasingly bitter conflicts, often violent, between masters bent on crushing their slaves' social autonomy, and slaves who aspired not only to defend but to expand it. (Glassman 1995, p. 84)

The fact that slavery was not a fixed position within coastal society provided even those slaves held in harsh plantation regimes in East Africa with alternatives. As I discuss in greater detail later in this chapter, archaeological and historical archaeology shows that slave owners and those who were enslaved used a variety of strategies to attempt to alter the conditions of slavery or to better their condition. These examinations show us that slavery was not a fixed institution on Zanzibar, much to the confusion of British administrators of the late nineteenth-century as they attempted to ban a blanket condition which simply did not exist in the way that they imagined.

Remembering Slavery

The widespread fact of slavery on Zanzibar was openly discussed in oral histories collected on Zanzibar and Pemba. When discussing large clove plantations, slaves were regularly mentioned, sometimes accompanied by tales of brutality. Out of five interviews in the area around Mahonda, three mentioned the use of enslaved labor. Interviewees were open about the history of plantations in the area discussing the fact that slaves were held by Arab plantation owners. Memories of slave owning were sometimes rich with specific tales, such as those connected with the site of Mgoli on Pemba. But many appeared to be almost standardized answers, repeating the kind of narratives that might be found in Tanzanian schoolbooks, including recounting that slaves could be killed in public (Croucher 2006, pp. 402–404). Such answers contrast with historical scholarship of slavery on the islands, which suggests enslaved clove plantation laborers lived under a more lenient regime (Cooper 1977, 1979).

In these types of oral histories, and in some scholarship, key sites and narratives become a standardized past of slavery on Zanzibar. The Mangapwani "slave caves," for example, is a well-known site included on clove plantation tours as tied in to the slave trade and used for the concealment of illegally traded slaves (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 15). On clove plantation tours, Mangapwani is often on the itinerary, offering a useful place to stop on the beach. Semi-interested tourists are told about the brutality of a system where slaves were traded through these caverns. But the official signage at the site claims only that it was "alleged that the cavern was later used to conceal slaves" (Fig. 4.1). Just as with so-called slave caves at Shimoni, on the Kenyan coast, it seems that certain sites become supportive of a locally based history of slavery that posits the practices as similar to those of the Atlantic world (Wynne-Jones and Walsh 2010). Mangapwani is a relatively minor example of the narratives of slavery on Zanzibar. In the city of Zanzibar itself, the

Fig. 4.1 Mangapwani

Anglican Cathedral has been the center of histories of slavery on the islands. Lurid tales of "slave chambers" are told about a series of chambers in the Cathedral, supposedly part of the slave market that once existed on the site, located in the Mkunazni quarter of the city. Such stories are not closely related to the truths of history, as historians would create from documented history. The "slave chambers" are actually part of a structure built by missionaries 20 years after the slave market itself had been closed (Glassman 2010, p. 178). In the case of Shimoni, such narratives can be seen as a more recent shift, tied to the development of tourism and the replication of European narratives of slavery. The situation on Zanzibar is a little more complex. The process of remembering slavery locally on Zanzibar is tied in to the twentieth-century politics of the islands, including the revolution of 1964, which overthrew the sultanate and what was seen to be Arab-controlled political power. Interpreting the content of oral historical interviews in relation to archaeological findings requires some understanding of the complexity slavery holds within local Zanzibari history.

The early twentieth-century intelligentsia on Zanzibar grew out of families who associated themselves with the Arab landowning classes. Utilizing frameworks of progress drawn from British colonial education, they argued for the civilizing

influence that Islam had bought to the coast. While not directly talking about slavery per se, in their historical writings, Glassman (2010, p. 188) suggests that there was almost an apologetic stance towards slavery, "suggesting that it was one of the mechanisms by which Arabs had civilized the region's African inhabitants." Despite such claims, in post-Second World War Zanzibar there was also an alternative political voice, the "subaltern intelligentsia" (Glassman 2010, 2011). This was a group drawn from poor indigenous inhabitants of the islands and of more recent immigrants from the mainland. Drawing on narratives of history, civilization, and nationalism—all drawn from the intelligentsia—the subaltern intelligentsia also drew on pan-African influence, brought by immigrants from mainland Tanganyika and Kenya. They began to argue that "all people of African ancestry shared a common national identity fixed in nature and blood" and in so doing set up clear parameters for beginning to argue that slavery was an evil perpetrated by Arabs against Africans (Glassman 2010, p. 189). Such discourse fit with earlier British abolitionist narratives. But these were not simply passed down from the late nineteenth-century through to the present day. Instead, the tumultuous politics of Zanzibar in the 1950s and 1960s provided a rewriting of the history of slavery within the context of twentieth-century politics, drawn along clear racial lines. Tales of slavery as told by subaltern journalists of the mid-twentieth century were not based on abolitionist writings of the nineteenth-century. Instead, Glassman (2010, p. 190) argues that they were more creative, "reimagined from a variety of sources" and most certainly not the product of colonial indoctrination alone.[2]

Interviews on Zanzibar and Pemba provided a wide variety of commentary on the nature of slavery. Some interviews seemed to draw more closely on what can be pieced together from documentary history of the late nineteenth-century. Some commentary, however, appears to replicate the type of clearly racialized narrative of Arab landowners and African slaves, with those enslaved a separate and deeply abused class. In general, oral histories on Pemba allowed for greater bridging between the conditions of enslaved plantation laborers and neighboring communities. But even on this island, some interviewees claimed knowledge of slavery in line with the ideological underpinnings charted by Glassman. In the words of one old man in the area near Mahonda, in the north of Zanzibar:

> Slaves were bought from various parts of Africa…. Slaves had no rights at all with Arabs…. Whatever slaves grew was for their masters…. The slaves had no confidence in themselves, they were very afraid. For a long time a slave being killed in public by their owners was normal, to keep the slaves afraid. (Croucher 2006, p. 403)

[2] The politics of the Zanzibar revolution are complex. Detailed discussion of the way that they pertain to current local discourse on nineteenth-century history in the islands can be found in Glassman (2011), *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar*. The major point of Glassman's argument, as it pertains to this work, is the fact that the types of historical discussion of slavery on Zanzibar have generally been thought—if considered critically at all—to be the result of colonial teaching, where abolitionist positions on slavery were passed on to those who became the postcolonial leaders and had studied in colonial educational institutions. Instead, Glassman shows that the politics of historical narratives of slavery on Zanzibar were based on the position of those who were telling such histories. This analysis makes clear the complexities involved in understanding oral history on Zanzibar in relation to slavery.

Narratives such as these must be treated very carefully, in light of known political discourse in the islands preceding the archaeological work in the early twenty-first century. Although the revolution is long past, political tensions still simmer in various ways on the islands, and history may be actively mobilized within contemporary political discourse. I draw on oral histories of slavery in my interpretations, but do so with caution, always interrogating how these may fit with other versions of history drawn from varied historical sources.

Autonomous Landscapes of Slavery

Key to understanding the lives of enslaved populations through archaeological and historical analysis has been the study of autonomous spaces. Provision grounds, yard spaces, and other aspects of landscape and building use were ways through which enslaved communities were able to retain a degree of autonomy outside of the spatial controls of enslavement (Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Delle 1999; Heath and Bennett 2000). As discussed in Chap. 3, European landscapes were intended to create order and control, effectively disciplining laborers (Mintz 1985, p. 48). By using these spaces outside of the landscape designed and controlled by planters, or by reappropriating spaces out of view, subtle forms of resistance might take place through "acts of territorial appropriation" (Vlach 1993, p. 235). This did not involve an overt takeover of space, but the routine use of spaces to which slaves were often assigned, such as their own yards and provision grounds. Being able to build houses in self-defined styles and being able to socialize within spaces such as yards have been identified by archaeologists as key material features of the self-definition of new African diasporic cultural practices by those enslaved in the Americas (Ferguson 1992; Higman 2001, p. 291).

Locating spaces clearly associated with slaves on Zanzibar has proved difficult. Only four sites (6 percent) of the sites recorded on the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey could be even tentatively associated with the presence of slaves. As many plantation owners' homes were recorded, this number seems disproportionately small given that most of the population of the clove-growing areas would have been comprised of enslaved laborers. One reason for this may be the low visibility of houses built from impermanent materials, mirroring difficulties found in other regions such as Jamaica when archaeologists have been searching for the locations of former slave residences (Delle 1998). Prior survey work on Zanzibar focused only on well-known and visible sites, with the exception of Mangapwani Cave, found no clear sites associated primarily with slavery (Clark and Horton 1985).

Seventy-six percent of total sites recorded on the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey—49 in total—were those with no stone remains visible on the ground. This throws doubt on the idea that it is simply surface visibility which pointed disproportionately away the sites of slave housing. Although wattle-and-daub plantation owners' homes may have been relatively substantial in relation to the homes of their enslaved laborers, the ease with which such sites were precisely remembered

points to a more complex process at work. It seems possible that the type of issues associated with memory and slavery, discussed above, where slavery has been divorced from past reality and shaped by more recent politics, may have pushed local residents to also jettison the sites associated with actual slave residences. Many of those showing us sites may also, whether closely or distantly, have been related to former slaves. Oral histories were noticeable for the absence of discussion of such ancestors. This was a point I did not push, but histories of enslavement were most commonly discussed in terms which distanced them from the narrator. The lack of remembering specific sites in which enslaved households had been located may have been part of a distancing of communities from a definite tie to slave heritage as sociopolitical contexts changed during the mid-twentieth century on Zanzibar. Archaeology provided only a small amount of information on the landscapes of enslaved life, but gave glimpses into places where the inhabitance of slaves was remembered. A sampling strategy across plantation areas using subsurface shovel test pits would likely locate areas in which enslaved laborers housing was located. However, for logistical reasons (primarily budget constraints), this type of survey work was not undertaken as part of the research for this book. Oral historical evidence (including a small number of sites associated with enslaved laborers) and documentary historical evidence provides a good starting point for beginning to analyze the landscape of Zanzibari plantation slavery, but it is important to note that the interpretations of such landscapes will be greatly augmented by shovel test pit survey across clove-growing areas in the future.

The site with the clearest surface remains was in the Kinyagale area, within the Dunga survey region, an area where a plantation owner and his slaves had been living. Here, we were taken to a Muslim cemetery with coral rag grave markers, which was clearly associated in local memory with plantation slaves (this site is discussed further below; Croucher 2006, pp. 262, 400). Within 20 m of the cemetery was a small artifact scatter, reported to have once been the site of the residences of the enslaved community who used the cemetery. Few artifacts were visible on the surface, and those which were largely consisted of undiagnostic sherds of local ceramics. A single sherd of Chinese blue and white ceramic is the best support for a potential mid-nineteenth-century habitation date for the site. Imported Chinese ceramics were located only rarely through survey, and no sherds were recorded on Pemban sites. There seems to be a marked shift to relying almost entirely on European-manufactured ceramics over those from China sometime around the mid-nineteenth-century, making this sherd tantalizingly suggestive that this site was connected to a relatively early plantation. Such a date would fit with the history of clove plantation settlement in the area; since it is close to the city of Zanzibar, clove plantations were likely developed here relatively early in their history on the islands. Part of this site had recently been under cassava cultivation, usually resulting in subsurface disturbance and good surface visibility of artifacts; in addition, there was little vegetative cover (Croucher 2006, p. 362). Despite this, no mass-produced ceramics were in evidence, possibly suggesting that habitation ceased prior to manumission (see Chap. 6 for an extensive discussion of mass-produced ceramic distribution). This must, however, be an extremely tentative conclusion based on a potentially limited

area of the site. There were no surface remains which provided evidence for the types of houses which may have been present. The lack of any coral rag or mounds would suggest unsubstantial wattle-and-daub or thatch housing, although without excavation this is difficult to gauge.

The linked habitation and cemetery site in the Kinyagale area were the only sites in the Dunga region linked clearly by contemporary residents to slaves. But despite the lack of clear associations with particular sites, there was open discussion of the history of enslavement in the area. One interviewee mentioned, for instance, that the Mwinyi Mkuu (the local indigenous ruler) had slaves, some living at the palace at Dunga, and others living away from it. The guards of the Mwinyi Mkuu also had their own slaves, who could in turn to be called to work for the Mwinyi Mkuu on his plantations. These enslaved laborers all came from the town and were taught Islam by their owners, as most of them had "traditional beliefs" when they arrived. Such an open narrative of the reality of large numbers of enslaved laborers seems to contrast with the surprising lack of sites directly associated with enslaved laborers in the region. The issues of local memory seem pertinent here; although slavery as a broad category, not relating specifically to individuals, is openly remembered and discussed, the specifics of where slaves lived and any direct connection to these former populations appear to have dropped away from remembrance. The plantations of Kinyagale was also specifically delineated by another interviewee as being associated with Arab owners; in this discussion, the lady talking with us was keen to stress that she knew her parents did not buy any slaves, nor were they themselves enslaved (Croucher 2006, pp. 399, 401).

In the Mahonda survey area, an area which largely had been under clove cultivation, local residents were generally clear that plantation owners in the vicinity had used slaves for cultivation in the past. In this area, probably actively involved in the activities of the 1964 revolution, history was discussed in generalizing terms that suggested that Arabs owned plantations, holding African slaves (Glassman 2011, p. 240). Oral histories at a site located in Mahonda to the north of a sugar factory recalled a local farmer who had planted a tree here; he had died in the 1980s, and was said to be the child of enslaved parents. This was a rare mention of a named individual tied specifically to a history of enslavement. In discussion with local residents, this site was associated with a plantation which had been established by a man named Rashid bin Amour. When working in this area, local farmers had found coins minted during the reign of Sultan Bargash, who held power from 1870 to 1888, seeming to firmly date the site to the late nineteenth-century and the height of the clove plantation "mania." Ceramics with transfer-printed willow pattern designs and with bright painted spongeware-type decoration also supported nineteenth-century occupation here. Although this was not a site which was specifically the home of enslaved laborers, the plantation and slave descendant community were clearly tied together.

At another nearby plantation in the Mahonda survey region, at Kunduni an artifact scatter consisting mostly of European spongewares and undiagnostic local ceramics was also identified as a plantation where the owner had lived "with" their slaves—the spatial relationship between the plantation owners' and slaves' homes was unclear. This plantation was taken over by the daughter of the original owner, but it was later taken by an ex-slave and his younger brother in 1964, coinciding with

the revolution. Exact dates were vague as to the establishment of the site, but local residents were clear that this was in the nineteenth-century, possibly the 1880s. From this history, it is clear that formerly enslaved populations over 60 years after the legal abolition of slavery were still living in close proximity to, or in the same areas, as they had been dwelling and working as slaves. Such a narrative fit with the story of one old man living near a plantation site, who told us that there had been freed slaves living in the area, mostly still tied to the slave owners, "not necessarily living in the same house [as when they had been enslaved], but nearby" (Croucher 2006, pp. 367, 402–403). Settlement pattern varied, he said, with some of them living on the periphery of the plantation, located far away from the main plantation house.

The next site firmly identified with slaves was in the Mtambile region on Pemba. This site was one of the tiny number identified very clearly as a site of enslaved workers living in a "village" in a location now known as Bagamoyo, so named because the port of Bagamoyo, on the Tanganyika coast, as where the slaves had been shipped to Pemba (Croucher 2006, pp. 378, 406). We were told that the site had been established in the 1800s and abandoned in the 1920s. Despite an intense search of the area, no artifacts could confirm this date range. All we could locate on the surface were a couple of sherds of undiagnostic local ceramic. As the ground had not been cleared for cassava (most of the ground around the clove trees was covered with thick vegetation, and even where trees and ground had been cleared, there seemed to have been little digging to disturb the earth), this may have hindered the surface visibility of artifacts compared to other sites recorded on the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey. In 2003, at the time the survey was conducted, a single thatched hut, likely just a seasonal dwelling, was the only building located on or near the site. We were told by the current landowner that there had also been a slave cemetery on the opposite hillside. No grave markers were in place, as had been the case near Dunga, but this may relate to the lack of easily available coral stone on Pemba for this purpose. Clove trees were growing in the area, and both sites were on hillsides. There is an interesting correlate in the way in which sites specifically associated with enslaved laborers without a concomitant association with plantation owners' dwellings also seem to be associated with cemeteries. Perhaps this demonstrates that burial sites have been preserved in the geography of local social memory. But the tiny sample size I have to discuss—only two sites of this nature—makes this only a very tentative idea.

In Mtambile, we were taken to another plantation owners' site, which had been owned by a Mazrui descendant, in an area known as Mitatuni. We were told that there had been enslaved laborers living on the plantation prior to abolition, and that their households were kept "close by, not spread around the plantation" (Croucher 2006, pp. 372, 405). This plantation had consisted of over 20,000 trees. Only a small artifact scatter was visible in an area of cultivated ground at the site, with some modern rubbish dumped close by. Transfer-printed and spongeware ceramics suggested a possible late nineteenth-century date for the artifact scatter, and were associated with undiagnostic local ceramic sherds. The elderly man who took us to the site remembered that there had been wattle-and-daub houses on the plantation, but that the last one had likely been built at least 35 years earlier, and there had been

none standing for 15 years, despite free workers coming to live here after abolition and some freed slaves remaining in the area.

In the Piki survey region, just south of the modern village of Shengejuu, another site was associated with the former residence of both plantation owners and their enslaved laborers (Croucher 2006, p. 392). The site was on top of a hill, and there were no visible remains of the location or type of housing that had been at the site, despite considerable cassava cultivation. Spongeware-type ceramics and blue transfer-printed ceramics suggested a late nineteenth-century date, and were accompanied by sherds of undiagnostic local ceramics.

The final site recorded associated with slavery was that of Mgoli, discussed in much greater detail later in this chapter. The archaeology of Mgoli shows just how difficult it was to pin down specific archaeological remains to the homes of enslaved plantation laborers. Oral histories were decisive about the fact that slavery existed at the site (Croucher 2006, pp. 407–410). A large artifact scatter, mound, and cistern in close proximity to a large stone-built plantation owner's house were a clear testament to the size of the plantation. Spongeware ceramic sherds and a range of decorated ceramic sherds, broadly in keeping with chronology of nineteenth-century wares, were a clear demonstration that nineteenth-century habitation of the scale suggested in oral histories had existed at Mgoli. But despite spending time here on initial survey, excavation, and return visits, no sites that were definitively associated with the residences of enslaved laborers were located, although they were broadly known to have existed by local residents. Mgoli highlights the way in which local memory on Zanzibar was capable of retaining narratives of slavery and clear associations of history with a particular site, and yet the manner in which the local community has been able to "forget" any exact presence of enslaved laborers on the landscape.

Historical archives of British accounts dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth century provide another route to understanding the buildings in which enslaved laborers lived, and their location within the Zanzibari plantation landscape. Some descriptions were focused on the houses of plantation owners, to which British colonial officials were regularly invited, discussed further in the following chapter. Others provided only a general sense of a landscape which had regular housing for both elites and enslaved populations throughout the islands. As Rigby (1861, p. 2) commented describing the general landscape of plantations: "The country-houses of the Arab proprietors, and the huts of their slaves, are thickly dotted over the surface, surrounded with gardens and fields." As descriptions became more detailed, they often depicted housing that even the most virulent abolitionist could not cast as terribly deprived conditions within the general scheme of Zanzibari housing. For instance, Captain Fraser, writing in the late nineteenth-century for an abolitionist pamphlet, was able to provide a description of the housing of enslaved laborers which seemed to show a life of relative comfort and autonomy. The fact that he had worked on Zanzibar for several years prior to writing this piece might suggest that this was a well-informed opinion. In writing for an abolitionist publication he was attempting to highlight the worst conditions of enslaved life wherever possible,

making this description reasonably trustworthy in the way that it produces a picture of settled life:

> Throughout the island, scattered among the cocoa-nut and clove plantations, thousands of huts are to be seen—certainly not built in accordance with European ideas of comfort; but not the less suiting the taste and wants of their occupants: both inside and outside they will in general be found to be tolerably clean; every hut has its adjoining bit of cultivation from which the family derive their chief support, as well as a surplus to take to sell in town on market days: a few women busy with their household work are generally to be seen out of doors,—some children—but not many—a good supply of poultry—and perhaps a goat or two, tied out to graze hard by. These are the huts of the plantation slaves, who are mostly married. (RH, UMCA Box List D4. Polygamy, Slavery and Islam [PSI], D4–86: 1871, The East African Slave Trade and the Measures Proposed for its Extinction, as Viewed by Residents in Zanzibar, Captain Fraser, pp. 17 [EAST]. The Right Rev. Bishop Tozer, and Christie, James, MD. 1871)

The life suggested here is echoed in the writings of others with varying degrees of familiarity of clove plantations. Although lacking in specific architectural detail, these accounts generally agreed on the fact that enslaved laborers lived in their own houses, which generally were accompanied by some agricultural land of their own. These households seem to have regularly consisted of families, at least by the late nineteenth-century. In 1899, one British official described plantation slaves as settled, and that they had "their wives and families with them (there is no breaking up of families no by sale), and usually have their own little house and garden" (RH, CRSS, ASP, G118/A, PPSA: 16th March, 1899, Letter from Mr. A. Alexander to Sir Ll. Mathews, Zanzibar). In a description which might have been drawing on a relatively low level of familiarity with plantations, Rigby claimed that "Each slave in the country has a good-sized hut, with a garden round it" (Rigby 1861, p. 10). It is hard to draw details of the specific type of housing from these descriptions, but another British commentator, writing in 1871, portrayed slaves as living in huts which were "scattered in small clusters" and which had "a very neat and comfortable appearance." As with others, this description included the fact that all slaves were provided with a patch of land to cultivate (RH, EAST: 1871, pp. 33).

These "gardens" were often discussed in relation to the seemingly benign character of plantation slavery on Zanzibar. Although cloves required a great deal of labor during harvests, at other times of the year labor requirements were less. As suggested by Captain Fraser's description, it seemed that enslaved laborers on clove plantations were free for a certain amount of time each week to cultivate their own provisions, and that they were also free to travel to market and to sell surplus of their own crops. Participation in provisioning grounds (Trouillot 2002, p. 203) and markets (Hauser 2011a) have been discussed as vital for understanding the development of African diasporic cultures related to plantations, particularly in the Caribbean. The autonomous space of provision grounds and the ability to communicate with dispersed enslaved populations provided routes through which African slaves could develop new forms of shared cultural practice.

Zanzibar provision grounds, according to historical records, appear to have been a ubiquitous feature of clove plantations. Sometimes this was part of the generous behavior of plantation owners to their slaves. The Wali of Pemba apparently granted

elderly slaves their freedom, giving them a portion of land where they could "cultivate enough to keep them until they died" (RH, "Report on Slave trade in Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Mainland, by Donald Mackenzie." (RST) Anti-Slavery Society (ASS), G3, Territorial Section, East Africa, Pemba and Zanzibar (EAPZ): 1895, Report to Charles H. Allen, Esq.). As well as granting those who were of an age to merit retirement from regular plantation labor access to land, providing slaves with land to cultivate their own crops, time for cultivation, and the ability to take their surpluses to market appears to have been, so far as historical documents can suggest, a universal practice of plantation owners. The precise time which was granted for this labor appears to vary, but was largely two days through most of the year outside of harvests. As one British official wrote of his experiences on Zanzibar,

> He [the enslaved plantation laborer, many of whom were actually women] has to work for three days each week for his master, the hours being from about 8 A.M. till 4 P.M. Generally, a task of hoeing, or some other agricultural work, is given which is, or can be, finished by midday if the slave is so minded to bestir himself. The other four days of the week are entirely at the slave's own disposal, in which he can either work on his own piece of land, which he holds from his master, or he can work for others for payment…. He can grow what he pleases and the product is his own. (RH, CRSS, May 1901. ASP, G118/A: PPSA: Commissioner Last to Sir Ll. Mathews, Zanzibar [E1])

Last was somewhat of an apologist for the conditions of slavery on the islands, thinking that there was no hurry to enforce abolition (in 1900, the emancipation declaration in force meant that slaves could claim their freedom). This being the case, we might think that he was tending to exaggerate the positive dimensions of slavery. However, other descriptions appear to support a modified form of this description. Rigby also claimed that "Two days in each week—Thursday and Friday—the slaves do what they please; all the produce they carry to market on these days is on their own account, and consequently these are the chief market days on Zanzibar" (Rigby 1861, p. 10). Although not mentioning the specific time allotted for cultivation and free time, Fraser's description quoted in detail above also supported the fact that plantation slaves had cultivation grounds which were able to produce "a surplus to take to sell in town on market days" along with subsistence requirements (RH, 1871: EAST: pp. 17).

Oral histories mentioned this type of provisioning ground little. One interviewee, speaking of Mgoli, said that "Slaves had their own gardens, as well as working on the landlord's garden—these plots weren't really big enough for them to make a surplus. They worked some days for the landlord, and some days were free for themselves." Another interviewee explained that, "Whatever slaves grew was for their masters. The slaves had small plots, if they got a very good crop then the landlord would leave it, or the slave themselves might take it to their landlord" (Croucher 2006, pp. 404, 410). In this same interview, the elderly gentleman discussing slavery also said that slaves were killed in public, suggesting a view of slavery aligning with some of the later twentieth-century revisions, which might therefore be expected to lean towards harsher representations of slavery (Glassman 2010). Contrasting written and oral sources, it seems possible that the ability of enslaved laborers to grow enough surplus crops to take to market may not have

been universal. But, clearly, it was generally the case that these laborers had at least access to provision grounds and enough time for themselves so as to be able to grow enough food for themselves. By extension, it is a possibility that growing these crops may have offered enslaved clove plantation laborers the opportunity to labor in ways of their own choosing, outside of the constraints of the routine labor required by plantation owners.

Slavery, Resistance, and Swahili Culture

The landscapes created and inhabited by enslaved laborers on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century present an interesting paradox. They appear to have presented slaves with a relatively high degree of social freedom, and yet were simultaneously a place where slaves appear not to have used this freedom to create a distinct form of "slave culture" as might be expected from comparative studies of plantations in other areas of the world. Even within the carefully planned and managed geometry of Euro-American plantation landscapes, slaves were sometimes able to apply their own spatial order to villages and provision grounds (Higman 2001, p. 291). Within plantations in the Americas, a certain kind of freedom for those who were enslaved has been identified through the seeming near-ubiquitous practice of providing provision grounds and allowing enslaved laborers to fully participate in market economies. Geographically, temporally, and socially, spaces of self-directed cultivation might be fundamentally different for enslaved populations than that of the wider plantation:

> Provision grounds provided both time and space that was both within the order dictated by the plantation and yet detached from it. They provided a space quite distinct from the plantation fields sown with sugar-cane, coffee, and cotton—space where one learned to cherish root crops, plantains, and bananas…. [Work time on provision grounds was that of] labor cooperation, reminiscent of—yet different from—African models of work. (Trouillot 2002, p. 203)

In his discussion of enslaved resistance *within* plantations, Trouillot goes on to further highlight the manner in which provision grounds were a vital space where time was slave-controlled, at least to some extent, and where self-determined choices could be made about crops which might be marketable. The historical basis for his argument is in the Americas, particularly the Caribbean, but it is important to highlight the way in which self-determined space and time were likely the most important arenas for fostering new cultural forms for enslaved communities.

It is clear from documentary and oral histories that enslaved clove plantation laborers were able to regularly participate in local markets, possibly selling surplus agricultural goods from their own gardens and items such as mats which they made in their free time. Markets in urban Zanzibar may have been places for culturally heterogeneous immigrant populations to foster shared tastes in material goods (Stahl 2002). As discussed in Chap. 6, ceramic practices appear to have remained stable on the East African coast from around the seventeenth century through to the present day, despite substantial population shifts. Ceramics attract archaeologists

due to their tangible materiality, but other more ephemeral goods may also have been part of a shared cultural repertoire of what became "Swahili" cultural norms, and these may have been fostered through the exchange of goods in the marketplace. Foodstuffs were crucial to the identification of immigrants and to their ability to naturalize themselves to Zanzibari cultural norms, as is discussed in Chaps. 6 and 7. Through poorer coastal East Africans participating in buying and selling the same foodstuffs in the marketplace—such as cassava (Burton 1872a, p. 247)—coastal cultural norms may have come to be shared between enslaved populations and free Waswahili.

It is interesting to consider the place of provision grounds in plantation regimes of the Americas compared to those of Zanzibar. Scholars such as Trouillot (2002) are clear that provision grounds were an important space for enslaved laborers to escape the gaze of plantation owners, in both the literal and figurative sense. But as I have previously discussed, Zanzibari plantations did not follow the scopic regime of European capitalist space. For European commentators, the seeming freedom of enslaved clove plantation laborers to work their own plots, and to take this provision to market, provided evidence for the relatively benign nature of East African slavery. However, perhaps we could also use the Zanzibari example to highlight the contested discursive place of provision grounds in seeming to soften the harsh realities of slavery. We know that having provision grounds did not make slavery in the Caribbean or elsewhere in the Americas less egregious, even as they potentially provided spaces in which practices of resistance could take place. It is important to note that the plots of ground enslaved laborers on Zanzibar worked on and the goods they produced on these may have been an important place for relatively autonomous social practices. However, it is also important to read European commentators critically, to recognize that slavery on Zanzibar was still slavery within a harsh plantation regime, and that it remained a condition of bondage, even as enslaved laborers could be seen working their own plots of land.

Slave Housing

Relative feelings of freedom may also have been achieved through enslaved laborers' ability to construct their own houses in areas and styles freely chosen by them. Whether or not these harkened back to inland styles and norms or whether they chose to conform to coastal norms also provides us with the glimpse of the manner in which enslaved Africans attempted to integrate themselves with broader Zanzibari cultural practices. Archaeological evidence from Zanzibar made it difficult to fully understand the house forms of enslaved clove plantation laborers, with little historical evidence to flesh out this picture. Cooper (1977, p. 163) in reviewing historical evidence available, suggested that slave houses on Zanzibar were likely built of wattle-and-daub with *makuti* (palm leaf thatch) roofs. Cooper (1977, p. 163) also suggested that the enslaved housing of clove plantations was "dotted about all over the place"; this observation seems to fit with the limited evidence from survey data discussed above. But this apparently random distribution may have followed social

logics which were not easily discernible to outside visitors. Some survey interviews appeared to suggest that there was a settlement logic at play. In the Mahonda region, one interviewee mentioned that slave housing may have been "nearby" the plantation owner's home, implying that the homes of enslaved laborers were in relatively close proximity to that of the owner. In the same interview, however, freed slaves were also discussed as living on the periphery of the plantation, making it difficult to parse spatial relationships. Another interview mentioned that at Mgoli the enslaved laborers "built their houses around that of the owner to protect the owner." Visiting the site of a former plantation, owned and controlled by a woman who died in 1947 at the age of 96, we were told by her grandson that "workers" had been living "over a wide distance, not just around her house." By the early twentieth century, these would have been free laborers, but this pattern may have been a continuation of the earlier plantation landscape. At the site of Bagamoyo on Pemba, discussed above, there was clear separation in that the site associated with the residence of enslaved laborers was described as "a village for slaves" contrasting with the fact that the plantation owners lived separately at Sitarehe (Croucher 2006, pp. 269, 402, 406–407). In multiple cases, it seems that there were clear settlements in which enslaved laborers lived quite separately from the home of the plantation owner, whereas other plantations may have had closer proximity between these dwellings. No singular pattern seems to have existed to structure the relation between these two areas. Rather, it seems that preferences of the plantation owner, or perhaps other factors such as their sense of security, or the size of the plantation itself, may have been mitigating factors determining where enslaved populations should build their homes.

The location of slave housing, in addition, does not seem to suggest the type of spatial control that was developed within North American and Caribbean plantation settings, or even those of South Africa. The variation in locating sites associated with the residence of enslaved laborers shows again the lack of the planned, regimented landscapes so typical of plantations in the Americas by the nineteenth-century. This helps us to begin to illuminate the nature of slavery on Zanzibar. The relationship of absolute domination on plantations has been seen to be tied to the placing and form of enslaved housing, both of which were regularly used to enforce strict controls over enslaved plantation laborers by owners and overseers. By the nineteenth-century, as concerns with health and welfare meant that slave "quarters" had to be "neat and tidy,"advice for planters in the U.S. shows the manner in which slave housing became a microcosm for relations of power, control, and domination:

> Planters' urgent advice on how to keep their estates neat and tidy reflected their deep-seated, almost fearful need to maintain control over their physical environments. Toward this end, they paid particular attention to the visual order of their holdings. The stark, elemental geometry of the buildings in which they housed their slaves signaled that a strict hierarchical order was in force. (Vlach 1993, p. 163)

This strategy was one of manipulating the built environment so that planters could "convince themselves that they were both physically and symbolically above their slaves and other less wealthy whites as well" (Vlach 1993, p. 228). Considerable variation existed in practice, even within the U.S. But a shift in ideology, which increasingly racialized enslaved Africans in the late seventeenth through early

eighteenth centuries pushed plantation owners to clearly conceptualize difference between themselves and their enslaved population through the landscape of plantations. The push towards representing social order in the built landscape of the plantation and the development of greater technologies of control, meant that slave quarters became a carefully thought-out part of the plantation landscape. Sometimes, as was the case on Jamaican plantations analyzed by Delle (1998), enslaved housing was placed within sight of the overseer's and/or owner's house, so as to facilitate control. Sometimes, so as to make plantation landscapes more harmonious, slave housing was screened from direct sight of the planter's house. Planters were working on these various sites to assert their "domination over, and difference from enslaved laborers by rendering them invisible and separate. On the other hand, he [the planter] wished to maintain surveillance and incorporate the slaves and their quarters within the rigid, formal, alienated spatial order of the plantation nucleus" (Epperson 1999, p. 171). Different options were available in terms of how best to structure their plantations, but they followed, in general this "rigid, formal, alienated spatial order" fitting with the Euro-American scopic landscape regime of modernity discussed in the previous chapter.

On Zanzibar, this type of order does not appear to have been at play. As discussed in the last chapter, the idea of ownership and alienation which so dominated the capitalist landscapes of European plantations does not seem to have been an organizing principle on Zanzibar. Likewise, there appears to have been no clear sense of planning in terms of how enslaved housing should be laid out. Principles of surveillance and control do not seem to pervade the discussions of locations of enslaved housing discussed on Zanzibar. Sometimes, a specific relationship between plantation owners and slaves appears to have come into the arrangement of dwellings, such as the idea that houses might be placed in some way so as to "protect" the owner. But this implies a very different relationship than the type of control in American plantations.

Instead of control *over* an enslaved population, we might read such an arrangement as signaling a form of patron–client relations. Plantation owners may have been reliant upon the "protection" of men they held in slavery. Such relations were expanded upon in one story of Abdalla bin Jabir, the plantation owner who founded Mgoli on Pemba. One of Abdalla bin Jabir's allies was a man called Ali bin Abeid, who came from the nearby village of Funika. One of Ali bin Abeid's slaves was attacked by that of another neighboring plantation owner, Said bin Nassor, prompting fighting between the two plantation owners in Funika. Ali bin Abeid, as a friend of Abdalla bin Jabir, came to the latter man for assistance, and was given "many slaves to assist him" armed with a variety of weapons. They ambushed the antagonistic force of Said Nassor and were able to defeat them through a determined show of force (Croucher 2006, p. 418). In the adventure, the position of elites and slaves on plantations was made clear. The Zanzibari sultanate did not have law enforcers on the ground, and disputes were settled through drawing on followers for support. Abdalla bin Jabir likely created closer binding ties with Ali through his support of him, but such ties could only be achieved by mustering a small army of enslaved followers. To arm one's slaves—a necessity for such battles—required some degree of

trust that the armed band would not rise up in rebellion. Evidence for the use of guns has been found on plantations in the Americas (Singleton 1991; Young et al. 2001). However, what appears to be markedly different here is that the weapons being discussed in this oral narrative were deliberately given to enslaved laborers in order that they could be active in fighting a neighboring plantation owner. This suggests that there would have been scope for enslaved laborers to use these same weapons, along with the fact that there were greater numbers of enslaved laborers than plantation owners, to actively rebel against their conditions of enslavement. The location of housing may therefore have been part of a complex set of relationships, including the direction of the plantation owner regarding fear of animosity with neighbors, the location of suitable provision grounds beside which houses might have been built, and possibly the personal preferences of enslaved house builders.

The general pattern of building houses in an apparently coastal form adopted by enslaved Africans on Zanzibar have been argued by Cooper (1977, p. 219) to have formed part of the wider pattern of adopting coastal cultural practices by enslaved laborers who "came to dress like other coastal people, to attend the festivals of the coast, to adopt Swahili marriage and funeral ceremonies, and to build Swahili-style houses for themselves." One of the few oral historical interviews on Zanzibar to explicitly mention the home of enslaved laborers said that they were "very small and of mud and wattle." Another interview mentioning the homes of workers at a plantation which dated back to the nineteenth-century said that the plantation laborers had lived in thatched houses (Croucher 2006, pp. 269, 407). Although not wattle-and-daub, these thatch houses were still within the range of architecture common to Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century (Myers 1996a). It is possible that the Swahili-style forms of houses were mandated by plantation owners, similar to the way in which slave housing was prescribed by plantation owners in many Euro-American systems. This is difficult to parse from historical records, which although they sometimes describe house forms suggest nothing of the choices made in their construction. However, were this to have gone against the preferences of slave populations, we might have expected houses to have changed forms in the period immediately following abolition, particularly for those freed slaves who had been born on the African mainland. But there is no evidence that housing in this period.

Compelling comparative evidence that building homes according to local coastal norms was a choice comes from *watoro* (maroon) communities excavated in Kenya by Lydia Marshall (2011, p. 134). At the site of Koromio, inhabited by maroons, daub remains and carbonized house posts provided a clear archaeological view of the forms of houses this self-freed community lived in and constructed. This showed that house forms were consistently wattle-and-daub in rectangular form, with no evidence of grass-thatched structures or the type of round houses which may have been typical of the homes in the communities from which these formerly enslaved Africans had originated. Tidy yards at the excavated site of Koromio (Marshall 2011, p. 135) supported the kind of arguments, often couched in racist language, which many British colonial commentators noted about enslaved housing on

Zanzibar. The design of these houses in the *watoro* community distinguished them from the house types of neighboring communities (Marshall 2011, p. 137). The two *watoro* communities of Makoroboi and Koromio were located on the Kenyan coast and they provide probably the best available evidence of the choices made by Africans taken by force to the coast in terms of housing. Beyond Zanzibar, there appears to have been a widespread pattern for enslaved and self-emancipated Africans to choose the rectangular wattle-and-daub forms common to the coast, falling into the same architectural range of Swahili coastal residents and even Arab plantation owners (Glassman 1991, p. 303).

Returning to comparative contexts in the Americas, continuing to build houses in African styles and to use intramural and extramural domestic and yard space in ways that relate to African cultural patterns has been interpreted as a crucial part of the development of autonomous African American culture and of resistance to the totalizing forces of chattel slavery. From the end of the seventeenth century onward, plantations were designed by their owners and utilized by white populations to emphasize certain forms of difference and control between enslaved and free (Epperson 1999; Upton 1984). During the eighteenth century there were increasing moves to control slaves through the design of the landscape. In North America, "As the rules of the 'peculiar institution' became more restrictive, slaves found themselves increasingly confined to spaces set aside exclusively for them. By the middle of the eighteenth century, sets of slave cabins—located out of a planter's sight, though never very far from his or her thoughts—had become definitive features of southern plantations" (Vlach 1993, p. 155). But this was a strange kind of spatial separation. Within such landscapes, planters aimed to impress and awe fellow whites, rich and poor alike (albeit in different ways). In creating spatial barriers in the lead up to the house, and in the plantation house itself, for whites, planters left space to be experienced differently by slaves, through their assumptions and creation of a form of absolute difference understood through race. "Their [slaves'] landscape was less mystified than that which planters created for their peers" (Upton 1984, p. 69). The ways in which landscapes of plantations were understood in alternate readings by slaves, and were sometimes constructed utilizing different architectural styles, may be seen as related to the construction of racialized difference. Enslaved Africans could not hope to attain the same status as white planters, or even come close to it. Constructing cultural identities that differed from those imposed upon them by plantation owners was vital to creating a sense of self-determination within the confines of slavery. An enslaved individual could not experience a plantation landscape in the Americas in the same way as a white person could. Understanding that from the eighteenth century racial difference was part of the *habitus* of Americans allows us to see how understanding space in different ways for whites and blacks was a product of the particular social context of the Americas. Racial difference, which came to be a fundamental part of the social relations of slavery in North America and the Caribbean, became bound up in experiential and material landscapes. Through these landscapes, sharp divisions between white and black, and between free and enslaved, came to be understood.

Despite the fact that many enslaved Africans and African Americans lived in dwellings where the form was directed by plantation owners, some enslaved communities in the Americas had a greater degree of freedom over their house forms. In the Carolinas, for instance, where plantation slavery began later than the Chesapeake (largely post-dating the late 1600s) enslaved Africans on plantations were able to build segregated quarters which enabled choice in house design. In South Carolina, Vlach (1993, p. 155) argues that these "were actually African-style dwellings, small rectangular huts constructed with mud walls and thatched roofs." Shotgun houses, favored by black Americans in New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, are argued to have originated in Haiti. Their form, in part, derived from indigenous Arawak architecture. But it was retained within black cultural repertoires because it was a version of a Yoruba two-room house, thus allowing enslaved Africans "to make sense of their new environment by transforming it so that it resembled a familiar pattern" (Vlach 1976, p. 69). Designed plantations of the eighteenth century in plantation areas of the Chesapeake (Epperson 1999) or later nineteenth-century housing designed in line with social reform (Young 1999; Vlach 1995) often placed the form of residence outside of the control of enslaved populations themselves. But even in these severe conditions, enslaved communities have been shown by archaeologists to utilize extramural space to fit with cultural norms which differed from those of white American society. Communal space was created in yard areas, which were often important for household activities (Battle-Baptiste 2007). Yards were often cared for in ways that have been identified as fitting with West African practices, sometimes including spiritual management such as the placement of burials (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003; Heath and Bennett 2000). Even where houses were strictly controlled by planters, associations might be made by enslaved individuals to typical forms of housing in West or Central Africa, and small modifications—such as leaving floors as packed earth instead of wooden flooring—might provide enslaved householders with links to African cultural practices (Vlach 1993, p. 165).

Overall, this evidence makes clear that, where possible, enslaved Africans in the Americas carried with them norms of spatial practice. These were sometimes manifest in the form of houses themselves, as with the clay-walled houses of South Carolina (Ferguson 1992, p. 77), but they could also be manifest via the practical use of space in ways mirroring the *habitus* of those transported from Africa, which was then instilled in generations of African-Americans: As children held in slavery learned to use domestic space from their parents, they learned through everyday practice continuities of broadly African spatialities. Sweeping yards, placing charms, the placement of doors in shotgun houses—all of these have been argued to show the subtle ways in which the *practices* of African cultural norms, not necessarily linked to material forms, continued to be embedded within the lives of those enslaved in America.

The situation in Eastern Africa appears to be quite different. Instead of carving out spaces that drew upon cultural practice from contexts prior to enslavement, the Africans on plantations and maroon settlements on the Eastern African coast seem to have drawn on coastal norms in their housing and broader landscape practices.

Combined historical and archaeological evidence seems only to show an erasure of immigrant cultural practices in the realm of housing. Although rich Omani urban merchants and rural plantation owners drew on conventions from their homeland (as discussed in the following chapter), enslaved Africans from the mainland instead drew on Islamic coastal norms. All evidence points sharply to a seeming active erasure of mainland practices in the domain of housing. When placed in comparison with material from the Americas, this seems to beg the question as to why enslaved Africans would try to emulate and participate in the culture of their captors and their new homeland.

