

anais de  
história de  
além-mar

XXIV

ANO 2023

CHAM – CENTRO DE HUMANIDADES

FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS  
UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA

UNIVERSIDADE DOS AÇORES

 CHAM  
CENTRO DE  
HUMANIDADES  
NOVA FCSH – UAc

 FHMA

PERIODICIDADE	Anual
DIRECÇÃO E COORDENAÇÃO	João de Figueirôa-Rêgo
SECRETARIADO	Inês Cristóvão
CONSELHO DE REDACÇÃO	André Murteira (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) Edite Alberto (CHAM / NOVA FCSH) Guida Marques (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) João de Figueirôa-Rêgo (CHAM / NOVA FCSH) Mária João Castro (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) Nunziatella Alessandrini (CHAM / NOVA FCSH) Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo (CHAM / NOVA FCSH) Rui Loureiro (Instituto Superior Manuel Teixeira Gomes; CHAM / NOVA FCSH) Sandra M. G. Pinto (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc)
CONSELHO CONSULTIVO	Ana Isabel Buescu (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) André Teixeira (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) Ângela Domingues (Universidade de Lisboa/CH) Angelo Alves Carrara (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora) António de Almeida Mendes (Université de Nantes) Avelino de Freitas de Meneses (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) Barbara Karl (Textilmuseum St. Gallen) Cátia Antunes (Universiteit Leiden) Fernando Bouza Álvarez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) Hervé Pennec (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) Ines G. Županov (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) István Rákóczi (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem) José da Silva Horta (Universidade de Lisboa) João José Reis (Universidade Federal da Bahia) José C. Curto (York University) José Damião Rodrigues (Universidade de Lisboa) Leonor Freire Costa (Universidade de Lisboa) Malyn Newitt (King's College London) Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) Miguel Metello de Seixas (Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa; IEM / NOVA FCSH) Nuno Senos (IHA / NOVA FCSH) Pedro Cardim (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/UAc) Pedro Puntoni (Universidade de São Paulo/Cebrap) Rogério Miguel Puga (CETAPS / NOVA FCSH) Tonio Andrade (Emory University) Zoltán Biedermann (University College London)
EDIÇÃO E PROPRIEDADE	CHAM — Centro de Humanidades Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa Universidade dos Açores
SEDE ADMINISTRATIVA	Av.ª de Berna, 26-C   1069-061 Lisboa anais.cham@fesh.unl.pt   <a href="http://www.cham.fesh.unl.pt">http://www.cham.fesh.unl.pt</a>
CAPA E PROJECTO GRÁFICO	Patrícia Proença
COMPOSIÇÃO	Edições Húmus
IMPRESSÃO	Papelmunde – V. N. Famalicão
TIRAGEM	300 exs.
ISSN (IMPRESSO)	0874-967
ISSN (ELECTRÓNICO)	2795-4455
DEPÓSITO LEGAL	162657/01

# anais de história de além-mar

XXIV  
2023

---

CHAM – CENTRO DE HUMANIDADES  
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS  
UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA  
UNIVERSIDADE DOS AÇORES



## REFEREES 2022-2023

Abdelilah Suisse (Universidade de Aveiro)  
Ana Cristina Roque (CH-Ulisboa)  
André Murteira (CHAM, NOVA FCSH/Uac)  
António de Abreu Freire (CLEPUL, Ulisboa)  
António Maria Martins Melo (Universidade Católica Portuguesa)  
Axel Lazzari (Universidad Nacional de San Martín)  
Carlos Gontijo Rosa (CECS, UMinho)  
Carlos José Duarte Almeida (FLUL, Ulisboa)  
Carmen Lúcia Palazzo (Investigadora Independente)  
Christopher Bahl (Durham University)  
Fernando Negredo del Cerro (Instituto de Estudios Hispánicos en la Modernidad)  
Francisco de Asís Amor Martín (Universidad de Sevilla)  
Gilvan Ventura da Silva (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo)  
Gonçalo Lopes (Universidade do Algarve)  
José Ramón Campos Álvarez (Universidad de Vigo)  
Juan Guillermo Martín (Uninorte)  
Lia Markey (University of Chicago)  
Loay Abu Alsaud (An-najah National University)  
Márcia Neves (IELT, NOVA FCSH)  
Mária Fernanda Bicalho (Universidade Federal Fluminense)  
Mária Leonor García da Cruz (FLUL, Ulisboa)  
María Marta Reca (Universidad Nacional de La Plata)  
Mariana de Campos Françaço (Leiden University)  
Matthew Bender (The College of New Jersey)  
Rodrigo Faustini Bonciani (Universidade Federal de São Paulo)  
Salvador Bravo Jiménez (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)  
Saumya Varghese (University of Delhi)  
Silvia María Pérez González (Universidad Pablo de Olavide)  
Steven Ellis (University of Cincinnati)  
Juan Antonio Rubio-Ardanaz (Universidad de Extremadura)  
Vasco Gil Mantas (Universidade de Coimbra)  
Viviane Maria Cavalcanti de Castro (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco)

Os *Anais de História de Além-Mar* estão referenciados e indexados nas seguintes bases de dados internacionais:

CARHUS+ 2018	ERA 2018	Scopus   Elsevier
CIRC	ERIH Plus	SHERPA/RoMEO
EBSCO America: History and Life	Latindex (catálogo v1)	SJR
EBSCO Fonte Acadêmica	MEDLINE   PubMed	
EBSCO Historical Abstracts	MIAR	

Publicação subsidiada ao abrigo do projecto estratégico do CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores, financiado pela Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – UID/04666/2025 - <https://doi.org/10.54499/UID/04666/2025>.

## Índice

- 7 Nota de Abertura  
João de Figueirôa-Rêgo

---

CONFLUÊNCIAS DO ÍNDICO: PERSPETIVAS SOBRE PATRIMÓNIO E MEMÓRIA  
CONFLUENCES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN: PERSPECTIVES ON HERITAGE AND MEMORY

---

- 11 Introdução | Introduction  
Maria João Castro
- 15 Uma tradução crítica do teor da abertura do Kitāb al-Zunūj,  
em duas versões (Kismayo e Witu, África Oriental, c. 1890-1903)  
Gabriel dos Santos Giacomazzi
- 59 Hybridity and Space in European Colonial Cities  
in the Indian Ocean Realm  
Nuno Grancho
- 93 Global Currents, Local Complexity: Indian Ocean Trade and  
Small-Scale Societies around Kilimanjaro  
Valence Valerian Silayo
- 115 A Comprehensive Critical Reappraisal of “The Kilwa Chronicle”:  
Manuscript Traditions, Historiographical Layers, and Scholarly Debate  
Amirbahram Arabahmadi
- 133 By Whom, What, Why and How might Zanzibar’s History be Told?  
Roya Arab

---

VARIA

---

- 163 La otra frontera. El espolio perpetuo: el saqueo del patrimonio cultural  
indígena. El caso de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia  
Nayibe Gutiérrez Montoya
- 205 Procedimentos & Normas Editoriais | Editorial Process & Guidelines



## Nota de Abertura

O presente volume dos AHAM, referente ao ano de 2023, é publicado com evidente atraso sobre a data prevista para a sua publicação. Contudo, esperamos que isso não diminua o interesse do público leitor. Nesse sentido, diga-se que os textos foram actualizados pelos respectivos autores, não tendo perdido relevância. É o caso do *dossier* “Confluências do Índico: Perspetivas sobre Património e Memória”, cuja génese radica na Conferência Internacional realizada em Zanzibar em Novembro de 2022, sob o título “Travessias no Índico. Memória e Património”.

Esta edição, com coordenação da investigadora do CHAM, Maria João Castro, assenta em vários contributos, quase todos em inglês, o que poderá agilizar a circulação nos meios académicos e promover um diálogo com outras historiografias.

A questão linguística tem sido objecto de debate, sobretudo no contexto ibérico, na tentativa de promover os seus idiomas principais (Português e Espanhol), actualmente falados por cerca de 800 milhões de pessoas em mais de 30 países e abarcando todos os continentes. Por outras palavras, a Iberofonia, representa hoje o primeiro bloco linguístico do mundo, somando os países da CIN (Comunidad Iberoamericana de Naciones) *hispanos hablantes* e os Estados da CPLP (Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa).

Esse foi o ponto de partida para a criação da Fundación Universitaria Iberoamericana (FUNIBER), uma instituição internacional de cooperação educacional, cultural e científico-técnica que, desde a sua criação em Espanha no ano de 1997, tem facilitado o acesso ao ensino superior estabelecendo mecanismos para que barreiras económicas e geográficas não representem obstáculos. Com escritórios em mais de 35 países, a FUNIBER é a primeira plataforma universitária multinacional de países de língua espanhola e portuguesa nas Américas, Europa, África e Ásia, graças a acordos bilaterais e ao reconhecimento do estatuto de observador atribuído a vários países.

A Fundación Universitaria Iberoamericana orienta a sua actividade de acordo com os princípios estabelecidos na Declaração Mundial do Ensino Superior no Século XXI: Visão e Ação (UNESCO, Paris, 1998), que estabelece o ensino superior como um bem público baseado na qualidade, relevância social e cooperação académica internacional.

Nesse contexto, sublinhe-se que a Declaração de Paris reconhece a aprendizagem ao longo da vida como um direito fundamental e como um componente essencial para o desenvolvimento pessoal, profissional e social.

Abra-se um parêntesis para assinalar, igualmente, a actividade do CLK (Centro Luís Krus) da NOVA FCSH (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa), para a formação ao longo da vida, que, na prática, aplica critérios contidos na referida Declaração da Unesco.

Pode parecer deslocado trazer este tópico para a nota de abertura de um número dos AHAM cujo *dossier* temático incide sobre matéria bem diferente, tendo como pano de fundo um Índice de grandes interações histórico-culturais.

Contudo, esta revista, como referido na sua página Web, “tem como principal objectivo disseminar investigação inovadora e fiel aos mais elevados padrões de qualidade e rigor científico, privilegiando abordagens inter e transdisciplinares e abrangendo um vasto âmbito geográfico e cronológico”, sendo aceites para publicação textos em Português, Espanhol, Francês, Inglês e Italiano. Percorrendo os volumes publicados constatamos uma presença regular da Iberofonia (com destaque para Portugal, Espanha e Brasil), mas sem prejuízo da expansão internacional da revista, tanto a nível da origem das submissões, como das consultas *online* aos números em acesso aberto.

O volume XXIV, agora lançado, fecha com um artigo em Espanhol, da autoria da arquitecta e historiadora Nayibe Gutiérrez Montoya, versando a questão das grandes colecções etnográficas sobre povos indígenas da América Latina (nos museus mais prestigiados do mundo), alimentadas por actividades de saque.

Boas leituras!

**João de Figueirôa-Rêgo**

**Confluências do Índico:  
Perspetivas sobre Património e Memória**

Confluences of the Indian Ocean:  
Perspectives on Heritage and Memory

---

Coord.

Maria João Castro  
CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas,  
FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa



## Introdução

Neste novo número da revista AHAM – *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, apresenta-se um *dossier* sobre o Índico multissecular numa temática transversal às várias geografias que o compõem. O fundamento de tal escolha reside na Conferência Internacional realizada em Zanzibar em novembro de 2022 com o título “Travessias no Índico. Memória e Património”. O encontro, organizado numa articulação interuniversitária com a Universidade Estatal de Zanzibar (SUZA), o Instituto Camões (Manuela Palmeirim) e o CHAM – Centro de Humanidades (NOVA FCSH / UAc), reforça o papel deste último numa internacionalização e interdisciplinaridade cada vez mais fulcrais para o avanço e a comunicação de ciência.

Do profícuo intercâmbio de ideias resultante da ação surgiu a proposta deste *dossier* interessando ressaltar que, devido a vicissitudes várias e alheias aos seus editores, o número de artigos que integram este volume não é profuso mas é pertinente, perfazendo um itinerário pluritemático onde se abordam diferentes cronologias e práticas inerentes à espacialidade de uma geografia dinâmica escalando para novas questões.

O conjunto de textos aqui reunidos desenha uma narrativa em relação cuja ascendência se cruza na história de uma geografia circunscrita mas de dimensão global. A tentacularidade do assunto – um Índico de grandes interações histórico-culturais –, em articulação com a multiculturalidade da sociedade global atual, equaciona-se aqui em distintos quadrantes, contribuindo para a elaboração de um pensamento polifónico de que o tempo presente é herdeiro.

A viagem começa com um artigo sobre o Livro dos Zanj (*Kitāb al-Zunūj*), da autoria de Gabriel dos Santos Giacomazzi. Trata-se de uma crónica anónima do final do século XIX, recetáculo de tradições orais ligadas às sociedades bantu de África oriental. De seguida, Nuno Grancho fala-nos da arquitetura híbrida colonial do Índico, refletindo sobre as suas distintas

materialidades e urbanismos, numa análise que vai desde Diu e Tranquebar até Zanzibar. A terceira entrada é da autoria de Valence Valerian Silayo e reflete sobre o comércio no oceano Índico e as sociedades de Pequena Escala em torno do Kilimanjaro. Amirbahrām Arabahmadi traz-nos uma revisão crítica sobre um dos manuscritos mais antigos conhecidos escritos em suaíli: a Crónica de Kilwa (*Kitāb al-Sulṭwa*). O último assunto abordado, da autoria de Roya Arab, assenta em considerações sociopolíticas e económicas contextuais sobre o património cultural de Zanzibar, a ilha do Índico onde a ação inaugural de que deriva este *dossier* teve lugar num fechar de ciclo consequente e integrador.

Completado o périplo, considera-se que os textos – no seu todo – contribuem para dar uma imagem mais nítida das várias dinâmicas que compõem o Índico do primeiro quartel do século XXI, alocando reflexão e agregando valor num campo das Humanidades em permanente reformulação.

Por último, um reconhecimento final a dois zanzibares que tornaram possível este encontro de culturas de que resulta este escrito: Abdul Sheriff e Farouk Topan, académicos de referência da cultura suaíli e instigadores basilares no avançar do conhecimento sobre uma região de grande riqueza multicultural e eco transnacional.

**Maria João Castro**

CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, FCSH,  
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1443-7273>

*E-mail:* mariajoacastro@fesh.unl.pt

## Introduction

This new issue of the journal AHAM – *Anais de História de Além-Mar* – presents a dossier on the multiseular Indian Ocean, with themes of relevance to the various geographical areas which constitute it. The rationale for this choice stems from the International Conference held in Zanzibar in November 2022 entitled “Crossings in the Indian Ocean. Memory and Heritage”. This event, organised through an inter-university partnership involving the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA), the Camões Institute (with key involvement from Manuela Palmeirim) and CHAM – Centre for the Humanities (NOVA FCSH / UAc), served to reinforce the latter’s role in an internationalisation and interdisciplinarity ever more crucial to the advancement and dissemination of scientific knowledge.

The suggestion for this dossier emerged from the fruitful exchange of ideas resulting from this initiative. It is important to emphasise that, due to various vicissitudes beyond the control of its editors, the number of articles in this volume is not extensive but nonetheless highly pertinent, constructing a plurithematic itinerary that embraces varied chronologies and practices intrinsic to the spatial dynamics of this ever-evolving geographical area, while paving the way for fresh lines of scholarly inquiry.

The collection of texts assembled here delineates a relational narrative whose lineage intersects with the history of a geographical area at once circumscribed as well as global in scope. The tentacular nature of the subject – an Indian Ocean characterised by profound historical and cultural interactions – in dialogue with the multiculturalism of contemporary global society, is here addressed from distinct perspectives, contributing to the elaboration of a polyphonic discourse of which the present is the heir.

The journey begins with an article on the Book of the Zanj (*Kitāb al-Zunūj*) by Gabriel dos Santos Giacomazzi. This is an anonymous chronicle from the late 19th century, a repository of oral traditions linked to the

Bantu societies of East Africa. This is followed by Nuno Grancho's contribution on the hybrid colonial architecture of the Indian Ocean, reflecting on its diverse materialities and urban forms, in an analysis spanning Diu and Tranquebar to Zanzibar. The third piece is by Valence Valerian Silayo and examines trade in the Indian Ocean and Small-Scale Societies around Kilimanjaro. Amirbahram Arabahmadi then offers a critical review of one of the oldest known manuscripts written in Swahili: the Kilwa Chronicle (*Kitāb al-Sukwa*). The final contribution, by Roya Arab, is based on contextual socio-political and economic considerations on the cultural heritage of Zanzibar, the Indian island where the inaugural event giving rise to this dossier took place, in a manner that rounds off and integrates the cycle.

With this cycle complete, it is considered that the texts – as a whole – contribute to offering a clearer picture of the manifold dynamics shaping the Indian Ocean in the first quarter of the 21st century, fostering reflection and adding value to a field within the Humanities that is constantly being reformulated.

Lastly, a final note of thanks to two Zanzibaris who made this meeting of cultures possible, from which the present issue derives: Abdul Sheriff and Farouk Topan, leading scholars of Swahili culture and pivotal instigators in advancing knowledge of a region endowed with remarkable multicultural richness and transnational resonance.

**Maria João Castro**

CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, FCSH,

Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1443-7273>

*E-mail:* mariajoacastro@fesh.unl.pt

# Uma tradução crítica do teor da abertura do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, em duas versões (Kismayo e Witu, África Oriental, c. 1890-1903)\*

**Gabriel dos Santos Giacomazzi\*\***

*Anais de História de Além-Mar XXIV* (2023): 15-57.  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46379>.

## Resumo

Este trabalho apresenta uma tradução lusófona do prólogo de uma crônica em língua árabe produzida no âmbito da intelectualidade afro-muçulmana suaíli, na passagem dos séculos XIX-XX. Trata-se do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, que objetiva a fixação de uma história árabe-persa da chamada Costa Suaíli – conforme a ideologia da aristocracia waungwana. À exposição contextual, segue-se uma crítica comparada das edições italiana (Cerulli 1957) e anglófona (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020), além de um esboço de reconstrução do teor original dos MSS conhecidos, e sua tradução: “K” (de Kismayo, atual Somália) e “L” (de Witu, atual Quênia), face à ingerência colonial sobre suas respectivas narrativas.

**Palavras-chave:** *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, tradução, Costa Suaíli, habari, colonialismo.

Data de submissão: 6/04/2024  
Data de aprovação: 29/01/2026

## Abstract

This work presents a lusophone translation of the prologue of an Arabic chronicle produced within the Swahili Afro-Islamic intellectuality between the 19th-20th centuries. Such chronicle is the *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, which envisioned the fixation of an Arab-Persian history for the Swahili Coast. Following the contextual exposition, we present a comparative critique of the Italian and English editions (Cerulli 1957; Ritchie and Von Sicard 2020), as well as an effort of reconstitution of the original context of the two extant MSS, and their translation: “K” (from Kismayo, Somalia), and “L” (Witu, Kenya) in the face of the colonial interference over their respective narratives.

**Keywords:** *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, translation, Swahili Coast, habari, colonialism.

Date of submission: 6/04/2024  
Date of approval: 29/01/2026

\* Este trabalho resulta de um estudo realizado com financiamento do Programa de Excelência Acadêmica (Proex) da Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Brasil (CAPES), processo n.º 88887.606502/2021-00, vigente de 01/03/2021 a 28/02/2023.

\*\* Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Brasil.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7414-8345>. E-mail: [gabriel.giacomazzi@ufrgs.br](mailto:gabriel.giacomazzi@ufrgs.br).

## Introdução

O *Kitāb al-Zunūj* (كتاب الزنوج), ou “Livro dos *Zunūj*”, é um interessante documento leste-africano que teve modesta recepção na historiografia africanista. Trata-se de uma crônica anônima em língua árabe, manuscrita, que se insere na tradição das *habari* suaílis textualmente produzidas ao final do século XIX e início do XX. A cronologia corresponde, pois, a um momento de crescente recurso à escrita como forma de delimitação do prestígio e autoridade da aristocracia dos chamados *waungwana*,<sup>1</sup> para o qual se recorre à fixação de determinadas versões das narrativas orais já há muito em circulação na Costa Suaíli (Bang 2008; Pawlowicz e LaViolette 2013, 130; Wamitila 2020). Este movimento constituiu uma forma de reação à “situação colonial” anglo-germânica que se impunha – empregando a expressão mais bem definida por Georges Balandier (2014 [1951]) na descrição da totalidade do aparato político-econômico-religioso de dominação europeia –, em que se vê a defesa dos principais interesses da classe patrícia suaíli; particularmente, a causa da escravidão, como no caso da documentação em questão,<sup>2</sup> constituindo parte de um processo de afirmação de uma identidade litorânea distinta daqueles a quem chamavam *washenzi*:<sup>3</sup> as sociedades bantu não islamizadas da hinterlândia leste-africana, ora denominada *nyika*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Waungwana* (singular: *mungwana*), ou “pessoas livres”: termo que designa as aristocracias tradicionais das cidades-estado suaílis. O pertencimento a esta classe está ligado, além da genealogia, a uma série de atitudes que envolvem certa piedade islâmica, determinados modos de vestir, falar, além dos espaços que convêm à sua circulação – conjunto que compõe sua *heshima*, “honra” ou “respeitabilidade”; noutras palavras, os distintivos que são esperados de sua posição (Pouwels 2002, 73; Swartz 1991).

<sup>2</sup> Eis um tema delicado, cujo risco reside em municiar narrativas de culpabilização africana pelo escravismo, sugerindo-se a ação colonial abolicionista como uma única e necessária solução. R. F. Morton (1990, 8) debate a omissão deste aspecto na historiografia de meados do século XX. Contra a visão do abolicionismo enquanto iniciativa essencialmente ocidental europeia, vide o estudo de W. G. Clarence-Smith (2006), que apresenta posições antiescravistas advindas do próprio Islã.

<sup>3</sup> Denominação derogatória associada à ideia de *barbárie e incivilidade*, em direto contraste com a *ustaarabu* (“civilização”) do litoral suaíli – diretamente de *mustarība* (مستعربية), “arabizado”, correspondendo a um ideal civilizatório aristocrático da elite *ungwana*. A título de curiosidade, trata-se do mesmo termo árabe que dá origem ao *moçárabe* (ou *mozarabe*) em contexto andalusí – denominação destinada aos cristãos arabizados da Península Ibérica (cf. Rei 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Abdul Sheriff (1983, 168) define a *nyika* como “uma faixa de vegetação arbustiva relativamente seca [...] que se estende muito próxima da costa no Quênia e se alonga para o interior da Tanzânia, onde é quebrada pelas bacias dos rios Ruaha, Rufigi e Pangani e pela borda oriental das montanhas”. No discurso suaíli, entendida como a morada dos *wanyika*, “[homens] da floresta”.

Neste sentido, conquanto seu autor seja desconhecido, a obra – em verdade, duas, constituindo dois manuscritos,<sup>5</sup> denominados pelo orientalista italiano Enrico Cerulli (1957), respectivamente, como “K” e “L” – demarca uma nítida posição de classe, sendo esta necessariamente atrelada, no contexto societal afromuçulmano na Costa Suaíli, às ciências genealógicas (*‘ilm al-’ansāb*) e, por conseguinte, à associação das aristocracias em questão a supostas origens árabe-persas, mobilizando uma sólida tradição erudita, tal como verificado em muitas outras sociedades afromuçulmanas (cf. Luffin 2005). O próprio processo constituinte de uma cronística suaíli, perpassado pela então inédita redação de narrativas orais conjugadas àquelas associadas ao universo literato dos *‘ulamā’* suaílís, enriquece os documentos analisados, investindo-os de uma intertextualidade intrigante e cosmopolita. Com efeito, textos de *fiqh* (jurisprudência), compilações de *aḥādīṭ*, obras de *tafsīr*, cópias do Alcorão, narrativas proféticas e historiografia muçulmana – estas últimas fornecendo uma espécie de moldura à prática historiológica suaíli – compunham algumas das obras presentes nas bibliotecas da Costa Suaíli; boa parte era importada pelas rotas de longa distância do Índico como valiosa e cobiçada mercadoria, outra parte copiada ou produzida localmente (Coret 2013; Meier 2015). Em 1911, C. H. Becker já falava de um “Schriftenkreis des Indischen Ozeans” [circuito literário do oceano Índico] em sua asserção, em primeira mão, da textualidade suaíli.<sup>6</sup>

A referida precedência do manuscrito sobre a oralidade se deu, no contexto em questão, a partir de dois elementos determinantes: por um lado, o crescimento da influência propriamente árabe sobre o Islã, operando uma alteração de ordem epistemológica nas formas de circulação e autoridade do conhecimento religioso nas cidades suaílís, minando a influência das elites *waugwana* locais; por outro, a gradativamente maior presença europeia – particularmente britânica –, em seu ímpeto classificatório do *outro* africano a ser, eventualmente, reduzido à condição de colonizado. Neste sentido, dedicaram-se os *‘ulamā’* do estrato social *waungwana* ao registro de narrativas em defesa dos interesses de sua elite tradicional, direcionando-as a um público leitor europeu interessado em se apropriar de saberes e informações úteis a seu propósito de dominação (Bang 2015; Coppola 2018, 147; Coret 2013, 381). É conhecido o episódio da doação de uma cópia do *Kitāb al-Sukwa faḥādī Ahḥbār Kikwa* (o “Livro da Consolação

<sup>5</sup> Doravante MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Trata-se do estudo presente em Becker (1911).

das Informações sobre Kilwa”), em 1876, pelo então sultão de Zanzibar, Bargāš Ibn Sa‘īd Ibn Sultān (1870-1888), a John Kirk, embaixador da rainha Vitória em África Oriental. Tratava-se da chamada *Crônica de Kilwa*, datada do século XVI, e cujo teor apresenta origens dinásticas persas, ditas *širāzī*, para os poderes constituídos nas cidades-estado distribuídas ao longo da Costa Suaíli. Na atitude do Sultão de Zanzibar, portanto, podemos visualizar uma intenção de demonstrar certa anterioridade dinástica árabe-persa na Costa Suaíli, legitimada pela via da escrita (Coret 2013; Freeman-Grenville 1962; Strong 1895). Em certa medida, o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* cumprirá propósito semelhante.

Até que ponto tal relação determina o teor das crônicas em si, em sua transposição manuscrita? Adrien Delmas (2017, 193) emprega o interessante conceito de *coescrita* [*cowriting*] na análise da produção textual leste-africana originada do contato externo com europeus. Com efeito, a circulação oral é dotada de uma dinâmica muito distinta da respectiva fixação textual de determinada narrativa, de modo que a agência discursiva dos cronistas era muito maior do que a alcunha de *informantes* que lhes fora imputada pelos europeus poderia comunicar. Ademais, assinale-se, muito embora a crônica suaíli emergja com força em fins do século XIX, esta se insere em uma tradição escrita muito antiga, cujo alcance remonta ao alvorecer do século XVIII, além de evidências fragmentárias dos séculos XVI e XVII – seja em árabe, seja pelo uso deste consonantário como suporte à língua kiswahili: o *kiarabu*, ora chamado ‘*ajāmī* kiswahili’<sup>7</sup> (Bonate 2016, 61; Casco 1996; Mugane 2017, 198).

Destarte, a produção literata suaíli deve ser compreendida como muito mais do que mero veículo das pretensões aristocráticas dos *waungwana*, e não como unicamente engendrada pela presença europeia. Tais narrativas – do tipo histórico-genealógico, em particular – cumprem uma função endógena de legitimidade, dizendo respeito às lógicas internas de poder das sociedades suaílis desde o período pré-colonial. Como alerta Richard Reid (2011, 152), há que evitar uma sobrevalorização “presentista” da agência colonial sobre as hierarquias e formas de organização interna das sociedades africanas, sob o risco de ignorar a *longue durée* dos processos históricos no continente. Isso

<sup>7</sup> O processo de utilização do *abjad* (consonantário) árabe se observa em diversas sociedades influenciadas pelo Islã, evidentemente inclusas sociedades africanas, como no caso da apropriação deste sistema escrito na expressão de línguas como o hauçá, o songai, o fulfulde e o próprio kiswahili. Tal processo é denominado *ajamização*, derivando de ‘*ajam*’, cuja raiz, conforme ressalta Moulaye Hassane (2008, 114), remete a noções de “barbarismo” e incompreensibilidade. Por este motivo optamos, no presente trabalho, por nos referirmos à escrita ‘*ajāmī* kiswahili’ em sua própria formulação leste-africana: *kiarabu*.

se torna evidente quando percebemos que a cronística suaíli, nas tradições orais que compila, trai a própria lógica aristocrática de sua instrumentalização: a oposição discursiva entre o litoral “civilizado” e o interior, base da ideologia *waungwana*, se dissolve ante o registro de uma poética popular, de um Islã *suaílizado* pelo *kiarabu* e de uma memória histórica oral de matriz bantu, cujo conhecimento pelos ‘*ulamā*’ de alta linhagem é indiciário da artificialidade que constitui seu próprio discurso de distinção. É evidente, pois, o papel das crônicas na sistematização e, sobretudo, na preservação de uma memória coletiva que se constituía em sua circulação, mas que era do ofício particular de renomados guardiões das tradições, reduzidos pelos europeus à condição de *informantes* (Coppola 2018, 150; Pawlowicz e LaViolette 2013, 117-119).

Em relação ao *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, imbuído de interesses que pautam sua própria temática, seria igualmente receptáculo de tradições orais ligadas às sociedades bantu de África Oriental – sobretudo aquelas reunidas sob a identidade contemporânea Mijikenda.<sup>8</sup> O propósito está implicado em seu próprio título: *Zunūj* é, segundo M. Tolmacheva (1986, 105), um plural irregular do termo étnico-geográfico *zanj*. Carregado, como veremos, de uma dupla semântica que o conecta a ideias de africanidade, por um lado, e de predestinação à escravidão, por outro, esta *categoria móvel de classificação* (Farias 1980)<sup>9</sup> seria, em verdade, um substantivo coletivo e aglutinante associado a tal estereótipo; *zunūj*, portanto, denotaria um conjunto de variações de um mesmo significante – o *zanj*.<sup>10</sup> Suas *variações* corresponderiam às diversas sociedades bantu cujas tradições viriam a ser reproduzidas nos textos em

<sup>8</sup> Mijikenda: um conjunto de nove povos de ascendência etnolinguística bantu, habitantes dos atuais Quênia e Tanzânia, e cuja maior parte deriva sua identidade em comum a partir de uma suposta origem em “Šugwāyah” (Shungwaya), segundo suas tradições que se consolidam em meados do século XX. São eles: Kauma, Chonyi, Jibana, Giriama, Kambe, Ribe, Rabai, Duruma e Digo (Spear 1974, 68).

<sup>9</sup> De natureza polissêmica, as *mobile classificatory labels* [categorias móveis de classificação], conforme o modelo proposto por Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias (1980, 118-119), correspondem a *aprioris* estereotípicos relativos, via de regra, a uma exógena descrição de sociedades de África negra a partir do olhar árabe-persa, sobretudo durante o período pré-moderno. “Móveis” pois, desprovidas de lastro na realidade empírica, realizam o caminho inverso: classificam e constroem o próprio mundo a partir de referenciais variados – no caso, etnocêntricos.

<sup>10</sup> No MS “K”, por exemplo, o narrador afirma que os *Kušūr* (كشور, nomenclatura empregada nas crônicas em questão em referência aos povos bantu não-islamizados), em sua suposta migração ao sul no século XVI, “preencheram a terra, e os outros *Zunūj* fugiram deles, como os *WāTūdī* e outros, até o presente” [ *وهربوا عخم الزنوج غير هم مثل وتودي وغير هم الى الآن وامتلئت* ] (*Kitāb al-Zunūj* K 2020, 36). Grifo nosso. Eis, portanto, a categoria *zanj* operando como termo guarda-chuva a diversos povos que apresentavam, segundo os árabe-suaílis, certas características em comum.

questão: as nove etnias denominadas Mijikenda, em seu conjunto, além dos Taita, Segeju e Pokomo, entre outros. Alguns desses povos apresentam uma origem mítica em comum que adquire bastante circulação ao final do século XIX: a história de sua migração a partir da terra de Šuġwāyah, tida por localizada ao sul da Somália (Bur Gao), e seu estabelecimento em *makaya* (vilas fortificadas) ao longo da região paralela à costa do atual Quênia, a partir do século XVI.<sup>11</sup>

Com efeito, o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* representou, para a historiografia, a principal fonte desta narrativa que, até muito recentemente, fora consensual na academia enquanto um dado histórico factual. Como nos demonstra R. Helm (2004), estudos arqueológicos posteriores evidenciaram, no entanto, a antiguidade da presença “proto-Mijikenda” em África Oriental, remontando às primeiras migrações bantu a partir de meados do século IV de nossa era, em contraste com a noção de uma migração recente – podendo esta última vir, inclusive, a fortalecer narrativas de um pioneirismo árabe em relação aos ditos *wanyika*. Certamente, este parece ser um dos objetivos de seus autores *ungwana*. Inobstante este fato, Šuġwāyah constituiria, *a posteriori*, um importante elemento em comum na conformação da identidade étnico-política Mijikenda (Fourshey, Gonzales e Saidi 2019; Ehret 2010; Spear 1974).

### **Itinerários do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* ante a biblioteca colonial**

Um estudo crítico do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* demanda, em primeiro lugar, uma descrição de seu itinerário após sua apropriação e tradução por pesquisadores europeus – cujo esforço de tradução, edição e conseqüente ingerência no texto implicaram, de forma determinante, nos próprios modos pelos quais a crônica seria recepcionada pela historiografia. A tradução que apresentamos

<sup>11</sup> A década de 1970 veria um primeiro momento de contestação à historicidade de tais narrativas – centrado na figura de R. F. Morton (1972; 1977). Este autor defende que o *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, e a tradição de Šuġwāyah, por extensão, seriam fabricações de autoria exclusiva de ‘*ulamā*’ suailís, dentre os quais um certo Fāḍil Ibn ‘Umār al-Bawrī; a razão para tal seria, principalmente, justificar uma precedência destes últimos sobre os povos da hinterlândia, como os Giriama, visando defender o direito à sua escravização, em oposição à legislação abolicionista britânica. Embora, como argumentaremos ao longo desta dissertação, haja um fundo de verdade nesta lógica – afinal, verifica-se uma evidente apologia do sistema escravista leste-africano nos textos em questão –, entendemos que isto de modo algum desqualifica o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* enquanto fonte histórica, senão numa defasada metodologia cujo único objeto seja a extração de uma “verdade histórica” a partir da documentação oral, direcionada pelo cânone eurocêntrico.

ao final deste artigo, objetiva apresentar um novo olhar sobre o teor dos textos a partir das poucas informações disponíveis – afinal, como veremos, o paradeiro dos MSS originais, tanto o identificado como “K” (datado de 1890, aproximadamente) quanto o “L” (de 1903), é omitido em todas as edições. A saber, foram três as traduções da obra: a primeira, para o italiano, publicada por Enrico Cerulli (1957); a segunda, para o alemão, por Reinhard Klein-Arendt (2004);<sup>12</sup> por fim, uma edição anglófona e muito mais recente, publicada pelos pesquisadores James McL. Ritchie (*post-mortem*) e Sigvard Von Sicard, em 2020. Todas as edições, como veremos, remontam a uma origem em comum.

Em 1923, o *qāḍī*-chefe da cidade somali de Mogadíscio, Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn Mukarram, encomendou a realização de cópia de um manuscrito em árabe pertencente ao então *qāḍī* de Kismayo, cujo nome desconhecemos. Esta cópia era destinada ao orientalista italiano Enrico Cerulli (1898-1988), que à época realizava pesquisa de campo em África Oriental em nome do *Regio Istituto Orientale* de Nápoles (atual *Università di Napoli ‘L’Orientale’*). Desde 1908, a costa da Somália estava sob dominação colonial do Reino da Itália, o que continuaria com a ascensão de Benito Mussolini; e Cerulli possuía conhecidas conexões com o governo fascista, vindo a ser nomeado conselheiro colonial da Embaixada Italiana em Addis Abeba, Etiópia, em 1926 (Cerulli 1957, 231; Ricci 1990).

Seria a partir deste cargo que E. Cerulli empreenderia seus esforços acadêmicos no estudo das sociedades etíopes e somalis – em especial, a etnia Oromo, cujo sistema cíclico de poder denominado *gadaa*<sup>13</sup> fora uma de suas principais preocupações de investigação (Nallino 1933, 432). É possível compreender, a partir disso, a razão de o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* ter chamado a atenção do italiano: em larga medida, trata-se de uma obra que aborda, desde seu início, os Oromo – referidos nos MSS como *Banī Qays Ġaylān* (بنی قیس غیلان), denominação associada ao termo pejorativo *Galla*, amplamente incorporado à historiografia colonial na designação deste grupo etno-linguístico, e demonstrativa das origens árabes que as obras em questão

<sup>12</sup> Não tivemos acesso a esta tradução – não sendo, portanto, considerada para fins de nosso estudo.

<sup>13</sup> O *gadaa* é um sistema cíclico de transferência do poder entre grupos da etnia Oromo, tendo por base um calendário lunissolar. As lideranças seriam eleitas após ciclos de oito anos, dos quais haveria cinco – totalizando quarenta anos. Este ciclo de quarenta anos, por sua vez, ocorreria cinco vezes, totalizando trezentos e sessenta anos de comando para cada grupo Oromo específico (Ayana 2019, 90).

lhes imputam (Ayana 2019, 84; Jalata 1996; Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, ix).<sup>14</sup> E seria certo expansionismo dos Oromo o principal fator a desencadear a emigração dos Mijikenda da região dos rios Juba e Webi-Shebelle (Šuġwāyah) em direção ao sul, cruzando o delta do rio Tana e se estabelecendo na hinterlândia queniana, conforme se tornaria corrente na memória coletiva Mijikenda.<sup>15</sup>

Cerulli se apropria deste documento, portanto, segundo seus interesses primeiros, enquanto crônica ligada a um contexto norte-suaíli, ou mesmo concernente ao Chifre de África. Com efeito, a tradução italiana do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, publicada três décadas após a coleta do documento por Cerulli, foi inserida numa coletânea específica de documentos a respeito da história da Somália. Tal tradução, entretanto, não fora realizada somente a partir da cópia do *qāḍī* de Kismayo – a qual seria denominada, por Cerulli, como MS “K”.

Certo oficial colonial britânico designado para o Protetorado Britânico da África Oriental, chamado John Augustus Gilbert Elliot, produziu um relato memorialístico e descritivo de uma visita às chamadas Ilhas Bajun, no litoral sul da atual Somália; esta viagem foi empreendida em momento indeterminado – mas certamente em ou antes de 1913, pois teve por *informante* o *šayḥ* Fāḍil Ibn ʿUmar al-Bawrī, de Malindi, falecido no citado ano. O relato seria publicado, em quatro partes, no *Journal of the Royal African Society*,<sup>16</sup> somente entre o final de 1925 e o início de 1926.<sup>17</sup> Como que J. A. G. Elliot não fosse mais que um diletante da história das sociedades leste-africanas, os rodapés explicativos de seu trabalho couberam à etnóloga alemã Alice Werner (1859-1935). Todo este panorama nos interessa por duas razões:

I. Elliot afirma ter acesso a “[c]ertain scripts by one Fazil bin Omar Alhuri [*sic*], compiled presumably from native traditions and embellished very likely from his own imagination” (Elliot 1926, 150); sua paráfrase do teor, contudo, demonstra se tratar de uma cópia do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, em redação próxima à do MS “K” – o que não apenas demonstra a circulação do texto em Malindi, atual

<sup>14</sup> O *Kitāb al-Zunūj* apresenta uma origem dos Oromo – a “tribo de *Qays Ġaylān*” – em Sanaā, no Iêmen (*Kitāb al-Zunūj* L 2020, 75).

<sup>15</sup> O tema da migração exógena dos ditos *Galla* parece ecoar tanto fontes muçulmanas quanto cristãs do Chifre de África, para as quais o referido etnônimo constituía a evocação de um povo considerado deplorável. Vide discussão apresentada por Hassen (2015, 2-4).

<sup>16</sup> Periódico atualmente intitulado *African Affairs*, publicado pela Oxford University Press em nome da Royal African Society.

<sup>17</sup> J. A. G. Elliot (1925; 1926; 1926a; 1926b).

Quênia, como também o aproxima de uma figura local: o citado *šayḥ* Fāḍil Ibn ʿUmar al-Bawrī,<sup>18</sup>

II. os comentários de Alice Werner ao relato de J. A. G. Elliot nos revelam uma interlocução entre E. Cerulli e a referida etnóloga a respeito do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* por volta de 1925, ao notarem uma semelhança entre certa obra que Elliot consultara junto a seu “informante” e o MS “K” adquirido por Cerulli em Mogadíscio. Deste contato resultaria o envio de uma segunda versão do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* a E. Cerulli, obtida por A. Werner na cidade de Witu, próxima ao Arquipélago de Lamu. Werner, descrita como “precursora” no estudo das narrativas orais e escritas de tradição bantu (Coret 2013, 375), adquirira a cópia em uma escola missionária cristã, submetendo-a posteriormente a Cerulli por intermédio da Embaixada Italiana na Etiópia (Cerulli 1957; Elliot 1926, 151).

A esta segunda cópia, Cerulli denominaria “L”. A edição italiana de 1957, por muito tempo a única à disposição dos historiadores, foi realizada, portanto, a partir dos MSS “K” e “L” – que eram, em si, cópias realizadas sob demanda europeia, como no caso de outras crônicas leste-africanas. Interpõe-se, neste caso, a figura do amanuense enquanto *coescritor* (retomando a definição de A. Delmas) das crônicas, para além do autor a ter fixado determinada versão de uma narrativa. No caso do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* “L”, oriundo de um “caderno escolar” em uma escola cristã, Cerulli faz notar uma série de supostas alterações realizadas pelo copista – sobretudo relacionadas a denominações toponímicas, como a substituição de *Sawāḥil* (سواحل) por *Ifrīqīyah al-Mašriq* (إفريقية المشرق) *África Oriental*, um nome mais recente), mas também a justaposição de datas do calendário da Hégira às suas respectivas versões no calendário cristão gregoriano. Lançando

<sup>18</sup> Fāḍil Ibn ʿUmar al-Bawrī (?-1913), pertencente ao clã dos Baūrī com presença em Pate (no Arquipélago de Lamu) e na região northena ora conhecida como WaTikuu. É autor de uma obra cuja narrativa é coetânea ao *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, intitulada *Kawkab al-Durriyah al-Aḥbār Ifrīqīyah* (“A Estrela Brilhante das Informações sobre África”); publicada no ano de seu falecimento, constando ainda da coletânea *An Azanian Trio* (2020), ao lado da edição anglófona do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. Tal fato destaca seu nome enquanto possível autor desta última obra, como suposto por Morton (1972) e Kirkman (1982), dentre outros. Erudito do estrato aristocrático, al-Bawrī ter-se-ia aproximado da administração colonial imposta sobre a Costa Suaíli, se ocupando, a partir da década de 1880, em atividades que abrangiam desde funções escriturais e de tradução junto aos britânicos à investidura como *qāḍī* e/ou *muḍīr* em algumas localidades no distrito de Malindi (nominalmente Roka, Mtanganyiko e Arabuko, além da própria cidade de Malindi), primeiramente sob a *Imperial British East Africa Company* (IBEAC) e, posteriormente, sob o Protetorado Britânico, a partir do momento em que este último passa a tutelar os cargos políticos locais (Morton 1972, 415-416; Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 4). Al-Bawrī tece sua ascendência (e a de todo o clã Baūrī) à tribo árabe dos ʿAnazah; uma observação de A. Werner, contudo, põe em xeque o discurso aristocrático arcaizante: descreve-o enquanto “[a]n Arab living in Malindi district; said to have Pokomo blood” (Elliot 1926, 150). Grifó nosso.

mão da autoridade epistemológica a si conferida enquanto agente na construção da “biblioteca colonial” – segundo a conceituação proposta por Valentin-Yves Mudimbe (2013)<sup>19</sup> –, Cerulli intervém no texto cronístico, removendo do MS “L”, em sua tradução, aquilo que chama de “ingenue glosse” de seu escriba (Cerulli 1957, 231-232). O que mais terá o orientalista italiano elidido e mesmo acrescentado, sem registrar? Sua abordagem não é comparativa entre as versões disponíveis, senão no que interessaria à “reconstrução” do texto e à supressão das “variantes de redação” em prol de uma crônica *pura*, original, que lhe fornecesse informações históricas fidedignas (*Ibid.*, 231); algo que, dadas as características próprias à cronística suaíli até aqui apresentadas, sabemos ser um procedimento historiograficamente inadequado. Parece-nos que, para Cerulli, o termo *Sawāḥil* seria mais apropriado ao denotar uma antiguidade original dos escritos em questão. Ignora, portanto, as percepções de sua colega Alice Werner, que em 1919 já observara que as narrativas orais tiveram sua fixação textual apenas “by, or at the instance of, Europeans within the last 80 years” (Werner 1919, 26).

A tradução italiana de Cerulli apresenta, portanto, um texto único, inclusa a reprodução do texto árabe – o qual supomos tomar por base a versão “K”. O manuscrito de Kismayo principia com a genealogia dos ditos *zunūj* e suas relações com os Oromo, passa à fundação mítica das cidades costeiras leste-africanas por um certo Tubba<sup>c</sup> al-Ḥimyarī (em verdade, o título real do Reino Himiarita, que existiu no sul da Arábia entre os séculos II e VI d.C.) e, mais tarde, a seguidas intervenções de califas omíadas e abássidas sobre a Costa Suaíli: o mesmo ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān que figura em outras crônicas suaílis, além de al-Manšūr (136-158 H./754-775 d.C.),<sup>20</sup> Hārūn al-Rašīd (170-194 H./786-809 d.C.) e al-Ma’mūn (198-218 H./813-833 d.C.). Há um salto temporal na narrativa, que situa o leitor em relação aos acontecimentos subsequentes à chegada dos portugueses, no século XVI, a crescente influência dos

<sup>19</sup> Pela expressão “biblioteca colonial”, compreendemos a totalidade do *corpus* textual produzido por europeus sobre as sociedades submetidas à situação colonial; escritos elaborados a partir de bases epistemológicas exógenas ao que pretendem descrever, classificar e hierarquizar, e cujo eurocentrismo e racismo “negam a possibilidade de uma racionalidade e história plurais” (Mudimbe 2013, 240), particularmente ao continente africano. Estes escritos, em última instância, ainda determinam as condições de produção e reprodução do conhecimento sobre África na historiografia contemporânea.

<sup>20</sup> Datas apresentadas, respectivamente, nos calendários da Hégira e no cristão gregoriano.

imãs<sup>21</sup> e sultões de Omã e a subsequente expulsão dos lusitanos. As últimas histórias relatadas na crônica dizem respeito à dinastia Bū Saʿīdī de Mascate e Zanzibar, e a expansão de seu domínio político sobre o litoral ao longo do século XIX; o MS conclui sua narração com a morte de Bargāš Ibn Saʿīd Ibn Sulṭān, em 1888.

O MS “L” do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* segue, por sua vez, muito proximamente o texto da primeira versão, com algumas variações a se observar; mais notadamente, seu cronista parece continuar de onde parara o anterior, incluindo fatos da década de 1890 até à ascensão de ʿAlī Ibn Ḥamūd ao poder em Zanzibar, já como fantoche do Protetorado Britânico (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 5). A edição de Cerulli extrai tais diferenças em relação ao MS “K” e as insere, sob a forma de apêndice, ao final da compilação.

Seria esta versão precária a ser majoritariamente referenciada e consultada na historiografia; seja em italiano, ou em traduções apócrifas a outras línguas. Sabemos que Neville Chittick produziu uma primeira versão anglófona do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* a partir da edição de Cerulli, nos anos 1970, tendo-a compartilhado com Thomas Spear, conforme observa em um rodapé (Spear 1974, 78), e com os acadêmicos J. M. Ritchie e S. Von Sicard (2020, ix), quando estes dois últimos realizavam pesquisa de campo em Sanaʿa, no Iêmen, na mesma época. Nada fariam estes últimos, entretanto, com o documento até meados dos anos 1990, momento em que o orientalista britânico G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville os comunica sobre “the fact that the full text in the original was in *Somalia: Scritti Vari editi ed inediti* by Enrico Cerulli, and was in fact in two versions labeled K and L” (*Ibid.*, ix). Como vimos, Ritchie e Von Sicard publicariam, em 2020, uma edição crítica do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, contendo traduções separadas dos MSS “K” e “L” e seus respectivos textos árabes, além da inclusão do *Kawkab al-Durrīyah al-Ahbār Ifrīqīyah*, de autoria de Fāḍil Ibn ʿUmar al-Bawrī (1913), na coletânea. Nesta nova edição, a tradução de Cerulli é extensivamente citada como referência a respeito do que contribui, mas igualmente confrontada em suas inconsistências. A edição de Ritchie e Von Sicard, contudo, não está isenta de equívocos, seja de tradução, seja de estrutura ou mesmo no texto árabe apresentado, como veremos. No que ambas as edições de 1957

<sup>21</sup> Até o início do século XIX, Omã foi comandada por lideranças que carregavam o título de *ʿImām* (إمام) – sendo, portanto, um Imamato –, posição esta derivada do ibadismo. Sendo um cargo eletivo, o *ʿImām* é entendido como uma autoridade religiosa cujo prestígio advém de seu conhecimento da teologia islâmica, em oposição direta à lógica dinástica que marcou os poderes sunitas e šiʿitas ao longo do tempo – inobstante terem se constituído, igualmente, dinastias de imãs omanis (Ibn Razik 1871, 373-381).

e 2020 incorrem em igual intensidade, no entanto, diz respeito à omissão da localização dos manuscritos em que se basearam suas respectivas traduções – inibindo qualquer debate de cunho codicológico ou paleográfico que permita a resolução das questões ora deixadas em aberto pela dependência de transcrições.

Com efeito, a informação não é, em nenhum momento, fornecida.<sup>22</sup> Uma nota à edição anglófona de Ritchie e Von Sicard nos leva a crer que estes acadêmicos não dispuseram de MSS originais do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* em nenhum momento, e que sua tradução seria produzida, portanto, exclusivamente a partir de Cerulli. Observam os autores, pois, que um catálogo produzido por J. W. T. Allen (1970) sobre os manuscritos e microfimes da biblioteca da Universidade de Dar-es-Salaam, na Tanzânia, revelaria a presença de uma suposta cópia da obra, registrada sob a identificação n.º 2512. Em novembro de 2011, entretanto, o Prof. Dr. Abdul Aziz Lodhi teria consultado o referido acervo, sem nada encontrar (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 6).

A fim de viabilizar nosso estudo de forma mais consistente, restou-nos tentar determinar o possível paradeiro das cópias manuscritas originalmente em posse de Enrico Cerulli. O orientalista italiano, após sua passagem inicial pela Somália e Etiópia no final da década de 1920 a serviço do Ministério das Colônias do Reino da Itália, seria ainda nomeado por Mussolini como Diretor-Geral de Assuntos Políticos e Vice-Governador-Geral da África Oriental Italiana, entre 1938 e 1940. A partir desta considerável posição de poder,<sup>23</sup> apropriou-se de um vasto *corpus* em línguas ge'ez e árabe, a ser posteriormente doado, em 1954, à Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), em Roma, onde permanece até hoje – desde 1987, organizado em acervo documental específico, o *Fondo Cerulli etiopici* (Pankhurst 1999, 61; Raineri 2011,

<sup>22</sup> Sobre os MSS originais e outras questões, tentamos contato com um dos autores da mais recente edição do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. James McL. Ritchie falecera em 2016, e a publicação lhe foi, portanto, póstuma. Em relação a Sigvard Von Sicard, submetemos uma mensagem em março de 2021, mas o acadêmico veio a óbito no mês seguinte. Este último foi um teólogo, historiador e missionário nascido na antiga Rodésia do Sul (atual República do Zimbábue), em 1930. Doutor pela Universidade de Uppsala (Suécia), fez carreira enquanto professor e pesquisador associado à Universidade de Birmingham. Informações disponíveis em: <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/news/2021/dr-sigvard-von-sicard>.

<sup>23</sup> Durante a ocupação fascista colonial sob Cerulli, ocorreram inúmeras violações contra as populações negras da Etiópia e do Chifre de África – pelas quais o Imperador etíope Hailé Selassié (1930-1974) o processaria junto às cortes da Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU), em 1948. Sobre essa questão, vide De Lorenzi (2018) e Pankhurst (1999).

400; Ricci 1990, 5-6).<sup>24</sup> Dado que Cerulli considerava o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* como um documento somali-etíope – pela conexão de sua narrativa com a região limítrofe a norte da Costa Suaíli, posição esta referendada por Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 8) –, é possível que os MSS “K” e “L” da obra estejam dentre aqueles submetidos ao Vaticano.

Dos mais de 330 MSS catalogados no *Fondo Cerulli etiopici* e descritos por Osvaldo Raineri (2004), no entanto, não se identifica cópia alguma do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*<sup>25</sup>, embora constem, da relação documental, textos como a chamada *História dos Reis de Harar*<sup>26</sup> em língua harari *‘ajāmī* e de gênero cronístico leste-africano que o próprio E. Cerulli (1957, 231) aproximou, tipologicamente, à primeira obra (conquanto seus respectivos contextos de produção diverjam de modo substancial).<sup>27</sup>

A cronologia das doações de Cerulli à BAV, por sua vez, tampouco nos fornece indícios suficientes para chegar a qualquer conclusão mais assertiva. O erudito italiano ter-se-ia desfeito dos MSS “K” e “L” em 1954, três anos antes de publicar sua tradução? Não haveria impeditivo, ao considerarmos que Cerulli permaneceu um assíduo visitante de sua própria coleção manuscrita – tendo produzido, a partir de tal experiência, uma descrição dos primeiros 239 MSS (Raineri 2004, 10).