Religion and Resistance

Archaeologists have studied a range of media to understand the transfer of African cultural practices to the Americas. Alongside housing, ritual and religion have also been understood as central to this transfer. African ritual practice is broadly understood to have undergone processes of creolization or syncretism, whereby new materials or an amalgam of related religious beliefs came together to form practices and beliefs which were altered in some way from originary African contexts. Archaeologists studying this have linked specific West and Central African beliefs with deposits found in slave contexts. Summarizing a range of evidence, Fennell (2003) argues for a range of BaKongo- and Yoruba-like affinities through the deposit of various articles beneath house floors and in other areas of plantations associated with enslaved populations. These include goods such as a concentration of small iron wedges (possibly fragments of a knife blade) beside pebbles, mirror fragments, seashells, and part of a porcelain doll found at the Levi Jordan plantation, Texas. Adjacent to this was also the base of two cast-iron kettles, white chalk, medicine bottle fragments, and "silver coins running north-south at the northern point of the room" (Fennell 2003, p. 22). Fennell (Fennell 2003, p. 24) goes on to argue that these practices were reflective of "private, instrumental symbolism." The reason for the hidden nature of such practices was, he suggests, because of harsh control and surveillance of enslaved communities by plantation owners and the growth of evangelical Christianity. Overall, in summarizing material from varied sites, Fennell stresses the fact that such practices "did not represent the shreds and tatters of past African religions" but were, instead, a vital part of ongoing religious symbolism for people of African descent in the Americas.

Symbolism within landscape and domestic spaces is now widely understood to be a crucial dimension of ongoing religious practices of African origin by enslaved populations. Similar evidence for ritual practice and African-derived religious beliefs has been found at a range of sites at which enslaved and free African Americans were resident providing overwhelming evidence, demonstrating that the type of practice discussed by Fennell was widespread. Interpretations range from specific buried material to broader landscape use. At the Poplar Forest Quarter site, Virginia, occupied by enslaved laborers during the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth-centuries, evidence of artifact distributions potentially demonstrated yard sweeping, a practice that the authors suggested may have preserved spiritual meaning (Heath and Bennett 2000, p. 43). The Hermitage Plantation, Tennessee, yielded a range of material which was likely related to African-derived religious beliefs. This consisted of three hand charms, a raccoon penis bone which may have served as a "lucky bone," a pierced coin, blue beads, "X"-marked marbles, curated old stone tools, smooth stones, and modified ceramic sherds. These were linked to a wide range of analogous West African religious practices, including those of the BaKongo. While acknowledging that some of the interpretations of religious significance might be weaker than others, Aaron Russell (1997, p. 78) puts forward a strong case that at least some of these objects demonstrate that "African Americans participated in a shared system of beliefs that served important functions within their communities, and that successful strategies were employed by these men and women to practice and maintain these traditions in defiance of slaveholders." Similarly at the Brice House, Annapolis, buried caches dating between the 1860s and early 1900s included a wide range of objects, including coins, a pen knife, buttons, shells, glass buttons, and an intact perfume bottle. Interpreting these materials, Ruppel et al. (2003, p. 326) suggested that they appeared "to represent the physical remains of African American spiritual practices that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, commonly known as Hoodoo. Hoodoo, like other diasporic African spiritual beliefs…combined African ethnic beliefs with elements of Christianity and Islam." They also likened it to wider West Central African thought, including the typical BaKongo beliefs discussed by Fennell. At the Brice House, emancipated African Americans appeared to be continuing African-derived spiritual practices similar to those identified in plantation contexts. Kingsley Plantation, Florida, has yielded a range of early nineteenth-century deposits indicating ritual deposits within slave cabins. The positioning and types of activities have been directly linked with the known origin of many of the enslaved Africans at Kingsley who largely came from a limited area in West Africa, particularly the Bight of Biafra, Gold Coast, and Guinea coast regions (Davidson 2013; Davidson et al. 2006). A buried chicken skeleton was found resting on top of an iron concentration, amber glass bead, and egg. This "very deliberate inclusion" was interpreted as a possible sacrifice which may have been aimed at the Ibo god, Ogun, showing direct evidence of "belief and practice derived from specific African traditions" (Davidson et al. 2006). The owner of Kingsley Plantation, Zephaniah Kingsley, supposedly had a particularly permissive attitude in regard to the private activities of enslaved Africans on his plantation.

By weaving together a multitude of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century evidence from largely North American plantations, it is clear that many Africans and African Americans continued to practice ritual beliefs of African origin. These may have been drawn directly from specific ethnic practices—such as a sacrifice to Ogun—or they may have been a broader creolization of multiethnic communities coming together—such as Hoodoo—There is still much to investigate in terms of the ways in which these were linked between different sites, and small enslaved communities based on smaller plantations may have participated in this type of ritual and religious practice to a lesser extent (Orser 1994, p. 42). In the past 15 years or so,

however, as archaeologists have been increasingly attuned to looking for such evidence, it is overwhelmingly clear that some form of African-derived religious and ritual practices were common for African American communities.

Adding to the weight of evidence that religious practice traveled with enslaved individuals throughout the African diaspora is material drawn from excavated African-American burials. As Davidson (2010, p. 615) suggests: "Arguably the most recognizable elements of African culture practiced by African-Americans into the twentieth century were mortuary traditions." These span the early colonial period right through to the twentieth century, demonstrating the longevity and importance of African-derived practices to those of African descent in the Americas over the course of more than two centuries. Excavated burials provide a range of information which includes bioarchaeological information about diet, labor, and health. For purposes of interpreting continuities with African beliefs, burials present an area for investigation in which individuals may be marked out with particular spiritual roles, such as diviners or healers, and where grave goods and burial style may indicate enslaved persons of African descent making choices about one of the most important rituals of the life cycle. The colonial-era African Burial Ground in New York City has provided a rich window into the lives of individuals largely enslaved and of African descent in the northeastern U.S. Burials here showed clear evidence of a range of African practices, which could sometimes be linked with specific West African cultural groups from which they were drawn. Over 400 burials were recovered from the site, providing one of the richest set of data for any colonial-era cemetery in the U.S., and by far the most for a largely African descendant population. One coffin was found with a heart-shaped pattern of nails in the coffin lid, eventually interpreted as an Asante *Adinkra* symbol, *Sankofa*, a symbol conveying Akan thought where past and present are tied together to prepare for the future (La Roche and Blakey 1997, p. 95). As with other African descendants in North America, a range of potential religiously significant items were found:

> Objects of possible spiritual significance included a calcite crystal, a quartz disk, a micaceous schist disk, shells, coral, a clay ball with a copper-alloy band, a tiny glass sphere, and a metal mass. Some of these items could have been individual charms or perhaps bundles of items used in ritual practice. The metal mass was discovered along with a black glass bead and an unusual copper-alloy button in the pelvic area of an adult of undetermined sex in Early Group (pre-ca. A.D. 1735) Burial 250, suggested that the items may have been associated with each other and could have held symbolic or spiritual significance. (Statistical Research Inc. 2009, p. 245)

Tracing other forms of religious beliefs was difficult, even with such a large set of burials. While Muslims were known to have been enslaved and taken to North America, almost no evidence, with the exception of one possible burial (237/264) from the early pre-1735 group, had noticeably Islamic funerary rights, as might be visible through the placement of the body and a lack of coffin (Statistical Research Inc. 2009, p. 252). Broadly, African cultural patterns were, in part, demonstrated through dental modification in some individuals. For instance, "Burial 340, an adult woman, wore two stands of beads primarily made from European glass in shades of blue and yellow, mixed with one amber bead and cowries. This woman

had modified teeth worked into hourglass and peg shapes" (Statistical Research Inc. 2009, p. 233). This woman is assumed to have come from West Africa. None of the materials from the African Burial Ground provide any clear argument for a single creolized set of beliefs held by African Americans in New York; indeed, links were also made with Native American and European beliefs, but some African elements of religious belief were indicated by the method and objects buried with these various individuals.

A more precise link came from Newton Cemetery, Barbados, where several burials were excavated dating from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries. One, Burial 72, a 50-year-old male, seemed to show particular significance for interpreting African cultural ties in enslaved populations, largely through the inclusion of a varied array of grave goods. These included an iron knife, metal finger rings, copper and brass alloy bracelets, a short-stemmed clay pipe, and a necklace of cowrie shells, fish vertebrae, canine teeth, glass beads, and a single carnelian bead. This necklace was "strikingly elaborate" and "unique among African-descendant sites in the New World," while having "obvious African characteristics" (Handler 1997, p. 109). Overall, Handler (1997, p. 120) suggested that these goods supported an interpretation of the man having had special significance in his community, possibly as a healer or diviner. He linked the necklace specifically to *assuman* talismans of the Asante and Akan groups of West Africa, known to be the area from which many enslaved Africans were taken to Barbados during this period.

Later practices demonstrate the complexity of ritual practice within African descendant communities. Finding multiple instances of shoes placed on coffins in nineteenth and early twentieth-century African American mortuary contexts in widely dispersed areas of the U.S., James Davidson (2010, p. 632) suggests that these shoes were protective charms "specifically as animistic elements and a proxy for the deceased—and as literal traps to capture evil and protect the souls of the dead." Despite an extensive search, no analogues were found by Davidson of the placement of shoes in burials within the Central and Western African cultures from which the majority of African Americans originally descended. However, closely related practices of utilizing shoe charms could be found in European and English folk practices of the middle ages and early modern periods. These were not direct equivalents for the archaeologically recognized placing of shoes on coffins, but they demonstrated a link through which enslaved Africans may have come to understand the symbolic importance of shoes. These factors led Davidson (2010, p. 641) to argue for a complex process of creolization for this particular ritual element.

> The innovation of the shoe symbol within a mortuary context was likely not a rational decision formulated expressly to retain or hide an African belief system within a European symbol (e.g., Mullins 2008, p. 112). Rather, core beliefs were retained even as new practices were innovated or borrowed from other context to fill inevitable voids or gaps in lost knowledge. Further, given the ubiquitous British belief in shoes as magical objects, and the equally common African-derived beliefs in the liminal state of the soul after death, the placement of a shoe in a grave may have been innovated in any number of individual and separate acts across time and space, without any particular catalyst or singular event.

Evaluating the significance of the placing of shoes onto coffins causes a complicating of the argument that African spiritual practice formed the central element of the types of ritual symbolism found in the material traces of past African descendant contexts in the Americas. The time taken for this complicated creolization of practice, however, suggests that such complex intermingling took significant periods of time. While shoes on coffins were not specifically African-derived practices, Davidson's interpretation makes it clear that "core beliefs" which derived from African religions were also embedded within the symbolism of placing shoes onto coffins.

Between the possible clear link of a *Sankofa* symbol on a coffin in New York, the placing of shoes on coffins in late nineteenth-century Dallas, TX, and the buried caches at the Brice House in Annapolis, MD, it is clear that the transportation of African-derived religious and ritual practices to the Americas was a complex process. When considering how such transfers may be manifest, it is impossible to speculate on any singular model or set of practices that will always be found. What does unite these case studies is the commonality of the fact that some significant part of African religious belief and cultural practice appears to have been a vital element of the shared practices of enslaved populations of African descent in the Americas, continuing through to the postbellum period. In line with historical and anthropological scholarship, archaeology shows us that enslaved Africans continued to practice their own religious beliefs in the unfamiliar context of the Americas. Under the brutal conditions of slavery, individuals and communities found ways to surreptitiously practice their own rituals, even as these creolized in multiethnic groups and allowed newly available material culture to stand in for unavailable items of spiritual significance. Caution must be operated, as some contexts appear to show the potentially rapid adoption of Christian practices; for instance, a single individual of African origin, buried at the seventeenth-century site of Patuxent Point, Maryland, was buried alongside individuals of European ancestry, interred in a Christian fashion, and wrapped in a shroud pinned at the head, as were all of the burials in this group. Only a button and clay tobacco pipe seemed to differentiate this one individual from neighboring burials (King 2006, p. 3110). Belief is clearly difficult to read from this one burial, but it shows that patterns of following African traditions were varied. While no blanket interpretation can be made that all enslaved Africans continued their religious beliefs in the same or creolized forms in the Americas, it is clear that in everyday life and in mortuary practices African-derived beliefs played an important role in slave and antebellum black communities in the Americas. These activities were vital—as with spaces such as provision grounds and yard space—for enslaved communities and individuals to self-determine cultural practices and identities. It is clear that where relative freedom was granted, such as at Kingsley Plantation in Florida, there was a fluorescence of ritual practice by enslaved Africans and African Americans. On Zanzibar, where plantation slavery similarly forcibly removed Africans from their home communities, we might expect to see a similar pattern: the continuity of religious beliefs drawn from the mainland societies in which slaving had taken place.

Islamic Practice on Zanzibar

Islam formed a central pillar of the social identity of the majority of coastal residents through the nineteenth-century, eventually becoming an important part of the terrain of political discourse in the twentieth century (Glassman 2011). In different forms, Islam permeated many aspects of daily life in both urban and rural areas forming an important part of the identity of the majority of East African coastal residents. The importance of hegemonic forms of Islam shaped the physical landscape, with mosques in particular an important focus of male social interactions in urban areas of the coast. Each neighborhood, or *mtaa* (plural *mitaa*), of the town would have at least one mosque. These served as places of worship, centers of religious education, areas of daily ritual and social interaction, and as a rendezvous for the religious and social elite. Serving such a diverse range of functions, it has thus been suggested that mosques "served as important social nodes for the various Muslim communities who congregated in specific *mitaa*" (Sheriff 1995a, p. 5). Attending a mosque was an important act in the formation of urban identities and served as a public demonstration of the connections the worshipper had with certain areas and social groups within the town. Additionally, important social connections could be made with others while attending the mosque and the endowment of such a structure could be an expression of the wealth and power of an individual. Although many important social connections could be made via mosques, they also served to highlight some of the divisions within East African coastal society. Strict gender divisions meant that no women in nineteenth-century East Africa could enter mosques and worship there, and class divisions meant that the lowest social orders of towns were also excluded from these social institutions (Glassman 1995).

Mosques served as a visible symbol of the institutionalized form of Islam on the coast. Ruins and archaeological remains of mosques demonstrate that they had served as central to Sunni Muslim beliefs in Swahili settlements for close to a thousand years by the period of Omani colonialism (Horton 1996). It is difficult to know how these may have related to power and gender in the past, but the opulent remains of buildings such as the Great Mosque at Kilwa suggest that the centrality of mosques to elite power was a long established part of coastal Islamic practice. The rapid growth of Ibadi mosques in the city of Zanzibar tied to the wealth of Omani merchants. The very power of Omanis was, in part, centered on this institution: "Elite Omanis preserved their character as a ruling caste through their domination of landholding and the state as well as through adherence to their own small sect of Islam, the Ibadi rite, which most islanders found forbiddingly ascetic" (Glassman 2011, p. 39). This was a permeable boundary, with some members of the elite even changing their mode of worship to that of the Sunni majority of the coast (Glassman 2011, p. 39). Nevertheless, even with this shift, elite coastal Muslim society was centered on the formal institution of worshipping in mosques.

Islamic beliefs were also spreading rapidly throughout Eastern Africa along caravan trading routes during the nineteenth-century. Writing of the potential for a mission, David Livingstone attempted to downplay the importance of Islam to many

inland societies. But even as he did so, he came to acknowledge the importance of the Sultan of Zanzibar to many inland societies, and the importance of Muslim beliefs to at least some prominent men in present day Tanzania:

> One only of all the native chiefs, Monyumgo, has sent his children to Zanzibar to be taught to read and write the Koran: and he is said to possess an unusual admiration of such civilization as he has seen among the Arabs. (Livingstone 1875, p. 440)

Sending children to the coast for formal Islamic education would have been no small undertaking in nineteenth-century Eastern Africa where long distances still had to be navigated by foot (the first railway did not open until the 1890s on the mainland). The move by this particular figure, "Monyumgo," demonstrates the acute awareness of East Africans that power was closely connected to formal Islamic practice. Islam was rapidly spreading inland during the nineteenth-century, spread in part by coastal East Africans (including freed slaves) who used Islam and connections to elite families at the coast to claim status as *Uungwana* (gentlemen; Rockel 2009, p. 88). Traders from the coast came to exert significant influence inland; at the major urban caravan center of Ujiji, prominent Swahili traders had been able to gain political control of the town by the 1860s (Brown 1971, p. 628).

Despite the wielding of political power, European accounts show the coexistence of different religious beliefs along the routes of the caravan trade. Livingstone (1875, p. 34) wrote of a conversation following on from a visit from the Makonde wife of one of his servants:

> On asking Ali [the servant] whether any attempts had been made by Arabs to convert those with whom they enter into such intimate relationships, he replied that the Makondé had no idea of a deity—no one could teach them, though Makondé slaves when taken to the coast and elsewhere were made Mohammedans.

This statement makes clear the fact that non-Islamic beliefs were practiced away from Zanzibar, but that on the island itself enslaved Africans were largely, judging from this particular statement, "made" into Muslims. This "making" was part of the supposed obligatory requirement of Muslim slave owners to teach the Islamic faith to their slaves, as was alluded to in one interview at Dunga, discussed above. In an interview at the site of Mgoli, an elderly man highlighted this obligation, and the fact that enacting it in practice was varied:

> Some slaves were taught Islam, some were not. It depended upon the landlord as he owned the people he could lead them in other activities, or he might not. At Mgoli they taught them. They found Islam and they followed. At Mgoli Ibadi Islam was practiced, although there was no mosque there. The landlord was Ibadi there too. (Croucher 2006, p. 409)

Christian missionaries were active in East Africa from the 1860s and were at the frontline of the fight against slavery (Nwulia 1975). The Church Missionary Society at Rabai (in present-day Kenya) was found to be "harbouring" over 900 runaways from Arab (and possibly Swahili) masters (RH: ASP C51.52, 1899, Letter from Sir A. Hardinge, Mombasa to the Marquess of Salisbury). Ex-slaves were the favored target of missionaries; the Friend's Mission at Chake Chake, Pemba, was founded specifically with the plan of training emancipated slaves and "educating them to be useful members of their own communities" (Nwulia 1975, p. 284). The theme of

education often lurked behind the interests of missionary activity in the region; Rigby (1961, p. 6) had noted the lack of a missionary school on the islands in his 1861 report, suggesting, perhaps erroneously, that this "would be gladly encouraged by the Sultan and wealthy Indian merchants." The Friend's Mission met with at least limited success on Pemba, in an island dominated by clove plantations, recording 247 African slaves in residence during March 1899 (Nwulia 1975, p. 284). While religious interest may not have been the greatest draw for slaves to seek refuge in the mission, clearly Christianity did not deter a significant number of plantation slaves from taking advantage of the freedom the Friend's Industrial Mission had to offer.

But by the twentieth century, as they pushed for greater inclusion in the community of Islam, the majority of former slaves living on Zanzibar were already Muslims (Fair 2001, p. 18). Adoption of the Islamic faith was a powerful social tool for enslaved Africans on the coast. In the hierarchy of identities of slavery and freedom, as discussed earlier in this chapter, identifying as a Muslim and clearly participating in the Islamic faith moved individuals further from the *ushenzi* (uncivilized) characteristics so closely associated with slaves (Eastman 1994, p. 87). Belonging to a mosque and participating in the type of metropolitan practice which, from the historical discussion above, was so central to elite Ibadi and Sunni masculinity was difficult for those who were low on the social scale. But this was not the only form of Islam practiced through the 1800s. During the nineteenth-century, part of the influx of immigrants to the coast were religious scholars from the Hadhramaut and Comoro Islands. Such immigrants were usually involved in low-status trades: manual laborers, peddlers, and mercenaries, and as such commanded little respect in the social scales of nineteenth-century East Africa (Glassman 1995, p. 138). Many of these religious scholars belonged to the Qadiri order of Sufi Islam and began to form local branches of Sufi orders (Lienhardt 1959; Martin 1969). The Qadiriyya (the name for Sufi groups) had a reputation for being egalitarian in their membership, and as aiming for each disciple to share, through worship, some of the power of departed saints (Lienhardt 1959). Sufi orders presented an alternative to the closed institutions of both Ibadi and Sunni mosques. Mosques were firmly controlled by local elite families, and did not only offer a means of religious identity but also that of status and kinship ties. The Islamic establishment also frowned upon practices which incorporated activities such as dance into Islamic worship (Glassman 1995, p. 93). The incorporation of elements of other African religious ritual, including the use of drums and Kiswahili (the vernacular language of the coast, rather than Arabic which was the only language used in established forms of Islam) was also permitted by Sufi groups, becoming increasingly popular in early twentieth-century urban Zanzibar, where freed slaves and their descendants could fully participate in such Islamic practice (Fair 2001, p. 19). The alternative nature of worship offered by Sufi groups thus appealed to recent low-status migrants, slaves, and ex-slaves who were excluded from joining established religious institutions (Glassman 1995, p. 138). The gender divisions of Islam were also subverted by Sufi orders who welcomed women into their groups (Prins 1961, p. 114). The religious practices of Sufi

groups formed part of public performances of Islamic identities by their members. Groups paraded in important coastal towns such as Pangani, Bweni, Saadani, and Bagamoyo and as such "intruded on the religious life of Shirazi towns" (Glassman 1995, p. 145). The popularity of Sufi groups highlights the appeal of Islam to enslaved Africans, manumitted slaves, and other immigrants from mainland Africa. Islam was, in part, a route to higher social standing on the coast.

Despite the importance of Islam in relation to social status, many coastal East Africans also participated in various forms of spirit possession, generally understood by participants to be commensurable with Islamic belief. Today, spirits remain an active part of the Zanzibari landscape: Pemba in particular is associated with spirit possession and is famous "throughout the Swahili area for its powerful spirits and witches" (Giles 1995, p. 90). The spirit of Popo Bawa becomes active around the time of elections on Pemba, connected with tensions between the ruling party and opposition (Saleh 2001). During fieldwork, mention of spirits made clear their continued presence. One of the local guides who showed us some nineteenth-century sites told us that spirits had possessed him and informed him of the whereabouts of treasure at one site. Powerful spirits were said to occupy the site of Mgoli. Chatting to local residents, we learned why the walls of this rare stone building still stood. In the past, some people had apparently started to dismantle the walls so as to recycle the stone. But the spirits were angered by this, causing part of the wall to fall down, killing one of the individuals involved. Our presence was, however, welcomed in this regard, as the inclusion of *wazungu* (white people) was a means to keep spirits away (Croucher 2006, p. 411).

Spirit possession rituals were not uncommon during the nineteenth-century on Zanzibar (Alpers 1984; Craster 1913), although they are declining today, increasingly challenged in relation to Islamic orthodoxy (Giles 1995, p. 92; Larsen 1998). During the nineteenth-century, missionaries were doubly flummoxed by spirit possession, adding to their regular failure to understand Zanzibari society. Bishop Frank Weston wrote in 1914 of the issue as he saw it:

> The ordinary matters of everyday life are surrounded by ceremonies and charms: no child is born who is not first consecrated in the womb to the protection and authority of evil [sic] spirits; every house is so dedicated and protected; and the wise man has medicines to protect him at every turn. Thus even the games of the people have fallen into the power of the Fundis; and what looks like an ordinary "ngoma" (i.e. African dance) is, in most cases, an "ngoma" connected with spirits or witchcraft.
> The chief ceremony popular with all is the devil-dance proper, and for this purpose people are often maddened by poison that a devil may be exorcised by the dance. (Maynard-Smith 1926, p. 119)

Here, the "devil-dance proper" we may presume is the practice of spirit possession itself, where an individual has a spirit inhabit their body. Such depiction accords with historical description where Europeans saw spirit possession as causing intense symptoms: "[those spirits] entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures" (Skene 1917, p. 420).

Examples abound of spirit possession in historical contexts. A missionary, Miss Voules, wrote to the Bishop of Zanzibar to let him know of the case in 1920 of an ex-slave woman, Mama Juma, possessed by two different spirits. Within the narrative, the spirits appear to demonstrate a conflict between identifying with the indigenous African group from which she had originally been taken (the spirit tied to this was happy for her to convert to Christianity) and a Pemban spirit, unhappy with the Christian practices Mama Juma was adopting. Practices linked to spirit possession therefore present one area in which identity politics may have entered public discourse. Mama Juma had married a Nyamwezi man, who had then converted to Christianity, causing Mama Juma to do the same. Following on from this, she then began to have regular nightly "trances" in which a spirit possessed her calling out "I am coming, I am coming, I am coming. I am sent to kill this woman because she follows the religion of the Europeans…. I shall go on coming until I kill her; but if she will give up the religion of the Europeans, then I will leave her in peace" (Maynard-Smith 1926, p. 124). After Mama Juma's husband sought help, she was taken to the mission, where she continued to be possessed by the spirit, which caused her to "gnash her teeth" at the crucifix, and to sneer at the Lord's Prayer. The incident culminated in another voice coming from Mama Juma:

> Then suddenly, while we were praying, [a voice spoken by Mama Juma] "You know I am another one? I have put out that Pemba one and I am quite another one. I am a Manyema." (This was the woman's own tribe; she was carried off for a slave at 3 years old or so) "This woman was committed to me before she was born. But you need not mind me, *I* shall not hurt her, I am not like that Pemba one, she is in my charge." (Maynard-Smith 1926, p. 125)

An argument then commenced with the spirit, which spoke in the Manyema language[3] which Miss Voules asserted Mama Juma did not know; in the end, they persuaded the spirit to go. Mama Juma awoke and made the sign of the cross, ending Miss Voules' account. Conversing with spirits in the manner of Miss Voules' account was in line with common practice. In another account from the early twentieth century, Skene (1917, p. 421) understood that:

> The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* [spirit] to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi* [the man or woman who was a specialist in managing spirit possession], the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person.

Mama Juma's case was likely unusual in the lack of local specialist assistance and the agreement of the Manyema spirit to leave her body without the need for any specific offerings. While adherence to Islam may have been common, spirit possession may have been one means through which discourse around the nature of identity may have occurred. In the example of Mama Juma, we learn of a woman who had taken up Christianity, likely to ally herself with the power of the mission, and yet who still suffers possession by a spirit who reminds her of her own origins

[3] Manyema referred to persons originating from Central Africa, largely from what is today the eastern DR Congo (Page 1974, p. 69; Rockel 2009, p. 89).

on the mainland. As we know that spirit possession was common among Muslims on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century, including enslaved laborers, the possibility lies open that this was one route through which the complex situation of claiming an identity through ties on Zanzibar, and yet being aware of previous ties from a birthplace on the mainland, may have been manifest. This is in line with recent arguments that spirit possession on the Swahili coast has at its heart "symbolic expression of cultural identity and historical consciousness," allowing for Swahili coastal history and identity to be represented in the spirit world (Giles 1999, p. 143). In the contemporary world, spirit possession is well-integrated into Islamic beliefs and practices, and "The spirits present in Zanzibar are relevant to people's well-being and the rituals performed on behalf of spirits represent a context where women and men partake on almost equal footing." The spirits "represent practical concerns" and are associated with the loss and renewal of bliss and harmony (Larsen 1998, p. 62). Discussing the rise of these practices, Alpers (1984, p. 683) has suggested that the nineteenth-century may be understood as the origin of spirit possession, relating to the broad historical shifts tied to colonialism and changing gender relations.

Archaeologically, however, it seems that the formal religious landscape of plantations was dominated by Islam. No evidence was found on our survey or in excavations of any form of non-Islamic practice. Oral historical interviews were vague on the possibility of spirit possession in the past. Speaking of Mgoli, one interviewee commented: "There was music at Mgoli. If people communicated with spirits it was in their houses" (Croucher 2006, p. 409). Such a comment seemed to leave things open-ended: Music may have implied the type of *ngoma* associated with spirit possession, but he also made clear that any activity was not pursued in public. Whether or not spirit possession was novel in the nineteenth-century, interviews made clear, in line with cases such as Mama Juma's and wider research discussed above, that spirit possession could still have been an important part of the negotiation of identity in clove plantation areas during the nineteenth-century. As migrants continued to move to the islands to pick cloves in the early twentieth century, one of our interviewees recalled how spirit possessions were an important part of the relations between immigrants and those of Zanzibari origin:

> Sometimes Pembans would get Nyamwezi spirits. They would speak Nyamwezi and they would then have to call in some Nyamwezi to help them get rid of the spirit. People with Nyamwezi spirits inside them would wear Nyamwezi clothes. The spirits would say what they wanted—e.g. two chickens, and then they would sacrifice two chickens for the spirit. A Nyamwezi spirit would only talk in the Nyamwezi language. (Croucher 2006, p. 510)

This discussion of Nyamwezi spirit possession was preceded by mentioning that Nyamwezi immigrants would fail to marry on Pemba unless they converted to Islam. Clearly, "assimilation" was accompanied by links to immigrant homelands through the active presence of spirits. Despite the absence of material evidence for this within the research conducted for this study, it is possible that future work may demonstrate materially the manner in which spirit possession was a part of the social landscape of slavery. Evidence of such practice has been

recorded on the Kenyan coast (Abungu 1994). One of the potters interviewed in 2005 also showed us a number of small pots that had been made as a special request for a customer; these were to be used for "making medicines" or for providing offerings to spirits (Croucher 2006, p. 513, see Fig. 7.6).Evidence for buried fingo posts, "meant to absorb danger and deflect it from a place's inhabitants," has been found at the sixteenth-century site of Pujini on Pemba (Fleisher and LaViolette 2007, p. 189). This means that in future there is good potential that we may understand more about the physical remains of spirit-related practices and their role in the shifting terrain of identities on nineteenth-century plantations.

Mosques were likely unfamiliar to plantation slaves. No mosques were recorded during our clove plantation survey and there was no evidence of this type of structure at any of the nineteenth-century plantation sites visited on the survey. The only plantation owner's site where a mosque appeared to have been built for the use of the site's residents was that of Finga, recorded by Clark and Horton (1985, p. 20). This mosque, still in use, had a small, plain *mirhab,* a typical Ibadi style shared by many mosques in Zanzibar Stone Town (Insoll 1999, pp. 26–59; Sheriff 1995b). The mosque at Finga stood out as a singular example of a plantation mosque. While there were mosques in all of the rural villages found today in plantation areas, these were modern, tied to the twentieth-century settlements adjacent to paved roads. The almost total absence of mosques adjacent to plantations contrasts sharply with the dense formal religious landscape of the urban center: By 1866 in Zanzibar town, there were a total of nine Ibadi mosques (Sheriff 1995b, p. 13). These were important spaces for Omani gentlemen to meet, socialize, and participate in shared religious practices, and these same gentlemen were some of those very same who diversified into plantations, or whom at least had ties with plantation owners. The building of a mosque was an important sign of wealth and piety within an urban setting (Glassman 1995; Sheriff 1995b). Mosques could have been expected to have formed a part of the plantation landscape on Zanzibar as Omani immigrants sought to express the same devotion and piety. Possibly, plantation owners traveled to urban centers such as Zanzibar town, Chake Chake, and Wete in order to attend Friday prayers in a mosque, and may still have invested money into urban mosques.

The religious landscape of plantations perhaps can be read as expressing more than an identification of whether individuals were Muslims or Christians, and whether they were also engaged in spirit possession rituals. The contrast between the importance of mosque building for elites in urban areas and the absence of such on plantations helps to show the way in which mosque construction was tied to the strengthening of social ties between elites and their relatively high-status followers. Outside of town, a plantation owner might encourage enslaved laborers to follow Islamic practice. Becoming, at least nominally, a Muslim, was a way for enslaved laborers to express their movement away from *washenzi* status, as it did for so many others throughout the caravan routes of Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century (Rockel 2009). But while plantation owners were clearly keen to develop their enslaved laborers into personal clients, as is so acutely shown in the example of

Abdalla bin Jabir's aid of Ali bin Abeid, there was also awareness that the enslaved population of plantation were only a part of advancing elite status. Clients could assist in rare disputes, but ties to other individuals who could claim elite status were vital for plantation owners. Mosques were the heart of hegemonic elite masculinity, tied so closely to the ideology of urbanism. This was the form of Islam most closed to those at the bottom of the social ladder. Absence in this case helps to highlight the close spatial connection between elites and urban centers. Plantation owners were not seeking to redefine this connection. In a rural setting, they could express their elite identity through the type of landscape discussed in the previous chapter and through their large numbers of slaves. But building mosques might have led to a greater ability for slaves, once they could claim to be a part of institutionalized Islam, to wield greater power. As Glassman (1991, p. 284) has argued, slave resistance "often took the form for fuller rights of social inclusion, or for fuller access to local community institutions."

The cemetery at Kinyagale may have been an expression of piety by an enslaved population. But it may also have been a more visible symbol of a fight for acceptance on the very same terms through which slave owners denied slaves' their humanity. As Cooper (1980, p. 22) summarizes, "Their own [slaves'] conversion to Islam could become a challenge to their owners' notions of religious superiority." This fits with the general practice of building housing of the same style as the indigenous population of the Swahili coast. These material symbols of seeming *absence*—the absence of continuity with cultural traditions the homes from which enslaved Africans had been taken—in actual fact become evidence for resistance through fights for incorporation into broader Swahili society on the part of the enslaved population. Wider spiritual practice such as spirit possession may have been a route through which this push for incorporation was complicated, although we found no direct material evidence to support this. Reading resistance into a choice to acculturate to coastal norms by slaves does not mean that this was an easy process. Absorption may be understood as "a process of conflict" (Glassman 1991, p. 283). This removes the clear dichotomy between the benign character of African slavery and that of chattel slavery, so as to allow for an understanding of the fact that adopting cultural norms within slaveholding societies was not a straightforward process for slaves. It was an act through which they at once could be viewed as being subservient to their masters and accepting of their position, but in which we can simultaneously read the fight for greater social rights and freedoms.

Violence and Benevolence

It might seem that enslaved laborers on Zanzibar worked in an easy rhythm with their work and their freedom. Certainly, apologists for slavery among the late nineteenth-century British administration cast this light on the situation. Commissioner Last suggested that enslaved laborers were supposed to work from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. on three days of the week for their owner, labor which could be "finished by

midday if the slave is so minded to bestir himself" (RH, ASP G118/A: PPSA: Africa No. 4 (1901): CRSS, E1). As discussed above, the hours of labor varied greatly as observed by different commentators, but all agreed that plantation laborers had a relatively large portion of free time with which they might tend their own provision grounds and do as they chose. European commentators, ever-mindful of what they thought might one day be the productivity of the islands, saw this as a lax regime, and regularly used this as a point in favor of abolishing slavery only slowly. But Cooper (1977, p. 180) points out that whatever the actual hours worked, slavery was just that: a *forced* regime of labor, in which the "work rhythms" were fundamentally "different from those of the small-scale farmer, slave or free."

Excavations at Mgoli provided evidence of a formal working landscape on a clove plantation. The labor of clove growing is less demanding than that of many other plantation crops, such as sugar.[4] As discussed above, many Europeans saw the labor regime as somewhat lax, thinking that productivity could be much increased should the "lazy" Africans be induced to work harder. Despite the fact that clove plantation labor did not require the continual backbreaking labor of sugarcane, it still had an intensive production regime. During the clove harvest, slaves had to pick for 8–9 hours a day, 7 days a week (Cooper 1977, p. 156).[5] Picking required careful work, and supervision was intended to ensure that pickers did not break the delicate branches off the trees, stunting future crops. One female interviewee suggested that, by the twentieth century at least, in the era following the abolition of slavery, pickers sometimes tried to find shortcuts to picking cloves. She mentioned an *ngoweko,* a kind of hooked stick, which was used for picking mango and breadfruit, and was also used to break clove stems when she was a young girl during the harvest (Croucher 2006, p. 402). But Cooper (1977, p. 157) provides a narrative of a harsher regime during the era of slavery, during which time a slave observed by a supervisor to be lax in picking "could be beaten or deprived of a holiday." He goes on to describe the vital work of clove drying. This is an important dimension of the harvest, as cloves must be carefully protected from the rains common during the November to December and July to September picking seasons. Drying cloves is a highly visible activity during these seasons on Pemba today (Fig. 4.2). While picking was sometimes dangerous labor, as pickers could fall from trees and ladders, drying the cloves was a laborious and vital stage in producing a high-quality crop.

> Female slaves were mainly responsible for separating the buds from the stems and for spreading them out on mats to dry. Cloves were taken in each night and during rain. The drying process took 6–7 days—longer in the event of bad weather. (Cooper 1977, p. 157)

It is this drying process which is made visible in material remains of plantations. Trench A, located in front of the stone house at Mgoli, was sited to investigate the

[4] Sugar was grown on plantations in the Pangani area of mainland Tanzania in this period, with the labor conditions likely heightening the tense and shifting relations of slavery on East African plantations during the nineteenth-century (Glassman 1991, 1995).

[5] It is possible that these extra days of labor were compensated (Cooper 1977, p. 157); however, reports of this date to the last few years of legal slavery on the islands, making it difficult to know if this had always been the case.

Fig. 4.2 Clove drying

baraza, a stone bench running along the front of the house. Part of the *baraza* was visible above the ground surface. These are important architectural features of East African coastal homes, certainly dating back prior to the nineteenth-century. The *baraza* typically consists of stone benches, or earthen in the case of wattle-and-daub houses, which run along the front of most homes along the East African coast (Donley 1982, p. 67; Fleisher and LaViolette 1999, p. 93). Glassman (1995, p. 3), writing of Pangani during the nineteenth-century, suggested that the *baraza* was an important space for male social interaction among upper class social networks of coastal society, forming a space where "men would congregate to engage in the sophisticated pleasures of this literate urban culture" (Glassman 1995, p. 3). Commissioner Last, traveling around Zanzibar during the late nineteenth-century, makes reference to the *baraza* in reference to the hospitable spaces provided to him by plantation owners:

> During the course of last year I spent a considerable time in travelling about from place to place…. In the evening I would often put up for the night in the verandah of an Arab's house or in the house of the chief man of the village. At midday also I frequently rested in some place. On these occasions a "barazas" is always formed—that is, mats are spread, and people come to see and hear what is going on. (RH, ASP, G118/A, PPSA, Africa No. 8 (1899): CRSS: Letter from Mr. J.T. Last)

He also mentioned the *baraza* in relation to the *sabule,* which usually referred to another male, public space: a small room for entertaining visitors situated just inside the doorway to large stone houses (Donely 1982, p. 67). In the typical plan of nineteenth-century Omani stone houses found in Zanzibar Stone Town, physical *baraza* were located outside of the doorway and in the first entry room to the building (Sheriff 2001, p. 72).

The *baraza* at Mgoli was an expected architectural feature of an Omani plantation owner's house. But running directly west from this feature was a packed stone and rubble surface (see Fig. 4.3). This was a hard-packed surface, built with expensive materials. No similar feature had been unearthed in excavations of Zanzibari

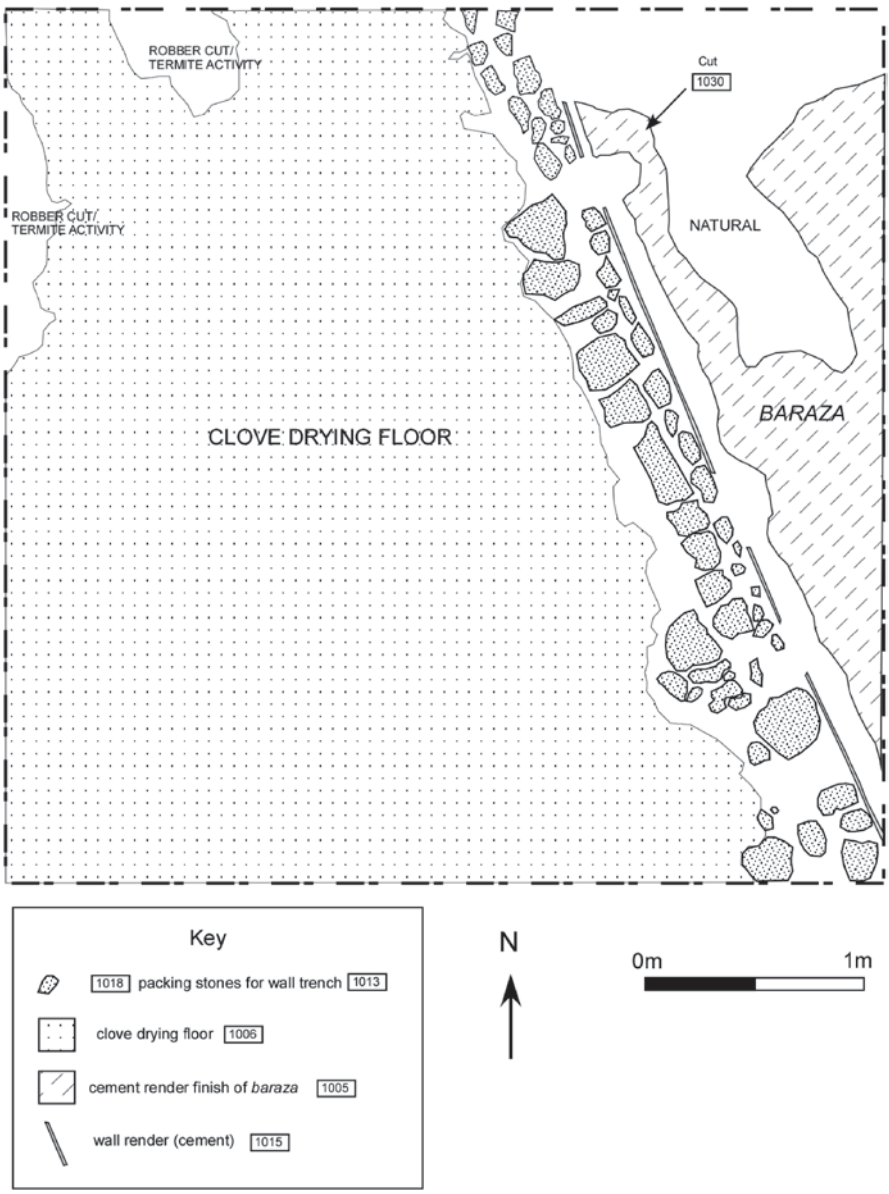

Fig. 4.3 Plan of unit A

buildings dating to earlier periods. The surface of this floor went beyond the edges of our trench, suggesting a significant feature. A corollary for this *was* observed during survey, at a contemporary plantation owner's house at Bweni, located on Pemba. This home was still inhabited, and the owner discussed the history of the

Fig. 4.4 Front lintel, Mgoli

building and plantation with us. The main housing consisted of two wattle-and-daub buildings, with the size of the main house suggestive of a multiroom structure. The current owner could recall a maximum of 20 people living between the two houses in the past. The main house had an intricately carved wooden door (see Fig. 4.4), and was separated from an associated smaller wattle-and-daub house by a large floor surface, used for drying cloves. As the owner of Bweni suggested that this was the "only" plantation in the area in the past, this suggested that the wide area covered by the clove trees of Bweni may have been comparable to that of Mgoli. Thus, perhaps, the packed rubble floor at Bweni—physically similar to that at Mgoli—may represent a contemporary example of a working space of a large clove plantation, the construction of a surface on which to dry cloves. An elderly man living in the area of Mgoli mentioned the possibility of a clove-drying floor at the site before we even began to excavate. He described the former plantation house at Mgoli (now only in existence as a ruin) as "very big, with a clove drying floor." He went on to say that the clove-drying floor was "about 200 feet long" and made of cement (Croucher 2006, pp. 405, 410). No mention is made by commentators of specific structures for drying cloves, but the visible historic structure at Bweni and the ready identification by local residents of the structure we unearthed at Mgoli as

such might suggest that such features were not an unusual one at large nineteenth-century clove plantations.