Por outro lado, o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* fora coletado na década de 1920, em circunstâncias muito distintas em relação à documentação de interesse das reivindicações etíopes de restituição do roubo colonial no pós-II Guerra Mundial – possivelmente, a maior motivação para a cessão do vultoso acervo de Enrico Cerulli à Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Le Galès 2025). A questão da localização dos MSS “K” e “L”, portanto, permanece em aberto.

<sup>24</sup> As condições desta “doação” de Cerulli ainda são parcialmente nebulosas e não atestam a procedência da documentação. Um recente estudo, conduzido em Roma por Emmie Le Galès (2025), evidencia a má-fé do agente colonial ao transferir seu acervo manuscrito ao Vaticano, um Estado não-signatário do Tratado de Paris de 1947 – que previa a restituição da materialidade espoliada pela Itália fascista durante a invasão da Etiópia; nela estão inclusos numerosos manuscritos da coleção *Cerulli etiopici*. Vide, igualmente, um capítulo recentemente traduzido ao português, de autoria de Tullio Scovazzi (2025).

<sup>25</sup> Realizamos uma breve análise preliminar do catálogo do referido *corpus*. Ver Giacomazzi (2024).

<sup>26</sup> MS Cerulli.et.326 (Raineri 2004, 233); documento não digitalizado, conforme registro no catálogo *online* da BAV, disponível em: <https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Cerulli.et.326>.

<sup>27</sup> “Questo tipo di composizione dei testi delle Cronache è comune in Africa Orientale, dove in genere le Cronache appunto consistono in vari racconti diverge nei vari manoscritti secondo il gusto o le preferenze del copista. Esempio tipico di questo sono: la così detta ‘Cronaca Abbreviata’ dell’Etiopia; ed, in arabo, la ‘Storia dei Re’ o ‘Storia dei Combattenti la guerra santa’ di Harar” (Cerulli 1957, 231).

## Temas e circulação

O *Kitāb al-Zunūj* cumpre papel na construção de uma história árabe da Costa Suaíli, alinhando-se ao movimento de “arabização” dos mitos de fundação registrados às crônicas do século XIX (Coret 2013, 373); adicionalmente, reproduz a natureza nortenha de tal processo – tal era, com efeito, a origem de seu(s) autor(es). Observemos como o MS “K” do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* apresenta os temas a discorrer ao longo da crônica:

اما بعد فقد اختصرنا أخبار الزنوج في ساحل بحر الهند نحو المغرب وخط الاستواء تبييناً لمن خلق الله فيها من الزنوج الذين كانوا بالجَبِّ وهم كشور باللغة العربية الاصلية و نيكاً بلغة السواحل وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزنوج وعمرُوا البلدان والمدن والقرى وسكنوا فيها من زمن الجاهلية وذلك برأى تبع الحميري الاكبر وأخبار بني قيس غيلان الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزنوج من بر العرب نقصت بسبب ابرهة الاشرم أمير النجاشي الحبشي في عام الفيل ونزاوا الى مكان يقال له جبّ وأخبار انتقال الزنوج من الجبّ الى الموضع الذي يقال له غرياما بعد موغّي وذلك من اجل بني قيس غيلان وهربوا منهم وسميوا بذلك كشور وأخبار سكون البكوم بخر الذي يقال له الآن مُتْ تَنْ

Sumarizamos então as informações a respeito dos *Zunūj* na costa do oceano Índico, nas direções do poente e do Equador, ou seja: aqueles a quem Deus ali criara – os *Zunūj* às margens do Juba, isto é, os *Kuṣūr* na língua árabe original, e *WaNyika* na língua suaíli. E informações sobre os árabes que vieram ao país dos *Zunūj* e erigiram habitações nos distritos, cidades e vilas, e ali permaneceram no tempo da *jāhiliyyah* por determinação do Tubba<sup>c</sup> al-Himyarī, o Maior. E informações a respeito da tribo de Qays Ġaylān, que veio ao país dos *Zunūj* da terra dos árabes, segundo as narrativas, por causa de Abraha al-Ašram, emir do *negus* da Abissínia no Ano do Elefante, e que foi para um lugar chamado Juba. E informações sobre a transferência dos *Zunūj* do Juba até um lugar chamado Ġiryāmā, outrora Mūġīya. Isto por causa da tribo de Qays Ġaylān, de quem fugiram: sendo, por isso, chamados *Kuṣūr*. E informações a respeito do paradeiro dos Pokomo, em um rio hoje chamado Mtu Tana.

Neste brevírio, sobrepõem-se diversas camadas narrativas que se relacionam, de forma intrínseca, com a fé islâmica. A principal referência é, sem dúvida, o Alcorão, cujas narrativas são acrescidas de tradições cujo emprego demonstra a versatilidade e a erudição dos ‘*ulamā*’ responsáveis por sua fixação num todo coerente com a história árabe que pretendiam contar. Seu maior índice são as personagens: um certo Tubba<sup>c</sup> do reino judeu do Himiar, no sul da Península Arábica em tempos pré-islâmicos (جاهلية *Jāhiliyya*, a “era da ignorância” em que o Islã ainda não fora revelado) se dirige ao litoral leste-africano. Trata-se de uma figura citada no Alcorão

(44:37; 50:14)<sup>28</sup> enquanto líder de um povo detrator dos profetas, tendo perecido por tal motivo. No *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, entretanto, tal personagem é dignificada, e à “tribo de Israel” (Banī ‘Isrā’īl) é atribuída a fundação de Maqdīšū (Mogadíscio) como a primeira cidade da Costa Suaíli. Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 28) cogitam uma eventual influência de tradições etíopes – mesmo cristãs – nesta narrativa, que ocorre somente no MS “K”;<sup>29</sup> algo em direta consonância com a abrangência nortenha desta obra, como vimos, algo sobremaneira destacado pela indicação do pioneirismo de Mogadíscio. Não é difícil supor as razões, a partir disso, pelas quais Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn Mukarram, *qāḍī*-chefe daquela cidade, encomendou o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* a E. Cerulli.

Outra personagem citada, oriunda da tradição muçulmana, é o general Abraha al-Ašram, comandante das tropas de Axum durante a ocupação abissínia do Iêmen, no século VI. Sua figura é associada à *sūra* 105 do Alcorão, *Al-Fīl* (“O Elefante”), que narra a tentativa de destruição do templo da Ka’aba, em Meca, pelos “possuidores do elefante” (Alcorão 105:1: “بِأَصْحَابِ الْفِيلِ [...]”) – assim chamados, pois as tropas abissínicas de Abraha utilizariam tais animais como montaria de guerra. Por esse motivo, o ano de 570 d.C., em que o profeta Muḥammad (ﷺ) nascera, seria conhecido como o Ano do Elefante. No *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, tanto no MS “K” quanto no “L”, tal história é evocada à guisa de explicação das origens dos Oromo, enquanto ex-partidários de Abraha que teriam recusado a Revelação do Islã e emigrado da Etiópia em direção às margens do rio Juba. Embora não sejam inseridos na genealogia de Noé – não sendo considerados *zanj*, como nas classificações étnico-geográficas do Islã pré-moderno –, os Oromo serão associados a outra origem que lhes imputa uma natureza pernicioso.

Num primeiro momento, interessa-nos o fato de que tais narrativas reproduzidas nas crônicas em questão não constituem apenas um esforço em demonstrar conexões diretas entre a África Oriental e a história árabe-islâmica clássica, mas são igualmente reveladoras a respeito do repertório

<sup>28</sup> Alcorão 44:37: “Quê! Acaso são eles preferíveis ao povo de Tubba’ e seus antepassados? Nós os aniquilamos, por haverem sido pecadores”. 50:14: “Os habitantes da floresta e o povo de Tubba’, todos desmentiram os mensageiros e todos mereceram a Minha advertência”. Ambos excertos extraídos da tradução de Samir El Hayek (2020).

<sup>29</sup> “E sua afirmação ‘Nós os escolhemos’ significa Mūsa e Banī ‘Isrā’īl, e eles construíram Maqdīšū, e foi a primeira cidade que construíram; e então Basāsa [Mombaça?], originalmente árabe” (Kitāb... K 2020, 28). Vê-se, aqui, a reivindicação da noção judaica de “povo escolhido” em associação ao Reino Himiarita, tido por fundador das primeiras cidades na costa leste-africana. No original: “وقوله اخترناهم يعني موسى وبنی اسرائيل وعمرؤا مقدشوه فهي” “اول مدينة التي عمر وها تم بساسة عربية اصلية” (Kitāb... K 2020, 243).

cultural e intelectual de que dispunham os *waungwana* em sua empreitada cronística (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 17). A apropriação de narrativas como a de Tubba<sup>c</sup> e do etíope Abraha al-Ašram não advém, tão-somente, da tradição religiosa; pressupõe, com efeito, uma familiaridade com certa literatura que, longe de ser objeto de especulação, é fartamente citada ao longo do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*<sup>30</sup> – permitindo-nos conhecer um pouco da cultura livresca a que se subscreviam os *‘ulamā’* da Costa Suaíli.

Dentre as obras referenciadas, temos trabalhos de exegese corânica, como o do *mufassir* Qatāda Ibn Di<sup>c</sup>āma (m. 117 H./735 d.C.); dicionários, como o *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, de al-Fīrūzābādī (m. 817 H./1414 d.C.); além de escritos do lexicógrafo persa Abū Hātim al-Sijistāni (m. 255 H./869 d.C.) – para citar alguns exemplos. De maior relevo para o nosso estudo é, certamente, uma das mais extensivamente citadas obras nos MSS em questão: trata-se de um tratado genealógico intitulado *Sabā’ik al-Dahab fī Ma’rifāt Qabā’il al-‘Arab* (“As Barras de Ouro do Conhecimento sobre as Tribos Árabs”), datado de c. 1814, e de autoria de um certo Abū al-Fawz Muḥammad Amīn al-Suwaydī (m. 1246 H./1830 d.C.). Descrito por A. Werner como um “comparatively recent work [...] of no great authority” (Elliot 1926a, 245), temo-lo, pelo contrário, como uma de nossas principais pistas em prol da reconstituição das influências diretas sobre esta produção literária leste-africana, e de sua intertextualidade.<sup>31</sup>

Com efeito, o *Sabā’ik al-Dahab* é o documento citado de forma indireta por J. A. G. Elliot ao se referir à obra pertencente a seu informante, “Fazili bin Omari”, em que se lê que “Africa belongs to the children of Ham, the descendant of Adam as set down in the book Sabaik Thahab” (Elliot 1926, 150). É esta pequena menção, inclusive, que nos permite saber que esta cópia apócrifa do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* em posse de Fāḍil Ibn ‘Umar al-Bawrī possuía redação mais próxima à do MS “K”. O MS “L” de Witu, por sua vez, não cita o *Sabā’ik al-Dahab* no excerto a que Elliot se refere. O que este oficial colonial leu, portanto, para depois reproduzir de memória em seu relato, foi possivelmente o seguinte:

<sup>30</sup> O mesmo se verifica no *Kawkab al-Durrīyah al-Aḥbār Ifrīqīyah*, de Fāḍil Ibn ‘Umar al-Bawrī, obra que segue proximamente, em múltiplas passagens, a composição do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*.

<sup>31</sup> E. Cerulli (1957, 254) descreve o *Sabā’ik al-Dahab* como “o livro mais utilizado também nas escolas muçulmanas da África Oriental, em matéria de genealogia das tribos árabes” (“il libro più in uso anche nelle scuole musulmane dell’Africa Orientale in materia di genealogia delle tribù Arabe”, no original).

وكان حام احسن الصورة بري الوجه فغير الله لونه ولون ذريته من  
الجل دعوة ابيه دعا عليه بتسويد الوجه وسواد ذريته وان يكون  
اولاده عبيداً للولاد سام ويافت فكثرتهم وغاهم وقصة  
تلك مبسوطة في كتب التواريخ كا ذكر في سبائك الذهب

E Hām era do mais belo aspecto, com um rosto puro. Porém, Deus alterou a cor de sua pele e a de sua descendência devido à súplica de seu pai, que orou contra ele para que empretecesse seu rosto, e que empretecesse os rostos de sua prole, e para que seus descendentes fossem escravos dos descendentes de Sām e Yāfit. E Ele os fez numerosos e os multiplicou; e esta narrativa se encontra nos livros de história, como mencionado no *Sabā'ik al-Dahab*.

Este detalhe nos permite aferir o alcance da circulação – ao menos, desta redação específica do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* “K” – de Mogadíscio, na Somália, contexto nortenho de sua provável origem, até Malindi, no litoral queniano. Sua presença mais ao sul parece pouco provável, dado o forte teor de oposição aos Mazāri'a de Mombaça presente em ambos os MSS, derivada de seu alinhamento discursivo com os Nabāhīn de Siyu e Pate. Este fato pode, inclusive, vir a explicar a presença do MS “L” em Witu, último bastião de sobrevivência daquela dinastia antes de sua conquista pelo poder colonial britânico, em 1890 (Coret 2012; Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 8).

Para além destas possíveis asserções – e eis nosso principal enfoque –, temos o *Sabā'ik al-Dahab* como referência direta para o mito de Cam (Hām) em, pelo menos, uma de suas conformações leste-africanas, conforme constante no *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. Erroneamente classificado por J. D. Rollins, em seu *A History of Swahili Prose*, enquanto crônica suaíli (Rollins 1983, 30), o *Sabā'ik al-Dahab* constitui, em verdade, um exemplar da literatura de ciências genealógicas (*ilm al-'ansāb*) que, numa sociedade cuja hierarquia social se sustenta sobre relações de ordem clânica, exerce papel capital. Há, no entanto, outro aspecto relevante: o fato de se tratar, justamente, de uma fonte escrita de autoridade à qual recorreram os cronistas responsáveis por fixar as origens e pertenças dinásticas em obras como o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* – evidência do que Anne K. Bang (2008) denominou como processo de “escrituralização” [*scripturalization*] das bases epistemológicas do Islā no litoral de África Oriental, no tardar do século XIX. Como sugere o historiador Zoltán Szombathy (2002), a legitimidade da escrita é elemento basilar da autoridade da *nisba*. É possível que o processo histórico de reforma do Islā na Costa Suaíli do período analisado conflua em sentido semelhante, sendo sobremaneira valorizado o registro escrito. Nas palavras deste autor:

The answer that I find most acceptable is that Arabic genealogy as part and parcel of the Islamic literate tradition is a neatly formulated, easily conceivable and flexible discourse adaptable to meet a multitude of social needs that arise in various groups, no matter if nomadic or sedentary, literate or non-literate, ruling or downtrodden, as long as these groups accept the legitimacy of the written Islamic tradition (Szombathy 2002, 11).

Conclusivamente, tais questões se tornam mais evidentes ao visualizarmos a estrutura da crônica em questão, que pode revelar certa hierarquia ou importância conferida às informações apresentadas a partir de sua concatenação.

### Estrutura dos documentos

O *Kitāb al-Zunūj* atende de forma relativa à estrutura e temporalidade características das demais crônicas leste-africanas. Clélia Coret (2013, 387) propõe que as crônicas suaílis operam em duas temporalidades distintas e complementares, que correspondem à fonte da narrativa transmitida:

- I. uma primeira temporalidade demarca o tempo imaginário e idealizado das origens míticas e dos mitos fundacionais, dizendo respeito às genealogias clânicas e dinásticas implicadas, neste contexto afromuçulmano, à história islâmica em sentido amplo – cujo conhecimento se dá pela remissão à literatura de ‘ansāb, por exemplo;
- II. a segunda temporalidade demarca o tempo da memória, dizendo respeito a tópicos cronologicamente muito mais próximos, de transmissão majoritariamente oral e, por conseguinte, ainda mais determinados pelas aspirações do presente *em que se conta*, para utilizarmos uma expressão de François Hartog (1999).

Segundo Pouwels (2002, 34), “the structures and functions of such accounts relate more to very recent history or to the present itself than to the more remote happenings which they purport to elucidate”. É por este motivo que as crônicas suaílis fixadas no século XIX serão muito mais *árabes* do que relatos constituídos anteriormente, como a dita *Crônica de Kilwa* em sua origem Šīrāzī das cidades-estado do litoral – e, portanto, persas (Coret 2013, 373). O estado de coisas determina a própria remissão ao tempo mítico, que lhe dá sentido.

Um dado relevante reside na própria terminologia que denomina a crônica suaíli: *habari*, que se constitui em empréstimo do árabe *ḥabar*, denotando narrativas ou relatos transmitidos e compilados. Não parece ocorrer,

entretanto, por parte dos cronistas suaílis, a adesão ao termo *ta'rīḥ* (تاريخ) para a designação deste gênero de escrita histórico-cronológica,<sup>32</sup> a exemplo de outras tradições historiográficas em sociedades afro-muçulmanas, especialmente na região do Sahel, em distinto intercâmbio com o Islã afro-setentrional. Com efeito, *ta'rīḥ*, que podemos sintetizar enquanto “historiografia”, nem sequer gerou o vocábulo kiswahili para a história em seu sentido disciplinar e de totalização do passado; esta tarefa coube, curiosamente, ao português, com o termo *historia*.

A elucidação das razões disso parece residir no que o historiador Pedro Chalmeta Gendrán (1972) sistematizou enquanto distinção entre o *ḥabar* e a *ta'rīḥ*, em seu estudo sobre a historiografia produzida nos reinos muçulmanos de al-Andalus, particularmente a partir do estabelecimento do Califado de Córdoba (317 H./929 d.C.). O primeiro corresponderia a uma forma primeva de registro dos acontecimentos e dos relatos – ligado, portanto, à transmissão oral<sup>33</sup> e à construção da própria narrativa histórica do Islã, em seus primeiros séculos; a segunda, a uma forma mais metódica, erudita e cronologicamente concatenada de produção histórico-literária: historiografia, propriamente dita.

Este [*ta'rīḥ*] não seria mais o trabalho espontâneo, popular e anônimo; mas sim a obra pessoal, bem pensada e trabalhada; orgulhando-se do fato de copiar documentos e arquivos, em vez de palavras [faladas], num sentido de ser ‘bem-lido’. Seria o trabalho de literatos, pessoas cultas, círculos intelectuais [...]. (Chalmeta Gendrán 1972, *apud* Subrahmanyam 2010, 122)<sup>34</sup>

A *ta'rīḥ* se distingue do *ḥabar* nas fontes autoritativas de seu conhecimento. Se, por um lado, podemos afirmar que obras de *ta'rīḥ* não eram

<sup>32</sup> É importante frisar que os eruditos suaílis, arabófonos, certamente estavam familiarizados com o gênero das *ta'rīḥ* e suas especificidades inerentes, não se isentando, portanto, em redigir obras que atendessem às propriedades do gênero. Maior evidência disso é a existência de obras como a *Ta'rīḥ Wilāyat al-Mazār'a fī Ifrīqīyah al-Šarqīyah* (“História da Dinastia dos Mazārica da África Oriental”) – uma história do clã Mazrūṭī, que governou Mombaça até sua conquista pelos busaiditas em 1837, e composta pelo *šayḥ* al-Amīn Ibn 'Alī al-Mazrūṭī (1890-1947). A distinção entre as práticas das *habari* e da *ta'rīḥ* era uma escolha consciente por parte dos literatos suaílis, em cada caso (Bang 2003, 103; Soghayroun 1999).

<sup>33</sup> Segundo P. M. Criado (2022, 140), a partir da raiz árabe *ḥ-b-r* (حبر), “a forma nominal *khabar* [*ḥabar*] designa o produto da ação *akhbara* [*‘aḥbara*], que significa ‘informar/relatar oralmente’ [...]. Por isso, o termo ‘relato’ define esse tipo de narrativa coletada a partir de testemunhos orais, proferidos em circunstâncias seculares”. Diferenciar-se-ia, neste sentido, do processo de compilação dos *aḥādīṭ*, cujo aspecto de transmissão religiosa lhe confere outras características.

<sup>34</sup> Originalmente publicado em: Chalmeta Gendrán, Pedro. 1972. “Historiografia medieval hispana: Arabica”. *Al-Andalus* 37 (2): 353–404.

estranhas aos literatos suaílis e que, de fato, estes últimos mobilizavam vasto material escrito em sua composição cronística, não era este aspecto, por outro, o determinante de sua prática; em especial, considerando-se a circulação primariamente oral das narrativas – portanto, *habari*. Ora, a própria narrativa de cunho histórico é o mais profuso tema em todo gênero de literatura produzida na Costa Suaíli; incluso o dado oral, na aparente contradição que o faz deixar de sê-lo, em sua fixação cronística (Coppola 2018, 149; Wamitila 2020, 722).<sup>35</sup>

A dupla temporalidade implicada na tipologia das fontes do cronista se reflete em uma demarcada quebra narrativa entre as histórias narradas *in illo tempore* e os acontecimentos mais *próximos*: principia-se o relato com as histórias de fundação de cidades por soberanos muçulmanos – em geral, califas notórios associados aos domínios Omíada (41-133 H./661-750 d.C.) e Abássida (133-657 H./750-1258 d.C.), objetivando-se alinhar as origens dinásticas leste-africanas a linhagens renomadas da Pérsia e da Arábia e associar a história da Costa Suaíli a eventos-chave da trajetória do próprio Islã; afinal, segundo esta visão atrelada às ciências genealógicas, tal seria a única explicação possível de origem de uma sociedade muçulmana, igualmente servindo para fundamentar e legitimar certo *statu quo* (Pouwels 2002, 35; Ritchie & Von Sicard 2020, 13). Após a remissão inicial, muitas crônicas incorrem em certo salto cronológico a tempos mais recentes – eis o compasso da memória, das dinastias e acontecimentos localmente conhecidos, em verdadeira justaposição ao passado remoto com que se conecta discursivamente (Wamitila 2020, 723).

Esta quebra narrativa se faz presente no *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. Ambos os MSS do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* seguem uma divisão interna em *fuṣūl* (sing. *faṣl* [ فصل ], “capítulo”), *abwāb* (sing. *bāb* [ باب ], “seção”) e *ḥikāyāt* (sing. *ḥikāya* [ حكاية ], “história” ou “anedota”). Quanto à introdução e aos primeiros *fuṣūl*, pode-se dizer que principiam com a Criação da humanidade e sua distinção por Deus – valendo-se, para tal, do mito camítico. Passa-se à fundação idealizada das cidades-estado do litoral suaíli, envolvendo tanto narrativas pré-islâmicas quanto episódios que as conectassem aos primeiros califados, como mencionado, até meados do século II H./VIII d.C. No entanto, os demais séculos de história até a chegada dos portugueses – momento em que se engendra certo protagonismo árabe-omani em relação à África Oriental – são ignorados. É uma obra, no fim das contas, com os olhos voltados para seu próprio tempo.

<sup>35</sup> Para J. A. S. Casco (1996, 393), a transmissão oral em contexto suaíli cumpria a “função narrativa” associada à *ta’rīḥ* da historiografia árabe.

A seguir, estão duas tabelas que compreendem o teor de cada subdivisão interna do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, tanto em relação ao MS “K” quanto ao “L”. Dada a extensão da obra, a tradução lusófona que apresentamos ao final deste artigo, justaposta ao texto árabe reconstituído, restringe-se aos respectivos proêmios, na medida em que sumarizam as narrativas compiladas e nos permitem inferir, ao mesmo tempo, a ordem discursiva aristocrática do estrato *ungwana* – objeto principal do estudo que deu origem a esta tradução. Inclui-se, igualmente, o que identificamos como *faṣl* I do MS “L”, por sua narrativa corresponder àquela apresentada ainda no que chamamos de Abertura do MS “K”.

<b>Subdivisões</b>	<b>Teor (síntese)</b>
Abertura	Do que trata o livro; a maldição de Cam e Canaã (2×); menção a Šuġwāyah; costumes dos Kushūr.
Capítulo (Faṣl) I	Vinda do Tubba’ ‘l-Ḥimyarī à África Oriental e fundação de inúmeras cidades; a fuga dos Zanj (e o motivo de serem chamados Kushūr); as relações entre árabes e <i>Zunūj</i> .
Capítulo (Faṣl) II	Tentativa de invasão de Makka por parte de Abraha al-Ashram no “Ano do Elefante” (570); expansão do Islā nos tempos do califa ‘Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb; migração do Banū Qays Ghaylān (Oromo) para o sul e expulsão dos Kushūr; fixação dos Mijikenda no delta do Tana e na “terra dos Giriama”; associação das “tribos Zanj dos Kushūr” a tribos árabes.
Capítulo (Faṣl) III	Enviados do califa omíada ‘Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān cobram o kharāj nas terras suaílis; as relações do califa Abū Ja’far ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr e Hārūn al-Rashīd com a costa (e a guerra deste último contra os <i>Zunūj</i> ); a guerra do califa al-Ma’mūn contra Malindī devido à miḥna (“fitna”).
História (Ḥikāya) I	Episódio sobre o nome de Mombaça e interferência dos turcos em oposição às ações dos califas contra a costa.
Capítulo (Faṣl) IV	Vinda dos Naṣāra (cristãos) liderados por Waskū Dighāma (Vasco da Gama); a construção do Forte Jesus em Mombaça; genealogia dos Baūrīs; uma longa narrativa sobre a expulsão dos portugueses pelo Imām Sayf Ibn Sulṭān al-Ya’rubī; a linhagem dos Mazrūī.
Capítulo (Faṣl) V	Deposição de Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya’rubī e ascensão dos Bū Sa’īdī em Omā; o governo de Sa’īd bin Sulṭān; a conquista da soberania Bū Sa’īdī em Mombaça (queda dos Mazrūī); a batalha de Shela e a vitória de Lamu; guerra de Sa’īd bin Sulṭān contra Mombaça.
História (Ḥikāya) II	A prisão dos últimos Mazāri’a; guerra de Zanzibar contra Siyu; morte de Sayyid Sa’īd bin Sulṭān e querela entre Mājid bin Sa’īd e Barghash bin Sa’īd; relato da jihad dos Somali (Birbira) contra os Ghaylān (Oromo) e sua escravização.

Subdivisões	Teor (síntese)
Capítulo (Faṣl) VI	A divisão da herança de Abū Bakr bin Shaykh bin Mngūmi 'l-Makhzūmī, de Lamu; o assassinato de um cristão em Kisimāyū e execução de um escravidado; morte de Mājīd e ascensão de Barghash (1870); encômio de Barghash.
Capítulo (Faṣl) VII	Tentativa de aliança de Barghash bin Sa'īd com os turco-otomanos a fim de repelir os britânicos; o complô de John Kirk para enganar Barghash.
Capítulo (Faṣl) VIII	Baraza (colóquio) de Barghash bin Sa'īd com os Kushūr e os Kamba; guerra de Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrū'ī contra os Kushūr e os Giriama e escravização destes; prisão de Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrū'ī e de seus próximos por parte de Barghash, como punição; morte de Barghash bin Sa'īd.

### 1 Estrutura do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* “K”

Subdivisões	Teor (síntese)
Abertura	Sumário de temas de que trata o livro; a maldição de Cam e Canaã (2x); menção a Šuġwāyah.
Capítulo (Faṣl) I	Costumes dos Kushūr; levirato e dote, e exemplos.
Capítulo (Faṣl) II	Os doze “tipos” de Kushūr.
Seção (Bāb)	Vinda do Tubba' 'l-Ĥimyarī à África Oriental, e a fundação de inúmeras cidades; exegese etimológica de “Zinjibār”; a fuga dos Zanj (e o motivo de serem chamados Kushūr); as relações entre árabes e <i>Zunūj</i> .
Capítulo (Faṣl) III	Tentativa de invasão de Makka por parte de Abraha al-Ashram no “Ano do Elefante” (570); expansão do Islā nos tempos do califa 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb; migração do Banū Qays Ghaylān (Oromo) para o sul e expulsão dos Kushūr; o motivo dos “Ghaylān” serem negros, mesmo com suposta ascendência árabe; a idolatria dos Ghaylān; fixação dos Miji Kenda no Delta do Tana e na “terra dos Giriama”; associação das “tribos Zanj dos Kushūr” a tribos árabes.
Capítulo (Faṣl) IV	Enviados do califa omíada 'Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān cobram o kharāj nas terras suaílis; as relações do califa Abū Ja'far 'Abdallah al-Manšūr e Hārūn al-Rashīd com a costa (e a guerra deste último contra os <i>Zunūj</i> ); Hārūn al-Rashīd substitui os chefes árabes da costa por persas Širāzi; guerra do califa al-Ma'mūn contra Malindi devido à <i>miḥna</i> (“fitna”).
História (Ĥikāya) I	Episódio sobre o nome de Mombaça, e a interferência dos turcos em oposição às ações dos califas contra a costa.
Capítulo (Faṣl) V	Vinda dos Našāra (cristãos) liderados por Waskū Dighāma (Vasco da Gama); a construção do Forte Jesus em Mombaça; genealogia dos Baūrīs; uma longa narrativa sobre a expulsão dos portugueses pelo Imām Sayf Ibn Sulṭān al-Ya'rubī; a linhagem dos Mazrū'ī em Mombaça decisão dos Sheikhs de Omā e Mascate em depor Sayf bin Sulṭān bin Sayf al-Ya'rubī, filho do Qa'id al-Arḍ; e ascensão dos Bū Sa'īdī em Omā; o governo de Sa'īd bin Sulṭān; a conquista da soberania Bū Sa'īdī em Mombaça (queda dos Mazrū'ī); a batalha de Shela e a vitória de Lamu; guerra de Sa'īd bin Sulṭān contra Mombaça.

Subdivisões	Teor (síntese)
História (Ḥikāya) II	A prisão dos últimos Mazāri'a; guerra de Zanzibar contra Siyu; o amīr Ḥammād mata os Sheikhs dos Bajūni; a questão da reconstrução de Malindi, e o interesse inglês; morte de Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān e querela entre Mājid bin Sa'īd e Barghash bin Sa'īd; a divisão dos sultanatos de Omā e Zanzibar; relato da <i>jihad</i> dos Somali (Birbira) contra os Ghaylān (Oromo), e sua escravização.
História (Ḥikāya) III	Detalhes sobre a escravização dos Ghaylān “por seus próprios escravos”, e da mudança de sua sorte (Alcorão 30:37).
Capítulo (Faṣl) VI	Mājid “constrói” Kisimāyū, onde os Somali se abrigam após a <i>jihad</i> contra os Oromo; encômio e morte de Mājid.
Capítulo (Faṣl) VII	Tentativa de aliança de Barghash bin Sa'īd com os turco-otomanos a fim de repelir os britânicos; o complô de John Kirk para enganar Barghash; detalhamento sobre pressão pelo fim da escravidão; guerra de Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūī contra os Kushūr e os Giriama, e escravização destes; prisão de Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūī e de seus próximos por parte de Barghash, como punição; defesa da escravidão por parte do autor; morte de Barghash bin Sa'īd; a sucessão de péssimos sultões após Barghash; discurso contra os “Ifranj”; Khālid bin Barghash e a Guerra Anglo-Zanzibari de 1896; morte de Ḥamūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa'īd (1903-1904) e chegada de 'Alī bin Ḥamūd ao “poder”.

2 Estrutura do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* “L”

### Tradução dos primeiros fólhos dos MSS “K” e “L” do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*

Alguns apontamentos quanto à metodologia empregada na tradução a seguir se fazem necessários. Em primeiro lugar, adotou-se uma crítica comparada dos textos árabes apresentados tanto na edição italiana de Cerulli quanto na anglófona de Ritchie e Von Sicard. Uma primeira dificuldade imposta pela primeira edição diz respeito à omissão da íntegra do MS “L” por Cerulli: ao compreender o manuscrito de Kismayo enquanto a obra *original* a ser reconstituída, dispensou importância secundária ao MS “L” de Witu, apresentando suas especificidades na forma de um anexo intitulado “Varianti del MS L” (Cerulli 1957, 326), sem incluir, em boa parte, o respectivo texto árabe. Neste caso, seguimos o documento conforme apresentado por Ritchie e Von Sicard.

Inobstante o fato de os tradutores anglófonos apresentarem a íntegra de ambos os MSS, seu texto árabe possui determinadas falhas e lacunas que se tornam evidentes ante a tradução apresentada; por vezes, parecem interpretar erroneamente apontamentos de Cerulli, como quando omitem a doxologia islâmica da *bismillah* na abertura do MS “L”; mais hediondo, contudo, é seu procedimento de “correção” das passagens em que o amanuense se vale do *kiarabu*, ou *ʿajāmī*, para a transliteração de termos oriundos da

língua kiswahili – no caso do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, particularmente topônimos e etnônimos. O consonantário árabe enriquecido com letras persas como *p* (پ) e *che* (چ), a fim de representar as especificidades fonéticas da língua de matriz bantu, é suprimido pelos editores em um processo consciente: Ritchie e Von Sicard apenas registram as alterações em notas de rodapé facilmente negligenciáveis. Em nome da integridade do texto, fazendo justiça ao intento original, restituímos o *kiarabu* ao texto apresentado enquanto documento, quando fosse o caso.

Por fim, um comentário acerca da romanização de termos árabes – o que também se aplica àqueles transliterados ao longo do presente artigo. Valemos de uma adaptação da proposta elaborada por Safa Jubran (2004), que leva em consideração as especificidades da língua portuguesa sem abdicar, apesar disso, da fidelidade à língua árabe original. Em relação à toponímia de uso consagrado, no entanto, optamos pela grafia moderna em português (como, por exemplo, *Omā* em vez de °*Umān*), de forma a tornar fluida a leitura quando a exatidão do termo original não se demonstrar necessária à compreensão da passagem.

## KITĀB AL-ZUNŪJ “K” / كتاب الزنوج

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وبه نستعين هذا الكتاب الزنوج وأخبارهم في ساحل بحر الهند نحو المغرب الحمد لله الخالق البارئ الوود ذو الفضل والكرم والجود الذي جعل خلقه<sup>36</sup> ألواناً من بيض وحمرة وسود وفضل بعضهم على بعض بالسيادة والطول والسعود وقضى لمن دعا<sup>37</sup> عليه والده بتسويد الوجوه وذريته<sup>38</sup> تكون لذرية ولديه عبيداً والصلاة والسلام على المصطفى المحمود وعلى آله وأصحابه أهل الركع والسجود.

Em nome de Deus, o Clemente, o Misericordioso, cuja ajuda invocamos. Este é o Livro dos *Zunūj* e das informações<sup>39</sup> a seu respeito na costa do oceano Índico, na direção oeste. Louvado seja Deus, o Criador, Amado Artífice, Possuidor de Excelência, Generosidade e Bondade, que deu à Sua

<sup>36</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 241) apresentam “لخفه” no texto árabe.

<sup>37</sup> Cerulli (1957, 233) apresenta “دعى”.

<sup>38</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard inserem “وذريته”. Note-se que não é possível distinguir entre eventuais equívocos preservados do escriba original (que, sabidamente, não era falante nativo do árabe), desatenção dos tradutores ou mesmo intervenções destes últimos, quando ocorre a grafia correta. A ausência da materialidade dos manuscritos, conforme discutido ao longo da dissertação, inibe qualquer asserção neste sentido – salvo quando explicitado pelos tradutores em notas de rodapé.

<sup>39</sup> ‘*Ahbār* (أخبار), “informações”, “notícias”, “relatos”; atentar para o debate anteriormente exposto.

Criação as cores branco, vermelho e preto;<sup>40</sup> e preferiu uns dentre outros<sup>41</sup> em matéria de autoridade, grandeza e felicidade; e determinou àquele cujo pai rezara<sup>42</sup> contra ele para que seu rosto e de sua prole fossem empretecidos, e que fossem escravos da prole de seus dois filhos.<sup>43</sup> Bênçãos e paz estejam sobre o Eleito, o Comendável,<sup>44</sup> e sobre sua família e Companheiros, o povo devoto em genuflexão e prostração.

اما بعد فقد اختصرنا أخبار الزوج في ساحل بحر الهند نحو المغرب  
وخط الاستواء تبيانا لمن خلق الله فيها من الزوج الذين كانوا  
بالجَبِّ وهم كشور باللغة العربية الاصلية وونيكا بلغة السواحل  
وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزوج وعمروا البلدان والمدن والقرى  
وسكنوا فيها من زمن الجاهلية وذلك برأي تبع الحميري الاكبر وأخبار  
بني قيس غيلان الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزوج من بر العرب نقصت بسبب  
ابرهة الاشرم أمير النجاشي الحبشي في عام الفيل ونزاوا الى مكان يقال  
له جبّ وأخبار انتقال الزوج من الجبّ الى الموضع الذي يقال له غرياما  
بعد موغّي وذلك من أجل بني قيس غيلان وهربوا منهم وسميوا بذلك كشور  
وأخبار سكون البقوم بخر الذي يقال له الآن مُتُّ تَنْ.

Sumarizamos então as informações a respeito dos *Zunūj* na costa do oceano Índico, nas direções do poente e do Equador, ou seja: aqueles a quem Deus ali criara – os *Zunūj* às margens do Juba, isto é, os *Kuṣūr* na língua árabe original, e *WaNyika* na língua suaíli. E informações sobre os árabes que vieram ao país dos *Zunūj* e erigiram habitações nos distritos, cidades e vilas, e ali permaneceram no tempo da *jāhiliyyah*<sup>46</sup> por determinação do Tubba<sup>a</sup> al-Himyarī, o Maior. E informações a respeito da tribo de Qays Ġaylān,<sup>47</sup> que veio

<sup>40</sup> Alcorão 35:27-28.

<sup>41</sup> Alcorão 16:71.

<sup>42</sup> Na tradução italiana de Cerulli: “e condannò (Cam), colui che era stato maledetto da suo padre”. Entretanto, como nos recorda Benjamin Braude (2002, 105), as doutrinas islâmicas possuem restrições quanto ao amaldiçoamento por parte de um Profeta: pode um Mensageiro “maldizer”?

<sup>43</sup> No caso, os outros dois filhos de Noé (Nūḥ): Sām e Yāfit.

<sup>44</sup> Títulos associados ao profeta Muḥammad (ﷺ).

<sup>45</sup> “Tāna”. Ritchie e Von Sicard apresentam “Tānā” (“تانا”), sem diacríticos.

<sup>46</sup> A “era da ignorância”: os tempos pré-islâmicos.

<sup>47</sup> Primeira referência aos povos Oromo, descritos como a “tribo de Qays Ġaylān”, apontando para sua suposta ascendência árabe. Note-se que o termo “tribo” (*banī*, lit. “filhos” ou “descendentes”) jamais é empregado, nos textos em questão, em referência aos ditos *Zunūj*; são vistos como desprovidos de linhagem (*ʿansāb*).

ao país dos *Zunūj* da terra dos árabes, segundo as narrativas,<sup>48</sup> por causa de Abraha al-Ašram, emir do *negus* da Abissínia no Ano do Elefante,<sup>49</sup> e que foi para um lugar chamado Juba. E informações sobre a transferência dos *Zunūj* do Juba até um lugar chamado Ġiryāmā, outrora Mūġīya.<sup>50</sup> Isto por causa da tribo de Qays Ġaylān, de quem fugiram: sendo, por isso, chamados *Kušūr*. E informações a respeito do paradeiro dos Pokomo, em um rio hoje chamado Mtu Tāna.

وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا من عمان بسبب كثرة الحرب بعمان  
استراحًا هنا وسكنوا بأرض أم وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا من عمان  
أيضًا الى ممباسة بسبب البيع وشراء<sup>٥١</sup> هيلة<sup>٥٢</sup> ينظروا طرق الدخول الى ممباسة قبل  
السنت ٦٨٠١ وأخبار الحرب وخروج البرتغيس من ممباسة ومدة سكنون العرب اهل  
الولاية من المزارع وانعزوا لهم عنها وذلك بتأريج  
٤٥٢١ وأخبار سعيد بن سلطان والمزروعيين ووحروباتهم وأخبار  
السمايين والغيلانيين الذين كانوا بالحب وحر بهم وما جرى  
على الغيلان وابتيا عهم وغير ذلك من الامور التي حرت.

E informações a respeito dos árabes que vieram de Omā devido à gravidade da guerra em Omā,<sup>53</sup> e que aqui encontraram refúgio e se estabeleceram na terra de Āmu.<sup>54</sup> E informações a respeito dos árabes que vieram de Omā para Mombaça antes do ano 1086,<sup>55</sup> e informações acerca da guerra e da fuga dos portugueses de Mombaça; e sobre o período de permanência da família árabe dos Mazārī<sup>56</sup> enquanto *liwālis*,<sup>56</sup> e sua expulsão no ano de 1254.<sup>57</sup> E as informações a respeito de Saʿīd Ibn Sulṭān e os Mazrūʿī, e suas guerras;

<sup>48</sup> بقصة – *biqissa* (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 23).

<sup>49</sup> 570 d.C.; cf. Alcorão 105.

<sup>50</sup> Cerulli (1957) descarta se tratar da localidade de Munghia, na província somali do Baixo Juba. Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 23) decidem por “Muwingaya”. De qualquer modo, a letra ġayn (ġ) parece transliterar, no *kiarabulʿajāmī*, o encontro consonantal *-ng-* presente na língua kiswahili (cf. Mugane 2017).

<sup>51</sup> Cerulli apresenta o artigo definido, portanto, “الوشراء”.

<sup>52</sup> Cerulli apresenta “حيله” no texto árabe.

<sup>53</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 24) omitem a informação sobre a guerra.

<sup>54</sup> Antigo nome para Lamu, em forma dialetal Bajuni (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 31).

<sup>55</sup> A obra se refere ao calendário islâmico. 1086 H. equivale a 1675 d.C.

<sup>56</sup> *Liwali*. Do termo árabe *wālī* (والى), denominação que conota uma relação de clientela e esteve associada aos governadores das cidades-estado suaílis, nomeados e submetidos aos sultões de Omā e Zanzibar. Muito embora o termo empregado no texto esteja em árabe, seguimos Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 65) na decisão de traduzi-lo em sua versão corrente no contexto de Mombaça, no século XIX.

<sup>57</sup> ± 1838 d.C.

e informações sobre os Somalis e os Ġaylān que estavam no Juba, e suas guerras; e sobre o que ocorreu aos Ġaylān, e sua venda como escravos, dentre outros acontecimentos.

فأقول وبالله التوفيق الحام ابن نبي الله نوح ابن لمك عليه الصلاة  
والسلام وهو ابو السودان والاصغر من اولاد نوح وجان احام الاربعة  
اولاد مصر وكنعان وكوش وقوط فالحبشة من اولاد كوش بن حام  
والنوبة والزج من اولاد كنعان بن حام وكان حام احسن الصورة بري  
الوجه فغير الله لونه ولون ذريته من الجل دعوة ابيه دعا عليه بتسويد  
الوجه وسواد ذريته وان يكون اولاده عبيداً الولاد سام وياقت فكثُر هم  
وغاهم وقصة تلك مبسوطه في كتب التواريخ كما ذكر في سبائك الذهب  
ولما قسم نبي الله الارض لاولاده كانت افريقية لحام وولد اولاد واولاده  
السودان ولم يتعدي شعورهم اذانهم كما رأيناهم الآن وانتشر وا على  
الارض وملئت منهم وقطنوا ووقعوا بساحل البحر بناحية  
المغرب في خط الاستواء والجوب قوم يقال هم الكشور بالغة  
العربية بالمعنى والآن ونيكا.

Eu declaro, com a ajuda de Deus, que Hām, filho do Profeta de Deus Nūḥ, filho de Lamik – bênçãos e paz estejam sobre ele – é o pai dos pretos, e o caçula dentre os filhos de Nūḥ. Hām teve quatro filhos: Miṣr, Kan<sup>ān</sup>, Kūš e Qūt; os abissínios descendem da prole de Kūš, filho de Hām, e os núbios e os *Zanj* descendem da prole de Kan<sup>ān</sup>, filho de Hām. E Hām era do mais belo aspecto, com um rosto puro. Porém, Deus alterou a cor de sua pele e a de sua descendência devido à súplica de seu pai, que orou contra ele para que empretecesse seu rosto, e que empretecesse os rostos de sua prole, e para que seus descendentes fossem escravos dos descendentes de Sām e Yāfīt. E Ele os fez numerosos e os multiplicou; e esta narrativa se encontra nos livros de história, como mencionado no *Sabā'ik al-Dahab*.<sup>58</sup> Quando o Profeta de Deus dividiu a terra entre seus filhos, a África foi dada a Hām. Ele gerou filhos, e seus filhos eram os pretos, e seus cabelos não passavam das orelhas, como os observamos agora. Eles habitaram a terra e ela se preencheu deles,

<sup>58</sup> Como vimos, trata-se do tratado genealógico *Sabā'ik al-Dahab fī Ma'rifāt Qabā'il al-ʿArab*, de al-Suwaydī (m. 1830).

e se estabeleceram na costa ocidental do mar,<sup>59</sup> no Equador e no Juba – um povo chamado *al-Kuṣūr*, na língua árabe, e agora *WaNyika*.<sup>60</sup>

وكان ذلك النحو ليس فيه أمة سواهم وبعد مسير اثني عشر يوم هنالك  
الحبشة وكان الكشور اهل بقر وغنم ودجاج ويزرعون الذري الرومي  
واللوبيا والمنج ومسييل وليس لهم فواكه سوى الزنجلي وكان أشهر  
بلد تلدا نهم تدعى شغواية وكبير هم يقال له مزي شاغواي<sup>61</sup> مگوما  
كان شغوايه دار ملوكهم واحكامهم مشهورة

Não havia naquele lugar outro povo senão eles; e a doze dias de caminhada, estava a Abissínia. Os *Kuṣūr* eram um povo de [criadores de] bovinos, ovinos e galinhas, e cultivavam o milho, o feijão-de-corda,<sup>62</sup> o painço e o musībal,<sup>63</sup> e não havia frutas senão as oriundas das terras dos *zanj*.<sup>64</sup> Seu

<sup>59</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 26) atribuem esta referência a uma “costa ocidental” a um erro do amanuense, uma vez que o MS “L” do *Kitāb al-Zunij* fala em “oriente” (*šarq*). Ambos os manuscritos, contudo, partem de diferentes pontos de referência; desde suas primeiras linhas, o MS “K” adota uma posição centrada no Índico; o MS “L”, por sua vez, adota a moderna nomenclatura “África Oriental” (إفريقية المشرق); que, em kiswahili, verte-se *Afrika Mashariki*).

<sup>60</sup> Aqui, as traduções de Cerulli e de Ritchie e Von Sicard divergem substancialmente. Cerulli inicia um novo parágrafo quando da menção da dispersão dos filhos de Ḥām, essencialmente separando estes dos *Kuṣūr*: “Il lido del mare (delle Indie) dalla parte di Occidente sull’Equatore ed il Giuba toccò ad un popolo detto Kašur in lingua araba ed ora chiamato Wa-Nyika” (Cerulli 1957, 254). Contudo, parece-nos que esta descrição diz respeito ainda ao paradeiro da descendência de Ḥām – a qual constitui, afinal, os ditos *WaNyika*; este é o intento de toda exposição. Deste modo, seguimos a solução de Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 25-26) no que tange à coesão narrativa: “They spread over the earth and it was filled with them, and they dwelt and there came to live on the Western coastlands on the Equator and the Juba a people called al-Kuṣūr in the Arabic language with the meaning, and now WaNyika”.

<sup>61</sup> Note-se a letra “پ” – simbolizando o fonema /p/, ausente do árabe –, muito embora Ritchie e Von Sicard omitam o *kīrabu* no texto apresentado, legando-o a um rodapé; restituímo-lo, portanto, ao corpo da narrativa. Para todas as inferências fonéticas, valemo-nos, naturalmente, do Alfabeto Fonético Internacional (IPA), disponível em: <https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/full-ipa-chart>.

<sup>62</sup> Feijão-de-corda (*Panicum miliaceum*), em árabe: *manj* (منج). Tal informação consta de um rodapé de Ritchie e Von Sicard; contudo, os próprios introduzem, erroneamente, um cognato no texto: “manga” (*Mangifera indica*), em árabe: *mānjā* (مانجا) – o que, naturalmente, não aparece na tradução italiana, e pode dizer respeito ao trabalho a quatro mãos realizado, em diferentes momentos, por James McL. Ritchie e Sigvard Von Sicard. De qualquer modo, a passagem seguinte descarta qualquer possibilidade de se tratar da fruta.

<sup>63</sup> Como notado por Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 26), a tradução de Cerulli omite esta palavra.

<sup>64</sup> “Terra dos *zanj*”. Trata-se de tradução do desconhecido termo *al-zanjālī* (الزنجلي). Cerulli (1957, 254) o traduz enquanto “boscaglia”, como sinônimo da *nyika*, entendida como habitat dos ditos *zanj*. Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 26), por sua vez, preservam o termo “zangali” no texto, pontuando a possibilidade de se tratar do gengibre (em árabe, *zanjabīl* – e, curiosamente, sem qualquer conexão etimológica com o *zanj*). Contextualmente, seguimos a interpretação de Cerulli.

mais célebre país se chama Šuġwāyāh, e seu líder se chama Mzee Shanga Wampi Mkauma.<sup>65</sup> Šuġwāyāh era o lar de seus soberanos, e suas leis são conhecidas.

وكانوا الكشور اذا وقع عليهم الجوع واحتاج امر هم بر هم بر هم بنته او اخته او زوجته بشي معلوم وإن وفي ذلك الدين في مدة معلومة ترجع البنت وغير ها وإن لم يوفي تكون المراهونة أمة مملوكة من غير منازعة ورعا تباع البنت وغير ها حالا إن كان صاحب البنت او الاخب او الزوجة مديوناً ويتزوج الرجل امرأة بالخدمة من غير مدة معلومة خلا في الزمن الاول كانوا يتزوجون الذين ليس لهم شي من المهر بحددة سبع سنين وهؤلاء الكشور يتزوجون بالخدمة الى الآن يان زوج امرأة من ليس له شي من المهر ومتى يحصل بذت من زوجته وبلغت وتزوجت فمهر ها ياخذ اب ام البنت او ياخذ الذي سلم مهر ام البنت المتزوجة اتفاقاً ويكون وفاء لما عليه من المهر الذي تزوج بها او لا والكدمة التي استخدمه صارت فائدة لامب الزوجة ومتى عيوب الزوج وترك ملكا وا زواجاً فيرث اخ الزوج وزواجاً ويرث الولد ملكاً اتفاقاً واشدّ حكمهم على السارق فإنهم يقتلون السارق ان سرق ثلاث مرات

Quando ocorria a fome e a carestia entre os *Kušūr*, era seu costume dar em penhor suas filhas, irmãos ou esposas em troca de certa quantia; se o débito fosse pago no tempo estipulado, devolvia-se a filha, ou demais [empenhadas]. Se não fosse pago, a mulher empenhada se tornaria escrava, sem questionamento. Ou então a filha – ou outra mulher – seria vendida imediatamente, se seu pai, irmão ou marido estivesse endividado. Um homem esposava sua serva sem limite de tempo; exceto nos tempos em que aqueles que não possuísem nada para ofertar como dote se casariam para uma servidão de sete anos. Estes *Kušūr* se casam com obrigação de servidão até os dias de hoje. Se alguém sem dote a oferecer se casa com uma mulher, quando gerar uma criança de sua esposa – e ela crescer e se casar –, seu dote nupcial será tomado pelo pai da mãe da garota. Ou quem pagou o dote toma a mãe da garota casada por acordo – e eis o reembolso do dote com o qual ele havia anteriormente se casado; o serviço que ele prestara se tornaria um dote adicional para o pai de sua esposa. E quando o marido morre deixando bens e propriedade, o irmão do marido herda a propriedade, enquanto o filho herda os bens, por acordo. Sua punição contra os ladrões é a mais severa: matam o ladrão que roubar três vezes.

<sup>65</sup> A abundância de diacríticos demonstra uma preocupação fonética pertinente ao *kīarabu*: o nome apresentado (e seu título, *mzee*, “ancião”) está em kiswahili. Para Cerulli (1957, 255), pode denotar “o chefe Kauma de Shanga Wampi”.

\*

## L كتاب الزوج / "L" KITĀB AL-ZUNŪJ

[ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَنَه نَسْتَعِينْ هَذَا الْكِتَابُ الزَّوْجِ وَأَخْبَارُ  
 هُمْ فِي سَاحِلِ بَحْرِ الْهِنْدِ ] الهمد لله الخلاق البارئ الودود ذو الفضل  
 والكرم والجود الذي جعل خلاقه الوانا من بيض وحمرة وسود وفضل  
 بعضهم على بعض بالسيادة والطول والسعود وقض ربنا لمن دعا علي  
 ولده بتسوين الوجوه وذريته يكون لذرية ولديه عبيدا والصلاة  
 والسلام على الصطفى وعلي آله واصحابه الزكع والسجود.