The clove-drying floor at Mgoli contextually seemed to date to the initial construction of the plantation house. It overlay only natural soil, with no artifacts found beneath to enable us to date the initial construction. This was in line with other areas of the site that provided no evidence for settlement at the site prior to the mid-nineteenth-century. Building such a large house with significant infrastructure for clove drying was likely part of the mania-like period in which clove growing spread to Pemba, with a massive rise in production during the late 1840s. The clove-drying floor abutted a construction trench for the *baraza,* containing a low wall and packing stones with which the edge of this structure was constructed (see Fig. 4.3). A fragmentary fine layer of plaster on some areas of the clove-drying floor seemed to represent some kind of post-construction repair and/or resurfacing. Cement render had also been added to the *baraza* at some point after its construction. The lack of artifacts made precise dating of these events difficult, but the neat construction of the clove-drying floor, *baraza,* and stone house in relation to one another made simultaneous construction likely. This construction sequence makes it probable that the design of this plantation house included the planning of these various elements as an essential part of the layout of the plantation as such.

As discussed above, clove drying was a vital part of the harvest; without careful tending to this process, the crop could be lost. This was a process taking several days, requiring a significant demand on the enslaved labor force of the plantation. This feature provides tangible evidence of the working landscape of Mgoli, and clove plantation landscapes in general. Here was a site in which slaves were observed directly in their working practices, where their productivity and hard work could be monitored. As such, it could be argued to form part of the "spatialities of control" of Zanzibari plantation owners' attempts to control the movement of their enslaved laborers through governing movement and through surveillance (Delle 1998, p. 156). On Jamaica, in a landscape of capitalist production during the late eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, plantation owners designed and implemented changing spatial forms to construct and reinforce new social relations of production. This period was a crucial one for planters interested in improving efficiency and productivity on Jamaica (Higman 2001, p. 101). It was mirrored by architectural shifts in eighteenth-century North America where rigid relations of chattel slavery were formalized through space (Vlach 1993, p. 45). The spatialities of Jamaican and North American plantations would seem to be far from the complex landscape of ownership discussed in the previous chapter. "Improvements" through technological change were certainly not manifest on these clove plantations. Perhaps in the clove-drying floor, however, we *can* see a form of control we might link to the relations of slavery on European and Euro-American controlled plantations.

The control of labor and the production of enslaved laborers as working subjects rather than simply as dependents may be read through the construction of the clove-drying floor. While it could be argued that drying cloves near the house was simply an expedient measure, the choice to locate this feature at the front of the building, abutting the *baraza* seems significant. The location of the clove-drying floor beside

the *baraza* meant that the mostly male plantation owners could contrast themselves with the subservient position of their laboring slaves. The importance of this spatial juxtaposition may be understood in the narration of a visit to a Pemban plantation by Donald Mackenzie in 1895:

> On our way to the Arab's estate we passed through lovely plantations of cloves, and the whole country appeared to be well cultivated. We descended a beautiful valley in which large numbers of slaves were working in the fields….
> After about two hours riding, across valleys rich with luxuriant vegetation (…), we ascended on to higher ground, reaching a level plain. Here, in the midst of magnificent plantations of trees, we found the Arab's dwellings, which consisted principally of stone houses, fairly well-built. The Arab was waiting for us on a raised and covered platform, surrounded by a host of his friends. He gave us a warm welcome to his estate…. When we touched on the Slave question, Mohammed [the plantation owner] was not so willing to give information: he is the owner of 11 shambas, seven in Pemba, and four in Zanzibar: he has 2,000 slaves in Pemba and 800 in Zanzibar. I enquired of him what he did with his old slaves; he replied that he gave them their freedom and let them live on portions of his shambas where they could cultivate enough to keep them until they died. (RH, 1895: RST, ASS, G3, EAPZ)

Mackenzie appears to have been treated as an honored visitor, moved into the space of the plantation alongside, and in the same manner as, elite Arab gentlemen (albeit with the addition of "European chairs").[6] Although very different from the formal landscape of European and Euro-American plantations, moving through the landscape and being allowed to observe particular features appears to be a crucial element of the visual construction of power (cf. Upton 1984).

Plantations have increasingly been interpreted by archaeologists as sites where disciplinary frameworks of surveillance and control, drawing on theoretical ideas from Foucault (Singleton 2001; Thomas 1998). These systems existed within a social framework intended to control particular lower class and, in the case of plantations, enslaved laboring bodies (O'Neill 1986). The clove-drying floor represents a way to understand the materiality of growing capitalist formations on Zanzibar. As plantation owners were concerned with output, having the floor laid out in an area where they could easily observe the work of slaves and their crop seems to be behavior shaped by concerns we might expect within a capitalist regime of production. However, the juxtaposition of *baraza* and clove-drying floor serves as a reminder that the placing of enslaved laborers in this particular space was also a materialization of the importance of slaves as clients of the plantation owner. While the owner of the Pemban plantation who talked to Mackenzie in 1895 was unwilling to discuss slavery in any detail, the visibility of his enslaved laborers appears to have been important to the presentation of elite plantation owner status. Mackenzie was paraded past enslaved laborers working in the trees, able to make enough of

[6] The presence of these imported consumer goods seems to fit with the type of cosmopolitan consumerism which Jeremy Prestholdt presents as an important feature of nineteenth-century Zanzibari society. The relatively low numbers of imported goods found at plantation sites are discussed in Chap. 7, and so it is interesting to see that items such as European chairs were utilized at some of the largest plantations on Pemba. This account seems to suggest that, as was the case for urban Zanzibaris, plantation owners were aware of societies outside of their own and the power of presenting their consumer goods to important visitors (Prestholdt 2008, p. 97).

an impression on him to comment on the clear visibility of labor. The *baraza*, so important for elite male performance, was alongside the most visible space in which enslaved subjects could be seen to be working. For a man such as Abdalla bin Jabir, the power he clearly held in relation to his peers may have been visible to them as they sat with him on a *baraza* viewing a significant number of enslaved laborers. The clove-drying floor was, then, a space for labor. But it also reminds us about the fact that plantation owners relied on a visible labor force for their social standing. Work spaces on American plantations were areas in which Vlach (1993, p. 35) has argued slaves might have felt a "communal spirit" as they worked, feeling perhaps that this area was "their domain." Perhaps this type of resistance was also true on clove-drying floors. But perhaps also these laboring spaces offered the potential for a form of subtle resistance to the labor undertaken by their public nature. The closeness of the *baraza* may have served as a spatial reminder to enslaved individuals that they were not something to be hidden away, but had potential importance as integrated members of Zanzibari plantation society. Slaves were not simply chattel, but through their participation in a variety of cultural practices discussed earlier in this chapter and later in this volume, they could articulate their ability to be regarded as members of a plantation household, rather than simply denigrated as enslaved laborers. Mackenzie is reminded that this particular plantation owner provides for elderly slaves, granting them freedom and land on which to cultivate. It is these types of relations which may also have been visible in the close relation of *baraza* and clove-drying floor.

Spatial dimensions of clove drying might seem far from the factory-like landscapes of nineteenth-century American and Caribbean plantations, and the outline of potential resistance discussed above might make Zanzibari plantations seem—in a phrase which is something of an oxymoron—somewhat "easy" places to be enslaved. Archival evidence points however, albeit rarely, to the fact that slavery on Zanzibar was far from benevolent for at least some individuals. Punishment could include jail or violence as a consequence of attempting to flee or otherwise working against a master. The Quaker missionary Theodore Burtt was disturbed to find punishment still taking place after the abolition decree. This punishment was particularly shocking to him as it concerned three women, who appeared to have done little to merit a serious penalty. They were found by Burtt in the Chake Chake jail, "heavily ironed." They complained to him that they had been given no "proper food" by their master, and so requested that they be allowed to go into town to earn money "for their food and for him." Such actions would be in line with the practice of hiring out slaves during the nineteenth-century. Their master refused, ordering them back to work on his plantation. A complaint to the Wali to attempt to gain legalistic aid resulted in a poor outcome for the women, who were shackled in jail for a week as a punishment for the refusal to work (RH, September 1897: ASP C 51.52: Letter from Mr. Theodore Burtt to Mr. Allen). A greater depth of brutality is suggested in an offhand comment by Donald Mackenzie, just prior to the abolition of slavery. Questioning Pembans as to whether there were acts of cruelty towards slaves, he found that there were reports that some slaves had been beaten to death. He countered this with the fact that some slaves were freed on the death of their

owners. In one case, "an Arab had lately died in Pemba and stipulated in his will that 11 of his slaves should be set free and given a portion of his shamba to cultivate for their own use and profit: this stipulation was most faithfully carried out by his widow, and I was assured that the freed slaves were now happy and prosperous" (RH, 1895: RST, ASS, G3, EAPZ). As positive as this latter fact is, the knowledge that some individuals were beaten to death breaks the easy narrative of benevolent care by slave owners.

Gauging how common such occurrences were is difficult, since the reports by administrators, missionaries, and other visitors are occluded by their ideological lenses. Following the official establishment of the British Protectorate, we have some official narratives of the violence which was all too real for some of the enslaved population. In the same year as Mackenzie found slavery to be benevolent, others on Pemba may have disagreed. The first Vice-Consul to be stationed on Pemba, Mr. D.R. O'Sullivan wrote in 1895 of the case of three slaves claimed by a plantation owner by the name of Ali bin Abdallah. Further questioning also implicated the father of Ali bin Abdallah, an Arab by the name of Nassor bin Ali. O'Sullivan presents a first-person account of one of the returned slaves (one women was among the three), a man named M. Ifaa. Having gone to the plantation of Ali bin Abdallah on the information of others, O'Sullivan recalls in his letter:

> He was lying in the open shamba, his ankles secured with a double set of irons which had eaten completely through the flesh to the bone, and he was in the last stages of starvation. Between his legs was the trunk of a clove tree which had to be cut down before the man could be removed. He had been thus secured for seven months past…[fed with only] one cocoanut per day! (ZNA, 1895: AC 2/19: Vice-Consul, Pemba, Correspondence [VCPC], Letter from British Vice Consulate O'Sullivan [BVCP] to O' Sullivan)

O'Sullivan went on to corroborate the account over coming weeks with the testimony of other slaves. This suggests that the brutality of Ali bin Abdallah was a type of behavior that was found threatening to neighboring plantation owners on Pemba; it also confirms the manner in which a violent individual might make full use of the ability to use slaves as a part of a powerful retinue:

> He [Ali bin Abdallah] bears a very bad reputation amongst all classes here in Pemba, and for four years past he and his family have been the terrors of the island. He has acquired his numerous large estates mainly by encroaching upon those of his weaker neighbours, and in many instances he has forcibly taken possession of the entire plantation and of the slaves belonging to other Arabs.
>
> Ali bin Abdallah's merciless severity towards his own slaves and towards those of others is so well known that the most terrifying threat which a master can hold out to any of those unfortunates who chance to incur his displeasure, is to send them for punishment to Ali bin Abdallah. I have been told of acts of cruelty of this man towards numerous slaves, so horrible as to be well nigh incredible, but after what I have myself witnessed of his methods, I believe him to be capable of any barbarity.
>
> It is stated that Ali bin Abdallah can command the services of over two thousand men, composed of his kinsmembers and of his and their slaves; I have myself noted that he habitually travels about accompanied by a large and well armed retinue. (ZNA, 22nd December, 1895: AC 2/19: VCPC, Letter from BVCP to A.H. Harding)

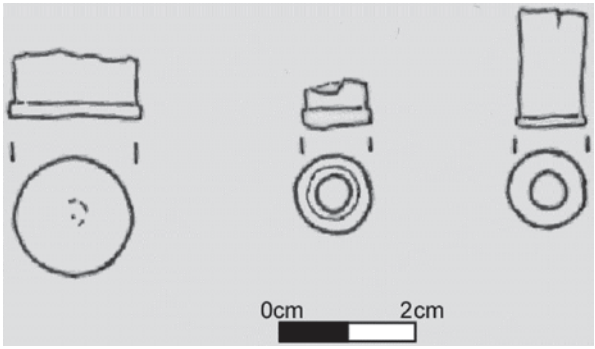

Fig. 4.5 Bullet cartridges

This individual may have been singular in his brutality, the wicked example through which the generosity of other plantation owners may have been measured. Yet the fact that he *did* exist, and the inhumanity of his treatment in the individual cases investigated by O'Sullivan, suggests that this extreme violence may have been understood to be a reality in the mind of enslaved laborers on clove plantations. Should we follow Mackenzie in too easily dismissing the violence of slavery, then we become unable to fully comprehend the landscape of slavery on Zanzibari plantations.

Such violence heightens awareness of what clove-drying floors may have meant for those who worked on them. Even at Mgoli, one interviewee commented that Abdalla bin Jabir, the nineteenth-century plantation owner, was a "very serious man," to the point that his children were even afraid of him. He was said to have hanged one of his slaves "because he suspected he loved a teenager in town" (Croucher 2006, p. 418). Along with these recollections was evidence of firearms found atop the clove-drying floor. This consisted of 25 copper alloy cartridges, mostly rimfire and centerfire, dating them to the mid-nineteenth-century onward (Fig. 4.5). A single lead bullet was also recovered in this area which would have been used along with the cartridges. The import of large quantities of old-fashioned muskets and other firearms had been noted as early as the 1840s, but by the late nineteenth-century forms of rifles which were going out of service in the U.S. and Europe were being imported into East Africa, much to the despair of the British Consul-General at Zanzibar. While guns were partly objects of prestige, they were also a part of "Arab" bids to retain control of areas of Eastern Africa over Europeans in the late 1880s (Beachey 1962, pp. 453–454). Pinning down the use of firearms with the plantation is difficult, as the location of the cartridges do not allow for a clear contextual association with other elements of the site. We know that they were deposited after the construction of the clove-drying floor, but nothing more. It seems unlikely that they would have been left on a space that had to be clear for the drying of cloves during the main period the plantation was in use, making it likely that these particular items were left relatively late in the archaeological sequence.

Interview evidence provided suggestions that guns were a powerful symbol in the colonial era. Discussing his clash with Said bin Nassor, we were told that Abdalla bin Jabir "had a lot of guns" but "didn't use them to kill people." Instead,

clubs and other weapons were the tools of violent conflict (as was discussed above, open fights between plantation owners may have involved arming enslaved laborers with these types of weapon). Historical memories of gun use in the colonial period also suggested that guns may have been more of a powerful symbol than an actual weapon for use against other Zanzibaris. They were an elite object owned only by "hunters, Arabs and clove plantation owners." Other interviewees remembered that guns were the purview only of certain classes. One elderly lady who lived away from the main plantation area suggested that "Only Arabs had guns, and very few…. People were afraid of those who owned guns." Into the British colonial period, an elderly man noted the regulations that were in place for gun ownership: "Before the revolution local Shirazi people, Arabs and a very few Indians owned guns. No Nyamwezi owned them as they were taken as foreigners" (Croucher 2006, pp. 419, 508, 522, 524). Despite the difficulty in pinning down the date for the cartridges found at Mgoli, they are a tantalizing piece of evidence suggesting the symbolic power plantation owners may have wielded in this particular space. In contrast to archaeological remnants of firearms on plantations on the Americas, which suggest guns may have been used by enslaved laborers for hunting, so as to supplement their diet (Singleton 1991; Young et al. 2001), the cartridges found here are in an important space for defining the power relations between enslaved and free, marking off clearly those who were the laborers on the plantation in relation to those who wielded greater power. Formal spaces of labor were not simply a way for the plantation owners to demonstrate the symbolic value of high numbers of enslaved laborers to other plantation owners. They were also a route through which slaves could feel the force of their condition and the fact that the system of slavery in which they were enmeshed was anything but benevolent.

Freedom

Plantation slavery would seem, on the surface, to have come to an end in 1897 when Sultan Seyyid Hamoud signed a treaty to abolish slavery on the islands of Zanzibar (Middleton and Campbell 1965, p. 7). But this was no sudden manumission; slaves had to request their freedom. As Zanzibar had become a British Protectorate in 1890—a not inconsequential fact for the 1897 decree—British colonial administrators were increasingly involved in the legal side of manumission through the 1890s and were keen to promote only particular modes of freedom. This led to laments as to the reluctance of many slaves to obtain their freedom and debate as to what to do with those whom, once freed, became "vagrants." Both sides are instructive in elucidating the social relations of slavery on Zanzibar and in understanding the lack of clear material correlate with any kind of slave identity or culture on the islands.

Writing about the nature of slavery, Mr. Last, working on Zanzibar, wrote about the workings of the 1897 decree. Last was somewhat of an apologist for slavery, and saw many redeeming features to the system of plantation slavery on Zanzibar. He had been traveling about the island on his work for the government of the

Protectorate and presented reasons for the reluctance of slaves to gain their freedom. He noted that freedom granted by the generosity of an owner was honorable, granting one the status of a "freed man."[7] But this freedom was valuable socially *only* when granted in such a manner. Last argued that "the slaves set free by Europeans become more or less social outcasts. The master of a freed man of this kind will have no more to do with him, nor with his wajoli or other slaves, and he is equally despised by all free people" (RH, ASP, G118/A. PPSA, Africa No. 8 (1899): CRSS: Letter from Mr. J. T. Last). Even given that Last's comments are exaggerated, this depiction begins to demonstrate why the bonds of slavery were not simply those of owner and owned.

However, this position must be taken as part of a complex discourse: The British administration was keen to prevent "vagrancy." An enslaved laborer who wished to gain freedom (the rules were different for concubines, as discussed in the following chapter) had to demonstrate that they had a place of residence. As Commissioner Farler, based on Pemba, wrote in regard to his "vagrancy" issue in 1901,

> It is only by a steady and firm pressure that we are able to keep vagrancy within limits. After a slave is freed, the home that he [sic] has chosen is registered and before the coast he enters into an agreement with the land-owner to perform certain duties, in return for certain planting rights, with protection and care in event of sickness. He is required, if he wishes to leave this home, to apply to the court, and state his reasons why he wishes to leave, and if these are satisfactory his new home is also registered and permission given for him to move. (ZNA, 4th April, 1901: AC 3/12 Sultan Correspondence [SC], Letter from J.P. Farler, Commissioner for the Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery to General Mathews)

In the following year, a legal change was instituted which allowed those petitioning for their freedom to do so without having a contract in which they could demonstrate their place of work and residence. This change was instigated by missionaries. The Friend's Mission in Chake Chake—an institution founded with the primary purpose of providing a refuge to slavery—had been outraged that a freed slave had been removed from their mission so as to tie him to a work contract. Herbert Armitage of the Friend's Mission wrote an outraged letter, also published in *The Speaker,* discussing the case of Ufunguo. He had worked for the mission on a new building, and was "most anxious to remain." He went to the court run by Commissioner Farler to petition for his formal freedom, with a letter from the Friend's Mission to explain that he was one of their employees. The outraged Armitage continues:

> Arrived at the court, he was freed, but was told he could no longer live on our mission station or work for us, but was sent on the same day to one of the Government plantations—the only consideration shown to him being that inasmuch as he was not allowed to live on our land and work for us, at his request he was placed on the Government shamba nearest to us. This man, then, by applying for and obtaining his freedom—freedom indeed!—suffers a loss of his liberty! For he may not go where he likes—a loss of at least half of his present income—and is now (absolutely against his will) placed under the contract system. (ZNA, 1902: AC 3/13, British Consular Correspondence [BCC] Letter to the editor of *The Speaker* from Herbert Armitage)

[7] Last makes it clear that this status is not to be confused with that of a *free* man, which would indicate someone of free birth.

This particular case resulted in a change in the interpretation of the 1897 decree, so as to allow slaves to be granted freedom with less evidence than formerly required that they would not become a vagrant (RH, ASP: C 51.52). What then constituted vagrancy? The answer appears to possibly be those individuals who had left their bonds of client–patron relations on plantations, and who were not yet employed in any form of contract labor. British administrators presented the problem as framed by plantation owners themselves. In 1901, Farler had also complained that "Continual complaints are being made of thefts of coco-nuts by the vagrants, and I find that certain Wa-Pemba buy for a price every coco-nut brought to them by these vagrants, and then sell them in bulk to British Indians" (ZNA, 1901: AC 3/12: SC, Letter to General Mathews). The complaints of petty thefts by vagrants had been a recurring complaint of Farler since 1899 when he noted the issue: "Complaints were coming in from the Arabs that parties of runaway slaves were entering their shambas and helping themselves to as many cocoanuts as they could carry away, threatening the owners if they dared to interfere with them. A police patrol was sent through the shambas, [and] all vagrants were arrested" (RH, ASP, G118/A, PPSA, Africa No. 8 (1899): CRSS, Letter from Mr. J.P. Farler).

Vagrancy presented the specter of criminality through the fact that vagrants were not productive laborers. They were those men and women who did not stay tied in to close bonds with their former owners, and who also failed to enter into labor contracts. The vagrant squatted in land outside of formal plantations where "the freed slave builds a little hut, plants a little muhogo [cassava] between the rocks, eking out a bare existence by plundering the nearest shamba from time to time; and leading, for them, a delightfully idle life, useless to the community and entirely unproductive." This category included prostitutes, and even before the change in interpreting the decree so as to allow former slaves greater ability to the status of "vagrant," 658 men and women were convicted of vagrancy on Pemba in 1900 alone (ZNA, 4th April, 1901: AC 3/12, SC: Letter to General Mathews). The voices of plantation owners are hard to discern as to their position on these individuals without labor obligations, but their complaints to Farler on the "continual complaints" of thefts suggest that perhaps they also harbored an interest in maintaining former slaves in some form of close bond. The numbers of those convicted of being vagrants gives some sense of the numbers of freed slaves who attempted to move away from the social and economic bonds of slavery in the early twentieth century. On Pemba in 1898, Farler reported the conviction of 218 vagrants (by comparison, 204 individuals were convicted of theft and 155 for drunkenness) over the course of the year. By 1899, the annual number of convictions had risen to 472, varying considerably by season. The highest number of convictions followed on from the harvest season, but Farler attributed the rise in general to the legal shift instigated by the Friend's Mission (RH, 26th January, 1900: ASP, C51.52, Letter from Commissioner Farler). In these figures, we see the fact that freed slaves were clearly desirous, even in rural areas, to take hold of their own freedom and to exist outside of the confines of bondage. The newly formed British colonial state struggled to enforce a particular labor regimen through the vagrancy issue, resulting in a new decree in 1905 further regulating practices. Even after these changes in the law, freed slaves

continued to assert their rights to squat on areas of land to which they felt they had rights. The incidents of taking crops from plantations identified in complaints of coconut theft were "part of struggle for economic power, part of efforts by planters and squatters to determine what rights tenancy conferred…. Slaves had no more reason to accept the planter's rights to the produce of the trees he owned than to accept his rights to the people he owned. They had even less reason to acknowledge that rights they had long held as slaves were no longer honored" (Cooper 1980, p. 118). Returning to Commissioner Last's argument that manumission led to social ostracism, we find a contradiction in the hundreds of individuals seeking the ability to live in some form outside of the system. Perhaps the complaints about them by plantation owners were motivated by their desire to draw freed slaves back into comparable social webs than had existed under slavery, but at least some proportion of those who had gained their freedom were keen to keep it in ways outside of client–patron relations, or were fighting to make sure that those relations were shaped in terms that conferred particular rights upon them. Closing off slavery with the turn of the nineteenth-century, we see highlighted in the figure of the vagrant the fight of enslaved Africans for rights within Zanzibari society. Such individuals were clearly not simply passively taking orders, but had their own sense of what their place in society might be.

The Nature of Zanzibari Plantation Slavery

If we think of slavery on Zanzibari plantations in comparative terms, it is clear that things were very different than in the Americas. For most agrarian tasks, and for day-to-day quotidian life, enslaved plantation laborers on Zanzibar did not live in a regimented landscape. While there might be commensurate ties understood in the placing of slave houses vis-à-vis the plantation owner's house, this placing was not about surveillance and control. Instead, patron–client-type relations appear to have been manifest in spatial terms. The ability of enslaved laborers to have their own homes where they may often have lived in family units, and the rights to have land on which to grow crops, appears to have been part of a system akin to clientage. Enslaved laborers received rights in return for the expectation of labor and their duties to their patrons. Two days to work in their own fields and the ability to participate in markets appear to have resulted in a populace who felt close ties to their owners, seeing them often very much as patrons. Such ties meant that the landscapes of plantations bound people to them; "freedom" did not necessarily mean the desire to move away and escape from these relations. Rights to agricultural land and social obligations such as care for the elderly were parts of this relationship that many enslaved Africans may have been fighting for in the period immediately following abolition.

Islam was central to the ability of enslaved Africans to demand social recognition on Zanzibari plantations. The cemetery at Kinyagale shows that the conversion to Islam was materialized and visibly demonstrated the civilized qualities of

those who chose to be buried according to Muslim rites. But such conversion was tempered by the fact that it occurred within the confines of slavery; "Slaves, by accepting Islam, recognized that they had to find spiritual and social satisfaction within a cultural context they could not escape. By becoming Muslim they were adopting a portion of what, in coastal society, made their masters superior" (Cooper 1977, p. 217). The complex politics of spirit possession and varied forms of Islamic practice show that even in this seeming "acculturation" to coastal norms, enslaved individuals were not simply acquiescent in the hegemony of their masters. The push towards cultural integration and the pathways this took is discussed further in following chapters.

The importance of Islam also highlights the sharp difference of East African plantation slavery to that of racially based slavery in the Americas. The spatial practices utilized by slaves on American plantations which harkened back to Africa were at the heart of new African-American cultural formations and were important precisely because they remained "beneath the radars of Eurocentric modes of behavior and understanding" (Battle-Baptiste 2011, p. 91). Continuities of African cultural practices by enslaved communities in the Americas were an active part of resistance to the dehumanizing conditions of plantation slavery. But this particular pathway was not open simply because of a dichotomy between enslaved and free; the actions of enslaved subjects of African descent in the Americas were also tied to the complexities of racialization, whereby social mobility for those now classified as black was constrained not just by slavery, but by the color of one's skin (Bell 2005).[8] Thus argue Perry and Paynter (1999, p. 309): "It is the color line of our world that gives an imperative to the study of African-American archaeology." For enslaved Africans taken to North America, the late seventeenth century onward saw a foreclosure of the possibility of being granted freedom and equality with those who held power (Epperson 1999). The different national boundaries and legal frameworks of empires affected slavery in different ways. Everyday practice also informed the complex particularities of slavery in different areas of the Americas (Hauser 2011b, p. 432). The social and material relations of slavery on Zanzibar, however, throw into sharp relief the fact that plantation slavery could be emerging under economic conditions of capitalism in social formations that were radically different from those found in the Atlantic World and under contexts of European colonialism in the Indian Ocean. Although identification with particular ethnic groups mattered—as became so clear in ex-slaves' identification as Swahili in the early twentieth century (Arens 1975; Fair 1996, 1998)—the racial divisions, which so characterized the treatment of enslaved persons of African descent in the Americas and produced the concomitant formation of African diaspora cultures in relation to slavery, did not exist on Zanzibar.

But the ability of slaves on Zanzibar to present themselves as part of the households of their masters within a framework of paternalism (Cooper 1977, p. 220) was

[8] It should be noted here that race was not an equal category across the Americas. Under Spanish colonialism, categories of race and ethnicity were markedly different from those which emerged in the eighteenth-century U.S. (Voss 2008).

tempered by the fact that being enslaved on a plantation was also shifting towards a different kind of social status and a different set of spatial relations. While this may not have been as apparent on the clove plantations of Zanzibar than those growing sugar in the area around Pangani (Glassman 1995), the clove-drying floor at Mgoli serves as a material testament to the ways in which chattel slavery and the importance of slaves for their labor power were growing evermore important in nineteenth-century East Africa. Much of daily life on clove plantations did not embody the kind of totalizing power of surveillance and control visible on Caribbean or U.S. plantations of the nineteenth-century. But the development of spaces where labor was very publically visible may show the way in which the idea of slaves simply as chattel and laborers rather than as clients was creeping into the domain of East African culture. Such features, along with historical references to violence, stand against a narrative of slavery on Zanzibar as simply a benign force. It reminds us that enslaved Africans were forcibly taken against their will to the coast, and that few options were open to slaves outside of acquiescence within the system and the defense of older rights of slavery.

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Chapter 5
Plantation Households

Households as Units of Analysis

The previous chapters have examined the way in which ideas of landscape and the construction of particular kinds of buildings and spaces, such as the homes of enslaved laborers and clove-drying floors, were constituent parts of the social relations of slavery and capitalist formations. Zooming in to a smaller scale of analysis, this chapter takes up the archaeology of households to examine capitalist formations, power dynamics, gender and sexuality, and newly emergent identities on nineteenth-century clove plantations. Archaeological data are central to these interpretations, and I draw heavily on material from my fieldwork on Zanzibar to explore these topics. On Zanzibar, the plantation owner did not simply construct a landscape. They brought together what we might usefully think of as a household; a grouping of individuals who lived on land demarcated as a part of the plantation, more or less articulated into a unit. Finding language to describe the main residential core of the plantation is difficult. Historical studies of Zanzibari plantations have highlighted the fact that a form of social unit was created on plantations, but these are certainly not coterminous with the idea of a single family. As a further complication to this analysis, these social units were also variable:

> The groups into which slaveowners brought their slaves were by no means uniform. The imagery…was patriarchal, but the structure was not that of a family or kinship group. A wealthy individual often included slaves—along with poorer kinsmen, clients, and others—in his personal entourage. Plantation agriculture rooted such groups in the owner's land and in a differentiated economic organization. (Cooper 1977, pp. 213–214)

Such social groups did not always align with specific bounded units in the landscape. Client–patron relations were obviously a means of binding together subjects who might be separated at times by hundreds of miles, as was the case for those involved in the caravan trade (Rockel 1995, p. 15). But within the specific context of clove plantations, we can identify the types of relations Cooper is discussing as manifest in the physical form of plantation buildings.

We might usefully think of these as households, a term commonly employed by archaeologists to describe the slippery unit which may or may not be contained within a single building. A household may be thought of as a "primary human so-

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cial unit" which is variable through different cultural contexts, not to be conflated simply with family (King 2006, p. 297). This separation of family from household becomes particularly useful in thinking about the spatial manifestation of the social groups Zanzibari plantation owners were creating. Within the plantation context, particularly in relation to enslaved subjects, households have been unevenly analyzed (Beaudry 2004, p. 257). It remains a matter of debate as to what might actually constitute a plantation "household" as such: should it consist of all residences grouped together, or should residential buildings be separated into differentiated households? I do not attempt to answer this debate here, but utilize household to some extent as a heuristic device, in order to provide a term to cover a particular scale of social and spatial unit. My reluctance to firmly pin down the nature of household fits with the broad archaeological definition of households as "activity groups" formed by members who "share in production, consumption, transmission, distribution, reproduction, and co-residence" (Alexander 1999, p. 81). These are precisely the activities shared by the nineteenth-century Zanzibaris I am grouping together into "plantation households." In utilizing this term, I include the residences that would have been grouped together into the main residence of the plantation. This may have included separate buildings linked across courtyard areas, but I do not include more dispersed housing for enslaved laborers within the plantation household. We can assume that, separate from the main residential area of the plantation, the homes of enslaved laborers would form discrete units for production, reproduction, and co-residence. However, demarcating the plantation household as a singular dwelling may exclude closely related residential and other structures which formed part of the same social unit for the purposes of daily activities.

The turn to household here also allows for the archaeological analysis of the entwining of a physical household and the social actions of a household, creating a biography of place, where place might be thought of as the accretions of human experience lived through space (Tuan 1977). Household biographies include the construction, use, destruction, and replacement of buildings. Such perspectives are vital since "The design, siting, and use of residential space interact with human action and meaning to create lived space in which the house becomes integral to the construction of social identities through a process of unexamined movements, views, and spatial arrangements" (Hendon 2004, p. 276). These ideas are in line with an approach drawing on practice theory, understanding that the routine use of space in daily practices is foundational to the way in which social actors understand and perform their identities (Bourdieu 1977, 2000). However, even post-structuralist approaches to space drawing too closely on Bourdieu's theory of practice may have little concern for the "texture or variability of social relations" (Hendon 2004, p. 273). They tend to take a unit such as a household and assume a certain degree of homogeneity across a region (e.g., Donley-Reid 1990, in relation to the Swahili house). This point is particularly important when considering Zanzibari clove plantations as the heterogeneous backgrounds of plantation household residents mean that no single *habitus* can be imagined as having been shared between the subjects. Households are important in archaeology not simply as a bounded unit we can identify and use analytically, but because households actually *do* something: They are

central to complex social practices and the processes "through which social life is constituted and transformed" (King 2006, p. 297). As diverse immigrant populations came together on plantation sites, the household was the scale at which many day-to-day social relations were enacted for these subjects. The household was the location of reproduction and labor.

In African contexts, archaeologists have long recognized that the relationship between spatial practices and the materiality of buildings is a crucial starting point for interpreting the manner in which social rules may have been expressed and in which subjectivities were developed. Such studies have covered a range of structuralist and post-structuralist positions (Huffman 1984; Lane 2005), demonstrating that households are the locus of both structure *and* agency (Fewster 2006, p. 62). Of particular importance for this chapter are the feminist ethnoarchaeological studies which have shown the deep relationship between everyday practices of space and gender identities (Moore 1986). For instance, understandings of the permanence of women within kin groups may be shaped by the construction of buildings and the movement of women through different households during their lives (Lyons 1998). Social relations of nineteenth-century Zanzibar may have seemed to be stabilized through the space of the plantation household, although this seeming stability may also have been largely viewed through the eyes of plantation owners themselves. Daily movement through household space and the location of quotidian actions may have served to help subjects understand their place within a particular set of social rules. However, as this was a space constructed by the plantation owner, these rules may also have been viewed in complex ways by a variety of social actors within the household, who may also have disregarded these same rules or have understood space to enact a different set of rules. The complexity of household space becomes particularly apparent in the interpretation of the concubines' house, discussed later in this chapter.

In examining households on American plantations, archaeologists have been mindful of the difference between polite and vernacular architecture, where the former draws on architectural plans and the latter on the skill and knowledge of builders (Deetz 1996; Upton 1981). Vernacular buildings have particular importance in this field because they are viewed as a kind of organic expression of culture, "touchstones for such cultural information as patterns of culture, sources of tradition and development of building techniques" (Heath 2003, p. 49). The notion of vernacular buildings as a kind of unmediated form of cultural continuity drawing on *habitus* is thrown into sharp question on clove plantations by the fact that we already know enslaved Africans were choosing to build in coastal styles, even when living in maroon communities (Marshall 2011). But the fact that elite plantation buildings were constructed through cultural norms of plantation owners rather than through a formal design process might be seen to add to the fact that plantation landscapes on Zanzibar were being developed in ways deeply divergent than European and North American norms of modernity in the nineteenth-century. Despite differences with regard to the formal landscapes of large plantations in the Americas, the buildings of plantation owners were still an expression of their power and, perhaps, a materialization of their worldview. Hegemonic ideals of how society should be ordered, as

seen in the example of the clove-drying floor and *baraza* discussed in the previous chapter, were manifest in plantation owners' homes on Zanzibar. However tricky it may be to delimit households, when thinking of those units of residence and labor surrounding tied to plantation owners' homes; we can be sure that these sites matter precisely for the fact that they were the site of quotidian practice, of the negotiations between individuals and groups as to the nature of social relations within plantation society and the place of production and reproduction of social and cultural relationships (King 2006, p. 299).

This chapter centers on archaeological data, drawn from two sources: the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey and excavations at the site of Mgoli. Methods in household archaeology have tended to focus on the fine-grained archaeology of individual households, in part to draw out the nuance and particularity of household relations (King 2006; Tringham 1991). But the types of intrapersonal relationships discussed here, and the ways in which plantation owners' households functioned in complex ways with regard to patriarchal social norms, such as the ability of women to head households during the nineteenth-century, are best explored through a wider-ranging set of data drawing on survey material and excavation data. This combination allows for a diverse set of questions to be asked of the way in which households and identities were related on clove plantations. For example: How were sexual relations, particularly the tensions of enslaved concubines living within households alongside freeborn wives, understood through spatial relations? How did planters present Omani and/or Zanzibari identities through the construction of particular architectural forms? How were webs of broader kinship between plantation owners materialized through networks of households? And how were relations of patriarchy—understood to be the lynchpin of social relations on East African plantations (Cooper 1977)—materialized and contested through the physical structures of households?

Stone Houses

Today, the stone house at Mgoli is covered in a tangle of vegetation, which increasingly threatens the stability of the building (Fig. 5.1). During the nineteenth-century, the house would have been impressive as visitors came toward the plantation. Recall Mackenzie's description of his arrival at a prominent planter's house on Pemba. The higher-level plain he traveled to may suggest a similar topography to that of Mgoli, and the planter's house clearly impressed as he noted the plantation in the "midst of magnificent plantations of trees," where the household of the planter appeared to consist of multiple buildings, "stone houses, fairly well built" (RH, 1895: RST, ASS, G3, EAPZ).[1] This is as close as we might come to imagining the impact of the stone house at Mgoli during a similar period. Oral histories suggested that

[1] It is important to note that this historical narrative mentioned multiple stone buildings ("stone *houses,*" in the plural), further supporting later discussion that the plantation household at Mgoli

Fig. 5.1 Front wall of Mgoli in 2004

the building of this large stone house was important to Abdalla bin Jabir upon his first arrival at Pemba. One elderly man drew upon stories told to him by his mother about Abdalla bin Jabir; the plantation owner had died by the time his mother was married, so his account drew on stories she had heard as a girl. Abdalla bin Jabir was said to have been a young man when he first arrived in the area of Mgoli, where there were no clove trees: "There had been no settlement at Mgoli before his arrival, he started it by clearing the forest. He wasn't a simple man…. He was rich, and the land he controlled ran up to Bagamoyo [a village located about two kilometers from Mgoli]" (Croucher 2006, p. 419). This suggested that the creation of the plantation household was a somewhat sudden event. Multiple stories told of the apocryphal arrival of this plantation owner with several hundred slaves. These claims must be set against historical documents which suggest that owning over 100 slaves was unusual for Pemban plantation owners (Cooper 1977, p. 69). Nevertheless, it seems that this particular household was a significant one, and was constructed to be the heart of a major plantation relative to most on Pemba. Arriving, clearing the land, and establishing this building were significant elements of creating a plantation as a social feature of local place (Croucher 2006, p. 407, 419).

Archaeological evidence from my research seems to suggest that the plantation at Mgoli was built on land with no immediate previous settlement. Excavation around the plantation house found no evidence of pre-nineteenth-century material. The earliest date the plantation may have been occupied was ca. 1850, with material clustering toward the late nineteenth-century.[2] This evidence fits with Cooper

(and others like it) was formed of multiple dwelling structures, linked together into a single household unit.

[2] The most accurate form of dating came from glass artifacts, as during the nineteenth-century glass artifacts were subject to relatively frequent shifts in manufacturing technology (Miller and Sullivan 1984). Glass finds in Trench C contexts, associated with the *chokaa* house discussed later in this chapter, had dates of manufacture associated with technologies expected from the early nineteenth-century through to the 1880s or later, making this the earliest dated deposit on the site

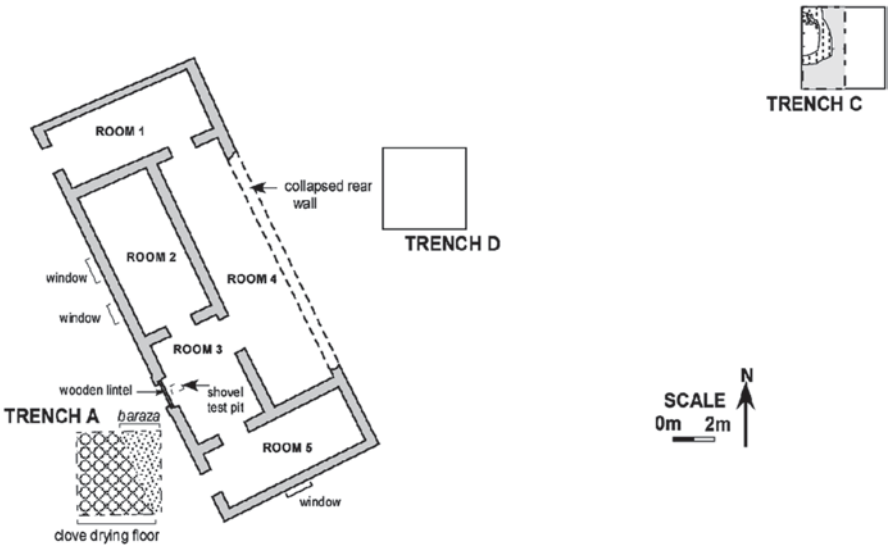

Fig. 5.2 Floor plan, Mgoli

(1977, pp. 54–55) and Sheriff (1987, p. 57) in their estimates of the 1840s as the key period in which clove plantations were being widely established in Pemba, with the expansion of plantations likely leveling off sometime around 1845. Archaeological evidence thus shows that Mgoli was settled during the tail end in the boom in clove plantations sweeping through the island around the mid-nineteenth-century. The size of the holdings here, particularly with the claims to the extensive land held under cultivation by Abdalla bin Jabir and the large number of slaves he was reputed to have laboring on his plantation, suggests that this would have been one of the most significant plantations in this area of Pemba.

Abdalla bin Jabir's house was built from typical materials used for indigenous Swahili stone houses. The walls were constructed of coral rag, a rough stone found on the islands of Zanzibar, with plaster finishing on the surface. Constructing buildings from stone in this region was, from the beginning of the second millennium, "the hallmark of the most elite dwellings and public and ritual structures" (LaViolette 2008, p. 37). The structure at Mgoli was a rectangular building covering approximately 20 by 8 m (see Fig. 5.2 for a plan of the site), built only at the the ground (first) floor level. Typical Omani houses in Zanzibar Stone Town have multiple floors, with flat roofs (Sheriff 1995). While this house was significantly

date from ca. 1850 to 1890. Material from a trash pit deposit in Trench D yielded glass artifacts with later dates of manufacture. None of these showed evidence of having been fully machine produced, as hand-tooled finishes were visible on all the bottle finishes recovered. Material from Trench D dated from ca. 1890. Despite the increasing mechanization of glass production, bottles remained expensive objects and were regularly reused even in the U.S. into the twentieth century (Busch 1987, p. 68).

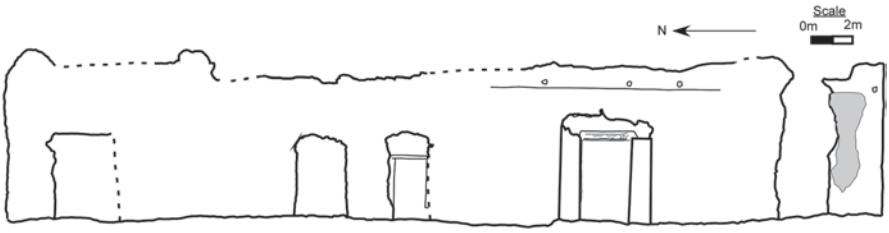

Fig. 5.3 Mgoli, front elevation

smaller than those found in town, living space may have been extended by some use of the roof. There was no evidence of any permanent stairway leading up from either interior or exterior of the building, but a ladder could potentially have been used for roof access so the possibility of a larger dwelling space than evidenced by the footprint of the building might have been in use. Excavation was not possible inside the building owing to a significant deposit of rubble from the collapsed portions of the structure. But a shovel test pit in room three provided evidence of a cement floor, and it is possible that this extended throughout the entire house.

The exact floor plan of the stone house was difficult to ascertain owing to some areas in which walls had partially or wholly collapsed. The rubble was too deep, and the walls too unstable to permit any serious excavation or systematic shovel test pits inside the house (visiting the site four years after excavations, I witnessed that a large chunk of the front wall of the structure was collapsing). Looking at the front elevation (see Fig. 5.3), five gaps in the front wall extending to ground level were visible. At least two of these (as indicated in Fig. 5.2 as windows) appear to only have been window openings, as judged by the height and size of arches above them, and remains of visible window frames. At each, the lower portion of the wall below the window frame had collapsed or been removed, creating a doorway-sized gap. The house itself contained five rooms in total. Three were accessible from the front of the property, and one (room 2 in Fig. 5.2) only had access from the interior of the house. However, as little architectural detail was visible on the southernmost and northernmost openings on the front wall, due to tree growth, it is difficult to be sure exactly of room access. The final opening had definitely been the main doorway of the house, as the remains of a carved wooden lintel (see Fig. 4.4) was still in situ. This lintel suggested that there had once been an elaborately carved "Zanzibar door" (Aldrick 1990) at the main entrance to the house.

Above the doorway had once been a plasterwork arch, although this is now quite degraded. Plasterwork arches also seem to have been in place above the two identifiable windows, and all rooms in the house, with the exception of room 4, contained simple large plaster niches on their internal walls (see Fig. 5.4). Room 4, the only unornamented room, would likely have served as a kitchen area, and may even have been a courtyard with no roof. Unfortunately, the rear wall of the house had mostly collapsed (as indicated by dashed lines in Fig. 5.2). This had resulted in a buildup of rubble debris, making attempts to understand the architecture of this

Fig. 5.4 Room 2 with wall niches

area particularly difficult. The location of a trash pit deposit immediately behind the kitchen in trench D seemed to strongly support an interpretation that household activities such as food preparation were likely carried out toward the rear of the stone building. The building in trench C seems to suggest that the household, as such, went beyond a single building. In imagining a particular kind of building and directing it to be built, Abdalla bin Jabir, the plantation owner, was likely intending to present himself in a certain manner. It is long accepted that the use of space both creates and reinforces identities, as discussed above. In this case, the relatively recent arrival of the majority of the plantation household lays out interesting lines of analysis in terms of the ways in which architecture may have shaped newly emergent identities and social relations on clove plantations. Such questions require understanding the place of elite architecture on the East African coast in the nineteenth-century.

The form of a standard "Swahili house" (see Fig. 5.5) is that associated with elite buildings on the northern Kenya coast, particularly the town of Lamu. Social meanings structured into this space were analyzed in an ethnoarchaeological study by Linda Donley-Reid (1990; Donley 1982). She suggested that space in an idealized Swahili house plan was governed by strict rules relating to Islam. The rooms

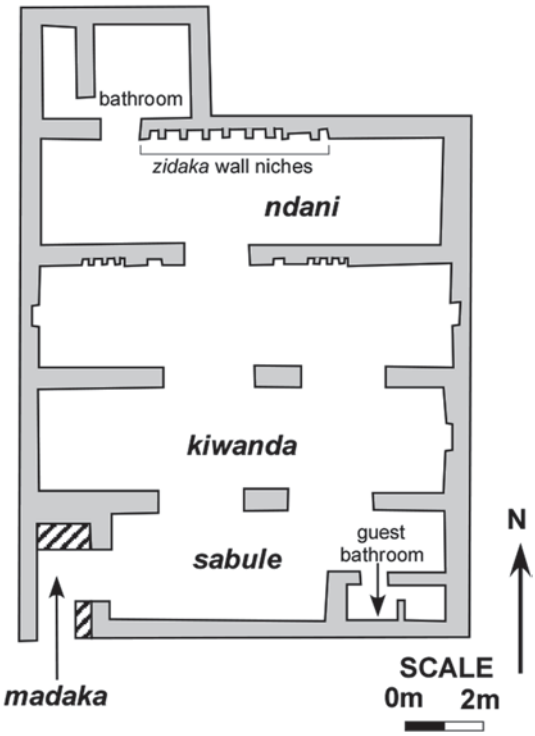

Fig. 5.5 Typical Swahili house. (After Donley-Reid 1990)

might be understood to exist on a "gradient of privacy" (following Ghaidan 1975) where the rooms of the house gradually become more private as one goes from the *madaka*—the outermost doorway—to the *ndani,* the innermost and most private room of the house (Donley 1982, p. 67). Like the *baraza,* the *madaka* was a place where men could sit and talk in the public space located either just outside or inside the doorway to the house. Many houses also extended this more public zone with a *sabule,* a room in which male visitors were entertained and could stay, situated just inside the doorway. Located on the ground floor of these stone houses was the *kiwanda,* an open courtyard area in which household tasks were undertaken, usually by servants; other rooms in the middle of the house were also used for storage and for the accommodation of servants (Donley 1982, p. 70). Rooms following on from these spaces became increasingly private and associated with elite women as one moved toward the uppermost back room of the house. The innermost room of the house was called the *ndani* and was the location for sexual intercourse, birth, and the cleaning of dead bodies of the elite inhabitants. Meanings did not, however, simply inhere in space as it was built; they were created through daily practice in which each resident knew her place. The *kutolewande* ceremony, carried out shortly after the birth of freeborn children was a moment in which activities within the house were most clearly made manifest. The baby would be carried from room to room, with her or his future place in each room explained to it, always dependent

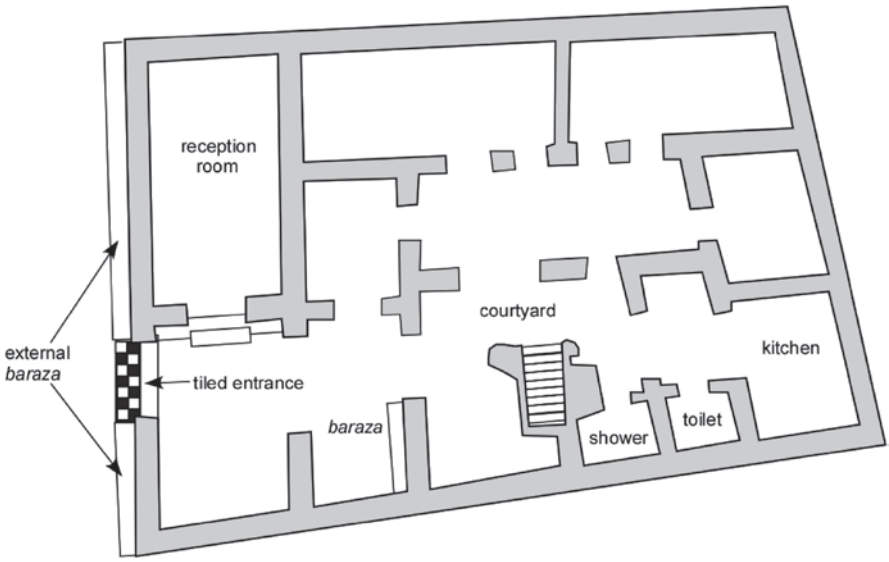

Fig. 5.6 Typical Omani town house. (After Sheriff 2001)

upon their gender. A girl would, for instance, be told that the boundary of her world was just within the front door, and that only men were allowed to sit on the stone benches which lay beyond. In this analysis, Donley-Reid makes it clear that the purity of elite Muslim identity associated with the Indian Ocean world, so important to elite identity in Lamu, was tied to the protection of the house from outsiders (Donley 1987, p. 189). Swahili houses in this formulation *are* Swahili identity; they function to continuously bring into being a sense of elite Swahili subjects, and to act as a means through which Swahili social norms are continuously reproduced. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given her heavy reliance on Bourdieu, Donley-Reid produces a rather fixed view of Swahili culture in her interpretation. However, given that she was looking at twentieth-century practice, her observations may be germane to the social world of nineteenth-century Zanzibar, particularly to the social rules governing elite society.

Stone houses in nineteenth-century urban Zanzibar were a little different to those of Lamu (see Fig. 5.6). Instead of a layout where one passed through different rooms toward the back of the house, Omani merchant houses on Zanzibar tended to be centered around a courtyard. While they broadly followed similar rules to those of Lamu in terms of privacy and gendered areas, the layout of these houses has been suggested to work around a "spiral of privacy" rather than a gradient (Sheriff 2001, p. 70). In practice, this means that rooms would become more private as they moved from the entrance, but the multistory courtyard plan meant that the privacy increased as one moves around and upward in the house.

From the exterior, these buildings present plain, whitewashed exterior walls, usually decorated with nothing save for an elaborately carved Zanzibar door at

the entrance. Overt displays of wealth—remember that these buildings were often owned by men who were making large profits from the caravan trade—might occur within the house, displayed through more portable means of material culture:

> In contrast with the external plainness of the house, the interior was often heavily decorated, not so much with stucco work as in old Swahili houses [such as those recorded by Donley-Reid in Lamu], but with imported china plates, vases, etc., placed in the large niches above doorways and windows. The walls were also covered with huge mirrors, clocks and muskets, and from the ceiling hung chandeliers, all imported from Europe. The furniture in the house consisted of carved beds and cabinets locally manufactured or imported from India, and wooden chests with brass work design made locally or imported from the Persian Gulf. (Sheriff 2001, p. 72)

The niches visible in the walls of Mgoli (Fig. 5.4) would likely have been used for a similar purpose to those described by Sheriff in Zanzibar Town. Only those who were able to enter the interior of the house would therefore have been able to see these objects, with the carved doorway, and of course the very house itself, the only indicators to casual observers of the wealth of the plantation owner.

The interpretations of Donley-Reid make clear that the form of stone houses on the northern Kenyan coast was the basis for reproducing social norms. However, she also suggests that these were symbols for those who lived outside of Swahili society, as well as those within the town of Lamu: "The house and settlement had features which projected a barrier to the other coastal people, as well as to the foreign trader, who came to the Swahili towns to trade" (Donley 1982, p. 65). More recently, Fleisher and LaViolette (2007) have contested this interpretation, suggesting that the dense internal niches found in Swahili-style houses, such as those in Lamu and one excavated at Pujini on Pemba, were in fact intended to naturalize elite power to Swahili patricians themselves. Niches largely appeared in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, a time during which the balance of economic and political power at many Swahili settlements was shifting (Fleisher 2004). This interpretation forces us to think about the meaning of plantation owners' homes in more complex ways. Certainly, they were the basis of generating through daily practice—likely contested—norms of plantation society, as dictated by plantation owners. But they may also have been the way through which Omani and Swahili plantation owners naturalized their own power. Just as was the case with the period in which elaborate niches came into being, the nineteenth-century was a time of social upheaval. Plantation owners had a shaky basis of power, resting to a large degree on their ability to naturalize their control of enslaved plantation laborers. Houses may have served multiple social functions: the creation of social norms, the expression of elite power, and the naturalization of a newly emergent elite power on Zanzibar.

Omani Identities

The layout of rooms at Mgoli is clearly unlike that of either the "typical" Swahili house plan recorded by Donley-Reid, the typical Zanzibari Omani town house recorded by Sheriff, or the many variations on house plans recorded in excavations

from various periods along the coast (e.g., Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2012; Horton 1996). Understanding plantation architecture from this period is difficult. Almost all of the surveyed buildings had no standing remains. Another stone house tied to Abdalla bin Jabir existed less than 1 km to the west of Mgoli. Foundations of a similar-sized building to Mgoli remained, alongside an associated stone-built well. But the ruinous nature of the remains and heavy undergrowth rendered detailed recording impossible. A stone-built plantation owner's house was recorded by Clark and Horton at Finga, 5 km north of the town of Wete, the main urban center in northern Pemba today. In the mid-1980s, the site was recorded thus:

> The house is one of the few well preserved nineteenth-century ruins on the island. An adjacent mosque was built at the same time and is in use today. The building is ascribed to the Miskri Arabs…. The house was a substantial building on two floors, 37 m by 27 m. The doorways were of Zanzibar Arab style with polygonal arches; wall niches in the rear rooms included arched recesses and butterfly niches. A courtyard lay on the northern side, and the house seems to have been entered from the east. (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 20)

The building at Finga was therefore significantly larger than that of Mgoli, but with similar architectural features. Given the small number of stone-built plantation owners' homes on Pemba, Finga was likely one of the largest, perhaps one of the reasons it has remained in use to the present day. The associated mosque is also unusual, again perhaps speaking to unusual wealth on the part of the owner. Of the 19 sites recorded by Clark and Horton's survey, this was the only plantation owner's house included, limiting other possible comparisons. However, our survey resulted only in ruined structures, making it almost impossible to get a clear understanding of the standard architecture of such buildings. From features at Mgoli and Finga, we can assume that where plantation owners built houses from stone these featured similar architectural forms to those of merchants' town houses, but were generally significantly smaller.

Building in this style appears to have made clear use of the conventions of stone building brought to urban Zanzibar by Omani colonial settlers. As discussed above, the style of town house so characteristic of Zanzibar Stone Town is not that of the rest of the coast. These houses fit within shared Muslim norms of spatial practice, but bring with them architectural styles direct from Oman.

> The desert and warlike origins of the Omanis was reflected in their architecture, though they adopted and adapted local Swahili building technology. As regards domestic architecture, a typical Omani house (Ar. *Bayt*) was a simple, but massive, whitewashed square building, looking like a fortress. It had only one or two entrances from the street, and the windows on the ground floor were heavily barred. Originating in a dry desert climate, it had a flat roof with a low crenellated wall from where the occupant could defend themselves with muskets if necessary, and the roofs could also be used during the hot season to sleep on (Sheriff 2001, p. 68).

This was a marked shift from earlier architecture in the town, which would have resembled that of towns such as Lamu (Sheriff 2001, p. 65). Omani architecture was a clear shift from Swahili norms, serving as one of the major markers of the dominance of Omani colonial settlers on the islands. Particularly in the initial plantation phase, some rich Omanis owned houses in Zanzibar Town and on clove plantations

(Cooper 1977, p. 68). Recall the plantation owner resident in the Mahonda area discussed in the previous chapter who was said to have boasted of how widespread his landholdings were; such a site would likely have been one residence of several. But from the 1830s onwards, increasing numbers of Omani immigrants settled directly on plantations and were not involved in the merchant activities of the Zanzibari state (Sheriff 1987, p. 146). Only one house would serve as residence for these men, embodying the cultural norms they may have wished to transmit to their wives, concubines, children, and slaves. Plantation owners would also have visited each other and fellow Omani immigrants. Discussing acts of violence committed, the vice-consul of Pemba mentions two plantation owners having traveled to Zanzibar from Pemba in 1895 in a manner suggesting that they might regularly travel between the islands (ZNA, AC2/19: 1985, Letter, O'Sullivan, British Vic-Consulate). In 1892, a group of Pemban Arab plantation owners traveled to the sultan to complain about the low price of cloves (ZNA, AC3/2: 1892, Correspondence with Sultan). These are just two examples, but with a limited archive, they are able to show the regularity of travel and contacts between the islands.

Colonial settlers have been understood to build houses in ways that replicate cultural norms, often creolized within local settings. Early Spanish colonial settlement in the Caribbean, for instance, began with attempts to replicate Iberian architecture and town planning at the town of La Isabella, with a rapid shift in the early sixteenth century to formal colonial town planning where architecture continued to contribute to "Spanish" identities in the Americas (Deagan 1988, p. 205, 1996). In the classic discussion of English colonial houses in North America, Deetz argued that housing patterns were transplanted in the minds of the colonial settlers, and then continually reproduced, with increasing divergences over time through cultural distance and environmental influence, such as the greater abundance of timber in the Northeast. As he summarizes,

> By 1660, great numbers of Anglo-Americans had never seen England, and…their lifestyle began to reflect their isolation. This isolation can be seen in certain differences in their houses and the way they were built. To be sure, they remained English in spirit, but it is unlikely that any house constructed in America after the mid seventeenth century would be identified as one built in England if its location were unknown. (Deetz 1996, p. 140)

To try to summarize what happens to housing under colonialism in one short paragraph is impossible. But from these archaeological examples, it is important to note that there is a trend to continue architectural forms closely linked to those of the original homes of colonists, particularly in situations where vernacular architecture is the norm. The English builders discussed by Deetz had no plans with which they decided the form of their homes. Their plans were embedded in their minds, and their architectural forms, he suggests, instantiated deeply embedded cultural knowledge.

Omani houses on Zanzibar were clearly built in a style which was familiar to the owners of these houses, drawing directly on Omani tradition, albeit with some changes in building materials (Sheriff 2001, p. 68). We may therefore consider that the building of plantation homes such as Mgoli in a style which was linked to broader Omani norms was part of a conscious decision on the part of Abdalla bin Jabir

to materialize his identity. For Omanis arriving on Zanzibar, alternate architectural choices were available in the form of the Swahili house plan. Abdalla bin Jabir has an ambiguous identity: He was identified as an Arab in interviews, but was repeatedly said to have come to Mgoli from Mombasa. This means that he may have been an East African (made more likely by the fact he was identified as a Sunni Muslim, rather than a follower of Ibadi doctrine), making him most familiar with Swahili architectural styles (Croucher 2006, p. 407). He was said to have arrived from Mombasa to Pemba, only to settle land that was covered in forest; this land was cleared by the slaves he brought with him when he traveled from the mainland coast (Croucher 2006, p. 420). Although Mombasa was a city tied to the colonial rule of Oman, it was a longstanding Swahili city, and power was held by different groups to those who controlled Zanzibar, being under Mazrui rather than Busaidi control (Sheriff 1987, p. 26). In this individual history the diffuse nature of power on Zanzibari plantations is highlighted; plantation owners were not only loyal to a single political leader.

The simple idea that architecture was replicated as an almost unconscious act breaks down in this context. A plantation owner such as Abdalla bin Jabir would know of other building styles, and would also have to direct a team of builders who knew little or nothing of Oman to construct the structure. It is unclear as to whether Abdalla bin Jabir himself would have had a great familiarity with Omani architecture; certainly he would have seen the homes of Omanis in Zanzibar and Mombasa and it is not unlikely, given the mobility of the nineteenth-century, that he may have visited Oman at some point (McDow 2008). Plantation owners' stone houses varied, insofar as can be judged in the wide variation between the structure at Finga and that at Mgoli. But these houses did share architectural traits with the larger Omani townhouses of which Arabs and wealthy East Africans resident in coastal areas would likely have been aware. Zanzibaris and enslaved Africans who looked at these buildings may have seen that they were different to Swahili stone houses. Omanis who visited one another in these houses would have been able to see that they conformed to the same broad layout and style as the houses of their brethren in Zanzibar Town and on other plantations. I am not trying to argue that Omani identities were coterminous with stone-built houses. This was certainly not the case, as I discuss below, and indeed, we can read the stone houses of plantation owners as being one way in which they literally built paternalistic power which rested on a certain malleable "Arab" identity which was circulating around East Africa through this period. But the plain, whitewashed plaster façades and simple arches above doors and windows are a clear demonstration that Omanis did not simply try to integrate with Swahili society, and that some indigenous Swahili who wanted to project a specifically Arab identity could also take on some of these architectural norms in order to become Arab, as discussed in Chap. 2. Those men, and possibly women, who were clove plantation owners and able to afford a stone-built home, clearly wanted these to conform, at least in part, to Omani styles. Such buildings begin to direct attention to the possibilities of understanding an Omani colonial culture in a similar manner to the way we might consider English colonial culture in North America. Close cultural links existed between coastal East Africans and Omanis,

particularly through shared adherence to Islam. Despite this, continuity of architectural practice with an Omani home was clearly important for plantation owners ability to build homes of stone, even on Pemba which was relatively far from the center of colonial rule and was an island on which Omani settlers and indigenous Swahili lived in close proximity.

Existing in a different architectural style than the long traditions of stone and non-stone construction on the coast, Omani stone houses were different to those of indigenous Swahili elites. However, they closely shared some features, particularly those of spatial organization. While styles such as internal wall niches may have differentiated the buildings of Omani plantation owners from their richest Swahili neighbors, shared practices with regard to domestic space may also have helped minimize differences between immigrants and indigenous populations in the early years of settlement. A Swahili man visiting an Omani planter's house would know to sit on the *baraza* and not to enter further into the house, as would an Omani visiting a Swahili house. These shared similarities were built up through the hundreds of years of trading connections linking the Gulf region with the Swahili coast. Here then we see difference and similarity coexisting within the architectural repertoire of colonial settlers. These shared ties were forged in part through the fact that Swahili and Omani alike were all Muslims, albeit of differing traditions (Sunni and Ibadi, respectively). The fact that settlers could differentiate themselves while also demonstrating closely shared cultural sensibilities helps us to understand how notions of Zanzibari society may have come into being. This notion of a shared identity seems to have been prominent in clove plantation areas in the early twentieth century, and close ties are borne out through material evidence such as locally produced ceramics, discussed in Chap. 7. However, many of the houses of plantation owners were not built of stone, and it is to these that I now turn.

Wattle-and-Daub Planters' Houses

While stone houses had existed for hundreds of years on the island of Pemba prior to the era of clove plantations (Fleisher 2010b), archaeologists are increasingly understanding that stone buildings were an architectural minority in many Swahili settlements, including urban centers on Pemba (Fleisher and LaViolette 1999; Pollard et al. 2012). The commonality of wattle-and-daub buildings over those of stone were corroborated by the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey (see Chap. 3 for a discussion of findings from this survey in relation to ideas of land ownership and settlement patterns). Of 64 sites recorded in total on the survey, only 15–24 percent had any visible sign of stone buildings present (these were easy to spot, with signs of coral rag rubble usually visible on the surface. I am confident that this figure represents an accurate differentiation of sites with and without stone architecture present). While this was not a purposive survey methodology, the results are in sharp contrast with the findings from Clark and Horton's (1985) reconnaissance survey, where all of the nineteenth-century residential sites recorded included some kind of

stone remains. Data from the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey cannot be taken as absolute measures of stone versus non-stone buildings on clove plantations. This survey was a purposive one with no transect survey utilized; sites were recorded via suggestions from local communities. But this very methodology would seem likely to produce more rather than less stone buildings, since these are more likely to register with local residents as significant. This fact is potentially borne out by the lack of domestic sites of enslaved laborers recorded by the survey, as discussed in the previous chapter.

A total of 22 sites were identified as having been the residence of plantation owners, forming 34 percent of the total recorded.[3] Of these, just seven had stone remains visible, forming 32 percent of recorded plantation owners' homes.[4] Even taken as a rough guide, this might suggest that Mgoli was one of just a third of plantation owners' homes constructed of stone. This proportion is higher than the overall total; only 16 sites in total, 25 percent of the sites recorded by the survey, had evidence of stone-built elements. These data clearly demonstrate that building in stone was a regular occurrence on the islands, but that only a minority of nineteenth-century home builders were able to mobilize the resources to build of this material.

When the data are examined by survey region, further changes become apparent (see Fig. 5.7). There was some variation in the numbers of sites recorded in each area: 12 in the Dunga region, 11 in the Mahonda region, 25 in the Mtambile region, and 16 in the Piki region. Despite having a lower total number of recorded sites, the two survey regions on Zanzibar (Dunga and Mahonda) have much higher total of stone-built sites between them, whereas on Pemba the Mtambile and Piki regions had much higher recorded numbers of plantation sites where no stone-built remains were visible. This trend is mirrored in sites other than those of plantation owners; much larger numbers of village sites overall were recorded on Pemba, with the vast majority showing no signs of stone architecture, unlike those recorded on Zanzibar. But if stone structures with clear stylistic links to Oman were bound up with some aspects of the powerful identities of plantation owners such as Abdalla bin Jabir,

[3] The majority of sites recorded on the survey fell into a vague category of "old village sites." These seemed to date from periods post-dating the abolition of slavery, and were likely communities in which freed slaves and their descendants lived alongside immigrant clove plantation laborers. Many of these had been abandoned slowly as villages had located closer to paved roads. Sometimes, these old village sites were adjacent to contemporary settlement, seeming to show some kind of drift through time in settlement location. Thirty-eight of these sites were recorded in total, forming 59 percent of the sites recorded on the survey. Of these, only nine had stone remains present, and 29 showed no sign of any former stone building elements. This suggested that roughly 75 percent of village sites were built of wattle-and-daub architecture from the late nineteenth-century on into the twentieth.

[4] Although stone had clearly been recycled from old buildings at some sites, it was evident when a stone structure had once been present. Even if stone houses were in a deeply ruinous state, coral rag rubble was always visible, often associated with a more sizeable mound of earth. The purposive nature of the survey also allowed us to draw on local memory in relation to plantation sites. For example, the former "plantation palace" of Rashid bin Amor in the Mahonda region had largely been robbed out for stone. However, a mound with coral rag rubble eroding from the side was still visible.

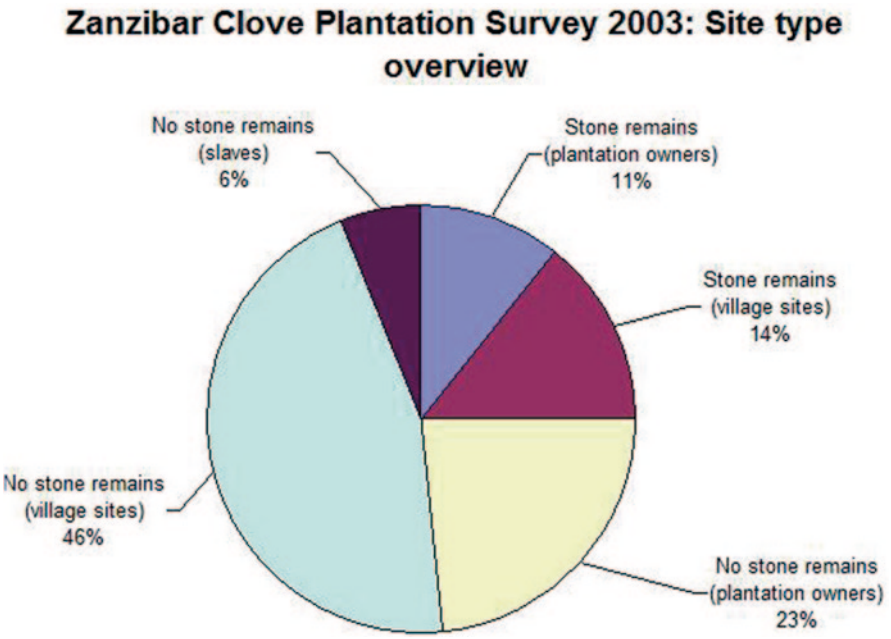

Fig. 5.7 Zanzibar clove plantation survey 2003: site type overview

what are we to make of this architectural variance? What did it mean to be a plantation owner who did not live in a stone house?

As mentioned above, the fact that wattle-and-daub buildings comprised the majority of recorded sites on the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey is unsurprising, given that archaeologists are realizing these formed the majority of buildings at most Swahili sites, with some regional variation (Fleisher 2003, 2010a; Wynne-Jones 2005a, 2007). In terms of archaeology, while great strides are currently being made in expanding the full range of building types at Swahili sites, the inhabitants of non-stone buildings continue to constitute "still barely villagers and urban-dwelling commoners" (LaViolette and Fleisher 2005, p. 344).[5] In reframing the seeming dichotomy between the permanence of stone buildings and the supposed

[5] Finding concrete evidence for wattle-and-daub buildings through surface survey is a near impossible task. Excavations of nineteenth-century sites have shown the clear potential for recovering evidence of this type of building (Marshall 2009, 2011). But survey in other areas similarly inferred wattle-and-daub buildings through the absence of other building materials when surface remains of ceramics indicated occupation at a site (Wynne-Jones 2005a, b). The alternative form of buildings would be those constructed of thatch. However, as I discussed above, these were generally associated with the lowest social strata on nineteenth-century Zanzibar. Thus, when we have oral historical evidence for plantation owners, coupled with a lack of surface evidence for a stone building, we can infer that there would have been wattle-and-daub construction present. These buildings would have included some variance along the social scale of Zanzibari architecture posited by Myers (1997).

impermanence of smaller settlements, Stephanie Wynne-Jones has raised questions as to how the landscape would have been understood on a daily basis by residents:

> Would this relative permanence [of stone buildings] have been evident at the timescale of lived experience? A wattle-and-daub settlement that appears transient at an archaeological timescale can in fact exist throughout a lifetime: it is thus, in effect permanent. During the course of survey in the Kilwa region we visited the homes of numerous local residents who had lived their entire lives in a particular wattle-and-daub house. Normally, these had been extensively repaired, renovated and extended, but remained the same essential structure. (Wynne-Jones 2005b, p. 68)

The potential of non-stone structures to have this type of relative permanence was evidenced by the site of Bweni, discussed in the previous chapter in relation to the stone drying floor. The two houses at Bweni were substantial and were discussed by the current owner as the center of a large and long-lived household. This man is the grandson of the original settler, and he thought that the site had been settled for 150 years, a not unimaginable time frame for a clove plantation. He stated that the houses had "stayed in the same place continuously" with only repairs rather than any replacement (Croucher 2006, p. 405). With the exception of Finga, this was the only plantation owner's house we visited which was still standing from the nineteenth-century. That a wattle-and-daub building, with care, could survive as a fully functioning residence during a period in which many stone buildings collapsed and crumbled makes clear that their place in the architectural range of Zanzibar is not so far from the "permanence" of building in stone in terms of longevity.

A detailed study of architectural meanings on Zanzibar has been undertaken by the historical geographer Garth Myers, who analyzed Ng'ambo, or the "Other Side" of Zanzibar Town, inhabited by poorer residents of Zanzibar in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, including slaves, ex-slaves, and recent immigrants (Myers 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2003). The architectural forms found in Ng'ambo were understood on a fluid scale by their inhabitants. Each house represented the *uwezo* (power) of their inhabitants, which was closely linked to their social status:

> Houses were crucial in defining the *uwezo* gradient. Coastal urban houses were conventionally built in a range of styles from raw materials of the surrounding environment, including coral stone, lime, mud and local woods. But *permanence* of structure was the most visible symbol of social power based on status or wealth. (Myers 1997, pp. 253–254)

The bottom of the social scale were *vibanda:* houses made from thatch, or reed or brush lean-tos. Such houses were found in temporary encampments and on the geographical and social margins of the town. This type of thatch houses were often mentioned to us when surveying in relation to a vague population of former "workers" living on plantations who may have been enslaved or free laborers. The next category up from *vibanda* were daub houses, called *mtomo*. This type includes those still standing at Bweni. The variations of *mtomo* included simple daub houses to those built upon solid foundations of mud, lime, and coral gravel. Further up the scale again was a category Myers terms "Swahili houses":

> Houses in the third category, "Swahili" houses, were similar to the highest-quality *mtomo* houses. Their basic form included mud-lime-aggregate walls and foundations, a strong wooden frame, a solid door, a thatched roof, a ceiling, a *uani* and an outbuilding. At the lower end of the *uwezo* gradient, the differences between this type and the *mtomo* house

> were subtle: larger stones and more lime in walls and foundations, a fancier door and an extra room or two. At the upper end would have been a substantial four- or five-room single-storey house with lime-plastered floors and walls. (Myers 1997, p. 254)

Topping the scale were the houses fully built of stone, as with Mgoli. The depictions of Ng'ambo housing by Myers clearly demonstrate that there was no simple dichotomy between stone and non-stone buildings. The substantial house at Bweni, despite not being built of stone, clearly had enough features—relatively large size, stone in the clove-drying floor, and an elaborately carved door—that it was not at the bottom of the relative scale of permanence and power. We might imagine that the sites recorded by the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey where no stone remains were visible may have been all over this scale. Some may have contained lime mortar and stone within their walls, ranking them higher in the architectural scale. Simultaneously, these buildings would have expressed significantly less *uwezo*—the distinction between the "haves" and the "have nots"—than that of a stone house. Turning back to Wynne-Jones' analysis, we can be reminded of the permanence of houses to their inhabitants, while they were also part of a larger social schema of architectural forms.

Stone houses could serve to cement understandings of shared origins between Omani planters, but differential social status between plantation owners would also have been acutely understood through domestic architecture. Such rankings would not have been static; plantation owners, as with other homeowners, could strive to improve their homes throughout their lifetime, particularly through working to turn a wattle-and-daub home at the lower end of the scale into one more resembling a "Swahili house." Cooper has argued that the planters of coastal East Africa failed to form a united class. "The closest bonds, both personal and political, were not between equals, but between superior and inferior…. The growth of plantations increased the intimacy of contacts that crossed status divisions, while the movement of slaveowners into rural areas decreased contacts within status groups" (Cooper 1977, p. 265). The significant variation in planters' houses may help us to understand the differences between plantation owners. Working from the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey figures, we can imagine that the 68 percent of plantation owners whose homes were built in some gradation of wattle-and-daub construction would have sharply understood their inability to wield the same level of *uwezo* as planters such as Abdalla bin Jabir with their stone-built homes. But, on the other hand, geography plays into this situation as well. On Pemba, the soils do not commonly offer up the coral stone required for building, making building in stone even more costly than on Zanzibar (Milne 1936). These differences help account for the varied proportions seen between the different survey regions; in Dunga and Mahonda, perhaps a little less *uwezo* was required in order to obtain the amounts of stone required for a fully stone-built structure.

Even within non-stone buildings, the same principles of privacy structured the way in which the house was built; the *ndani* was constructed first and the outermost room and door last. This back-to-front construction allowed for the protection of inhabitants from public intrusion, in line with the same Islamic structuring beliefs discussed above (Myers 1997, p. 257). Thus, despite the inability to be able to build in

stone, plantation owners could still structure their house through the same rules of privacy as their richer neighbors. And the carved door—as was evident on the non-stone house at Bweni—also acted as an important symbolic marker of the status of the household. The different houses can therefore be understood on a gradient rather than as divided between stone and non-stone, much as was the case with the architecture of Ng'ambo and other areas of Stone Town (Sheriff 2001). In this regard, the houses of plantation owners were much like that of the rest of Zanzibar; operating within a broad scale which enabled a relative understanding of social position. This helps us to see Cooper's (1977, p. 265) point: "Political relations [in plantation areas] were fluid, linking people spread along a gradation of statuses to a man of power." Plantations were varied in the ways in which these different sets of power relations came together, with each site unique in the *uwezo* of the plantation owner.

Networks of Power

But these plantation owners' houses can also be understood in the way that they were often related to one another. As discussed above, social and political relations on Zanzibar were just that: They were relations between individuals and groups. This type of relationality pervaded the order of settlement layouts in general. In general, Swahili towns and villages on the East African coast are ordered around particular neighborhoods, known in Swahili as *mitaa* (sing. *Mtaa*). In a *mtaa,* clusters of people tied through kin or joking relationships live as neighbors. Middleton (1992) argues that these were specific to indigenous Swahili settlements. As discussed in Chap. 3, he has argued that Omani settlers on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century followed different social conventions with regard to the ordering of indigenous coastal East African settlements. In this line of argument "settlements of clove areas" were placed in a separate category to "indigenous Swahili settlements" and "indigenous settlements on the edges of the cloves area proper" providing a clear separation of settlement forms (Middleton and Campbell 1965, p. 32). Despite this ordering, archaeological data on the placement of clove plantation households offer us a chance to think about whether these differences were really so clear-cut. As previously discussed, it is clear that the rapid development of clove plantations presented a distinct class of landholdings on the islands. Studies of Zanzibar Stone Town and Ng'ambo, the heart of Zanzibari urbanism also separated off by Middleton from the "indigenous settlements" of the Swahili coast, have also shown that neighborhoods were crucial to the way in which people placed their houses and ordered their physical and social landscapes.

In Ng'ambo, Myers' historical geographical scholarship notes the importance of custom, knowledge of supernatural realms, and links between diverse immigrants as ordering the placing of house structures and the subtleties of their forms. By the late nineteenth-century, the British administration were putting pressure on Ng'ambo residents to pay ground rents for their plots, but the new European colonial forms of ownership of urban land—so pervasive in discussions of rural landholdings dis-

cussed earlier—jostled with older understandings of customary rights over plots, often held by the descendants of former slaves living in Ng'ambo (Myers 1995). Within the generally richer Stone Town side of the city of Zanzibar, the concept of neighborhood was similarly important. Neighborhoods here were ordered around mosques and socioreligious institutions which "served as important social nodes for the various Muslim communities which congregated in specific *mitaa* (wards)" (Sheriff 1995, p. 20). The centrality of neighbors and neighborhood in the practical mastery of daily life in an urban settlement was also noted in Barth's (1983) study of the town of Sohar in Oman. Barth stressed that neighborhoods were not simply monolithic blocks; in Sohar, they were particularly important for building social bonds between women in the city, demonstrating the links between gender and particular experiences of community. Gender also played a role in Ng'ambo; one of Myers' older informants, a lady named Bi Amina, summed this up thus: "It is women who build *ujirani* [neighborliness]; without women there would be no neighbors" (Myers 1994, p. 204). Although there may be a little of a stretch in the comparison between twentieth-century Oman and nineteenth-century Omani settlers to Zanzibar,[6] and we must also caution against conflating broad ideas of Islamic planning and norms in simple Orientalist terms (Abu-Lughod 1987), it does seem that there is a commonality of meaning in the importance of the neighborhood as a central structure to urban life. Through neighborhoods, social ties were played out in the settlement geography of place.

Pairs of sites kept popping up on survey, tied together by kinship networks of some kind. In the Dunga area, close to Dunga Bweni, one site contained the remains of two mounds, one with a ruined house foundation and the other with stone rubble sticking out of a mound. In the same area, only a half a mile away from the first site recorded was another significant mound, measuring 20 by 10 m, on which stone runs of a house were visible. These houses were identified as having belonged to Arab plantation owners, with the houses occupied by brothers, the land of the plantation having been split between them. Two separate sites in the Mahonda region, one with coral rag visible eroding from a mound suggesting the former presence of stone-built architecture, were linked into a single household, a former "plantation palace" (Croucher 2006, pp. 360–366). These linked sites were suggestive of a significant multibuilding household. About 1 km to the west of Mgoli, another stone-built ruin with foundations of a house and well was visible. This site was also tied in to Mgoli, with various stories that it was built for a brother or lover of the plantation owner. In the Dunga survey region also stood stone remains from another nineteenth-century building which was attributed to the brother of the Mwinyi Mkuu, the indigenous ruler of Zanzibar (Clark and Horton 1984, p. 14).

This linking of sites returns us to Cooper's (1977, p. 265) assertion that "The closest bonds, both personal and political, were not between equals, but between superior and inferior…. In the slaveowners' idiom, *watu wangu,* 'my people', did not refer to members of one's own status group, but to one's dependents." Through survey data, this argument is both corroborated and complicated. "My people" seem

[6] Omani immigrants to Zanzibar were also largely coming from Muscat and not from Sohar.

often to have been those who lived in close proximity to plantation owners. This included dependents, for instance, at Bweni, some of the workers had lived in houses built of thatch which were situated "around the main house." At a plantation in the Mtambile area, once owned by a Mazrui Arab, enslaved laborers were said to have been kept "close by, not spread around the plantation." Another interviewee suggested that at Mgoli, "the slaves built their houses around the owner to protect the owner" (Croucher 2006, pp. 405–407). I do not wish to suggest a single pattern for all plantations; indeed, the variation in slave housing was discussed in the previous chapter, but clearly, in some cases there were close spatial ties between plantation owners and their enslaved laborers. In other places, kinship networks tied together different settlements within a single area, such as with the houses of brothers. These settlements therefore hint at the idea that plantation landscapes may have been structured through the concept of *mtaa,* with those tied through actual kinship relations or through bonds of client–patron relations living together in particular areas. Unlike the urban neighborhoods of Omani Arabs in Stone Town, these groups were almost without exception not brought together around a mosque, highlighting the differences between urban and rural in some sense. But this also shows that there was no blanket form of spatial ordering for areas in which Omani immigrants lived. I think it is convincing that the groups of related planters and enslaved laborers formed something akin to a *mtaa,* where social groups were central to the settlement layout of the plantation, and where households were placed according to their social relations. This also seems to suggest that we cannot just assume the kind of sharp division between clove and non-clove-planting areas put forward by Middleton. New influences shifted the landscape of nineteenth-century Zanzibar, but these were permeated by closely related forms of spatial order as was the case in Swahili settlements. Rather than the order of European plantation landscapes, Zanzibari plantations were organized through the social networks of personal relations.

Female Plantation Owners Practicing Patriarchy

Little information is available regarding the wife or wives of the plantation owner. Documentary history tells us almost nothing of such women, most of which was written by Western commentators who lived on, or passed through, Zanzibar. It would have been socially prohibited for upper-class women to mix with such European men, and so there are few accounts of such women in the documents available. The only exception to this is Seyyida Salme, a daughter of Said bin Sultan, born around 1840, who eloped with a German businessman in the 1860s and later wrote an account of her early life on Zanzibar (Reute 1998/[1886]). The oral history I discuss within this book is also largely silent on such women. While Abdalla bin Jabir is remembered clearly in the Piki area, as many other rich plantation owners are in other areas, little mention has ever been made to me of their wives. Even when I set out to learn more about the lives of past women on Zanzibar by specifically interviewing older women (when asking around for interviewee subjects, there was

a tendency for men to be suggested), little specific detail was given on such figures. General allusions to wives and concubines were all that remained, along with generalized discussions of the roles of women in the past. Therefore, the history of many of the women of nineteenth-century Zanzibar threatens to be silenced unless a critical standpoint is taken which actively seeks to identify the contribution of women to daily life on clove plantations. It is known that there would likely have been up to four wives and multiple concubines for high-class Omani gentlemen, as the sultan of Zanzibar had and as was permitted by Muslim law (Reute 1998/[1886], p. 3). This was a widely accepted law along the East African coast. In Lamu, for instance, an upper-class *waungwana* gentleman was permitted to marry up to four women, provided he could keep them in equal comfort, and was also permitted to take concubines (Donley 1982; Donley-Reid 1990).

Plantation owners of nineteenth-century Eastern Africa have been characterized as male patriarchs within a highly structured set of gender and class identities (Cooper 1977, 1981; Glassman 1991, 1995). Paternalism came into being through a complex web of social interactions between a plantation owner and his slaves; benevolence toward them, accompanied by a measure of violence, applied in a "judicial" manner (Cooper 1977, p. 155). The "reciprocal obligations between masters and slaves" were carefully negotiated, with personal rights and punishments continually stretched by these two (largely assumed male) groups (ibid). From oral and documentary historical evidence, it is clear that the majority of plantation owners were indeed men, participating in male-dominated social institutions and lending a particularly male-gendered role to the heading of a plantation household. But a focus on those who do not fit this mold allows us to see some of the complexities and contradictions in Zanzibari plantation society, and the manner in which some women may have challenged the general social order to be powerful in their own right. Focusing on female plantation owners also allows us to better understand and reassess the changes in gender roles occurring on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. During this time, Ibadi Omani immigrants brought a stronger sense of gender segregation to the coast than had perhaps previously been the case in Swahili society (Askew 1999).