[Em nome de Deus, o Clemente, o Misericordioso, cuja ajuda invocamos. Este é o Livro dos *Zunūj* e das informações a seu respeito na costa do oceano Índico.]<sup>66</sup> Louvado seja Deus, o Criador, Amado Artífice, Possuidor de Excelência, Generosidade e Bondade, que deu à Sua Criação as cores branco, vermelho e preto; e preferiu uns dentre outros em matéria de autoridade, grandeza e felicidade. E nosso Senhor determinou àquele cujo pai rezara contra ele que tivesse sua face empretecida, e que sua descendência fosse escrava de seus filhos. Bênçãos e paz estejam sobre o Eleito, o Comendável, e sobre sua família e Companheiros, os genuflexores e prostradores.

أما بعد فقد باختصر نا احبار إفريقيا بساحل البهر نحو المشرق وخط الاستواء تبييننا لمن  
 فيها من الزوج الذين كانوا في جُبْ وهم كُشور عربية صلية وونيكاً بلغة اهل إفريقيا  
 وتفصيل جرياما هي ارض ويقال لمن يسكن فيها وجرياما وارض چون<sup>67</sup> يقال لمن سكن  
 فيها وچون وربا يقال لمن سكن فيها وربا هكذا يقولون اهل إفريقيا.

<sup>66</sup> Esta passagem inicial, quase idêntica à abertura do MS “K”, está ausente – por um notável equívoco – do texto árabe fornecido na edição de Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020). Contudo, está presente na própria tradução anglófona, o que nos leva a crer que consta, de fato, do original. A origem da confusão pode ser uma observação de Enrico Cerulli (1957, 326) acerca das “varianti del MS L”, em que assinala que o MS “L” omite a referência ao poente (*magrīb*) presente no MS “K”. É possível que James Ritchie e Sigvard Von Sicard, por sua vez, tenham entendido que a passagem é suprimida por inteiro, e não somente o último referido termo. Novamente, o paradeiro ignoto dos MSS ocasiona problemas.

<sup>67</sup> Uma característica do ‘*ajāmī*’ kiswahili é o “enriquecimento” do consonantário árabe a fim de refletir as especificidades fonéticas da língua bantu (Mugane 2017, 212). Neste sentido, o recurso aos caracteres persas é uma possibilidade, como se observa no emprego da letra *che* (چ) na designação da etnia Chūni (Chonyi), um dos povos Mijikenda. Note-se que Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020) apresentam o *jīm* (ج) no texto árabe de sua edição – reservando a uma nota de rodapé a letra persa utilizada no *kiarabu* original. Isto porque, como informam no mesmo rodapé, acreditam se tratar de uma referência aos Bajuni.

E assim sumarizamos as informações de África na costa do oceano, nas direções oriental<sup>68</sup> e do Equador, a fim de descrever os *Zunūj* que viviam no Juba, isto é, os *Kušūr* no árabe original, e *WaNyika* na língua do povo de África – especificamente de Jiryāmā,<sup>69</sup> que é a terra cujos habitantes são chamados *WaJiryāmā*, e a terra de Chūni, cujos habitantes são os ditos *WaChūni*; e Ribā, cujos habitantes são chamados *WaRibā*, como diz o povo de África.

أخبار العرب الذين جاؤا الى إفريقية وعمروا البلدان والمدن وسكنوا فيها من زمن الجاهلية وذلك برأي الملك تبع الحميري الأكبر وأخبار بنو قيس غيلان الذين جاؤا الى إفريقية من بر العرب بقصة ابرهة الأشرم امير النجاشي الحبشي وذلك بعد علم الفيل بسنت واحدة وسكنوا بالجبّ والخبار انتقال الزوج من الجبّ الى موعّي وذلك من اجل بنو قيس غيلان وخبار البكوم وهم من الزوج المذكورين وسكنوا في نهر التّنّ الذي يقال له مثّ تان الآن باللغة السواحيلة.

[E i]nformações a respeito dos árabes que vieram à África e edificaram<sup>70</sup> distritos, cidades e vilas nos tempos da *jāhilīyyah*, por determinação do soberano Tubāc al-Himyarī, o Maior. E informações sobre a tribo de Qays Ġaylān, que veio à África da terra dos árabes, segundo as narrativas, [por causa de] Abraha al-Ašram, emir do *negus* da Abissínia, um ano após o Ano do Elefante,<sup>71</sup> e que habitou o Juba. E as informações acerca da transferência dos *Zunūj* do Juba até Mūḡīya devido à tribo de Qays Ġaylān; e informações sobre os Pokomo – um ramo dos supracitados *Zunūj* – que viviam às margens do Mtu Tāna, como se diz na língua suaíli.

<sup>68</sup> O MS “L” adota a moderna convenção “África Oriental” (*‘Ifrīqīyah al-Mašriq*). Tendo sido esta cópia produzida para Alice Werner em uma escola missionária de Witu, tratar-se-ia de interferência do copista cristão europeizado? Cf. Cerulli (1957, 232), que possivelmente modificou o texto do MS “K” no mesmo sentido, a fim de produzir o que acreditava ser uma cópia mais “fidedigna” de uma crônica suaíli. Contrariamente, acreditamos que a variação do ponto de referência é um dos principais elementos dos MSS em questão.

<sup>69</sup> O MS “K” translitera o etnônimo Giriama em *kiarabu* com a letra *Ġayn* (غ) à guisa de fonema /g/ (portanto, غرياما), ao passo que o MS “L” utiliza o *jīm* (ج), gerando o Jiryāmā transliterado em nossa tradução (portanto, جرياما).

<sup>70</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 63) destacam que o termo “edificar” (عمر، *amarū*) conota uma perspectiva “civilizatória” a respeito do espaço africano.

<sup>71</sup> Uma variação digna de nota em relação ao MS “K”.

واخبار العرب الذين جاؤا من عمان بسبيل كثرة الحرب بعمان استراخًا هنا وسكنوا بأرض أمّ واخبار النصارى الذين يقال هم برتغيس وتعلكوا الارض جميعًا واخبار العرب الذين حاربوا البرتغيس من عمان الى ممباسة بأمر الملك سيف بن سلطان اليعربي وكانوا المزارع واخبار الملك السيد سعد بن سلطان البوسعيدي وحروبات بين المزارع وسعود بن سلطان واخبار اهل لأموه والمزروعي وحربهم واخبار اهل سيوي وسيد سعيد بن سلطان وحربهم واخبار السومال وبني قيس غيلان وحربهم وابتياح الغيلان واخبار ابتياح الكشور واخبار النصارى الذين تشبّهوا بالاتراك ووصلوا الى مركة وبراوّة وكسمايو وأمّو وذلك ليفر عوا برغش بن سعيد.

E informações acerca dos árabes que vieram de Omā devido às muitas guerras em Omā, e que encontraram refúgio e se estabeleceram na terra de Āmu; e informações a respeito dos nazarenos,<sup>72</sup> a quem se chama portugueses, e que percorreram toda a região;<sup>73</sup> e informações a respeito dos árabes que combateram os portugueses de Omā até Mombaça, sob o comando do soberano Sayf Ibn Sulṭān al-Yāʿrubī, estabelecendo os Mazāriʿa [enquanto *liwalis*].<sup>74</sup> E informações acerca do soberano Sayyid Saʿīd Ibn Sulṭān al-Bū Saʿīdī, e as guerras entre os Mazāriʿa e Saʿīd Ibn Sulṭān; e informações sobre o povo de Lamu e os Mazrūʿī, e sua guerra; e informações sobre o povo de Sīwī e Sayyid Saʿīd Ibn Sulṭān, e sua guerra; e informações a respeito dos Somalis e sua guerra contra a tribo de Qays Ġaylān, e da venda dos Ġaylān como escravos; e informações sobre sua compra pelos *Kuṣūʿ*; e informações a respeito dos nazarenos que se disfarçaram

<sup>72</sup> Nazarenos (نصارى, *naṣāra*), i.e., cristãos.

<sup>73</sup> Neste ponto, por análise do texto árabe fornecido, identificamos um errôneo acréscimo na tradução de Ritchie e Von Sicard. Os tradutores em questão parecem inserir, no MS “L”, a seguinte passagem do “K”, da qual reproduzimos nossa própria versão: “e informações acerca da guerra e da fuga dos portugueses de Mombaça; e sobre o período de permanência da família árabe dos Mazāriʿa enquanto *liwalis*, e sua expulsão no ano de 1254” (Ritchie e Von Sicard 2020, 64). A passagem está ausente do texto árabe do MS “L”; sua inserção o faz incorrer em uma redundância que nos gerou estranhamento – a posterior menção ao papel de Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yāʿrubī na expulsão dos lusitanos.

<sup>74</sup> Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 65) sentem a necessidade de aumentar o texto, em tom explicativo: “and [as a result of which] the Mazāriʿa became *liwalis* of Mumbāsa”. Possivelmente tomam inspiração no MS “K”, mas a passagem em questão está ausente do texto árabe referente ao MS “L”.

de turcos e vieram a Marka, Barāwa, Kismayo e Āmu, a fim de intimidar Bargāš Ibn Saʿīd.<sup>75</sup>

اقول وبالله التوفيق ان حام ابن نوح ابن لمك وهو ابو السودان وكان اصغر من اولاد نوح عليه الصلاة والسلام وكان لحام اربعة اولاد مصر وكنعان وكوش وقوط فالحبشة من اولاد كوش بن حام والنوبة والزنج من اولاد كنعان بن حام بن نوح عليه الصلاة والسلام وكان حام احسن الصورة بري الوجه فغير الله لونه ولون ذريته وذلك من اجل دعوة ابيه قد دعا عليه بتسويد الوجه وسواد وجوه ذريته بان يكون اولاده عبيدًا لاولاد سام وياقت فكثرتهم وغاهاهم ولما قسم نبي الله الارض لاولاده كانت افريقية لحام وولد اولاد واولاده السودان ولم يتعدى شعورهم اذانهم كما رأيناهم الآن وانتشروا على الارض وملئت منهم ووقع بساحل البحر بناحية المشرق في خط الاستواء والجب قوم يقال لهم الزنج والكشور عربية بالمعنى والآن ونيكا.

Eu declaro, com a ajuda de Deus, que Hām, filho de Nūḥ, filho de Lamik, é o pai dos pretos e o caçula dentre os filhos de Nūḥ (bênçãos e paz estejam sobre ele). E Hām teve quatro filhos: Miṣr, Kanʿān, Kūš e Qūṭ; os abissínios descendem da prole de Kūš, filho de Hām; e os núbios e os *zanj* descendem da prole de Kanʿān, filho de Hām, filho de Nūḥ (bênçãos e paz estejam sobre ele). E Hām era do mais belo aspecto, com um rosto puro; Deus alterou a sua cor e a de sua prole devido à invocação de seu pai. Isto por causa da oração de seu pai, que orara contra ele para que seu rosto fosse empretecido, e para que os rostos de seus descendentes se tornassem pretos, e para que seus filhos fossem escravos dos filhos de Sām e Yāfit. E Ele os multiplicou e os fez numerosos; e quando o Profeta de Deus dividiu a terra entre seus filhos, a África foi dada a Hām. Ele gerou filhos, e seus filhos eram os pretos, e seu cabelo não crescia além das orelhas, como os observamos agora. Eles habitaram a terra e ela se preencheu deles, e se estabeleceram na costa do mar, nas direções leste, do Equador e do Juba – um povo chamado *Zanj* e *Kušūr*, com um significado árabe, e agora *WaNyika*.

<sup>75</sup> Devido ao equívoco de estrutura apontado anteriormente, a redação deste parágrafo seguiu o texto árabe e a correspondente versão italiana de E. Cerulli (1957, 327): “E le notizie dei Cristiani detti Portoghesi che si impadronirono di tutto il territorio; e le notizie degli Arabi che guerreggiarono con i Portoghesi dallo ‘Omān a Mombasa per ordine del sovrano Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yaʿrubī, essendo i Mazāri’ governatori di Mombasa. E le notizie del sovrano al-sayyid Saʿīd ibn Sulṭān al-Bū-Saʿīdī e le guerre tra i Mazāri’ e Saʿīd ibn Sulṭān. E le notizie della gente di Lamu e del Mazrūʿi e la loro guerra. E le notizie della gente di Siwi e del sayyid Saʿīd ibn Sulṭān e la loro guerra. E le notizie dei Somali e dei Galla e la loro guerra e la vendita (come schiavi) dei Galla. E le notizie della vendita dei Kašur (come schiavi). E le notizie dei Cristiani che si travestirono da Turchi e giunsero a Merca, Brava, Kisimayu ed Amu e ciò per spaventare Bargāš bin Saʿīd”.

وكان بالموضع المذكور ليس امة سواهم وبعد مسير اثني عشر يوم هنالك الحيشة وكان الكشور اهل بقر وغنم كسائر الزنوج الباقية ويزرعون الذري الزومي وبلغة السواحل مَهْنَدٌ واللوبيبا والمنج وليس لهم الفوا كه ابدأ سوى البوبر والقاع والموز وكان اكبر مدنهم تقال شنغواية وكبير فيها يقال له مزي شاعوموب من كسل مَكُومًا.

No lugar citado não havia povo senão eles, e a doze dias de caminhada estava a Abissínia. Os *Kušūr* eram um povo de [criadores de] bovinos, ovinos e galinhas, como todos os *Zunūj* remanescentes; eles cultivam o milho – ou *mhindi*, na língua suaíli –,<sup>76</sup> o feijão-de-corda, o painço e o *musībal*. Eles não têm frutas, exceto o *bubur*, o *qal*<sup>6</sup> e bananas. Sua maior cidade era Šuġwāyāh, e seu líder era o Mzee Shangi Wamupi, descendente dos Mkauma.

#### فصل 77

واحكامهم مشهوه اذا وقع الجوع والحجاج يبيع او يرهن بذته او اخته او زوجته بشي معلوم ومتى وفاه ترجع البنت الاخت الى اخيها الزوجة الى زوجها ان لم يوفى ذلك الدين تكون المرهونه مملوكة من غير منازعة ورعياع البنت او الاخت حالا ان كان صاحب البنت او الاخت كانوا يتزوجهن من ليس له بحندمة سبع سنين وهؤلاء الكشور يتزوجون بحندمة الى الآن ومتى يحصل بنت من زوجته وتكبر ومتى كبرت يتزوجت برجل فمهر ها ياخذ اب الام او واخذ الذي سلم المهر الاول اجنيبًا ويكون وفاء لما عليه من المهر الذي تزوج به اولا والخدمة التي استخمه صارت فائدة

#### Capítulo:

Suas leis são conhecidas. Se ocorrem a fome e a carestia, o homem necessitado vende ou põe à penhora sua filha, irmã ou esposa por uma certa quantia e, quando ele ressarcir [o débito], a filha ou irmã será devolvida a seu irmão, e a esposa a seu marido. Mas, se a dívida não é paga, a mulher empenhada se torna propriedade, sem discussão. Talvez a filha ou irmã seja vendida imediatamente, se o proprietário da filha ou irmã estiver endividado. Um homem esposava sua serva sem limite de tempo; exceto nos tempos primários em que aqueles que não possuísem nada para ofertar como dote se

<sup>76</sup> Muito embora o continente africano conhecesse, já no período pré-colonial, espécies de miliáceos como o sorgo (*S. bicolor*) e o milhete (*Pennisetum glaucum*), o milho do Novo Mundo (*Zea mays*) teria sido introduzido em África Oriental pelos portugueses, em meados do século XVII, tendo seu cultivo ganhado força com a presença britânica a partir de meados do século XIX. A designação kiswahili *mhindi* (lit. “da Índia”; no *kiarabu*: مَهْنَدٌ), portanto, diz respeito à importação transoceânica do cereal em questão. Cf. Miracle (1965); Cherniuchan e Moreno-Cruz (2019).

<sup>77</sup> Trata-se do primeiro “capítulo” (*faṣl*) do MS “L”, aqui incluído por compreender, a rigor, a mesma narrativa que conclui o próêmio do MS “K”, a respeito das regras de matrimônio e herança entre os ditos *Kušūr*.

casariam para um serviço de sete anos. Estes *Kuṣūr* se casam com obrigação de servidão até os dias de hoje; e quando se gera uma filha com sua mulher e ela crescer, e então for adulta e se casar com um homem, seu dote é tomado pelo pai da mãe, ou por aquele que pagou o primeiro dote como parte externa.<sup>78</sup> Paga-se o que é devido do dote com o qual ele se casou, e o serviço por ele prestado se torna um excedente.

ومثل ذلك فسالم بن ناصر انه تزوج حليلة بذت عبدالله ولا له لسالم بن ناصر شي ليسلم لاب البنت وهو عبدالله المذكور ومتى سالم بن ناصر يحصل بنت من زوجته حليلة وبلغت وتزوجت فمهرها لاب امها وهي حليلة بنت عبدالله او ياخذ المهر الذي سلم المهر الام البنت اتفاقاً ومتى عيوت الانسان وترك ملكا وازواجا فيرث اخ الميت ازواجاً والاولاد ملكاً وذلك قد وافق احكام العرب في الجاهلية كان العرب يرثون ازواجاً من غير نكاح جديد كما قال الله تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا لا يحلّ لكم ان ترثوا النساء جرهماً نزلت لما اهل المدينة كانوا في الجاهلية وفي اول الاسلام اذا مات رجل وله امرأة جاء ابنه من غيرها او قريبه من عصبته فألقى ثوبه على تلك المرأة او على خبائها فصار احق بها من نفسها ومن غيره فإنشاء تزوجها من غير صداق الا الصداق الاول الذي أصدقها الميت وإن شاء زوجها غير واخذ صداقها وهذا في سورة النساء معالم التنزيل واشدّ حكمهم على السارق فانهم يقتلون السارق إن سرق ثلاث مرّات.

Segue-se um exemplo disto. Sālim Ibn Nāṣir se casa com Ḥalīma bint ‘Abdallah, mas Sālim Ibn Nāṣir não possui nada a oferecer ao pai da garota – o referido ‘Abdallah. Sālim Ibn Nāṣir tem uma filha com sua esposa Ḥalīma, e ela cresce e se casa; seu dote vai para o pai da mãe, [o pai de] Ḥalīma bint ‘Abdallah. Ou, por acordo, é tomado por quem pagou o dote à mãe da garota. Quando um homem morre, deixando propriedade e esposas, o irmão do finado herda as esposas, e os filhos herdam a propriedade. Isto está de acordo com as leis dos árabes na *jāhiliyyah*. Os árabes tinham por costume herdar esposas sem um novo casamento, como disse Deus Altíssimo: “Ó crentes, não vos é permitido herdardes as mulheres, contra a vontade delas”.<sup>79</sup>

Isto foi revelado quando o povo de Medina estava na *jāhiliyyah*, e no início do Islā. Se um homem morresse, deixando uma esposa, seu filho de outra esposa ou um parente de seu próprio clā envolveria sua capa sobre

<sup>78</sup> *Ajṇabī* (أجنبي), lit. “estrangeiro”; contextualmente, uma terceira parte envolvida na distribuição do dote. Em Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 67): “the one who paid the first dowry as a stranger [?]”.

<sup>79</sup> Trata-se de uma passagem do Alcorão (4:19). Seguimos a correspondente tradução lusófona de Samir El Hayek (2020). A *Sūra* 4 do Alcorão estabelece as regras islâmicas para o dote e a herança, havendo a condenação da prática do levirato.

aquela mulher ou sobre sua tenda, e então teria maior direito sobre ela do que ela própria ou qualquer outro; e, se desejasse, poderia se casar com ela sem dote senão aquele pago pelo falecido; ou se desejasse, poderia casá-la com outrem e tomar seu dote. Isto está na *Sūrat al-Nisā’ – Ma’ālim al-Tanzīl*.<sup>80</sup>

Seu mais grave julgamento recai sobre os ladrões, pois matam o ladrão que rouba três vezes.

\*

## Conclusões

O processo de tradução parcial do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* demonstra o estado lacunar em que este documento foi preservado até a posteridade. A inacessibilidade dos manuscritos em sua materialidade, enquanto perdurar, constituir-se-á em barreira perene a toda pesquisadora ou pesquisador que pretender adentrar as minúcias do texto e seus intertextos de modo mais profícuo – e esperamos, neste sentido, que nossos rodapés que acompanham a presente versão lusófona expressem, suficientemente, as incertezas impostas pela própria natureza das edições de Enrico Cerulli (1957) e James McL. Ritchie e Sigvard Von Sicard (2020) – esta última, a despeito de sua recência, não se isenta de reproduzir vícios anteriores (e, notavelmente, apresentar novos) em sua tradução. Há de ser conveniente que outro estudo, que rompa a barreira linguística e traga a debate a edição alemã de Reinhard Klein-Arendt (2004), possa levantar ainda mais questões de modo crítico, contribuindo para o desenvolvimento do campo da cronística árabe-suaíli.

Um fértil itinerário de continuidade das pesquisas relativamente aos documentos em questão diz respeito à investigação sobre sua possível autoria. Como vimos, a justaposição entre o *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, anônimo, e o *Kawakab al-Durrīyah al-Aḥbār Ifrīqīyah* de Fāḍil Ibn ‘Umar al-Bawrī, é inevitável – o relato de J.A.G. Elliot (1926) nos demonstra como este *ṣayḥ* leste-africano não apenas possuía uma cópia da primeira obra, mas a empregou como base para a redação da sua, em 1913. A proximidade entre ambas é tal que James Kirkman (1982, 35) chega a supor sua autoria em comum nos seguintes termos:

<sup>80</sup> De fato, verificamos que este parágrafo acerca da herança de esposas é uma citação direta do *Ma’ālim al-Tanzīl*, obra de *tafsīr* (exegese corânica) de autoria de al-Baḡawī (m. 516 H./1122 d.C.). Segundo Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, 68), é também conhecida, por este motivo, simplesmente como *Tafsīr al-Baḡawī*. Eis mais um exemplar da farta literatura religiosa lida pelos ulemás da Costa Suaíli.

[...W]hen the coast was firmly in the hands of Britain and Germany, Fâdil bin Shaikh ‘Umar al-Buri, government official at Malindi in Kenya, wrote a history of East Africa. Of this, three versions are known: two entitled the *Kitāb al-Zunuj* have been published by Enrico Cerulli in Somalia vol. 1, and a third, entitled *Kawkab al-Durrīya li-Akhhbâr Ifriqiya* is unpublished. A draft translation exists, made by the Rev. J. M. Ritchie, and this version has more information than the others about the overseas connections of the East African coast.

O documento não publicado a que o historiador se refere viria a compor a coletânea *An Azanian Trio* (2020), junto ao *Kitāb al-Zunūj*.<sup>81</sup> Entretanto, não há evidências conclusivas que apontem para a autoria deste último por parte de al-Bawrī; trata-se, pois, de uma das limitações impostas pelo ignoto paradeiro dos MSS.

Finalmente, outro intrigante aspecto a ser investigado é a “conexão nor-tenha” implicada, em primeiro lugar, na própria circulação somali dos textos – tendo o MS “K”, por exemplo, origem em Kismayo – e, secundamente, em sua natureza temática, a qual focaliza, parcialmente, a expansão Oromo no Chifre de África, a partir do século XVI, e suas imediatas consequências no contexto suaíli (Pouwels 2002, 30-31; 39-40). Reafirmando-se que a conjugação entre a oralidade leste-africana e as tradições eruditas muçulmanas constituem traço elementar da cronística afromuçulmana suaíli (Pawlowicz e LaViolette 2013), a incorporação dos Oromo (ditos *Banī Qays gaylān*) ao núcleo narrativo do *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, conquanto corresponda à saga de origem dos povos Mijikenda em sua mítica emigração de Šuġwāyah, deve – segundo cremos – ser igualmente investigada em interface com a textualidade do Chifre de África.

Com efeito, há fundamento nas observações de E. Cerulli em sua comparação entre o *Kitāb al-Zunūj* e determinadas crônicas – cristãs e muçulmanas – da região da Etiópia e Eritreia que relataram, em seus fólios, os conflitos entre as sociedades de seus autores e aqueles povos a quem denominaram, genericamente, de *Gallas*:

Questo tipo di composizione dei testi delle Cronache è comune in Africa Orientale, dove in genere le Cronache appunto consistono in vari racconti diverge nei vari manoscritti secondo il gusto o le preferenze del copista. Esempio tipico di questo sono: la così detta ‘Cronaca Abbreviata’ dell’Etiopia; ed, in arabo, la ‘Storia dei Re’ o ‘Storia dei Combattenti la guerra santa’ di Harar. (Cerulli 1957, 231)

Em relação aos documentos em árabe e da tradição muçulmana harari, o orientalista italiano faz referência ao *Ta’rīḥ al-Mulūk* (que intitula “Storia

<sup>81</sup> Realizamos uma análise comparativa de ambas as obras, à luz de questões específicas de pesquisa. Ver Giacomazzi (2022).

dei Re”) e ao *Nubḡa min Ta’rīḡ al-Mujāhidīn bi-Balad al-ḡabaṣa* (“Storia dei Combattenti la guerra santa”) – ambas obras de gênero historiográfico produzidas entre o final do século XVI e início do XVII, e que narram as campanhas do *‘amīr* Nūr Ibn Mujāhid (m. 975 H./1567 d.C.) e seus sucessores contra a Etiópia Salomônida, por um lado, e contra os povos Oromo, por outro (Chekroun 2023, 58-64). Conhecendo-se a natureza do circuito literário que conectava as distintas realidades banhadas pelo oceano Índico – além das diretas conexões literatas intra-africanas –, haveria alguma influência intertextual das narrativas etíopes sobre o *Kitāb al-Zunūj*? A dimensão cristã na documentação<sup>82</sup> poderá acrescentar outra camada de complexidade a este instigante problema emergente de pesquisa.

## Referências

- AL-BAĠAWĪ. 1989. *Tafsīr al-Baġawī (Ma’ālim al-Tanzīl)* [معالم التنزيل لتفسير البعوي]. Dār Ṭibah.
- ALLEN, J. W. T. 1970. *The Swahili and Arabic Manuscripts and Tapes in the Library of the University College, Dar-es-Salaam: A Catalogue*. E. J. Brill.
- AYANA, Daniel. 2019. “The Northern Zanj, Demadim, Yamyam, Yam/Yamjam, Habasha/Ahabish, Zanj-Ahabish, and Zanj Ed-Damadam – The Horn of Africa between the Ninth and Fifteenth Centuries”. *History in Africa* 46: 57–104.
- BALANDIER, Georges. 2014 [1951]. “A situação colonial: abordagem teórica”. *Cadernos CERU* 25 (1): 33–58.
- BANG, Anne K. 2018. “Islam in the Swahili world: Connected authorities”. In *The Swahili World*, organizado por Adria LaViolette e Stephanie Wynne-Jones. Routledge.
- BANG, Anne K. 2015. “Localising Islamic knowledge: acquisition and copying of the Riyadhha Mosque manuscript collection in Lamu, Kenya”. In *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme*, organizado por Maja Kominko. Open Book Publishers.
- BANG, Anne K. 2003. *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family networks in East Africa, 1860-1925*. Routledge.

<sup>82</sup> Acompanhando as implicações da observação de Ritchie e Von Sicard (2020, ix).

- BANG, Anne K. 2008. “Textual sources on an Islamic African Past: Arabic material in Zanzibar’s National Archive”. In *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, organizado por Shamil Jeppie e Souleymane Bachir Diagne. CODESRIA/HSRC.
- BECKER, Carl Heinrich. 1911. “Materialen zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika”. *Der Islam* II: 1–48.
- BONATE, Liazzat K. 2016. “Islam and literacy in Northern Mozambique: Historical records on the secular uses of the Arabic script”. *Islamic Africa* 7: 60–80.
- BRAUDE, Benjamin. 2002. “Cham et Noé: Race, esclavage et exégèse entre islam, judaïsme et christianisme”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 57 (1): 93–125.
- CASCO, José Arturo Saavedra. 1996. “La literatura Swahili como documento para la historia de África”. *Estudios de Asia y África* 31 (2): 389–400.
- CERULLI, Enrico. 1931. “Documenti arabi per la storia dell’Etiopia”. *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche, filologiche, serie VI* 2 (4): 39–101.
- CERULLI, Enrico. 1957. *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti*. Vol. 1. Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- CHEKROUN, Amélie. 2023. *La Conquête d’Éthiopie : un jihad au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. CNRS Éditions.
- CHERNIWCHAN, Jevan, e Juan Moreno-Cruz. 2019. “Maize and Precolonial Africa”. *Journal of Development Economics* 136: 137–150.
- CHITTICK, Neville H. 1979. “Reply to R. F. Morton”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 12 (4): 673–674.
- CHITTICK, Neville H. 1976. “The Book of the Zenj and the Miji Kenda”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1): 68–73.
- CLARENCE-SMITH, William Gervase. 2006. *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*. Hurst & Company.
- COPPOLA, Anna Rita. 2018. “Swahili oral traditions and chronicles”. In *The Swahili World*, organizado por Stephanie Wynne-Jones e Adria LaViolette. Routledge.
- CORET, Clélia. 2013. “Le « pouvoir de l’écrit » : les chroniques swahili dans l’historiographie”. In *L’Écriture de l’histoire en Afrique : L’oralité toujours en questions*, organizado por N. Gayibor, D. Juhé-Beaulaton e M. Gomgnimbou. Karthala.
- CORET, Clélia. 2012. “The last Swahili State – The foundation of the Witu Sultanate in the 19th Century”. *Mambo! Carnet de LIFRA Nairobi* X (1): 1–5.
- CRIADO, Pedro Martins. 2022. “Posfácio do Tradutor”. In *Relatos da China e da Índia [Aḥbār al-Ṣīn wa’l-Hind]*, por Abu Zayd al-Hasan al-Sirafi. Editora Tabla.

- DE LORENZI, James. 2018. “The Orientalist on Trial: Enrico Cerulli and the United Nations War Crimes Commission”. *Northeast African Studies* 18 (1–2): 165–200.
- DELMAS, Adrien. 2017. “Writing in Africa: The Kilwa Chronicle and other Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Testimonies”. In *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, organizado por Andrea Brigaglia e Mauro Nobili. De Gruyter.
- EHRET, Christopher. 2010. “Entre a costa e os Grandes Lagos”. In *História Geral da África, Vol. IV: África do século XII ao XVI*, organizado por Djibril Tamsir Niane. UNESCO.
- EL HAYEK, Samir, trad. 2020. *Alcorão Sagrado: O significado dos Versículos do Alcorão Sagrado*. 19.<sup>a</sup> ed. FAMBRAS.
- ELLIOT, J. A. G. 1925. “A visit to the Bajun Islands, Part I”. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25 (97): 10–22.
- ELLIOT, J. A. G. 1926. “A visit to the Bajun Islands, Part I (Continued)”. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25 (98): 147–163.
- ELLIOT, J. A. G. 1926a. “A visit to the Bajun Islands, Part II”. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25 (99): 245–263.
- ELLIOT, J. A. G. 1926b. “A visit to the Bajun Islands, Part II (Continued)”. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25 (100): 338–358.
- FARIAS, Paulo Fernando de Moraes. 1980. “Models of the world and categorial models: The ‘Enslavable Barbarian’ as a mobile classificatory label”. *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 1 (2): 115–131.
- FOURSHHEY, Catherine Cymone, Rhonda M. Gonzales e Christine Saidi. 2019. *África Bantu: De 3500 a.C. até o presente*. Vozes.
- FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, G. S. P. 1962. *The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first to the early nineteenth century*. Clarendon Press.
- GIACOMAZZI, Gabriel. 2022. “Crônicas da ‘arabidade’ leste-africana: uma análise historiográfica comparativa acerca do *Kitāb al-Zunūj* e do *Kawkab al-Durrīyah al-Aḥbār Ifrīqīyah de al-Bawrī* (c. 1890-1913)”. *Aedos* 14 (31): 10–28.
- GIACOMAZZI, Gabriel. 2024. “The Ethiopian manuscript collection of Enrico Cerulli in the Vatican Library: a critical assessment”. [https://www.academia.edu/121319570/The\\_Ethiopian\\_manuscript\\_collection\\_of\\_Enrico\\_Cerulli\\_1898\\_1988\\_in\\_the\\_Vatican\\_Library\\_a\\_critical\\_assessment](https://www.academia.edu/121319570/The_Ethiopian_manuscript_collection_of_Enrico_Cerulli_1898_1988_in_the_Vatican_Library_a_critical_assessment). Acesso em: 20 dez. 2025.

- HARTOG, François. 1999 [1980]. *O Espelho de Heródoto: Ensaio sobre a representação do Outro*. Editora UFMG.
- HASSANE, Moulaye. 2008. “Ajami in Africa: the use of Arabic script in the transcription of African languages”. In *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, organizado por Shamil Jeppie e Souleymane Bachir Diagne. CODESRIA/HSRC.
- HASSEN, Mohammed. 2015. *The Oromo and the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, 1300-1700*. James Currey Publishers.
- IBN RAZIK, Salil. 1871. *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman from A.D. 661–1856*. [s.n.].
- JALATA, Asafa. 1996. “The struggle for knowledge: The case of emergent Oromo Studies”. *African Studies Review* 39 (2): 95–123.
- JUBBRAN, Safa. 2004. “Para uma romanização padronizada de termos árabes em textos de língua portuguesa”. *Tiraz: Revista de Estudos Árabes e das Culturas do Oriente Médio* I: 16–29.
- KIRKMAN, James. 1982. “Omani relations with East Africa before the arrival of the Portuguese”. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15 (12): 35–38.
- KLEIN-ARENDET, Reinhard. 2004. „Und die Araber bauten Mogadishu...”. *Das Kitab al-Zanuj: Eine ostafrikanische Chronik als moralische, politische und juristische Streitschrift*. Tectum-Verlag.
- LE GALÈS, Emmie. 2025. “L'introuvable bibliothèque d'Hailé Sélassié : spoliation coloniale et mémoires confisquées”. *Revue d'histoire culturelle : XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles* 11: 1-17. <https://journals.openedition.org/rhc/16216>.
- LEVA, Antonio Enrico. 1958. “La Somalia: negli scritti di Enrico Cerulli”. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 13 (3): 139–140.
- LUFFIN, Xavier. 2005. “« Nos ancêtres les Arabes... » : Généalogies d'Afrique musulmane”. *Civilisations* 53: 177–209.
- MEIER, Sandy Prita. 2015. “Chinese porcelain and Muslim port cities: Mercantile materiality in Coastal East Africa”. *Art History* 38 (4): 702–717.
- MIRACLE, Marvin P. 1965. “The introduction and spread of maize in Africa”. *The Journal of African History* 6 (1): 39–55.
- MORTON, R. F. 1977. “New evidence regarding the Shungwaya myth of Miji Kenda origins”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 10 (4): 628–643.
- MORTON, R. F. 1972. “The Shungwaya myth of Miji Kenda origins: A problem of Late Nineteenth-Century Kenya Coastal History”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5 (3): 397–423.

- MUGANE, John. 2017. "The Odyssey of Ajamī and the Swahili People". *Islamic Africa* 8: 193–216.
- NALLINO, Carlo Alfonso. 1933. "I principali risultati del viaggio di Enrico Cerulli nell'Etiopia Occidentale nel 1927-1928". *Oriente Moderno* 13 (8): 430–436.
- O'FAHEY, Sean. 2008. "Arabic literature in the eastern half of Africa". In *The Meanings of Timbuktu*. CODESRIA/HSRC.
- PANKHURST, Richard. 1999. "Italian fascist war crimes in Ethiopia: A history of their discussion, from the League of Nations to the United Nations (1936-1949)". *Northeast African Studies* 6 (1–2): 83–140.
- PAWLOWICZ, Matthew, e Adria LaViolette. 2013. "Swahili historical chronicles from an archaeological perspective: Bridging history, archaeology, coast, and hinterland in Southern Tanzania". In *The Death of Prehistory*, organizado por Stephen A. Mrozowski e Peter Ridgway Schmidt. Oxford University Press.
- POUWELS, Randall L. 2002. *Horn and Crescent: Cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800-1900*. Cambridge University Press.
- POUWELS, Randall L. 1996. "The Pate Chronicles revisited: Nineteenth-Century history and historiography". *History in Africa* 23: 301–318.
- RAINERI, Osvaldo. 2011. "Cerulli etiopici". In *Guida ai Fondi Manoscritti, Numismatici, a Stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana, Vol. I: Dipartimento Manoscritti*, organizado por Francesco D'Aiuto e Paolo Vian, 400–401. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- RAINERI, Osvaldo. 2004. *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- REI, António. 2015. "Moçárabe: Conceitos e realidades cultural e social (Séculos VIII-XII)". *XARAJÍB: Revista do Centro de Estudos Luso-Árabes de Silves* 8: 13–27.
- REID, Richard. 2011. "Past and presentism: The 'precolonial' and foreshortening of African History". *The Journal of African History* 52 (2): 135–155.
- RICCI LANFRANCO. 1990. "Enrico Cerulli e L'Istituto per L'Oriente". *Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie* 9 (70), no. 1/6: 1–6.
- RITCHIE, James McL., e Sigvard Von Sicard. 2020. *An Azanian Trio: Three East African Arabic historical documents*. Brill.
- ROLLINS, Jack Drake. 1983. *A History of Swahili Prose, part 1: From the earliest times to the end of the Nineteenth Century*. E.J. Brill.
- SAMSOM, Ridder. 2012. "African languages and cultures (Swahili): Swahili manuscript culture". *Manuscript Cultures* 4: 68–77.

- SCOVAZZI, Tullio. 2025. “A coleção Cerulli de manuscritos etíopes na Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana”. *Revista Jurídica da UFRSA* 9 (17): 51–63. <https://doi.org/10.21708/issn.2526-9488.v9.n17.p5.2-63.2025>.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 1983. “A costa da África oriental e seu papel no comércio marítimo”. In *História Geral da África, Vol. II: África Antiga*, organizado por G. Mokhtar. Ática/UNESCO.
- SOGHAYROUN, Ibrahim El Zein. 1999. “Uman and East Africa: The historical significance of an Arabic manuscript by Shaykh al-Amīn b. ‘Alī al-Mazrū‘ī.” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 29: 167–178. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41223536>.
- SPEAR, Thomas. 1974. “Traditional myths and historian’s myths: Variations on the Singwaya theme of Mijikenda Origins”. *History in Africa* 1: 67–84.
- STRONG, Arthur. 1895. “The History of Kilwa, edited from an Arabic MS”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1895: 385–430.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. 2010. “Intertwined histories: ‘Crónica’ and ‘Tārīkh’ in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean world”. *History and Theory* 49 (4): 118–145.
- SWARTZ, Marc J. 1991. *The Way the World Is: Cultural processes and social relations among the Mombasa Swahili*. University of California Press.
- SZOMBATHY, Zoltán. 2002. “Genealogy in Medieval Muslim societies”. *Studia Islamica* 95: 5–35.
- TOLMACHEVA, Marina. 1986. “Towards a definition of the term Zanj”. *Azania* 21: 105–113.
- WAMITILA, Kyallo Wadi. 2020. “Factual and fictional narratives in East African Literatures”. In *Narrative Faculty: A Handbook*, 721–733. De Gruyter.
- WERNER, Alice. 1919. “Moslem literature in Swahili”. *The Muslim World* 10 (1): 25–29.



# Hybridity and Space in European Colonial Cities in the Indian Ocean Realm\*

Nuno Grancho\*\*

*Anais de História de Além-Mar* XXIV: 59-92.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46381>.

## Resumo

As cidades coloniais são híbridas que integram elementos de distintas arquiteturas e urbanismos. Esta hibridização de cultura material manifesta-se de forma particular em antigas urbes coloniais do oceano Índico como Diu, Tranquebar e Zanzibar. O colonialismo produziu arquiteturas, cidades e cultura material híbridas, cujos desenho, metodologia e processos persistem até hoje como objectos de investigação académica. O hibridismo revela-se com maior propriedade num contexto de declínio ou fraqueza da autoridade imperial europeia. A integração subvalorizada do saber técnico dos construtores locais da arquitectura e das cidades coloniais europeias gerou soluções inovadoras e originais. O presente artigo faz uma análise de Diu, Tranquebar e Zanzibar no período colonial tardio, para contrastar e comparar culturas construtivas distintas na génese de formas espaciais híbridas.

## Abstract

Colonial dwellings are hybrids that blend elements from different architectural and urban traditions. This is particularly evident in the Indian Ocean realm, in former colonial cities such as Diu, Tranquebar, and Zanzibar. Colonialism generated mixed architectural practices whose forms and evolution remain under study. In these sites, hybridity becomes especially evident when imperial authority weakens. The overlooked integration of “native” builders’ expertise into European colonial construction often produced innovative outcomes. This paper examines Diu (Portuguese), Tranquebar (Danish), and Zanzibar (Portuguese, Omani, British) during the late colonial era to compare how distinct building cultures combined to create hybrid spatial forms.

\* This research was made possible by the funding and support of the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 895924 and of the Danish National Research Foundation (DNRF138). It was made at the Centre for Privacy Studies, University of Copenhagen, in collaboration with *The Royal Danish Academy—Schools of Architecture, Design, and Conservation*. I would like to thank the core scholar, Peter Thule Kristensen, for his supervision and support; the head of administration, Maj Riis Poulsen, for her logistical support; and the Centre’s director, Mette Birkedal Bruun, for her trust and care.

\*\* University of Copenhagen, Centre for Privacy Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark; The Royal Danish Academy – Schools of Architecture, Design and Conservation, Copenhagen, Denmark; Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), Centro de Estudos sobre a Mudança Socioeconómica e o Território, Lisboa, Portugal; and Indian Ocean World Centre (IOWC) at McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9062-7039>. E-mail: [nuno.grancho@teol.ku.dk](mailto:nuno.grancho@teol.ku.dk)

**Palavras-chave:** Hibridismo, Diu, Tranquebar, Zanzibar.

**Keywords:** Hybridity, Diu, Tranquebar, Zanzibar.

Data de submissão: 31/08/2021

Date of submission: 31/08/2021

Data de aprovação: 29/01/2026

Date of approval: 29/01/2026

## Introduction

Across the Indian Ocean, early modern and modern empires shaped urban landscapes through ongoing negotiations between European efforts of authority and the existing spatial, cultural, and economic structures of coastal communities. This paper examines Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar to illustrate how colonial place-making evolved as a relational, contested, and hybrid process. Although influenced by British, Portuguese, and Danish interventions, these cities did not become fixed representations of European spatial ideas. Instead, they demonstrate how architectural forms, urban regulations, and material culture were co-created by imperial powers, local participants, and the patterns of oceanic exchange. These patterns reflect broader circulation routes that connected Africa, Arabia, India, and Europe (Chaudhuri 1983).

The comparative framework used here is deliberate. Each of these cities served as a strategic hub in the Indian Ocean region. They developed under markedly different imperial traditions. They are included because they demonstrate various modes of imperial rule, different relationships between colonizer and colonized, and unique forms of spatial negotiation. These examples also help us understand how a shared ocean environment created distinct power structures that eventually merged into hybrid forms of urban life. The goal is not to suggest that these three cities represent all colonial formations in the Indian Ocean region. Instead, they were selected because their material and political histories highlight key processes often overlooked. These include layered sovereignties, co-created civic cultures, and the unstable spatial outcomes resulting from conflicting imperial interests. Primary sources are used to support the spatial arguments discussed here. These include nineteenth-century travel accounts such as Richard Burton's description of Zanzibar (Burton 1872), imperial administrative correspondence from the British Protectorate period in Zanzibar, letters and reports from the Danish East India Company regarding Tranquebar, and Portuguese, Gujarati, and local petitions related to Diu preserved in the Overseas Historical Archive in Lisbon. These sources enable us to gain

insight into contemporary perspectives on urban space. They also clarify how social processes were reflected in the built environment, especially in areas where colonial rule intersected with local institutions.

The theoretical approach guiding this study engages with postcolonial critiques while recognizing their limitations. The interpretive frameworks introduced by Edward Said's analysis of *Orientalism* emphasize discourse, representation, and colonial knowledge (Said 1978). While these ideas remain valuable, they are not enough to understand urban environments where power was fragmented, limited, or exercised through incomplete bureaucratic systems. In such cases, material practices often diverged from ideological claims, resulting in ways of negotiation that do not fit easily into strict binaries of domination and resistance. Scholars of colonial urbanism in Africa and Asia, including Myers (2003), King (1990), and AlSayyad (2001), have also emphasized the importance of attending to daily practices and spatial arrangements.

The Indian Ocean was not just a passive background for these events. Its monsoon patterns facilitated the movement of people, materials, capital, and ideas. These flows linked Zanzibar to Oman and the Swahili coast, connected Diu to Gujarat and the western Indian Ocean trade network, and tied Tranquebar to both Tamil states and Northern European commercial systems. Such exchanges ensured that architectural styles, urban regulations, and material culture developed through cross-regional interactions rather than solely through European influence. Therefore, understanding these cities requires attention to both local and imperial forces that shaped them, as well as to the oceanic routes that created their hybrid identities.

The following discusses each city individually and then compares them. The analysis goes beyond simple labels like European and indigenous or colonizer and colonized. Instead, it explores how shifting alliances, economic needs, and sociocultural connections created complex and sometimes conflicting urban environments. Using this perspective, Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar stand out as sites of colonial power and urban modernity shaped across different cultures.

## **Beyond Dualism**

Since Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), scholars have increasingly questioned the stability of categories like "West" and "East," recognizing that Europe and its "others" were co-created through their unequal interactions.

This postcolonial shift has deeply influenced the fields of architectural and urban history. Gwendolyn Wright (1991) and Mia Fuller (2007) have shown how European colonies acted as testing grounds for disciplinary regimes before they were adopted in metropolitan societies. Ann Laura Stoler (1995) uncovered the complex ways race, sexuality, and governance were interconnected across colonial and metropolitan environments.

The past two decades have challenged earlier dualistic views of colonial cities, which depicted them as clearly divided between European and indigenous zones (Lewis 2011). Studies by Swati Chattopadhyay (2005), William Glover (2007), and Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005) have illustrated how colonial urban spaces featured intricate interconnections, contested practices, and hybrid forms that resist simple binaries, such as colonizer/colonized, modern/traditional, or European/native. Anthony King (2003, 381-397) states that hybridity describes a process whereby exchange between two (or more) existing cultures produces new cultural forms and practices.

We build on Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity while remaining attentive to critiques of this framework. Bhabha (1990, 211) describes a "Third Space" of hybridity that "displaces the histories that constitute it," arguing that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. However, we must avoid romanticizing hybridity or treating it as inherently progressive. As recent scholarship emphasizes, hybrid forms emerged within profound asymmetrical power relations and could serve colonial domination as readily as resist it. The concept of "transculturation," developed by Fernando Ortiz (1995) for Cuba and extended by Sheldon Pollock (1996) to South Asian contexts, also offers a valuable corrective. He reminds us that "there exist no cultural agents who are not always already transcultured [...] like the transmitter, the receiver culture too is something always in process and not a thing with an essence" and that "the cultural materials being transferred are already hybrid themselves." This perspective helps us avoid reifying "pure" cultures that supposedly mixed to produce hybrids, recognizing instead that all cultural formations are processual and relational. The utility of the term "hybrid" to describe architecture, too, must be called into question, implying as it does, in the words of Sheldon Pollock, "an amalgamation of unalloyed pure forms, whether vernacular or cosmopolitan, that have never existed".

Our analysis draws on colonial administrative records, architectural surveys, travelers' accounts, and recent archaeological and archival research. For Zanzibar, we utilize British protectorate records, alongside accounts by nineteenth-century visitors, such as Richard Burton (1872). For Tranquebar,

the Danish East India Company records and missionary correspondence provide crucial evidence of spatial organization and social relations. For Diu, the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* documentation and local land records reveal the complex negotiations between colonial authorities and indigenous elites.

These sources must be read critically, as they reflect the viewpoints and interests of their authors. Administrative documents often present idealized visions of colonial order that contrast sharply with actual urban conditions. Travelers' accounts frequently reproduced Orientalist stereotypes even as they recorded valuable details about urban life. By triangulating these sources with material evidence and comparing our three cases, we can identify both persistent patterns and significant variations in colonial urban development.

### **Zanzibar, the Limits of Colonial Rationalization**

On the coast of equatorial Africa, separated from the mainland by a channel only thirty miles wide, lies the island of Zanzibar (Unguja). The monsoon winds enabled contacts with the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and India, while proximity to the African coast gave Zanzibar strategic importance for trade between the interior and the Indian Ocean. By the nineteenth century, Zanzibar was considered "the depôt of the richest trade in Eastern Africa" (Burton 1872, 1: 103).

The city grew on a triangular peninsula connected to the main island by a narrow strip of land. Although parts of this area were settled as far back as the twelfth century (Sheriff 1995), most of today's Zanzibar Stone Town was built after Seyyid Said bin Sultan moved the Omani sultanate's capital there in the 1830s. It became the hub of a large trading empire that connected Asia, Arabia, Europe, and America with the African interior (Sheriff 1987; Bhacker 1992).

British involvement evolved from recognizing the sultan as an ally to actively undermining sultanate authority. The scramble for Africa intensified these pressures, and Britain imposed a protectorate in 1890, seeking to contain European rivals and protect Indian Ocean trade routes. By this time, Stone Town was well established as the sultanate's most important center. Colonial officials named it "town proper" and attempted to refine its character as an elite space (Bissel 2011, 1-20).

The urban landscape reflected complex social hierarchies. Stone Town, built up along the peninsula, housed Europeans, wealthy Arabs, and Indians

in three- and four-story buildings. Across a tidal creek lay Ng'ambo ("the other side"), an area engineered predominantly during the colonial period where the majority population, mostly Africans, freed slaves, and the working class, lived in largely one-story wattle and daub dwellings. This created an urban milieu structured by ideological and material differences: "Arab" and "Indian" versus "African," stone versus mud, rich versus poor, "town proper" versus Ng'ambo (Menon 1978; Myers 1997).

Zanzibar presents a compelling example of how colonial cities in the Indian Ocean world were shaped by the coexistence of older spatial orders and newer imperial interventions. Throughout the nineteenth century, the island's capital developed through a dynamic interaction between Stone Town and the emerging Town Proper. These two urban formations did not constitute discrete entities. Instead, they formed a relational configuration in which population, labor, commerce and material culture circulated continually between them. Such circulation produced hybrid spaces and assemblages that cannot be explained through frameworks of unilateral European imposition. The archival and narrative record demonstrates that this urban formation resulted from negotiation, accommodation and the interweaving of multiple cultural and political logics.

Yet this dualistic portrait masks considerable complexity. Zanzibar had long been a multicultural and multi-ethnic island territory, with populations drawn from diverse African, Arab, and Indian backgrounds. While the term "cosmopolitan" is sometimes applied, these risks projecting utopian ideals onto relationships that were actually intricate, problem-ridden, and dependent on deeply imbalanced power systems (Sheriff 2002, 77-81). Community divisions were not simply inscribed in physical space but were variably conceived according to different experiences of daily life.

British officials claimed that before their arrival, Zanzibar was chaotic and unclean, devoid of sense, rules, or sanitation, the disorderly product of "Oriental despotism" (Bissel 2011, 1-20).

They presented themselves as progressively reordering the city through modern, scientific, administratively planned methods. Colonial records describe systematic efforts to assess the city's condition, propose solutions, and remake the built environment accordingly. The legal infrastructure was manipulated to facilitate dispossession, and building codes were devised to create a hybrid vision of "order" and "beauty" in a blatant effort to legitimize colonial control (Bissel 2011, 108-184 and 267-294).

Stone Town's urban fabric was shaped long before Omani or British influences became prominent. The settlement belonged to the broader Swahili

world, emerging through centuries of interaction with the African interior, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and the Indian subcontinent. Its architectural style reflected coral stone construction, carved wooden doors, inward-facing domestic layouts, and a dense network of alleys. Burton's account from the early 1870s highlighted these features and observed the coexistence of African, Arab, and Indian architectural elements within the same streets (Burton 1872, 67-104, especially 80-90). His observations confirm the long history of cultural mingling that preceded European influence.

Stone Town also remained the demographic and social heart of Zanzibar throughout the nineteenth century. Missionary letters from the Church Missionary Society describe a majority African and Arab population living in its quarters. These letters estimate that between 70 and 80 percent of the city's population lived in Stone Town during the late nineteenth century (Sheriff 1987, 42-51). Small scale Indian merchants and clerks also lived and worked in these quarters. Their activities included retail, money lending, and regional trade. These occupational patterns reveal that Stone Town remained a vital centre of everyday sociability and economic practice.

The persistence of Stone Town's social and architectural structure shows that colonial interventions did not wipe out existing urban patterns. Instead, the older city kept its economic, religious, and cultural roles, even as new spatial designs appeared along the harbor. This continuity challenges stories that see colonial urbanism as a complete break in space. Stone Town kept shaping the island's identity through its social density, craft traditions, and connected networks of exchange.

The Town Proper developed during a period of institutional change in the nineteenth century. Omani rule introduced administrative reforms that restructured parts of the waterfront. These reforms intensified as British influence grew. Protectorate officials used the harbor area to build new facilities for managing customs, diplomacy, and trade. Records from the British Consulate and annual Protectorate reports frequently document the construction of administrative offices, consular residences, European-owned warehouses, and new quay works (Zanzibar Agency Records, 1841-1900 and Zanzibar Protectorate Annual Reports 1891-1892).