For a male-dominated plantation society, a surprisingly high number of female-headed plantation sites were identified; three in total, 14 percent of the total plantation owners' sites were recorded. In the Mahonda area at Kinduni, a large artifact scatter marked a site once owned by a woman named Binti Saleh. She had come to this plantation as the inheritor from her father, the original plantation owner, Saleh bin Khator, who had lived at the settlement with his slaves, at least as far back as the 1880s. Two sites in the Mtambile area were recorded tied to female plantation owners. One was an area where only a small artifact scatter was visible, where local residents tied the plantation historically to a female owner whose name could no longer be recalled. While she had continued to live at the site, she had apparently sold her holdings to another neighboring female plantation owner, Mwanaiki Nassor. We were shown this site by her grandson, who told us that she had died in 1947 at the age of 96. Her house was said to have only been a wattle-and-daub house with a thatched roof (Croucher 2006, pp. 369–370). In the scale of *uwezo* reflected

through stone buildings, the homes of all of these women were relatively modest. No evidence of stone architecture was found at any of the three sites. But they were clearly women of some power. Mwanaiki Nassor was able to purchase holdings from her neighbor and had workers (presumably in some sort of relationship of clientage) living around her home. As scholars have recently become more critical in their study of gender roles, it seems that this identification fits alongside European colonial contexts where women living in patriarchal societies also sometimes claimed positions of property ownership and power (Jamieson 2000; Malan 1990).

Hints as to the lives of these Zanzibari women begin to emerge through mentions of similar situations. In the largest study of East African coastal plantations, Cooper (1977, p. 226), even while laying out the system of patriarchy, does discuss one female plantation owner, Bi Kaje, who was both a female slave and landowner in Mombassa, and was also the subject of a series of in-depth interviews by Margaret Strobel (Mirza and Strobel 1989; Strobel 1979). Elite female landowners also existed closer to Zanzibar Stone Town, where they inherited urban landholdings or, in one case, a plantation near town (Fair 2001; Stephen Rockel personal communication 2009). Hints thus begin to appear that women could take on powerful roles within a deeply paternalistic society, but that in doing so they may have taken on relationships with dependents and others that were akin to those of men in power. Discussing the role of women in "traditional" Swahili society on Zanzibar, Middleton noted that in the mid-twentieth century powerful roles for women were only available to those who lived in rural areas:

> Women in the country-towns have always played a productive role in farming, petty-trading, and coin making that is substantively equal to that of men. The wide network of cognatic kin ties that provide an individual's jamaa [a type of kin group] comprises links through women which are equally important as those through men…. She is a person of considerable formal social and economic importance in her own right, and plays a role equal to her male kin in most of the affairs of her kin groups. The poorer categories of stone-town women not of slave descent have something [presumably availability of more flexible societal roles] in common with those of country towns. (Middleton 1992, p. 114)

These flexible social roles for women are delineated by Middleton as again only available to certain women. Here, he is careful to exclude Arab women, understanding the prohibitions on their full participation in the public sphere to differ from indigenous Swahili women.

During the nineteenth-century, women who lived in elite urban Omani households in Zanzibar were carefully secluded, wearing elaborate dresses covering their bodies and faces when they left the home (Fair 1998, p. 69). But turning back to Cooper, we can see that occasionally women on nineteenth-century plantations did not fit within the normative gender divisions of society (which appear here to be different than the picture painted by Middleton), and by doing so may have subverted the gendered divisions of labor and roles within society:

> Coastal society rigidly excluded women from public office, and it placed a high value on men's control over women—wives, concubines, daughters, and other kin—in his household. High status was often associated with the seclusion of women. Yet what counted above all was having dependent followers, and property was a means of acquiring them. Women generally held less of it than men, and the restraints on their actively controlling it

> were great; but those who succeeded in utilizing property effectively could even find free-born men eager to accept a position of clientage. From the point of view of the slaves, such a woman was not merely profiting from her property rights; she was the head of a group of dependent persons. (Cooper 1977, p. 227)

Historical depictions of some women from the early twentieth century also allow us to see how some women managed to exert power over others. These descriptions are few and far between, but one comes from Craster's experiences surveying on Pemba:

> The Arab women, though nominally secluded in their harems, have really a great deal of liberty, and may be seen at all hours of the day walking about unveiled in the neigbourhood of their houses, superintending the drying of cloves or any other work that is in hand. They dress in rather tight cotton trousers, with frills around the ankles, and a coloured cotton tunic reaching to the knees. They are said to be very capable managers, and if an Arab has more than one plantation he will often place his wife in charge of one of them. A good deal of property in Pemba is owned by Arab widows, and it is generally as well managed as it would be in the hands of a man. (Craster 1913, p. 209)

We must be cautious of this description, as Craster was a European male traversing the islands in order to create a map; his observations of the intricacies of gender dynamics on the island may not be entirely accurate. It is likely that a man such as Craster have been unlikely to observe high-status women observing the rules of *purdah* (Fair 1998). The glimpses we get via Craster are therefore the glimpses afforded to a man in his position.

Nevertheless, they do allow us to see that even a strange European man was able to see women "walking about unveiled" and performing labor such as "superintending the drying of cloves." If this were done in front of the house, as is indicated at Mgoli by the clove-drying floor, this would be the most public of space according to the gender rules of Swahili and Omani houses. Clearly, the tight rules of urban society did not fully apply when it came to the context of a plantation. Women could operate more freely in terms of *actively* directing labor. Such a task went beyond simply the control of land and people; it suggests to me the possibility that elite women on clove plantations were able to control plantations, including taking on the role of directing labor. The interpretation of a space such as the clove-drying floor at Mgoli looks very different if we begin to think that a woman may have directed the labor of slaves in this space. Questions immediately open up as to the way that women such as this may have been able to participate in typically male social interactions, such as sitting on a *baraza* and talking with men. Fitting in with this is one line of evidence suggesting that the *baraza* was not a singularly male space: in the late afternoon and early evening, when most men would visit their local mosque, *barazas* in Ng'ambo were taken over by women, creating a space where women could socialize and form their own equally important social links within the town as those created by men (Myers 1994, p. 204).

The three plantation sites owned by women shown to us in the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey peel apart the link between masculinity and paternalism on Zanzibar in the nineteenth-century. In particular, they show that women on plantations, even those who were of somewhat elite status, could have relative autonomy; they could own plantations and slaves, and they could direct labor. They demonstrate

that norms were not hard and fast, and that women were able to sit alongside men in some positions. The ease with which female plantation owners are remembered today seems to suggest that this history sits quite easily in local narratives and memories of historical plantations. This allows us to see past a general characterization of plantation owners as men, with their women hidden away in seclusion. The nineteenth-century was a period during which men were dominating the public sphere, particularly in relation to mercantilism, Islam, and political power. But women were able, when opportunities arose, to fully participate in authoritative public roles in their own right. This history forms an integral part of the landscape of plantation owners' sites on Zanzibar. We cannot simply equate plantation owners' households with men, but instead must equate these sites with nodes of patriarchal power within the landscape which may have been held by men and women alike.

Sexual Slavery

Mgoli was structured through gendered principles in line with the Islamic beliefs of plantation owners. From the discussion above, it is clear that women regularly challenged the convention that they were to be secluded from public areas, with high-status women on plantations standing out in public even when European men walked by. The public areas of clove-drying floor, *baraza,* and visible architectural features of houses only comprised a part of household space. Toward the rear of the house were the areas which would have been counted as more private, tied to the daily activities of the household. As discussed above, it seems that the rear room of the stone house may have been used for activities tied to kitchen and domestic labor, indicated by the trash pit deposits in trench D, which one would expect to be associated with this work (see Fig. 5.2 for a site plan). This broad structuring was expected, although as discussed above, the form of the house at Mgoli differed in significant ways from the standard organizational layout of urban houses on Zanzibar and elsewhere along the East African coast.

Another structure was found to the rear of the main house, however, and this was not expected as it did not correlate with any known descriptions. In trench C, to the northeast of the stone house were the remains of a *chokaa* (lime mortar) house. Surface indications where the ground had been disturbed for cassava cultivation were suggestive of some kind of structure, as small pieces of coral rag rubble were visible. Once the excavation had cleared down through the topsoil remains of the *chokaa* house were clearly visible in the eastern edge of the units (see Fig. 5.8). Unlike wattle-and-daub construction, where soils were plastered on to a wooden frame, this construction technique involved mixing burned coral with water and soil to produce a mixture which would set into a solid wall. In trench C, a solid flooring area of lime plaster (similar to the clove-drying floor) was visible, surrounded by what seems to be the base of a wall (Fig. 5.9). Lime mortar had also been used to provide a solid floor to the interior of the structure.

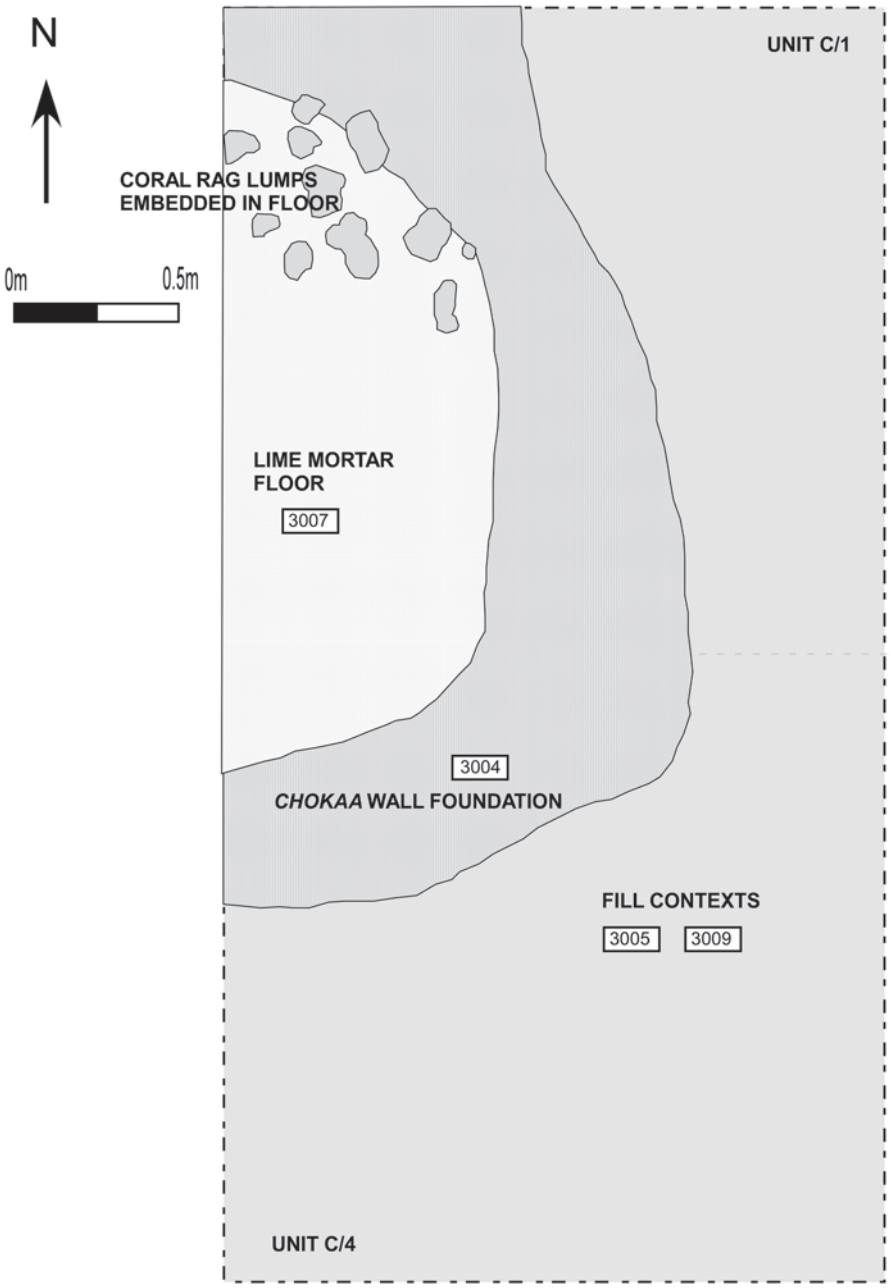

Fig. 5.8 Plan of unit C

Fig. 5.9 Chokaa foundation and floor

Fig. 5.10 Cross section through trench C

This feature in trench C presents an unusual occurrence in East African archaeology. Similarities could potentially be drawn with lime-burning areas. But contexts for manufacturing lime, owing to the burning activities this requires, seem to include ashy deposits (e.g., Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2013, p. 26). At Shanga, remains of a lime kiln were represented as an area of "compacted lime pad" which rested on "an arc of burnt timbers" (Horton 1996, p. 134). No ash or burned material was visible in the material excavated from C/4, despite the fact that excavations in this unit went below the level of the *chokaa* deposit (Fig. 5.10). The material I am interpreting as a wall foundation contained a mixture of soil and lime, fitting with the type of *mtomo* house discussed above. These could have "solid foundations mixing mud, lime and coral gravel, with walls containing more lime and stone" (Myers 1997, p. 254).

This building presents something of an enigma, not seeming to fit into the simple schema of plantation owners' houses and slave houses I originally expected. The *chokaa* house is intimately close to the stone-built plantation owner's house at Mgoli, and glass finds in this unit provided the earliest dateable material from the

site, suggesting that this building was likely erected relatively early in the sequence of the site. The location of trash deposits in trench D makes clear that this rear area was that in which domestic chores were taking place; this was the center of the private world of the household. At first, it might seem that this building served as some kind of slave quarters. But given that "*permanence* of structure [measured by the amount of stone and lime mortar used in construction] was the most visible symbol of social power" for nineteenth-century Zanzibaris (Myers 1997, p. 253, emphasis in original), it seems deeply unlikely that enslaved laborers working on the plantation would have had the *uwezo* to inhabit such a structure. From evidence presented above, it is clear that the majority of plantation owners likely lived in buildings of lesser materials than the *chokaa* house at Mgoli. As discussed in Chap. 4, although enslaved Africans on plantations lived in buildings which aligned with coastal style, all evidence suggests that these were of wattle-and-daub or thatch materials. It seems therefore impossible that a non-elite member of the plantation household may have been the main resident of the *chokaa* home. But there was one category of enslaved persons living within plantation households who may have had precisely the social standing required for this unusual building: women enslaved as concubines.

Enslaved women performed a wide variety of roles within Zanzibari plantation society. During the nineteenth-century, elite women in rich households were meant to seclude themselves, including covering themselves with elaborate forms of dress; the same was not true for those at the bottom of the social ladder. Enslaved women could and did labor alongside men, including working in the port of Zanzibar. Bearing heavy loads was seen as women's work, and female *vibarua* (slaves who were hired out on a daily wage) were commonly employed as dock laborers in urban Zanzibar (Fair 2001). Enslaved women were forbidden from wearing veils to visually mark their standing in relation to elites. It is possible that "as a further marker of their low social status, Zanzibar's slaves also kept their heads shaved bare. The absence of shoes was yet another immediately visible sign which identified a man or woman as a member of the servile class, as slaves were also forbidden from wearing shoes in the presence of the freeborn" (Fair 1998, p. 69). For enslaved women working in the field, their lives were limited by the demands of labor and rules of this kind prohibiting certain forms of dress. Enslaved men laboring on plantations had some opportunities to rise in social standing through working hard and developing a relationship with their owner (Cooper 1977, p. 211; Glassman 1991, 1995; McCurdy 2006, p. 445). As discussed in the previous chapter, the types of local conflicts that men such as Abdalla bin Jabir had meant that they needed trusted male clients, allowing room for enslaved men to better their relative social standing. Over time, these men could even rise to be in positions where they bought and sold other enslaved persons, living largely outside of the supervision of their owners (Cooper 1977, p. 188; Romero 1986). But for women, despite the fact that they were expected to labor alongside men, opportunities did not exist along these same lines.

Concubinage was common in upper-class Swahili and Omani households of East Africa. Drawing on oral histories, Romero Curtin (1983) learned that this form of slavery was common in nineteenth-century Lamu, further north on the Kenyan coast:

> Fathers often gave their young, prepubescent sons concubines for pleasures until they could arrange appropriate marriages. This practice prevailed among some old Afro-Arab families at least into the 1930s. It was common for a man, having married a cousin or other member of his family, to take a slave mistress, or several, from his parents' household and keep them as concubines. (Romero Curtin 1983, p. 876)

Along the caravan routes of Eastern Africa, many women were enslaved for the express purpose of their sale as concubines (Brode 2000; McCurdy 2006, p. 445), sometimes being taken as very young girls (Cooper 1977, p. 196; Reute 1998/[1886], p. 4). Concubined women, called *masuria* (sing, *suria*) in Kiswahili, may have performed domestic tasks within the household, including cooking, cleaning and washing, and the raising of freeborn children (Fair 1996, p. 149). It is difficult to judge the precise relations of domestic labor, which may have varied between households, but it seems that in many nineteenth-century households, cooking may have been the one task in which even *masuria* and free wives participated together (Romero Curtin 1983, p. 873).

Of course, the primary reason that *masuria* were in planter's households was for the purpose of sexual relations with the men who owned them. The biological role of women has been argued to be fundamental to their place within African slave systems as they could reproduce and extend the owner's lineage (Robertson and Klein 1983, p. 6). Female slaves have also been seen to be more "universally assimilable" than boys, as they were future concubines, mothers, and agriculturalists (Wright 1993, p. 2). The importance of captive women in expanding the lineage of the societies in which they were held has been argued to be a broad structural feature of many societies (Cameron 2011). In Zanzibari society, the importance of women to potentially expand the direct kin of elite men was certainly a driving force behind their capture. But male pleasure also should not be ignored as a reason that was openly acknowledged during the nineteenth-century to be a driving force in their enslavement.

Historical accounts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are clear upon the point that young women were taught lessons as to proper sexual practice upon reaching puberty. In Lamu, Romero Curtin (1983, p. 877) found that "slave girls learned more about sex and at a younger age than their free counterparts, but neither were uniformed from early childhood. At weddings, where children were present, slave women performed dances and sang songs that were at least suggestive and sometimes explicit." Young women also learned through more formalized routes. A particular kind of female initiation ritual, called *unyago,* spread from mainland East Africa to the coast during the course of the nineteenth-century, brought particularly by Manyema women (this was an ethnicity which came to denote those from the eastern Congo), who were known for their sexual attractiveness (Fair 1996; McCurdy 2006). *Unyago* lessons taught girls about proper sexual relations in different social contexts (Caplan 1976; Fair 2004). Girls were taught "how to achieve sexual satisfaction for themselves and their partners" (Fair 1996, p. 152), learning that sexual relations were to be a source of pleasure for the men that they had intercourse with and for themselves. The initiation was carried out by women who had already been through *unyago,* building strong bonds between new communities of women

based in part upon sexual knowledge, providing a degree of stability between women who had frequently been displaced across many thousands of miles (McCurdy 2006, p. 454).

In contrast to the open sexuality taught by *unyago,* freeborn Arab women, including the daughters of *masuria,* underwent a different set of lessons at puberty in which they were instructed to be more chaste in their sexual practices. For elite urban women, "sexual purity and restraint" was a key marker of their identity in contrast to lower-status women (Fair 1996, p. 153). By contrast, *masuria* were in bonds with their masters in which sexual relations were vital for both parties:

> With a concubine [unlike a freeborn wife], sex was possible at any time. Because slaves were "nothing" and property, a man could shuttle his concubines off alone somewhere and enjoy sexual relations without inhibition…. Indeed, sex play was usually part of the act of seduction between man and concubine, especially if she initiated it…. As a special enticement, a slave woman threaded beads on a string, fastened them inside her *kanga* around her bottom, and gently swayed her hips back and forth, calling attention to her beads and her anatomy. And the concubines generally received "special favors"…as rewards for the pleasures they gave. (Romero Curtin 1983, p. 877)

Women initiated into *unyago* and held as *masuria* therefore wielded a certain degree of power, and the lessons of *unyago* specifically taught women to take advantage of their sexual prowess for material gains (Caplan 1976, p. 28). Through such sexual pleasures, it was understood that *masuria* might, through affectionate relations, gain a particular degree of power over their master since it was widely believed that "the special concubine, not the wife, most often captured the heart of the master" (Romero Curtin 1983, p. 876). In Lamu, enslaved women could also hold specialized jobs within the household. *Masuria* could become "a midwife, a Koran teacher for girls, or a specialist on wifely duties for free-born brides-to-be" (Donley 1982, p. 66). This latter job was usually held by an older woman, and one of her most important jobs was to instruct the master's daughter in sexual education (Romero Curtin 1983, p. 877).

Women held as concubines were in complex positions, and the discussion above should not be taken to suggest that on plantations *masuria* were simply happily trying to take advantage of men and becoming comfortable in the process. Sexuality was the subject of strict rules within nineteenth-century Zanzibar, which included rules governing the position of children born of different unions and the position of their mothers. These rules helped to support the position of powerful men in society. Free women were only allowed sexual relations within marriage, whereas free men could marry up to four wives and have as many *masuria* as they wished (Cooper 1977, p. 195; Donley 1982; Donley-Reid 1990). The children of *masuria* were considered to be Arab (assuming that the slave owner was an Arab) and were freeborn and equal to the children of freeborn wives (Cooper 1977, p. 195). These children rose to the highest positions in society, including sultan of Zanzibar (Fair 1998, p. 71). Upon the point of childbirth, *masuria* became, in theory, legally free, although still dependent upon the father of their child for their material wellbeing. Their position should not be mistaken for anything but that of slavery. Writing in 1897, Quaker Missionary Theodore Burtt found the condition of concubines to be relatively tolerable, as "the condition of a concubine is considered far superior

and more honorable than that of other female slaves." But he continued on to this caution:

> Nevertheless cases of gross cruelty do exist. Only a few days ago a case came under my notice in which a young female slave refused either to allow her master to seduce her, or to be make one of his concubines; and terribly had the poor girl to suffer at his hands in consequence. Complaint was made to the Wali, but no redress obtained, & I presume she has had to submit and suffer. (RH, 4th September 1897: ASP C 51.52: Letter to Mr. Allen)

The submission and suffering of this young woman makes it clear that *masuria* had little choice in the nineteenth-century. They were often treated well, but they were also forced into a particular slot within Zanzibari society. Laura Fair found that *masuria* brought into the household of the most elite families of nineteenth-century Zanzibar were "considered junior members of the family" and were dressed in a manner similar to that of freeborn wives. Here, it seems that *masuria* were dressed in the same clothing as elite women. On the face of it, this seems to suggest that these women were treated well. But Fair continues to explain the way in which dress also served as a coercive force:

> The important power of dress to signify inclusion within a particular family, class or ethnic group was thus recognized not only by the poorest members of Zanzibar society, but by its wealthiest members as well. By forcing newly acquired slave concubines to abandon the fashions of their homes, the male Omani elite were literally attempting to strip them of their former identities. (Fair 1998, p. 71)

Masuria were controlled in Zanzibari society. As their positions offered them greater status, this sometimes came along with a reduction in their freedoms of various forms. As Burtt's comment suggests above, women had little legal recourse to freedom. Indeed, as manumission came for enslaved laborers, *masuria* were excluded from the sultan's decree which granted freedom. As Commissioner Farler wrote about freedom granted for other slaves on Pemba, he noted the continued bondage for *masuria:*

> Forty concubines have been before the Courts to ask for their freedom. Of these, twenty-five were freed with the sanction of the Courts, and in almost every case with the consent of their masters; fifteen were refused, as none of them had any valid reason for leaving their homes, and they had all been very well treated. The general complaint was that they did not like the restraint of harem life, *i.e.,* they wanted to go out at nights as they pleased. Others had some little tiff with another lady of the harem, and in a fit of temper had started off to ask for their freedom. All these cases, however, were arranged to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned, and the ladies returned home with their lords. (RH, ASP G118/A: PPSA, 1899, CRSS: Letter from Mr. J. P. Farler)

It is easy to question what the "mutual satisfaction of all concerned" really meant for these women. Reading between the lines, this statement seems to suggest that *masuria* could only be freed if their master agreed. This situation was not so different from that of earlier years in which they were granted freedom upon the birth of a child.

Oral histories on Pemba offered few insights into the lives of *masuria*. Many interviewees confirmed that they had lived on plantations in the past. One elderly lady just knew that they were "not local people. They were just doing some domes-

tic work. Only Arabs had *masuria*, they used to live in the same house as them, and eat the same meals." Another presented a complex picture in which slavery came to the fore, alongside the fact that living conditions of *masuria* were similar to those of many Zanzibaris: "There were some people from the mainland who would kidnap and sell women, just for a cup of cassava. If a *suria* had a child with her master then she was given special care in the house. They went to the *shamba* [fields/farm] but not because they were *suria,* just because it was their work." She also cautioned, "Women were afraid to go somewhere quiet in the bush because they could be kidnapped and taken to Arab countries as *suria*" (Croucher 2006, p. 519, 522). This balance between the fear of enslavement and the fact that women were forced into this condition, along with the fact that *masuria* were generally thought to be well-treated, matches other historical information on such women.

The historical argument above as to the place of *masuria* within plantation households makes a strong case for the argument that the trench C *chokaa* house was that of a woman held in relations of concubinage to the owner of Mgoli. All of the other plantation houses recorded appeared to be single buildings and, while few descriptions exist in general, no historical sources I have come across thus far discuss such a pairing of buildings. Given the relative status of the building, the wealth, and expertise put into its construction, it would not have been the kind of outbuilding discussed by Myers (1997, p. 254) of urban Zanzibar. While not in plantation areas, at Lamu, Donley suggested that where *masuria* had houses built for them by their masters they took a similar form to that recorded at Mgoli:

> If indeed she was not allowed in the house she could be given a house of her own by the master at the edge of the *mitaa* (ward) in which her master lived. Her house was not usually a coral rag with lime mortar house as was the master's main house. The *souriya* house was in fact more mud than lime, but it did have plaster walls that made it look like a respectable free-born house. (Donley 1982, p. 67)

The *chokaa* house could therefore represent the gains of one woman's social standing within a plantation household, demonstrating that through affective abilities of sexual relations it was possible for *masuria* to gain material wealth in the relative context of Zanzibari society. The woman living in the trench C house may have been legally free through childbirth with a child or children straddling both social worlds, but would also have been tied into the household through relations of domination, with her only route to better living conditions through her sexual role as one who could effectively pleasure her master.

The space between the stone house and the *chokaa* house, as the location for domestic practices tasks, would have been an area in which *masuria* and freeborn wives were in regular contact through their own work, or supervision of tasks such as cooking. In historical and anthropological studies of Islamic and non-Islamic African households in which polygamy and concubinage were practiced, comparable domestic spaces are argued to have been a key location for the negotiation of social relations and tensions (Lyons 1998; Mack 1992; Robson 2006), although it should be noted that studies of colonial African domesticity have cautioned against taking domestic practices as the single defining location of women's identities (Hansen 1992, p. 6). In the case of Mgoli, the importance of this space in interpreting the ma-

terial relations of sexuality is confined to a small group of women: the free wife or wives and the *masuria* of this single household. All of these women were involved in the production of a new elite Zanzibari colonial identity, one in which they and their children could participate in varying degrees.

Identifying remains potentially associated with a concubined woman at Mgoli provides a significant step in understanding colonial Zanzibari society in new ways. The location and construction of the trench C house also allows for interpretations of the tensions embedded within *masuria* identities. A *chokaa* house was a clear marker of a high social status, in terms relative to other Zanzibaris. The occupants of the trench C house would have clearly demonstrated *uwezo* above that of the majority of wattle-and-daub house dwellers, including other plantation owners (Croucher 2007), cementing the idea that the children of this plantation household were part of an elite segment of Zanzibar society. But for the initial resident of the *chokaa* house, such *uwezo* related to a very specific kind of sexual identity; one which emphasized shared relations and knowledge with other women of enslaved classes and the power of affective relations of sexual pleasure with a rich plantation owner so successfully as to have a house built. It demonstrates the attainment of the use of sexual relationships to gain wealth, as per some of the teachings of *unyago*. Daily practices in the space between the stone house and the trench C house would have engaged relationships between women who had children of equal status, who performed the same daily tasks, and who had access to the same material wealth. What separated them most clearly were their conditions of bondage and their sexual identities. Movement around the buildings may have emphasized these. According to the social norms of the time, an elite Arab woman would not have been engaged in any kind of sexual activity in this area which was public to other members of a household. By contrast, *masuria* might be taking advantage of the "liminal domestic space" where a man could "escape the constraints of public expectations and gendered prescriptions of behavior" (McCurdy 2006, p. 459). Ties forged through *unyago* might also have aided enslaved women of the household in forming social bonds which excluded freeborn wives. The *chokaa* house may have been a continual reminder of the importance of sexual practices within the household, perhaps a point of jealousy for wives, and of social standing, of a sort, for a *suria*. It was literally the material inscription of the status of *masuria,* relating simultaneously to a high material status and relegation as an outsider to the elite stone Omani architecture of the plantation owner's house. Adding in the dimension of slavery and sexuality simultaneously to the interpretation of the plantation household shows some of the complex material negotiations of relational identities that were taking place in colonial Zanzibari society, allowing interpretations of space that go beyond the intersection of gender and status alone.

Plantation Households

The household at Mgoli drew together complex and competing elements. This was not simply the family of the plantation owner. Instead, enslaved and free came together in a manner that perhaps typifies the complexity of Zanzibari social structure at the time. Abdalla bin Jabir could animate an Omani identity through the stone-built house, but the power of this house only came into being through relations with other Zanzibari planters. More important than simple Omani identity was perhaps *uwezo,* the power to build in stone and the power to build a second *chokaa* house for a concubine of relatively higher status than neighboring plantation owners. Households were also the spaces through which much of the paternalistic structure of Zanzibari plantation society was enacted. By paternalism, I mean the social relations summarized by Cooper (1977, p. 155), where plantation owners controlled slaves and dependents in order to gain power. Clearly, this social structure regularly held women in close bonds of control. For concubines in particular, household-based slavery meant few routes to any genuine form of emancipation.

But despite the control imposed on women, households were not static sets of gender relations. The small number of plantations owned by women demonstrated that women could escape the tight constraints of Zanzibari society. Put simply, women could be patriarchs. However, this position was clearly limited to only a subset of women. Most female plantation owners appeared to have gained their position through inheritance. Opportunities for women to freely work their way up through the system, as remained a slim possibility for men, were nonexistent. The best material opportunity enslaved women had, it seems, was concubinage. But potential material gains may have been more than offset by the very real condition of slavery for *masuria*. Plantation households in their material form, embody these tensions.

To end this chapter, I want to turn to a moment which occurred as slaves were petitioning for their freedom on Zanzibar. Commissioner Farler was once again complaining about the problems thrown up by freed slaves acting in ways that did not fit with the structure of regular work desired by the colonial government. He explained of a new development:

> A custom has recently grown up in Pemba for men to give protection to their women when they are freed, partly as servants and partly as prostitutes. Certain older women rent houses, and let rooms to women for purposes of prostitution. Husbands are making continual complains before the Courts that their wives have gone off without their consent, and have received a room in town or village where they are living as prostitutes. We try our best when women have been freed, to get them to settle on the land, and we often obtain very favourable terms for them: but they are defiant and refuse to go to a shamba [plantation], and insist upon living in a town. If they are sent to a shamba, they promptly run away and quickly turn up again in the town. Marriage has become a farce, after a few weeks the couple get tired of each other, separate, and promptly get married again to someone else. A woman was accused by her husband of leaving his house for immoral purposes, and she openly stated in court without an atom of shame, that she wanted variety, and that one man always wearied her. A fortnight ago a woman was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for keeping a brothel, and allowing married women in it. (ZNA, SC, AC 3/12: 4th April, 1901, Letter to General Mathews)

Farler is of course still struggling with the issue of how to get the newly emancipated labor force to work in a regular manner. But here we see something powerful; the ability of women to try to act to make life work on their own terms. Few options were available to them; but these women refused to stay with husbands permanently, and found ways to move to town when those in power desired them to labor on the *shamba*. Women were often tied in to particular networks of paternalistic control within plantation households, but it is clear that by the early twentieth century these were being newly contested by manumitted women, just as they were by those elite women who owned plantations.

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Chapter 6
Global Goods

Global Trade on Zanzibar

In 1892, a formal printed list of customs tariffs for Zanzibar provides a glimpse at many of the regularly traded goods coming through the main port, forming the bulk of commerce on the islands. The list comprised 125 different categories, and indicated that "any goods not included in above will be dealt with by arrangement." Some of the items clearly related to the regular subsistence of the islands: "rice in bags," "onions in baskets," "molasses sugar in bundles of 2 pieces," and "dry fish." Many of the goods were key trade goods from plantations and from the caravan trade: "cloves in mat bags or guy bags, 4 frasila," "gum copal in baskets," "ivory," and "tortoiseshell in case." Still other goods formed trade objects likely to be purchased for display or daily use in households across the islands: "copper post in bundles," "clay pots," "glassware in casks and crates," "iron pots in bundles," along with "jewellery 1 percent on value." This list included some luxury items, likely to be purchased only by elites, such as "clocks and watches & c.," "furniture in bundles," and the perhaps less expensive "rose water in large bottles (not responsible for breakage)." (ZNA, CS, AC 3/2: 1892, Warehousing Rules, Regulations and Tariffs) These lists are just a small portion of the goods, from the mundane to the luxurious, which passed through the harbor enough to warrant a line item in the tariff system operational at the port. Zanzibar was an international port; it exported a range of goods to Europe, the Middle East, and India, and in return, all kinds of goods also flowed back in to the islands.

Sheriff (1987, p. 1) argues that the city of Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century became "the seat of a vast commercial empire that in some ways resembled the mercantile empires of Europe in the preceding centuries." Many vessels traveled around the Indian Ocean, shipping all kinds of goods between different ports in a wide economic network. Continuing to build on the centuries of trade that had produced the fluorescence of Swahili stone towns, the nineteenth-century saw Zanzibar as part of economic networks stretching between the Gulf, Eastern Africa, and southern Asia. Indian and Chinese finance linked this region through what Sugata Bose (2006, p. 13) characterizes as the "bazaar nexus," with European capital acting at a level above and "peasants, peddlers, and pawnbrokers" below. Such networks

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highlight the complexity of economic networks operational in Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. As I have discussed in previous chapters, Zanzibari society was shifting, in part through capitalist formations. Sheriff suggests that these economic shifts were part of broad shifts rather than any particular figure or moment in time. In part, this broad shift was linked to transformations in Oman, where a new class of "merchant capitalists and landowners" emerged who utilized slave labor on plantations, were active in maritime trade, and who transformed the political economy of Oman (Sheriff 1987, p. 19). Understanding the regional, political, and economic picture helps us to analyze the ways in which networks of long-distance and international trade were not simply the imposition of capitalism through European powers. In the Indian Ocean:

> From about 1800 to 1930 preexisting interregional networks were utilized, molded, reordered, and rendered subservient by Western capital and the more powerful colonial states, but never torn apart…. Almost throughout the age of European colonialism, the Indian Ocean rim was characterized by specialized flows of capital and labor, administrative skills and professional services, and ideas and culture. (Bose 2006, p. 14)

As I have stressed elsewhere in this volume, this was a complex economic situation. It would be plausible to argue that Zanzibar was part of the developing capitalist "world system," where surplus was extracted from the peripheries (Crowell 1997, p. 8). But to call Zanzibar peripheral ignores the fact ignores the fact that economic relations, even at the height of plantation production, were in no small part structured through Indian Ocean long-distance economic networks.

These regional networks of trade had long existed. The Indian Ocean could even be characterized as a "world system" of its own prior to European economic dominance (Abu-Lughod 1987). Swahili urban centers had long traded and been tied to far-distant communities; for a thousand years prior to the era of clove plantations, Swahili communities were engaging with others outside of their societies, often through trading relations (LaViolette 2008, p. 42). Nevertheless, despite these continuities, something different was happening in terms of economic relations during the nineteenth-century. This era saw a new intensification of trade, particularly in ivory, plantation crops (including cloves), gum copal, and, to some degree, in slaves. European political and economic interests were increasingly making their voices felt on Zanzibar, with various consulates set up to mediate trade and political interests. A U.S. consul was appointed to the islands in 1837 amid growing Eastern African demand for cheap and sturdy American-made cloth. A new commercial agreement was drawn up with Britain in 1839. This was followed by the arrival of a British consul in 1841 and the signing of a commercial accord between Said bin Sultan and France in 1844 (Bennett 1978, p. 33).

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made shipping between Europe, America, and Zanzibar much faster. Zanzibar was at the heart of these changes as a major port of entry for goods exported from the mainland to be traded into the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Conversely, it was also the point of entry for many goods to be traded by caravan into mainland Eastern Africa. Almost 60 years before the Suez Canal was opened, a note from Commander Smee in Burton's account of Zanzibar provided some details from a seafaring perspective. In late March 1811, he was

able to catalogue the following trading vessels present at the port: "Two ships, two snows, three ketches, 21 dows [*dhows*], 15 buglas, four dingeys, 10 small boats of sizes, besides a variety of country boats constantly arriving and departing, and two large boats building." He thought that in some trading seasons, bearing in mind that these were governed by monsoon winds, saw upward of 100 large dhows from the Middle East and India (Burton 1872a, p. 512). From 1855 to 1860, merchant ships arrived from Britain, Germany, France, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, and the U.S., with ships from the latter nation dominating the trade, closely followed by German shipping (Rigby 1861, p. 24).

There is no doubt that, despite the deep history of long-distance and international trade in the region, in modern times, the world became "immensely larger" for East Africans (Iliffe 1979, p. 1). Just as residents on Zanzibar were aware of the rest of the world as never before, so too was Zanzibar increasingly visible to the world through the lens of Western colonial discourse (Myers 1996). The scale of merchant shipping activity went beyond that of earlier centuries, and it involved truly global networks. The urban center of Zanzibar was home to men who regularly traversed these shipping routes and who loaded goods onto vessels headed for a dizzying array of ports around the world. Plantation owners likewise would have been aware of these global connections. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even on Pemba plantation owners seem to have traveled to Zanzibar with relative frequency, linking them in to trade networks and world news. Even lowly enslaved laborers had come from hundreds or thousands of miles inland, and were part of a broad cosmopolitan population.

I begin from this starting point; Zanzibar as a global trading entrepôt and center of production, which was linked into regional and global political and economic networks. Bringing archaeology into this framework global trade, it is possible to go beyond simply knowing that goods were traded. We can move on to consider in more depth what goods actually meant to people. Some of this work has been done by Prestholdt (2008) who is interested, in part, in the place of modernity on Zanzibar. He locates modernity in general as an exclusionary discourse, while also being a period of time in which global interconnections intensified. The consumption of goods becomes a site upon which the complex terrain of modernity can be laid bare: "Concurrently [to exclusionary discourses of modernity in the West], in Zanzibar, people refashioned their city out of diverse transcontinental materials. Though excluded from any Western definitions of modernity, change in Zanzibar was as radical as contemporaneous change in Europe" (Prestholdt 2008, p. 88). In this wonderful study, Prestholdt's focus is on those goods which can be traced through historical records in order to provide insights into the consumption habits of Zanzibaris. The approach to consuming global goods on plantations discussed in this chapter is quite different, as it draws on archaeological data and oral histories to understand how goods were traded and the ways in which these had particular cultural and economic meanings and effects for consumers living on plantations.

Examining jewelry and ceramics, two important categories of imported goods on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century, I examine consumption of objects as a

process that is enmeshed in webs beyond the local scale of particular sites. While exchange is understood through the patterns of goods at different sites, I also explore how understanding the consumption of goods on nineteenth-century Zanzibar helps us to understand the types of global trading networks through which goods entered the lives of plantation residents. Zanzibar might be thought of as on the periphery of global capitalist formations of the nineteenth-century. Taking an approach which explores the commodity chains which bound Zanzibar in to diverse locations enables a closer understanding of what global capitalism really meant during this era, and how the notion of peripheries themselves, as cultural as well as economic objects, came into being through networks of exchange and production.

Trade Beads

What then were Zanzibaris consuming? History seems to present a fairly clear picture. While the customs tariff of 1892 provides data only on types of goods imported, some earlier accounts by European explorers and missionaries provide clearer evidence as to the popularity of mass-produced goods. In 1859, the watchful explorer Sir Richard Burton charted the most common exports from the port. This included "articles of foreign manufacture," which presumably were re-exported to the mainland coast upon importation. These goods consisted of American cottons, English cottons, "Muscat loongees," "Venetian beads," "brass wire," "muskets," "gunpowder," "china and iron ware," and "bullion" (Burton 1872a, p. 413). Many of these were to be traded inland, where it seems that beads were the most prominent import. Listing goods to be taken on the Pasha expedition in the 1880s, along with large quantities of guns and ammunition, Henry Morton Stanley carried beads, cowries, brass wire coils, and cloth in bales as trade goods (Stanley 1891, p. 14). Sir Richard Burton had similarly learned of the importance of imported beads two decades earlier when departing from Zanzibar. As he wrote of purchasing trade goods, he told his readers: "I made the mistake of ignorance by not laying in an ample store of American domestics (Merkani), the silver of the country, and a greater quantity of beads, which are the small change" (Burton 1872b, p. 484). Along caravan trade route, Burton was correct that plain cotton cloth manufactured in the U.S., known as *merikani* (Sunseri 2007, p. 211), and beads were the main trade goods. Key purchases for a caravan or expedition over the same routes during the nineteenth-century had to include large quantities of both kinds of these items. Stanley detailed his purchases when traveling to Ujiji in 1871:

> My informants gave me to understand that for one hundred men, 10 doti, or 40 yards of cloth per diem, would suffice for food…. Second in importance to the amount of cloth required was the quantity and quality of the beads necessary. Beads, I was told, took the place of cloth currency among some tribes of the interior. One tribe preferred white to black beads, brown to yellow, red to green, green to white, and so on. Thus, in Unyamwezi, red (sami-sami) beads would readily be taken, where all other kinds would be refused; black (bubu) beads, though currency in Ugogo, were positively worthless with all other tribes. (Stanley 2005 [1872], p. 23)

Archaeologically, some sites seem to show signs of the importance of beads in the nineteenth-century, although of course the cloth is lost to our investigations. Inland, investigations at caravan trade routes in northeastern Tanzania by Thomas Biginagwa produced 2246 beads from excavations across three different sites; Ngombezi, Old Korogwe, and Kwa Sigi. At all three of these sites, glass beads came to predominate only in upper layers, replacing predominantly shell beads in earlier layers. This shift suggested that beads were an important cultural object prior to the intensification of the caravan trade around 1840 onward, and that glass beads rapidly came to have the popularity we would expect for these type of sites (Biginagwa 2012, p. 162). In a long-term multi-period study of the Pangani region, Jonathan Walz also found beads to be an important artifact category on later sites, which he groups as post-1750 AD or "Type 17" sites. At the site of Gombero, on the northern outskirts of the town of Pangani, he found copious evidence of glass beads—over 14 different types—along with other imported artifacts (Walz 2010, p. 113). On the mainland, in the area opposite Zanzibar and further inland, the high incidence of beads which we would expect from historical documents is certainly in evidence archaeologically.

At sites on the Kenyan coast dating to the nineteenth-century tied to *watoro* (maroon) communities, Marshall (2011, p. 281) found massive quantities of beads. One of the sites she excavated, Amwathoya,[1] had a massive volume of 3968 beads, largely made up of imported glass beads. Marshall suggests that the large volume was in part related to rapid abandonment of the site, but that these beads were likely utilized in religious and healing ceremonies, and in divining. Contrasting with this, at the maroon sites of Koromio and Makoroboi relatively smaller numbers of beads were found. The numbers of beads also differed significantly between different households, with one household at Mokoroboi yielding no beads. She suggests that this variance may result from a range of factors. One is the multiplicity of tastes in beads found in nineteenth-century Eastern Africa, as discussed by Stanley in the quotation above. At Koromio, "watoro households' diverse bead preferences may reflect their diverse cultural origins. Alternately, each household may have favored the use of certain bead types or colors considered most culturally appropriate for the age/gender make-up of its inhabitants" (Marshall 2011, p. 289). At Makoroboi, she suggests that the absence of beads in one household may relate to poverty, or the absence of female residents. But she goes on to speculate that the adherence to Christianity by residents at this site may have encouraged individuals to dress in styles which did not include beads (Marshall 2011, p. 291). Whatever the reasons for such great diversity, this data demonstrates that while beads were clearly important inland, the consumption of goods by East Africans was not simply fueled by and insatiable appetite for particular goods, or by homogenous trends. Areas varied

[1] Amwathoya was a Giriama site, associated with an ethnic group who live immediately on the hinterland of the Kenyan coast, neighboring Swahili settlements. This was not a *watoro* settlement, but was excavated for comparison with Koromio and Makoroboi. The site dated from the late nineteenth through early present century and was thus contemporaneous with inhabitation at Mgoli (Marshall 2011, p. 107).

in the intensity of bead use, and variation was clearly possible even within the same, or closely related, sites.

Results from Zanzibar differed sharply with those from these varied inland sites. Only 41 beads were recovered in total from Mgoli. Of these, most were glass, with the exception of seven shell beads. Colors were varied; blue, brown, purple, and red were uncommon colors (only one or two of each color), and black, green, and white formed the remainder. The kind of color patterning found at Amwathoya, Koromio, and Makoroboi was certainly not discernible in this material. On our survey, only two single glass beads were found. One was found at an old village site near Bahanasa in the Piki survey area. Another single glass bead was also found at the site of Mwanaiki Nassor, the female plantation owner in the Mtambile survey region. This is far from the 14 different types of beads found scattered at the site of Gombero near Pangani (Walz 2010, p. 113).

Excavation and survey methodology alone do not seem to be able to account for such sharp deviations in the number of beads at these different sites. Many of the sites surveyed had excellent surface visibility due to soil turnover from cassava cultivation. The fact that two beads were recorded demonstrates that it is possible for such artifacts to be identified through surface survey. The lack of beads recorded on survey seems to fit with the relatively low numbers of beads recorded during excavation. Here all soils were screened, and the possibility that hundreds of beads were not recovered seems impossible. From discussions of the large numbers of beads flowing through the port of Zanzibar and the large quantities found at sites such as Gombero, Kwa Sigi, and Amwathoya, the evidence seems surprising. Can this be taken to suggest that Zanzibaris wore and utilized lower numbers of beads than those living nearby on the coast or inland along caravan trading routes?

Historical evidence does not suggest that Zanzibari women lacked decoration. Burton in 1872 noted that freeborn Swahili women wore necklaces and other jewelry. He described them, in line with his general commentary on Zanzibaris, in rather derogatory terms: “The favourite feminine necklace is a row of sharks’ teeth; some use beads, others bits of copal…. The left nostril is usually honored by some simple decoration—a stud or rose-shaped button of wood or bone, of ivory or of precious metal, and at times its place is taken by a clove or pin of Cassava” (Burton 1872a, p. 435). Dress was a powerful tool for nineteenth-century Zanzibaris, particularly for enslaved Africans who were presenting themselves as respectable gentlemen or ladies (*waungwana*) in the manner of freeborn elites. Men were dressed up in *kanzus* (a white robe), donned fezes, and carried canes, while women wore head coverings and brightly colored cloth which they wrapped around themselves (Prestholdt 2008, p. 104). These clothes were particularly important for the lower classes. During the early nineteenth-century, clothing became one of the key ways in which freed slaves attempted to redefine themselves in urban Zanzibar, in part, because slaves had typically worn “clothes which were usually made of the rudest and cheapest cloth” (Fair 1998, p. 67). Elites wore extremely elaborate dress. Seyyida Salme, daughter of the sultan of Zanzibar, described the clothing of the most elite women, recalling gold embroidered silks, worn in a long robe with leggings beneath and a head covering. Of these, the bottom leggings sometimes had embroidery and “golden anklets,

from one of which are suspended numerous little bell-shaped pieces of gold producing an agreeable tinkle at every step" (Reute 1998 [1886], p. 90).

Oral historical evidence seemed to corroborate the importance of dress. One elderly male Nyamwezi immigrant commented that in his neighborhood, women "liked to wear beads from the mainland. Also, they had holes in their ears, and decorated these with beads. But Arabic women wore gold or silver, they didn't like beads." The importance of gold jewelry was commented upon by another elderly lady on Pemba who told us that there had once been a goldsmith in Chake Chake, the main city on the island. She recalled that in the past, it had been possible for a woman like her to save up after the clove harvest for a gold or silver nose ring, but that these were expensive. Despite the fact that she remembered only the twentieth century, jewelry, it seemed, remained an important marker of ethnicity, as "Arab women wore gold jewelry," unlike the majority of local people who could not afford it, and Indian women who "didn't like to decorate themselves much compared to Arabs and local people." Another elderly lady near Piki remembered that there were goldsmiths in all three of the main towns on the islands, Wete, Chake Chake, and Mkoani, although it was tough to purchase such jewelry, and it was only worn on special occasions. The association between wealth and an "Arab" identity expressed through gold jewelry was also expressed by an elderly lady who thought that in the past it was "unusual to see Pembans wearing gold jewelry," whereas "Most Arabs had a lot of money to buy many beads and could wear lots of rings and bracelets" (Croucher 2006, pp. 509, 518, 527, 529).

All Pemban women, including Arab women despite their preference for gold, were remembered to have worn copper alloy jewelry, which was ubiquitous. Women remembered that beads had been used for necklaces, bracelets, and sometimes were strung around the waist. Beads were chosen in bright colors and strung by many women into various pieces of jewelry. These would also be worn alongside paper earrings. We were shown one of these by an elderly man who brought some possessions of his mother's to show us when he heard that we were looking for old things. These were bright paper, wound in coils with some printed decoration on the front. These would often be mixed together with bead jewelry, with some women wearing bead and paper earrings on the same ear, and only cost four shillings, a tiny amount of money in Tanzanian currency. An elderly lady with piercings in her ears told us that she had worn brightly colored paper earrings in green, yellow, red, and purple, because they were "very attractive" and because they were better for larger piercings (Croucher 2006, pp. 518, 521).

What to make, then, of the small collection of beads from Mgoli, and the lack of beads across plantation sites in general? There is perhaps an explanation, for Mgoli, which lies in the very importance of dress on the islands. The majority of the beads came from Trench C, the *chokaa* house, which I have argued may have been the residence of a *suria*. From this unit also came a small copper alloy earring (see Fig. 6.1). This seems an unusual find, given that the count of other jewelry components was so low. But this may signify other ways of wearing jewelry, in line with common conventions for many Pembans who could not afford gold or silver, but wanted to wear jewelry other than strings of beads and paper necklaces.

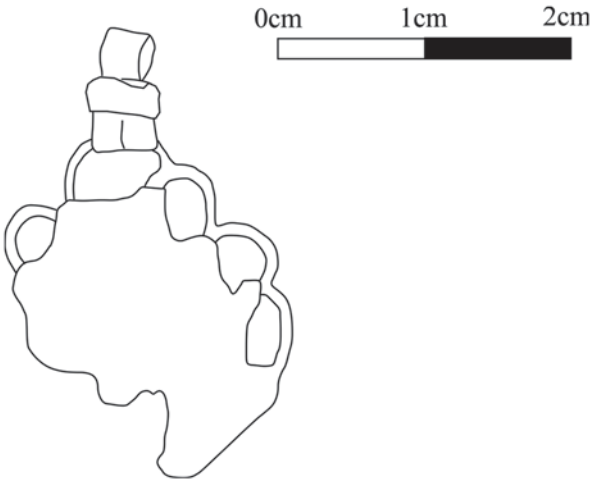

Fig. 6.1 Copper alloy earring

One elderly lady we interviewed recalled that they had used to have "a lot of brass jewelry like rings and earrings." Another elderly lady suggested that the jewelry of choice for many women on Pemba was made of brass and silver, worn as arm and ankle bracelets and earrings (Croucher 2006, pp. 521, 527). The lack of beads found in the plantation household at Mgoli might be indicative of jewelry made of metal, particularly if this were made of silver and gold, materials likely to be carefully preserved and not lost. The copper alloy earring becomes interesting in light of the oral histories which seem to suggest that this was low on the scale of metal jewelry, but commonly worn by those women who could not quite afford gold or silver. Finding this object in relation to a context associated with concubinage makes it interesting to speculate whether this also shows the fact that this woman had access to jewelry beyond simple beaded items, but that she had not been bought the most expensive gold objects.[2] In a social milieu in which dress was an important material signifier of distinction (Prestholdt 2008, p. 102), recognizing the potential fine-grained differences in the types of jewelry potentially worn within a single household reminds us of the complex social relations through which clove plantation residents were bound.

The question of the lack of beads still, however, remains. Definitive knowledge that beads were little consumed by plantation residents must await further excavation. All historical evidence points to the fact that poorer women did wear beads, and so I suspect future investigations may locate more widespread use of beads across plantation sites. Even if this is the case, clearly beads were not so widespread on Pemba as they were inland. This brings us to an important point; while beads

[2] As discussed in the previous chapter, concubined women were brought into the household as *waungwana,* seeming to be full members of the Muslim society of the coast. However, their position as slightly inferior may have been demonstrated by dress, as Fair (1998, p. 70) shows, was certainly the case with slight, but important, differences in the dress of a daughter and *suria* of Sultan Seyyid Said.

were one of the most important imports to Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century, they were not consumed in a homogenous manner, something certainly shown from Marshall's (2011) work at Kenyan *watoro* sites. Archaeological evidence offers the chance to go beyond a listing of goods imported at different points and to understand more clearly inter- and intra-site variability in their use. This opens up exciting prospects as to understanding the nature of consumption, or even a growing consumerism (Prestholdt 2008, p. 100), across nineteenth-century Zanzibar.

Imported Ceramics on Nineteenth-Century Zanzibar

If beads were not consumed in the manner we might immediately expect, what then of other goods? If bead consumption was less extensive than at mainland sites, we might wonder if clove plantations were simply peripheral areas, where few imported commodities in general were available. Comparing data from Trench C and Trench D at Mgoli allows for a rough comparison of change through the nineteenth-century on one plantation. Materials recovered from Trench C seem to date from the mid-nineteenth-century, around the time the plantation was likely established. Material from Trench D is from the late nineteenth-century, probably close to the abolition of slavery on the islands.

A broad analysis of mid-nineteenth-century material from Trench C shows that the overwhelming majority of artifacts deposited were locally-produced ceramics, which formed 78 percent of the total.[3] Ceramic, glass, and metal objects which would have been bought as imported commodities formed just 12 percent of the total artifacts in the unit. Six percent of the artifacts comprised European imported ceramics, 2 percent non-European made imported ceramics,[4] 3 percent were glass artifacts, and 1 percent of the total was made up of metal items. Of these imported ceramics, almost all were refined whitewares, typical of industrial production during the mid-nineteenth-century.

By contrast, material from Trench D showed significantly higher figures for imported materials. The overall total was very high; only 37 percent of the total artifacts were locally-produced ceramics, 5 percent were mass-produced European imports,

[3] Figures here are given by artifact count. Analyzed artifacts from Trench C are only those from contexts 3005 and 3009, which can be fairly securely dated to the mid-nineteenth-century. Analyzed material from Trench D came only from contexts 4007 and 4008, again the most securely dated contexts for late-nineteenth-century material.

[4] The majority of this category and the latter category are described locally as "Indian" water pots (*mitungi*). This ceramic type is known as Indian coarse earthenware (Marshall 2011, p. 200); however, some of the examples from Pemba may have been produced locally. They were made of a red low-fired earthenware body, fired to an even bright-red color. They usually had black painted designs on the body. Antiquities staff thought that these had been made on Pemba, and they matched a water jar held in the Antiquities Museum collection. As these would have been bought for cash from Indians and/or bought from traders, they would have entered plantation households through different exchange relations than is the case with the locally produced ceramics discussed in the following chapter.

and a massive 39 percent of the total came from metal artifacts. These numbers appear skewed owing to very high number of iron objects—almost all unidentifiable—found in these deposits. However, when the metal objects are removed from the total count, the numbers seem to still suggest higher proportions of imported goods. Of the total ceramics recovered from Trench D, 11 percent were European imports (with a mixture of bone china and whiteware) and 4 percent were non-European manufactured imports. In Trench C, these figures were lower; 7 percent of the ceramic total was formed from European imports and just 2 percent from non-European manufactured imports. While these differences are relatively small, coupled with the large amounts of metal objects in this deposit, they seem suggestive of a small rise in imported goods utilized by plantation residents through the course of the nineteenth-century. This change is in line with expectations from historical arguments as to the growing importance of imported commodities to Zanzibaris through the course of the century (Prestholdt 2008).

In contrast to the data from beads, the archaeological evidence showed the importance of imported ceramics in the repertoire of consumer goods during the nineteenth-century. These were mentioned in some of the descriptions of goods flowing through the port of Zanzibar, but they were rarely discussed in European accounts of the island from which much of the historical analysis of consumption in Eastern Africa has been taken. It may be that they were little traded inland. Survey in the Tabora area along with survey and excavation in the Ujiji area, two major points along the caravan trade route, produced very low numbers of imported ceramics. At Ujiji, only a tiny fraction of excavated material came from imported ceramics, with over 90 percent of material coming from locally produced ceramics. Similarly, at the Wazigua sites of Ngombezi, Old Korogwe, and Kwa Sigi, imported ceramics were found only in very small numbers (Biginagwa 2012). At the sites of Makorobi, Amwathoya, and Koromio, Marshall identified whitewares in similar forms to those recovered from Mgoli. However, these were found in much smaller numbers, with only 52 whiteware sherds in total recorded from survey and excavation (out of 69 sherds of mass-produced earthenwares in total), with whitewares found in more significant numbers in deposits dating to the late nineteenth-century (Marshall 2011, p. 224).[5]

Refined whitewares are ubiquitous artifacts for historical archaeologists studying the nineteenth-century. Despite differing numbers, it seems that the presence of these materials is unremarkable in and of themselves. But if the ceramic sherds from Zanzibar discussed here were laid alongside assemblages excavated by the majority of other historical archaeologists, many clear differences would immediately be apparent. The first would be in the design of many of the vessels. The decoration of mass-produced imported vessels fell mostly into two clear categories:

[5] Findings from Marshall's (2011) research also indicated a wider variety of imported wares at sites dating to the earlier end of the nineteenth-century. Unlike findings from Mgoli, creamware and pearlware were also found at Kenyan *watoro* sites, particularly at Koromio, one of the sites with an earlier occupation (Marshall 2011, p. 215). In sharp contrast to Mgoli, Indian coarse earthenware formed the majority of imported ceramic sherds on these excavations, further demonstrating the complexities of consuming imported goods in Eastern Africa during the nineteenth-century (Marshall 2011, p. 204).

Fig. 6.2. Dutch ceramic maker's mark

transfer printed or hand painted and/or sponge print decoration.[6] Bright colored lines and sponge printing dominated the most common bowl forms of material (see Fig. 6.2). The brightly painted and/or sponge-decorated wares that formed the majority of imports used by Zanzibaris are little discussed in the majority of historical archaeological literature. In most European and American contexts, they are found in much lower numbers in comparison to decorative styles such as transfer prints, flow blues, and other styles of designs, if they are even found at all (Miller 1980, 1991). Their use in European and American contexts tended to be limited to very cheaply produced cut-sponge-decorated earthenwares, used only in poor households, and often differing in form—e.g., mugs and small individual bowls—from those found in Zanzibar (e.g., Brooks 2003, p. 125).

This leads neatly to the second major difference visible between Zanzibari material and that from other regions of the world studied by historical archaeologists: the forms of the ceramics. Large bowl forms predominated on Zanzibar—as is clear from the ceramics curated through time and now on sale in curio shops—with

[6] Less than 4 percent of mass-produced ceramics excavated from Mgoli overall had a design falling outside of these two categories. Full details of these materials can be found in Croucher (2006) Chap. 7 and Appendix D. By far the most common decorative form on transfer-printed vessels was willow pattern, found on several "platter" sherds—these would have been from large, flat, rectangular serving plates, still used today for special occasions. The proportion of transfer-printed ceramics fell over the course of the nineteenth-century, comprising 40 percent of imported sherds in earlier analyzed contexts and dropping to just 9 percent in later contexts. Painted and sponge-printed designs were most common overall, forming 38 percent of the imports from the site of Mgoli overall, 43 percent from mid-nineteenth-century contexts, and 19 percent of those from late nineteenth- through early twentieth-century contexts, where numbers of decorated ceramics had dropped somewhat, partially replaced with plain white bone china. This drop may be a short-lived shift, or be peculiar to the tastes of Mgoli's inhabitants at this time since decorated ceramics continue to be popular on the islands today.

teacups, small plates, and large platters following in frequency.[7] Comparison of these frequencies of forms in relation to other East African contexts is limited. Marshall (2011, p. 212) recorded teacups, plates, and bowls with more of a tendency toward plate forms. While limited, this might throw up interesting comparisons between plantation sites and those of *watoro* and Giriama. From earlier periods on the Swahili coast, it has been noted that such brightly colored large bowls are the common form of imports at later sites (Fleisher personal communication; Horton, personal communication). Zanzibari material does have clear contrasts with mass-produced ceramics from other areas of the world where historical archaeologists work. In Cape Town, South Africa, for instance, predominant forms of nineteenth-century ceramics were tableware, mostly plates used for individual servings of meals at a table (Malan and Klose 2003, p. 202; Weiss 2009, 2011). Since many trade routes ran from Europe around South Africa (although the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 did change this pattern), we might expect that trade goods sent along these routes would be similar. The South African ceramic signature however, although not identical, had far clearer parallels with British, Australian, and North American contexts, where plates and bowls used to serve individual placements at tables were common during the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries (for some examples, see Brooks 1997; Brooks and Connah 2007; Crowell 2011; Leone 1999; Shackel and Palus 2006; Wall 1999).

Another contrast in ceramic assemblages between East Africa and regions studied by the majority of historical archaeologists would be that produced imported ceramics were only a small proportion of vessels utilized at mealtimes on Zanzibar. They made up just 4 percent of the overall ceramic assemblage from the site of Mgoli ($n = 11{,}090$) across all periods from the mid-nineteenth-century into the twentieth century.[8] Such small numbers perhaps make them easy to ignore as a seemingly unimportant artifact category with which to examine nineteenth-century plantation society on Zanzibar. Thus, we could bookmark them as a useful dating tool, note their presence, and move on to analyze the majority locally produced wares. But the ubiquity of their use stood out. From survey data, 85 percent of

[7] Bowls were most common in mid-nineteenth-century contexts, where they accounted for 61 percent of diagnostic mass-produced sherds, a further 29 percent of diagnostic imports were teacups, with a few further sherds of large platters. Numbers were significantly different for late nineteenth-century/early twentieth-century material, where only 4 percent of diagnostic mass-produced sherds were bowl forms, with a much higher 57 percent of sherds being recognizable teacup forms. While this seems to signal a shift towards more common use of teacups, the overall percentages of material from the site where 40 percent of diagnostic mass-produced ceramic sherds were bowl forms and 37 percent were teacups, seems to suggest that when a wider range of data is available for this period, we may not see such dramatic differences. Clearly, the ceramics surviving today testify to the importance of bowls, as do oral histories. But teacups may have had a wider usage in daily life, and been viewed as more of a utilitarian form than bowls. If more were available and their daily frequency of use was higher, teacups may also have been more liable to breakage, therefore presenting more sherds in the archaeological record.

[8] Ceramics in total made up 76 percent of the entire assemblage by artifact count ($n = 14{,}602$). The remainder of the ceramic assemblage was made up of majority locally produced wares (93 percent) and non-mass-produced imports (3 percent).

recorded ceramic sherds were mass-produced European imports, and imported ceramics were visible on the majority of sites recorded.[9] Only a single site from the 64 recorded had only locally produced ceramics with a complete absence of visible imported ceramics, and this site was one which we were told had been the location of a village inhabited by enslaved plantation workers (Croucher 2006, p. 385). It could be argued that imported ceramics visible on the ground surface aid in the remembrance of site locations by local residents. However, five sites were recorded which had no artifacts whatsoever visible on the ground surface. This suggests that imported ceramics were not the crucial factor in determining site visibility, strongly supporting the idea that almost all nineteenth-century sites with surface remains visible included imported ceramics. Therefore, the low percentage of their overall proportions at the site of Mgoli must be contrasted with their widespread presence on clove plantation sites.

Historical ceramics were also impossible to ignore within contemporary Zanzibari society. Outside of the archaeological realm, my fieldwork on Zanzibar was characterized by frequent introductions to late nineteenth- and twentieth-century mass-produced ceramics from Europe. It is, of course, with hindsight that I placed together these different moments, but the contemporary context of these ceramics—now cast into roles as heirlooms, antiques, and museum pieces—adds an important dimension to understanding the social role of these objects in the past. My first realization that these might be culturally important came from my landlady in the city of Zanzibar. I had been working at the Zanzibar archives and lodging locally. I would eat with my landlady and her daughters every evening, sitting on a large mat in the front room to share dishes. All of the dishes for the daily meals were kept in a sideboard in this room with some dishes used every day and others only used now and then, mostly when we ate special meals. One platter in particular was never removed during my stay. Just before my survey fieldwork was due to begin, my landlady engaged me in conversation about this platter. It was her best—a treasured family heirloom and used only for very special meals—she told me. But on Pemba, people had plenty of big platters like this, and sometimes sold them. If I was offered one at a reasonable price, could I buy it on her behalf and bring it back?

No one offered a platter for sale, but I did see more of these dishes on Pemba. One day when my field crew and I were undertaking survey fieldwork, a man whom we had met earlier when asking about sites suddenly reappeared with a sack. Inside were some things that he wanted to show us, family heirlooms passed down to him

[9] Using quantitative data from this survey evidence is problematic. Since only purposive surface survey was carried out (for a discussion of full survey methodology and results, see Croucher 2004), it is impossible to say that this data is a representative sample of material from all nineteenth-century clove plantations across the four survey regions from which data was collected. Of 64 sites recorded on the survey, 86 percent (55 sites) had imported ceramics visible, compared to a slightly lower 75 percent (48 sites) with local ceramics visible on the surface, with many sites having both. The reasons for this distribution seem unclear, although they are explored in more detail further on in this chapter. A slight skewing of the data may have been caused by the visibility of ceramic remains in a tropical landscape context. On sites with dense undergrowth, locally produced wears which lack the reflective qualities of glazed imports may have been harder to pick out visually. Nevertheless, thorough visual examination was undertaken at each site recorded, and so it would be surprising if this alone accounted for the differences in recorded artifacts.

Fig. 6.3 Heirlooms on the road

from his grandmother (Fig. 6.3). At the time, I was most interested in the wooden pot he had that was filled with paper jewelry (as discussed earlier), but, of course, we never found any on archaeological sites. The platter was interesting—a large rectangular whiteware willow pattern platter with the common blue and white design printed across the entirety of the vessel. But it had no maker's mark on the bottom, just a smooth surface of white glazed earthenware. I guessed it could date from anytime from the late nineteenth-century into the twentieth century, and thought little more of it until later when a sherd of a nearly identical platter was recovered from excavations at Mgoli (Fig. 6.4).

What then could these different factors mean? Non-local ceramics were rare by their low percentages in the Mgoli site assemblage—and it is worth noting that this related to the home of a wealthy plantation owner. Yet survey data indicated that mass-produced ceramics had apparently been used at many different types of settlement, including those inhabited by enslaved workers.[10] The use of mass-produced ceramics on nineteenth-century Zanzibar also seemed to represent a particular taste in commodity purchases, particularly through the brightly painted and printed

[10] As discussed in Chap. 4, the numbers of sites associated with enslaved residents only are very low. Nevertheless, imports were found on one of these sites, which is significant, given such a small sample.

Fig. 6.4 Black willow pattern platter

bowls and the platters, differing from that found in most historical archaeological contexts. Thus, the commodity supply of ceramics to Zanzibar was not simply the overflow of that to the nearest European colonial settlements, but appears to represent the desires of nineteenth-century consumers on Zanzibar and particular patterns of use that show the manner in which commodity exchange was incorporated into the cultural context of clove plantations.

Wealth and Reciprocity on Zanzibar

If mass-produced ceramics formed only a small part of the assemblage of mid-nineteenth-century plantation household wares, growing to a slightly larger proportion by the beginning of the twentieth century, it is possible to hypothesize that they were potentially expensive goods and that they were available on a limited basis, which grew over time. This pattern does not seem unexpected and can be compared with work on commodity consumption in other capitalist contexts. As the use of commodities grew in other parts of the world, a "consumer culture" developed, in which social status was increasingly demonstrated through the consumption of material goods, particularly within North America (see Sassatelli 2007, Chap. 2 for an overview; Mullins 1999, p. 1). Debates range about the nature and spread of consumer culture, but for the purpose of this chapter, it can be summarized that subjects—now consumers—are understood to increasingly express their subjectivities through commodities, usually mass produced, and bought through alienated cash exchanges (Douglas and Isherwood 1996, p. 38; Foster 2008, p. 11; Miller 1995). This rise of consumer culture can be understood to match to the kind of "consumerism" Prestholdt (2008) has argued was increasingly important in Zanzibar, particularly urban Zanzibar, through the nineteenth-century. Within historical archaeology, interpretation of assemblages from periods in which the consumption of commodities

was increasing has been dominated by a straightforward cost-value index approach, in which the amount and expense of goods within an assemblage was assumed to allow for comparative analysis of the level of wealth of a household represented (e.g., Brooks and Connah 2007; Henry 1991; Miller 1980).[11] Processes of commodification were certainly taking place within nineteenth-century Zanzibar, fueled by the capitalism of caravan trading and plantations (Prestholdt 2004). Owning imported goods in nineteenth-century East Africa could indeed function as symbolic markers of wealth, particularly when these were symbolic of elite coastal identities (Glassman 1995, p. 50; New 1875, p. 416). In the home of a wealthy urban Zanzibari household, a reception room by the mid-nineteenth-century might include what Prestholdt (2008, p. 96) describes as a "creolized assortment of consumer goods," this might include objects such as Persian rugs; tables and chairs from America, India, and Europe; French mirrors; American and European clocks; and Asian and European porcelain. The types of large niche that were typical of Omani architecture, such as were found in small numbers on the interior walls of Mgoli (see discussion in Chap. 5), would likely have been used to hold some of the smaller commodities, placing them on display for those allowed inside these different rooms.

From the growth of imported ceramics at sites over time (see also Pawlowicz 2009 for comparable data from survey on the southern Tanzanian coast), it is possible to conclude that an intensification of commodification was occurring on nineteenth-century Zanzibar; increasingly, mass-produced goods and other products could be bought for cash, and these we might expect would be understood to be symbolic of the wealth and/or status, the two clearly being connected, of a household. But the mass-produced ceramic data does not seem to straightforwardly conform to this general pattern, because sherds had such a wide distribution across different plantation sites. To interpret this pattern, we must delve a little deeper into the evidence surrounding processes of commodification on Zanzibar. Oral histories provided insights into how we might begin to see the particular form of consumer culture as it existed on nineteenth-century Zanzibar. Some interviewees said that imported ceramics were used every day, particularly the smaller plates and teacups, although the households with the smallest available cash resources may have kept imported ceramics solely for use on special occasions. Comments

[11] Debates within historical archaeology are now moving beyond a straightforward equation of the cost of goods and the status of a household, including some of those cited previously. Many of the more recent debates within historical archaeology about the nature of consumer goods within households stem from the work of Mullins (1999; 2004; see also Cook et al. 1996). Studies have shown that households may buy goods that exceed expectations based on their income, particularly when these are readily available in urban situations (Brighton 2001). However, underlying all of these discussions is a general assumption that the consumption of commodities is based upon consumers acquiring goods in an attempt to present symbolic messages—most often relating to class or economic status—to their immediate neighbors and acquaintances. The end result may be more nuanced than a direct correlation between economic wherewithal of a household and their material possessions, but where differences occur, these are most usually in the form of poorer households attempting to apportion larger amounts of their income to consumer goods in order to present the façade of a higher status than might otherwise be accorded by their social standing and economic means.

in these interviews led to the conjecture that in the past, everyday use of imported ceramics depended very much upon the economic status of households, and that if somebody could afford to buy imported goods then there were no impediments to buying them, whether they be a rich plantation owner or an ex-slave. Commenting on imported ceramic use during their childhood one interviewee, who remembered imported ceramics "all having very nice flowers," said that these wares were used every day by her family in the past, but did note that some people had "extra" dishes that they kept only for guests. An elderly man said that in his household, only local ceramics had been used every day, although adding that the "strength [of imported ceramics] and the kinds of decorations on them depended on your money," suggesting that finances were the only impediment to using items such as European-made teacups for use in daily dining. Another added that "owning ceramics depended on money, anyone who had money could buy them" and another that the use of imported ceramics "was just a matter of having money to buy them. After the clove harvest some people kept money to buy cups and other ceramics" (Croucher 2006, pp. 515–516, 520, 528). This latter comment suggested that in the early twentieth century, as clove harvesting became restructured into wage labor, ceramics were one of the important investments made with cash wages.

In contrast to this daily use, larger plates and platters and certain cups might be kept only for use at special occasions, particularly weddings, even in richer households where these goods could most easily be replaced in the case of breakage. The same interviewee who commented that as he was growing up had only local ceramics in his household said that they had owned "big serving plates" used for guests, when village families—as many as 10–15 gathering at once—would eat together during Ramadan, and that would always be bought out for the use of visitors to their home. He added that when families had special dishes such as these, sometimes they would wrap them in *kangas* (a local printed cloth worn by women) and hide them under the bed when they were not in use.

This restricted use was significant as festivals and celebrations were important occasions for the negotiation of identities via demonstrating full participation in coastal Islamic cultural norms. Special "Zanzibari" foods, consisting of large plates of biryani or pilau—made from the "luxury grain" rice (Cooper 1977, p. 64)—were always served to guests at a wedding. Large platters for serving guests were reserved "just for rice, pilau or biryani." Pilau was eaten by another interviewee in the past only "during wedding days, or when somebody rich had died." Cementing the correct foods to be served was the manner in which these foods were to be served, on imported ceramic dishes. It is in these moments requiring particular conventions of etiquette that the widespread distribution of imported ceramics may begin to make sense. For if dishes, platters, or even teacups were needed in order to maintain the requirements of entertaining guests, neighbors would customarily assist those in need. One interviewee told us that "if any cup had lost its handle then they [her family and neighbors in the past] would never give it to guests. They would rather borrow another cup from a neighbor." Further comments stressed this point, with one woman saying that "local families couldn't afford ceramics so they would just borrow them from neighbors for special occasions," although they would only use

local ceramics on a daily basis. She continued to say that "for a wedding, neighbors would come and borrow extra plates from you" (Croucher 2006, pp. 514–515, 523, 527). So although those who could afford it might buy extra plates in preparation for a wedding and invest in ceramics for daily use, if this was not financially possible, extra dishes could be borrowed from neighbors for the use of serving guests. Such loans might also occur to the poorest households if they had guests for other meals and required imported dishes or teacups to serve their visitors.

Understandings of neighborliness as discussed in the last chapter were a crucial part of Zanzibari society (Myers 1994, p. 204), and were cemented through the reciprocal obligations of lending goods to those in need. This is evidenced by the widespread distribution of imported European mass-produced ceramic sherds, since these show no differentiation between sites according to the economic means of the inhabitants. These social norms of reciprocity, which could in part have worked to cement social unity and community cohesion (Sahlins 1972, p. 188), would also have served to highlight wealth disparities and unequal relations. Poorer neighbors were indebted to those richer via the loan of goods, and it could be conjectured further that this may have been deepened in some cases if those borrowing expensive imported ceramics broke or damaged goods which were only temporarily in their possession.

Such relations can be understood through shifting our focus on exchange from envisaging capitalist societies, such as nineteenth-century Zanzibar, as being engaged only in commodity exchanges. Economic anthropologists have looked at the range of transactions that occur as objects move from one person or group to another. Even within the U.S. where we might assume that society is very deeply immersed in commodity culture, the lines between gift and commodity can be blurry (Herrman 1997; Thomas 1991). The movement of mass-produced ceramics through non-commodified loans into relations which helped to build up social networks of Zanzibar while these goods were still recognized as being at a state of readiness for commodity candidacy (Appadurai 1986, p. 13) is no unusual thing. Within anthropology, it is now almost axiomatic to place the social understandings of gifts and commodities on a sliding scale of meanings, rather than as two contrasting forms of exchange that never exist within the same cultural system. In an examination of mass-produced ceramic use on nineteenth-century Zanzibar, we see a particular iteration along this scale. This is perhaps linked to African systems of valuation where worth may be placed in social relations as a form of wealth, rather than wealth simply inhering in amassing wealth in cash or particular objects (Graeber 2001; Guyer 1993; Guyer and Belinga 1995; Piot 1999). This system of valuation may have related to networks of patronage and clientage on Zanzibar, which were also intertwined with the social positions of enslaved workers (Cooper 1977; Glassman 1995). Thus, the distribution of commodities through purchase would largely have served to demonstrate wealth and status differences, even as the actual ability to be able to *use* commodities may not have depended on monetary wealth. Buying and owning mass-produced commodities was a means of easily displaying status through the regular use of imported ceramics at mealtimes, and through setting up obligations from those who became socially indebted through their need to borrow

an object. Commodities were commodities, in that they were bought for cash and had limited availability dependent on economic means. But commodities could also be temporary gifts and had gift candidacy (to borrow Appadurai's (1986) phrase on commodities) understood as such not for their cash value, but through their place in social obligations and networks.

The Purchase of Goods on Zanzibar

To this point, the role of mass-produced ceramics appears to have reflected and reinforced social bonds between groups of plantation residents, bridging between plantation owners, enslaved laborers, and others living upon plantation sites. As has been argued above, this system of exchange managed to create a sense of shared identity through reciprocity, while also still emphasizing economic difference and ties of dependency. If plantation owners were expected to lend to enslaved laborers as seems to be evidenced via sherd distributions across sites, this would suggest one arena in which notions of enslavement as clientage was in operation (Cooper 1977). All those on plantations shared in a common cultural understanding that these dishes, platters, and teacups should be used at particular social occasions. But nineteenth-century Zanzibari residents did not have a singular homogenous identity. Outside of clove plantation society—which largely consisted of plantation owners, enslaved workers, and those who had formerly been enslaved, along with some indigenous Swahili involved in owning or working on plantations (and it should be noted the lines between these groups were not always clear)—were groups who were recognized as having identities which were distinctly *not* Zanzibari. These people, it may be expected, would not have participated in the same reciprocal relations outlined above. Exchange was, however, a crucial part in the mediation of these identities. From both formal interviews and informal conversations, it became clear than when most Zanzibaris spoke of "traders" in the past, the term implied an Indian ethnic identity. One person remembered that in the past (during the rule of the penultimate sultan of Zanzibar, thus definitely predating 1963) "in Wete, Chake, Mtambile, and Mkoani [the largest towns on Pemba] there was a lot of Indian traders with big shops." Mass-produced ceramics were said to have been imported by and purchased from Indian shopkeepers in multiple formal interviews. Several also commented on the different eating habits of Indians, which they had largely heard about by rumor. For instance, one commented she "had heard that with Indians everyone [when eating] had their own plate," although she had never seen this in person. By contrast, she continued, "Arabs ate like other Pembans, all from the same dish." Foodstuffs of Indians, in contrast to other Zanzibaris/Pembans/Arabs (labeled by ethnonym as such in interviews), were also rumored to be different, with one person having heard that "Indians mixed rice with peas, green beans, or lentils," but there "was no difference between the ways Arabs and Pembans ate" (Croucher 2006, pp. 408, 517, 523).

Indian immigrants were widespread around the region at this time, and were deeply involved in Indian Ocean capitalism (Bose 2006, p. 78). Within nineteenth-century Zanzibar, Indian immigrants mostly resided in urban areas (Clark and Horton 1985, p. 20; Sheriff 1995). Although they lived in close proximity and shared regular social interaction with other Zanzibari residents, a sense of Indian identity developed which in the ethnic politics of the islands was clearly differentiated from many other social groups on Zanzibar. Indians were commonly viewed to be rich (an image for which they suffered in the 1964 revolution), and as the nineteenth-century progressed, they increasingly had financial stakes in plantations via their providing of mortgages (Sheriff 1987, pp. 106, 204). Thus, they were perceived as being a community apart, not only in some of their social practices but through their relationship to capital and their seemingly heavier involvement in trading.

Their sale of goods to plantation residents, even though this was often on a small scale, seems to have heightened the perception of ethnic difference between "Zanzibaris"—a category consisting of the plantation owners, their children, slaves, and free workers involved on plantations—and Indians. Few Indians resident on Zanzibar were Muslims, and it has been argued that Indians often also built with slightly different house forms than their Arab and Swahili neighbors (Sheriff 1995, pp. 19, 21); these public differences would have been added in to those identified at a level of daily practice in eating habits. It is in the act of exchange, however, that we see this difference expressed at an interpersonal level, through which subjects were able to articulate their distinctions from one another. Even in capitalist society, we can still follow the argument that "exchange relations seem to be the substance of social life" since the "evaluations of entities, people, groups, and relationships" are still emerging at the moment of a cash transaction (Thomas 1991, p. 7). We tend not to think of exchange as the most important moment of analysis when thinking about capitalism. But the act of shopping for commodified goods is socially important in societies where commodity exchanges take place. As Appadurai (1986, p. 14) pointed out in his seminal work on commodity analysis, it is in the act of exchange itself that commodities are truly commodities as they are recognized for their role in an alienated cash transaction. Even where subjects are fully immersed within a context of consumer culture having the opportunity to participate in commodity exchanges may be restricted by discriminatory practices, thus turning the act of commodity exchange into a charged social moment (Chin 2001; Mullins 1999).

The perception of Indians as controlling the monetary economy of Zanzibar through trade and mortgages may also have been an aspect which created some tension between Indians and other Zanzibaris. The purchase of mass-produced imports from a distinct social group may have stood in stark contrast for plantation residents to those exchange relations shared with their closer neighbors with whom they may have had reciprocal exchange of dishes—even if this heightened recognition of social hierarchies—and in other exchanges such as small-scale purchase or gifts of locally made ceramics. Commodity exchanges went beyond mass-produced ceramics; gold, silver, and beaded jewelry were also most commonly purchased from strangers in town, generally alluded to be Indians or *not* regular Zanzibaris. Because of the way in which Indian traders stood outside of the regular life of plantations,

identified as "other," we can imagine them as "strangers" to plantation residents (Thomas 1991, p. 22). While they might not have been unknown to plantation residents, they were not involved in the intimate social relations that produced shared community cohesiveness. Presenting cash to buy a mass-produced commodity may therefore have been a significant moment in dis-identification between plantation residents and traders, and simultaneously, a moment in which broadly shared identification through non-commodity exchange was heightened between plantation residents, cementing some of the ideas of a new kind of common Zanzibari identity from which Indian immigrants were excluded.

Global Capitalist Relations

> The managers who facilitate this process can tell us: To produce a commodity is the work of the translator, the diplomat, and the power-crazed magician. (Tsing 2005, p. 52)

Tsing's words, above, remind us that commodity production is no straightforward process. Production is a vital part in understanding the complexities of commodity chains. It does not operate in isolation, but must be attuned to the desires and needs of consumer. Mass-produced ceramics were increasingly adopted for use in daily practices for Zanzibaris over time, as their ubiquitous use today also demonstrates. But there is nothing inevitable about the adoption of particular commodities. Increasing numbers of studies show the complexities of the subtle cultural choices that underlie the manner in which commodities come to be used widely, selectively, or rejected within specific contexts (for African examples, Burke 1996a, b; Hansen 2000; Holtzman 2003; Richard 2010; Stahl 2002; Thornton 1998, p. 52). There is no pattern that can predict the desirability of particular commodities, nor whether they will be adopted in commodity form, "domesticated" into particular local uses, or modified into alternative spheres of exchange (Prestholdt 2008; Thomas 1991). Studying the manner in which commodities come to be part of consumer wants, and the shifts in manufacture which attempted to improve the desirability of mass-manufactured goods, provides an analytical tool for studying the relationships between those who became linked on a global scale by new relations of capitalism. It also provides a route for examining the effects of the extension of capitalist trade on the metropole itself. For we know that the hegemony of Euro-American culture is not a simple one-way street—time and time again, it has been shown just how much "the rest" have impacted on the very creation of "the West" (Carrier 1992; Clifford 1997; Marcus 1995). Recent studies have begun to highlight the multidirectional flow of cultural information via commodity use in colonial periods, challenging assumptions about the hegemony of European desires in the globalization of commodities (Norton 2006, 2008).

As previously discussed, mass-produced ceramics recovered archaeologically on Zanzibar are significantly different from those of Europe, America, or European colonies such as South Africa and Australia. The large spongeware bowl forms so common to nineteenth-century Zanzibar are not, however, a total anomaly; they

have been recovered by archaeologists and collectors in a number of other regions. Ceramics of this design and style have been found in Namibia (Kinahan 2000) and by collectors from India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Burma (Myanmar), and Indonesia (Kelly 1994, 1999a, b), as well as exhibiting design similarities with some of the wares which are found in South African contexts (Klose and Malan 2000; Malan and Klose 2003). Although the stylistic canon of cut-sponge printing to produce brightly colored designs was first used on earthenwares in the early nineteenth-century to manufacture cheap goods for local European and US markets, later in the nineteenth-century, the technique, along with the painting of bright bands and flowers, spread to the production of specific wares manufactured for the Asian market. These were made by several potteries in Britain and the Netherlands such as Petrus Regout (later Sphinx) and Société Céramique in Maastricht (Cruickshank 1982; Kelly 1999a, pp. 182–183). Large bowls with maker's marks from these factories can easily be found in the curio shops of Zanzibar Stone Town today.

The acceptance, or not, of mass-produced wares from Europe was likely predicated on preexisting patterns of taste in the new markets to which they were taken (Schneider 1987, p. 441; Stahl 2002, p. 841). The local cuisine of Zanzibar, where rice- and sauce-based dishes were eaten in a fairly communal style[12] helped shape which ceramics were desirable in local markets. On Zanzibar the kinds of individual place settings found in most historical archaeological contexts would have been unsuitable for existing practices. The consumption patterns on Zanzibar, while representing local styles of cuisine, were also tied to wider Indian Ocean consumption patterns of rice-based dishes. These loosely shared practices of cuisine within Asia and the Indian Ocean region fed back to the potteries of Scotland and the Netherlands. This resulted in the manufacture of wares in designs and styles thought likely to be acceptable to Asian and Indian Ocean markets (Kelly 2006). At these sites of production, it could be argued that potters may have developed ideas about their difference to those far away consumers of the ceramics they produced. Whereas on Zanzibar difference may have been articulated at an interpersonal level via commodities, between Europe and the Indian Ocean world differences may have been partly understood through the lens of material culture. The variance in shape and design to the ceramics used within their own homes, and the sometimes foreign scripts used in the manufacture of maker's marks for some export wares (Fig. 6.2) may have been a lens through which pottery workers could imagine their European cultural homogeneity vis-à-vis far-off populations in Africa and Asia. Their sense of difference that these factory workers understood with far distant populations may not have been one in which they were aware of actual cultural practices, but the real material linkage between consumers on Zanzibar, pastoralists living in the Khusib Delta area, Namibia (Kinahan 2000, pp. 74–75), and others throughout the Indian Ocean region (Kelly 2006) produced a linkage between communities whom, unbeknownst to one another, participated in broadly shared practices of taste in the selection of their brightly decorated dishes.