The Town Proper operated as a spatial expression of these reforms. Its layout differed from the labyrinthine pattern of Stone Town. Streets were somewhat broader. Warehouses acquired more regular dimensions. Public spaces near the waterfront were arranged to facilitate circulation and visibility. British officials described the Town Proper as a space of order and

hygienic improvement, in contrast to what they perceived as the congested conditions of Stone Town (Zanzibar Protectorate Annual Report, 1898). These descriptions reveal the ideological framing that guided colonial investments. Such investments attempted to demonstrate administrative capability and the promise of economic efficiency.

Even with these interventions, the Town Proper did not function as an autonomous colonial enclave. It depended on Stone Town for food markets, artisans, labor, and service workers. The two urbanities remained spatially adjacent and socially interdependent. The circulation of people and materials between them mitigated attempts at comprehensive colonial spatial segregation.

However, archival evidence reveals persistent gaps between colonial ambitions and achievements. Large-scale physical intervention required administrative capacity and resources that the British regime could not command. Establishing even basic administration proved challenging: the paucity of officials, difficulties consolidating rule, and lack of external investment left little room for grand urban schemes (Myers 2003, 111-152). Colonial authorities struggled merely to establish their spatial position and impose minimal order in the municipal sphere. Administrative correspondence from the 1890s and early 1900s reveals constant frustration with the city's resistance to rationalization. Chief Secretary reports lamented the inscrutable customary arrangements that thwart surveys.

Rather than successfully reworking space, colonial designs repeatedly failed to rationalize the urban sphere. These schemes, sponsored by an overextended state apparatus, foundered in the gap between intention and implementation, hindered by internal disarray and the incapacity of legal and bureaucratic instruments to reorder everyday life (Bissel 2011, 49-148 and 295-320). Yet even inadequate and uncertain plans had profound effects. They justified reformist claims, consumed resources, promoted administrative apparatus, and inserted colonial subjects within arbitrary legal and bureaucratic orders that were dominating precisely because of their capricious and amorphous nature.

The city's infrastructural gaps were filled by what we might call hybrid fleeting assemblages improvised setups with multiple actors. The water supply, for example, relied on well owners (often Arab or Indian merchants), water carriers (usually former slaves or recent migrants), and occasional municipal interventions. These arrangements emerged from negotiation rather than planning, creating functional yet unstable systems that resisted colonial desires for clarity and control.

Between 1880 and 1900, at least fourteen warehouses and six public offices were constructed in the harbour area, often with imported timber and ironwork from Bombay and Mombasa (Zanzibar National Archives, AA 12/5: Harbour Works, 1890–95, or Protectorate Reports 1892–1900). These structures supported the export of cloves, ivory and other commodities. They also reinforced British oversight of maritime trade.

In contrast, the older quarters of Stone Town received less structural investment. Contemporary letters mention minimal improvements in drainage, sanitation and street repair during the same period (Church Missionary Intelligencer (1895) and CMS Archives C EA O 6/45). Missionaries often described the older neighbourhoods as overcrowded and in need of infrastructural upgrades. The absence of substantial state investment in Stone Town indicates that colonial priorities were concentrated in the Town Proper.

Census estimates and household counts from consular records reveal further imbalances. Stone Town housed a diverse population of African laborers, Omani elites, Indian traders, artisan families, and individuals who had recently gained their freedom. The Town Proper had a much smaller population of European officials, South Asian clerks, foreign merchants, and labor crews associated with colonial infrastructure. This demographic imbalance reveals the social implications of the spatial separation between the two zones. It also indicates that colonial authority was embedded in decisions about where to allocate resources.

Although colonial investment focused on the Town Proper, the resulting buildings often reflected a blend of imported and local techniques. Consular correspondence describes European-style residences that featured courtyards, shaded galleries, and coral stone service quarters. These features were necessary for climate adaptation and showcased local craftsmanship. The buildings combined imported spatial and decorative motifs with regional materials and techniques.

### **Tranquebar, a Danish Colonial city on the Coromandel coast**

Tranquebar (or in Tamil “Tharangambadi”) is situated on the Coromandel Coast of southeast India, in present-day Tamil Nadu. During the medieval period, Tranquebar belonged to the Chola Empire (mid-ninth to early thirteenth century), where it participated in expanding regional and international trade networks. From the fourteenth century, the area attracted

Muslim merchants of Arabic descent and later Portuguese traders, some of whom settled there (Chaudhuri 1985, 127-134).

The Danish presence began through accident and opportunism. In April 1620, the Danish merchant vessel *Øresund* was attacked by Portuguese galleys near Karaikal. Its captain, Roeland Crape, a Dutch seaman in Danish service, escaped with twelve crewmen and reached the court of Raghunatha Nayak at Tanjore (Vriddhagirisan 1995). Crape expressed King Christian IV's desire to establish trade relations in Southeast Asia.

On November 19, 1620, the Danes acquired Tranquebar through a treaty with the *Nayak* of Thanjavur (Tanjore). A letter from Raghunatha *Nayak* on gold foil declared: "We, the Royal Highness Srimad Raghunatha Nayak: send this message to the ambassador [...] We are pleased to learn the news [...] brought by Captain Roeland Crape"<sup>1</sup>. Ove Giedde, an admiral appointed by Christian IV, concluded the agreement on behalf of the Danes. In return for the yearly tribute, Tranquebar and the surrounding villages were granted to the Danish, who were permitted to build a fort, establish a trading station, maintain an army, administer justice, and observe their religious customs (Ferguson 1898, 625-629).

During the 1620s, the Danes erected a fort located south of the Tamil village and christened it "Dansborg". It housed the Danish East India Company employees, the fortification's soldiers, and, later, the eighteenth-century Danish Asiatic Company.<sup>2</sup> The erection of Fort Dansborg and the subsequent laying out of a gridded colonial settlement signaled an effort to assert European order through spatial demarcation. Over the subsequent decades, the entire town was fortified and furnished with houses in a "European style," mainly along Kongensgade (King's Street) and Dronningensgade (Queen's Street), featuring a Sea Gate and a Land Gate. In 1706, the first Protestant Christian mission in Asia was established by German missionaries sent by Frederik IV. The trading station operated under a company with trade monopoly until 1777, when the Danish Crown took it over. Due to economic decline, it was sold to the British East India Company in 1845 (Feldbaek 1984, 11-20).

Until the 1670s, Tranquebar consisted chiefly of the Danish fortress and a fishing village. The Danish colony never expanded significantly. The seafront dominated by the fort became a permanent feature of the urban

<sup>1</sup> Danish National Archives, Danske Kancelli, Ostindiske sager, 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Rigsarkivet records: Admiral Ove Giedde's archive 1616-50 (box B244); Captain Claus Rytter's accounts (box 245); Captain and Governor of Tranquebar Wilhelm Leyel for 1639-48 (box 246)); and Giedde 1773, vol. 1, 31-37.

landscape. Fort Dansborg, with its straight streets, colonial-style houses, the Land and Sea Gates, schools, churches, and churchyards, all testify to the Danish legacy. This townscape merged European patterns, straight, grid-like streets lined by colonial residences, with distinctly Tamil houses, temples, and mosques (Grancho 2025).

Structural changes occurred over time. Material evidence reveals this transformation. The Christian cemetery, *Nygades Kirkegaard* (New Street Cemetery), demonstrates changes in material culture. Seventeenth and early eighteenth-century tomb monuments typically exhibit hybrid Indo-European decorative forms, whereas late eighteenth-century monuments draw heavily on European Neoclassicism. Therefore, the development from baroque to modern nineteenth-century cemetery styles occurred within the fortified town, suggesting growing European cultural confidence and resources.

During the late seventeenth century, an exclusively European quarter emerged outside the fortress, with spacious streets protected by solid fortifications. During the eighteenth century, the Danes acquired additional territory, and the character of Tranquebar underwent a transformation (Feldbaek 1984, 15-18). Here, I respond to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's call to interrogate the geographies of art (Kaufmann 1984). In an age before the emergence of modern nation-states, circulation and interaction are more fitting lenses through which to examine early modern visual and material culture than national categories.

Since the Danish establishment, governors resided at Fort Dansborg. However, after years of complaints about cramped, old-fashioned premises, the fort's accommodations were classified as inadequate for a Governor's family. Following the consolidation of Danish authority under the Danish East India Company and a lack of proper accommodations in the fort, the Governor's Residence functioned as the symbolic and administrative fulcrum of the Danish colony. In 1784, a building which was originally a private home for an affluent British merchant in 1773, located opposite Fort Dansborg in Tranquebar's Parade Ground, was purchased by Governor David Brown and the Danish crown to serve as the official residence for the royally appointed Danish governor in India.<sup>3</sup>

Peter Hermann Abbestée (1728–1794), the last governor (1762–1775) to live in the fort, complained vehemently when he resigned with the Danish crown about the building's condition: there was not a room in Fort

---

<sup>3</sup> Ostindiske Sekretariat, *Journalersager* 967, 1780.

Dansborg where a “man of rank could be received with decency and comfort”, and he would be embarrassed if someone arrived and requested to stay the night (Afdelingen i København 1775). The original deed of sale describes the house as “a dwelling house with several Godowns, Offices & Garden & other Grounds.”<sup>4</sup> It became one of the grandest houses in Tranquebar or, in detail, “the newest, best and most prominent house in Tranquebar.” (Fihl 2017, 88-97).

From 1784 to 1845, this house facing the Parade Ground opposite Fort Dansborg served as the official Danish governor’s residence (Afdelingen i København 1775). It became one of the grandest houses in Tranquebar, a majestic three-winged building with a courtyard enclosed and a French formal garden (Fihl 2017, 88). The governor’s residence was built in the neo-classical style, featuring a flat roof and a front colonnade. Yet, it included a large inner courtyard with direct garden access, a firm reference to traditional Tamil architecture (Fihl 2017, 67-89). The building simultaneously evoked European “homeliness” while accommodating local climate and customs. This was not simple eclecticism but a material negotiation between different architectural traditions, produced through collaboration between European patrons and local builders who brought their own knowledge and preferences.

### **Diu’s Layered Sovereignty and Composite Urbanism**

From the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese Crown attempted to govern a widely dispersed set of outposts through the *Estado da Índia*, a hybrid administrative mechanism centered in Goa and vested with military, fiscal, and ecclesiastical prerogatives (Biedermann 2020). The *Estado* sought to secure strategic points on the Indian Ocean littoral, combining maritime fortification with commercial monopolies and ecclesiastical organization. In practice, the *Estado*’s capacity varied greatly across time and space. It could exert decisive control where resources and manpower were sufficient, and it relied on negotiated authority, local allies, and mercantile collaboration where direct rule was infeasible (Biedermann 2020; Rossa 1997).

Diu entered this imperial orbit after the Portuguese secured control in the early sixteenth century. The island’s geographic position at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay made it a prize for controlling Gujarati maritime

---

<sup>4</sup> Ostindiske Government, Edward Stevenson’s deed, 1775.

traffic and for projecting Portuguese naval power across the western Indian Ocean (Correa [16th c.] 1991). Yet Diu's long-term history exemplifies what we might call "layered sovereignty", a condition in which multiple authorities, legal systems, and cultural frameworks operated simultaneously, producing urban space through ongoing negotiation rather than unilateral imposition (Grancho 2017, 89-134). The city's urban form and social life must be read as the outcome of protracted negotiation between the *Estado da Índia*, Gujarati elites, mercantile intermediaries, and local communities (Grancho 2017; Rossa 1997). Portuguese military and ecclesiastical institutions coexisted with Gujarati legal customs, Hindu and Muslim community governance, and a robust mercantile presence that enjoyed significant autonomy. The *Estado's* authority was therefore never totalizing; it was exercised through alliances, tribute arrangements, and the co-production of urban infrastructures (Grancho 2017).

Portuguese colonial urban settlements in India typically exhibited three spatially distinct entities: the fortress inhabited by Europeans, the *non-aedificandi* area (esplanade), and the Catholic settlement surrounded by walls and inhabited by European and native Catholics. At a distance stood settlements inhabited by non-Christians, the so-called "de cima" (upper), contrasting with the former "de baixo" (lower). However, Diu diverged significantly from this pattern. There was no clear boundary between town and Catholic settlement. The inhabited and fortified perimeter encompassed not only European and Catholic but also non-Catholic settlements and the fort itself (Grancho 2017, 317-347; Gomes 2007, 201-226; Gomes 2014, 717-726). The fort and its bastions served Portuguese military aims. Yet, the settlement pattern inside and immediately outside the walls included Gujarati residential quarters, Parsi houses, Catholic enclaves, and commercial plots used by Indian and Arab merchants (Grancho 2017, 165-223). Importantly, the fort did not simply cordon off a European core. Instead, it anchored a mixed urban morphology in which religious, mercantile, and domestic architectures interleaved. Catholic churches and convents coexisted in the same urban ensemble as mosques, Hindu temples and shrines and Zoroastrian temples.

This was unique within the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Unlike the more famous settlement of Old Goa, where clear spatial segregation developed between Portuguese and indigenous zones, or Cochin de Baixo, which maintained distinct European and native quarters, Diu was an open colonial city without rigid segregation in which former inhabitants were not marginalized to peripheral areas. This reflected specific historical circumstances

of Portuguese establishment and the power dynamics between Portuguese authorities and Gujarati elites. Unlike other Portuguese settlements in India, where European and indigenous architecture occupied separate zones, in Diu they stood side by side, creating “an entire repository of global history of colonial material culture.” (Grancho 2017, XI).

Crucially, Gujarati actors participated actively in creating this composite civic culture and space. This occurred through the construction of fully fledged buildings in hybrid architectural styles, often under the patronage of local elites. The governor’s house, for example, combined Portuguese colonial administrative functions with architectural elements drawing on both European and Gujarati traditions. Parsi houses developed a hybrid style unparalleled elsewhere in the city, featuring arched windows, doors, and porticoes alongside local versions of classical columns, some in a classical-like orders reinterpreted through local proportion, ornament, and materiality (Grancho 2017, 208-219).

This pattern differed markedly from the developments in contemporary European settlements established by Dutch, English, Danish, and French powers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India, more than a century after the Portuguese settlements. These later settlements typically showed spatial configurations with fortresses inhabited exclusively by Europeans, esplanades, “white” villages, and “native” villages. While some, like Tranquebar, had perimeters protecting the whole city and included both European and indigenous residents, they generally maintained more precise boundaries than Diu (Mattoso 2010-2012, 3: 112-125).

Yet we must avoid romanticizing these hybrid forms. They emerged within profound asymmetrical power relations and often served the interests of colonial powers. The preservation of “traditional” elements in architecture could function as a strategy of colonial governance, creating an appearance of respect for local culture while facilitating Portuguese control. Moreover, the agency of local actors was constrained by significant limitations. While Gujarati merchants and elites shaped urban space, they did so in dialogue with Portuguese military, economic, and legal power that ultimately could enforce its will through violence.

The changing nature of these power dynamics over time merits emphasis. Sixteenth-century Portuguese assertions of *Estado* authority differed significantly from the waning Crown power by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As Portuguese maritime dominance declined and Mughal power expanded, local collaborators gained leverage in negotiations. The Treaty of Bassein (1534) and subsequent agreements granted

Gujarati authorities and merchants considerable autonomy in exchange for Portuguese military protection and commercial privileges. By the eighteenth century, Portuguese control was largely nominal, with actual governance depending on accommodation with local power structures (Grancho 2017, 125-165).

Material evidence demonstrates these shifts. Seventeenth-century building inscriptions typically emphasize the authority of the Portuguese Crown and Catholic religious identity. Eighteenth-century inscriptions more frequently acknowledge local patrons and mixed financing arrangements. In 1857, Diu citizens raised funds to municipal improvement by holding a public collection (Grancho 2017, 236-7).

... The City Hall of Diu is proud to bring to the reputable presence of Your Excellency the official document, a copy, and the subscription note, addressed in name of the inhabitants of this Municipality; rejoicing from being empowered to build a monument in this remote place by their constituents, that should perpetuate the memory of Your respectful and sympathetic [...] government [...] and is pleased to inform Your Excellency, that it enthusiastically accepted the task, and will try to satisfy Diu's inhabitants the best way possible - and already published advertisements to auction the work. The Municipality takes this occasion, and dares to ask You on behalf of the people of Diu, to accept this humble testimony of gratitude and deference. God save Your Excellency. Diu's Municipality building, 6 June 1857 – Antonio Francisco Sales de Andrade, President. José Micael Ditoso Alexandre Mascarenhas, Vice-President. - Bernardo José Xavier Benevides – Morangi Rupchande Antonio - Manuel da Trindade. (Bulletin 1857)

The municipal administration responded to the submitted petition by defending the modernization of the city as a service to the community's overall well-being. Such formulations reveal pragmatic arrangements that transcended official ideologies of colonial dominance. The needs of the public (who rarely speak but are always spoken for) are so everyday in modern statist discourses such as urban planning in this era that it can be spoken of as a universal feature of the emerging language of urbanism (Çelik 1986, 50; Faria 2011, 51-165).

Diu's architectural and spatial culture was thus hybrid and composite, not only between Gujarat and Europe, but also marked by repetition and difference between Diu and contemporary urban settlements within Gujarat itself. The colonial city persisted in ambivalence, split between processes of "translation" (Flood 2009) that sought to authorize spatial hybridities emerging in moments of historical change (Bhabha 1990, 207-221, especially 212). This takes us toward an understanding of modernity

as a continuous dispute between practices of translation creating hybrids and strategies of purification designed to articulate and impose ontological differences naturalized in post-Enlightenment societies: “As soon as we direct our attention simultaneously to the work of purification and the work of hybridization, we immediately stop being wholly modern.” (Latour 1993, 10-12).

### **Comparative Analysis: Patterns and Variations**

Comparing these three cases reveals both common patterns and significant variations in colonial urban development in the Indian Ocean realm. All three cities were preexisting settlements that Europeans occupied rather than founded, forcing colonial powers to negotiate with established spatial orders, social hierarchies, and local authorities. This contrasts with colonial cities founded on relatively “empty” sites where European powers had greater freedom to impose metropolitan models, though even there, local agency and environmental factors shaped outcomes (King 1976, 45-67, especially 30-58).

The scale of colonial operations mattered significantly. None of these settlements became major administrative centers or received substantial metropolitan investment. British Zanzibar, Danish Tranquebar, and Portuguese Diu all operated with minimal European personnel and chronically inadequate resources. This forced reliance on local intermediaries, accommodation with indigenous power structures, and acceptance of hybrid arrangements that better resourced settlements might have resisted (Home 1997).

Yet outcomes varied considerably. Diu developed the most integrated spatial configuration, with European and indigenous residents living in proximity and architectural forms drawing on multiple traditions. Tranquebar maintained clearer spatial divisions, with a distinct European quarter separate from the Tamil areas, although there was significant interchange and hybrid buildings, such as the governor’s residence. Zanzibar showed the starkest division between Stone Town and Ng’ambo, though even here, boundaries were more porous and complex than dualistic descriptions suggest.

These variations reflect different colonial ideologies and power relations. Portuguese colonialism in India involved earlier establishment (1535 versus 1620 for Tranquebar and 1890 for Zanzibar), different metropolitan

resources and priorities, and distinctive religious imperatives. The *Estado da Índia* emphasized Catholic conversion and worked through local Catholic communities, creating networks that crossed racial and ethnic lines even while maintaining European supremacy. Danish colonialism operated primarily through commercial monopoly with minimal metropolitan interference, allowing pragmatic accommodations. British colonialism in Zanzibar occurred during the high imperial period, characterized by more developed ideologies of racial segregation and “scientific” administration, although implementation was often frustrated by local resistance and administrative incapacity (Glassman 2011).

Temporal factors also mattered. Portuguese Diu developed over four centuries, Danish Tranquebar over two centuries, while British colonial rule in Zanzibar lasted only seventy years. A longer duration allowed more complex hybridizations to emerge, as successive generations of residents created new forms that accommodated both metropolitan influences and local practices. In Diu, by the eighteenth century, distinctive architectural styles had emerged that participants themselves recognized as specific to that place, neither simply Portuguese nor Gujarati but uniquely Diuese.

### **Contested Spaces and the Limits of Colonial Power**

Scholarship has emphasized colonial cities as “contested spaces” marked by prolonged struggles to seize and shape urban landscapes (Yeoh 1996; Chattopadhyay 2005). This framework helps us move beyond static descriptions of urban form to examine dynamic processes through which space was claimed, used, and reimagined by multiple actors. In all three of our cases, colonial authorities sought to impose spatial rationality, yet their efforts were consistently frustrated, negotiated, or subverted.

Questions of who had rights to the city, what positions people occupied, who could live or work where, and who was moved out of place, disregarded, or omitted were spatial questions that emerged at the heart of colonial rule with profound political, economic, and cultural significance (Lefebvre 2009 [1968]; Bender and Winer 2001, 12-34; Harvey 2003). Yet answers to these questions remained unstable, subject to ongoing contestation and renegotiation.

In Zanzibar, British attempts to rationalize urban space through comprehensive planning repeatedly collapsed. A proposed 1908 town plan aimed to establish clear zones for different activities and populations, with

sanitary cordons separating European and Arab areas from African quarters. The plan remained largely unimplemented due to property disputes, inadequate surveying, and resistance from landowners who refused to recognize colonial legal definitions of property (Myers 2003, 112-138).

This failure was not exceptional but characteristic. Colonial urban planning in Zanzibar confronted what Bissel calls the “gap between intention and implementation”, the persistent inability of colonial states to make urban reality conform to administrative blueprints (Bissel 2011, 2). This gap resulted partly from resource limitations but also from the active resistance and alternative spatial practices of urban residents who operated according to different logics.

Property disputes illustrate these dynamics. British law required written deeds and surveyed boundaries. However, many Stone Town properties were held under Islamic *waqf* (endowment) arrangements or through customary claims based on long occupation. When colonial authorities attempted to survey and register properties, they encountered layered, overlapping claims that confounded their legal categories. Rather than resolving these disputes, registration often multiplied them, as different parties sought to use colonial law for their own purposes (Sheriff 1992, 1-20).

Similarly, in Ng’ambo, residents built houses, established markets, and created pathways according to their own needs and social relationships, largely ignoring official building codes and spatial regulations. Colonial authorities lacked both the knowledge to understand these spatial logics and the capacity to enforce alternative arrangements. Administrative correspondence is filled with complaints about “unauthorized construction,” “encroachment on public ways,” and “insanitary dwellings,” yet these complaints produced little actual change (Myers 1997, 253-272).

Tranquebar presents a somewhat different pattern. Danish authorities, operating through treaty arrangements that explicitly recognized local autonomy in many spheres, made fewer attempts at comprehensive spatial control. The fortified European quarter maintained relatively clear boundaries, but Danish officials largely accepted Tamil spatial practices in areas beyond their immediate jurisdiction. When conflicts arose, over land use, building practices, or public space, they were typically negotiated through the indigenous power structures that the treaty preserved (Granchó 2025).

Yet even within the European quarter, hybrid practices emerged. Danish residents employed Tamil servants, artisans, and laborers who brought their own spatial understandings and practices with them.

Such everyday accommodations, multiplied across numerous households and institutions, shaped spatial practices in ways that transcended official policies. In Tranquebar, a large portion of what was erroneously referred to as a “Danish town” consisted of small houses that abutted the street and stood next to commercial establishments on the street. Only two bays were used in small lots, where the three-bay layout could not be accommodated. The standard plan’s conformity to the ‘pattern’ was evident even in this small portion.

The lack of privacy compared with contemporary standards in Denmark was a perennial source of displeasure among newcomers from Denmark. The houses’ layouts were more closely modelled on urban Indian houses than anything found in nineteenth-century Denmark. They did not provide their occupants with privacy or the space of the “private sphere.”

The Danish paradox of the verandah (probably of Portuguese origin), that archetypal space of European colonial presence, both a site of authority and surveillance and a location where power is subverted, making it particularly fascinating. It created a relaxed atmosphere of semi-public repose. It was the threshold between private and public, between privacy and public interiority, between interiors and streets, a partially indoor and partially outdoor space, partially European and partially Indian, an exposed area where masters and mistresses spent most of the day, enjoyed their leisure activities, and unwound. Most importantly, Europeans mixed closely with the Indians they depended on, even though they wanted to keep their distance from them, be it *punkah-wallahs*, traders, or bazaar salesmen. Indeed, the constant presence of Indians meant that the surveillance in the verandah went both ways.

Diu’s layered sovereignty produced particularly complex negotiations. Portuguese authorities claimed ultimate jurisdiction, but in practice, they shared power with Gujarati elites, merchant communities, and religious institutions. Urban space reflected these multiple authorities. The fortress and immediate military installations remained under direct Portuguese control. Catholic churches and related institutions operated under the authority of the Portuguese Church. However, Hindu temples, Muslim mosques, Zoroastrian temples, and associated properties functioned under their own governance structures, with Portuguese authorities intervening only in disputes that threatened public order (Grancho 2017, 283-316).

Markets and warehouses were more complex. They involved participants from multiple communities with different legal traditions and commercial practices. Portuguese authorities established regulations, such as weights and measures, customs collection, and dispute resolution mechanisms, but

these operated alongside indigenous commercial law and practice (Grancho 2017, 138-143).

These arrangements were neither stable nor harmonious. Conflicts arose frequently over jurisdiction, property rights, commercial privileges, and spatial access. Yet resolution typically involved negotiation and compromise rather than unilateral imposition by colonial authorities. This reflected not Portuguese enlightenment but practical necessity; the colonial state lacked the capacity to impose its will comprehensively and depended on local cooperation for basic governance functions.

### **Infrastructure and Hybrid Assemblages**

Infrastructure provides particularly revealing evidence of how colonial cities functioned, as opposed to how colonial authorities imagined them. Water supply, sanitation, transportation, and communication systems required ongoing maintenance and operation, involving numerous actors and practical accommodations that official planning rarely acknowledged (Chattopadhyay 2012, 23-56).

In Zanzibar, water supply exemplifies what we earlier called “hybrid fleeting assemblages”, improvised arrangements filling infrastructural gaps through negotiation among multiple actors. Stone Town had no comprehensive water system. Some elite residences had private wells or cisterns. Most residents, however, depended on well owners (often Arab or Indian merchants who charged fees), water carriers (typically freed slaves or recent migrants), and occasional municipal interventions (such as public standpipes installed in the early twentieth century) (Bissel 2011, 234-267).

These arrangements defied colonial desires for legibility and control. British officials periodically proposed comprehensive water systems with centralized supply and standardized charges. Yet these proposals foundered on property disputes (whose land would the pipeline cross?), cost (who would pay for the infrastructure?), and technical challenges (how to ensure adequate pressure in Stone Town’s hilly terrain?). Meanwhile, the existing hybrid system continued to function through numerous individual negotiations and adjustments (Bissel 2011, 234-267).

Sanitation presented similar challenges. British authorities viewed Zanzibar as unhealthy and insisted on “modern” sanitation to prevent disease. They established regulations requiring proper latrines, waste collection, and drainage. However, implementing these regulations proved

nearly impossible. Many Stone Town properties had complex ownership arrangements that made determining responsibility difficult. In Ng'ambo, residents employed various traditional practices that officials deemed "insanitary," but which actually functioned reasonably well in their context (Bissel 2011, 289-315). Rather than enforcing regulations comprehensively, authorities adopted selective interventions, focusing on areas visible to Europeans or those implicated in disease outbreaks. This created a patchwork where some areas had "modern" infrastructure while others operated according to different logics. Residents navigated between these systems, using whichever served their purposes.

Tranquebar's infrastructure reflected its smaller scale and clearer spatial divisions. Within the fortified area, Danish authorities maintained roads, drainage, and public facilities according to European standards, while adapting them to local conditions. The governor's residence, for example, featured sophisticated rainwater collection systems that combined European and Tamil techniques (Fihl 2017, 123-145). Beyond the fortifications, Tamil villages managed their own infrastructure with minimal Danish interference. Yet even this relatively straightforward division involved ongoing accommodation. Danish commercial operations depended on Tamil labor, artisans, and merchants who moved daily between zones. Roads connecting the fort to the surrounding areas required shared maintenance arrangements.

Diu's infrastructure perhaps best exemplifies genuine hybridity emerging from layered sovereignty. Water supply involved ancient systems, wells, cisterns, and channels, maintained by religious authorities, merchant associations, and municipal governance, combining Portuguese and Gujarati officials. This system reflected not colonial planning but accumulated practice evolving over centuries. It worked reasonably well because it accommodated multiple authorities and practices rather than imposing uniform standards (Grancho 2017, 241-255).

Road maintenance similarly involved hybrid arrangements. Major routes connecting the fortress to gates and commercial areas were Portuguese responsibility. Neighborhood streets were maintained by residents, following Gujarati practices of collective responsibility organized through caste and religious associations. Some commercial streets involved joint arrangements, with costs supported by Gujarati merchant guilds (Bulletin 1857).

These infrastructural arrangements reveal how colonial cities actually operated through multiple, overlapping systems rather than unified, rationalized structures. Colonial authorities established some infrastructure and

regulations, but these coexisted with, and depended upon, indigenous systems and practices. The result was neither simply “colonial” nor “indigenous” but genuinely hybrid, though emerging from asymmetrical power relations rather than equal partnership.

### **Hybridity: Process and Permanence**

A critical question concerns whether observed examples of hybridity were permanent or merely transitional. The very notion of stable hybrids might appear paradoxical, since hybridity implies mixing or change (Werbner 1997, 1-26). Bhabha claims that “all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity,” suggesting that boundaries between hybridity and tradition, change and continuity, may dissolve (Bhabha 1990, 211).

Evidence from our three cases supports viewing hybridization as an ongoing process rather than an achieved state. In Diu, architectural forms that emerged in the seventeenth century through mixing of Portuguese and Gujarati elements became models that subsequent builders referenced and elaborated. By the eighteenth century, distinctively “Diuese” styles were recognized by participants themselves as specific to that place. Yet these styles continued evolving, incorporating new influences, Portuguese elements in the late eighteenth century, and later additions reflecting changing tastes and technologies (Grancho 2017, 601-628).

Similarly, in Tranquebar, the governor’s residence exemplified hybridity when it was built in the 1770s. Over the subsequent decades, successive occupants modified it, adding elements that reflected changing European influences while maintaining features suited to the local climate and practices. The building that served as the governor’s residence in the 1840s resembled its 1770s form but differed in numerous details (Fihl 2017, 178-201). Was it the same hybrid or a new one? The question itself may be misconceived, as hybridization continued across time.

Zanzibar presents yet another pattern. British colonial rule lasted only seventy years, sufficient time for some hybrid forms to emerge but not for them to become fully stabilized. Stone Town architecture from the protectorate period often combined elements. Arab-style carved doors, Indian-influenced decorative details, British building technologies, in ways that were experimental and sometimes awkward. Some of these combinations persisted and were elaborated; others proved unstable and were abandoned or modified (Siravo 1996, 20-60).

This processual understanding has important implications. It suggests that we should examine not just hybrid outcomes but ongoing hybridization: the continuous negotiation and adjustment through which multiple cultural frameworks intersect. It also cautions against reifying “local” and “global,” “traditional” and “modern,” or “indigenous” and “colonial” as mutually exclusive categories that are simply mixed. Instead, these categories themselves are constantly reconstituted through hybridization processes (Pieterse 1995, 45-68).

We must also avoid positing a vague “local” as mere recipient of “global” influences, an ordered dualism within which “local” and “global” cultures combine to source “hybrid” cultures. Often, the local is reified as “traditional” or “indigenous” (and therefore static), supposedly threatened by sequential Western culture. This misrepresents both “local” and “global” as more coherent and bounded than they actually are (King 1995, 108-123).

Our cases demonstrate that “local” cultures were themselves products of earlier mixing and exchange. Gujarat, for example, had been shaped by centuries of Indian Ocean trade, incorporating influences from Persia, Arabia, East Africa, and Southeast Asia before the arrival of the Portuguese. Tamil culture similarly reflected long engagement with diverse influences through maritime trade networks (Chaudhuri 1985, 201-234). What Portuguese, Danish, and British colonizers encountered was not pristine “indigenous” culture, but already hybrid formations.

Moreover, the cultural elements that colonizers brought were themselves hybrid and metropolitan cultures shaped by earlier colonial encounters and global exchange (Alsayyad 2001, 1-18). British architecture in Zanzibar drew on precedents developed in India, which themselves combined European and South Asian elements. Portuguese forms in Diu reflected experiences in Africa (Granchó 2017). Danish practices in Tranquebar were influenced by close French models from Pondicherry, which had their own complex genealogies (Fihl 2009).

## **Rethinking Colonial Urbanism**

The different ways in which Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar were transformed through various activities and styles of architecture, urban planning, and land use resulted in a fragmentation of homogeneity and harmony. This diversity reflected the colonial states and elites who often struggled, unsuccessfully at times, to impose their visions on urban spaces. Archival

and ethnographic research shows how European officials were continually frustrated in their efforts to create more “rational” and “orderly” urban environments.

From the earliest days of colonial rule, authorities in all three cities had only a limited understanding of urban spatial complexities. The chaos of city life often disrupts efforts to make cities fit strict legal definitions and bureaucratic rules. Despite years of effort, attempts at comprehensive urban planning repeatedly fell apart. This was not just due to a lack of resources or technical skills, although those played a role. More deeply, it showed the contested nature of urban space, where many different actors with varying interests, knowledge, and spatial practices were active at the same time.

Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar contribute to broader theoretical agendas highlighting how understanding urban life needs does not depend exclusively on Western academic frameworks. They challenge core assumptions that have long framed the architectural and urban history of colonial spatial cultures. The notion that colonial cities were products of unilateral metropolitan imposition, shaped primarily by European ideologies and technologies, proves untenable when confronted with evidence of continuous negotiation, local agency, and hybrid outcomes (King 2004, 167-181; Yeoh 2001, 456-468).

However, we must avoid romanticizing hybridity or viewing it as naturally progressive or emancipatory. Hybrid forms arose within deep asymmetrical power dynamics characterized by violence, exploitation, and ongoing inequality. Colonial rule, even if contested and incomplete, remained fundamentally coercive. The negotiations and compromises we have discussed took place within structures of domination that could ultimately be enforced through violence. Indigenous actors had agency and influenced outcomes, but they did so under conditions they did not choose and with fewer resources than those available to colonial powers, even if limited (Young 1995; Bhabha 2004).

Moreover, hybrid outcomes could serve colonial interests just as readily as they could resist them. The preservation of “traditional” architectural elements, the recognition of indigenous governance in certain spheres, and the accommodation of local spatial practices could all serve as strategies that facilitated colonial rule. By appearing to respect local culture while maintaining European supremacy, these arrangements could have legitimized colonialism more effectively than a crude imposition might have done. Colonial authorities understood this.

The concept of “layered sovereignty” helps us understand these dynamics. In all three cities, but especially in Diu and Tranquebar, multiple authorities exercised jurisdiction simultaneously in overlapping territorial and functional domains. This was not federal or shared sovereignty in any formal sense, but rather practical arrangements emerging from negotiation and accommodation. These arrangements were neither stable nor harmonious, necessitating continuous adjustments and resulting in ongoing tensions. Yet they functioned, allowing colonial systems to operate despite severe limitations in metropolitan resources and local knowledge (Lewis 2015, 45-78).

The temporality of these developments deserves emphasis. The sixteenth-century establishment of Portuguese control in Diu differed profoundly from the late nineteenth-century British assumption of power in Zanzibar. By the high imperial period, European powers had developed more sophisticated ideologies of racial segregation, advanced technologies of governance, and ambitious visions of comprehensive social transformation. Yet even in Zanzibar, these greater ambitions encountered similar frustrations. British officials in the 1920s faced challenges remarkably similar to those experienced by European officials in Diu and Tranquebar, including inadequate resources, resistance from local actors, and the complexity of urban social life (Bissel 2011, 298-327).

This indicates that specific structural features of colonial urbanism in occupied cities, rather than cities established by colonizers, persisted across various imperial powers and different historical periods. When colonial authorities took over existing urban settlements, they inevitably faced established spatial arrangements, property relations, and social hierarchies that limited their freedom of action. Even with overwhelming military strength, translating that power into full spatial control was extremely challenging. Urban space is created through numerous everyday practices and relationships that cannot simply be dictated from above, and residents possess extensive local knowledge that provides them with advantages in navigating or undermining official regulations (Holston 1989, 98-125).

The focus on Indian Ocean connections shared by these three cases also matters. All three cities served as nodes in maritime networks that linked Asia, Arabia, Africa, and Europe. These connections predated European colonialism and continued to operate throughout the colonial period, although they were transformed by colonial power. The monsoon winds that enabled trade between Zanzibar and India, the commercial networks linking Diu to ports throughout the Indian Ocean, and the maritime

systems integrating Tranquebar into regional and global exchange all represented forces that colonial powers sought to control but could never entirely master (Chaudhuri 1985; Sheriff 1987).

This Indian Ocean perspective questions the terrestrial bias of much colonial historiography, which has emphasized territorial control and land-based power while viewing maritime connections as secondary. However, for these coastal cities, maritime networks were essential. They brought people, goods, ideas, and practices from various origins, creating cosmopolitan environments that resisted uniformity. Colonial authorities tried to regulate maritime movement by controlling ports, enforcing customs, and restricting travel, but they never achieved full control. Ships continued arriving from multiple origins, smuggling was widespread, and people moved across colonial boundaries in ways that officials could neither fully track nor stop (Subrahmanyam 2005, 15-24).

We might describe the colonial urban modernity emerging in these cities as “idiosyncratic” (Celik 2008, 247), neither purely European nor indigenous, neither fully modern nor traditional, but something specific to particular times, places, and power structures. This idiosyncrasy resulted from complex colonial situations where reforms were internal to late European imperial cultures yet had to engage with indigenous power structures, knowledge systems, and spatial practices that could neither be eliminated nor fully subordinated.

British colonialism in Zanzibar, Portuguese colonialism in Diu, and Danish colonialism in Tranquebar, developed as awkward extensions of existing powers and political structures, creating lasting uncertainties in colonial rule. This political situation had significant spatial and material implications, as European powers had to work within already established urban systems, incorporating existing frameworks and accommodating the current order. Colonial authorities faced limited flexibility, as their options were constrained not only by political and economic factors but also by the weight of past urban developments they did not create and could not easily change or control (Glover 2007, 89-116).

These cities exemplify hybridity among customary ways of building and inhabiting, imposed social and spatial forms emerging from European modernity, and the cultural dynamics of modernity and colonialism. They demonstrate that colonial encounters produced not simple imposition of European forms nor pure preservation of indigenous traditions, but complex negotiations yielding outcomes that transcended their constituent elements. The resulting urban fabrics were neither coherent nor stable, but

marked by tensions, contradictions, and ongoing contestations that shaped everyday life for all residents (Hosagrahar 2005, 23-47).

### **Implications for Colonial Urban History**

This examination of Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar has several implications for how we understand and study colonial urbanism. First, it demonstrates the necessity of moving beyond dualistic frameworks that posit apparent oppositions between colonizer and colonized, European and indigenous, modern and traditional. These categories may serve as starting points for analysis, but they quickly prove inadequate when confronted with evidence of how colonial cities functioned. More productive approaches examine the specific processes through which space was produced, contested, and negotiated by multiple actors operating within asymmetrical power relations (Chattopadhyay 2005, 12-34).

Second, our cases highlight the importance of distinguishing between different types of colonial cities. Cities founded by colonizers on relatively empty sites, though “empty” usually meant emptied through violence, differed significantly from cities where colonizers occupied existing settlements. The latter confronted spatial orders, property relations, and social structures they had not created and could not easily reshape. This fundamental difference shaped possibilities for colonial spatial intervention and produced distinctive patterns of hybridization (King 1976, 89-112).

Third, scale and resources mattered profoundly. Major colonial capitals with substantial metropolitan investment and large European populations developed differently from smaller, resource-poor settlements operating at the margins of colonial systems. Much colonial urban historiography has focused on major capitals, such as Calcutta, Bombay, and Batavia, where colonial power appeared most imposing. Yet, examining smaller settlements, such as the three cases we have, reveals dynamics that may have been obscured in better-resourced contexts. In particular, the gaps between colonial ambitions and achievements, the persistent failures of rationalization, and the extent of hybrid accommodations appear more clearly in these marginal sites (Home 1997, 134-156).

Fourth, our analysis suggests the value of comparative approaches examining multiple colonial powers simultaneously. Too often, colonial urban history has been studied within national frameworks, British colonial urbanism, French colonial urbanism, and Portuguese colonial urbanism, which

obscure commonalities and shared patterns. Comparing British Zanzibar, Portuguese Diu, and Danish Tranquebar reveals that certain features, the frustrations of occupied cities, the persistence of indigenous agency, and the emergence of hybrid forms transcended individual imperial systems. At the same time, comparison highlights genuine differences reflecting distinct colonial ideologies, metropolitan resources, and historical trajectories (Celik 2008, 16-17).

Fifth, attention to temporality proves crucial. Colonial situations evolved over time, with early periods of establishment differing from later phases of consolidation or decline. Power relations shifted as metropolitan priorities changed, local actors gained or lost leverage, and demographic and economic transformations altered urban dynamics. A snapshot at any single moment provides an incomplete understanding; we must examine processes across extended periods to grasp how hybrid forms emerged, stabilized, or dissolved (Feldbaek 1984, 11-20).

Ultimately, these cases highlight the significance of urban space and materiality in understanding colonialism more broadly. Space was not merely a neutral context where colonial encounters occurred, but rather a medium through which power relations were constituted, contested, and negotiated. Architecture and urban form both reflected and shaped social relations, embodying ideologies while also constraining or enabling particular practices. Attention to the built environment thus provides crucial evidence for understanding colonial power in its complexity, not as monolithic domination but as fragmented, contested, and incomplete (Rabinow 1989, 9-12).

## **Conclusion**

The European colonial presence in the Indian Ocean realm produced neither a simple transplantation of metropolitan models nor mere exploitation of indigenous resources, but rather complex engagements that yielded hybrid outcomes, which continue to shape these cities today. Contemporary problems in Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar cannot be understood simply as products of postcolonial maladministration or indigenous ineptitude. Instead, their roots stretch back into administrative and bureaucratic disorder, spatial contradictions, and infrastructural inadequacies inherited from colonial periods (Bissel 2011, 356-389).

Recognizing this colonial genealogy is not to absolve postcolonial governments of responsibility for current challenges. Instead, it situates

contemporary problems within longer histories that reveal the profound difficulties of creating functional and equitable urban systems. The contradictions, inadequacies, and hybrid assemblages that characterized colonial urbanism did not simply disappear with independence. They were inherited, often intensified, and transformed into new contexts marked by different challenges and possibilities (Yeoh 2001, 456-468).

Understanding colonial hybridity also helps us think more productively about contemporary urbanism in South Asia, East Africa, and globally. The processes we have examined among multiple actors, practical accommodation across differences, and the emergence of new forms from engagement with diverse traditions continue to characterize urban development worldwide. Contemporary “global cities” are characterized by similar dynamics of hybridization, although they operate through different power configurations and at varying scales (Alsayyad 2001, 312-334).

The concept of hybridity, properly understood, offers resources for thinking beyond static categories toward more dynamic, processual understandings of urban space and social life. It encourages attention to specificity and particularity while also identifying broader patterns and processes. It resists both romantic celebration of mixing and rigid imposition of purity, recognizing the complex, often contradictory character of cultural formations emerging from unequal encounters (Bhabha 2004, 1-18).

Yet we must remain vigilant about the limits of hybridity as an analytical framework. The term can obscure power relations if used carelessly, suggesting symmetrical exchange where profound asymmetry prevailed. It can naturalize colonialism’s outcomes rather than subjecting them to critical scrutiny. And it can essentialize “cultures” as bounded entities that mix, rather than recognizing culture itself as processual and relational (Pieterse 1995, 62-65).

These concerns counsel against abandoning hybridity as a concept, but rather to use it more carefully and critically. Hybridity describes not harmonious fusion but contested negotiation within asymmetrical power relations. It identifies not stable outcomes but ongoing processes. It requires constant attention to specific contexts, who negotiated with whom, under what constraints, toward what ends, and with what outcomes for different actors (Werbner 1997, 22-26).

The colonial cities of Zanzibar, Diu, and Tranquebar exemplify these dynamics. They remain today as a testament to complex histories of encounter, negotiation, and struggle that have produced the built environments that continue to shape residents’ lives. Understanding these histories requires moving beyond simple narratives of European imposition or indigenous

resistance toward more nuanced accounts recognizing the multiple actors, complicated processes, and hybrid outcomes that characterized colonial urbanism in the Indian Ocean realm. Only such accounts can do justice to the actual complexity of colonial encounters and their enduring legacies.

## References and bibliography

- ABU-LUGHOD, Janet. 1980. *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Princeton Legacy Library.
- AKCAN, Esra. 2012. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House*. Duke University Press.
- ALSAYYAD, Nezar, ed. 2001. *Hybrid Urbanism: On the identity discourse and the built environment*. Praeger.
- APPADURAI, Arjun. 1988. *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge University Press.
- AXEL, Brian, ed. 2002. *From the Margins: Historical anthropology and its futures*. Duke University Press.
- BENDER, Barbara, and Margot Winer, eds. 2001. *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place*. Berg.
- BHABHA, Homi K. 1990. "The Third Space – An interview with Homi Bhabha." In *Identity: Community, culture, difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford. Lawrence & Wishart.
- BHABHA, Homi K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.
- BHACKER, Mohamed Reda. 1992. *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar: Roots of British domination*. Routledge.
- BISSEL, William Cunningham. 2011. *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*. Indiana University Press.
- BURTON, Richard Francis. 1872. *Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast*. 2 vols. Tinsley Brothers.
- ÇELİK, Zeynep. 1986. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman city in the Nineteenth Century*. University of California.
- ÇELİK, Zeynep. 2008. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman encounters, 1830-1914*. University of Washington Press.
- CHATTOPADHYAY, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny*. Routledge.
- CHATTOPADHYAY, Swati. 2012. *Unlearning the City: Infrastructure in a new optical field*. University of Minnesota Press.

- CHAUDHURI, K. N. 1985. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge University Press.
- COMAROFF, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1992. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Westview Press.
- FANON, Frantz. 1968. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press.
- FARIA, Alice. 2011. "L'Architecture Colonial Portugaise à Goa. Le Département des Travaux Publics, 1840-1926". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Université Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne.
- FELDBAEK, Ole. 1984. "The development of an Indo-European town on Mughal India: Tranquebar in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." In *Changing South Asia: City and culture*, edited by Kenneth Ballhatchet and David Taylor. Asian Research Service.
- FERGUSON, Donald. 1898. "The settlement of the Danes at Tranquebar and Serampore." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 625-629.
- FIHL, Esther, ed. 2017. *The Governor's Residence in Tranquebar: The house and the daily life of its people, 1770-1845*. Museum Tusulanum Press.
- FIHL, Esther, and A.R. Venkatachalapathy, eds. 2009. *Indo-Danish Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and present*. Special Issue *Review of Development and Change* 14 (1 & 2). Madras Institute of Development Studies.
- FLOOD, Finbarr Barry. 2009. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton University Press.
- FULLER, Mia. 2007. *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*. Routledge.
- GIEDDE, Ove. 1773. "Fortegnelse paa alt, hvis paa denne Indianske Reise ...". In *Samlung zur Dänischen Geschichte*, vol. 1, edited by J. H. Schlegel. Sander und Schröder.
- GLASSMAN, Jonathan. 2011. *War of Words, War of Stone: Racial thought in colonial violence in Zanzibar*. Indiana University Press.
- GLOVER, William J. 2007. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and imagining a colonial city*. University of Minnesota Press.
- GOMES, Paulo Varela. 2007. "Dans les villes de l'Asie portugaise frontières religieuses." In *14,5 Ensaio de História e Arquitectura*. Almedina.
- GOMES, Paulo Varela. 2014. "European perceptions of Indian Cities in the Sixteenth Century and Portuguese Urban settlements in India." In *Cities in Medieval India*, edited by Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil. Primus Books.
- GRANCHO, Nuno. 2017. "Diu: A social architectural and urban history". PhD dissertation. University of Coimbra.

- GRANCHO, Nuno. 2025. "Public shared places and private absent divides. Identity and Space of Colonial Urbanism under Portuguese, French and Danish Rules: Diu, Pondicherry and Tranquebar." In *The Routledge Companion to Art and Challenges to Empire*, edited by Alice Price and Emily Burns. Routledge.
- HARVEY, David. 2003. "The Right to the City". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27: 939-41.
- HOLSTON, James. 1989. *The Modernist City*. University of Chicago Press.
- HOME, Robert K. 1997. *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. Spon.
- HOSAGRAHAR, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. Routledge.
- DACOSTA KAUFMANN, Thomas. 2004. *Toward a Geography of Art*. University of Chicago Press.
- KING, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment*. Routledge.
- KING, Anthony D. 1995. "The Times and Spaces of Modernity (or Who Needs Postmodernism?)." In *Global Modernities*, edited by M. Featherstone, S. Lash, and R. Robertson. Sage.
- KING, Anthony D. 2003. "Cultures and Spaces of Postcolonial Knowledges." In *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, edited by K. Anderson, M. Domosh and S. Pile. Sage.
- KING, Anthony D. 2004. "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms: Colonial Urbanism and Architecture after the Postcolonial Turn." In *Postcolonial Urbanism: Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes*, edited by Ryan Bishop, John Phillips and Wei Wei Yeo. Routledge.
- LATOUR, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Translated by Catherine Parker. Harvard University Press.
- LEFEBVRE, Henri. (1968) 2009. *Le Droit à la ville*. 3e édition. Economica/Anthropos.
- LEWIS, Eric Beverley. 2011. "Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities." In *Social History* 36 (4): 482-497.
- LEWIS, Eric Beverley. 2015. *Hyderabad, British India, and the World: Muslim Networks and Minor Sovereignty, c. 1850-1950*. Cambridge University Press.
- MATTOSSO, José, dir. 2010-2012. *Portuguese Heritage around the World: Architecture and Urbanism*. 3 vols. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- MENON, Ramachandran. 1978. "Zanzibar in the Nineteenth Century: Aspects of Urban Development in an East African Coastal Town." MA thesis, UCLA.

- MYERS, Garth A. 1997. "Sticks and stones: Colonialism and Zanzibari housing." *Africa* 67: 253-272.
- MYERS, Garth A. 2003. *Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and space in Urban Africa*. Syracuse University Press.
- ORTIZ, Fernando. 1995. *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*. Translated by Harriet de Onis. Duke University Press.
- PIETERSE, J. N. 1995. "Globalisation as hybridisation." In *Global Modernities*, edited by M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson. Sage.
- POLLOCK, Sheldon. 1996. "The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300-1300: Transculturation, vernacularization, and the question of ideology." In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of Sanskrit Language*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 197-247. Brill.
- POLLOCK, Sheldon. 2000. "Cosmopolitan and vernacular in history." *Public Culture* 12 (3): 625.
- RABINOW, Paul. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and forms of the social environment*. MIT Press.
- ROSSA, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: A contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. CNCDP.
- SAID, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. Penguin Books.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 1987. *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar*. James Currey.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 1992. "Mosques, merchants, and landowners in Zanzibar Stone Town." *Azania* 27: 1-20.
- SHERIFF, Abdul, ed. 1995. *The History and Conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town*. James Currey.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 2002. "The spatial dichotomy of Swahili towns: The case of Zanzibar in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa, c. 1750-2000*, edited by Andrew Burton. British Institute in Eastern Africa.
- SIRAVO, Francesco. 1996. *Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town*. Aga Khan Trust for Culture.
- STOLER, Ann Laura. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Duke University Press.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. 2005. "Beyond incommensurability: Understanding inter-Imperial dynamics." Department of Sociology, UCLA, *Theory and Research in Comparative Social Analysis* Paper 32.
- VRIDDHAGIRISAN, Y. [1942] 1995. *The Nayaks of Tanjore*. Asian Educational Services.

- WERBNER, Prina. 1997. "Introduction: The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity." In *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, edited by Prina Werbner and Tariq Modood. Zed Books.
- WRIGHT, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. University of Chicago Press.
- YEOH, Brenda S. 1996. *Contesting Space*. Oxford University Press.
- YEOH, Brenda S. 2001. "Postcolonial Cities." *Progress in Human Geography* 25: 456-468.

### Other sources

- BULLETIN FROM ESTADO DA INDIA GOVERNMENT, 52, Nova-Goa, 7 July 1857
- CMS ARCHIVES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM (CMS/B/OMS/C EA Zanzibar Accordance)
- CMS CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER (1895)
- CMS ARCHIVES (University of Birmingham), Section C EA O 6 (Zanzibar Original Correspondence, 1890s)
- BRITISH CONSULATE RECORDS (Zanzibar Agency Records, FO 84 series), 1841–1900
- ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE ANNUAL REPORTS (1891 and 1892)
- ZANZIBAR NATIONAL ARCHIVES, AA 12/5: Harbour Works, 1890–95
- PROTECTORATE REPORTS 1892–1900
- DANISH NATIONAL ARCHIVES
- DANSKE KANCELLI, OSTINDISKE SAGER (1620 gold foil)
- RA: KK, Ostindiske Sekretariat, Journalersager, no. 967, 1780.
- RA: ASK, Afdelingen i København, Breve fra governmentet i Tranquebar, no. 202, 14 February, 1775.
- RA. Det kgl. Ostindiske Government, Kommisionkarter ang, koloniernes overdragelse til Kongen, no. 1510, Edward Stevenson's deed. 3 April 1775.
- Rigsarkivet records:
- KANCELLIETS BREVBØGER; ADMIRAL OVE GIEDDE'S ARCHIVE 1616–50 (box B244)
- CAPTAIN CLAUD RYTTER'S ACCOUNTS FOR THE PERIOD 1639–50 (box 245), <https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/other/index-creator/192/103799/22696360>;
- CAPTAIN AND GOVERNOR OF TRANQUEBAR WILHELM LEYEL FOR 1639–48 (box 246), <https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/other/index-creator/192/103799/23436633>.