[12] Such practices are widespread. A contemporary nineteenth-century description of the mealtimes of the elite is provided in *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess* (Reute 1998 [1886]). Details were also provided in oral historical interviews.

Meanings of Exchange

Zanzibar presents us with a nuanced economic picture. On the one hand, we see the commoditization of the economy. Buying goods for cash was an increasingly important part of life for Zanzibaris at a range of social scales. With jewelry and with ceramics, Zanzibaris were acutely aware of the cost of objects and the fact that their purchase often signaled a particular kind of social status. We can understand this shift in relation to Prestholdt's argument about the rise of consumerism on Zanzibar during the nineteenth-century. He suggests that through the course of the century, diverse commodities increasingly became an "important means of communication in the public realm," with social relations ever more dependent on these items (Prestholdt 2008, p. 93). But this was concomitant with consumption practices which were not those of simply buying and consuming goods. Circulation of commodities was more complex. We can pick this up in a description by Glassman of elites in Pangani:

> Unlike in the merchant houses of Hamburg, Bombay, or even Zanzibar, the accumulation of wealth from the caravan trade was not an important aim in itself; many of the most powerful and prestigious of the Shirazi *majumbe* were hopelessly in debt, and their arduous safaris rarely resulted in monetary profit for anyone save the Indian financiers who stayed at home…. Commercial wealth was valued because it could be given away and thus be translated into influence and clientele. (1995, p. 24)

Pangani was geographically close to Zanzibar, and had a similar system of plantations with elite men operating in a social structure of paternalism. Prestholdt (2008) has argued that consumerism—the transmission of social meanings through commodities—became increasingly important throughout the nineteenth-century. His study is based largely on urban Zanzibar, but in Pangani, Glassman (1995, p. 25) suggests that perhaps the swing toward consumerism was not so sharp. Here, while the acquisition of commodities increasingly became an aim in itself, the process "was still in its earliest phase, the spread of commodities was highly uneven" and the "supremacy of the marketplace" held little meaning for the majority of men and women struggling for social rights in Pangani.

Here then seem to be two different socioeconomic systems. While consuming imported goods in various ways, such as by their display in homes, on mosques, and on tombs, had been part of the Swahili cultural repertoire for centuries, the scale of consumption seems to have changed markedly during the nineteenth-century. In an urban cosmopolitan center, this might take the forms observed by Prestholdt, but archaeologically, we find that consumption was shared between more locales, and not necessarily so sharply differentiated by wealth. Plantation areas, despite the fact that they were producing for global capitalist networks of exchange, perhaps displayed trends toward consumerism in a more diffuse manner. We could argue that this is an extension of client–patron relations that were at the heart of slavery; this argument has been central to understanding exchange and political economy within anthropological studies of Africa. But the emphasis on "wealth-in-people" ignores the fact that goods were also being sold, and that Africans were often only a part of complex relations of investment and exchange (Guyer 2004, p. 10). The meaning of commodities such as jewelry and ceramics appears to have changed as they moved

through different spheres of exchange. The meanings of these are very different to the types of economic transactions Guyer discusses in West Africa. However, her arguments help to frame the way in which an emphasis on wealth-in-people could coexist alongside the growing importance of consumerism.

When reflecting on the varied histories of mass-produced ceramics on Zanzibari plantations, the cultural fluidity of the adoption of capitalism becomes apparent. This is not simply a case study of a one-way economic relationship between a European colonial power and a colonized culture increasingly bowing to pressure to purchase commodities from their oppressors. By taking over markets for imported ceramics—and indeed expanding these markets—we do see the British and Dutch enacting their economic might as European colonial powers usurping the previous networks of ceramic sales that had crisscrossed the Indian Ocean (Fleisher 2010). But to take these over was a complex process, and embedded many within the ecumene of the commodity. This network of producers, exporters and importers, merchants, and consumers was a multidirectional web of cultural communication. Ideas about identities were, in part, created through actions seen and unseen of producers, sellers, buyers, and users. In all of these cases, the commodity candidacy of the mass-produced wares was never in doubt. Yet concomitantly this network also passed into an almost gift-like aspect of economics on Zanzibar, where reciprocal relations between people were also passed through the sharing of bowls, platters, and teacups at moments when correct cultural practice required.

The cultural exchanges which traversed the commodity chain are perhaps as important to note as the economic relations, and it is in these that we see the particularities of the manner in which understandings of capitalism on Zanzibar were shaped by the particular cultural context of the island, and the way in which the practices of Zanzibaris were also integral to the shaping of the wider capitalist world. There are many ways in which we could frame this complexity. One term is Tsing's (2005) idea of "frictions"; Thomas' (1991) use of the word "entanglement" also works well within the Zanzibari context, providing an explanatory frame for the multiple directions of communication that passed through various persons and cultural groups via commodities. Entanglement perhaps stops short of the depth of these relations, however. As Piot (1999) notes for the Kabre in Togo, it is in part the very relationship of capitalism and colonialism to cultures that has produced what may at first seem to be practices antithetical to capitalism, particularly within exchange relations. Seeing a "friction" between the requirements of enslavement and the need for client/patron relations to establish high social standing for nineteenth-century Zanzibaris, against the dominant capitalist mode of production and the purchase of increasing amounts of mass-produced goods, it is possible to speculate that perhaps the relations of reciprocity in some publicly used commoditized goods was a novel social practice. This may have been entirely created in the nexus of these two different cultural systems. Central to these relationships was the place of particular foodstuffs within Zanzibari consumption. How, then, were vessels that were used to cook these foods figured into social relations and how did they, too, play a role in the formation of new identities on plantations? These are the questions I turn to in the next chapter, as we move from global trade to local production through the lens of ceramics.

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Chapter 7
Pemban People: Local Ceramics and Changing Identities

Unlike other areas of material culture and landscape discussed in this book, such as imported commodities and stone houses, locally produced ceramics garner no discussion from historians studying nineteenth-century Eastern Africa. These ceramics gain little discussion in documents from the time, which were of course largely written by European men, who were little inclined to write of cooking pots. However, this lack of historical discussion is set against their ubiquity in the past and in the present. Today, most Zanzibari households have at least one of these pots in their kitchen, normally coupled with a lid, for the purpose of cooking rice. Indeed, the popularity of locally produced ceramics appears to be growing due to fears about leeching from aluminum cookware. Historical scholarship of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Zanzibar largely focuses on the ways in which Zanzibaris were entwined with broader processes of modernity. Even scholars focusing on gender relations during this period (e.g., Fair 1998, 2001) do not mention locally produced ceramics.

These objects seem perhaps somewhat of an anachronism in a nineteenth-century context in which Zanzibaris were cosmopolitan and liked to global processes of capitalism. Historical studies, which so wholly ignore these artifacts, would suggest that they are of little importance in the materialities of identity in nineteenth-century Zanzibar. But as I explore in this chapter, these objects were a dominant object of production in clove plantation areas, and have remained important for female producers on into the twenty-first century. Their continued importance seems to suggest that they are actually central to understandings of gendered and ethnic identities through production, exchange, and use. Rather than being an afterthought to the way in which enslaved Africans claimed their place as Zanzibaris, I argue that local ceramics were actually central to this claim within the plantation context.

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Ceramics and Clove Plantations

The ceramics recorded from excavations at Mgoli and from the survey work were remarkably homogeneous. Even more remarkable was the fact that during the nineteenth-century, locally-produced ceramics—almost certainly made on a very small scale—were largely homogeneous in form and decoration along the Swahili coast, with significant changes inland. Locally-produced ceramics formed the bulk of artifacts overall from excavations, as discussed in the last chapter. Ceramic analysis discussed here is drawn largely from Trench C and D from the site of Mgoli.[1] In Trench C, locally produced ceramics comprised 91 percent of the total ceramic artifacts. From the slightly later contexts in Trench D, this figure was a little lower, 85 percent.

Analysis of diagnostic ceramic sherds from all contexts demonstrated that 98 percent were open bowls with rounded bases and a carination (Fig. 7.1).[2] A total of 58 sherds in lip, ledge, or handle fragments were taken to represent lids, most likely used on the rounded open bowls. Only a very tiny number of sherds were diagnostic for forms other than these two. Of the total assemblage, five sherds were recognizable as base sherds (all were flat disc bases). These comprised < 1 percent of the diagnostic sherds for form from the site ($n = 929$). Obviously, the data from Mgoli cannot be taken as a representative for all clove plantation sties. However, there are clear indications that varied ceramic forms and styles would be easily visible from survey data. In western Tanzania, where locally produced ceramics in the nineteenth-century clearly took a diversity of forms and styles, surface survey easily located varied sherds with burnished, roulette, and appliqué decorated sherds (along with a couple of incised arcs, similar to coastal styles; Wynne-Jones and Croucher 2007). The fact that surface survey and excavation in other areas of East Africa have easily identified locally produced ceramics from the nineteenth-century with various forms strongly suggests that the Mgoli data fit into a clear pattern for Zanzibari clove plantation ceramics. The Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey did not produce any evidence of variance in this pattern and, as I have discussed extensively, below,

[1] As discussed in Chap. 6, these contexts were thought to have the best analytical significance, due to their integrity and tight date ranges. Those in Trench C were dated to a fill event of the mid-nineteenth-century to late nineteenth-century, associated with the *chokaa* (lime mortar) house discussed in the last chapter. Those of Trench D related to a trash pit spanning the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Full discussion and matrix diagrams can be found in Croucher (2006, pp. 192–205). Only material from contexts which could be securely dated to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century occupation were included in this analysis.

[2] Precise numbers of vessel forms overall were difficult to quantify; however, almost without exception, the identifiable sherds from analyzed contexts in Trenches C and D, where decoration or form was visible, showed this rounded carinated type. Overall, of diagnostic sherds for form ($n = 204$), 199 (98 percent) were carinated round based vessels. Unique instances (Figures F. 27, F. 28 and F. 29, Croucher 2006, p. 467) hinted that there were other ceramic forms in use, but none of these sherds were large enough to be identified as full vessel forms. As over 10,000 ceramic sherds were analyzed from Mgoli, we can be certain that numbers of vessels which did not conform to this common round-bottomed carinated bowl form were rare, but their presence should not be wholly discounted.

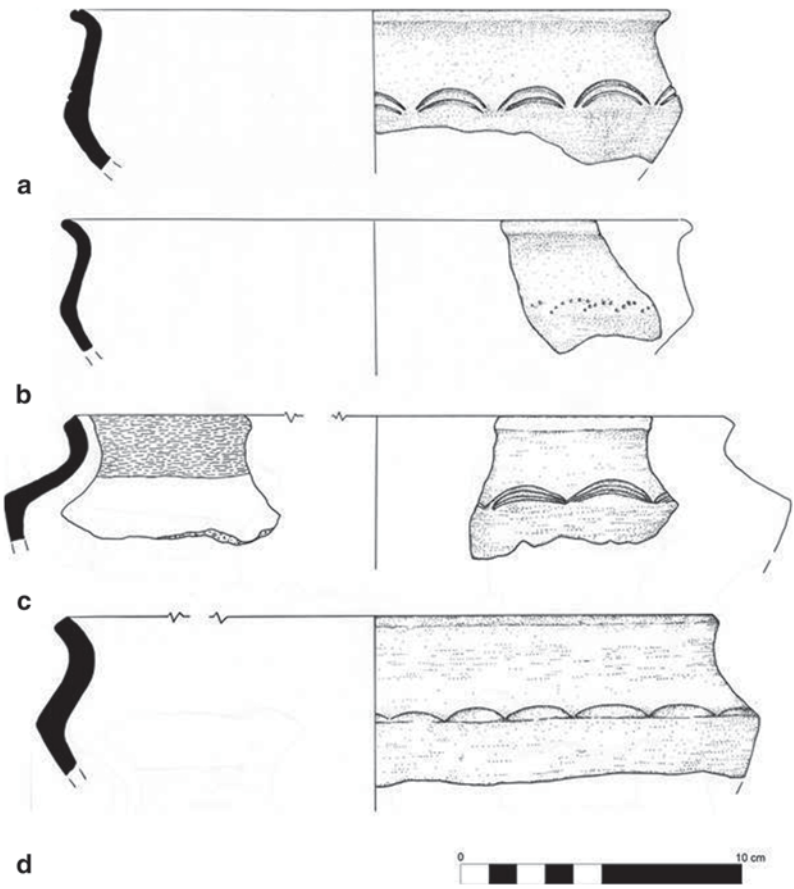

Fig. 7.1 Carinated ceramic, Mgoli

this type of carinated open-bowl form is still manufactured on Zanzibar and elsewhere on the East African coast today.

Contemporary cooking practices on Zanzibar today make understanding the likely function of these vessels fairly easy. Much cooking today utilizes aluminum pans, which gained popularity from the early twentieth century, but rice is still regularly prepared in ceramic vessels. Anecdotal evidence suggests that growing health concerns about the leeching of aluminum from metal pans is increasing the popularity of cooking rice in ceramics, along with the fact that rice cooked in this way supposedly tastes better (from my limited number of samples, it is delicious). To cook rice in such a vessel, the grain and water is placed into the dish, the lid is placed onto the vessel, and hot coals are piled onto this lid while the pot sits on a charcoal stove, slowly cooking the grain inside. The contemporary picture of ceramics on Zanzibar is therefore homogeneity, round-based carinated open bowls, and a much smaller number of lids, both known to be utilized for cooking. Although only a small

proportion of sherds from the Mgoli assemblage had visible sooting, potentially hinting that some may have been used to serve food, a point I shall return to later.

In decoration, homogeneity was also visible. A total of 18 identifiable ceramic designs, all in incised and impressed forms, were recorded from across the excavated contexts at Mgoli. Of these, only nine were represented in contexts selected for analysis. Six of these types showed some form of representation of an arc form above the carination (Fig. 7.1), whereas the three others had impressions or incisions repeated along the carination. These arcs were commonly made by the incision of single or multiple lines in a repeated pattern around the circumference of the vessel. Occasional derivations included impressed arcs, and nonarc incised and impressed decoration. From analyzed contexts in Trench C, representing mid-nineteenth-century material, out of six identifiable decorative incisions or impressions recorded, four included some form of arc decoration.[3] Sherds from analyzed contexts in Trench D, representing late nineteenth-century material showed a similar trend toward arc designs. Three out of five recognizable designs showed arc elements, with one of these variations (single arcs) found in both Trench C and D.[4]

Other elements of the open-bowl form also showed some minor variations. The rim types were as varied as decorative elements on carinations. A total of 10 different rim types were identified from a total of 150 rim sherds recorded at the site.[5] These showed variation, and while one type was most common across the site overall, this did not hold true for both units.[6] Although minor variations in these styles were visible, there seems to be no clear progression through time, but rather a suite of variations within a generally definable style. The final decorative element in locally produced ceramics came from surface treatment. Vessels were commonly burnished, with a quarter or more of sherds from each context found to have this treatment. Red paint was also found on several sherds, but this totaled < 1 percent of ceramics by count from analyzed material in Trench C and D. This paint was largely applied to the outside of the vessel, from the carination upward, sometimes running over the rim and into the interior.

[3] These four designs totaled only 12 percent of the decorated sherds from analyzed contexts in Trench C ($n=43$). However, over half of these (53 percent) had unidentifiable designs. The remainder may represent multiple sherds from the same vessel. Each of these designs had an Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) of only one, suggesting that arcs were the more common type of design.

[4] Arc designs comprised 35 percent of decoration from diagnostic sherds analyzed from Trench D ($n=40$). As with material from Trench C, unidentifiable designs formed precisely half of the decorated sherds, 50 percent in total. Also as with Trench C, the MNV for each design was 1, suggesting that arc forms also predominated in the vessels which eventually formed this assemblage.

[5] These were varied, although rounded everted rims were most common across the site. They comprised 51 percent of rim sherds ($n=150$) with no other form comprising more than 10 percent of the rim sherds by count.

[6] From analyzed contexts in Trench C, simple rounded rims were most common at 38 percent of the total rim sherds by count ($n=29$). From analyzed contexts in Trench D, rounded everted rims (30 percent) and upright flattened beaded rims (55 percent) were the two dominant forms ($n=20$). However, both samples were small and it is trickier to extrapolate any pattern from these overall.

Ceramics from Mgoli show an overall style, with almost all conforming to open carinated bowl forms or lids, these latter most likely intended to fit the bowls vessels. Decoration also broadly fits into a style, with incised or impressed elements above the carination, often taking the form of arcs. This was then occasionally supplemented with red paint, and vessels were commonly finished with burnishing. In addition to decorative variation, rim forms varied, but in ways which are only discernible when carefully breaking down stylistic elements. It would have been obvious that these vessels still fit the common ceramic pattern. However, to makers and users, these variations in rims and decorations may have provided subtle differences allowing them to choose patterns by preference, or as the result of the individual style of potters.

Regional Style

To analyze the meaning of these ceramics requires some kind of broader context beyond a single clove plantation site. Survey data from the Zanzibar Clove Plantation Survey were problematic. The majority of sherds visible on the ground surface were undiagnostic for form and decoration. Nevertheless, several sherds with variations on arc motifs seen in ceramics at Mgoli were recovered, as were others with incised designs, punctuates and red paint. These allow me to suggest, tentatively, that the trend toward arcs on open carinated bowls was a common one for ceramics across clove plantation contexts. What did differentiate the sherds recovered from survey was a higher proportion of base sherds, four in total from across 64 sites. This may imply that the almost total lack of base sherds at Mgoli is an aberration, and that perhaps vessels with bases were more common in the past.

As discussed in Chap. 2, archaeological studies in Eastern Africa tend to cut off prior to the nineteenth-century. However, this situation is changing with significant studies from Walz (2010), Marshall (2011), and Biginagwa (2012) providing detailed treatment of later historical sites. On Pemba, no other later historical archaeology has been taken so far. However, Fleisher's (2003) extensive survey of northern Pemba did record later sites and included these within his ceramic typology. This work allows for an understanding of the local ceramic forms found at Mgoli in relation to earlier periods in Pemba. On Pemba, as urban centers began to grow in size, two key changes took place. One was the use of rice as a crop and its adoption as a staple grain of the islands. This began in the eleventh century AD, from which time rice rapidly came to dominate the Pemban diet as demonstrated by the archaeobotanical record and early historical documents, such as a mention by the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Battua (Fleisher 2010, p. 205; Walshaw 2010). Changing ceramic patters accompanied this shift in diet, now understood in part to relate to the importance of feasting as a means of cementing the power of new elites in urban centers on Pemba. As discussed in Chap. 2, the earliest ceramics found here were Tana tradition, which have been associated with the indigenous roots of urbanism in the East African coast (Chami 1998). By the fourteenth century, new bowl forms were commonly used, often large and highly decorated with hematite and

graphite burnishing, a technique completely absent from nineteenth-century ceramics in Zanzibar. These had flat bases, and Fleisher has argued that the predominance of bowl forms—forming > 70 percent of ceramic assemblages in northern Pemban towns by the fifteenth century, up from just 16 percent of vessels in the eighth to tenth centuries—was related to new practices of feasting from the domestic to the public ritual level (Fleisher 2010, p. 210).

These wares are very different from those of the nineteenth-century, but Fleisher's analysis lays the groundwork for understanding a specifically Pemban culture in which locally produced ceramics, in a relationship with forms and decorations of imported ceramics, were at the heart of the production of local identity (via rice consumption) and power relations (via feasting) from as early as the first centuries of the second millennium AD. The relationship with later ceramic forms becomes difficult to trace at this point. The work focusing on feasting has a clear relationship *only* to periods up to around 1700. The hiatus of 200 years or more before a detailed level of analysis can be undertaken via clove plantation data is problematic and relates to a lack of interest in the archaeology of the recent past in the East African coast, coupled with relatively few archaeologists researching in this region. However, Fleisher's (2003) earlier survey work did produce a complete ceramic typology which ran up to later historical periods. The rounded carinated pots described above match those of Fleisher's (2003, p. 258) "Type 13," described as "simple restricted vessels." This particular form is discussed as being characteristic of local ceramics from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries on Pemba. Evidence from Mgoli and contemporary observations show that this form is actually characteristic of the sixteenth through twenty-first centuries, providing a long genealogy for the formal and decorative practices of contemporary craft producers on Zanzibar today (although the information on decoration found on sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Pemban ceramics is almost nonexistent).

Ceramic evidence also exists to understand a little of Mombasa through excavations at Fort Jesus, carried out by Kirkman (1974). Abdalla bin Jabir, the plantation owner at Mgoli, was said to have come to Pemba from Oman via Mombasa. The city was only 100 km to the north of the island, with known long-term trade links between the two. Mombasa was the entry point for serious Omani interest in the area from 1698. Similar to Zanzibar, Mombasa was deeply impacted by the political and economic shifts occurring in nineteenth-century Eastern Africa, and land near the city and in the area around nearby Malindi was also turned into grain plantations (Cooper 1977). A large volume of material was excavated from the fort in the mid-twentieth century, but the artifact analysis was very much of its time. Detailed descriptions of various types of forms and decorations are provided, but with no accompanying quantitative information, we learn only that types are "common" or "rare."

Mombasa was a hub of colonial activity for the Portuguese from the sixteenth century and Omanis from the late seventeenth century until occupation by the British. Fort Jesus was a central point for colonial powers, and residents of the Fort would have had ample access to imported goods. However, material excavated by Kirkman demonstrates that throughout the seventeenth- through nineteenth-century

residents of the Fort made ample use of local ceramics. Findings from Fort Jesus dating to the seventeenth century were similar to ceramic forms and decorative types Kirkman had encountered at the Swahili town site of Gede, located only 65 miles to the north of Mombasa. In the earliest levels at Fort Jesus, the local ceramic finds included the rare use of lamps and "horned bowls," likely used as cooking stoves. It is hard to ascertain precisely the relationship between the ceramics described for the nineteenth-century and those of earlier periods (Kirkman 1974, pp. 90–91). The increase in large carinated pots with red necks, incised ornament and appliqué wares appears to have a close formal relationship with nineteenth-century Zanzibari wares, as does the increase in rounded and shouldered cooking pots. In decoration, charts of design elements (Kirkman 1974, pp. 259–261) show definite matches with those types found on Zanzibar, as well as demonstrating a diversity of patterns not identified within the Mgoli assemblage.[7]

While parallels to all ceramics found within the relatively simple range at Mgoli can be recognized with the Fort Jesus assemblage, there are also significant divergences between the two sets of data. One is in terms of form; the vessels available at Fort Jesus seemed to have offered almost a bewildering diversity in contrast to the almost homogeneous round-based open pots and lids in use at Mgoli. "Eating bowls" in a form dating back to the late seventeenth century were in use during the nineteenth-century at Fort Jesus, as were a new form of "sturdy bowls" with flat bases and a thick bottom, and some locally made ceramic lamps. In addition to these differences in form, some of the decoration while having parallels to Mgoli in terms of its elements—particularly in the use of repeated arcs—was sometimes applied to the body of the pot in an appliqué mode of decoration, where extra clay was applied in order to make the decoration, producing almost the inverse effect to incised decoration.

This variety of forms appeared to be matched by Marshall's findings at *watoro* and Giriama sites in Kenya. Here, she found open bowls, restricted bowls and jars, and lids. The forms here showed considerably more variation than was represented at Mgoli, and seem to be closer to some of the vessel types described by Kirkman for Fort Jesus. Marshall's study also identified a brushed surface treatment and decorative elements not present in any of the Mgoli ceramics. Some of the decorative styles visible in Mgoli ceramics such as incised lines running vertically through the carination were also found by Marshall. But the types of arc decorations so common at Mgoli were absent from her material. Comparisons between Makoroboi and Koromio showed high inter-household variability in the form of ceramics, potentially "establishing earthenware production (or trade) as probably organized at the household level rather than settlement level" (Marshall 2011, p. 166). In discussions of local ceramic production and trade (below), this will become an important point for comparison. In addition to the greater diversity of form, Marshall (2011, p. 170) identified particular kinds of stylistic links between *watoro* sites and the

[7] This identification process is further complicated by the fact that Kirkman's (1974) ceramic design illustrations consist largely of a splitting of rim silhouettes and design elements, with no clear cross-reference between how one fits to the other.

local ceramics from Mgoli. Beveled rims (identified as grooved rims at Mgoli) were found only at Koromio, the *watoro* site closest to the coast, potentially acting as "a marker for closer economic or cultural connections to the coast." Marshall also found cooking lids with folded angles only at Koromio, another link with the Mgoli assemblage. Despite these connections however, what emerged from ceramic findings at all three of the Kenyan sites excavated by Marshall was a high incidence of intra-site variability. As she pointed out, this was markedly different from the type of homogeneous material patterning found on Zanzibar, and, indeed at other coastal sites (Marshall 2011, p. 195).

The heterogeneous nature of ceramics studied by Marshall is thrown into sharper contrast by findings from the Kilwa area. The town of Kilwa further south in the Tanzanian coast is now a World Heritage Site, nominated as such for the fluorescence of the town of Kilwa Kisiwani and associated Songo Mnara during the mid-second millennium AD. By the nineteenth-century, the town had changed dramatically, with wealth transferring to the growing settlement of Kilwa Kivinje. A caravan route from Lake Nyasa meant that the town was very important within the nineteenth-century economic and political relations of the coast, but this was not accompanied by an influx of new population and the transformation of the agrarian sector to the north as was the case with Zanzibar and Mombasa (Alpers 1975). Comparison discussed here came from a small number of sherds which were recovered as part of an extensive survey project in the region designed to investigate the development of urbanism in centuries prior to the later historical transformations discussed here (Wynne-Jones 2005, 2006). Although the sample of later material was small, similarities in ware types were remarkable (Fig. 7.2). Nineteenth-century Kilwa ceramics exhibit slight differences to the design types that are found on Zanzibar, such as smaller arcs, a double row of parallel arcs, the use of appliqué decoration (matching the style of Fort Jesus), and a slightly more rounded shape to the majority of carinations on the pots. Nevertheless, these vessel forms and decoration styles very clearly relate to those of Mgoli and with those at Fort Jesus (Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006, p. 119). What makes this similarity all the more remarkable is the fact that decoration types at the *watoro* sites of Koromio and Makoroboi are so different. The similarity between ceramic styles found at coastal sites (especially between material from Zanzibar, Kilwa, and—perhaps in a more limited way—Fort Jesus) is all the more extraordinary when we consider that around the eleventh to thirteenth centuries AD, local ceramic styles (such as the bowls recorded by Fleisher on Pemba and Husuni Modeled ware found at Kilwa and discussed in Chap. 2) appear to have diverged. Just as towns along the East African coast began to assert a more clearly "Arab" origin, locally produced ceramics appear to have shifted toward a generally more homogeneous range of forms.

Moving inland, during the nineteenth-century, locally produced ceramics were quite different in their form and decoration than those of the coast. The majority of comparative material comes from sites which were very closely connected to Zanzibar through caravan trading routes, and yet a sharp divide seems to exist between coast and inland areas. Kwa Fungo was a small settlement that served as a caravan halt during the late nineteenth-century, located near the Mrusa River, close

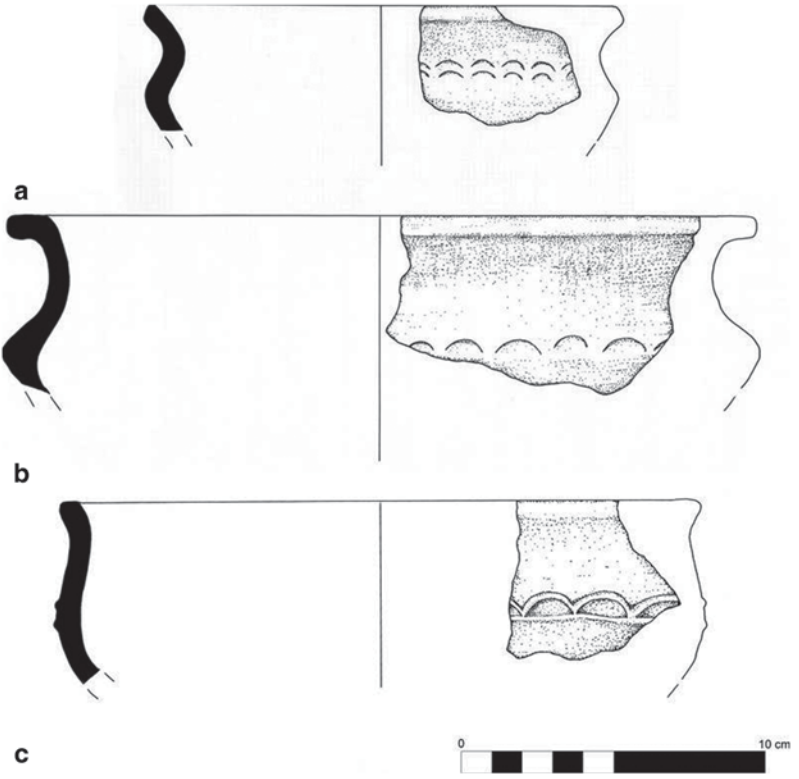

Fig. 7.2 Nineteenth-century ceramics from the Kilwa region, drawn by S. Wynne-Jones

to Mount Tongwe in northeastern Tanzania. It was founded in the late 1860s by a Zigua man named Fungo (the name of the site literally means "Fungo's Place"), and by the late 1880s it was described as having around 30 huts (Lane, personal comment 2005). As discussed in Chap. 2, the caravan routes of the nineteenth-century were areas along which many porters and slaves travelled, providing interactions between both coastal and inland groups. Local leaders on these caravan routes drew on aspects of Arab identities in order to create themselves as powerful figures in the regional context of nineteenth-century East Africa (Glassman 1995). Archaeological research was carried out at the site over two fieldwork seasons in 1991 (Lane 1991, 1992). Survey was carried out over the settlement area, including subsurface testing with shovel test pits, as well as some small-scale excavations. Analysis of local ceramics from this site provides an interesting comparison with which it is possible to assess how ceramic traditions at Mgoli and along the East African coast were connected to those inland.

Of the total locally produced ceramics recorded from the site, 80 percent were undiagnostic. From the remaining 19 percent, only 2 percent were carinated bowls—the dominant ceramic form at Mgoli and across the coastal region during

the nineteenth-century. A comparably small proportion, 2 percent were spherical bowls, a form which may be represented at Mgoli, although the sherds representing these are fragmentary, and the presence of spherical bowls on nineteenth-century Zanzibar needs confirming by further excavations. These may be similar to the restricted bowls found by Marshall on Kenyan *watoro* and Girama sites (Marshall 2011). The remaining 15 percent of Kwa Fungo ceramics are forms which have not been recorded at nineteenth-century coastal sites. Rather than the carinated cooking pots that dominate the Mgoli assemblage, forms at Kwa Fungo include flared neck pots (the most common form, 9 percent overall by sherd count); open bowls (5 percent); and shallow bowls, plates, and platters (1 percent). The decorative forms found in Kwa Fungo ceramics also differ from those of coastal ceramics, with no arc motifs visible. Graphite burnishing, a finish unknown in any nineteenth-century coastal ceramics, was present in 3 percent of the Kwa Fungo sherds. Although there are a very small number of carinated bowls and pots found at Kwa Fungo, the vast majority of material from this inland site is very different from that of contemporary clove plantation sites and that from the southern Tanzanian coast in the Kilwa region. The forms of these ceramics suggest that while some forms of material culture from the coast, such as house forms and styles of dress, were being adopted at sites along caravan routes, localized production practices continued to differ between coastal and inland regions. This also suggests that the practices such as food preparation, storage, and consumption surrounding these local ceramics would also have differed between coastal and inland areas, as these uses would have impacted on the forms of the vessels.

Our understandings of later historical patterns of materiality inland have been greatly expanded by the work of Thomas Biginagwa (2009) at a series of sites associated with the caravan trade in northeastern Tanzania. This research has been conducted in conjunction with a larger project investigating historical ecologies of landscape related to the nineteenth-century ivory trade in the region (Lane 2010). Ceramic analysis of the sites is not yet complete, but data available thus far provide another glimpse into the sharp differences found in local ceramic practices away from the coast. These sites were part of "a chain of Zigua-abandoned villages" along the Pangani River which date from the seventeenth to mid-twentieth century, and demonstrate that these Zigua communities were active participants in long-distance trade during this period (Biginagwa 2009, p. 58). No ceramics matching coastal styles have been recovered thus far (Biginagwa, personal comment 2011), but material of the "Usambara Mountains pottery group D" style, characterized by open pots, decorated mostly with "raised 'pimples' and patterns of dots," along with graphite-coated and comb-stamped open-bowl forms were recovered from the sites (Biginagwa 2009, p. 54).[8] These sites were only 90 km from the Indian Ocean, and

[8] Comparisons between the sites investigated by Biginagwa and the material from Kwa Fungo might be expected to be close. They are located nearby, but current analysis makes it difficult to ascertain ceramic similarities. Although the "raised 'pimples' and patterns of dots" do not appear on the Kwa Fungo assemblage, the graphite burnishing is definitely present. This latter technique, according to Kirkman, was present in the nineteenth-century Fort Jesus assemblage, and has definite antecedents on Pemba (Fleisher 2010). Despite this earlier and widespread regional use, graphite

trade evidence from beads, discussed in the previous chapter, shows close connections with the coast. As with Kwa Fungo, the differences in ceramic assemblage in comparison to the nearby, and well-known, coast are startling. Clearly, there is something of a break in practices of ceramic production—and we might presume cuisines and eating habits—between the coast and inland areas, despite the numbers of travelers from the coast moving up and down these caravan routes.

The final set of ceramic comparisons comes from further inland, drawn from surface survey and excavation at two towns which formed only as a result of the caravan trade. Both were sites which became population centers for the purpose of trade and respite on the long trails. Survey work at the two sites (Wynne-Jones and Croucher 2007) and excavations at Ujiji in 2009 demonstrate that the styles of wares found here are markedly different from those of the coast—yet these were towns located in regions that were major centers for the nineteenth-century slave trade.

Analysis is ongoing, but roulette decorations predominate in the assemblage. This is a classic form of ceramic decoration across much of sub-Saharan Africa (Haour et al. 2010), but not a single sherd of roulette decorated ware has thus far been documented in Zanzibar or in any other coastal region. The striking findings of the excavated assemblage at Ujiji is the diversity of decoration, a sharp contrast to the very limited range of styles being applied to the sherds found at Mgoli. Two types of roulette are present: cord wrapped and knotted strip (this latter type being typical of the mid- to late-second millennium AD—the late iron age—in the interlacustrine region of East-Central Africa (Haour 2010, p. 178).[9] Along with diversity in decoration type, ware type is also diverse here, in contrast to an almost entirely homogeneous local ware found at Mgoli. The knotted strip roulette and appliqué decorated sherds shown in Fig. 7.3 clearly came from distinct clay sources, showing that the practices surrounding ceramic production *and* the movement of ceramics (whether by trade or other means) were very different at these Omani caravan halt towns than was the case at the Omani plantation of Mgoli.

This leads us to a problem that I have been grappling with now for several years (Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006). This involves a paradox: that the style of coastal ceramics appeared to be homogeneous, but the populations of these areas were radically heterogeneous, as discussed in Chap. 2. Recent material from Marshall's research in Kenya further complicates this picture, as *watoro* clearly did not simply purchase or manufacture ceramics in the same way as the communities they had been taken from, coastal communities, or sites located along caravan trade routes. But at Mgoli, unlike these *watoro* sites, locally produced ceramics were broadly homogeneous in the overarching types being utilized. In the face of massive social change, local ceramics were most stable material forms through time, even as

burnishing was wholly absent from all materials recovered from survey and excavation across the islands of Zanzibar.

[9] At least nine types of decorative style (including these two roulette forms) have been identified in Tabora and Ujiji. These include appliqué decoration with incised triangles, incised herringbone design, incised banded lines, fine incised lines, combed incised lines, possible carved roulette, and some instances of the incised arc form so common on the coast. Much larger vessels than are found on nineteenth-century coastal contexts, including jars, are also found at these inland locales.

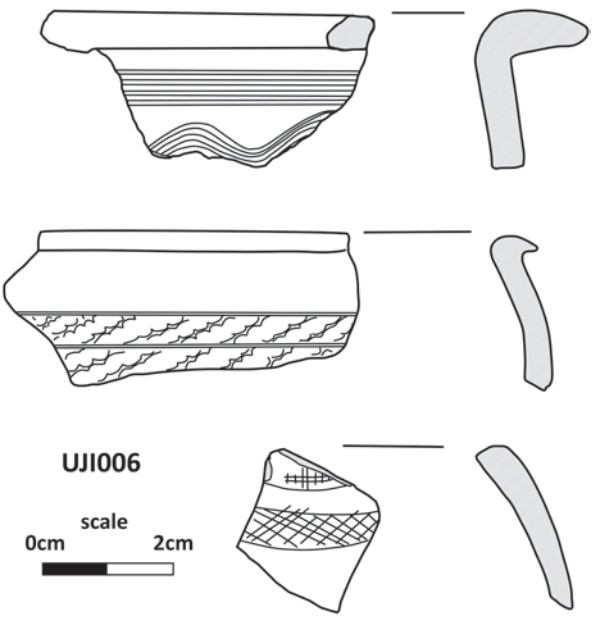

Fig. 7.3 Ceramics from Ujiji. Drawing by S. Wynne-Jones

plantations were settled in new areas and large numbers of enslaved Africans moved in alongside Omani plantation owners. The ceramic styles used in different areas did not match up to ethnic boundaries on the coast, although inland at sites such as Kwa Fungo there were clear trends toward ceramic styles that appear to be differentiated by geographical locale. More difficult to explain was the homogeneity of Zanzibari ceramics. Open carinated bowls were used right across the islands. While there were clearly variations in rims and decoration, these were remarkably stable through time and space. How could it be that so many immigrants and changing social relations allowed for such stability of local production?

Contemporary Production

On the outskirts of the city of Zanzibar in a neighborhood called Kiembe Samaki, ceramics are produced intensely, with women making large quantities of cooking pots, lids, and incense burners, and men producing ceramic cooking stoves, these latter being a new innovation in the islands. Air in the neighborhood is sometimes thick with the smoke of multiple open fires being used to fire pots, mostly tended by women. Orders to women in Kiembe Samaki are called in by cell phone from shopkeepers across the island who regularly buy quite a few vessels at once. Women also come to purchase pots for their daughters' weddings. A typical set for a wedding would be two cooking pots, two lids, and two incense burners. One 40-year-old potter told me about the nature of her work, which she had been taught as a young

Fig. 7.4 Ceramic production on Pemba

woman by her grandmother.[10] She had been taught to make pots in a few different forms: *kikaango,* a vessel normally used to cook curry and *chungu,* larger forms of which were used for cooking rice, with smaller versions used to cook vegetables. She left vessels undecorated, but her grandmother had decorated lids by notching around the raised edge. She told us that some of the other potters in her neighborhood also decorated their wares. This particular woman had always worked as a potter, and even in the past, when there were fewer orders, the trade had provided enough for both her and her grandmother to live on.

This was not the only area in which pots were made, although Kiembe Samaki today is a site of intense production. The potter I spoke with in 2011 knew of at least two more areas in which potting took place. A woman in her sixties who lived in the Kikwajuni neighborhood of Zanzibar had discussed with us the origin of pots she had used to buy in the market. She knew that these sometimes came from Kiembe Samaki, but she was also aware of potters who bought their wares in from the countryside to sell in town. This woman was interesting as she had also lived on Pemba for a time and had moved back to Zanzibar. She had bought and used cooking pots on both islands and was certain that there were no differences between each area.

This manner of production was not limited to Zanzibar. On Pemba, I interviewed a potter called Fatuma Mohammed, who was the head of a relatively large operation (Fig. 7.4). She had been taught to make pottery by her grandmother, as had been the case with the potter in Kiembe Samaki. In the 1990s, with government encouragement for women's cooperatives, Fatuma Mohammed began to expand her business. This began with just two other women from the village, as demand was relatively low and they continued to make the styles her grandmother had taught her. These were the same types of cooking pots as were manufactured on Zanzibar. In the early stage of their business, the women earned only a little from producing ceramics,

[10] Interviews were carried out in 2011 as part of an interview project in urban Zanzibar.

but now Fatuma Mohammed and the other women living in her village dominate the Pemban market for local ceramics through the work of their cooperative. This growth in business means that they now produce the common carinated bowls and lids every day. The carinated bowls made by Fatuma have a small single arc decoration above the rim, which she includes because this was the way in which her grandmother had taught her. Her grandmother also used to finger impress some of the rims of pots, but Fatuma no longer does this to the vessels she produces. She also sometimes paints red slip to decorate her wares, although only occasionally on cooking pots. Shopkeepers and market stallholders come to this village in order to purchase wares, with peak buying periods during the clove harvest season in July to August, and during Ramadan.

These women have also been creative in broadening their market. The Pemban women have also begun to make new styles which broaden the repertoire taught by an older generation. As on Zanzibar, Binti Mohamed and her colleagues are now making incense burners. These are small clay pots, often with red slip decoration and holes carved into the side of the clay body. They hold hot coals and powdery *udi* (incense) together to generate fragrance for bedrooms and scenting women's clothing. As was noted by potters on Zanzibar, while there are a range of alternatives to clay cooking pots, mostly in the form of aluminum pans, business in these locally produced wares is booming. In the 13 years which had elapsed since the formation of the cooperative, these women had managed to carve out a wide regional trade in their wares, even sometimes selling some to Zanzibaris (Croucher 2006, p. 511).

Specialized neighborhoods, including the cooperative scheme on Pemba, seem to be increasingly dominating the market for locally produced ceramics, but they are not the only producers working on Zanzibar today. Visiting a small village in northern Pemba, I interviewed two women who only occasionally make pots, selling only to women from neighboring villages. As with the other potters I interviewed, both of these women learned their craft from their grandmothers. Both left their pots plain, with no decoration because, they told me, this was how they had learned from their grandmothers. Although they had seen decorated cooking pots, they chose to leave theirs plain, as this was the manner in which they had been taught. As well as the undecorated cooking pots, these women had just finished an order for a man from a neighboring village. This consisted of several small pots, which the women thought would be used for "making medicines" or giving offerings to spirits (Fig. 7.5; Croucher 2006, p. 513).

Along with the ceramic data, these four women who manufactured ceramics provided valuable evidence on the nature of potting on the islands. These interviews were taking place over a hundred years after the ceramics I am discussing archaeologically and it would be impossible to gloss over the social changes that have occurred during this period. Nevertheless, they, and other interviews carried out with potters in the East African coast (Wynne-Jones and Mapunda 2008), provide possible insights into the social relations that *may* have been involved in the production of local earthenwares during the nineteenth-century.

Fig. 7.5 Medicine pots

Drawing on the interviews as a group, it is clear that the manufacture of pottery operates with a significantly gendered division of labor on Pemba today. Although men may contribute labor in digging clay and collecting firewood, they never actually manufacture pots (with the exception of the new large clay stoves manufactured at Kiembe Samaki). All of the women I spoke to had learned to make pots from their grandmothers. This suggests that kinship links may have been an important route through which women were able to take on an apprentice role in learning their trade. Designs used to decorate pots (or not used, some left their pots plain) appear to have been taught alongside the general lessons of craft production, these younger potters usually reproduced decoration in the style which they had been taught with the only potters to leave their vessels plain doing so because it was the style of their teacher (Croucher 2006, pp. 511, 513).