# Global Currents, Local Complexity: Indian Ocean Trade and Small-Scale Societies around Kilimanjaro

Valence Valerian Silayo\*

*Anais de História de Além-Mar* XXIV (2023): 93-114.  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46382>.

## Resumo

A África Oriental e Central pré-colonial caracterizava-se, em grande medida, pela predominância de sociedades de pequena escala situadas fora da influência directa de grandes sistemas estatais, como os Luba-Lunda, Marave, Lozi, Kongo, a cultura do Zimbabwe e as cidades-estado suaílis. Estas comunidades foram frequentemente consideradas desprovidas de sofisticação sociopolítica. Contudo, a evidência arqueológica relativa aos Chagga, estabelecidos nas encostas inferiores do monte Kilimanjaro, contraria esta perspectiva. Os Chagga construíram complexas estruturas defensivas, desenvolveram uma gestão cuidada dos recursos hídricos de montanha e mantiveram redes comerciais tanto locais como regionais, revelando, assim, elevados níveis de organização social.

Este estudo adopta uma abordagem de arqueologia histórica para analisar de que modo tais práticas se articularam com a expansão das redes comerciais do oceano Índico entre os séculos XVII e XIX d.C. Ao examinar as ligações entre as sociedades do Kilimanjaro e o comércio costeiro, demonstra-se que as comunidades de pequena escala contribuíram activamente para a intensificação da complexidade sociopolítica e económica no Nordeste da Tanzânia, em período anterior à intervenção colonial.

## Abstract

Precolonial eastern and central Africa were largely characterised by small-scale societies situated beyond the immediate influence of major state systems such as the Luba-Lunda, Marave, Lozi, Kongo, Zimbabwe Culture, and the Swahili city-states. These communities have frequently been dismissed as lacking socio-political sophistication. Archaeological evidence from the Chagga on the lower slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, however, challenges this assumption. The Chagga constructed intricate defensive works, exercised careful management of mountain water resources, and maintained both local and regional trade networks, thereby revealing complex forms of organisation. This study employs a historical archaeological approach to investigate how such practices intersected with the expanding Indian Ocean market networks between the 17th and 19th centuries AD. By tracing the connections between Kilimanjaro societies and coastal trade, it demonstrates that small-scale communities actively contributed to the intensification of socio-political and economic complexity in north-eastern Tanzania prior to colonial intervention.

\* Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.  
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4796-5681>. E-mail: [silayo.valence@udsm.ac.tz](mailto:silayo.valence@udsm.ac.tz).

**Palavras-chave:** Complexidade social, Arqueologia histórica, Pré-colonial, Chagga, Comércio, Mercado.

Data de submissão: 1/09/2021  
Data de aprovação: 29/01/2026

**Keywords:** Social complexity, Historical archaeology, Precolonial, Chagga, Trade, Market.

Date of submission: 1/09/2021  
Date of approval: 29/01/2026

## Introduction

In the precolonial period, Africa was characterised by a wide range of small-scale societies, many of which were situated beyond, or at the margins of, major state systems such as the Luba-Lunda, Marave, Lozi, Kongo, the monumental Zimbabwe Culture, and the Swahili city-states. Until relatively recently, these smaller communities were frequently portrayed as less complex, or even non-complex, in comparison to their larger state counterparts. In this context, complexity refers to the degree of socio-political organisation and institutional development within a society. Political complexity is typically understood in terms of hierarchical authority, territorial control, and the capacity to mobilise resources. In contrast, social complexity encompasses the organisation of communities through networks of exchange, collective infrastructure, and systems of cooperation that extend beyond kinship ties.

Drawing upon oral traditions and archaeological evidence from the Chagga of eastern Africa, this paper demonstrates how engagement with the Indian Ocean trade contributed to the development of both social and political complexity in the Kilimanjaro region. Scholars have argued that the power of precolonial states derived from their ability to control territory and secure access to productive agricultural land (Pikirayi 1993). Surplus production facilitated the growth of exchange and trade networks, which in turn reinforced political authority. During this period, trading centres exerted a significant influence on settlement patterns across eastern, central, and southern Africa. Evidence from Kilimanjaro indicates that the region participated in both local and regional trade, linking hinterland communities with coastal societies along the Indian Ocean. Kilimanjaro itself, in north-eastern Tanzania, reveals trading connections with the Swahili and other coastal groups. The presence of local markets and imported material culture illustrates the continuity, diffusion, and influence of Swahili culture in the area, particularly after the sixteenth century (Silayo 2017). These interactions fostered greater social complexity, as evidenced by the

emergence of stone-walled fortifications, powerful chiefdoms, and the expansion of defensive and irrigation systems. Such developments highlight the ways in which small-scale societies like the Chagga actively engaged with wider networks, thereby intensifying both social and political organisation prior to colonial intervention.

### **The Chagga: Historical Origins, Settlement, Complexity, Identity**

The term Chagga is both complex and, at times, ambiguous. Its earliest recorded usage, particularly in written sources, appears to have signified a shared identity among the inhabitants of Mount Kilimanjaro. From the period of European exploration in the nineteenth century—by missionaries, explorers, and traders—the mountain’s residents were increasingly referred to collectively as the Chagga. As Bender (2013b, 200) observes, “this designation probably stemmed from their perception of the mountain as a single, unified landscape, as well as from the similarities of the various mountain communities in agricultural and cultural practices.” In written documents, the name appears in multiple forms—Mchagga, Wachagga, Chaga, Waschagga, Jagga, WA-caga, or Dschagga—all denoting the same people. This study employs the term *Chagga* because it represents the most common usage and is preferred by the Chagga themselves.

Scholarly interpretations of the Chagga, from the eighteenth century to the present, have varied considerably (Bender 2013a; Campbell, Misana, and Olson 2004; Moore 1986; Moore and Puritt 1977; Stahl 1964; Yakan 1999). Some scholars have described the Chagga as a Bantu subculture inhabiting the fertile yet densely populated slopes of Kilimanjaro (Yakan 1999). Others have emphasised their reputation as politically active, entrepreneurial, and among the best educated groups in Tanzania (Stahl 1964). Their entrepreneurial culture remains distinctive and is still recognised across northern Tanzania and neighbouring Kenya. This tradition extends back to the precolonial era, particularly from the seventeenth century, when the Chagga actively participated in regional trade. They traded with the Kamba to the north, thereby linking to the Mazrui Empire in Mombasa. Following the decline of the Mazrui and the rise of Zanzibar, the caravan route through Ukamba collapsed (Stahl 1964). Trade routes subsequently shifted to connect the coast with Lake Victoria, once again benefiting the Chagga, who became a leading group in supplying provisions and ensuring safe passage for caravans. These developments contributed to the formation

of Chagga polities and fostered greater social and political complexity—manifested in the accumulation of power and wealth, and in a flourishing agricultural economy (Campbell, Misana, and Olson 2004, 46–50; Moore and Puritt 1977, 11–15; Stahl 1964).

Settlement patterns on the mountain have not yet been fully integrated into discussions of Chagga origins and identity. Bailey (1968, 163) contends that ancient settlement in Kilimanjaro, particularly in the Marangu area, began at approximately 3800 feet on ridges and in river ravines that were formerly part of the forest. Campbell, Misana, and Olson (2004) extend this to 6000 feet (c. 2000m asl), arguing that the Chagga exploited fertile volcanic soils and reliable rainfall. Odner (1971, 139), based on surface collections from Mwika, dates the earliest settlement to 250–300 CE, marking the onset of the Iron Age. Spear (2011, 380) maintains that the Chagga have occupied Kilimanjaro continuously from the Iron Age to the present, whereas Nurse (1977) suggests that settlement in Rombo and Siha is relatively recent. He associates this with the Ongamo, a Maa-speaking Nilotic group of pastoralists, in contrast to the Chagga's mixed pastoral and agricultural economy. He further notes significant dialectal variation in Kibosho, reflecting a long history of settlement. In contrast, Ehret and Posnansky (1982, 63) argue that the Nilotic presence in Kilimanjaro resulted from Bantu-speaking populations intruding into hunter-gatherer territories, necessitating subsistence adaptations such as the adoption of crops suited to drier climates. This may have displaced the Ongamo eastwards. If the Ongamo were indeed the earliest settlers, then settlement patterns may have developed along an east–west axis. Gray (1975) supports the view of the Ongamo as an independent ethnic group, possibly related to pygmy peoples such as the Wakoningo or Watarembo. Interestingly, despite numerous accounts of migration into Kilimanjaro, few groups exhibit unmistakable cultural resemblance to the Chagga. However, the Rabai, one of the Mijikenda peoples, preserve a tradition claiming ancestral origins in Rombo, eastern Kilimanjaro (Harries 1960; Helm 2000). Helm (2000, 29) further notes that early Mijikenda society developed defensive *Kaya* settlements, surrounded by dense bush or forest and protected by charms and fortified gateways, as a means of safeguarding against hostile neighbours.

A critical examination of Chagga society reveals that settlement patterns have long been central to the construction and articulation of identity. The Chagga distinguished themselves, both internally and externally, through the physical landscapes they inhabited (Bender 2013a; Hollis 1901; Merker 1902; Rebmann 1849; Wimmelbücker 2002). Festo Mkenda and

Mathew Bender, writing on Chagga identity in the 1880s, emphasise the “importance of geography” and settlement location, alongside shared cultural practices, in shaping what Mkenda describes as a “largely unbounded identity.” Bender’s analysis, however, suggests that this identity emerged as a natural development rather than as a consciously constructed or externally imposed category (Bender 2013a, 201; see also Bart, Mbonile and Devenne 2006; Mkenda 2009; Montlahuc and Philippson 2006).

Settlement orientation and ridge occupation were closely tied to chiefdoms, which by the nineteenth century had become increasingly significant as units of social and political organisation. Chiefdom names themselves functioned as markers of identity: inhabitants of Kilema were known as WaKilema, those of Kibosho as WaKibosho, and those of Rombo as WaRombo. The growing importance of chiefdoms was linked to competition for resources beyond immediate ridges, making membership identification crucial for securing access and asserting ownership (Bender 2013a). As Bender notes, expanding clans gradually enclosed the spaces between themselves and neighbouring groups, thereby restricting access to vital resources uphill (wood, honey) and downhill (salt, iron, and trade goods from the plains) (Bart, Mbonile and Devenne 2006; Bender 2013a, 204; Wimmelbücker 2002). By the mid- to late eighteenth century, most chiefdoms had lost free access to these resources, necessitating cooperation that fostered tighter political integration and a stronger sense of collective identity (Bender 2013a, 204).

Bender further argues that the rise of a Chagga political identity can best be understood in the context of debates over resource control. Long before colonial rule, identity was linked not only to the mountain landscape but also to questions of rightful access to land and water. Clan and chiefdom membership provided entitlement to homesteads, irrigation furrows, and other necessities, while simultaneously protecting resources from neighbouring groups (Bender 2013a, 201).

The question of Chagga identity diminished under colonial rule, particularly after the 1892 conflict between Sina, chief of Kibosho, and German forces. It re-emerged some forty years later when the British sought to consolidate indirect rule in Kilimanjaro, distancing the region from nationalist movements in Tanganyika (Mkenda 2009). This was achieved through the creation of a paramount chief (Mangi). In 1952, the Chagga elected Marealle II as their first Mangi through a secret ballot. Marealle promoted Chagga identity by instituting Chagga Day, yet internal political divisions and the rise of nationalism led to the collapse of the paramount chieftaincy.

The broader question of Chagga origins, settlement, and identity requires further reflection, particularly regarding coastal connections and the development of social complexity. Extensive documentation exists, ranging from travellers, missionaries, linguists, and anthropologists to the Chagga themselves, who recorded family histories, chiefs, and traditions to preserve collective memory. These accounts consistently portray the Chagga as a complex society. Here, *complexity* refers both to political organisation—manifested in chiefdoms, resource control, and integration into wider networks—and to social organisation, expressed through entrepreneurial culture, agricultural intensification, and participation in long-distance trade.

Scholars have described the Chagga as a Bantu subculture inhabiting the fertile yet crowded slopes of Kilimanjaro (Yakan 1999). They were regarded as politically active, entrepreneurial, and among the best educated groups in Tanzania (Stahl 1964). Their entrepreneurial culture remains distinctive and is recognised across northern Tanzania and Kenya. This tradition can be traced to the seventeenth century, when the Chagga engaged in regional trade with the Kamba to the north, linking them to the Mazrui Empire in Mombasa. Following the decline of the Mazrui and the rise of Zanzibar, caravan routes shifted towards Lake Victoria, crossing the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro. Once again, the Chagga benefited, supplying provisions and ensuring safe passage. These developments contributed to the emergence of Chagga states. They intensified both political and social complexity, as evidenced by the consolidation of power, the accumulation of wealth, and the growth of a vibrant agricultural economy (Campbell, Misana and Olson 2004, 46–50; Moore and Puritt 1977, 11–15; Stahl 1964).

## **Methodology**

This study employed a multi-disciplinary approach, combining archaeological survey, oral historical accounts, and excavation. Data were collected from three chiefdoms individually and subsequently compared during analysis in order to establish relationships and possible interactions among these entities. Particular emphasis was placed on oral histories, recognising their centrality in reconstructing collective memory and understanding the dynamics of Chagga society. Oral traditions, though often transmitted across generations, provide invaluable insights into perceptions of identity, leadership, and socio-political organisation. At the same time, the generational distance

between interviewees and the events described necessitated careful methodological reflection, as oral accounts may represent both remembered experience and reinterpreted narratives shaped by communal memory.

Oral testimony was gathered through structured interviews designed to elicit detailed narratives concerning the history of the Chagga in relation to specific chiefdoms, their immediate cultural landscapes, and their connections with coastal communities. Questions were framed to explore the nature of social and political complexity during the precolonial period, with particular attention to local and external trade networks. Interviewees were encouraged to describe the socio-political hierarchy, the composition of chiefdom leadership, and the participation of ordinary members of society in the chiefdom's welfare and development. These oral accounts were intended to complement archaeological evidence, offering perspectives on the emergence of social and political complexity. To ensure reliability, oral information was cross-checked against material evidence recovered during the survey and excavation.

An archaeological survey was conducted in regions selected for their cultural features, including stone fortifications, underground tunnels, and the historical locations of early royal compounds. Surface survey, a crucial precursor to excavation, involved the collection of artefacts and ecofacts and the identification of extant features visible on the ground surface. These provided preliminary indications of subsurface deposits. The survey was extensive, covering broad areas in order to record and document the Chagga landscape and the spatial extent of chiefdoms. Attention was given to defence mechanisms, land-use patterns, market sites, and resource management strategies. Mapping enabled the identification of key features such as ditches, underground bolt-holes, stone forts, ritual and cultural sites—including royal compounds and marketplaces—burial grounds, and irrigation systems. Augering was employed to detect sub-surface deposits, including foundation structures and stratified cultural layers.

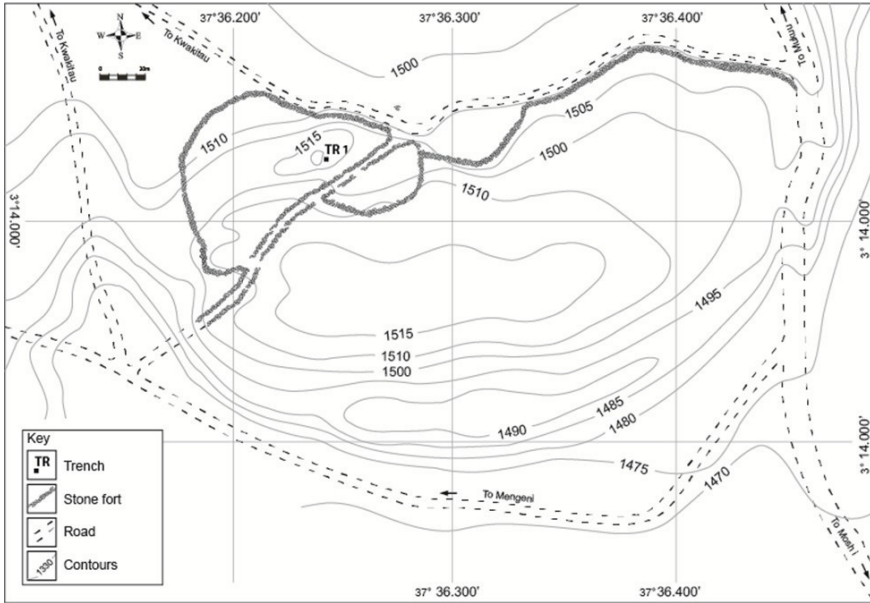
Three sites were subsequently selected for excavation: Horombo fort, the Mamba smithing site, and the Kilema royal compound. Excavation aimed to recover subsurface data corroborated by survey and ethnographic evidence. Standard excavation procedures were followed, with careful recording of provenance, context, and association. Trenches measuring between two and four square metres were opened to expose artefacts and establish their occurrence patterns. The discussion in this paper focuses specifically on materials that demonstrate direct connections between the Chagga and external communities, particularly those along the Indian Ocean coast.

## **Precolonial Markets, Trade, and Interethnic Interactions as Catalysts for Social Complexity**

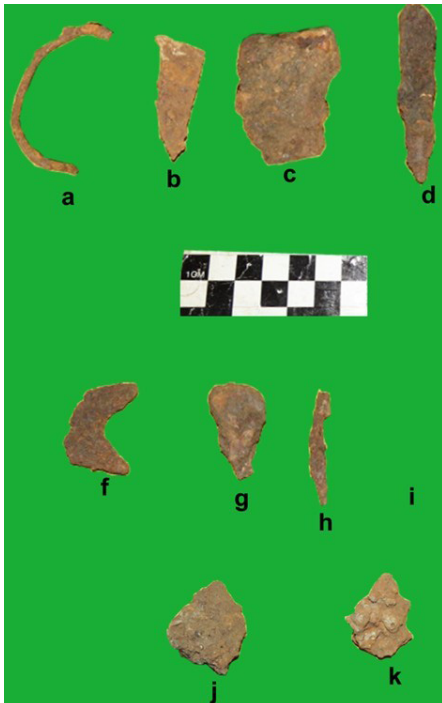
Archaeological research has long demonstrated the role of markets and trade in exposing communities to external influences and integrating them into wider networks. Tim Insoll's work (1996; 2000) on Gao, the capital of the Songhai Empire, illustrates how long-distance trade linked Western Asia, the Mediterranean basin, and sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, Magnavita and colleagues have highlighted the importance of markets in diffusing exotic prestige goods into remote rural areas, as evidenced by richly furnished tombs in northern Burkina Faso containing copper artefacts, cowry shells, weapons, and beads of carnelian and glass dating to the first millennium CE (Magnavita 2003; 2013; Magnavita et al. 2002). Such studies underscore how material culture, burial practices, and technologies reflect the progressive integration of societies into broader exchange systems (Mayor, Huysecom, Ozainne and Magnavita).

In Kilimanjaro, analysis of Chagga local markets and market centres reveals their foundational role in shaping socio-economic and political complexity. These markets connected the Chagga to coastal communities and embedded them within the precolonial caravan economy, thereby defining their social and political power (Owens 2012). Recent studies (Silayo 2017; 2018) confirm that by 1800 CE the Chagga had developed distinctive systems of agriculture, trade, and governance. Over centuries, they integrated diverse populations into a society characterised by intensive farming, long-distance trade, and a relatively stable political order. Their achievements included the construction of one of East Africa's most complex irrigation networks and the organisation of regular, well-structured markets (Campbell, Misana and Olson 2004; Olson et al. 2004).

Archaeological excavations provide tangible evidence of this complexity. At Horombo fort (**fig. 1**), defensive ditches, stone walls, and underground bolt-holes reveal a sophisticated system of fortification designed to protect communities and regulate access to resources. At the Mamba smithing site, imported beads, slag deposits, and iron tools (**fig. 2**) attest to advanced metallurgical practices and the production of weapons and agricultural implements that supported both subsistence and trade. The Kilema royal compound yielded ritual artefacts, illustrating the political authority of chiefly households and their role in mediating external contacts. These finds demonstrate that Chagga society was not only agriculturally productive but also militarily organised and technologically innovative, with material culture linking them to wider Indian Ocean trade networks.



1 Horombo site map showing the stone fort (Silayo 2017). Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.



2 Metal objects (Silayo 2017).  
Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.

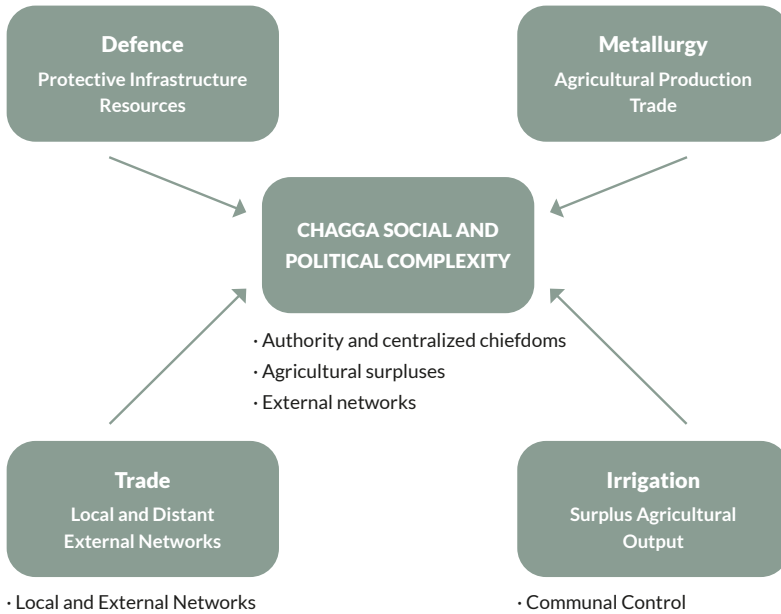
The broader archaeological record from Kilimanjaro includes large quantities of pottery, metal objects, faunal remains, and beads (Silayo 2017). These materials indicate continuous occupation and sustained interaction with neighbouring groups such as the Pare, Maasai, and Meru, as well as coastal Swahili and Kenyan communities, including the Kamba, Taita, and Kikuyu (Owens 2012). Imported wares, likely originating from India or the Far East (Chami 2002), alongside pottery styles from the Usambara and Pare mountains, further attest to extensive contacts. Beads, frequently recovered from excavation contexts, appear to have functioned as currency; indeed, historical accounts note that Rebmann distributed beads as food allowances to his porters in 1849 (Krapf [1860] 1960; Rockel 1997; 2000).

Historical sources corroborate this archaeological evidence. Travellers and missionaries such as Burton (1872), Burton and Speke (1858), and Krapf ([1860] 1960) observed regular markets in Kilimanjaro where foodstuffs and craft products—including pottery and iron objects—were exchanged even before the nineteenth-century caravan trade. Oral histories collected during this study recall prominent market centres such as *Manorowa* in Kibosho and Kinyange in Marangu. The existence and distribution of such markets imply a high degree of social organisation, since effective market operation requires political authority to regulate trade, maintain order, and collect levies (Good 1973).

The Chagga case parallels other African polities, such as the Shabe kingdom of Benin, where decorated pottery, non-local artefacts, and fortified settlements reflected prosperity and external connections (Gurstelle, Labiyi and Agani 2015). In Kilimanjaro, the coordination of land management and irrigation systems (**fig. 3**) illustrates how political and social economies were intertwined. Traditional irrigation not only ensured agricultural surplus but also sustained the weekly markets that underpinned Chagga economic life. Control of irrigation was mediated by *mfongo* elders under the authority of the *Mangi*, thereby reinforcing centralised leadership. As Billman (2002) argues, political control of irrigation systems provided leaders with opportunities to consolidate power and strengthen centralised states. In Kilimanjaro, this dynamic is evident in the way irrigation networks, defensive structures, and market organisation collectively fostered both social and political complexity. This system can be further explained with an illustrative diagram (**fig. 4**).



3 Irrigation furrow (Silayo 2017). Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.



4 A diagram illustrating interconnected systems driving Chagga social and political complexity. Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.

## The Indian Ocean Coast and the Emergence of Social Complexity in Kilimanjaro

By the early nineteenth century, the Chagga had emerged as one of the most distinctive communities in East Africa. Their society had developed over several centuries through the integration of diverse populations, resulting in a complex socio-political structure characterised by intensive agriculture, long-distance trade, and a relatively stable system of chieftaincy. The formation of chiefdoms as central political units appears to have intensified during the eighteenth century, as competition over land, water, and trade routes necessitated more formalised leadership and resource management (Silayo and Pikirayi 2023). Oral traditions and archaeological evidence suggest that by the late eighteenth century, the institution of the *Mangi* (chief) had become a defining feature of Chagga political organisation.

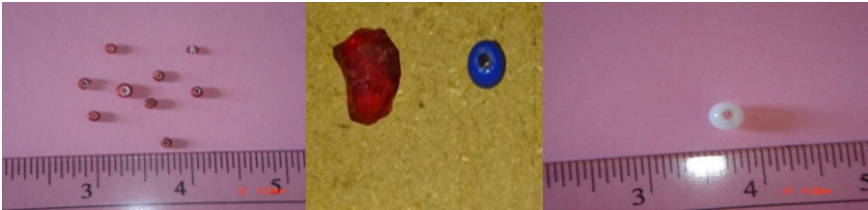
The Chagga's connection to the Indian Ocean trade network likely began in earnest during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Historical accounts and oral histories indicate that by the 1820s, Kilimanjaro was regularly visited by coastal traders, including the Swahili merchant Bwana Kheri, who is recorded as having traded in the region in 1825 CE (Stahl 1964). The Chagga became key suppliers to caravans travelling between Pangani, Mombasa, Taveta, Tanga, and Lake Victoria, providing agricultural produce, water, and safe passage. This role was particularly pronounced during the nineteenth century, when increased demand for ivory and other goods led to the expansion of caravan routes through Kilimanjaro.

The provisioning of caravans placed considerable pressure on local food systems, prompting the Chagga to intensify agricultural production. This was achieved through the development of sophisticated irrigation networks (Pike 1965; Masao 1972), which enabled surplus cultivation and supported both local markets and external trade. The management of these irrigation systems was closely tied to political authority. Chiefs exercised control over water allocation and land use, and their power was reinforced through their ability to redistribute resources, including war booty and trade goods. Oral accounts describe the *Mangi* as responsible for ensuring the welfare of their people, particularly during times of scarcity. Failure to do so could result in the loss of legitimacy and, in some cases, deposition (Mkenda 2009).

The political authority of the *Mangi* was further expressed through the selection of close advisors (*Njama*), the hosting of daily feasts, and the regulation of market activity. Markets played a central role in Chagga society, serving as catalysts for interethnic exchange and economic integration.

Highland markets, often dominated by women, facilitated the trade of agricultural and dairy products, while lowland markets—frequented by men—enabled the exchange of livestock, crafts, and imported goods. These regional markets were strategically located along economic borders and were often consecrated and taxed by local chiefs (Baumann 1891).

The Chagga's long-standing engagement in trade is evident in both historical and archaeological records. Missionary Rebmann, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, observed that Chagga markets transcended clan and chiefdom boundaries, enabling unrestricted social and economic exchange (Krapf [1860] 1960). Festo Mkenda (2009) similarly notes that market rotation and caravan nodes formed vital points of connection between the Chagga and coastal communities. The presence of exotic materials—such as earthenware, salt, soda ash, and imported beads (**fig. 5**)—suggests that the Chagga regularly traded with neighbouring groups, including the Pare, Maasai, Meru, Kamba, Taita, and Kikuyu. Gutmann's observations of Chagga traders returning with non-local goods further support this conclusion (Swai 2010).



5 Imported beads (Silayo 2017). Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.

The expansion of trade and the rise of chieftaincy were mutually reinforcing. As agricultural surpluses grew and markets flourished, chiefs consolidated their authority through control of resources and redistribution of wealth. Scholars such as Earle (1997) and DeCorse, Monroe, and Ogundiran (2012) argue that leadership in such contexts was sustained through reward systems, personal charisma, and strategic alliances. These traits were exemplified by prominent Chagga leaders such as Sina of Kibosho, Mandara of Moshi, and Marealle of Marangu, who played pivotal roles in shaping the political landscape of Kilimanjaro during the nineteenth century.

The Chagga's sustained interaction with external communities exposed them to wider economic and cultural networks and necessitated the development of strong socio-political structures. These structures not

only supported the economy and trade networks but also ensured internal stability, security, and order within the chiefdoms. Such an organisation reassured caravans and neighbouring groups that they could safely interact and trade with the Chagga. Notably, while warfare was a feature of Chagga society, neither oral traditions nor historical and anthropological accounts record attacks on marketplaces. Raiding occurred within Kilimanjaro and beyond its borders, yet markets appear to have remained protected spaces, underscoring their centrality to social and economic life.

Scholars argue that the Chagga possessed a longer precolonial trade history than many other regions of Tanzania, sustained by regularly held markets (Pietilä 2007). By the eighteenth century, these markets had become integral to Chagga society. Sally Moore (1986) notes that the Chagga exploited the ecological diversity of Kilimanjaro to produce surplus agricultural goods. While fertile soils supported intensive farming, the Chagga lacked key resources such as iron ore, clay for pottery, and soda ash (*mbala*), which were essential for cooking and cattle husbandry (Moore 1977). This scarcity encouraged exchange with neighbouring communities. In South Pare, Isariah Kimambo (1969) observed that local economies were based on complementarity, with periodic markets connecting different ecological zones. Archaeological evidence and oral histories from Kilimanjaro suggest a similar scenario: markets linked chiefdoms, enabling people to cross boundaries and trade peacefully.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Chagga markets offered a wide range of products. Locally produced goods included agricultural and livestock products, pottery, honey and wax, dairy products, hides, and craft items such as basketry and wooden utensils. Imported materials—iron ore, beads, lead wires, soda ash, and clay—were acquired from neighbouring Pare and Usambara traders and from Swahili caravans. The presence of both local and imported pottery (**fig. 6**), beads, and obsidian tools in the archaeological record confirms long-standing trade connections with surrounding regions (Wimmelbücker 2002; Fosbrooke and Sassoon 1965). Kilimanjaro thus functioned as a provisioning hub within the regional economy, supplying caravans with ivory, slaves, crafts, and agricultural produce (Wittenberg 2004). In return, the Chagga obtained clay pots, soda ash, cloth, and beads.



6 Imported pottery (Silayo). Credits: Valence Valerian Silayo.

By the mid-nineteenth century, coastal traders had become familiar with Chagga preferences. Hans Meyer (1891) observed that Venetian beads were highly valued, with small pink or light-blue beads preferred over the crimson, dark-blue, or white beads favoured by neighbouring groups such as the Taita, Taveta, Gweno, Kahe, and Maasai (Von Clemm 1963; Wittenberg 2004). The Chiefs played a pivotal role in fostering these exchanges. Stahl (1965) records that Mangi Sina of Kibosho actively promoted trade, exchanging ivory and slaves with Arab merchants for cloth, copper, lead, beads, and firearms. He also traded cattle and cloth with neighbouring chiefdoms in return for ivory, which he resold at considerable profit. Such practices highlight the centrality of chieftaincy in regulating trade and consolidating political authority during the nineteenth century.

Archaeological finds, including imported beads and potsherds, reinforce the interconnectedness of Chagga society. These materials demonstrate participation in complex trade systems that extended beyond Kilimanjaro, linking the Chagga to coastal and regional economies. The evidence suggests that by the eighteenth century, markets had become a defining feature of Chagga social organisation. By the nineteenth century, chieftaincy and caravan trade had firmly embedded Kilimanjaro within the Indian Ocean world.

In sum, the integration of Kilimanjaro into Indian Ocean trade networks from the late eighteenth century onwards, coupled with the consolidation of chieftaincy, contributed significantly to the emergence of social and political complexity among the Chagga. Markets, irrigation, and defence systems were not merely functional structures but expressions of a society adapting to external pressures and internal transformations, forging a distinctive highland polity deeply connected to regional and global currents.

## Conclusion

What, then, does this evidence suggest about monumentality and social complexity in small-scale societies? Among the Chagga, complexity manifested in distinctive forms that did not rely upon the monumental stone architecture familiar from other African polities. Instead, royal capitals and community centres expanded in size and function, becoming ‘monumental’ through their scale, organisation, and symbolic significance. The compounds of leaders such as Mangi Sina, Mangi Marealle, and Mangi Horombo illustrate this process: proportionally large palaces with clear spatial and functional divisions that embodied political authority and social hierarchy. Monumentality here was expressed through settlement organisation, ritual space, and the concentration of population, rather than through massive stone walls.

Equally significant were the extensive networks of markets and trade connections, which both sustained prosperity and generated internal frictions. These tensions contributed to the development of defensive systems—bolt-holes, ditches, and stone forts—that reveal the adaptive strategies of Chagga chiefdoms in the face of competition and conflict. As Thomas Håkansson (1998) has argued, the regional exchange of cattle and exotic goods interacted with other social processes to produce political change in societies experiencing incipient centralisation and heightened competition for power. In Kilimanjaro, external networks of trade, combined with internal innovations in irrigation, defence, and political organisation, transformed the community into one characterised by multiple levels of social and political complexity.

It is important to recognise that the Chagga were not an isolated case. Across East and East-Central Africa, other kingdoms such as the Shambaa in the Usambara mountains, and the Great Lakes polities of Ruanda and Buganda, developed politically complex systems marked by

centralised authority, monumental capitals, and integration into regional trade. Kilimanjaro is unique in its ecological setting, its reliance on irrigation, and its distinctive forms of fortification, yet it belongs to a broader regional pattern in which small-scale societies evolved into complex polities through the interplay of local resources, external exchange, and political innovation. The Chagga experience thus demonstrates that monumentality and complexity in African societies were not confined to large empires or stone-built capitals, but could be expressed in diverse ways that reflected local conditions while participating in wider regional traditions of political and social organisation.

### Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the African Humanities Program (AHP) and the La Trobe University Postgraduate Research Scholarship (LTUPRS). The author expresses sincere gratitude to the editors for the opportunity to contribute to this valuable volume. I am especially grateful to the Chagga community and their leadership, whose generosity, assistance, and insights were essential to completing this study.

### References

- ANDERSON, David. 2002. *Eroding the Commons: The politics of ecology in Baringo, Kenya, 1890s-1963*. James Currey Publishers.
- BAILEY, P. J. M. 1968. "The changing economy of the Chagga cultivators of Marangu, Kilimanjaro." *Geography* 53 (2): 163–169.
- BART, François, Milline Jethro Mbonile and François Devenne, eds. 2006. *Kilimanjaro—Mountain, Memory and Modernity*. Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd.
- BAUMANN, Oscar. 1891. *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete*. Dietrich Reimer.
- BENDER, Matthew V. 2013a. "Being 'Chagga': Natural resources, political activism, and identity on Kilimanjaro." *The Journal of African History* 54 (2): 199–220.
- BENDER, Matthew V. 2013b. "Water brings no harm: Knowledge, power, and the struggle for the waters of Kilimanjaro." In *ASA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper*.
- BIGINAGWA, Thomas John. 2012. "Historical archaeology of the 19th-Century caravan trade in Northeastern Tanzania: A zooarchaeological perspective." PhD diss., University of York.

- BILLMAN, Brian R. 2002. "Irrigation and the origins of the southern Moche state on the north coast of Peru." *Latin American Antiquity* 13 (4): 371-400.
- BURTON, Richard Francis. 1872. *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast*. Vol. 2. Tinsley brothers.
- BURTON, Richard F., and John Hanning Speke. 1858. "A coasting voyage from Mombasa to the Pangani river; visit to Sultan Kimwere; and progress of the expedition into the interior." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*: 188-226.
- CAMPBELL, David J., Salome B. Misana, and Jennifer M. Olson. 2004. "Comparing the Kenyan and Tanzanian slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro: Why are the neighbouring land uses so different." *Land Use Change Impacts and Dynamics (LUCID) Project Working Paper* 44.
- CHAMI, Felix A. 2002. "The people and contacts in the Ancient Western Indian Ocean Seaboard of Azania." *Man and Environment* 27 (1): 233-244.
- DECORSE, Christopher R. 2012. "Fortified towns of the Koinadugu plateau: Northern Sierra Leone in the pre-Atlantic and Atlantic worlds." *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological perspectives*: 278-308.
- EARLE, Timothy K. 1997. *How Chiefs Come to Power: The political economy in prehistory*. Stanford University Press.
- EHRET, Christopher, and Merrick Posnansky, eds. 1982. *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. University of California Press.
- FARLER, Ven. J. P. 1882. "Native routes in East Africa from Pangani to the Masai country and the Victoria Nyanza." In *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*. Edward Stanford.
- FEIERMAN, Steven Marc. 1974. *The Shambaa Kingdom: A history*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- FOSBROOKE, H. A., and H. Sassoon. 1965. "Archaeological remains on Kilimanjaro." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 64: 62-64.
- GIBLIN, James, L. 1992. *The Politics of Environmental Control in Northeastern Tanzania, 1840-1940*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- GOODY, Jack. 1971. *Tradition, Technology and the State in Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- GRAY, Richard, and Roland Anthony Oliver, eds. 1975. *The Cambridge History of Africa: From c. 1600 to c. 1790*. Vol. 4. Cambridge University Press.
- GURSTELLE, Andrew W., Nestor Labiyi, and Simon Agani. 2015. "Settlement history and chronology in the Savè area of central Bénin." *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 50 (2): 227-249.

- HÅKANSSON, N. Thomas. 1998. "Rulers and rainmakers in precolonial South Pare, Tanzania: exchange and ritual experts in political centralization." *Ethnology*: 263-283.
- HÅKANSSON, N. Thomas. 2008a. "Regional wealth and the expansion of production in Northern Tanzania before the Eve of Colonialism". *Economies and the Transformation of Landscape* 25: 239.
- HÅKANSSON, N. Thomas. 2008b. "Regional political ecology and intensive cultivation in precolonial and colonial South Pare, Tanzania." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41 (3): 433-459.
- HÅKANSSON, N. Thomas. 2009. "Politics, cattle and ivory: regional interaction and changing land-use prior to colonialism." In *Culture, History and Identity: Landscapes of inhabitation in the Mount Kilimanjaro area, Tanzania: essays in honour of Paramount Chief Thomas Lenana Mlangi Marealle II (1915-2007)*, edited by T. Clack. Archaeopress.
- HÅKANSSON, N. Thomas, Mats Widgren, and Lowe Börjeson. 2008. "Introduction: Historical and regional perspectives on landscape transformations in Northeastern Tanzania, 1850-2000." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41 (3): 369-382.
- HARRIES, Lyndon. 1960 "The founding of Rabai: a Swahili Chronicle by Midani bin Mwidad." *Swahili, Journal of the East African Swahili Committee* 31 (1-2): 140-149.
- HELM, Richard Michael. 2000. *Conflicting histories: The archaeology of the iron-working, farming communities in the central and southern coast region of Kenya*. PhD Thesis, University of Bristol.
- HOLLIS, Claud. 1901. "Notes on the history and customs of the people of Taveta, East Africa." *Journal of the Royal African Society* 1 (1): 98-125.
- INSOLL, Timothy. 1996. *Islam, Archaeology and History of Gao Region (Mali) ca. AD 900-1250*. BAR S647, Tempus Reparatum.
- INSOLL, Timothy. 2000. *Urbanism, Archaeology and Trade: Further observations on the Gao Region (Mali), the 1996 fieldseason results*, vol. 82. British Archaeological Reports Ltd.
- JOHNSTON, Harry H. 1885. "The Kilima-njaro expedition". In *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography. Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)* 7 (3): 137-160.
- KIMAMBO, N. Isaria. 1969. *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania, C1500-1900*. Vol. 3. East African Publishing House.
- KIMAMBO, N. Isaria. 1996. "Environmental control and hunger in the mountains and plains of nineteenth-century northeastern Tanzania". In *Custodians of the Land:*

- Ecology and culture in the history of Tanzania*, edited by Gregory H. Maddox, James L. Giblin, and Isaria N. Kimambo. James Currey.
- KRAPF, Johann Ludwig. 1860. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*. Trübner and Co.
- MAGNAVITA, Sonja. 2003. "The beads of Kissi, Burkina Faso." *Journal of African Archaeology* 1 (1): 127-138.
- MAGNAVITA, Sonja, Maya Hallier, Christoph Pelzer, Stefanie Kahlheber and Veerle Linseele. 2002. "Nobles, guerriers, paysans. Une nécropole de l'Age de Fer et son emplacement dans l'Oudalan pré-et protohistorique." *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 22: 21-64.
- MASAO, Fidelis Taliwawa. 1974. "The irrigation system in Uchagga: An ethno-historical approach." *Tanzania Notes and Records* 75: 1-8.
- MERKER, Moritz. 1902. *Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga*. No. 138. J. Perthes.
- MEYER, Hans. 1891. *Across East African Glaciers: An account of the first ascent of Kilimanjaro*. G. Philip & Son.
- MKENDA, Festo. 2009. "Building national unity in Sub-Saharan Africa: The impact of state policies on the Chagga community in Northern Tanzania." PhD diss. Campion Hall, University of Oxford.
- MONTLAHUC, M. L., and G. Philippson. 2006. "Before coffee, precolonial agricultural glossary." In *Kilimanjaro: Mountain, memory, modernity*, edited by François Bart, Milline Jethro Mbonile, and François Devenne. Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd.
- MOORE, Sally Falk. 1977. *The Chagga. The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania*, edited by Sally Falk Moore and P. Puritt. International African Institute.
- MOORE, Sally Falk. 1986. *Social Facts and Fabrications: "Customary" law on Kilimanjaro, 1880-1980*. Cambridge University Press.
- MOORE, Sally Falk, and P. Puritt. 1977. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania: East Central Africa*. Routledge.
- MUNSON, B. Robert. 2013. *The Nature of Christianity in Northern Tanzania: Environmental and social change 1890-1916*. Lexington Books.
- MUNSON, B. Robert. 2005. "Kilimanjaro: A Regional History. Volume I: Production and Living Conditions, c. 1800-1920." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38 (1): 168.
- NEW, Charles. 2014. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa: With an Account of the first successful ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain, Kilima Njaro and remarks upon East African slavery*. Routledge.

- NURSE, Derek. 1977. "Language and history on Kilimanjaro, the Pare Mountains, and the Taita Hills." PhD diss., University of Dar es Salaam.
- ODNER, Knut. 1971. "A preliminary report on an archaeological survey on the slopes of Kilimanjaro." *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 6 (1): 131–149.
- OLSON, Jennifer M., Salome Misana, David J. Campbell, Milline Mbonile, and Sam Mugisha. 2004. "The spatial patterns and root causes of land use change in East Africa". *LUCID Project Working Paper 47*.
- PIETILA, Tuulikki. 2007. *Gossip, Markets, and Gender: How dialogue constructs moral value in post-socialist Kilimanjaro*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- PIKE, Andrew. 1965. "Kilimanjaro and the Furrow System." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 64: 95–96.
- PIKIRAYI, Innocent. 1993. *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State: Towards a historical archaeology of northern Zimbabwe*, vol. 6. Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.
- REBMANN, Johannes. 1849. "Narrative of a journey to Jagga, the snow country of East Africa." *Church Missionary Rev* 1: 12–23.
- ROCKEL, J. Stephen. 1997. "Caravan porters of the Nyika, labour, culture, and society in nineteenth-century Tanzania." PhD diss. National Library of Canada
- ROCKEL, J. Stephen. 2000. "A nation of porters: The Nyamwezi and the labour market in nineteenth-century Tanzania." *The Journal of African History* 41 (2): 173–195.
- SILAYO, V. Valerian. 2016. "Precolonial ethnic wars and the colonization of Northern Tanzania from 1800 to 1950 CE: The case of Chagga of Kilimanjaro." *Archaeologies* 12 (2): 163–181.
- SILAYO, V. Valerian. 2017. "Reconnoitering the precolonial chiefdoms and the emergence of social complexity in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania." PhD thesis. La Trobe University.
- SILAYO, Valence, and Innocent Pikirayi. 2023. "Community-based approaches in the construction and management of water infrastructures among the Chagga, Kilimanjaro, Tanzania." *Land* 12 (3): 570.
- SMITH, E. Michael. 1994. "Social complexity in the Aztec countryside." *Archaeological views from the Countryside: Village communities in early complex societies*: 143–159.
- SOPER, Robert. 1967. "Iron Age sites in northeastern Tanzania." *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 2 (1): 19–36.
- SPEAR, Thomas. 2011. "Culture, history and identity: Landscapes of inhabitation in the Mount Kilimanjaro Area, Tanzania, Essays in Honour of Paramount

- Chief Thomas Lenana Mlenga Marealle II (1915–2007).” *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 46 (3): 380–382.
- STAHL, Kathleen Mary. 1964. *History of the Chagga people of Kilimanjaro*. Vol. 2. Mouton.
- VON CLEMM, Michael. 1963. “Trade-bead economics in Nineteenth-Century Chaggaland.” *Man* 63: 13–14.
- WALZ, R. Jonathan. 2010. “Route to a regional past: an archaeology of the Lower Pangani (Ruvu) Basin, Tanzania, 500-1900 CE.” PhD diss. University of Florida.
- WITTENBERG, Hermann. 2004. “The sublime, imperialism and the African landscape.” PhD diss. University of the Western Cape.
- YAKAN, Muhammad, Zuhdi. 1999. *Almanac of African Peoples and Nations*. Transaction Publishers.

# A Comprehensive Critical Reappraisal of “The Kilwa Chronicle”: Manuscript Traditions, Historiographical Layers, and Scholarly Debate

Amirbahrām Arabahmadī\*

*Anais de História de Além-Mar* XXIV (2023): 115-131.  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46384>.

## Resumo

Este artigo apresenta uma reapreciação crítica da *Crónica de Kilwa* (*Kitāb al-sukwa fī akhbār Kulwa*), o principal relato indígena árabe do Sultanato de Kilwa, na costa suáili da África Oriental. Defende-se que a crónica constitui um palimpsesto histórico, composto por dois núcleos distintos: o primeiro, provavelmente seiscentista, redigido na sequência da devastadora conquista portuguesa de 1505; o segundo, correspondente a uma redacção omani do século XIX, concluída em 1877 sob a regência do sultão Barghash de Zanzibar. A análise assenta numa metodologia tripartida: 1) comparação, linha a linha, entre o único manuscrito árabe sobrevivente (British Library Or. 2666) e a versão portuguesa quinhentista de João de Barros; 2) análise manuscritológica detalhada da sua história de transmissão, com particular destaque para as intervenções editoriais decisivas do copista de 1877, Shaykh ‘Abdullāh ibn Muṣbaḥ al-Ṣuwāfī; e 3) reavaliação crítica das afirmações do texto no contexto do extenso debate em torno do chamado “problema shirazi”, à luz de dados arqueológicos recentes e de estudos de ADN antigo, que apontam para uma miscigenação selectiva entre elites persas e africanas, ao invés de uma migração em larga escala. Em última análise, argumenta-se que a principal relevância da crónica não reside na narração directa e factual de acontecimentos do século X, mas no facto de revelar as sensibilidades históricas da sociedade

## Abstract

This article presents a thorough critical reassessment of the *Kilwa Chronicle* (*Kitāb al-sukwa fī akhbār Kulwa*), the foremost indigenous Arabic account of the Kilwa Sultanate on the East African Swahili coast. It contends that the chronicle functions as a historical palimpsest, comprising two clear layers: a likely 16th-century core crafted in the wake of the devastating Portuguese conquest of 1505, and a 19th-century Omani redaction completed in 1877 under Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar. The analysis employs a tripartite methodology: 1) meticulous line-by-line comparison between the sole surviving Arabic manuscript (British Library Or. 2666) and João de Barros’s 16th-century Portuguese version; 2) detailed manuscriptological scrutiny of its transmission history, spotlighting the pivotal editorial interventions by the 1877 copyist Shaykh ‘Abdullāh ibn Muṣbaḥ al-Ṣuwāfī; and 3) fresh evaluation of the text’s assertions amid the longstanding “Shirazi problem” debate, set against cutting-edge archaeological findings and ancient DNA research that point to selective Persian–African elite admixture rather than wholesale migration. Ultimately, the chronicle’s chief significance resides not in a straightforward recounting of 10th-century happenings, but in illuminating the historical sensibilities of 16th-century Kilwan society and the Omani political repurposing in the 19th century.

\* Department of West Asia and Africa, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran.  
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6514-9258>. E-mail: [arabahmadi@ut.ac.ir](mailto:arabahmadi@ut.ac.ir).

de Kilwa no século XVI e a subsequente reaproveitamento política omani no século XIX. Torna-se, assim, indispensável uma abordagem estratificada e crítica das fontes para a sua integração rigorosa na historiografia suaíli.

**Palavras-chave:** Kilwa, Shiraz, Shirazis, Migração, Interações culturais.

Data de submissão: 12/04/2021

Data de aprovação: 29/01/2026

A layered, source-critical method thus proves indispensable for its sound integration into Swahili historiography.

**Keywords:** Kilwa, Shiraz, Shirazis, Migration, Cultural Interactions.

Date of submission: 12/04/2021

Date of approval: 29/01/2026

## Introduction: The Chronicle at the Center of Scholarly Contestation

The Kilwa Chronicle (*Kitāb al-sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*) is the most important yet controversial written source from the Swahili coast for the medieval history of the Kilwa Sultanate—its rise, dominance, and fall. The text offers a vivid narrative: seven ships carrying princes from Shiraz found Kilwa, followed by Shirazi and later Mahdali rulers who achieve architectural and commercial success, until the Portuguese conquer the sultanate in 1505. This story has made the chronicle essential for historians, while also sparking endless debate (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 34–35).

For decades, scholars have divided sharply over its reliability. One group, including translator G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (1962) and archaeologist Neville Chittick (1965), viewed it as largely credible. They used its timeline and events as a framework for reconstruction, cross-checking them with archaeological finds from sites like Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara. Early excavations uncovered grand structures, such as the Great Mosque, which Chittick connected to Mahdali patronage and the text's accounts of prosperity.

In opposition, James de Vere Allen (1982; 1993) rejected the core Shirazi origin as a later “myth of origin.” He argued it was a deliberate invention by Swahili elites to claim Islamic legitimacy and Persian prestige, concealing their mainly Bantu African roots—what he called the “Shirazi problem.” This view gained support from comparisons with coastal oral traditions, which showed how such myths helped legitimize elite power in diverse ethnic settings.

More recently, scholars like Randall Pouwels (2002) and Stephanie Wynne-Jones (2016) have pursued a balanced approach. They see the

chronicle not as simple fact or fiction, but as a sophisticated tool that reflects social ideas, builds group identity, and operates in the Indian Ocean's cosmopolitan world. Pouwels notes how Shirazi claims fit patterns in Islamic trading communities, where foreign ties boosted commerce and religious status. Wynne-Jones combines the text with material evidence, like imported ceramics, to highlight hybrid cultural practices.

Still, as reviewers of earlier work have pointed out, key gaps remain. Analyses often depend on secondary translations or excerpts, rather than close study of the two main manuscripts. The chronicle's transmission—from 16th-century Portuguese-controlled Kilwa to 19th-century Omani Zanzibar—is also underexplored, overlooking how different eras shaped it.

New methods sharpen these issues. High-resolution radiocarbon dating places Kilwa's urban growth between AD 800 and 1500 (Wood 2022), while geophysical surveys reveal buried features (Taylor and Francis 2024). Early settlement layers predate the migration story, raising questions about the text's chronology and its role in reshaping historical memory. Closer integration of text and archaeology is needed for fuller insight.

### **Research Aims and Analytical Framework**

This article directly and systematically addresses these identified gaps. Its main goal is to offer a thorough critical reappraisal of the Kilwa Chronicle through a focused, three-part analytical framework that reveals its layered composition. The central argument is that the chronicle is best understood as a historical palimpsest—a textual artifact made up of multiple layers from different historical periods. Its greatest value comes not from treating it as a single, unified whole, but from carefully separating these layers: a core narrative likely composed around 1520–1550 as a direct response to the trauma of the Portuguese conquest, designed to preserve Kilwa's historical legitimacy and support its displaced elite; and a later framing layer from 1877, when the text was transcribed and possibly reframed under the patronage of the Omani Sultanate in Zanzibar, introducing a fresh set of 19th-century political concerns and legitimizing aims. This palimpsest model builds on recent historiographical discussions that highlight the dynamic nature of African manuscripts, where processes of transmission mirror changing power dynamics and cultural adaptations (Brigaglia and Nobili 2017).