Zanzibaris who were not potters differed on their views about decorative style. One elderly man claimed that all ceramic designs were the same all over Pemba and that it was not important where the pots came from. An elderly woman said the decoration was put in ceramics just as decoration is put on *kangas*[11] "for attracting people"; consumers of these goods selected them on the basis of these styles, with particularly "nice" ones chosen for weddings. She also remembered more variation in the design on ceramics, having seen triangles and arcs which matched the designs on waterpots etched into vessels (Croucher 2006, pp. 515, 529).

The purchase of ceramic vessels was discussed uniformly as occurring on a small scale (in contrast to Fatuma Mohammed's current operations). Many more women in the past used to make pots it was claimed, but this would always be a part-time activity, carried out in conjunction with work on farms or similar kinds of labor.

[11] *Kanga* are printed cotton cloths, often sold in pairs, which were first sold on Zanzibar around the turn of the twentieth century. They have been desirable elements of fashionable dress for many Zanzibari women throughout the last century and on into today, and are sold with rapidly changing printed designs (Fair 1998, p. 76; McCurdy 2006).

Most ceramics were bought directly from the potter herself, who would be located in the same village or a neighboring village as her customer. Having one potter in every village, or at least having one located in a neighboring village, used to be the common pattern. Even with the changes in production that have expanded potting in some locations, there are still some potters today only selling to neighboring villages, with no traders from far afield coming to buy their wares. Where settlements were larger, several women might be able to manufacture ceramics, such as the large village of Tumbe where an elderly lady told us that there used to be three potters in the village and there continue to be several today, all working with their daughters. This small scale of production and sales facilitated close relationships between potters and their consumers, with ceramic vessels often only made in response to a direct request. The purchasers of these wares were then also able to ask for specific designs. One man remembered that there used to be many local potters, some of which used to sell them to Indian traders. Another elderly lady from Pemba recalled that in the village that she grew up there used to be a potter. If a person wanted a pot they could go and order them in advance, although if the potter fired a lot of pots for which there were no customers "they might take the extra pots and sell them in a store and town" (Croucher 2006, pp. 511, 513, 515, 517, 520). Such potters would be able to take direction from some customers but would also produce vessels for women with whom they had no direct contact.

Although it is possible only to use these histories in a heuristic manner (Brück 2005, p. 151), they provide a starting point with which to begin to understand the community relations within which ceramic manufacture took place on Pemba. Clearly, ceramic manufacture was a gendered activity, and was carried out widely across the island. Virtually no documentary history can link us back to nineteenth-century ceramic production, for it was most certainly no concern of the explorers and missionaries who made up the majority of those writing about the islands. But a single consular letter from the late nineteenth-century confirms that at least one potter was a formerly enslaved woman. It discusses the case of a woman named Mia, who had originally been enslaved, and was owned by Tippu Tip. She was freed at Bagamoyo (presumably the mainland coastal town) in 1883 by Tippu Tip, but was then kidnapped by an "Arab slave dealer" who set sail for Pemba. She managed to escape from the slave dealer, whose boat was almost captured by a British ship trying to prevent the slave trade, as although slavery was still legal on Zanzibar, the trade in slaves from the mainland had been banned following a British treaty in 1873. Having fled:

> "Mia" made her way to Chaki Chaki [Chake Chake] and sought the protection of the then wali, Basuk bin Bedwi…who on hearing the story gave orders that no one was to enslave her…. About three years ago [1893] she went to live upon a small plot of land which she rented from one Binti Hamadi, al Banani, a spot situated upon the southern coast of Chaki Chaki bay. She supported herself by making and selling earthen pots. (ZNA, AC 5/2: 1896, PCVC, Letter from BVCP)

It is a tentative claim, but the patterns of local production on Pemba today and their historical recollections seem to suggest that it would have been likely that women resident in plantations may have been making vessels. The scale of ceramic production is, and was, localized for the most part, and thus we might expect that women

living far from large indigenous Swahili coastal villages would have taken up this trade. Clay sources are readily available on the islands, and three of the four potters I interviewed were in clove plantation areas of Pemba. In addition, the one archival mention of a potter makes it clear that at least one enslaved woman was able to learn the local patterns of ceramics to a degree where she was able to manufacture a few pots that were saleable to local communities in order to help support herself.

Further interview evidence collected by Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Bertram Mapunda from contemporary potters on Mafia Island, located not far from the southern Tanzanian coast, also supports the idea that immigrant women may have readily been able to learn the skills required in order to make pots in styles local to the areas in which they now lived. Out of the 28 potters interviewed on Mafia, 27 were immigrants, quite a contrast to the Pemban-born potters I interviewed. These potters however, made their wares in almost exactly the same forms as is seen in the coastal repertoire of the nineteenth-century, and of contemporary Pemban wares. Despite having knowledge of coil built pots, Makonde immigrants adopted the method of drawing pots out from a lump, as characterizes coastal ceramic technology, as well as copying the form and design of coastal wares (Wynne-Jones and Mapunda 2008, p. 5). They learned this technology from female kin and nearby neighbors, but not in an inherited pattern, rather, these networks were an "enabling factor" which meant that Makonde immigrant women were able to learn the new practices of a ceramic technology and style in order to make cooking pots in forms that conformed to the tastes of the wider Mafia (nonimmigrant) community (Wynne-Jones and Mapunda 2008, p. 10). Since in questioning, Makonde potters replied that they made ceramics in this style simply because "this is what pots look like on Mafia," their adoption of almost the entire *chaîne operatoire* of ceramic production in a coastal style was analyzed by Wynne-Jones and Mapunda as a reaction to the "market" for pots on Mafia. As such, Makonde immigrant potters functioning as "*rational actors* who exploit the economic opportunity provided" by particular types, while simultaneously signaling "their inclusion in a society defined by a particular pattern of consumption" (Wynne-Jones and Mapunda 2008, p. 14, my emphasis). The way in which immigrant women on Mafia were able to learn to make pots in a new style, ceasing to use the technologies they had learned in their homeland, provides an example of a potential route through which women such as Mia may have learned their craft during the nineteenth-century.

Food and Identity on Zanzibar

To interpret the reasons for the homogeneous coastal ceramics of Zanzibar, in contrast to those found inland, I want to think about the practices with which they were engaged after their production. It is easy to get caught up in production, and clearly the potters themselves and their social networks were a crucial reason for the material signature viewed archaeologically. But ceramic vessels were, and are, made to be used. Taking up new ceramic styles was not like putting on a new pair of clothes; food itself is culturally defined and is a corporeal act of incorporation

involving senses, feelings, and emotions, the preparation and serving of which can be a crucial site of social engagement (Counihan 1999; Goody 1982; Hamilakis 1999, p. 39; Stoller and Olkes 1986; Weismantel 1988). To begin to understand the role that locally produced ceramics may have played beyond simply their style of production, a brief foray into understanding food practices on Zanzibar is essential. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Zanzibaris are proud of the dishes they cook, particularly rice-based dishes of pilau and biryani. The heritage of eating rice on Pemba goes back to the early first millennium AD, where ethnobotanical work has shown a striking move from a subsistence economy based on pearl millet (an African cultigen) to one based upon Asian rice (Fleisher 2010, p. 204; Walshaw 2010). Thus, the consumption of rice would seem to have long-term historical antecedents as an important cultural practice on Pemba. This may have distinguished the area itself, since Pemba, with wet valleys between the rolling hills which are so good for growing clove trees, presents an ideal landscape for rice growing.

In the area of Mombasa, Kirkman (1974, p. 81) noted that the common foods of the mid-twentieth century were millet, rice, and bananas. Crucially, he describes the fact that "The carinated bowls, particularly those with inward sloping necks and sharp carination, would seem to be less suitable for millet porridge… which must be stirred." He suggests that these vessels were used for cooking meat or fish. On Zanzibar, millet was mentioned only in coastal areas as an important food. In plantation areas no one mentioned eating millet; the problems Kirkman identified with the use of these vessels for cooking millet were probably not an issue, as rice is placed into a pot with water and sometimes spices and then left to cook. It requires no continual stirring. Ceramics are the preferred medium for this process, even today, as they allow cooks to be able to tell whether their rice is becoming dry as it cooks (Croucher 2006, p. 517). The ceramic pattern leaves us with a record of the day-to-day food preparation and consumption patterns of one plantation.[12] Millet and other African grains seem to have been an unlikely element of the diet of the plantation household. Instead, rice accompanied by fish, meat, vegetables, and sauces would most likely have been the predominant foods for plantation households such as Mgoli, and likely for the majority of the population of the islands back into the nineteenth-century. Evidence is provided for this by the stability in ceramic forms through to the present day used to cook curry, vegetables, and rice. Certainly, the foods being eaten at *watoro* sites such as Koromio and Makoroboi would have been prepared and served in significantly different ways than at Mgoli (Marshall 2011). The similarity in ceramic style between Kilwa, to some extent Fort Jesus, and Pemba, suggests that these coastal areas may have shared at least some practices of preparing and serving foods. Moving inland drawing on ceramics from sites along caravan routes, foodways also seem to have differed significantly from those on Zanzibar and in the Kilwa region (Biginagwa 2012a, b).

[12] Over 90 percent of ceramic sherds in all contexts at Mgoli were of local production, making a case for the fact that these were the most common artifacts for both cooking and serving foods on a daily basis.

Within contemporary Zanzibari society, the foods immigrants eat, the ways they cook them, and the vessels they cook them in may be a crucial arena of expressing or minimizing difference. One man interviewed recounted his changing place in Pemban society through changes in foodways and tastes. When he arrived as a young man in the mid-twentieth century, he and other Nyamwezi immigrants would cook in the metal pans that they had brought with them from their home, and would eat *ugali* (maize meal porridge, now the staple food across much of East Africa) directly from these, a practice they regarded as part of their traditional culture. When he first arrived, he found that for himself and other Nyamwezi immigrants "it wasn't difficult to eat *ugali* twice a day, because it's easy to cook and we grew up with it." By contrast, other Pembans would not eat *ugali,* explained simply as the fact that they "didn't like eating *ugali,* that's why they didn't eat it" (Croucher 2006, p. 302). Over time, the tastes of this man changed, and now it's rare that he ever eats *ugali,* for he told us that far prefers rice, so long as he can afford to buy it. This change in taste has taken place alongside his conversion to Islam, and a growing identification with other Pembans. Thus, it seems that with the shift away from *ugali,* a food commonly identified by Zanzibaris as typical of mainlanders, and toward rice—the longtime food of Pemba—this man and his fellow Nyamwezi immigrants began to see themselves as more like Pembans. While he did not reject his origins, he was clear that he had become a Muslim, had become comfortable with life on Pemba, and that his food preferences had shifted with this change. In Tumbe, located in northern Pemba near the coast, an elderly man whose family had a "long history" discussed the contrast understood to broadly exist between mainland immigrants and Pembans. In Tumbe, unlike other areas, he told us that millet had been the most popular crop grown, followed by rice. In Tumbe, people did sometimes eat *ugali,* but it was "made from cassava, not maize." He continued to tell us about differences he understood between immigrants and mainlanders, sometimes struggling to quite capture actual demarcations in food between different groups:

> The people of Tumbe don't like *ugali* from the mainland. Also, it wasn't easy to get the flour for *ugali* from the mainland [maize meal ugali], so even immigrants from the mainland would eat cassava *ugali*. But the food preferred by Arabs and Pembans was millet and rice. Fish was the main food eaten with these in Tumbe, although sometimes chicken and beef might also accompany it. (Croucher 2006, p. 514)

As was discussed in Chap. 6, food was an important way through which Zanzibaris came to understand ethnicity. In the case of migrants from the African mainland, the divide was not so sharp as that perceived to divide Arabs and Zanzibaris from Indians. Mainland immigrants might effectively assimilate into Zanzibari society, as with the Nyamwezi man we interviewed who had come to marry a woman from Pemba. Likewise, "Arabs" were discussed as a particular separate category, but within conversations about food and daily practice, their similarity to Zanzibaris was always stressed. Coming to use local ceramics to cook with therefore appears to have a particular salience for the way in which foreigners could be seen to be assimilating into Zanzibari society.

Communities of Practice

Despite the importance of coming to eat local foods, conservatism in ceramic style seems strange in coastal communities so enmeshed in rapid social change. Why would enslaved plantation laborers come to so wholly take up the style of their Swahili neighbors? Why would Omani plantation owners come to use ceramics in styles that were so typical of the coast? Aside from the form of stone houses, almost no other material culture of daily life seems to give any indication of the large numbers of Arab immigrants to plantation areas. Just 19 sherds of a light buff earthenware with incised design were recovered which are most likely from a water jar imported from the Middle East.[13] Locally produced ceramics tend to be an object that in studying colonial societies we place with "traditional" practice. Unlike mass-produced imports such as the brightly printed spongewares used on plantations, the fact that individual women were making these wares seems to leave open the idea that enslaved and immigrant women would innovate with ideas from their earlier experiences. Such innovations and small changes have been suggested to be one route through which we might locate in captive women in particular societies (Cameron 2011), a point I will return to later in this chapter. But here innovations are startling for their absence. It seems unlikely that potters were acting simply as "rational actors" in making vessels in the traditional forms of Zanzibar, since immigrants by far outnumbered indigenous residents in plantation areas. Why would they use ceramics in coastal forms, when they *knew* that other options were available, and when women who were cooking—or possibly directing cooking, in the case of freeborn plantation wives—knew of other viable forms which could have served as alternates. What might be the importance of the stability visible in ceramic traditions throughout nineteenth-century Zanzibar?

I am not the first to note that the place of the "traditional" in the field of historical archaeology is not always straightforward. At the nineteenth-century colonial site of the Rancho Petaluma in California, amongst mass-produced goods such as glass beads, bottle glass, and ceramics were found a range of "traditional" native artifacts; lithics, shell beads, and worked bone, with an apparent continuity of precolonial lithic technology. Since such a wide range of mass-produced material culture was available, and no expedient tools were made from glass, Stephen Silliman (2001), the excavator of the site, suggested that the stone tools were a continuity of practice not for functional reasons, but as an active materialization of native identity. The practices of these technologies were important in this context, with men needing to gather stones from particular sources, in contrast to the fact that glass—a highly functional material for making tools—was readily available. Since other aspects of indigenous material tradition were not continued though this period (women seemingly rapidly adopting imported goods such as scissors, needles, and thimbles into

[13] This matches to a water jar in the Harvard Peabody Museum which is identified as having a Zanzibari origin (although it was likely not manufactured there; Peabody Museum 2013). Marshall also found an example of this in Kenya, which she identified as a Middle Eastern import called "gudulia" (Marshall 2011, p. 208).

their daily tools), Silliman argues (2001, p. 215) that the continuity of "tradition" here became a discursive practice in the activation or solidifying of a nineteenth-century indigenous identity. Cases are also documented where "traditional" production expands in relation to colonial and capitalist relations, particularly where locally produced goods may also find a new market amongst collectors, alongside continued local use of such artifacts (Harrison 2002).

In both of the cases cited above, interpretations of the importance of local production were based upon the relationships formed through the actual practice of production. This could be framed by the arguments of Bourdieu (1977, p. 164), whereby new norms of repeated practice had to be created to appear to produce the world of tradition. In this manner, the social structure of plantation life on Zanzibar could naturalize "its own arbitrariness" (Bourdieu 1977). But, despite the possibility of improvisation within Borudieu's theory of practice, the rigidity of the way in which social structure and reproduction was envisaged by his theory seems to fall short of explanatory potential for the kinds of rapid social change occurring in Zanzibar (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). Imagining an ongoing social structure in which small changes are possible, as posited by Bourdieu, still does not seem to leave space for the actions of nineteenth-century Zanzibaris, as "traditional" ceramic forms and foodways of Pemba were taken as traditional practice for all immigrants in plantations, elite Omanis and enslaved Africans alike.

Making the move into utilizing practice theory helps us to break out of interpreting material culture only through its formal and stylistic qualities. Ordering archaeological material culture into taxonomic units based on resemblance and visual observation is at the heart of the archaeological project and has been a part of the process of creating our objects of study as objects, whether they be material or living (Fabian 2002/[1983], p. 33; Meskell 2004, p. 40). Yet the use of "style" within archaeology has a troubled history, to the point that challenges have been raised as to whether style is capable of capturing the complexities of materiality captured within the artifacts we study (Boast 1997). Instead, styles do not come into being wholly formed, but are created as the production of a network of social relations (Dietler and Herbich 1998; Dobres 2000). Archaeologists have recently turned to the theory of communities of practice in order to examine the way in which networks of knowledge are materialized through the production of goods such as ceramics (Gosselain 2008; Gosselain et al. 2010; Cordell and Habicht-Mauche 2012). The idea of communities of practice draws out of theories of learning as an ongoing process. Negotiation of meaning within a community of practice is a diachronic process, as such negotiation "always generates new circumstances for further negotiation and further meanings," and therefore members of a community of practice do not have a fixed set of meanings, but instead participate in "a continual process of renewed negotiation" (Wenger 1998, p. 56). We may also consider the argument put forward by Appadurai as to how to retain practice theory within a contemporary frame, where it becomes increasingly difficult to view the structural continuities of practice. He suggests that we retain the importance of *habitus,* but that we should also place greater emphasis on Bourdieu's idea of improvisation which "no longer occurs within a relatively bounded set of thinkable postures but is always skidding

and taking off, powered by the imagined vistas of mass-mediated master narratives" (Appadurai 1996, p. 55). On nineteenth-century Zanzibar, potters would not have had "mass-mediated master narratives," but their work would have been able to move beyond the "thinkable postures" learned from their grandmothers, or for enslaved potters, learned from their childhood or early lives.

Taking it as a given that ceramic production was widespread among Pemban women on nineteenth-century Zanzibar, both free and unfree, and that new techniques of ceramic production and of food preparation and foodways were learned by immigrants through communities of practice, our idea of what it might mean to see a continuation of precolonial ceramic traditions on the coast changes. Rather than the reproduction of a static set of meanings, what it meant to make and use these artifacts was part of participation in new communities by immigrants. Making and utilizing new ceramics and foods would have been mediated within the "dynamics of interpersonal consideration," where immigrants entering new communities were aware of how others around them would react to their learning, rejection, or transformation of community practices (Farnell 2000, p. 405). Conforming to coastal styles and practices may therefore have been a way of appearing to accept that varied immigrants now shared in new Zanzibari community relations.

Such participation depended on being able to enter into a community in order to learn these ongoing sets of shared knowledge. A potter, for example, had to learn the steps of shaping clay, decorating it, and firing it, according to Pemban conventions, as well as having knowledge of what the users of her pots desired. These relations of apprenticeship into a craft, given the close kinship or neighborly ties that are historically known to exist for contemporary ceramic production on the East African coast, suggest that this may also have been a way in which kinship bonds were able to emerge in a society where many so many immigrants were coming together.[14] That ceramic styles are so broadly shared along the coast, and yet stop so suddenly inland, may suggest to us ways in which communities of practice formed into constellations of practice on a wider social level, where face-to-face community relations did not exist, but where related participation in foodways and ceramic production coexisted and shaped one another (Wenger 1998, p. 131).

Within this interpretation, adoption into the community may have been a tacit process. Members may not have been rational actors, consciously taking on the practice of Zanzibar so as to better their situation. As individuals entered a bewildering social context, in which new social relations had to be forged, communities could be newly formed and/or expanded through participation in practices such as the production, exchange, and use of ceramics. In this manner we see that society is shaped by practice, where practice is an ongoing and changing process in which meanings are not fixed, and is a social structure in which enough flexibility exists for the stark changes wrought by the capitalist colonial relations of clove planta-

[14] Although not as formalized in social structure, my suggestion of these relationships echoes the formation of new ritual practice groups between women, discussed in Chap. 5, and argued to also be a way in which women were able to form new social solidarities during this time of immense change (McCurdy 2006).

tions to still seem to offer a continuity of everyday life for residents. The role of these ceramics as part of the new process of understanding of Pemban and Zanzibari identities cannot be fully comprehended from an archaeological vantage point. That shifts in the arrangements of different communities who viewed themselves as having shared identities was occurring on clove plantations is certain. As potters made their wares for neighboring women, perhaps in response to specific requests, ceramic style may have become a reification—if only temporarily—of a notion of shared identity through knowledge of the acceptance of shared tastes (Wenger 1998, p. 58).

The materiality of ceramics is important; they were meaningful as goods that were made, exchanged, and utilized for everyday tasks, and that existed in a repertoire of shared tastes (Stahl 2002). Such materialities do not only reflect social relations but are also constitutive of such relations and of subjectivities themselves (Dant 2006; Meskell 2005). Objects may, in particular contexts, be powerful and have effects beyond those which we might immediately recognize (Gosden 2005). In this colonial context, the continuities of ceramic style on Zanzibari plantations are a representation of a powerful object. They differ from the way in which coastal culture was used by *watoro* (maroons) in Kenya. As discussed in Chap. 5, Kenyan *watoro* utilized coastal styles for building, as plantation slaves did, seeming to demonstrate visible ways in which enslaved and free mainland Africans presented themselves as part of Swahili societies. But the ceramics we find at sites such as Mgoli were used by all who lived in plantation households. Nineteenth-century Zanzibari ceramics were embedded in lives through the practices of production, and the effects that they created in terms of the food preparation, of consumption, and via their role in foodways, in helping to shape a new corporeal realm of tastes where immigrants came not to like *ugali* anymore and where Omanis cemented the fact that they ate the same food as other Zanzibaris through their use of the same cooking techniques.

Slavery and Ceramics

Ceramics do not simply matter for interpreting social relations on Zanzibari clove plantations. They have been an important marker for understanding the ways in which plantation slaves in the Americas may sometimes have found ways to continue African traditions. This topic has been explored through the materiality of colono wares, a broad category encompassing a range of locally produced ceramics found by archaeologists in the colonial Americas, including the Atlantic seaboard, the U.S. South, Southeast, and Southwest, several islands in the Caribbean, and in many locations in Latin America. I am not trying to give a complete summary of these artifacts, and am particularly interested in those which are found in plantation contexts which are in some ways comparable with Zanzibari clove plantations. What flows through the discussion of colono wares is their identification as manifestations of the hybrid nature of colonial relations in plantations. They are seen to be hybrid as preexisting cultural practices (i.e., the African knowledge of enslaved laborers) are

identified as continuing on in changed forms. Hybridity emphasizes the fact that the social relations of colonial contexts fall "in-between" any binary of colonizer/colonized (van Dommelen 2005, p. 117). Despite this acknowledgement, colono wares remain a common location for identifying cultural continuity in enslaved populations of African descent.

Not all colono wares are assumed to have been made by slaves in plantations. But within plantation studies there tends to be a broad consensus on this group of material. As Mark Hauser summarizes in the introduction to his recent work on a specific Jamaican iteration of these wares:

> These kinds of earthenware have received considerable attention in the archaeology of the African Diaspora and have been called "colono-ware," "colonoware," "Afro-Caribbean ware," "yabbas," and "Criollo ware."… They are one of the few types of material culture that were predominantly made, used, and traded by enslaved laborers, probably women, and that survive the archaeological record. As such they can speak to the silences implicit in the documentary record about the social relations and networks that the enslaved created as they negotiated their lives and worlds. They became a material way through which the archaeologist can glean insight into the ways in which the enslaved transformed the world around them. (Hauser 2008, p. 94)

This definition provides us with a general bracketing of how these ceramics have come to be understood within African diaspora archaeology in particular although the term "colono ware" also spreads into non-African diaspora contexts. As Hauser (2008, p. 94) goes on to note, even within African diaspora archaeology the traditions subsumed under the label of colono ware show considerable "idiosyncrasies," meaning that it is "not a single type, except as a useful device for archaeologists to categorize 'other ceramics.'"

When first identified on plantations in the U.S. wares like this intrigued historical archaeologists. Working on functional interpretations, these wares were first assumed to be associated with enslaved populations as they were of an inferior form to the glazed wares more commonly purchased by Europeans (Noël Hume 1962, p. 7, cited in Ferguson 1992, p. 6). By the 1990s, African origins were clearly understood to inhere in colono wares. Fundamental to this transfer was the fact that Africans were understood to carry from Africa "craft skills essential to daily life" (Ferguson 1992, p. 16). The materiality of African American produced material culture was now seen to embody (static) elements of African culture through a variety of decorative and formal attributes (Emerson 1999; Deetz 1993, Chap. 4; Fennell 2000; Ferguson 1999).

Parallel developments had taken place in the archaeology of Spanish colonialism. Early advances in understanding locally made wares as part of a process of colonial hybridity (termed, in this case, *mestizaje*) were made by Kathleen Deagan (1973, 1983) as she developed a theoretical framework for interpreting archaeological remains from Spanish Florida and early Spanish colonial sites in the Caribbean. In the early 1970s, while to the north archaeologists of Anglo-America had slotted low-fired earthenwares to the production of Native American populations, Deagan recognized that these were the product of intercultural relations, specifically those mediated by gender. Deagan's work is remarkable for the early attention that she

called to gender in the archaeology of colonial relationships, even if this was of a fairly normative and rigid framework (Voss 2008). Deagan (1973, p. 57) pointed to the marriage or concubinage of indigenous women with Spanish colonizers as fundamental to understanding the archaeological record of colonial sites in St. Augustine, arguing that it would be in the domestic assemblages that the archaeological presence of these women would be expected to be visible. Thus, the "admixture of Spanish and material cultures…was most strongly reflected in the ceramic assemblage…of English earthenwares, Spanish Majolica and aboriginal pottery. San Marcos ware was virtually the only utilitarian ware present. This was an Indian-made ware, no doubt easily accessible for the inhabitants of St. Augustine to use as kitchen pottery" (Deagan 1973, p. 62). Sooting on San Marcos ware was utilized to demonstrate its use in cooking, which Deagan argued would have been carried out by indigenous women in these mixed households, thus making "food preparation techniques and technology" "predominantly aboriginal, with a minimum amount of Spanish influence" (Deagan 1973). This work was then carried into the archaeology of the Spanish Caribbean (Deagan 1995), where similar patterns of the presence or absence of indigenous persons was traced through the ceramic evidence. In the archaeological record of Puerto Real, the changing labor force from the indigenous Caribbean population to that of enslaved Africans was also argued to be visible in changing ceramic forms (Smith 1995). Deagan's legacy has been hugely important in drawing attention to locally produced wares as potential continuities in cultural practice. However, apparent in all of these interpretations is the easy equation of ceramic style (and by extension food preparation and/or serving techniques) with ethnic and cultural identities. Thus, the *mestizaje* households of the Spanish colonial world can be identified as such precisely because of the merging of Spanish/male and Indigenous/female material culture, creating a problematic gloss over the complex relationships of colonial relations and materiality (Voss 2008).[15]

The tying in of locally produced wares specifically to a female domestic sphere was to prove influential in the developing archaeology of colono wares in general, as increasing attention was paid to the fact that colono ware forms seemed to relate to the necessity of enslaved populations to make their own foods. The cultural dimension of colono wares in this situation shifted to the domestic realm; African Americans made foodstuffs that often conformed to the prior practices of African cuisines, particularly cooking food in shared dishes rather than the individual portions of European foodways. Particular African American cuisines developed in the American context that were structured by the requirements of enslaved laborers to perform their regular labor tasks, and in the new foods available to them (Battle-Baptiste 2007; Franklin 2001a, b; Steen 1999; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005, Chap. 7). This has marked an important change in allowing colono wares to become part of a dynamic cultural tradition rather than being trapped in the fixed Africanisms characterizing earlier approaches.

[15] I have glossed over the diversity of Spanish colonial ceramics here; the point I am making is a broad one of comparison to provoke thought over the treatment of African influences in colonial contexts.

Despite the turn toward practice theory over cognitive approaches, and the linkage of colono ware traditions to ongoing transformations in enslaved foodways and quotidian practice, in discussion about precisely *why* it is so difficult to attribute ethnicity to colono wares, we still see some of the original assumptions about the nature of these artifacts. One recent and highly sophisticated analysis, which highlights the complexity of the routes via which enslaved Africans came to the Americas, notes that "part of the problem with attaching ethnic identities to material culture has to do with the state of knowledge about archaeological analysis in West Africa by North Americanists and Caribbeanists" (Hauser 2008, p. 98). Archaeologists seem to flip between calling attention to the need to be attuned to the complexity of difference in West Africa[16] and the idea that still, figuring out the colono ware (and pipe) question would depend for its success "on access to better comparative material from Africa" (DeCorse 1999, p. 152).

The separation of locally produced items as a particular kind of object seeming to mark a developmental status is a common one for historical archaeologists where objects are often differentiated into categories of Native/Indigenous, European/colonist, and hybridized forms (Silliman 2009, p. 213). In the field of plantation studies, these distinctions are shifted a little as dichotomies are often implicitly understood between slave and free, African and European descent, and plantation owner and laborers. The majority of artifacts in plantation sites in the Americas are of mass-produced origin, but there has been a search to find the type of hybrid or crossover objects (such as materials placed in ritual caches, as discussed in Chap. 4) which can be attributed to enslaved individuals or communities of African descent. As discussion on ritual practice made clear, it is difficult to categorize this material as a direct result of cultural practices transmitted from Africa. The majority of anthropologists now agree that such practices were a hybridized. Utilizing particular material objects as part of ritual or religious practices, or using space in particular ways, were not simply passed down from first generation Africans to their descendants. In the Americas, the intermingling of different cultures often resulted in new forms of practice which drew on prior traditions and yet were different from them in sometimes significant ways.

Two decades ago, cultural anthropologists came to terms with the fact that a "savage slot" haunted their field, caused by the boundaries set up in the Enlightenment age between the West and others (Trouillot 1991). Archaeologists are continually grappling with the fact that they deal with multiple temporalities and geographies within a single discipline, often causing particular eras to be blocked into "historic," "prehistoric," "colonial," or "contact" periods. The disciplinary drive toward delineating categories has, I am arguing, caused colono wares to be placed outside of the temporality of modernity in which plantations actually existed. The

[16] Less attention is generally paid to the fact that not only was there great diversity in cultural practices within Africa, these also continued to change over time and were not related to African diaspora contexts through their fossilization. Enslaved Africans taken from the same area but in different time periods may have had highly differentiated quotidian and religious practice, not to mention access to such things as imported goods (Richard 2010).

Zanzibari material discussed in this chapter is a perfect example of the way in which "traditional" ceramic manufacture is continually part of a dynamic cultural context. On Zanzibar, the use of locally manufactured ceramics is not simply an index of the degree to which Zanzibaris progressed forward into modernity. Instead, they were part of complex social dynamics, with their manufacture and use shaped by relations of gender and ethnicity.

Pemban Identities

Locally produced ceramics on clove plantations are perhaps in some ways less an artifact of tradition than were the mass-produced goods discussed in the previous chapter. While spongewares were a new item for East Africans in the nineteenth-century, they seem to have been used to help create and maintain older systems of power. Mass-produced ceramics allowed for the continual recreation of client–patron relations and networks of reciprocity and dependence. By contrast, the "traditional" locally produced ceramics in the open-bowl forms allowed for women in particular to engage in new ways of cooking and eating. These allowed them to begin to participate in new forms of Zanzibari identities. As discussed in Chap. 2, by the early twentieth century a new kind of identity was emerging on the coast. A specifically Swahili identity was often taken by former slaves so as to demonstrate the fact that they belonged and were fully a part of coastal culture. As was demonstrated by the almost complete absence of Zanzibaris who identified their own ancestors as having been enslaved, the process of assimilating into a new identity appears to have been remarkably successful.

Women were at the forefront of claiming this identity. New forms of fashion such as the *kanga* allowed women to dress in ways that showed that they were pious Muslims (Fair 1998; McCurdy 2006). This was similar to the process of building houses in coastal styles and the broader adoption of Islam, as discussed with reference to plantation landscapes in Chap. 4. Cooking has been absent so far from this discussion, but it was clearly a vital element of the ways in which traditions became newly (re)created so that immigrants could find ways of placing themselves as legitimate members of coastal society. Clearly, this was not a straightforward process, as the struggles over dress and religious practice make clear. But through forging bonds with neighbors and learning how to produce and cook with ceramics, it may have been possible for women to find ways to place themselves into the ever-changing definition of what it meant to be Zanzibari. As one elderly lady told us, in the past "All people ate the same" (Croucher 2006, p. 520). Clearly, for many who arrived in the nineteenth-century, rice was a new food, or the ways in which Zanzibaris had traditionally cooked rice and curry dishes were new. And yet, women and men rapidly seemed to assimilate to ways of cooking and eating that allowed for a certain kind of homogeneity to be understood between a large mass of people, a shared identity that would allow many enslaved people to argue that they were Pemban or Zanzibari.

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Chapter 8
Capitalism and Cloves: East African Historical Archaeology

Tying together these diverse strands of material analysis, how are we to comprehend Zanzibari plantations of the nineteenth-century? Should they be an anomaly within global historical archaeology—a strange dead end of the history of capitalist production in East Africa? I would argue forcefully that this must not be the conclusion drawn from this study. Plantations on Zanzibar were certainly far from the hegemony of European colonial rule in other parts of the world. When we look at them through the lens of nineteenth-century historical documents, we find sites which were simultaneously comprehensible by the British as places of capitalist production, even as they were placed in Orientalist frames and denied a place in modernity. As archaeologists we need to fight against dichotomies; clove plantations were not a simple either/or when it comes to capitalism. Nor were they a straightforward hybrid; a mix of Middle Eastern and European elements. The social and economic structure of Zanzibari plantations would have been unthinkable without the broader context of global capitalism in the nineteenth-century. Simultaneously, they would have been impossible without the long history of slave trading on the East African coast, and the knowledge of Omani and Swahili elites as to how to control enslaved subjects and large landholdings in ways that were radically different from their European counterparts.

The sharply asymmetrical power relations on plantations were indisputably those of colonialism. But current theoretical frameworks are not well suited to be able to understand Islamic colonialism in this context. We are forced to ask whether Zanzibari plantations were simply the location where multiple cultures came into contact, or whether conditions in the nineteenth-century have the type of violence we must analyze through the lens of colonialism (Silliman 2005). Clearly, the violence and power of these sites fits with that of colonialism that we might recognize in the Caribbean, North America, or South Africa (e.g., Hall 2000). But the categorization of colonial and enslaved subjects was radically different from that of European contexts. Enslaved individuals could be recognized—especially when they were able to demonstrate their participation in Islamic coastal culture—as subjects who had rights, and to whom plantation owners owed obligations. While this was set within a paternalistic framework, the subjectivity of slavery, and that of the powerful figures of plantation owners, fit within categorizations which drew out of

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Swahili and Omani cultural practices. As I draw together the different comparative analyses of plantation contexts presented throughout this book, it is clear that Zanzibari plantations should not simply be reducible to modernity, but that they also cannot be removed from it.

Introducing the first book on global historical archaeology, James Deetz (1991, p. 2) compared the field to prehistory, noting the importance of the different geographic scales required for each. Historical archaeologists, he argued, have to "broaden our view to a global perspective, for the simple reason that we are dealing with a global phenomenon. Anything less will not suffice to the ultimate ends of our work." But this statement assumes a certain form of horizontal comparison only between European powers that fit—although not labeled as such by Deetz—within the framework of singular Western modernity. This becomes clear in his comparison of English colonial society in different locations (South Africa and North America), or that of Dutch rule in different locations. Moving forward to later attempts to frame global historical archaeology, Orser's (1996) account of globalization similarly remains mired within a singular Western modernity, despite the attempt to think carefully about Eurocentrism and colonialism as two of the "four haunts" of historical archaeology. We remain with a persistent, but subtle, problem whereby non-European communities of the past several hundred years struggle to be recognized as coeval with their European counterparts. In North America, Silliman (2010) has identified this through the manner in which artifacts are classified. This denial of coevality with modernity for "traditional" artifacts can be seen in the way in which locally produced African ceramics (and colono wares) are usually denied an equal analytical footing with mass-produced wares, despite the fact that all artifacts circulate within the same cultural contexts.

Plantations in Eastern Africa trouble this geography and this categorization, and in so doing raise questions for historical archaeologists that draw heavily on postcolonial theory. There has been a turn in postcolonial history to identify the manner in which non-European contexts sit as equals within the history of modernity and colonialism. On Zanzibar, Prestholdt's (2008) assertion that the type of consumerism developing in Eastern Africa was fully a part of global consumerism does this type of work. Studies of multiple modernities, while often looking at the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, have done the work of making global places coeval (Gaonkar 2001; Piot 1999; Sanders 2003; Scott 2004). This fragmenting of modernity is important to think through for historical archaeologists. Drawing theory which deals largely with the twentieth and twenty-first century back over a hundred years is clearly a project requiring careful critical consideration. However, finding a way to understand clove plantations as fully part of the global world which we, as historical archaeologists, analyze is a vital task. Modernity has been argued by Trouillot (2002, p. 220) to be a "North Atlantic universal." As such, it claims to offer universality, but fails to actually describe the world. The claim of historical archaeological theory to offer up frameworks to accurately describe contexts that we should be able to analyze according to the temporal period we work within has been shown to be problematic when applied to Zanzibari clove plantations. This should make us think hard about the ability of our supposedly universal theoretical

frameworks to describe the range of experience which has been subsumed within certain narratives of historical archaeology.

The massive scale of slavery and the very real physical violence that occurred on these plantations also cannot be ignored. Clove plantations clearly form part of the global forced African diaspora, tied in with that of the Atlantic World. The material culture of plantations seems to fit with that of more familiar plantation contexts: wattle-and-daub houses and locally produced ceramics are familiar material for comparable studies in the Americas. But on Zanzibar these objects are used in radically different ways than those more usually identified by historical archaeologists. I have argued that in the work of ceramics in particular we have possibly denied these materials a place in the modern world. Subtly, mass-produced material culture has asserted itself as somehow defining contexts of modernity. This denies other forms of material culture a coeval place in our interpretations. There is clearly methodological work to be done in sharpening comparisons of colono wares and other material culture manufactured in the Americas with that made in contemporary periods in Africa. But this is not all we should be doing. There are ways to see locally produced goods as just as fully part of the modern, capitalist world of plantations as any other object we might recover (e.g., Hauser 2008, 2011). In a project of thinking of material as fully coeval with that of other goods from the same temporal period, it must be remembered that these forms of local production would have been unthinkable without the concomitant massive scale of capitalist production which took place on plantations.

Understanding the archaeology of clove plantations within a larger framework of the African diaspora also makes us think otherwise about the nature of resistance. On Zanzibari plantations, the most effective form of resisting slavery occurred through assimilation to coastal Islamic practices. When undertaking fieldwork and analysis of these sites, my biggest surprise was the lack of any clear slave material culture. I was ready to find resistance, and to find the presence of enslaved plantation laborers through continuities in material culture from the mainland. Here, resistance to slavery happened in an unexpected way, and this should remind us of the variety of forms of resistance (Liebmann and Murphy 2011). Through the conservatism and surprising stability of material culture on plantations from earlier coastal periods, we are able to see the force of enslaved African resistance to the rapid development of plantations. This has made me realize that perhaps we need to be more thoughtful in the way that we assume transfers of practice may take place with the movement of people from place to place within contexts of colonialism, being more aware of the complexities of ethnogenesis which occurred in many different places (Voss 2008a).

African diaspora archaeology has expanded well beyond the singular frame of the plantation in the Americas. There has been a significant shift *away* from plantation archaeology in recent years, as a means to better address the agency of African Americans, and to gain a better sense of African descendant communities self-determined lives within the Americas (Battle-Baptiste 2011; La Roche 2004; Leone et al. 2005). However, there has been perhaps somewhat of a disjuncture between archaeologists studying plantations as phenomena of capitalism (e.g., Delle 1998;

Orser 1991, 1996) and those who are examining African diaspora archaeology (e.g., Battle-Baptiste 2007; Orser 1998). However, race is inimitably bound up in the history of capitalism (Williams 1994/[1944]). This fact is acknowledged by historical archaeologists, but not always taken into full consideration when analyzing particular contexts. Clove plantations on Zanzibar provide a contrasting study for plantation slavery and capitalism. Through this study, the forms of control required for any plantation utilizing unfree labor to exist are made manifest. This helps strengthen our understanding of the power dynamics of intensive agrarian production as it developed as a *global* phenomenon in the modern era. We can more clearly see that this was not restricted to European-controlled areas, but that capitalism took specific forms when outside of the norms of European society. The importance of controlling land through cadastral survey, for instance, simply does not translate into the Zanzibari context. Simultaneously, however, scopic regimes in which labor was controlled through easily visible spaces were an important part of these plantations. This helps us to pick apart the ideology of capitalist plantations writ large.

Comparative work does an important job in the Eastern African context with regard to highlighting the specificity of nineteenth-century life in the region (Marshall 2013). Such comparison is, perhaps, most important for those who work in the Americas. Thinking about variation within plantation regimes may help stimulate studies which tease out the differences in particular plantation regimes across different geographical and temporal areas. This is most certainly done on a temporal basis, with the shift toward materialization of racially based slavery in plantation landscapes adroitly analyzed in the U.S. (Epperson 1999). Critiquing these interpretations, however, it could be argued that the archaeology of plantations takes on a somewhat teleological analysis, where the intense race-based chattel slavery of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century in the Americas is seen to be the only possible outcome of intensifying plantation production (cf. Wolf 1982). Plantations were, however, a global phenomenon, as was enslavement and forced labor to service these agrarian institutions. Although mostly in the control of Europeans, many different societies worldwide participated in the brutality that was, and is, plantation production. Bringing this diversity into view helps us keep examining varied contexts of agrarian production worldwide, to consider the inequities embedded in many different contexts. By expanding outside of the Americas and the Atlantic world, historical archaeologists are also forced to keep reconsidering what is special (or not) about any specific area during the era of global capitalism. To what extent can we view capitalism as truly a global phenomenon? In line with contemporary scholars of globalization (e.g., Foster 2008; Tsing 2005), we are also forced to consider how hegemonic capitalism has been at different periods, and whether the hegemony of capitalism is always everywhere the same.

Ultimately, this brings me to conclude on the way in which we might think of this East African context within the larger framework of the historical archaeology. Clearly, there are many important comparisons to be made. We can view Zanzibari plantations as linked to the variety of shifting indigenous systems of rule within colonial Africa, so far explored in the most detail by West Africanists (Monroe and Ogundiran 2012; Stahl 2001). There are comparisons to be made elsewhere on the

continent with the archaeology of European colonialism in South Africa (Hall 2000; Schrire 1995). It is also important to view the archaeology of clove plantations as part of the global capitalist archaeology of the African diaspora and agrarian production on plantations more broadly (e.g., Delle 1998; Singleton 1985; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). All of these fields have useful comparisons with Zanzibari plantations, as I have explored throughout this book. These ties show that African historical archaeology should not be held as exceptional to the wider field of those studying contexts within the modern world. But these contexts are not simply the sum of these parts. None of these comparisons works fully to comprehend clove plantations. To some degree, this is a result of the particularities of any given historical context. But it is also a result of the limits of comparison within the field of historical archaeology. I would like readers of this book to take this issue seriously. Considering how we might draw global contexts into comparative frameworks, if this pushes us to refine taken-for-granted assumptions which are built into our work, may help us to do some of the work of decolonizing the theoretical basis of historical archaeology (Rizvi 2008). We must not think of cases such as Zanzibar as peripheral to the field. Instead, we must ask whether our theories are strong enough to be addressed to the rest of the world. It has been suggested that historical archaeology is a global field. But clearly there is theoretical and methodological work still to be done before this claim may truly be made.

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