To support this argument, the analysis is organized around three key investigative pillars:

*1) Comparative Textual Analysis and Narrative Deconstruction*

This entails a detailed, line-by-line examination of the chronicle's content, bringing Freeman-Grenville's standard translation of the Arabic manuscript into close conversation with the earlier Portuguese summary by João de Barros. The aim is to pinpoint narrative alignments and divergences, notable silences, and rhetorical strategies, moving beyond reliance on a single text and showing how differences—such as omissions in dynastic lists—may signal editorial changes linked to particular historical contexts;

*2) Manuscript Archaeology and Transmission History*

This pillar features a close inspection of the physical manuscript—its colophon, script, annotations, and documented provenance—to distinguish the likely 16th-century composition from the 19th-century redaction, with special attention to the role of the copyist Shaykh 'Abdullāh ibn Muṣbaḥ al-Ṣuwāfi. It draws on codicology, assessing aspects like paper quality and ink composition to trace the manuscript's origins more precisely;

*3) Historiographical and Multidisciplinary Contextualization*

This pillar places the chronicle's claims within the ongoing "Shirazi" historiography debate and tests them against archaeological evidence, now strengthened by advanced genetic studies that shed light on population admixture patterns, creating a dialogue among text, material culture, and bioarchaeology. For example, genetic evidence of sex-biased admixture (Brielle et al. 2023) offers biological support for the chronicle's narratives centered on elite migrations.

Recent scholarship, such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam's (2024) study of "connected histories" in the western Indian Ocean, further strengthens this framework by presenting Kilwa as a vibrant hub in Afro-Indian networks, disrupted by Portuguese incursions and marked by conflicting historical sources—a view that fits closely with the palimpsest model and emphasizes the chronicle's place in larger transoceanic exchanges.

## **Article Structure**

The following discussion is structured to build this argument step by step with clarity. Section 2 offers a detailed, critical examination of the chronicle's narrative structure. It breaks down its foundational myth, origin stories, dynastic sequence, and key themes, while drawing on insights from the essential side-by-side comparison of the Arabic and Portuguese versions. This section also considers how these narrative elements connect to wider Indian Ocean literary traditions, such as apocalyptic themes found

in Persian historiography. Section 3 turns to the manuscript's physical form and social history. It addresses the intertwined questions of authorship, dating, and provenance, providing a close analysis of the important 19th-century transcription under Sultan Barghash and its consequences for understanding the text—including possible influences from Omani scholarly circles. Section 4 then connects the in-depth textual and manuscript work to broader evidence. It first reassesses the chronicle's claims through the "Shirazi problem," engaging thoughtfully with the scholarship of Allen, Chittick, and others, and weaving in recent conversations about decolonizing African history. It then evaluates these claims against the strong archaeological evidence from Kilwa and the Swahili coast, highlighting areas of alignment and tension, and integrates fresh genetic findings for a fuller picture. The Conclusion brings these layered insights together, arguing that the Kilwa Chronicle is an essential yet challenging source whose real historical value emerges only through a rigorous, layer-by-layer reading that recognizes its roots in two critical historical periods, with relevance for today's efforts to preserve coastal heritage sites amid climate change threats.

\*

### **Narrative Architecture and Textual Variance: A Critical Exegesis of Content**

A close, detailed examination of the chronicle's content reveals a carefully constructed narrative structure designed to fulfill specific legitimizing, explanatory, and consolatory roles. This section breaks down that structure thematically and structurally, giving careful attention to the comparative evidence from the Portuguese version, which serves as an essential check and complement. By working directly with the primary sources—British Library Or. 2666 for the Arabic text and Barros's (1552) printed edition for the Portuguese—this analysis uncovers layers of meaning often overlooked in secondary translations, such as rhetorical elements that echo conventions from Islamic historiography.

## The Foundation Myth: Divine Omen, Contractual Legitimacy, and Literary Tropes

The chronicle opens with a bold claim meant to establish a noble lineage and external prestige: “The first man to come to Kilwa and found it, and his descent from the Persian kings of the land of Shiraz” (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 35). The trigger for this founding migration is not presented as simple economic motives, escape from conflict, or exploration. Instead, it centers on a prophetic dream carrying deep cosmic meaning. Sultan Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali (the text sometimes calls him Husain) dreams of a rat (fa’r) with iron teeth gnawing relentlessly at Shiraz’s mighty city walls. This vivid image, rooted in Persian and Islamic apocalyptic literature, stands for inevitable decay, divine warning, and the unavoidable downfall of cities (Amanat 2019, 45–47). It draws from wider Middle Eastern historiographical traditions, where such omens signal major historical turns—as in the chronicles of Tabari—lending the narrative added authority through these textual echoes. The ruler and his council interpret this supernatural sign as a portent of doom, turning what might have been an ordinary sea voyage into a divinely ordained exodus for a chosen group. The chronicle stresses that the migrants traveled “under God’s guidance” (*bi-hudā Allāh*), casting them not as ordinary traders or adventurers but as a righteous community escaping corruption to fulfill a higher purpose elsewhere (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 36).

A side-by-side comparison with Barros’s version shows subtle differences: the Portuguese text heightens the dream’s apocalyptic feel, perhaps reflecting 16th-century Christian lenses applied to the Islamic original. This highlights the chronicle’s flexible transmission and how European writers reshaped Swahili stories to match their own perspectives.

The story then describes seven ships sailing to seven specific Swahili ports—Manda (Mandakha), Shanga (Shaughu), Yanbu, Mombasa, Pemba (the Green Island), Kilwa, and Anjouan (Hanzuan)—blending literary and political aims as much as geography (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 35). It portrays a unified Shirazi dominance across the Swahili coast, like a *translatio imperii* that overlays Kilwa’s 16th-century influence—or its hoped-for reach—onto this mythical origin. This device asserts priority and a shared prestigious heritage for the coastal city-states, placing Kilwa at the heart of that story. It echoes origin tales from other Indian Ocean societies, like those in Sumatran chronicles, pointing to broader cultural connections.

The focus then sharpens on Kilwa Kisiwani island, where the well-known origin story of its purchase plays out: the arrivals, led by 'Ali ibn Ḥasan, negotiate with the local ruler and claim the island by covering its full perimeter with "coloured cloths" (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 36). As archaeologist Mark Horton observes, the sheer impracticality of this feat marks it as legend rather than fact, yet its symbolic power is what matters most (Horton 2000, 173). It justifies taking the land and setting up rule through a resonant image of fair, voluntary exchange. The narrative carefully avoids any hint of violence or conquest, framing the founding as peaceful, consensual, and legitimate—a key point for later claims to authority. Recent archaeology, including ceramics at Kilwa that show pre-Shirazi Bantu presence (Wynne-Jones 2016), helps frame this myth as a later rationale for elite blending into established communities.

### **Dynastic Self-Fashioning: Constructing the Ideal Islamic Mercantile Polity**

After the foundational myth, the text shifts into a dynastic chronicle, a genre with deep roots in Islamic and Persianate historiography. It lists a succession of rulers, moving from the founding Shirazi line through the key—yet smoothly described—13th-century transition to the Mahdali dynasty. This change is framed not as a break or takeover but as a seamless continuation of righteous Islamic rule, preserving the sanctity and stability of the ruling line across dynasties. The chronicle selectively spotlights certain royal achievements that together paint a picture of ideal, civilized, and prosperous leadership. A standout example is the grand expansion of the Great Mosque under the renowned Sultan al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān Abu'l-Mawāhib (c. 1310–1333), which ties deep piety and religious patronage to monumental urban architecture and public generosity (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 41–42). This focus on architectural splendor matches archaeological evidence of coral-built domes and arches at the mosque, now dated precisely to the 14th century through radiocarbon analysis (Wood 2022), showing how the chronicle's accounts align with material finds to illuminate urban growth linked to trade wealth.

The text also highlights the strategic discovery and control of the lucrative Sofala gold trade, directly connecting political legitimacy and dynastic success to economic prosperity, maritime skill, and integration into broader Indian Ocean networks. This economic thread reflects Kilwa's role as a hub

for gold-ivory exchanges, confirmed by imported Chinese porcelain and Indian beads from excavations, which helps the chronicle map key trade routes (Chittick 1974).

A clear and telling theme is the emphasis on justice ('*adl*) and kind, paternalistic rule. The chronicle notes—as scholar A. Arabahmadi (2001, 12) later points out—the Shirazi dynasty's marked avoidance of the slave trade. This stands as a deliberate moral distinction, setting Kilwa's rulers apart from other coastal powers and aligning with Islamic ethical ideals, possibly shaped by Sufi networks that championed fair governance (Bang 2014). Barros's version, however, offers a fuller king list, suggesting that omissions in the Arabic text may reflect 19th-century editorial decisions to simplify the story for Omani readers, who aimed to depict coastal history as an unbroken thread of Arab-Islamic rule. These differences underscore the chronicle's flexibility, where shaping the dynasty serves not just historical record-keeping but also ideological goals, much like in Ottoman or Safavid chronicles.

\*

### **Manuscript Archaeology and Transmission History: Unraveling the Palimpsest**

This section explores the material history of the manuscript, tracing its path as a living artifact shaped by socio-political contexts. The only surviving copy, British Library Or. 2666, includes a colophon dated 1877, crediting the transcription to Shaykh 'Abdullāh ibn Muṣbaḥ al-Ṣuwāfi under the patronage of Sultan Barghash bin Said Al-Busaid of Zanzibar (Bang 2014, 145–147). This 19th-century layer goes beyond simple copying—it represents a deliberate redaction, possibly standardizing the language, resolving ambiguities, and aligning the narrative with Omani imperial ideals of restoration following Portuguese disruption. The colophon's mention of an earlier Sunnat al-Kilawiyah masks this intervention, lending an air of antiquity—a familiar tactic in Islamic manuscript traditions to bolster authority (Brigaglia and Nobili 2017). Differences with Barros's version, such as more complete king lists in the Portuguese, point to purposeful 19th-century edits for political suitability, underscoring the chronicle's role in justifying Omani rule as a revival of ancient Muslim trading states. Recent studies of manuscripts highlight how such transcriptions involved careful selection, shaped by Zanzibar's scholarly networks that blended Sufi and Ibadi influences into historical writing (Bang 2014). The manuscript's provenance,

followed through its acquisition by British consuls in the late 19th century, also exposes colonial involvement in African knowledge production, where texts like this were gathered as ethnographic artifacts, often stripped from their cultural roots.

\*

### **Contextualization within Swahili Historiography and Multidisciplinary Evidence**

To grasp the chronicle's full importance and avoid viewing it in isolation, we must intentionally position it within two key external frameworks: the lively scholarly debate it has sparked and the independent evidence from archaeology, now enriched by genetic analyses. This contextualization fills historiographical voids while weaving in recent findings—like climate-driven erosion endangering Kilwa's sites (UNESCO 2024)—which highlight the pressing need for multidisciplinary strategies in heritage preservation.

### **Engaging the Core "Shirazi Problem": From Literal Truth to Elite Historical Memory**

The Kilwa Chronicle lies at the core of the long-standing "Shirazi problem"—the heated debate over the extent, nature, and implications of Persian influence and identity along the Swahili coast. Traditionalist scholars, such as Neville Chittick (1965), drew on the chronicle's narrative to unlock the archaeological record, positing a substantial Persian migration that introduced political and cultural frameworks. They cited Persian Gulf trade goods, distinctive architectural features like domed mosques, and the chronicle itself as mutually reinforcing evidence. In sharp contrast, revisionists like James de Vere Allen (1993, 115–142) issued a profound rebuttal, portraying "Shirazi" identity as a late medieval invention—a fabricated "myth of origin" crafted by indigenous Swahili elites. For Allen, this myth strategically asserted legitimacy and prestige by forging ties to the revered Islamic heartlands, thereby masking their primarily Bantu African roots and conjuring a noble foreign lineage. More recent scholarship from the 2020s has moved beyond this divide, embracing hybridity; scholars like Sadr (2023) suggest that Shirazi claims capture genuine yet modest Persian contributions within a landscape dominated by African agency.

A more fruitful contemporary perspective, shaped by the source-critical approach outlined here, treats the chronicle not as a straightforward account of 10th-century population movements or as pure later fiction, but as the polished literary embodiment of a cosmopolitan Swahili elite's origin story. Rather than documenting a literal mass migration in the 10th century, it encapsulates the historical memory, identity assertions, and political imperatives of Kilwa's 16th-century rulers. This elite—forged through generations of intermarriage and cultural blending—wove real or asserted Persian Gulf ancestry into its sense of distinction, Islamic fidelity, and commercial ties. Penned amid crisis, the chronicle codified, sanctified, and safeguarded this identity against the Portuguese incursion, a foreign force of a very different order. Thus, the text speaks less to the 10th century and more to the 16th century's urgent need for a tailored past. Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2024) builds on this by embedding Kilwa within “discordant histories” of the western Indian Ocean, stressing local agency amid Portuguese upheavals, the multilingual chorus of chronicles, and the polyvalent quality of such texts. This reinforces our layered interpretation, while archaeological shifts—like changes in ceramic imports after 1505—illustrate how Kilwa's collapse fractured Afro-Indian Ocean trade networks.

### **Archaeology, Genetics, and the Chronicle: A Dialogue of Correlation, Context, and Limitation**

Archaeology provides an indispensable, parallel source of evidence that both contextualizes and critically checks the chronicle's narrative claims. Decades of systematic excavations at Kilwa Kisiwani, Songo Mnara, Shanga, Manda, and other sites have revealed a complex, long-term settlement history characterized by sophisticated stone-town planning, advanced maritime technology, and intricate regional and long-distance trade networks (Chittick 1974; Wynne-Jones 2016). Recent advancements, including high-resolution radiocarbon dating that refines the urban sequence at Kilwa to AD 800–1500 (Wood 2022) and geophysical surveys uncovering subsurface features like potential trade warehouses south of Makutani Palace (Taylor and Francis 2024), enhance this picture by providing precise chronological anchors and spatial insights into economic activities. These surveys, using techniques like ground-penetrating radar, have identified hidden structures that align with the chronicle's descriptions of commercial prosperity, such as storage facilities for gold and ivory, while

also revealing environmental challenges like coastal erosion exacerbated by climate change (UNESCO 2024). Material evidence undeniably confirms sustained, direct maritime connections with the Persian Gulf region from as early as the 9th-10th centuries. This is evidenced by abundant ceramic assemblages (including Sasanian-Islamic wares and later turquoise-glazed vessels), glass fragments, and distinctive bead types found in the earliest Swahili Tana Tradition/TIW layers (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2015, 8-10; Chittick 1974, 220). Furthermore, the chronology and monumental scale of stone architecture, most notably the sequential expansions of the Great Mosque culminating in the grandiose 14th-century version, align remarkably well with the chronicle's period of claimed Mahdali prosperity and architectural patronage (Garlake 1966, 42; Wynne-Jones 2016, 95). This provides a strong point of correlation, suggesting the chronicle preserves a kernel of historical memory about periods of great wealth and building activity, now corroborated by 2024 studies on glass bead consumption at Kilwa, indicating elite trade networks and cultural exchanges with regions like India and the Middle East.

However, archaeology also poses a fundamental and corrective challenge to a literal, demographic reading of the migration myth. The domestic material assemblage—the ubiquitous local Tana Tradition/Triangular Incised Ware (TIW) pottery that dominates household contexts for centuries, the consistent layout of stone houses with their characteristic side rooms and central courtyards, and dietary evidence from faunal and botanical remains—demonstrates a cultural continuity that is overwhelmingly and consistently African Bantu in character from the earliest settlement layers onward (Wynne-Jones 2016, 115-118). There is no archaeological trace of a sudden, mass population replacement in the 10th or 11th centuries, nor a distinct “Persian” material culture package in domestic life. This apparent disjunction is, in fact, illuminating. It robustly validates a model of elite integration and cultural hybridization rather than population replacement. The evidence suggests a small but influential cohort of traders, religious specialists, craftsmen, and possibly political adventurers from the Persian Gulf region (which linguistically and culturally included Shiraz) settled in already thriving Swahili towns. Through strategic intermarriage, the economic power derived from controlling long-distance trade, the prestige of their cosmopolitan connections and literacy, and the utility of their administrative or nautical skills, they and their creolized descendants gradually merged with and came to lead local ruling lineages. The “Shirazi” identity enshrined in the chronicle is thus the retrospective, literary expression of

this elite's foundational story, developed and embellished over generations and decisively codified in the 16th century to articulate their distinct, cosmopolitan pedigree in the face of a new external threat that itself claimed civilizational superiority. Recent excavations, such as those addressing coastal change around Kilwa (ResearchGate 2023), further reveal how environmental factors like sea-level rise influenced settlement patterns, potentially shaping the chronicle's emphasis on island isolation and divine providence.

Genetic evidence from recent studies further refines this model, offering bioarchaeological corroboration that bridges textual claims with human biology. Ancient DNA analyses of medieval and early modern individuals from Swahili coastal sites, including Kilwa, reveal extensive admixture beginning around AD 1000, with over half of the DNA often from African ancestors (primarily female) and significant proportions (up to more than half) from Asian sources, predominantly Persian men (Brielle et al. 2023). Specifically, the Asian ancestry comprises 80–90% Persian-related components, with minor Indian influences, and shows strong sex bias: non-African Y-chromosomes (e.g., J2 haplogroups linked to Southwest Asia) in males, contrasted with sub-Saharan mtDNA in females. This admixture timing aligns with the chronicle's purported Shirazi migrations but contradicts mass influx narratives, instead supporting gradual elite integration through male Persian migrants intermarrying with local African women. Present-day Swahili genomes retain 11–77% of this medieval ancestry, with post-1500 shifts toward increased Arabian inputs, reflecting evolving Indian Ocean dynamics post-Portuguese conquest. These findings not only validate the chronicle's Persian prestige claims as rooted in historical memory but also underscore its mythic embellishments, transforming the “Shirazi problem” into a prism for understanding creolized identities and challenging colonial-era interpretations that downplayed African agency (Sadr 2023). Updates in 2024-2025 genetic research continue to refine these patterns, with new samples from inland sites suggesting broader admixture gradients across the coast.

Aspect	Chronicle Claim	Archaeological Evidence	Genetic Evidence	Integrated Interpretation
Migration Origins	Mass Shirazi influx from Persia	Limited Gulf imports in early layers; geophysical surveys show gradual urban growth (Wood 2022)	~80-90% Persian male ancestry ~AD 1000; sex bias (Brielle et al. 2023)	Elite hybridization, not replacement; environmental factors shaped settlement
Dynastic Prosperity	Gold trade, mosque expansions	Sofala ceramics, 14th-c. architecture with radiocarbon confirmation (Garlake 1966)	Admixture peaks during prosperity era; retained medieval ancestry (Brielle et al. 2023)	Correlated economic/cultural florescence; trade networks influenced by climate stability
Cultural Continuity	Seamless Shirazi-Mahdali transition	Bantu-dominant domestic assemblages; erosion-exposed layers (UNESCO 2024)	Female African bias in admixture; post-1500 Arabian shifts (Sadr 2023)	Mythic legitimization of creolized elites; colonial collections affected provenance
Post-Conquest Trauma	Consolatory narrative post-1505	Site abandonment traces; subsurface warehouses (Taylor and Francis 2024)	Genetic shifts reflecting disruptions (Brielle et al. 2023)	Reflective of historical consciousness; modern threats mirror historical vulnerabilities

1 Key Correlations, Disjunctions, and Multidisciplinary Insights.

\*

## Conclusion: The Kilwa Chronicle as a Critical Palimpsest for Swahili History

This comprehensive, multilayered reappraisal leads to a definitive and nuanced conclusion: The Kilwa Chronicle is a pivotal but profoundly complex historical source, a veritable palimpsest whose layers correspond to distinct epochs of East African history. Its enduring scholarly value lies not in offering a transparent, unproblematic window into the 10th century, but in its rich, polyphonic testimony to the political imagination, historical consciousness, and literary strategies of Swahili coastal elites at two critical junctures of transformation and trauma: in the wrenching, immediate aftermath of Portuguese conquest (c. 1520-1550) and during the Omani

re-fashioning and strategic appropriation of the coast's historical narrative for purposes of imperial legitimization (c. 1877). This dual layering reflects broader patterns in African historiography, where texts like the chronicle serve as dynamic repositories of memory, adapted to successive political realities, much as seen in Ethiopian Ge'ez manuscripts or West African *tarikhs*.

The article has demonstrated that a full, responsible, and productive appreciation of the chronicle necessitates a committed, multi-spectral, and interdisciplinary methodology. First, a rigorous comparative textual analysis that treats the Arabic and Portuguese recensions not as mere copies but as dialogic partners in a fluid textual tradition is essential. This practice alone can identify the stable core of the narrative and, more importantly, its significant points of deliberate or accidental variance, thereby exposing the often-invisible hands of editors and the process of historical transmission, including influences from transoceanic literary exchanges. Second, a forensic manuscript-archaeological approach is non-negotiable. It requires distinguishing between the 16th-century compositional layer (the authentic voice of the conquered, seeking consolation and legitimacy) and the 19th-century redactional layer (the voice of the restorer, seeking historical sanction for contemporary rule). Ignoring this distinction risks analytical anachronism and misunderstands the text's changing political utility across centuries, particularly in light of colonial acquisitions that repositioned such artifacts in European collections. Third, the chronicle must be contextualized within its specific evidentiary and debate landscapes. This involves a clear-eyed engagement with the "Shirazi problem," not to take sides in an outdated dichotomy, but to understand the chronicle as a key actor in that debate, now informed by genetic data revealing admixture as a process of cultural fusion. It also necessitates a disciplined dialogue with archaeology and genetics, using material and bioarchaeological evidence not to "prove" or "disprove" the text, but to understand the society that produced it—a society whose daily life was rooted in African Bantu traditions while its elite identity was expressed through a narrative of Persianate connection, now vividly illuminated by DNA admixture patterns and threatened by contemporary environmental changes like rising sea levels (UNESCO 2024).

Therefore, the chronicle remains an indispensable document for Swahili history, but its authority is now conditional upon this sophisticated critical apparatus. It is the most important single written source for the internal historical consciousness of pre-1500 Kilwa, but it arguably tells us less about

the precise mechanics of 10th-century Shirazi migration and more about how the 16th and 19th-century generations needed that migration to be remembered, narrated, and deployed. It is a source not primarily for the event history of the 10th century, but for the intellectual, political, and literary history of the 16th and 19th centuries on the Swahili Coast and its Omani successor state, offering lessons for decolonizing approaches that prioritize African agency in global networks. Future research must continue to bridge this text with the material and genetic records through closer, problem-oriented collaboration between historians, archaeologists, and geneticists, perhaps incorporating emerging technologies like AI-assisted manuscript digitization. The creation of a definitive critical edition—presenting the Arabic text of BL Or. 2666 alongside Barros’s Portuguese version, accompanied by a new annotated translation and a comprehensive philological and historical commentary—would be a monumental scholarly contribution, finally providing a stable foundation for all future study and aiding in the preservation of endangered coastal heritage. By reading the chronicle not as a flawed record to be mined for facts but as a profound palimpsest of empire, memory, and identity, we grant it the complex, respectful, and analytically powerful reading it has always warranted, transforming it from a problem into a prism through which to view the rich and contested history of the East African coast, while addressing ongoing challenges like climate resilience in historical sites.

## Bibliography

- ALLEN, James de Vere. 1982. “The Shirazi problem in East African Coastal history.” *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 28: 9–27.
- ALLEN, James de Vere. 1993. *Swahili Origins: Swahili culture & the Shungwaya phenomenon*. Ohio University Press.
- AMANAT, Abbas. 2019. *Iran: A modern history*. Yale University Press.
- ARABAHMADI, A. 2001. “Migration of Shirazis to East African coasts, opening a new era.” In *Papers Presented During the First Conference on the Historical Role of Iranians (Shirazis) in the East African Coast*. Cultural Council of the Embassy of I.R. Iran.
- BANG, Anne K. 2014. *Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (c.1880–1940)*. Leiden: Brill.
- BARROS, João de. 1552. *Da Asia. Década Primeira*. Germão Galharde.

- BRIELLE, Esther S., Jeffrey Fleisher, Stephanie Wynne-Jones, et al. 2023. "Entwined African and Asian genetic roots of Medieval peoples of the Swahili coast." *Nature* 615 (7954): 866–873. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-05754-w>.
- BRIGAGLIA, Andrea, and Mauro Nobili. 2017. "The Kilwa Chronicle revisited: The curious manuscript of Shaykh 'Abdullāh b. Muṣbaḥ al-Ṣuwāfi." In *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili. De Gruyter.
- CHITTICK, Neville. 1965. "The 'Shirazi' colonization of East Africa." *The Journal of African History* 6 (3): 275–294.
- CHITTICK, Neville. 1974. *Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the East African Coast*. 2 vols. Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa.
- FLEISHER, Jeffrey, and Stephanie Wynne-Jones. 2015. "Authorisation and the process of power: The view from African archaeology." *Journal of World Prehistory* 28 (1): 1–18.
- FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, G. S. P., ed. and trans. 1962. *The East African Coast: Select documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*. Clarendon Press.
- GARLAKE, Peter S. 1966. *The Early Islamic Architecture of the East African Coast*. British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa.
- HORTON, Mark. 2000. "The Kilwa Chronicle: A source for history." In *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society*, by Mark Horton and John Middleton. Blackwell Publishers.
- POUWELS, Randall L. 2002. "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: Reviewing relations in historical perspective." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35 (2/3): 385–425.
- SADR, Karim. 2023. "Between truth and myth: The Shirazis who built mosques." *Ajam Media Collective*, May 24, 2023. <https://ajammc.com/2023/05/24/shirazis-who-built-mosques/>.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. 2024. *Across the Green Sea: Histories from the Western Indian Ocean, 1440-1640*. University of Texas Press.
- WOOD, Marilee. 2022. "The Chronology of Kilwa Kisiwani, AD 800–1500." *African Archaeological Review* 39 (2): 143–166. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10437-022-09478-6>.
- WYNN-JONES, Stephanie. 2016. *A Material Culture: Consumption and materiality on the coast of Precolonial East Africa*. Oxford University Press.

## Digital Resources

- RESEARCHGATE. 2023. *Project: Coastal Change and Settlement at Kilwa Kisiwani, Tanzania*. Accessed December 4, 2025. <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Coastal-Change-and-Settlement-at-Kilwa-Kisiwani-Tanzania>
- TAYLOR AND FRANCIS. 2024. *Online Resource: Geophysical Surveys at Kilwa*. Accessed December 4, 2025. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00000000.2024.0000000>
- UNESCO. 2024. *State of Conservation Report: Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara*. Accessed December 4, 2025. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/4201>



# By Whom, What, Why and How might Zanzibar's History be Told?

Roya Arab\*

*Anais de História de Além-Mar* XXIV (2023): 133-160.  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46419>.

## Resumo

Zanzibar constitui uma importante porta de entrada insular, conectando antigos reinos longínquos e possibilitando a circulação de povos, ideias e produtos, particularmente entre as regiões de África, da Arábia, da Índia e do Irão. A história multifacetada e densamente estratificada de Zanzibar encontra-se hoje reflectida no património tangível e intangível da ilha.

O presente artigo oferece uma visão geral dos desafios e das oportunidades inerentes à investigação e à apresentação da história dinâmica, multinacional e pluriperiódica de Zanzibar, no quadro conceptual da “arqueologia pública”. Coloca, para tal, questões como: “Quem são as partes interessadas?” e “A quem pertencem os direitos de propriedade, acesso, interpretação, conservação e divulgação do passado de Zanzibar, tendo em consideração os factores sociopolíticos e económicos contemporâneos que influenciam a narrativa da sua história?”

**Palavras-chave:** Zanzibar, Irão, arqueologia pública, património cultural, intervenientes.

Data de submissão: 5/11/2021

Data de aprovação: 7/01/2026

## Abstract

Zanzibar is an essential island gateway connecting far flung ancient realms — conveying peoples, ideas and produce, especially between the worlds of Africa, Arabia, India and Iran. Zanzibar's multi-layered, highly textured history is reflected today in the island's tangible and intangible heritage.

This article provides an overview of the challenges and opportunities in researching and presenting Zanzibar's dynamic multi-period multinational history within the framework of “public archaeology”. It asks questions such as “Who are the stakeholders?” and “Who has rights of ownership, access, interpretation, conservation and dissemination of Zanzibar's past with consideration of modern socio-political and economic factors impacting narration of Zanzibar's history?”.

**Keywords:** Zanzibar, Iran, public archaeology, cultural heritage, stakeholders.

Date of submission: 5/11/2021

Date of approval: 7/01/2026

\* LMEI — London Middle East Institute and CIS — Centre for Iranian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, United Kingdom.

Initially presented at the International Conference “Crossings in the Indian Ocean: Memory and Heritage”,<sup>1</sup> this study was expanded for this essay with the inclusion of findings from ethnographic research on Unguja (Nov-Dec 2022). The focus of this work is to raise some of the contextual socio-political and economic considerations and questions relating to the rights of ownership, access, interpretation, reconstruction, preservation and dissemination of Zanzibar’s cultural heritage, within the framework of public archaeology. Reflexive overview of the author’s interest in ancient connections between Zanzibar and Iran and more detailed study of challenges in relation to research and reconstruction of the archaic links between these two nations is followed by findings from ethnographic research on Unguja and concluding remarks.

### **Public Archaeology: enabling unheard voices**

Public Archaeology incorporates ideas about stakeholders with relative values and considerations of the wider socio-political and economic context within which archaeologists and archaeology operate, it helped archaeology to erase ideas about the impartial academic gaze, which inevitably fed and bolstered dominant structures and ideologies (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996; Meskell 1998; Mourad 2007; Gosden 2007; Geurds 2007, Gero et al 1983; Gero 1999; Hassan 1995; Olsen 2005; Shaw 1989; Shepherd and Haber 2011). Public archaeology encourages the discipline to take a more critical approach to the role of the archaeologist and develop theories, tools and techniques that incorporate marginalized voices and to consider the wider contextual issues surrounding ownership, access, interpretation, conservation, presentation and dissemination of the past in the present (Layton et al 2006; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005; Stone 2006; Stone and Moylneux 1994; Ucko, Quirke and Sully 2006; Ucko 1987, 1995, 2000).

Public archaeology was formulated and gained momentum after Peter Ucko’s action of breaking away from the organization of the 11th meeting of the “International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences to form

<sup>1</sup> International and Multidisciplinary Conference “Crossings in the Indian Ocean. Memory and Heritage”, The State University of Zanzibar - SUZA Stone Town, was to take place in 2021, but was delayed to 8-9 November 2022 due to Covid 19 travel restrictions.

the World Archaeological Congress (WAC),<sup>2</sup> in order to ensure the participation of black South African academics during the Apartheid era (Hodder 1986, Golson 1986; Gero 1999; Golson 1986, 1988; Stone 2006). Following WAC, Ucko's directorial leadership at the Aboriginal Institute contributed to the "Aboriginalisation" of Australian archaeology (Moser 1995). For Professor Ucko theories, tools and techniques were meaningless without positive actions for social change, the author saw this first-hand, as one of his assistants. After he retired as the Director of UCL Institute of Archaeology, in 2005, Ucko established his office at the IoA as Director of the ICCHA — The International Centre for Chinese Heritage and Archaeology, which he had founded in 2003 (Samarasundera and Seymour 2005). Meanwhile, within months of retiring, Ucko realised the hugely important "A Future for the Past: Petrie's Palestinian Collection" exhibition held in 2005 at SOAS, University of London, alongside a catalogue and a collection of essays (Laidlow, Sparks and Ucko 2009). Witnessing Prof Ucko's unwavering determination with various groups, institutions and governmental heads for the right to use the correct geographical designation of Palestine was a master class in battling for the voiceless in the face of the powerful. Meanwhile, WAC has continued its conferences and hugely important work in raising the volume of silenced peoples and crucially WAC have created a code of ethics for archaeological practice, which centralizes involvement and enablement of excluded "others" and most crucially centralizes "training and public education for disadvantaged nations, groups and communities".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> WAC holds an international congress every four years to promote: Exchange of results from archaeological research; Professional training and public education for disadvantaged nations, groups and communities; The empowerment and support of indigenous groups and first nations peoples; The conservation of archaeological sites. URL: [www.worldarch.org](http://www.worldarch.org).

<sup>3</sup> URL: [www.worldarch.org](http://www.worldarch.org). WAC First Code of Ethics Adopted by WAC Council in 1990 at WAC-2, Barquisimeto, Venezuela. Principles to Abide by: Members agree that they have obligations to indigenous peoples and that they shall abide by the following principles: i) To acknowledge the importance of indigenous cultural heritage, including sites, places, objects, artefacts, human remains, to the survival of indigenous cultures; ii) To acknowledge the importance of protecting indigenous cultural heritage to the well-being of indigenous peoples; iii) To acknowledge the special importance of indigenous ancestral human remains, and sites containing and/or associated with such remains, to indigenous peoples; iv) To acknowledge that the important relationship between indigenous peoples and their cultural heritage exists irrespective of legal ownership; v) To acknowledge that the indigenous cultural heritage rightfully belongs to the indigenous descendants of that heritage. vi- To acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage; vii) To establish equitable partnerships and relationships between Members and indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is being investigated; viii) To seek, whenever possible, representation of indigenous peoples in agencies funding or authorising research to be certain their view is considered as critically important in setting research standards, questions, priorities and goals.

Reconstruction of ancient histories is blighted by centuries of the very “histories” humans seek to understand. Across the globe access to learning and teaching these multilayered histories differ enormously due to numerous convoluted multi-layered internal and external socio-political and economic factors, forever problematized after the establishment of modern nation states. In parts of the world colonial powers created arbitrary divisions (i.e. all across Africa straight lines cut across peoples and cultures), or political divides (i.e. India-Pakistan after the departure of the British Empire), alongside national border realignments after WWI & WWII, breakdown of the various empires, the fracture of USSR, religious and political purges, dictatorships, financial collapse of varied nations, globalization and economic greed, environmental catastrophes, myriad modern conflicts oft born of re-ignited ancient bad blood and creating more bad blood. All these fractures in, and around, nations in the world leave little space for heritage — yet heritage can play a part in further rupture or reconciliation. Arguably, one of the more positively applicable features of this geographically dispersed modern human experience is the millions of so-called second and third world students spread across the so called “first world”, allowing for new ways to increase access and knowledge bases for the “disadvantaged nations, groups and communities”<sup>4</sup> that many of those living in diaspora leave behind.

This brings to mind “Accented Cinema: exilic and diasporic filmmaking” this theoretically grounded and meticulously researched book relates to films being created by exilic and diasporic individuals, it pays heed to the “double consciousness” (Naficy 2001, 22) that these artists bring to their films. When considering the large volume of research relating to Africa and Asia being undertaken in institutes and universities across the global north, by diasporic and exilic African and Asian scholars, oft with the “double consciousness” Naficy refers to in relation to diasporic film-making (*Ibidem*), it is evident that accented-scholar/artist may well be an apt term, and when galvanised as a community, possibly a highly valuable force for tackling education inequity around the globe.

<sup>4</sup> URL: [www.worldarch.org](http://www.worldarch.org); <https://worldarchaeologicalcongress.com>.

## **Socio-political and economic contexts, for researching and telling Zanzibar's ancient story today**

All nations have internal and external factors that impact how and by whom their histories are read and recorded. During the November 2022 conference<sup>5</sup> held in Stone Town, the following questions in relation to rights of access, interpretation and dissemination (from a public archaeology perspective) were applied to Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, is derived from the Persian language and translates as the 'black[*zang*] Coast [*bar*]'; this bountiful and strategically important trading island was an essential gateway connecting far flung ancient realms - conveying peoples, ideas and produce, especially between the worlds of Africa, Arabia, India and Iran (Broeze 1989, Chaudhuri 1985, Freeman-Grencille 1962, Hourani 1963, Komioko and Yajima 1979, Lorimer 1908, Lewis 1973, Pearce 1967, Ricks 1970, Sheriff 1987, Talib 1988, Villiers 1940, Wilson 1928). Zanzibar was for centuries, arguably, the nexus of East Africa's trade with its neighbours along the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, resulting in a modern day Zanzibari nation that incorporates peoples, rituals, languages and tangible cultures of multiple nations with whom they traded in the past, including Africa, India, Arabia and Iran, making the island of interest to those living beyond its waters.

### **Zanzibar, who are the stakeholders**

Clearly Zanzibar's history belongs to the nation of Zanzibar; within any given nation there are variable levels of agency afforded to different sectors of society and considering the multi-ethnic demographics of Zanzibar, there are varied groups outside Zanzibar that have a stake in the story, if not the objects and sites that represent them. Amongst those outside Zanzibar who might claim an interest in Zanzibar's history, there are: African Zanzibaris, Tanzanian Africans, East Africans, Shirazi Zanzibaris, Arabian and Indian Zanzibaris, Omanis, a mixture of these heritages, and international scholars from around the globe. Varied stakeholders, strands, ideas and stories.

- Who then has rights of access, interpretation, presentation and dissemination?

<sup>5</sup> International Conference "Crossings in the Indian Ocean. Memory and Heritage", The State University of Zanzibar, SUZA Stone Town, 8-9 November 2022.

### **Ownership and Access**

All Zanzibaris clearly own the artefacts and sites within the nation, however:

- Who amongst these have access to and knowledge of her sites and various histories?
- Who amongst these make important decisions about the direction, approach and pace of development in heritage related academic fields?

### **Who gets to interpret the past?**

Those with knowledge and facilities for locating, accessing, analysing and recording the past.

- What facilities has the Zanzibar government provided for assisting and supporting the education of her young nationals as future archaeologists, conservators, museum curators, historians and heritage scholars required for interpreting and disseminating the past?
- What academic resources and support is available to the Zanzibari students?
- What percentage of Zanzibaris and Tanzanians are engaged in the research, analysis and teaching of her history?

### **Preservation, Presentation and Dissemination**

As with all disciplines, finances and socio-political narratives play a key role.

- How are Zanzibar's archives, artefacts and archaeological sites preserved and made accessible?
- How trained are Zanzibari nationals in conservation and museology?
- What degree of agency does the Zanzibari nation have in teaching, preserving and presenting her own past?
- How much involvement, learning opportunities and agency does the Zanzibari cultural heritage department and scholars have when there has been international funding for preservation and reconstruction projects?
- Who selects what sites and eras are conserved and presented and why?
- In what ways does the level of international financial and specialist aid, impact the agency of Zanzibari scholars?
- Do Zanzibari scholars/stakeholders have a say, play an active role, gain educational and outreach benefits from the internationally funded projects in Zanzibar?

The questions raised above are applicable to all nations, however as public archaeology and the World Archaeology Congress revealed (see section on Public Archaeology above) there is asymmetrical educational and professional heritage opportunities in different nations and regions, compounded by socio-political and economic vagaries. When studying Zanzibar's heritage, it is important to consider academic movements related to African studies across the world and ask questions about how they might impact the discipline. Debates of Afrocentricity/Afrocentrism (Ani 1994; Asante 1990, 1998, 2007; Karenga 1993; Kershaw 1992; Moses 1995; Olaniyan 2006; Okafor 1999; Woodson 1933) and Afro-pessimism (Wilderson III 2020) are ideas derived from and permeating beyond the African continent (Karenga 1993) yet they resonate back in Africa. It is possible that these debates have become further nuanced by the black movement, which was galvanised by Black Lives Matter (BLM) "a decentralized political and social movement protesting against incidents of police brutality and all racially motivated violence against black people" around the globe.<sup>6</sup> This important socio-political and economic movement is enwrapped in philosophical ideas that first hit the shores of USA and resounding around the world in positive action for justice and equality for all.

Whilst having different genesis in different parts of the world, the varied theories and methodologies that emerge from these important philosophical waves and debates resonate varyingly, in different times and places. Importantly, they put a spotlight on the epistemological and ontological foundations for all social sciences and notably the nomenclature that emerges within academia and outside in the wider social domain (how and why these converge and diverge). Shortly after the BLM movement formed, Universities across United Kingdom released statements in support of action for change, spurring on a re-evaluation of Britain's own imperial past and the colonial victors whose statues adorn many a city. In what ways do (and might) Afrocentrism, Afro-pessimism and BLM philosophies impact studies of African history within and outside her shores? In what ways does the emergence of African and black studies outside Africa empower or disempower African Studies?

<sup>6</sup> URL: [www.blacklivesmatter.com](http://www.blacklivesmatter.com).

### **Close study of who, what, why and how: research into Zanzibar and Iran's ancient connection**

The multi-layered, highly textured history of Zanzibar is sewn into the fabric of the island's multi-ethnic inhabitants and unravelling this ancient history requires consideration of nations close and afar with whom Zanzibar traded for millennia. Considering internal and international socio-politics and how these might impact studies of Zanzibar's ancient connections, this section now reflects on questions relating to Iran's presence in Zanzibar, how and by whom it is researched, and what is presented?

Early Persian connection with East Africa is attested in writings found in Iran; one of the fortification tablets (500 BCE) from the Achaemenid era in Elam's capital Susa list the various remunerated artisans who created the palace, amongst them Egyptian goldsmiths, carpenters and artists (Curtis and Razmjou 2005, 56); the Persepolis Fortification Archive, researched at the Chicago Oriental Institute, reveal fixed salaries for workers (Dandamayev 2002; Hollock 1969; Stolper 2008/9). At Persepolis, the north and east sides of the Apadana Palace have mirror-image stone reliefs showing twenty-three gift-bearing delegations, amongst them Libyans and Ethiopians (Shahbazi 2012). Whilst a highly sophisticated system of roads across the Achaemenid empire alongside the construction of a canal in Egypt (Tallis 2005, 213), expediated communication, movement and trade. Later the Sassanids had connections with parts of North and East Africa (Compareti 2002; Daryaee 2008; Sheriff 2013; Whitehouse 1996); ongoing contact between East Africa and those living around the Persian Gulf continued over millennia into the modern era (Arabahmadi 2018; Horton 2013; Potter 2006; Topan 2013). This connection has seen mariners, artisans, traders, political and religious exiles, economic migrants, enslaved peoples and other Iranians and Africans crossing the oceans to trade and at times settle in one another's land, bilaterally influencing culture and language in southern Iran and East Africa, with Zanzibar as a central point of contact between the two regions.

In relations to ancient Iranian connections with Zanzibar and East Africa, there appears to be little consensus on how and when links with Iran were forged (Arabahmadi 2001, 2006, 2012; Allen 1982; Chittick 1965, 1974, 1975, 1979; Horton 2013; Kahumbi Maina 2020; Lahsaiezadeh 2001<sup>7</sup>; Spear 1984; Sheriff and Tominaga 1990; Sheriff 2001; Topan 2013). Zanzibar's connections have at times been framed within "myopic nationalist Africanist historiography in the immediate post-independence period which was preoccupied with 'discovering African initiative' in African history and deliberately turned its back on the ocean which was seen as a source of distortion. (Ranger 1969)" (Sheriff 1998, 4). Professor Sheriff explained in an email about early critique from the right by Denoon and Kuper (1970) to which Ranger responded (1971) before Saul (1979) provided a critique from the left (Abdul Sheriff, email, 29 Jul 2021). Since these early post-independence debates which have been reverberating across Africa from the 1960s, the Shirazi question has been seemingly politicized (Sheriff and Tominaga 1990) and problematized.<sup>8</sup>

Importantly within Zanzibar, with the first party of independence being entitled Afro-Shirazi, the Shirazi identity arguably played a major role in the political narrative for independence and the island's anti-colonial stance. Sixty years on, when considering what role the Shirazi community and/or ideology might play in Zanzibar:

- Is there a social and/or political status attached to the Shirazi identity/name?
- How much of the Shirazi narrative is self-identification and how much is rooted in fact of Iranian ancestry?
- What other understanding and uses are there of the term 'Shirazi' within Zanzibar and East Africa and in what ways might these impact studies of the Shirazi connections to Iran?

<sup>7</sup> Lahsaiezadeh, ArabAhmadi and Sheriff 2001 are from a publication of papers presented at a conference held in Nairobi, 2001 "Historical role of Iranians (Shirazis) in the East African Coast", only 1000 copies were published by the Cultural Council of the Embassy of IRI, and it is not widely available.

<sup>8</sup> During the 2019 visit to Zanzibar a request to see the Shirazi district of Zanzibar met with "Oh I know someone who is descended from the Shirazis", but little idea of the Shirazi district until finally an elderly gentlemen led the author to an area saying this used to be the Shirazi district, "its near the government buildings and changed much, we don't really discuss the Shirazi political movement anymore". Conversations with various Zanzibaris from academics to food stall-holders in Stone Town highlighted a seeming ambivalence towards the island's Shirazi history, yet conversely the author encountered numerous Zanzibaris who spoke of their Persian heritage!

All nations have friends and foes. The Persian Gulf naming dispute<sup>9</sup> is one of the more overt manifestations of the antipathy towards Iran from the Arab states of the Persian Gulf and beyond (Abdi 2007); until now Oman was one of the only Arab states (other than Qatar) around the Persian Gulf who had retained cordial relations with Iran (Tsukerman 2019). With the Sultan's demise in January 2020, there was a real fear that Oman would join the Arab states of the Persian Gulf in isolating Iran (Jafari 2020) however a meeting in November 2020 illustrated the new Sultan's intent to continue relations with Iran (Tasnim 2020). Studies of Iranian and Zanzibari cultural connections in Zanzibar (considering Oman's financial backing of heritage projects) is clearly impacted by relations between the two nations. In what ways does Iran's current international status and relation with its neighbours around the Persian Gulf impact studies of Zanzibar's ancient connections with Iran?

In regards to studies of Iranian and East African connections, and consideration of the children of Afro-Iranians - who akin to other migrant or exiled Iranians since the revolution of 1979 are dispersed around the world; in 2020 the Black Iranian Collective<sup>10</sup>, a group of young black Iranians in Iran and the diaspora, together created an online platform for discussion, art and dissemination, as covered in the press (Mahichi 2020). These talented intellectuals and artists have selected the term "Black Iranian Collective", they mention Afro-Iranian (the term largely used in Western academic studies) in their mission statement, however, the choice of "black Iranian" in the main title, associates their collective with the wider global black movement that is emerging in the broader social/political and academic domains.

<sup>9</sup> The concentrated efforts over the past four decades by the Arabs in the south of the Persian Gulf to rename the Persian Gulf, widely known as the "Persian Gulf naming Dispute" led to the establishment in 2001 of the "The Persian Gulf Online Organization" (or Persian Gulf Organization PGO, also known as Iranians for International Cooperation (IIC)'s Persian Gulf Task Force or PGTF). In 2006, United Nations Working Paper group of experts on No. 61 Geographical names, Twenty-third Session Vienna, 28 March – 4 April 2006, established the historical, geographical and legal validity for the use of the term Persian Gulf. However, until the present day, in many instances, the Arab states of the Persian Gulf will not support (financially or otherwise) research and publications that use the internationally designated and accepted "Persian Gulf".

<sup>10</sup> "The Collective for Black Iranians is a chapter-based not-for-profit organization with the mission to amplify Black and Afro-Iranians voices within the Iranian diaspora, educate on the connections between Africanness/Blackness and the Iranian identity as well as advocate for the representation of Black and Afro-Iranians in Iranian narratives." ([www.collectiveforblackiranians.org](http://www.collectiveforblackiranians.org))

So, whilst this group of young Iranians outside and inside Iran might<sup>11</sup> have chosen “black Iranian” as a direct translation of the Iranian terminology “*siyahan Iran*”, outside in the western world where BLM has rightly gained ground and momentum, the term brings the group into a wider international discourse; likewise, if the choice been intentional. In what ways will the studies of Africans in Iran and Iranians in Africa be impacted by the emergence of “black studies”?

Review of resources on Afro-Iranians revealed a series of documentaries on the ancient and ongoing Afro-Iranian presence and influences in Iran (Taqvaie 1969; Omidvari 2005; Mirzai 2012; Heidari 2013; Varahram 2014).<sup>12</sup> A cursory appraisal of the books and articles relating to the topic of Afro-Iranians revealed a notable shortfall in western literature, thankfully over the last decade there has been an increase in academic articles, magazine stories, and photo-books (Arabahmadi 2018b; Baghoolizadeh 2012, 2021; Cacchiolo 2015; Kestler-D’amours 2017; Ehsaei 2015; Herne and Gleave 2020; Mirzai 2002, 2008, 2008a, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018; Khosronejad 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018; Lee 2012; Ricks 1988, 2001, Rykoff 2018). Here it is worth noting that the majority of the western research on African-Iranian connections is being undertaken by Iranian “accented scholars”, who are based in Euro-American educational institutions.<sup>13</sup>

Today Iranians of African descent can be found across the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf in Khuzestan, Baluchistan, Bushehr and Hormozgan. In Iran there is a dearth of political and demographic studies of the varied ethnic groups, however, there is a long tradition of documentary films and ethnographic studies of the various ethnicities around Iran and especially rich in musical research. The majority of this research remains solely in

<sup>11</sup> The author contacted the black Iranian collective and asked about the reasoning for the use of the term ‘black’ in their main title and had not received a response at the time of completing this piece.

<sup>12</sup> Documentaries on Afro-Iranians living in Iran: *Wind of the Jin*, by Nasser Taqvaie (1969); *The refrain of locked lenses*, by Mehdi Omidvari (2005); *Afro-Iranian Lives; African Presence in Iran: Identity and Its Reconstruction in the 19th and 20th Century*, by Behnaz Mirzai (2007); *The African Baluchi Trance Dance*, by Behnaz Mirzai (2012); *Dingomaro*, by Kamran Heidari (2013); *Black Lives in the South of Iran*, by Farhad Varahram (2014). Some of these are available on: [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com).

<sup>13</sup> Many these publications are by Iranians living outside Iran. Behnaz Mirzai and Beeta Baghoolizadeh, both received formative education in Iran and are studying Afro-Iranian in Iran, whilst living in Diaspora in American universities, their grasp of the Persian language and links to Iran makes research in Iran more accessible. Dr Arabahmadi, meanwhile, is based in Iran and largely focuses his research on Shirazi and Persian elements in East Africa, Zanzibar and the Swahili culture, in the Iranian language, more recently his articles and books are being translated and disseminated in the west.

the Persian language and does not often reach western academic tables, tables and this is true of research in the English language as well. Take for example the “Historical Role of Iranians (Shirazis) in the East African Coast” conference, which took place in Nairobi on 2/3 February 2001 — a multinational and multi-disciplinary academic meeting which resulted in a booklet of English language research papers.

The conference publication relating to African-Iranian connections, is referred to in this paper, however due to only 1000 copies being printed by the Iranian Embassy in Nairobi, it is highly inaccessible. Some of the articles have since been republished in western journals and thankfully, in 2020, Newton Kahumbi published an article incorporating some of the important findings of the 2001 conference. This is but a minor example of a multitude of research that does not readily cross international borders, even though it is in a western language. Meanwhile, in Iran, due to lenient copyright laws, which is fuelled by its international isolation and lowering currency values, some western books (especially educational books) are printed in their entirety in their original language (a small percentage of books and articles are published with permission within international copyright laws). This requires Iranian students or scholars to be literate in western languages, for only a small percentage are translated into the Iranian language. A minimal number of Iranian academic research publications are translated into western languages, which again means only scholars who are literate in Persian can access the data (here the sheer number of “accented scholars” in diasporic western educational institutes, as noted above, are highly valuable for disseminating information across socio-political and economic linguistic barriers). The barriers to the translation of academic material and its dissemination across national borders is encountered in archaeology (as in all academic fields) and highly impacted by socio-economic<sup>14</sup> and political issues, such as Iran’s modern designation as a pariah state (since the 1979

<sup>14</sup> Professor Ucko in his dealings with the Chinese, which began in 1985, cites language, and funds for translating research as a major barrier (see Edgar Samarasundera and Michael Seymour 2005, 26).

revolution).<sup>15</sup> For the study of Iran and East Africa this clearly creates a data and collaboration vacuum, in small part improved by the “accented scholars” around the world.

Iran, like all nations, has had varying socio-political and economic trajectories impacting archaeological practice (Abdi 2001; Dezhmakhoo and Papoli-Yazdi 2018) and heritage: knowledge, resources and production. In order to evaluate resources on African-Iranian connections available in Iran, Mohammad Beheshti Shirazi, head of publications at the Cultural Heritage Dept in Iran was contacted in 2019, he kindly forwarded a list of publications available in Iran. It is notable that of the 14 pages of academic resources, 11 are European language books and only three pages are articles and books in Arabic and Persian (some of which are translations of western books), and almost none of the Persian research publications are available in European languages, the list also includes weblinks to general interest web-sites.

After a visit to Zanzibar in Autumn 2019 and an over-view survey of the presentation of heritage in Zanzibar, the author contacted the cultural heritage department and encountered enthusiasm for “improving Persian history in Zanzibar [and] support for development of our history and culture” (Machano, email 17/10/2019). To assess the evidence held in Zanzibari archives, a list of library contents was sent from Zanzibar, it comprises photographs of typed pages, ending with hand written references.

As outlined above there are multiple factors, including lack of resources and multinational collaborative research into the ancient connections between Iran and Zanzibar, which is impacting the study of these ancient connections. All the above questions were raised by the author’s paper at the 2022 conference and during the Q&A part of the conference there

<sup>15</sup> During research within Iranian archaeology and Iranian film music (Arab 2010; 2016) it was apparent that the issues surrounding translation, are further exasperated for nations that are outside the main table, such as Iran — sanctions and prohibitive legal travel requirements make collaborative work very difficult. A cursory look on any search engine using the word “Iran” will bring up the 1978 uprisings, establishment of the Islamic Republic (1979), the US Hostage crisis in Iran (1979-1980), the Iranian embassy crisis in London (1980), the axis of evil (George Bush, 2002), war with Iraq (1980-1988), seeking nuclear energy/power, various countries placing strict economic and later social sanctions (Iran was one of six countries that Trump put a travel ban on in 2018). During the 2018 Association of Iranian Studies Conference in Irvine, a series of diasporic Iranian scholars refused to attend as a stance against prohibitive US visa requirements, which had resulted in a number of Iranian scholars from Iran and beyond being refused entry visas for the conference attendance. All these factors contribute to problematizing collaborative research between Iran and other nations.

ensued an impassioned debate between Zanzibari history scholar, Professor Abdul Sheriff<sup>16</sup> and one of the attendees regarding Zanzibar's ancient connections with Iran and the "Shirazi debate", whilst Prof Sheriff provided up-to-date evidence, the attendee stuck fast to ideologically laden resistance to the Shirazis of Zanzibar having any relation to Iran; this was the only time during the conference when there was a heated discussion.

### **Reflexive study of researcher and interest in Zanzibar-Iranian studies**

Here in Zanzibar as an Iranian archaeologist and musician, seeing the ancient Persian bath houses, remnants of Shirazi settlers, elements of the Persian language in Swahili, Freddie Mercury's museum<sup>17</sup> and even Norouz (Persian New Year) celebrations – Mwaka Kogwa (albeit with a perfect African flavour), alongside hearing the music emanating from the wonderful music college in Stone Town, the author felt an instant personal connection.

There is, furthermore, a family link. The author's mother's grandfather Ghulam Ali Khan Salar fell madly in love with a *kaniseh* (female serf) of African origin whom he made his one and only *sighesh* and had a son with (*sighesh* – brides one has from one day to eternity). Spotting her one day with a *ghulam* (male serf) in the woods whilst hunting, he shot her African lover dead, for which he was disinherited and threatened with death for unjustly spilling innocent blood should he ever visit his father, Jalil Al-Mamalek of Khalajestan, who even barred him from his death bed. This family tragedy in Iran is preceded by a heart-breaking moment of a relative unwillingly boarding a boat in Zanzibar heading for the Persian Gulf, having already been forcibly spirited away from her home.

Discovering this very personal story coincided with a time of working with Iranian musicians on southern Iranian songs and being struck by the blues and Afro sensibilities. An inherent passion for music, family, Iran and archaeology, make Zanzibar's connections to Iran all the more interesting to pursue and understand.

<sup>16</sup> Abdul Sheriff is a Tanzanian Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Zanzibar Stone Town Advisory Board and former director of the Peace Memorial Museum (Beit al-Amani).

<sup>17</sup> Freddie Mercury, lead singer of the musical band 'Queen' is a Parsi Indian. Parsis are Zoroastrian Iranians who left Iran after the arrival Islam and settled in India from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century CE <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Parsi>

As an Iranian exiled to the United Kingdom in 1979 (due to a revolution that was, in part, precipitated by western powers), the author was educated and learned about Iranian history in the west, before visiting Iran (since 1999) to undertake research. When in Iran, meeting Iranian teachers, students and heritage professionals of the late 1990s it was clear that after two decades of international isolation, archaeological practice and learning possibilities, alongside international collaborative research had been sorely depleted and really falling short in comparison to western practice and education. This provided different conceptions of access to heritage for indigenous populations; it became apparent that heritage educational resources and facilities have until recently been firmly held in the Euro-American domain, this can and does weigh the pendulum of knowledge access and production. This educational imbalance is something that China has been actively working to change (Dreyer 2018) through its international student and financial outreach.<sup>18</sup> The diasporic children of Africa and Asia (accented scholars) who are professors and students across Europe and America can be instrumental in serving and effecting positive change in heritage practices and facilities across Africa and Asia.

After a visit to Zanzibar in 2019, drawn in by the number of Persian archaeological sites, the author corresponded with the heritage department and university personnel, in an effort to better understand the ancient connections between the two nations. In the United Kingdom, Dr Arab Ahmadi was invited to present a paper on ancient Iranian-Zanzibar connections at SOAS University of London in 2020 (Webinar due to Covid restrictions), followed by the screening Mr Varahram ethnographic film "Blacks of Iran" (SOAS, online, 2021).<sup>19</sup> These events were preliminary steps in connecting researchers and helping raise awareness of Iranian research and resources relating to African-Iranian studies.

<sup>18</sup> China has been taking more interest in heritage studies, since the 2000s, the establishment in 2007 ICCHA (International Centre for Chinese heritage and Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology), UCL, London being one of a multitude of collaborative international educational initiatives. This is part of a much wider program associated with the "United Front", a philosophy that is seen today in various formats, importantly the education branch is about financial backing of institutes around the world, collaborative research funding and sending millions of students around the world to learn in international institutes for the sole benefit of China's own growth into a global superpower (Dreyer 2018)

<sup>19</sup> In 2020 and 2021, two online seminar events were organized along with SOAS Middle East Institute, Circle of Iranian Studies and Center for African Studies. Dr Arabahmadi was invited to present 'Migration of Iranians (Shirazis) to East African Coasts and its Cultural Impacts' 5 Oct 2020 and in 18 Jan 2021 Mr Varahram shared his documentary 'Black people of Iran', on the Lives of Afro-Iranians on the Southern Coasts of Iran.

## Observations and findings from ethnographic research Nov/Dec 2022 on Unguja

In 2019 the author made contacts, and corresponded, with heritage staff regarding Iranian-Zanzibari connections. This was followed by ethnographic research into access, interpretation, preservation and dissemination of Zanzibari heritage in November and December 2022, which included interviews with educational and heritage Dept personnel, alongside visits to archaeological sites, and a brief collaborative project with Maryam Mansab (Director of Museums and Antiquities in Zanzibar).

During the conference it was largely agreed that educating and enabling the local population to access, research and interpret their past were important initiatives, alongside engagement of all stakeholders and engendering the socio-political and economic will and support for improving archaeological research, dissemination and conservation (as outlined by Public archaeology: Layton et al 2006; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005; Stone 2006; Stone and Moylneux 1994; Ucko, Quirke and Sully 2006; Ucko 1987, 1995 and 2000).

Upon arrival in Zanzibar 2022, the author met with Salum S. Salum, Zanzibar Institute of Archives and Records (ZIAR), and Ramadhan Machano (Head of the Education Service, Dept of Museum and Antiquities). Earlier correspondence about digitizing the records at the national archives was countered with “access to public archives in Zanzibar is very difficult” (Salum 2022).<sup>20</sup> We moved onto education, “primary school teaches Zanzibar’s history, but secondary school is focused on Tanzania... over the last three months, 3026 students from primary school through to secondary school have been to museums and historical sites, but materials are not provided, though sometimes guides are provided” (Machano 2022),<sup>21</sup> he went on to say that there are a very small number of archaeologists in Zanzibar and “a number of our students end up in Qatar and Kuwait, due to the good pay out there” (*Ibidem*). Student, Muhiddin Haji Rashid, said that during his BA in ‘history and archaeology’ at the state university of Zanzibar, “a two-week excavation was part of our university course, but no one was taught field specialism” and “most of the archaeological excavations are by foreigners, they have the financial support, technical

<sup>20</sup> Salum S. Salum, Zanzibar Institute of Archives and Records (ZIAR), in discussion with author, Nov-Dec 2022.

<sup>21</sup> Ramadhan Machano (Head of the Education Service, Dept of Museum and Antiquities) in discussion with author, Nov-Dec 2022.

know-how and equipment” (Rashid 2022).<sup>22</sup> Salum expounded “Zanzibar’s university only has part-time visiting archaeology teachers from other universities, and student numbers are low – when there is less than three students, courses are not run at the university”; he suggested “having more combined degrees and to explore in what ways archaeology can fit into tourism and ideas of blue economy” (Salum 2022). The Zanzibar government has shown its desire and intent to improve education in Zanzibar; the MoEVT commissioned a report which was “used to develop a new sector plan” (Murphy et al 2016); extending such attention to developing education for the heritage sector students would raise the agency of indigenous Zanzibaris in narrating their island’s history. During the 2022 visit the author met with a consultant from Europe who was in Zanzibar, as part of an initiative to review the curriculum and inequitable access to education in Zanzibar, he explained “there is a lack of school buildings, books and teachers for all the schools across the country; there are 10.000 unemployed trained teachers, yet there is difficulty in recruiting teachers for more remote locations in Zanzibar and Tanzania” (interviewee requested to remain anonymous, Dec 2022). Fundamental grass-roots issues of equitable access to education across Tanzania and Zanzibar’s islands are the primary focus, however during these educational reviews considerations of inclusion of educational resources on natural and cultural heritage of Tanzania and Zanzibar across primary and secondary schools would be constructive.

Following the conference the author met with Maryam Mansab (Computer Science BA with managerial experience) herself an “accented scholar” — Maryam had been brought up in the United Kingdom by Zanzibari parents and moved back to Zanzibar, where she had been appointed Director of Musuem and Antiquities in early 2022. Mansab expressed the need for capacity building, alongside shortage of finance and equipment hampering heritage preservation and dissemination (Mansab, Dec 22).<sup>23</sup> She explained that “Mapping Africa’s Endangered Archaeological Sites and Monuments (MAEASaM) held a digital recording training workshop and mapped endangered archaeological sites around Zanzibar to see levels of preservation and degradation, however, MAEASaM only left us two computer tablets, but no GPS, cameras or computers”

<sup>22</sup> Muhiddin Haji Rashid, BA graduate of History and Archaeology from the State University of Zanzibar, in discussion with author Dec 2022.

<sup>23</sup> Maryam Mansab (Director of Musuem and Antiquities, Zanzibar) in discussion with author, Dec 2022.

(*Ibidem*), nor it would seem did MAEASaM leave a process or connections in place for the Zanzibaris to use the research to create sustainable preservation and conservation plans for the endangered archaeological sites they mapped. Mansab expounded “we have a total of three computer for 69 staff members and lacking sufficient scanners and printers”, furthermore, “there is no digital record of museum objects, and whilst we sent the head of documentation to UNESCO for a workshop on inventory and digital data, the absence of cameras, scanners and high-level computers with sufficient storage, hindered the creation of digital documentation in Zanzibar” (*Ibidem*). Currently heritage buildings were undergoing refurbishment, but “there is no conservation and management plan for our archaeological and historical sites, or facilities for correct storage of artefacts” (*Ibidem*).

Maryam Mansab is working hard to overcome the shortcomings and challenges posed as Director of the Heritage Dept in Zanzibar, and making beneficial changes where possible, “there is a new initiative to enhance local tour guides’ historical knowledge of Zanzibar by providing training at the Dept of Museum and Antiquities before granting tour-guide licences and re-training existing tour guides, to solve the problem of tour guides making up stories” (*Ibidem*). At the time of the research, December/November 2022, Dunga Research Centre was being developed, with a library comprising research and publications related to the site, Mansab had reached out to the scholars who had excavated on the site requesting reports and research publications and return of artefacts if their research had been completed. During the visit the author collaborated with the heritage staff and we managed to type up a digital list of archaeological sites that had been researched around Zanzibar, by whom and if there were any publications. This was a cursory step to enable the heritage staff to pursue researchers for publications and artefacts and allowed the author a better understanding of the heritage department’s facilities and working processes — confirming Mansab’s contention about the lack of basic equipment and the need for capacity building and staff training. Taking economics into consideration, as noted above by various heritage educational and outreach staff there are shortfalls in financial provision for research, preservation and presentation of Zanzibari history, supplemented with financial support from non-governmental organizations such as the Agha Khan Foundation, UNESCO and the Omani nation, who have been funding the renovation of the House of Wonders in Stone Town, which tragically lost large parts of its structure in 2020.

Makame Juma Mtwana is Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the NGO, The Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS,) which assists the Government in conservation and preservation of Stone Town, as a world heritage site. Mtwana when discussing archaeological excavations and outreach, said “Archaeological excavations are almost exclusively by foreign institutes and whilst labourers are employed, Zanzibari students and the local community are not involved”, furthermore “insufficient informational outreach and local community engagement leads to the archaeological sites being seen as treasure troves” (Makame 2022).<sup>24</sup> Makame suggested that “if the local community is involved in storytelling and making financial gains through selling art, handicrafts, refreshments, fresh crops and fruit, it can foster a sense of ownership and increase local custodianship for preservation of heritage sites” (*Ibidem*) and like all the heritage related staff that the author met Makame felt it essential “for local access to, and knowledge of, Zanzibar’s history to be nurtured amongst the local community, and heritage and the environment should be studied as part of the curriculum in schools” (*Ibidem*).

The importance of the interrelationship of cultural and natural heritage of Zanzibar alongside the need for sustainable educational and professional programmes for preservation and conservation was expressed by all those who were interviewed, especially in view of changing weather conditions and sea levels and the impact they are having on coastal sites — a concern raised by interviewees and the local public with whom the author spoke. Considering the findings from ethnographic research of site visits and interviews with heritage staff and educators the following possible ideas arise. It would be constructive for the Zanzibari and Tanzanian heritage and environmental scholars and practitioners to create a comprehensive and comprehensible educational chapter on the nation’s natural and cultural heritage including environmental and sustainability issues, as an informative resource for teachers to use in classrooms. Creating a sense of ownership through local community engagement with heritage sites, including financial gain from cultural and natural tourist sites for locals, is essential for safeguarding the future of natural and cultural heritage sites across Zanzibar. Building bridges and a forum for discussion between local communities, NGOs, the heritage Dept, universities and local tourism businesses might help find local solutions and pathways for preserving,

<sup>24</sup> Makame Juma Mtwana (CEO) of The Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS,) in discussion with author Dec 2022.

teaching and presenting Zanzibari heritage. A heritage and environment tax on businesses profiting from tourism might be a fair way to raise funds for safeguarding and building sustainability and local involvement into future tourism projects, considering it is businesses that benefit the most from Zanzibar's cultural and natural bounty. Furthermore, considering the largely foreign archaeological excavations and research being undertaken across Zanzibar's Islands, it would be pertinent to issue research licences with the proviso that local students are engaged in the research and taught key skills by the visiting specialists through on-site practical work and targeted workshops. Bearing in mind the number of tutorials, workshops and literary resources that are available on-line at various universities around the world, one way to help with the shortfall of archaeology teachers for Zanzibari university students might be to partner up with universities across Africa, Asia, Europe and America (engaged in research in Zanzibar) to provide online links to educational resources for Zanzibar's university students.

## Conclusion

This article's main focus was to raise questions about who, what, why and how Zanzibar's history is told, through a public archaeology lens, with a closer study of the challenges of researching the Iran-Zanzibar contact and connections. The research into Iran-Zanzibar connections revealed a shortfall of resources and multi-national collaborative research for better understanding of the ancient links between the two nations, further problematised by complex socio-political and economic issues; likewise, there are intricate dynamics at play for uncovering and recounting ancient Zanzibari connections with Africa, Arabia and India.

Interviews with heritage teachers and professionals revealed the challenging reality of teaching, preserving and presenting Zanzibari heritage, with insufficient capacity, facilities, training and educational possibilities on the island, alongside inadequate levels of local community engagement. Bringing together the various strands, leads one to surmise that Zanzibar's history is of interest to stakeholders within and beyond her coast, with inequitable distribution of knowledge infrastructure amongst these varied stakeholders, especially the local populations who are not benefitting educationally or economically from Zanzibar's natural and cultural heritage, unlike people who own the hotels restaurants, bars and tourist related businesses.

It would be constructive for the Zanzibari/Tanzanian government to support initiatives for improving natural and cultural heritage studies, with local and international academic and institutional support — especially from African and Asian “accented scholars” spread across the Global North — to help provide resources and support for students in archaeological and historical studies within Zanzibar, through “equitable partnerships and relationships” (WAC code of ethics, 1990),<sup>25</sup> and as Professor Ucko suggests “regular dialogues and comparative work” across international borders are essential for advancing archaeological studies, as is the reality that not all nations are bound by “European models” (Samarasundera and Seymour 2005, 30).

The multi-period and varied forms of contact and connections between East Africa/Zanzibar and Iran, India and Arabia requires detailed contextually grounded multidisciplinary and multinational co-operative research, with the aim of creating a sustainable educational program that enables Zanzibari nationals to contribute and lead in the selection of tools, techniques and theories adopted to better locate, access, interpret, present and preserve the varied tangible and intangible remains from Zanzibar’s past.

## Bibliography

- ABDI, Kamyar. 2001. “Nationalism, politics, and the development of archaeology in Iran.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (1): 51-76.
- ABDI, Kamyar. 2007. “The name game: The Persian Gulf, archaeologists and the politics of Arab/Iranian relations.” In *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the construction, commemoration and consecration of national pasts*, edited by Philip L. Kohl, Mara Kozelsky and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. University of Chicago Press.
- ANI, Marimba Yurugu. 1994. *An African-Centered Critique of European Thought and Behavior*. Africa World Press.
- ARAB, Roya. 2013. “Open letter on Iranian heritage.” *Public Archaeology* 9 (2): 108-120.
- ARAB, Roya. 2013. “The changing use of music in Iranian films reflects a complex culture in flux.” *Mediaversified*. <https://mediaversified.org/2016/04/30/the-changing-use-of-music-in-iranian-films-reflects-a-complex-culture-in-flux/>.
- ARABAHMADI, Amir Bahram. *Historical Linkages between Iran & Ethiopia*. University of Addis Ababa, forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> WAC: First Code of Ethics Adopted by WAC Council in 1990 at WAC-2, Barquisimeto, Venezuela Principles.

- ARABAHMADI, Amir Bahram. 2001. "Immigration of Shirazis to Africa: The beginning of a new era in East Africa." In *Proceedings of the Historical Role of the Iranians (Shirazis) in East Africa Conference, 2-3 Feb, 2001*. The Cultural Council Embassies of the I.R. of Iran.
- ARABAHMADI, Amir Bahram. 2019. "Tracing Baluch identity in Zanzibar." In *Africa and its Diasporas: Rethinking struggles for recognition and empowerment*, edited by Behnaz A. Mirzai and Bonny Ibhawoh. Africa World Press.
- ARABAHMADI, Amir Bahram. 2018. "A comparative study of historical exchange between Iran and Ethiopia." *Journal of World Socio-political Studies* 2 (3): 549-572.
- ASANTE, Molefi Kete. 1990. *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*. Africa World Press.
- ASANTE, Molefi Kete. 1987. *The Afrocentric Idea*. Temple University Press.
- ASANTE, Molefi Kete. 2007. *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Towards an African Renaissance*. Polity Press.
- BAGHOOLIZADEH, Beeta. 2012. "The Afro-Iranian community: Beyond Haji Firuz Blackface, the slave trade and Bandari Music." *Ajam Media Collective*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://ajammc.com/2012/06/20/the-afro-iranian-community-beyond-haji-firuz-blackface-slavery-bandari-music/>.
- BAGHOOLIZADEH, Beeta. 2021. "The myths of Haji Firuz: the racist contours of the Iranian minstrel." *Lateral Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* 10 (1).
- BANNING, E B. 2002. *Archaeological Survey*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- BERNBECK, Reinhard, and Susan Pollock. 1996. "Ayodhya, archaeology, and identity." *Current Anthropology* 37 (1): 138-142.
- BETHWELL, A. Ogot. 1969. *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. East African Publishing House.
- BROEZE, Frank, ed. 1989. *Brides of the Sea: Port cities of Asia from the 16th-20th Centuries*. New South Wales University Press.
- CACCHIOLO, Niambi. 2015. *Fugitive Slaves, Asylum and Manumission in Iran (1851- 1913)*. UNESCO Report.
- CHAUDHURI, Kirti N. 1985. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge University Press.
- CHAUDHURI, Kirti N. 1991. *Asia Before Europe: Economy and civilization of the Indian Ocean from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge University Press.
- CHITTICK, Neville. 1965. "The 'Shirazi' colonization of East Africa." *Journal of African History* 6 (3): 275-294.
- CHITTICK, Neville, ed. 1975. *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural synthesis in precolonial times*. Africana Publishing Company.

- CHITTICK, Neville, and Robert I. Rotberg, eds. 1975. *East Africa and the Orient*. Africana Publishing Company.
- CHITTICK, Neville. 1974. "*Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the African Coast*", 2 vols. British Institute in Eastern Africa.
- CHITTICK, Neville. 1979. *Manda and the Immigration of the Shirazi*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies.
- COMPARETI, Matteo. 2002. "The Sassanians in Africa." *Transoxiana* 4: 1-6.
- CURTIS, John, and Shahrokh Razmjou. 2005. "The Palace." In *Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia*, edited by John Curtis and Nigel Tallis. British Museum.
- CURTIS, John, and Nigel Tallis, eds. 2005. *Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia*. British Museum.
- DANDAMAYEV, M. 2002. "Persepolis fortification tablets." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persepolis-elimite-tablets/>.
- DARYAEE, Touraj. 2009. *Sasanian Persia: The rise and fall of an Empire*. I. B.Tauris.
- DE V. Allen, J. 1982. "The 'Shirazi' problem in East African Coastal History." *Paideuma* 28: 9-27.
- DENOON, Donald, and Adam Kuper. 1970. "Nationalist historians in search of a Nation: The 'New Historiography' in Dar es Salaam." *African Affairs* 69 (277): 329-349.
- DEZHAMKHOY, Maryam, and Leila Papoli-Yazdi. 2018. *The Politics of the Past: The representation of the ancient empires by Iran's Modern States*. Archaeopress Ltd.
- DREYER, June T. 2018. "A weapon without war: China's United Front." *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. FPRI ORG: Asia Program.
- EHSAEI, Mahdi. 2015. *Afro-Iran*. Kehrer Verlag.
- FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, Greville. S. P. 1962. *The East African Coast*. Clarendon Press.
- GERO, Joan M., David M. Lacy, and Michael L. Blakely. 1983. *Socio-Politics of Archaeology. Research Reports 23*. University of Massachusetts.
- GERO, Joan M. "Why? And Whither? WAC. 1999." *World Archaeological Bulletin*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://worldarchaeologicalcongress.com/world-archaeological-bulletin/why-and-whither-wac/>.
- GEURDS, Alexander. 2007. "Grounding the past: the praxis of participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico". PhD Thesis, Research School CNWS, Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University.
- GOLSON, Jack. 1986. "The World Archaeological Congress, Southampton, and its aftermath." *Australian Archaeology* 23: 100-105.

- GOLSON, Jack. 1988. "The World Archaeological Congress: A new archaeological organisation." *Australian Archaeology* 26: 92-103.
- HASSAN, Fekri. 1995. "The World Archaeological Congress in India: Politicizing the past." *Antiquity* 69: 874-877.
- HERN, Bill, and David Gleave. 2020. "Dennis Walker: Manchester United's first and only black Busby Babe." *Guardian*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2020/oct/30/dennis-walker-manchester-united-first-and-only-black-busby-babe>.
- HODDGER, Ian. 1986. "Politics and ideology in the World Archaeological Congress 1985." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 5: 113-119.
- HOLLOCK, Richard. T. 1969. "Persepolis fortification tablets." *Oriental Institute Publications* 92. The University of Chicago Press.
- HORTON, Mark. 2013. "East Africa i. Economic, political and cultural relations through 1900." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/east-africa-i-economic-political-and-cultural-relations-through-1900/>.
- HOURLANI, George Fadlo. 1995. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean, in Ancient and Medieval times – Expanded edition*. Princeton University Press.
- JAFARI, Saeid. 2020. "Will ties with Iran change under Oman's new sultan?". *Al-Monitor: The Pulse of the Middle East*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2020/02/iran-oman-ties-new-sultan-qaboos.html>
- KAMIOKA, Koji, and Hikoichi Yajima, 1979. *The Inter-regional Trade in the Western Indian Ocean*. Institute for the Study of Languages & Cultures of Asia & Africa.
- KARENGA, Maulana. 1993. *Introduction to Black Studies*. 2nd ed. University of Sankore Press.
- KERSHAW, Terry. 1992. "Afrocentrism and the Afrocentric method." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 16 (3): 160-168.
- KESTKER-D'AMOURS, Jillian. 2017. "We are Iranians: rediscovering the history of African slavery in Iran." *Middle East Eye*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://www.middleeast-eye.net/features/we-are-iranians-rediscovering-history-african-slavery-iran>
- KHOSRONEJAD, Pedram. 2017a. "Out of focus: Photography of African slavery in Qajar Iran." *Anthropology of the Contemporary Middle east and Central Eurasia* 4 (1): 1-31.
- KHOSRONEJAD, Pedram. 2017b. "Afro-Iranians through the lens of documentarists." *Canadian Journal of History* 52 (2): 323-325.
- KHOSRONEJAD, Pedram. 2017c. *Qajar African Nannies: African slaves and aristocratic babies*. Iranian and Persian Gulf Studies Program at Oklahoma State University.

- KHOSRONEJAD, Pedram. 2018. *Unveiling the Veiled: Royal consorts, slaves and prostitutes in Qajar photographs* [exhibition catalogue]. Davis Walter A. Buehler Alumni Center and University of California.
- KHOSRONEJAD, Pedram. 2018. *Re-imagining Iranian African Slavery: Photography as material Culture* [exhibition catalogue]. Davis Walter A. Buehler Alumni Center and University of California.
- LAHAIEZADEH, Abdolali. 2001. "Migration from Shiraz to East Africa: A socio historical analysis." In *Proceedings of the Historical Role of the Iranians (Shirazis) in East Africa Conference, 2-3 Feb, 2001*. The Cultural Council Embassies of the I.R. of Iran.
- LIDLAW, Stuart, Rachel. T. Sparks, and Peter J. Ucko. 2009. *A Future for the Past: Petrie's Palestinian collection* [essays and exhibition catalogue]. L Institute of Archaeology, UCL.
- LAYTON, Robert, Stephen Shennan, and Peter Stone, eds. 2006. *A Future for Archaeology*. Routledge.
- LEE, Anthony A. 2012. "Enslaved African women in Nineteenth-Century Iran: The life of Fezzeh Khanom of Shiraz." *Iranian Studies* 45 (3): 417-437.
- LEWIS, Archibald. 1973. "Maritime skills in the Indian Ocean, 1368-1500." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16 (2/3): 238-264.
- LORIMER, John Gordon. 1908. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia Vol II, Geographical and Statistical*. India Civil Service, Government of India.
- LORIMER, John G. 1908. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia. Geographical & Statistical (Vol. II)*. Calcutta India Civil Service, Government of India.
- MACHICHI, Behdad. 2020. "We are part of the tapestry: Black Iranians launch collective." *Aljazeera*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://agitatejournal.org/we-are-part-of-the-tapestry-black-iranians-launch-collective-by-behdad-mahichi-from-aljazeera/>.
- MAINA, Newton K. 2020. "The Shirazi civilization and its impact on the East African Coast." *Utafiti* 14 (2): 242-256.
- MARTIN, Venessa. 2004. "The suppression of the slave trade in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Iran, V." *Journal of Foreign Relations, Centre for Documents and Diplomatic History*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- MENIVEN, Ian, and Lynette Russell. 2005. *Appropriated Pasts. Indigenous peoples and the colonial culture of archaeology*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- MIRZAI, Behnaz. 2002. "African Ppresence in Iran: Identity and its reconstruction in the 19th and 20th centuries." *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 89: 336-337.

- MIRZAI, Behnaz A. 2008. "The trade in enslaved Africans in Nineteenth-Century Iran." In *The African Diaspora in Asia: Explorations on a less known fact*, edited by Kiran Kamal Prasad and Jean-Pierre Angenot. Jana Jagarti Prakashana.
- MIRZAI, Behnaz. A. 2008a. "Emancipation and its legacy in Iran: An overview. the cultural interactions resulting from the slave trade and slavery in the Arab Islamic world". UNESCO.
- MIRZAI, Behnaz A. 2014. "Identity transformations of African communities in Iran." In *The Persian Gulf in Modern Times: People, ports and history*, edited by Lawrence Potter. Palgrave Macmillan.
- MIRZAI, Behnaz A. 2016. "The Persian Gulf and Britain: The suppression of the African Slave trade." In *Abolitions as A Global Experience*, edited by Hideaki Suzuki. National University of Singapore.
- MIRZAI, Behnaz. A. 2017. *A History of Slavery and Emancipation in Iran, 1800–1929*. University of Texas Press.
- MOSER, Stephanie. 1995. "The 'aboriginalisation' of Australian archaeology: The contribution of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies to the indigenous transformation of the discipline." In *Theory in Archaeology. A World perspective*, edited by Peter J. Ucko. Routledge.
- MOSES, Wilson J. 1998. *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American popular History* [Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture]. Cambridge University Press.
- MURPHY, Paul, Georgina Rawle, and Nicola Ruddle. 2016. "Zanzibar Education Situation Analysis. Final Report." *Oxford Policy Management*: 1-168.
- OKAFOR, V. O. 1999. "The place of Africology in the University Curriculum." *Journal of Black Studies* 26 (6): 688-712.
- OLANIYAN, Tejumola. 2006. "From Black aesthetics to Afrocentrism (or, a small History of an African and African American discursive practice)." *West Africa Review* issue 9.
- PEARCE, Francis Barrow. 1920. *Zanzibar: The Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa*. T. Fisher Unwin.
- POTTER, Lawrence. G., ed. 2009. *The Persian Gulf in History*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- POTTER, Lawrence, G., ed. 2014. *Modern Times: People, ports and history*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- RAWLENCE, Ben. 2005. "Briefing: The Zanzibar election." *African Affairs* 104 (416): 515-523.
- RICKS, Thomas, M. 1988. "Slaves and slave traders in the Persian Guld, 18th and 19th centuries: An assessment." *Slavery and Abolition* 9 (3): 60-70.

- RICKS, Thomas M. 2001. "Slaves and slave trading in Shi'i Iran, AD 1500-1900." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 36: 407-418.
- RANGER, Terence O. 1969. *The Recovery of African Initiative in Tanzanian History*. Dar es Salam University.
- RANGER, Terence. 1971. "The 'New Historiography' in Dar Es Salaam: An answer." *African Affairs* 70 (278): 50-61.
- RENFREW, Colin, and Paul Bahn. 2016. *Archaeology: Theories, methods and practice*. Thames and Hudson.
- RYKOFF, Mark. 2018. "The forgotten Africans of Iran." *Road & Kingdoms* (blog). Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://roadsandkingdoms.com/2018/forgotten-africans-iran/>.
- SAMARASUNDERA, Edgar, and Michael Seymour. 2005. "The International Centre for Chinese Heritage and Archaeology (ICCHA): Interviews with Peter Ucko (UCL) and Qin Ling (University of Beijing)." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 16: 25-34.
- SAUL, John. 1979. *The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa*. Monthly Review Press.
- SHAHBAZI, Alireza Shahpour. 2012. "Persepolis." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed Dec. 2022. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persepolis](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persepolis).
- SHAW, Thurston. 1989. "The academic profession and contemporary politics." *Minerva* 27: 58-86.
- SHAW, Thurston. 1989. Appendix of "Reports and Documents: The World Archaeological Congress and the South African Archaeologists." *Minerva* 27.1: 87-125.
- SHEPHERD, Nick, and Alejandro Haber. 2011. "What's up with WAC? Archaeology and 'engagement' in a globalized world." *Public Archaeology* 10 (2): 96-115.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 1987. *Slaves Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar*. James Currey.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 1998. "Cosmopolitan or schizophrenic?" Paper presented at the workshop on "Oceans Connect: Culture, Capital, & Commodity Flows Across Basins". Duke University, Oct. 30-31.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 2013. "The Swahili Coast: Africa's Window on the Indian Ocean." In *Oman & Overseas*, edited by Micaela Hoffmann-Ruf and Abdulrahman Al-Salimi. Hildesheim; Georg Olms Verlag.
- SHERIFF, Abdul, and Chikuzo Tominaga. 1990. "The ambiguity of Shirazi ethnicity in the history and politics of Zanzibar." *Christianity and Culture (Sendai)* 24: 1-37.
- SHERIFF, Abdul. 2001. "The 'Shirazi' on the Swahili coast and the African presence in the Persian Gulf: The two sides of the coin." In *Proceedings of the Historical Role of the Iranians (Shirazis) in East Africa Conference, 2-3 Feb, 2001*, 151-164. The Cultural Council Embassies of the I.R. of Iran.

- SMITH, Claire, and H. Martin Wobst, eds. 2005. *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- SPEAR, Thomas. 1984. "The Shirazi in Swahili Traditions, culture, and history." *History in Africa* 11: 291-305.
- STOLPER, Matthew W. 2009. *Persepolis Fortification Archive Project 2008-2009 Annual Report*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Accessed Nov. 2022. [https://isac.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/uploads/shared/docs/07-08\\_PFA.pdf](https://isac.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/uploads/shared/docs/07-08_PFA.pdf).
- STONE, Peter, and Brian L. Molyneux. 1994. *The Presented Past: Heritage, museums and education*. Routledge.
- TASNIM. 2020. "Oman resolved to broaden ties with Iran: Sultan Haitham". Accessed Nov. 2022. [www.tasnimnews.com](http://www.tasnimnews.com).
- THOMAS, M. Ricks. 1970. "Persian Gulf seafaring and East Africa: Ninth-twelfth centuries." *African Historical Studies* 3 (2): 339-357.
- TOPAN, Farouk. 2013. "East Africa iii. Baluchi and Parsi Communities". *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/east-africa-iii-baluchi-and-parsi-communitie/>.
- TSUKERMAN, Irina. 2019. "Report: Iranian military bases in Oman Threaten Regional Security". *Modern Diplomacy*. Accessed Nov. 2022. <https://modern-diplomacy.eu/2019/11/01/report-iranian-military-bases-in-oman-threaten-regional-security/>.
- UCKO, Peter J. 1987. *Academic Freedom and Apartheid: The story of the World Archaeological Congress*. Duckworth.
- UCKO, Peter J., ed. 1995. *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*. Routledge.
- UCKO, Peter J., Stephen Quirke, and Dean Sully. 2006. "The past in the present and future: Concluding thoughts." *Public Archaeology* 5 (1): 58-72.
- VAIDYA, Keshav. B. 1945. *The Sailing Vessel Traffic on the West Coast of India and its future*. Popular Book Depot.
- VILLIERS, Alan. 1940. *Sons of Sinbad*. Charles Scribner's.
- WHITEHOUSE, David. 1996. "Sasanian maritima activity." In *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity*, edited by Julian Reade. Kegan Paul International.
- WILDERSON III, Frank B. 2020. *Afropessimism*. Liveright.
- WILSON, Arnold T. 1958. *The Persian Gulf*. George Allen & Unwin.
- WOODSON, Carter G. 1993. *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Khalifah's Booksellers & Associates.

varia

---



# La otra frontera. El expolio perpetuo: el saqueo del patrimonio cultural indígena. El caso de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia

**Nayibe Gutiérrez Montoya\***

*Anais de História de Além-Mar XXIV (2023): 163-204.*  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2023.46422>.

## **Resumo**

Este artigo analisa a espoliação sistemática do patrimônio cultural indígena na Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colômbia, entre os séculos XIX e XX. Examina como exploradores e instituições estrangeiras, sob o pretexto do “colonialismo científico”, retiraram objectos arqueológicos e etnográficos através de saques, enganos ou cumplicidade governamental. O estudo destaca a descontextualização destes bens em museus globais e a necessidade de recuperar a soberania cultural e a memória colectiva das comunidades afectadas.

**Palavras-chave:** Herança, Espoliação, Saque, Culturas pré-hispánicas, Sítios arqueológicos.

Data de submissão: 12/11/2022

Data de aprovação: 19/02/2026

## **Abstract**

This article analyzes the systematic plundering of indigenous cultural heritage in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia, between the 19th and 20th centuries. It examines how foreign explorers and institutions, under the guise of “scientific colonialism”, removed archaeological and ethnographic objects through looting, deception, or government complicity. The study highlights the decontextualization of these assets in global museums and the urgent need to reclaim cultural sovereignty and the collective memory of the affected communities.

**Keywords:** Heritage, Plundering, Looting, Pre-Hispanic cultures, Archaeological sites.

Date of submission: 12/11/2022

Date of approval: 19/02/2026

\* Escuela Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Sevilla, España.  
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4676-3754>. E-mail: [nayigu@gmail.com](mailto:nayigu@gmail.com).

## A modo de introducción

Fue el etnógrafo y explorador alemán, nacido en Jena en 1883, Curt Unkel, que en 1906 se hizo bautizar con el nombre de Nimuendajú después de haber pasado varios años conviviendo con indígenas guaraníes del Estado de São Paulo (Thekla 2000, 29), quien primero llamó mi atención sobre los mecanismos oficiales, que los museos, universidades y otras instituciones venían llevando a cabo para posicionarse o entrar en la carrera de poseer las mejores colecciones etnográficas. Por supuesto, esto no era nada nuevo. Las potencias europeas llevaban cerca de un siglo utilizando el discurso de la protección y la conservación del “patrimonio de la humanidad” para apropiarse de importantes tesoros, de culturas africanas, del Medio Oriente y de Asia. Para nadie que haya visitado el Louvre, el British Museum o el Humboldt Forum en Berlín, pasan inadvertidas las portadas y los altorrelieves de los palacios asirios, los magníficos Bronces de Benín, los frisos del Partenón, o los sarcófagos egipcios, solo por mencionar algunas piezas, que solo en ciertos casos llevaban la palabra “reproducción” en su cartela museográfica. Lo demás era todo original. Solo nos quedaba preguntarnos: ¿cómo, cuando, por quién y a costa de quién llegaron esas piezas allí?

Desde inicios del siglo XIX despertaba en Europa y en Norte América el interés por América Latina, muy especialmente a partir de las publicaciones de Alexander von Humboldt, propiciando que importantes patrimonios materiales fueron monedas de cambio, o incluso donaciones, entregados y ofrecidas por las instituciones nacionales a estados europeos y a Estados Unidos. Es el caso, entre cientos, del regalo que Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon hiciera a los reyes de Bélgica, y que fue depositado en el museo de Bruselas, de una importante colección etnográfica de diversos pueblos indígenas brasileños: “Eran numerosísimos los objetos, cada uno con el nombre en la lengua de la tribu a la que pertenecía, inscritas a las informaciones necesarias, sobre todo en cuanto al uso y procedencia” (Viveiros 1958, 473). O el caso del tesoro Quimbaya, colección de más de 120 piezas de orfebrería indígena, que el Estado Colombiano regalara a la reina María Cristina

de Habsburgo en 1893 y que hoy se conserva en el Museo de América de Madrid.<sup>1</sup>

En el caso que nos ocupa, el expolio del patrimonio cultural de Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, sigue siendo una herida abierta que condiciona la memoria colectiva de las comunidades indígenas de la región. El problema central radica en que la conformación de las grandes colecciones etnográficas en los museos más prestigiosos del mundo, se cimentó sobre métodos que oscilaron entre la rapiña y operaciones de saqueo. Bajo la excusa del colonialismo científico, se legitimó el traslado masivo de objetos, que fueron consignados en almacenes en el extranjero, y que duermen el “sueño del olvido” o fueron producto del mercado “negro” y hoy desconocemos su paradero. Esta desnaturalización no solo privó a las comunidades de sus referentes materiales, sino que convirtió el patrimonio en “moneda de cambio” o en “curiosidad etnográfica” para una élite ilustrada.

En la última década, la historiografía sobre el expolio en América Latina ha transitado desde la denuncia patrimonialista hacia un análisis sistémico de las redes de tráfico ilícito. Ya no se estudia la pérdida del objeto de forma aislada, la investigación actual, con un marcado acento en la arqueología de la gestión, entiende el expolio como una herida estructural en la soberanía cultural. En el contexto colombiano, los trabajos de Salge Ferro (Ferro 2007, 2010 y 2015) han sido determinantes para desmontar la narrativa del “huaquero” como un romántico buscador de tesoros y ha pasado a definirlo como un agente de descontextualización masiva. En paralelo, autores como Roberto Lleras (Lleras 2001, 2005, 2012) han explorado la relación entre el conflicto armado y la porosidad de las fronteras para el tráfico de bienes precolombinos, subrayando que el patrimonio ha servido, en ocasiones, como divisa de guerra, tratando la ilegalidad, no como un evento fortuito, sino como un lucrativo negocio.

<sup>1</sup> Con motivo de la exposición en Madrid de 1892 del “IV Centenario del Descubrimiento de América”, el gobierno colombiano, que había comprado a unos huaqueros de Ibagué una colección de objetos de oro pertenecientes a la cultura Quimbaya (21.224 gramos por 70.000 pesos) decidió enviar estas piezas a la muestra en España. Una vez en Madrid, el presidente de la República, Carlos Holguín, con el respaldo de su gobierno, decidió donar las piezas a la reina Gobernadora de España, María Cristina de Habsburgo, en agradecimiento por haber resuelto a favor de Colombia un laudo arbitral en un conflicto de fronteras con Venezuela. En 1893 la legación de la República de Colombia en España, con su embajador al frente, Julio Betancourt, hizo entrega oficial del conjunto de piezas que fue denominado “Tesoro de los Quimbayas”, quedando integrado en adelante en las colecciones del patrimonio histórico del estado español, en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Gamboa 2002).

A nivel latinoamericano, la tendencia se inclina hacia la criminología del arte; estudios recientes en Perú y México, enclaves del expolio, analizan el “blanqueo” de piezas en casas de subastas europeas a través de dos perspectivas diferentes. Mientras en Perú la investigación enfatiza la pérdida de información a raíz de la desnaturalización de los objetos, es el caso de los trabajos del profesor Santiago Uceda (Uceda 2000) que documenta el paso de una excavación clandestina, como la del señor del Sipán, en un modelo de protección comunitaria en Lambayeque; o del investigador Luis Jaime Castillo (Castillo 2012 y 2014) que trata sobre cómo el expolio de la costa norte, culturas Moche y Chimú, ha sido alimentado por la demanda de los museos y coleccionistas privados en el hemisferio norte. Por otra parte, investigaciones publicadas en revistas como *Arqueología y Sociedad* de la Universidad de San Marcos, destacan que la repatriación de bienes no debe ser el fin último, sino el inicio de una reconstrucción del tejido social.

Por su parte, en México el debate actual gira en torno a la reclamación de la soberanía y la lucha contra la mercantilización, citaremos los trabajos de Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (Matos 2010 y 2016) que trata el tema del “saqueo oficial” y dejan en evidencia las extracciones decimonónicas y el expolio contemporáneo; o el referente máximo sobre el derecho al Patrimonio Cultural, Bolfy Cottom (Cottom 2005, 2008 y 2012), que ha dedicado gran parte de sus trabajos a desglosar la insuficiencia de los tratados internacionales, como la Convención de la Unesco de 1970, frente a las dinámicas actuales de las casas de subastas como Christi’s o Sotheby’s.

En todos estos trabajos se observa una crítica severa a la ética del coleccionismo privado. La “limpieza” de procedencias dudosas en catálogos internacionales sigue siendo un punto ciego para la legislación internacional. En general la producción académica que ha tratado el expolio del patrimonio en la última década coincide en que el expolio no solo roba el objeto, sino que aniquila el dato. Sin estratigrafía, el oro o la cerámica son mudos. Este vacío de conocimiento es, quizás, la pérdida más irreparable para la historia. La tendencia actual apunta hacia una arqueología preventiva que integre a las comunidades locales, con una perspectiva del estudio del patrimonio y la innovación social, donde las personas no solo son vigilantes, sino actores en los estudios y en la gestión, en su papel como legítimos herederos del relato territorial. En este artículo defendemos la máxima que, la protección de patrimonio tendrá en cuenta la sociedad o no podrá suceder.

Con el propósito de fundamentar la dimensión pública del patrimonio, esta investigación implementa un método de análisis orientado a la reconstrucción de los contextos de origen y al seguimiento de la trazabilidad de los

bienes hasta sus destinos transatlánticos. Este enfoque trasciende la narrativa histórica lineal para proponer una lectura crítica de fuentes primarias, memorias, correspondencia privada e inventarios de embarque, que permita confrontar los registros de los expedicionarios con los fondos actuales en instituciones internacionales. Debido a la extensión del presente artículo, el análisis se centra en una fase inicial de revisión documental, examinando registros gráficos y bibliográficos que sirvan como herramientas para desmontar el discurso colonialista sobre la preservación. Al final del artículo propondremos algunas posibles líneas de investigación que conduzcan hacia la gestión del patrimonio, reconociendo su calidad como derecho colectivo y la urgencia de implantación de normativas para su amparo, protección y restauración.

### **Los inicios del saqueo “científico”**

América Latina, como África, seguían y siguen representando el ámbito natural de expansión, de colonización, de las potencias del norte; y los Estados Unidos con sus doctrinas Monroe (“América para los americanos”) y del “Destino Manifiesto”, intentarían ganar la carrera a los europeos en la apropiación del patrimonio de los pueblos centro y sur americanos (Ruiz 1989, 19; Harrison 1955). Los conceptos de seguridad y soberanía fueran ampliamente explotados por las instituciones norteamericanas, en unas décadas en que la presencia de instituciones, compañías y agentes europeos, y particularmente de alemanes,<sup>2</sup> despertaban muchas suspicacias.

Francia tuvo una presencia muy notoria en la zona, y personajes como Elisée Reclus anotaba en su diario de viajes por el norte de Colombia en 1855 que “los que hablan con desprecio de la América Latina, no ven en ella sino la presa de los invasores anglo-sajones” (Reclus 1861, 6); y Joseph Brettes varias décadas más tarde, resaltaba que “¡Si pudiéramos saber! ¡Si supiéramos cuántas riquezas esconden esas tierras tan poco conocidas y tan fértiles! Y, sin embargo, pueden estar seguros, son riquezas que algún día tentarán a los europeos, por fin fatigados de desgastarse en el continente negro que devora sin piedad a aquellos que intentan sembrarlo [...]” (Niño 2015, 166). No se equivocaba anunciando una nueva colonización de

<sup>2</sup> A inicios de la tercera década del siglo XX, en el puerto de Santa Marta actuaba un agente encargado de revisar los movimientos de la población alemana que crecía rápidamente después del final de la Primera Guerra (Londoño 2020, 11-21).

extranjeros. La exitosa campaña económica expansionista de los Estados Unidos hacia el sur, que se consolidó a finales del siglo XIX, estimuló la aparición de instituciones y escuelas, y el apoyo a ciertas disciplinas, proyectos y estudios, en el Caribe, Centroamérica y Suramérica, que, de manera sistemática y con la excusa de la ciencia, el desarrollo, el conservacionismo y la filantropía, se dedicaron a expoliar el continente mientras, al mismo tiempo, recopilaban información sobre los recursos y las posibilidades económicas de las diversas regiones.

Las más importantes universidades, las sociedades de geografía, de etnología y de ciencias naturales, y los departamentos para los estudios sobre América, que iban apareciendo, así como los museos, en América y en Europa, promovieron las adquisiciones de objetos y colecciones que provenían de diversas regiones del continente. Y dichas muestras, especímenes, objetos y cultura material representaban, para el público norteamericano y europeo, la prueba de la superioridad de los estados del norte sobre los poco desarrollados del sur; en las palabras del profesor Wilhelm Londoño, “la deslegitimación de las culturas locales por medio de la arqueología ha sido una constante en la arqueología nacional de los países de América Latina” (Londoño 2020). El hallazgo de grandes sitios arqueológicos como las ciudades mayas o la ciudadela de Machu Picchu, había demostrado que la construcción de un pasado legendario, alejada de la realidad en que vivían esos pueblos en el presente, era sencilla y apenas tenía contestación en la comunidad política, social y cultural local, sino más bien todo lo contrario. Disciplinas como la etnografía y una arqueología fueron fuertemente promocionadas (Rubiés 2002), ya que estaba demostrado que la lectura de la evidencia arqueológica y las fuentes etnográficas, constituían mecanismos eficaces para demostrar que “las tribus locales eran pálidos reflejos de lo que fueron grandes polos de civilización” (Londoño 2020). Y la historia resultó, también un gran aliado del proyecto neo-colonialista, ya que las descripciones de cronistas y viajeros a lo largo del período colonial no dejaban duda de que el continente estaba plagado de pueblos con importantes culturas que habían llevado la fabricación de objetos suntuarios a su máxima expresión. A muchos se les escapaba que este enaltecimiento de las culturas desaparecidas venía acompañado del desprestigio de las presentes.

Instituciones públicas y privadas financiaron costosas expediciones hasta los más apartados rincones del continente, y algunas veces con protagonistas que eran ya figuras públicas con gran reconocimiento internacional. Es el caso de la expedición a la selva del Amazonas que el expresidente Theodore Roosevelt llevó cabo en 1913, y que casi le costara

la vida. Este viaje de más de tres meses por el interior del Brasil, fue patrocinado por el Museo de Historia Natural de Nueva York (Roosevelt 1914; Viveiros 1958, 370-425), institución que apoyó expediciones a diferentes regiones del continente suramericano durante décadas. Pero no fue la única: el Museo “Americano” de Historia Natural de Nueva York, el Instituto Carnegie de Washington y el Consejo Nacional de Investigación, entre otras antiguas contrapartes del gobierno norteamericano como el Smithsonian Institut, La American Philosophical Society (Ruiz 1989, 18), la American Geographical and Statistical Society, el Museo Universitario de Filadelfia o la Fundación Heye de Nueva York, además de un extenso listado de instituciones europeas, como el Museo Etnográfico de Berlín o el Museo Británico, tenían ya décadas de experiencia de exploraciones en Asia y África, y ahora se sumaba el continente americano. Era el siglo de las grandes colecciones museográficas, y los museos aspiraban a convertirse en bibliotecas universales.

Este interés creciente propició la conformación de una red de coleccionistas y aficionados a la arqueología, que gravitaba entre EEUU, Londres, Berlín y París, que podían llegar a veces a intercambiar información pero que también compitieron por la adquisición de los más exquisitos objetos de colección. Todo esto, favorecido por la falta de leyes que protegiera en las repúblicas latinoamericanas el patrimonio arqueológico, facilitó la salida de importantes colecciones arqueológicas de estos países: la exportación de este patrimonio era una práctica legal y socialmente aceptada. Gustaba, por un prurito nacionalista, que afuera reconocieran la importancia de sus antiguas culturas, aunque fuera mediante una rapaz pérdida de materiales patrimoniales. En Colombia, las primeras leyes que intentaron regular la exportación de objetos arqueológicos son de 1907 y su disposición fue endurecida con las leyes de 1918, 1919 y 1920 (Piazzini 2020), aunque esto no evitó que el expolio continuara. Tenemos testimonios que comprueban que hasta 2004, y tras la Declaración de la Organización de los Estados Americanos, y su Decisión 588, por la cual se regula la protección y recuperación de bienes del patrimonio cultural de los países miembros de la Comunidad Andina y que se reflejó en diversas leyes nacionales, salieron de Colombia de forma irregular miles de piezas consideradas de gran valor cultural.

Así, durante casi siglo y medio, ya fueran resultado de las expediciones, o bien a través de los importantes lobbys de coleccionistas y tratantes, cualquier medio era aceptable para “hacerse” con todo objeto susceptible de ser expuesto. En el caso colombiano ingenieros, científicos, comerciantes

y funcionarios (Botero 2006, 151) se convirtieron en importantes agentes proveedores de piezas y colecciones para instituciones de todo el mundo. Algunos coleccionistas llegaron a adelantar grandes cantidades de dinero a sus agentes para que fueran más efectivos en los mercados locales. Y aunque los museos fueron también destinatarios de importantes donaciones, las colecciones más importantes no llegaron a ellos por esta vía (Botero 2006, 190).

Según las fichas de registro del Museo del Oro de Bogotá, y que hacen referencia a piezas orfebres de antiguas culturas colombianas que “se encuentran” en museos extranjeros, figuran casi todos los europeos, que “recibieron” piezas arqueológicas indígenas: “En Gran Bretaña, el Museo Universitario de Arqueología y Etnografía de Cambridge; el Museo Británico, el Museo Victoria y Albert y el Museo Honiman de Londres; el Museo de la Ciudad y la Galería de Arte de Birmingham. En Escocia, el Museo Real Escocés de Edimburgo. En Francia el Museo del Trocadero [...] y el Museo de Antigüedades de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. En Bélgica, el Museo Real de Arte e Historia de Bruselas. En Holanda, el museo Rijks de Leiden y el Instituto Koninklijk de Amsterdam. En Alemania, los museos de Etnografía de Berlín, Bremen, Colonia, Hamburgo, Friburgo y Munich. En Dinamarca, el Museo Nacional Danés de Copenhague. En Suiza, el Museo de Etnografía de Basilea y el Museo de Historia de Berna, el Museo de Etnografía de Ginebra, el Museo de Neychâtel y el Museo Rietberg de Zurich. Y en España, el Museo de América de Madrid”.<sup>3</sup>

Muchos de los europeos y norteamericanos que llevaron estas piezas eran jóvenes estudiantes que viajaron, con el patrocinio de las instituciones, con la excusa de realizar trabajos de campo para sus tesis doctorales, pero en otros casos fueron los mismos mecenas, científicos reconocidos y algunos hasta fundadores de los museos nacionales, como es el caso del alemán Adolf Bastian, uno de los fundadores del Museo Etnográfico de Berlín y padre de los estudios etnológicos alemanes, que viajó por gran parte de la geografía latinoamericana tomando muestras, fotografías, anotando descripciones y recogiendo colecciones, expoliando en su camino cuanto yacimiento arqueológico encontraban.

Estas campañas y empresas propiciaron a su vez la aparición de instituciones como la Escuela Internacional, en México, que en la segunda mitad del siglo XX incorporó a personajes de reconocido prestigio, como el profesor

<sup>3</sup> Fichas de Registro de Colecciones de Orfebrería Extranjeras, Museo del Oro, Bogotá; citado por Botero (2006, 138).

Franz Boas,<sup>4</sup> que se encargaron de enlistar y formar a científicos locales, que, en muchos casos, continuaron estudiando el mundo antiguo americano con más que notables señales de etnocentrismo y colonialismo científico y cultural. En Colombia comenzaron a aparecer instituciones como el Instituto Etnológico Nacional, fundado por Paul Rivet, o el instituto etnológico del Magdalena que tuvo como padres fundadores al matrimonio de la colombiana Alicia Dussán y el alemán, exiliado en Colombia, Reichel-Dolmatoff. Estas instituciones fueron las antecesoras de las posteriores escuelas de antropología y arqueología (Londoño 2020).

La sociedad entre las instituciones científicas y la empresa privada no solo era muy útil para estos propósitos, y muy necesaria, ya que eran éstas las que se encargaban de abrir las puertas de los consulados, cancillerías, ministerios, aduanas, universidades y demás instituciones, que facilitaban el acceso a lugares, regiones, almacenes, reservas y comunidades en países donde, sin esta colaboración, habría sido mucho más difícil o imposible llegar. Es el caso de Curt Nimuendajú, que llegó a Brasil en 1905, y sería su vinculación con el Servicio de Protección a los indios (Thekla 2000, 28) lo que le abrió las puertas de un gran número de comunidades localizadas en la cuenca del río Amazonas, de las cuales obtuvo un gran surtido de objetos, que fueron vendidos a museos europeos. Y aunque quienes conocieron a Curt opinan que su interés no fue lucrarse, y que los dineros le sirvieron para sufragar sus investigaciones durante años en la región, no podemos sino imaginarnos la gran riqueza cultural que fue expoliada, descontextualizada y mucha de ella al final destruida.

En Colombia, los métodos aplicados por una compañía anónima en las excavaciones en la laguna de Siecha en 1873, en el parque natural de Chingaza, Cundinamarca, que dieron como resultado el hallazgo de objetos de orfebrería de incalculable valor, suscitaron muchas críticas en la época; pero algunos científicos justificaron los riesgos que pudieran causar al medio ambiente y a los posibles objetos que se encontraran en el lecho de la laguna, por el valor científico de los que pudieran rescatarse, siempre confiando que los “accionistas de esta incursión tuviesen la inteligencia de apreciar el valor científico de los dichos objetos “para la sociedades etnológicas y para el mundo científico” (Botero 2006, 141). Pero lejos de esto, la

<sup>4</sup> La Escuela Internacional de México recibió al profesor Franz Boas durante varios años. Boas fue un científico estadounidense de origen judío-alemán. Afincado en Estados Unidos desde finales del siglo XIX, es considerado uno de los padres de la arqueología americana y se destacó por ser fundador de diversas instituciones que reunían profesionales de destacado prestigio en este campo (Stocking 1960).

arqueología expansionista promovida por compañías e instituciones norteamericanas y europeas, deslegitimaban las culturas locales como atrasadas, incultas e incapaces de entender, valorar y resguardar aquel tesoro material, justificando así la explotación de sus recursos y personas y el despojo de su patrimonio (Londoño 2020).

Salvo contadas excepciones, la extracción de objetos se realizó sin disimulos, reservas o secretismos; más bien, y en muchas ocasiones, fueron los naturales de la región e incluso las autoridades las que facilitaron y hasta incentivaron la extracción de las piezas. En algunos casos con la aquiescencia, el permiso, la desidia o la participación de los gobiernos, o mediante el abuso, el engaño y la extorsión a las comunidades nativas. Incluso algunos de estos expoliadores, como Alden Mason, no dudaron en reconocer que el éxito de su expedición lo debió a los “nativos iletrados y sin honor, cuyos pies desnudos nunca estuvieron demasiado magullados o irritados por las garrapatas y las pulgas, y cuyos cuerpos nunca estuvieron demasiado torturados por la fiebre y la anemia, para detener una sonrisa feliz y una palabra agradable” (Mason 1931, 10).

Muchas de estas piezas que encontramos en cuadernos de anotaciones, en registros de carga y transporte, y algunas veces, en inventarios, se desvanecieron en el espacio y el tiempo ¿Cuántos objetos habrán terminado en colecciones privadas<sup>5</sup> y cuántas seguirán perdidas en anaqueles de almacenes durmiendo el sueño del olvido? Probablemente nunca lo sabremos. David Dellenback,<sup>6</sup> que viajó a Berlín en 1992 para conocer y registrar el estado de las esculturas de San Agustín que habían sido llevadas al museo Etnográfico de esta capital, “constató que durante más de 80 años estos bienes han estado arrumados en una bodega sin que ninguna autoridad colombiana haya hecho nada para recuperarlas” (Silva 2016). Veinte años después nada ha cambiado.

Expediciones y comisiones fueron el punto de partida para que, durante el siglo XIX, se sucediera un goteo constante de exploradores ingleses, franceses, italianos, alemanes, australianos, polacos, suecos, griegos, norteamericanos y también colombianos, de todas las disciplinas: biólogos, naturalistas, físicos, geólogos, climatólogos, vulcanólogos, etnógrafos, arqueólogos, paleontólogos, etc. Y casi todos dejaron sus observaciones, estudios y reflexiones en un sinnúmero de informes, artículos,

<sup>5</sup> La colección prehispánica del museo de Berlín llegó a alcanzar las 120.000 piezas catalogadas, de las cuales 47.000 corresponden a América Central y 73.000 a América del Sur (Botero 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Súbdito norteamericano que llevaba décadas viviendo en el Valle del Cauca, así como en San Agustín.

tratados, libros y tesis, escritos en inglés, francés y alemán, y publicados en revistas y editoriales en Estados Unidos y Europa, muchos de los cuales aún siguen sin ser traducidos al castellano. Según Eliseé Reclus, que viajó por el litoral granadino entre 1855-1857, anotó que los extranjeros eran muchos y se hallaban por todas partes: hasta en los más pequeños pueblos encontraba comerciantes, tratantes o agentes de alguna compañía, o tenían sus casas de campo los diplomáticos,<sup>7</sup> y en las ciudades funcionaban ya círculos de europeos: “En el gran hotel de Barranquilla solamente vi extranjeros de todos los puntos del globo” (Reclus 1861, 38). Muchos de ellos gustaban de hacerse con piezas antiguas como objetos exóticos y suntuarios, para mostrar en sus países de origen como “curiosidades nativas”.

### **Un listado de acopiadores, expoliadores y coleccionistas.**

Gabriel Giralda Jaramillo en su obra “Bibliografía colombiana de viajes” (Giraldo 1957) anota más de 250 obras de viajeros colombianos y 500 de extranjeros que aportan sus impresiones sobre el país. Nosotros mencionaremos en este trabajo algunos de ellos, los conocidos como “guaqueros ilustrados” (Silva 2016), que visitaron o llevaron a cabo expediciones en la provincia de Santa Marta y sus tierras adyacentes. De unos conocemos bien su biografía y especialmente sus “actividades” en la región, que hemos podido reconstruir a veces con cierta precisión, basándonos en sus propios datos, memorias o trabajos; pero de otros apenas tenemos unas pocas informaciones porque ni siquiera dejaron huellas del expolio que llevaron a cabo.

Los agrupamos por orden cronológico.

#### **1844-1856 | Gustav Kerl Eilhelm Hermann Karsten (1814-1908)**

Fue un botánico, pteridólogo, micólogo y geólogo alemán, que dedicó gran parte de su vida a la exploración. Fue profesor en las universidades de Berlín y de Viena, y miembro de la Academia Alemana de Ciencias Naturales. Trabajó en América Latina, principalmente en Venezuela, Colombia y Ecuador entre 1844 y 1856, y durante su estadía en Colombia hizo parte de la Comisión Corográfica, período en que tuvo oportunidad de conocer importantes científicos colombianos, como el botánico José Jerónimo Triana

<sup>7</sup> El cónsul de Prusia en Sabanilla, el señor Hasselbrinck, tenía su casa y hasta despachaba en Sabanilla (Reclus 1861, 33). El cónsul francés tenía una finca en Mamatoco (Reclus 1861, 62). El señor M. Dangon, tenía una gran hacienda cafetalera en el valle del Cesar (Reclus 1861, 38).

quien fue su compañero en algunos viajes. Karsten exploró las montañas del Quindío, los valles del Cauca, del Patía, y durante varios años realizó exploraciones en las provincias del Magdalena y la Guajira, y es muy posible que residiera en la región, ya que en 1855 cuando Reclus pasó por el pueblo Corral de piedra en valle del Cesar, aún había recuerdos de que la familia de Karsten había vivido allí (Reclus 1861, 105).

Podemos suponer que en los 12 años que Karsten pasó en Nueva Granada tuvo acceso a un gran número de yacimientos y a comunidades indígenas; porque producto de estos viajes fueron una gran cantidad de artefactos, arqueológicos y etnográficos, y especímenes, que fueron vendidos a diversas instituciones europeas. Según la información consignada en el Museo Etnológico de Berlín, las primeras piezas de que se tenga constancia que fueron recibidas en el Museo, provenientes de yacimientos colombianos, habrían sido vendidas por Gustav Karsten en 1857; dicha colección estaba compuesta por un par de objetos de orfebrería procedente de la laguna de Guatavita y una serie de objetos etnográficos de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, entre la que se hallaba “una figura antropomorfa femenina, instrumentos de piedra, hojas de coca y un poporo”.<sup>8</sup>

En sus trabajos, aún sin traducir, sobre sobre la fauna y flora de la Nueva Granada, quedaron plasmadas partes de las observaciones recogidas en sus viajes (Karsten 1869); probablemente cuando tengamos acceso a todos sus trabajos, libros y diarios, podamos hacernos una idea de los yacimientos que éste científico trabajó y extrajo sus piezas, y de las comunidades indígenas con las que tuvo contacto y de las también obtuvo materiales.

### **1860 | Charles Saffray**

Fue un expedicionario, viajero —y probablemente médico— francés, con intereses en los estudios antropológicos y de la naturaleza. Según los datos proporcionados por el mismo Saffray, había viajado por el litoral neograndino entre 1860–1861, y la primera parte de su viaje la habría dedicado a explorar la provincia de Santa Marta y la Sierra Nevada, donde habría pasado algún tiempo visitando algunas comunidades indígenas, sobre los que nos deja comentarios como: son “una hermosa raza; su tipo se asemeja al de kalmuco, al que se parecen también por el color y la estatura. Descienden de los invencibles Taironas [...]” (Saffray 1876); le llamó especialmente la atención las armas y herramientas de caza, como las cerbatanas y las flechas,

<sup>8</sup> “Objetos recibidos de Santa Marta”. América, n. 612/57. Colecciones Etnológicas, v.2, I. B. Archivos del Museo Etnográfico de Berlín, Berlín (Botero 2006, 140).

anotó detalles sobre las técnicas de caza, el uso del curare e incluso menciona el tiempo que las presas tardaban en morir.

Saffray visitó también Cartagena y la vecina Turbaco, y Barranquilla, y como muchos otros viajeros de la época se refiere a ellas como ciudades con sociedades decadentes, en contraposición con la exaltación que hace de la flora y la fauna del país.

Siguiendo la ruta del río Magdalena, Saffray llegó a Cundinamarca y pasó algún tiempo en Bogotá; residió varios meses en Medellín, desde donde organizó sus expediciones a la provincia antioqueña; viajó a Popayán y Cali, y desde allí a Buenaventura y el Chocó, y pasó varios meses recorriendo los ríos de la región del Pacífico; descendió el río Atrato para salir al golfo de Urabá y terminar su expedición en Cartagena (Saffray, Edouard Andre 1984). Según el texto, Saffray habría pasado varios años viajando por Colombia y habría regresado a Francia con tiempo suficiente para encargarse de los grabados y dibujos y publicar su texto en 1869.

Aunque el texto se acerca a los libros de viajes propios del siglo XIX, encontramos que el libro de Saffray trata aspectos generales y solo en algunos casos se detiene en detalles puntuales, que parecen más el resultado de un ejercicio de la memoria y menos del resultado de anotaciones realizadas en un diario. No está muy claro el objetivo de su expedición, aunque algunos investigadores sugieren que pudo tener propósitos científicos y económicos.

Lo cierto es que en el texto de Saffray no encontramos muchas referencias sobre su inclinación al coleccionismo o a la cacería de tesoros, aunque algunas descripciones de las armas y otros objetos, herramientas, atuendos, etc., y los grabados y dibujos de su texto, entre los que hay representaciones de algunos objetos orfebres, cerámicos y líticos, algunos acompañados con el rotulo “recuperados de tumbas”, nos sugieren que Saffray pudo haber llevado a cabo excavaciones en yacimientos, u obtenido una colección de objetos de otros huaqueros, anticuarios o coleccionistas.

### **1878 | Frederick A.A. Simons**

Fue un geógrafo, naturalista, expedicionario e ingeniero inglés, miembro de la Real Sociedad de Geografía de Londres. Empezó una expedición de cerca de 3 años por las provincias del Magdalena y de la Guajira y fue comisionado por el gobierno colombiano en 1878, para completar las cartas geográficas de las provincias de Bolívar y del Magdalena, que fueron iniciadas por la Comisión Corográfica encabezada por Agustín Codazzi 20 años atrás, y que habían quedado inconclusas (Caballero 1994; Restrepo 1984;

Sánchez 1958). Y de sus expediciones salieron diversos artículos, informes y mapas publicados entre 1879 y 1887, en los que encontramos interesantes descripciones geográficas y de los modos de vida de las comunidades indígenas con las que tuvo contacto y datos sobre yacimientos y restos arqueológicos que encontró.

El primer contacto con la geografía colombiana se produjo antes incluso de pisarla: “The most picturesque view of the Nevada is certainly from the sea, I shall never forget the first glimpse I caught to fit, while crossing from Curaçao to Rio Hacha (La vista más pintoresca de la Nevada es ciertamente desde el mar, nunca olvidaré el primer vistazo que le di, mientras cruzaba de Curazao a Río Hacha)” (Simons 1881, 706). No pasó mucho tiempo en Riohacha cuando decidió internarse con destino de la ciudad de Valledupar, que le sirvió de base para las expediciones por toda la región. Simón visitó la Guajira, el valle del Cesar y el Ranchería, la serranía del Perijá y el Sinú, pasó meses recorriendo las tierras bajas de la Sierra Nevada, llevó a cabo expediciones a las bahías de la costa samaria, a la Ciénaga Grande, y exploró sus principales afluentes. El ascenso a las tierras altas y a las nieves representó un gran reto, y después de varios intentos, y de buscar la mejor ruta, Simón alcanzó los picos nevados por la ruta de San Sebastián de Rábago y Atanquez para, posteriormente, descender por las faldas del norte y salir al litoral.

Visitó varias comunidades indígenas en Rosario, Marocaso, San Miguel y Santa Cruz, Bonda, Macotama, Taquina, Santa Rosa, Pueblo Viejo (Simons 1879, 693), y en su texto describe los puentes, caminos y escalinatas construidos en la antigüedad: “Cerca de Masinga hay algunos restos muy interesantes de un antiguo camino, que se dice que es indio, y que conduce al interior. Las losas de granito están maravillosamente unidas, de inmenso tamaño, y siguen colina arriba y colina abajo durante más de una milla, terminando en una gigantesca escalera” (Simons 1881, 719). Describe los santuarios serranos que ningún blanco había visitado hasta la fecha y hasta localiza algunos yacimientos arqueológicos como Pocigüeica, legendario asentamiento indígena desaparecido desde el siglo XVI.

Simón elaboró un detallado mapa de la Sierra, el mapa más preciso elaborado hasta la fecha, que apareció publicado por primera vez en 1879 junto con una descripción de las poblaciones indígenas, recursos, las cuencas hidrográficas y yacimientos arqueológicos (Simons 1881, 768), indicando la localización de algunas grandes explotaciones de café y de otros productos que ya existían en las laderas de la Sierra Nevada, y haciendo especial mención de su interés por la recolección de muestras y especímenes de flora y fauna y otros objetos que fueron entregados en el Museo Británico (Simons 1881, 722).

### **1880s | Friedrich Wilhelm Sievers (1860-1921)**

Fue un naturalista, geólogo, explorador y geógrafo alemán, que desde muy joven se sintió atraído por Colombia a raíz de los negocios de su padre en el Caribe. A lo largo de su vida realizó varias expediciones en la región, a los andes peruanos, ecuatorianos y la Amazonía. Con el patrocinio de la Sociedad Geológica de Hamburgo llevó a cabo dos compañías exploratorias en la zona norte de Colombia y Venezuela, la primera entre 1884 y 1885, y la segunda entre 1892-1893. Según la información que poseemos, los objetivos eran principalmente científicos: Sievers realizó estudios geográficos y geológicos en la zona, y en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta recogió información a fin de resolver la cuestión sobre si el macizo montañoso constituía, o no, parte de la cadena de los Andes (Castro, Gómez, y Posada 2018). Este problema fisiográfico fue la excusa para que realizara amplios recorridos por la Sierra Nevada y por la serranía de Perijá.

Sievers, que se consideraba a sí mismo un explorador que aplicaba a cabalidad un método científico, fue muy crítico con otras expediciones como las del ya citado Joseph Brettes (Niño 2015, 163). Después de su primera experiencia americana, Sievers llegó a servir de asesor para otros investigadores, como el alemán Theodor Preuss, del que luego daremos informaciones, antes de realizar su segunda campaña, en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta orientada al conocimiento de sus comunidades indígenas (Reyes 2018) y, sobre todo, al trabajo en los principales yacimientos arqueológicos conocidos hasta la fecha.

Según los datos con que contamos, Sievers pasó varios meses recogiendo datos y muestras, y tomando medidas a lo largo y ancho de la sierra del Perijá y la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, hasta alcanzar las nieves perpetuas. Visitó y realizó la exploración de los principales afluentes de la región, y llevó a cabo visitas a diversas comunidades indígenas, entre las que estaba el pueblo de San Miguel, donde tuvo oportunidad de asistir a ceremonias, rituales y fiestas tradicionales (Sievers 1887), cuyas descripciones dejó recogidas en sus trabajos. Pero no solo recogió datos e información: sabemos, por lo informes oficiales depositados en el museo de Berlín, que Sievers les ofreció una vasija de cerámica “tairona” proveniente de la Sierra Nevada y varios fragmentos que había encontrado en una tumba.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> “Wilhelm Sievers a Adolf Bastian”, Hamburgo, 1 de noviembre de 1886. América, n. 299/86. Colecciones Etnológicas, v.10, agosto 1885 - diciembre 1887. Archivos del Museo Etnográfico, Berlín. (Botero 2006, 151).

Los resultados de sus viajes quedaron recogidos en diversos trabajos publicados entre 1887 y 1920, entre los cuales figuran varios textos científicos y un libro de divulgación con abundantes ilustraciones, titulado *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Sievers 1887), un artículo científico sobre la geología y la geografía física de las dos sierras mencionadas, “Die Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta [...]”, más un texto de difusión sobre “Los indígenas Arhuacos [...]” de 1886 (Sievers 1986), entre otros trabajos que no han sido traducidos hasta hoy. Además, varios escritos en formato de cuadernos de viaje que presentan las experiencias en forma de itinerario en el que se muestran las características más importantes de los recorridos como la geología y la distribución de los glaciares en las montañas y las comunidades que la habitan (Sievers 1896; Sievers 1903).

### **1890 | Joseph Brettes (1861-1934)**

Es probable que el ya varias veces citado Joseph Brettes hiciera parte de ese flujo de viajeros, aventureros o inmigrantes, a los cuales Elisée Reclus se refería cuando escribía: “Si yo lograra hacer dirigir hacia este país una pequeña parte de la corriente de emigración que arrastra a los europeos, mi dicha sería completa” (Reclus 1861). Como todos los exploradores que pasaron por la región del Magdalena, Brettes habría tenido como libro de cabecera el texto de Reclus.

Descendiente de una familia de nobles de la Aquitania francesa, Joseph ostentaba el título de conde de Limoges y fue un militar aventurero. Llevó a cabo expediciones en el Chaco argentino, Paraguay, Bolivia y Brasil. Según nos indica el profesor Juan Camilo Niño Vargas, quien ha escrito varios trabajos sobre este personaje, lo que diferencia a Joseph Brettes de los viajeros y exploradores de la época fue su marcado interés por las comunidades indígenas (Niño 2015, 144). Brettes recibió reconocimientos de parte de la Sociedad Geográfica francesa, que le valieron una plaza en la Sociedad de Antropología de París y en la Sociedad de Americanistas de Francia (Niño 2015, 163).

Su periplo por Colombia y Venezuela, comenzó en 1890 y rápidamente entabló relaciones con las comunidades de la región caribeña. Según Rodríguez Maldonado, Joseph contrajo matrimonio y tuvo un hijo con la joven Josefina Bonivento, que pertenecía a una importante familia de la Guajira, y esta unión le facilitó, en mucho, la exploración de un amplio territorio. Algunos de estos viajes se llevaron a cabo de forma oficial cuando Brettes fue designado por el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública francés para participar en la Comisión Geográfica Exploradora del Magdalena,

que el gobierno colombiano habría organizado en 1892 con el fin de cubrir regiones que habían quedado inexploradas en las anteriores comisiones, la Corográfica ya mencionada y la Comisión Permanente en la que participó Jorge Isaacs (Restrepo 1984; Botero 2006).

Según Niño Vargas, Joseph Brettes se centró principalmente en recoger información relacionada con los recursos para la explotación agrícola y minera. Se interesó por la actividad comercial de la región, estudió la viabilidad de la construcción de un ferrocarril que uniera Riohacha con Tamalameque (De Brettes 1893, 88), idea que ya tenía consignada Elisée Reclus en su libro de viaje (Reclus 1861), así como las posibles formas para integrar la economía regional a los circuitos transatlánticos. Brettes recorrió el río Magdalena, llegando incluso a realizar la misma marcha que 400 años atrás realizara Jiménez de Quesada; alcanzó los sitios más alejados de la península de la guajira, y realizó varias incursiones a la serranía del Perijá, formación que Reclus llamó sierra Negra; y, como su predecesor, Brettes recorrió la región noroccidental de la Sierra Nevada estudiando la posibilidad de fundar colonias agrícolas en los valles (Niño 2015, 151). Además, llevó a cabo el registro de tres grandes asentamientos arqueológicos que dijo haber encontrado en el valle del río Buritaca (De Brettes 1898, 478-479).

Si bien, Joseph Brettes regresó varias veces a Colombia ya en el siglo XX, fueron los aproximadamente seis años, entre 1890-1896, durante los cuales tuvo oportunidad de realizar sus expediciones científicas en las regiones norte de Colombia y Venezuela, y cuando tuvo la oportunidad de poner en práctica una técnica de aproximación a las comunidades indígenas para realizar el registro sistemático de sus costumbres, tradiciones y cultura material, probablemente siguiendo los nuevos métodos que la etnografía francesa y europea proponían. Según Niño Vargas, en los escritos de Brettes “se entrevén signos inconfundibles de la progresiva independencia del género etnográfico respecto a otras formas de representación de la realidad como las crónicas y las relaciones geográficas” (Niño 2015, 161). Joseph Brettes pudo así contactar y analizar a buena parte de las sociedades indígenas del Departamento del Magdalena, los Guajiros, los Arhuacos de la Sierra Nevada o los Chimilas del Ariguaní, llegando a proponer la existencia de áreas culturalmente diferenciadas (Niño 2015, 154-155). Y aunque hasta ese momento muchos de los grupos con los cuales Brettes contactó se caracterizaban por su hermetismo, podríamos decir que el gran logro de este viajero, desde el punto de vista etnográfico, fue el contacto con las comunidades Chimilas, famosas por su carácter belicoso. Brettes realizó varios viajes por la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, llegando a instalar campamentos durante

largos períodos de tiempo, donde pudo realizar excavaciones y observaciones, estudiar las estructuras sociales, la cosmovisión y sus sistemas de producción, visitar lugares sagrados, siendo testigo de celebraciones religiosas, funerales, matrimonios, fiestas, ceremonias de curación, etc. Desde estos campamentos sistematizó el reconocimiento de las estribaciones más alejadas de la Sierra Nevada.

Sabemos que Brettes, valiéndose del trueque, pudo hacerse con una gran colección de piezas etnográficas, e incluso recopiló mucha información lingüística de diversas comunidades (De Brettes 1892, 263-280). Además, en compañía de otros exploradores franceses como Georges Sogler y Raymond Comte de Dalmas,<sup>10</sup> realizó excavaciones de yacimientos arqueológicos en el litoral y en Sierra Nevada, de los cuales extrajeron un gran muestrario de objetos cerámicos, óseos, líticos, etc., que fueron enviados a diferentes museos de Chicago, Madrid y especialmente al Museo del Hombre, antes museo del Trocadero, en París (Niño 2017, 152). Por informes ofrecidos por el propio Brettes, en 1902 aún conservaba, en su colección personal, piezas cerámicas procedentes de estos yacimientos (Vallier 1902; Niño 2015, 1656).

Nuevamente, resultado de esta forma de entender la ciencia como acopio y posesión de materiales culturales procedentes de estas sociedades a las cuales se los extirpaba, se produjo la descontextualización de los mismos, y su desvinculación con el medio cultural que los produjo, y aunque los biógrafos de Brettes como Niño Vargas insisten en que los estudios de este viajero parecían ser parte de un proyecto mayor de conocimiento a fondo de las sociedades precolombinas y sus descendientes (Niño 2015, 151), vino a resultar un proyecto en el que los únicos beneficiados serían una reducida elite ilustrada europea y norteamericana que, por una cuestión relacionada con la moda por lo exótico y lo salvaje imperante en la época, visitaba en renombradas exposiciones en Europa y EEUU estas colecciones, deslumbrada con el rareza, singularidad y belleza de las creaciones de las desaparecidas culturas americanas. Las contemporáneas importaban mucho menos o casi nada.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond Comte de Dalmas (1862-1930) ornitólogo y aracnólogo francés criado en Croacia, hijo de una familia noble, que, en compañía de otros exploradores, expedicionarios y científicos, realizó viajes por diversas regiones de América y del mundo, recolectando especímenes que fueron depositados en importantes museos como el museo de Múnich (Zoologische Staatssammlung) y el de Tring (Rothschild-Museum) (Broc 1992, 116-117).

### **1895 | El Sr. Francis Nicholas.**

Francis C. Nicholas fue geólogo, ingeniero y explorador norteamericano, graduado en la Academia de Ciencias de Maryland. A finales del siglo XIX y principios de XX realizó exploraciones por Centro y Suramérica, y organizó varias expediciones en las provincias de Santa Marta y la Guajira entre 1895 y 1901 que les permitieron conocer bien el macizo montañoso, las comunidades indígenas que lo habitaban e identificar algunos de los yacimientos arqueológicos de la región (Nicholas 1903).

Con Francis Nicholas comenzamos el inventario de un grupo de expedicionarios norteamericanos que llegaron a Colombia en las primeras décadas del siglo XX, y que estaban aparentemente relacionados con las grandes compañías que tenían o querían instalar sus explotaciones en la región, a las que se unieron inseparablemente los intereses de diversas instituciones culturales y gubernamentales de los Estados Unidos. Algunos hasta estuvieron vinculados con el espionaje norteamericano en el Caribe y en América Latina. Los hubo que solo estuvieron de paso en la provincia de Santa Marta, pero muchos se establecieron en la región durante años, y hasta fundaron sus propias explotaciones y negocios. Este último fue el caso de Nicholas, que pasó varios años en la provincia de Santa Marta donde fue contratista para diversas compañías e instituciones, y además actuó como fideicomisario de grandes porciones de tierra en la Sierra y en el litoral, que eran propiedad de estadounidenses. Durante su estancia en la región llevó a cabo diversas expediciones, visitó las comunidades indígenas del valle de San Miguel y llegó hasta las cumbres nevadas (Nicholas 1901, 606-649).

Por informes de otros viajeros que vinieron después de él, Nicholas habría realizado excavaciones en yacimientos arqueológicos en terrenos pertenecientes a la hacienda San Pedro Alejandrino, famosa por haber sido el lugar donde murió Simón Bolívar, donde habría desenterrado gran cantidad de tumbas, muchas de las cuales estaban intactas, lo que significa que urnas, ajuares y restos humanos harían parte del expolio porque Nicholas se los llevó. Según Alden Mason, un arqueólogo que luego trabajó en la misma zona y del que daremos más información, gran parte de los objetos extraídos por Nicholas fueron vendidos al Carnegie Museum de Pittsburgh. Mason, en el prólogo de su trabajo *Archaeology of Santa Marta*, agradece a Nicholas que accediera de buen grado darle a su expedición “el derecho a realizar excavaciones en los terrenos controlados por él, entre Santa Marta y Río Hacha” (Mason 1931, 13), reconociendo la propiedad privada de terrenos en el litoral, que de otra manera no habría podido explorar ni excavar. Francis Nicholas, además, fue el abuelo del ornitólogo Melbourne Armstrong

Carriker quién fijó su residencia en la Sierra Nevada durante años y sobre el que hablaremos más adelante.

### **1913 | Konrad Theodor Preuss (1869-1938)**

Konrad Theodor Preuss fue un explorador y etnógrafo alemán, director del Museo Etnológico de Berlín en el período 1920-1934 y miembro de importantes sociedades científicas, y posteriormente profesor en la universidad berlinesa (Reyes 2018). Por sus actividades en México y Colombia, es un prototipo del investigador centroeuropeo sobre las culturas americanas en estos años, y del acopiador de materiales, casi a cualquier precio y por cualquier modo, con destino a los museos.

Konrad fue un aplicado estudiante de lenguas antiguas de la universidad de Königsberg, y a finales del siglo se mudó a Berlín para seguir estudiando geografía y llevar a cabo su investigación de tesis doctoral sobre la función del mito en las sociedades amerindias. En 1895 ya estaba vinculado, en calidad de asistente, en el Museo de Etnología de Berlín como alumno de Eduard Seler. Preuss pronto descubrió las limitaciones de las fuentes europeas, y siguiendo la filosofía de Bastian de que “el objeto era parte de la expresión mental de los pueblos” (Preuss 1897, 74-120), se convenció de la importancia de la participación científica en el proceso de colección.

Valiéndose de diversos estudios y descripciones del yacimiento arqueológico de San Agustín, como el inventario que realizó años antes Karl Theodor Stöpel, por petición del Museo de Berlín, y de grabados y descripciones más antiguas, como los realizados por Codazzi más de medio siglo antes, a la edad de 44 años, Konrad, con el apoyo del Museo, emprendió una expedición al interior colombiano (Lehmann 1938, 145–150). Además, Preuss recibió asesorías del ya citado Friedrich Wilhelm Sievers, quien lo aleccionó sobre los métodos de exploración de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, sobre sus comunidades indígenas y otras cuestiones técnicas (Reyes 2018). La expedición pasará a la historia como la mayor campaña de expolio de un yacimiento arqueológico colombiano registrado en fotografías, dada la escala de los objetos robados. Una expedición que, como veremos, se postergó durante mucho más tiempo de lo deseado, pero que no por eso dejó de ser menos agresiva.

Preuss arribó a Barranquilla en 1913 y se dirigió a Bogotá, donde se entrevistó con científicos, coleccionistas y directores de museos entre los que estaba Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, director del Museo Nacional. Todos lo recibieron cordialmente y organizaron para él diversas excursiones a sitios arqueológicos de Santander y Cundinamarca. Ya en Tierra Adentro, Preuss

llevó a cabo una intensa campaña de excavación durante casi cuatro meses en los yacimientos asociados a San Agustín, al final de los cuales se preparó un primer cargamento con cerámica, objetos líticos, estatuas de gran tamaño, más moldes y un sinnúmero de rollos fotográficos (Silva 2016), para ser enviados a Berlín. Poco tiempo después encontramos a Preuss camino del Caquetá y del Cauca, donde recogió más muestras arqueológicas y antropológicas;<sup>11</sup> y en Nariño, donde también llevó a cabo excavaciones y pudo obtener una colección de piezas (Silva 2016). El propósito de Konrad era, probablemente, terminar con algunas exploraciones en el norte del país mientras organizaba su regreso a Alemania, y la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta resultaba el broche de oro para terminar esta expedición de acopio masivo de materiales.

En diciembre de 1914 Preuss comenzó la exploración en la Sierra, su objetivo eran alcanzar las comunidades de la vertiente norte y llevar a cabo el registro de algunos yacimientos conocidos. A estas alturas y debido al estallido de la guerra mundial, se había hecho impracticable el regreso hacia Europa con los materiales, perdiéndose el carácter urgente que había tenido hasta el momento la expedición. Ello permitió que Konrad destinara más tiempo del previsto a sus excavaciones en la provincia del Magdalena. Según Aura Reyes, el inicio de la expedición en Santa Marta fue muy accidentado ya que, conocido lo que había realizado en el interior, Preuss fue recibido con gran desconfianza y hasta con sospechas: “Doce días después de mi llegada había perdido toda esperanza de poder trabajar aquí, y lo único que quería hacer, antes de partir hacia Palomino, era visitar los templos (cansamarias de Takina y Makotama)” (Preuss 1993, 36). Con el mismo guía que lo acompañó en el sur del país, el alemán visitó los pueblos de Palomino, Pueblo Viejo y San Miguel, y solo en el primero y con la ayuda de un intérprete, Trinidad Noivita, pudo llevar a cabo entrevistas, recogiendo y transcribiendo cerca de cien cantos y treinta relatos.<sup>12</sup>

Los resultados de su expedición a la Sierra Nevada quedaron plasmados en la *Visita a los indígenas Kagaba...* (Preuss 1926) que escribió en 1915 y se

<sup>11</sup> Insatisfecho porque no había conseguido recopilar datos sobre mitología de la región, Preuss permaneció durante dos meses y medio entre comunidades carijonas, uitotos, coreguajes y tamas, del Cauca y del Caquetá, recogiendo, con la ayuda de un fonógrafo y de intérpretes, cantos, relatos y mitos. Recopiló 80 cantos y 24 relatos, y aunque obtuvo varias piezas etnográficas no pudo hacerse con otros objetos que usaban los indígenas en sus danzas, ni sus máscaras (Reyes 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Trinidad Noivita fue un indígena educado en el seminario de Santa Marta y que sirvió como intérprete e intermediario para varios viajeros extranjeros, entre ellos Joseph Brettes y Wilhelm Sievers (Reyes 2018).

publicó en alemán varios años después, solo traducido al castellano en 1993, en el cual se quejaba de la poca fiabilidad de la información proporcionada por lo indígenas: “Muchas veces discutí con los indígenas mi supuesta visita [al templo de] Makotama con la ayuda de fotografías. Todos sabían que era una equivocación, pero nadie me aclaró jamás que había estado en el sitio que no era. Este comportamiento es muy kágaba. Por lo demás, se dice que Makotama queda muy cerca del sitio donde yo estuve” (Preuss 1993, 37).

Ya sin recursos, y ante la imposibilidad de conseguir un transporte que lo llevara a Europa con tan valioso cargamento, Konrad terminó por refugiarse en el pueblo de La Esperanza, una pequeña localidad cerca de la línea del ferrocarril entre Bogotá y Girardot, hasta el final de la guerra. Según Silva Vargas, sería en este pueblo donde probablemente estuvieron almacenados los materiales, artefactos y estatuas de San Agustín hasta que pudieron ser enviados a Puerto Colombia, para ser por fin embarcados hacia Berlín (Silva 2016).

Las primeras alarmas sobre el volumen del expolio extraído de San Agustín saltaron en septiembre de 1915, cuando José María Burbano, corregidor de este pueblo, denunció ante el director del Museo Nacional, Restrepo Tirado, que Preuss se había llevado varias figuras de la Hacienda Laboyos e Isnos (Lleras 2013, 431-449). Estas denuncias no surtieron ningún efecto. Konrad pudo regresar a Berlín a finales de 1919, llevándose parte de la valiosa carga. El resto de la colección sería enviada dos años después. En total habrían sido cerca de 70 cajas con los objetos extraídos en San Agustín, pero también de la Sierra Nevada, de Nariño, Cauca y del Caquetá. En 1923, Preuss, ya como director del Museo Etnológico de Berlín, expuso por primera vez al público las estatuas de San Agustín. La exposición tuvo tanto éxito que el propio Preuss anotó que era “comparable con el de las exhibiciones sobre el antiguo Egipto” (Preuss 1929).

Hasta finales del pasado siglo no se sabía a ciencia cierta cuantas figuras se encontraban en el Museo alemán hasta que, en carta del profesor Hermann Parzinger, presidente de la Fundación de Herencia Prusiana, entidad que administra el Museo Etnológico de Berlín, en respuesta a una petición de un grupo encabezado por el ya citado David Dellenback que pedía la devolución de las piezas extraídas en 1914, confirmara que tenía en su inventario 21 piezas de San Agustín, entre otros 237 elementos de la región como vasijas, adornos, piedras, lajas, trozos de esculturas y fragmentos de utensilios. Varias de las figuras talladas, como aparece en el libro de Preuss y se puede verificar por la ficha técnica en el museo, “no son pequeños adornos para una mesa de sala, sino obras de considerable peso y tamaño”

(Silva 2016). Según Vicente Silva, al menos 14 de las estatuas proceden de excavaciones que Preuss realizó en el departamento de Nariño (Silva 2016).

Sabemos que entre los objetos conservados en el museo hay dos máscaras procedentes de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, entre otras piezas que estaban relacionadas con las prácticas de fiestas y bailes rituales. Las máscaras las adquirió de manera ilícita a través de una persona que las obtuvo aprovechando el enfrentamiento entre dos mamás de la región, quien se las vendió a Preuss (Preuss 1926). La misma comunidad científica alemana reconoce que “Preuss adquirió en circunstancias bastante cuestionables [...] dos máscaras Kágaba, la máscara Mama Uakai (Máscara del Sol) y la máscara Mama Nuikukui Uakai o Malkutše (Gran Máscara del Sol)”.<sup>13</sup> Las dos han podido ser datadas a mediados del siglo XV”, según el artículo de la investigadora alemana Manuela Fischer. Su análisis señaló las fechas de 1440 y 1470 d.n.e., demostración que eran prehispánicas, extraídas del seno de las comunidades indígenas y completamente descontextualizadas ahora en Berlín, como unas piezas más en un tan inmenso como frío catálogo (Fischer).

Curiosamente y años atrás, Preuss se abstuvo de extraer artefactos arqueológicos de México, que para entonces ya contaba con legislación al respecto de la protección del patrimonio. Y aunque en Colombia desde 1907 ya existía una normativa al respecto, aunque bastante tímida, lo sucedido con estas extracciones ilegales llevadas a cabo por Konrad Theodor Preuss, originaría que en 1918 el Congreso de Colombia aprobara la ley 48 sobre patrimonio, bellas artes y archivos, que fueron ratificadas en la ley 119 de 1919 y 47 de 1920. Ello nos lleva a preguntarnos que si los objetos extraídos de sus yacimientos en Cauca, Nariño y Magdalena estuvieron consignados en almacenes en La Esperanza, algunos probablemente hasta 1922, ¿por qué no se evitó la salida irregular de este patrimonio? La normativa, obviamente, no se aplicaba y, como veremos enseguida, otros viajeros que sucedieron a Preuss en expediciones de saqueo, demostraron una vez más el poco valor que las instituciones colombianas daban a la historia y cultura de sus pueblos, y la falta de escrúpulos de funcionarios y comerciantes que miraban hacia otro lado cuando estas cosas sucedían, si no se beneficiaban del expolio.

Según datos oficiales, la colección del Museo de Berlín alcanzó a principios del siglo XX “122 objetos cerámicos y 16 de orfebrería” (Botero 2006,

<sup>13</sup> Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, <https://ausstellungen.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/preuss/exhibits/show/kolumbien-preuss/publikationen>.

143), entre los que se encuentran muchas piezas procedentes de la Sierra Nevada, que habrían sido vendidos al museo por el explorador Wilhelm Sievers<sup>14</sup> y el comerciante C. Janszen. Piezas de las que se decía constituían las evidencias más tempranas “registradas en los museos europeos y colombianos [...] sobre objetos tairona” (Botero 2006, 158). A partir de la creación de la sección de América en el Museo de Berlín en 1904, que dirigía Eduard Seler,<sup>15</sup> la adquisición de objetos se volvió mucho más selectiva, y en la primera década del siglo fueron adquiridos artefactos de incalculable valor, exquisita calidad y acabado, piezas todas muy llamativas para el público europeo.

### **1914 | Gustaf Bolinder (1888-1957)**

Fue un etnógrafo de la Universidad de Gotemburgo, Suecia. Pasó parte de su juventud en Marruecos donde se despertó su interés por viajar y conocer otras culturas (Uribe 1987, 3-9). La mayor parte de sus expediciones se llevaron a cabo en Suramérica, aunque también pasó varios años viajando por Europa, el Mediterráneo y el África occidental y subsahariana.

Bolinder y su esposa Ester desembarcaron en el puerto de Santa Marta en 1914, con el propósito de conseguir, para el Museo Etnográfico de Gotemburgo, materiales arqueológicos y etnográficos de las zonas del litoral y las estribaciones montañosas. Poco tiempo después estallaría la primera guerra mundial y, como le sucedió a Preuss, el matrimonio Bolinder se vio obligado a posponer su regreso a Europa con lo que su expedición se alargó por algo más de dos años. Durante este tiempo la familia creció con el nacimiento de una hija, tuvieron la posibilidad de instalarse con varias comunidades indígenas de la región sur de la sierra, entre ellas San Sebastián de Rábago (Nabusímaque) y explorar buena parte de la zona. Gustaf, ya sin la familia, volvió a Santa Marta entre 1920 y 1921 para terminar sus estudios y, de paso, recoger más piezas y ampliar la colección del Museo. Pasó varios años más viajando por Sudamérica entre 1935 y 1942, y realizó una estancia de un año en Bogotá, para dar clases en una universidad.

Sus expediciones en el norte de Colombia abarcaron gran parte de la provincia del Magdalena, la península de la Guajira hasta el lago Maracaibo,

<sup>14</sup> “Wilhelm Sievers a Adolf Bastian”, Hamburgo, 1 de noviembre de 1886. América, n. 299/86. Colecciones Etnológicas, v.10, agosto 1885 - diciembre 1887. Archivos del Museo Etnográfico, Berlín.

<sup>15</sup> Eduard Seler pasó varios años visitando sitios arqueológicos en México, allí pudo adquirir una serie de objetos con gran valor arqueológico y etnográfico, que luego fueron entregados al Museo Etnográfico de Berlín.

las estribaciones del río Magdalena y el Ariguaní, la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta y la serranía del Perijá. Sus primeros trabajos de campo consistieron en excavaciones en las faldas y el litoral adyacente de la Sierra Nevada, de donde extrajeron un gran número de artefactos (Bolinder 1942; Bolinder 1925). Realizó expediciones y visitas a diversas comunidades Chimila, Ika, Kankuamo, Arhuaco, Kogi, Wayu, entre otras, y en todas fue acopiando de la mayor cantidad de objetos que pudo. El mismo Bolinder comenta que los Chimila del alto Ariguaní fueron una importante fuente de información y de objetos, y que de todos sus encuentros obtenía, a cambio de espejos, cuchillos, collares y telas de colores, una serie de prendas de vestir, bancos de madera, utensilios de cestería, herramientas domésticas y armas (Bolinder 1916, 233-235; Bolinder 1921, 204-205). Bolinder, que sufrió la reticencia de guías y cargadores de acompañarlo en busca de los Chimila, comenta que en su primer viaje en 1915 fue cordialmente recibido, y los trueques fueron aceptados con agrado, mientras que en 1920 la amabilidad había desaparecido, los indígenas ni siquiera compartieron sus alimentos con la expedición y un día después de su llegada fueron “escoltados” fuera de sus tierras.<sup>16</sup>

Las visitas a las comunidades, las anotaciones y registros fotográficos, y una valiosa serie de objetos etnográficos y arqueológicos, fueron una importante fuente de información que marcó el trabajo de toda la carrera como investigador de Bolinder; estudios que fueron publicados desde 1916 y hasta el año de su muerte, en 1957 (Niño 2010, 52). Invirtió su mayor esfuerzo en estudiar los indígenas Chimila (Bolinder 1924, 207; Bolinder 1987, 10-27), trabajos que son considerados aún hoy como los más rigurosos sobre dicha comunidad indígena, de inicios del siglo XX. Tras sus expediciones en América y en África, Bolinder pasó el resto de su vida escribiendo textos científicos sobre sus trabajos de campo, excavaciones y estudios, y de sus experiencias salieron también muchas historias que fueron convertidas en cuentos para niños y jóvenes (Bolinder 1929; Bolinder 1927).

### **1906-1916 | Marshall H. Saville (1867-1935)**

Fue un antropólogo formado en la universidad de Harvard y profesor de la Universidad de Columbia. Trabajó con el Yale Peabody Museum de

<sup>16</sup> Esta expedición está recogida en el documental noruego *Entre los indígenas de la selva de Sudamérica*, en 88 minutos, en blanco y negro, mudo y subtítulado, que recoge los contactos de Bolinder con diversas comunidades indígenas de la Guajira, de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta y del Cesar, algunas de las cuales estaban en peligro de extinción. Los censores eliminaron el siguiente texto del subtítulo: “El hombre se alegra de los dones de la naturaleza aquí abajo. Ya tienen suficientes pestes de la tierra si no se les prohíbe hacerlo”, y también se cortó el texto y las imágenes de los niños blancos de la expedición (Gladvedt 1920-1921).

Connecticut, y fue director del Museo del Indio Americano de la Fundación Heye en Nueva York. Desde 1890 Saville participó en proyectos arqueológicos en México y Centroamérica, patrocinados por el American Museum of Natural History, y le dedicaría 10 años de su vida, entre 1906-1916, a las expediciones en Suramérica con el patrocinio del Museo del American Indian Heye-Fundation. Llevó a cabo excavaciones en Ecuador y Colombia. Saville fue un viejo conocido y compañero del ya mencionado Franz Boas en la Universidad de Columbia (Gamio 1948). Boas dirigía trabajos y proyectos en Centro América y el Caribe, que amparaban y servían, aparte el trabajo académico y científico, como plataformas para el espionaje y la información sensible para el gobierno norteamericano en la región (Browman, 2011). Y aunque Saville merece un trabajo más detallado, por el papel que tuvo como maestro de otros jóvenes científicos, y probablemente también “informantes”, si no espías, como Gregory Mason, que llevaron a cabo importantes exploraciones en Santa Marta y en la Sierra Nevada, no hemos podido acceder a información que confirme su participación directa en excavaciones u otros trabajos en comunidades indígenas en el norte de Colombia, aunque Clara Botero en *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia* (Botero 2006, cap. 4), menciona que Saville fue un importante agente que podía conseguir piezas antiguas para instituciones públicas y privadas de los Estados Unidos y de Europa.

### **1920 | Melbourne Armstrong Carriker (1879-1965)**

Ornitólogo y entomólogo norteamericano, formado en la Academia Natural de Ciencias ornitológicas de Philadelphia (Mason 1931, 123), llevó a cabo estudios en Costa Rica, Trinidad, Venezuela, Curazao, Perú, Bolivia, y Colombia, y aprovechó sus viajes para coleccionar los más exóticos especímenes, que terminaron haciendo parte de las colecciones de las principales instituciones de los Estados Unidos en esta materia. En sus primeros años trabajó para el Museum of Natural History, y para el Carnegie Museum. Posteriormente estuvo vinculado con la Academy of Natural Sciences de Philadelphia (Mason 1931, 15) y con el National Museum de los Estados Unidos. También vendió especímenes al Peabody Museum, al Field Museum of Natural History, a la Smithsonian Institution y, en los Ángeles, al County Museum (Carriker 2000).

Carriker se estableció en la provincia de Santa Marta en 1909 y se convirtió en uno de los grandes especialistas en las aves de la región. Contrajo matrimonio con Myrtle Carmelita Flye, hija de un ingeniero norteamericano que trabajaba para el sistema de red eléctrica de la ciudad de Santa

Marta. La pareja era propietaria de la hacienda Vista Nieves, que se encontraba al lado de la plantación que pertenecía a la familia Fly, en la serranía de San Lorenzo. Ambas eran exitosas haciendas cafetaleras, y habían sido levantadas sobre yacimientos antiguos: según nos cuenta Alden Mason, la casa principal de Vista Nieves estaba construida sobre terrazas arqueológicas (Mason 1931, 16). Pero además de su trabajo en la hacienda, Carriker realizó numerosas expediciones a lo largo y ancho del país, recorrió los principales valles de la Sierra Nevada, viajó el Magdalena y el Atrato, recorrió Santander, Casanare, el Chocó, llegó a la serranía del Cocui y visitó cientos de pueblos y comunidades. Durante más de 15 años Vista Nieves fue su centro de operaciones. Todas las expediciones fueron aprovechadas para recolectar especímenes y rescatar objetos arqueológicos, según la información que no da el mismo Carriker. Las aves eran vendidas al museo Carnegie por 5 dólares cada una.<sup>17</sup>

La familia Carriker regresó a los Estados Unidos aceptando un ofrecimiento de la Academy of Natural Sciences, de la que fue uno de sus responsables entre 1929 y 1938, período durante el cual llevó a cabo campañas en otros países suramericanos. En 1941 Carriker se instaló en la ciudad de Popayán, donde contrajo matrimonio, en segundas nupcias, con Felisa Quintano Roper. Siguió recolectando especímenes para diversas instituciones, y en calidad de investigador asociado del Museo Nacional de Estados Unidos, y vinculado con el Museo de Historia Natural de la Universidad del Cauca, continuó dedicándose principalmente a los estudios entomológicos (Carriker 2000).

### **1921 | John Alden Mason**

John Alden Mason (1885-1937) fue un antropólogo y lingüista norteamericano, nacido en el barrio alemán de la ciudad de Pensilvania. Realizó sus estudios doctorales en la Universidad de Berkeley. Está considerado el precursor de la arqueología moderna en Colombia ya que fue el primero en poner en práctica un método sistemático de recolección de objetos y descripción de contexto en las excavaciones. Mason dijo haberse visto atraído por la región de Santa Marta al entender que era una de las grandes áreas culturales americanas de la cual no se sabía prácticamente nada. Señalaba que hasta su llegada a Santa Marta habían pasado por allí arqueólogos sin ningún entrenamiento, que habían realizado excavaciones indiscriminadamente,

<sup>17</sup> “Smithsonian Institution Archives, “Record Unit 7297. Carriker, Melbourne Armstrong, 1879-1965”, 4 de septiembre de 2021, [https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/siris\\_arc\\_217454](https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/siris_arc_217454).

pero que gracias a ellos se habían conformados las primeras colecciones en el Museum of Natural History de Nueva York y el Carnegie Museum de Pittsburgh, que Mason pudo estudiar en 1922 y que, según sus propias palabras, “indicaban un muy alto nivel cultural, en ningún caso inferior al de las culturas del interior” (Mason 1931, 11).

Fue el Field Museum of Natural History, de Chicago, institución con la que estaba vinculado laboralmente, quien financió la expedición de Mason a la provincia de Santa Marta; pero, al mismo tiempo tenía otro empleador, según nos cuentan Charles Harris y Louis Sadler, en su *The Archaeologist was a spy*. John Alden Mason hacía parte de un grupo de espías e informantes para el gobierno estadounidense cuya “tapadera” eran las expediciones en búsqueda de los yacimientos arqueológicos. Según estos autores, la Oficina de Inteligencia Naval de los Estados Unidos (Harris 2003; Londoño 2020), que actuaba desde hacía décadas en la región del Caribe y Centro América, tenía como estrategia infiltrar científicos y técnicos con la misión de ampliar sus redes de aliados en la región. Redes que venían siendo tejidas y animadas por otros agentes, funcionarios consulares, diplomáticos y empleados de las diferentes compañías norteamericanas que estaban instaladas ya en la región, entre las que se encontraba la United Fruit Company.

Según el profesor Wilhem Londoño, Mason, cuyo nombre clave era agente 157 (Londoño 2020), que recibía órdenes directas de Josephus Daniels, secretario de la Marina de los Estados Unidos, había sido enviado antes a México, en 1917, junto con William Mechling antropólogo de Harvard, para trabajar a las órdenes de Silvanus Morley,<sup>18</sup> y Franz Boas; este último es mencionado en el prólogo de su informe *Archaeology of Santa Marta Colombia* (Mason 1931) por la colaboración que de él recibió. Mason habría sido “comisionado para ir a Veracruz con la intención de documentar y sabotear las misiones alemanas en esa región” (Browman y Williams 2013, 345), y aunque algunos informes dicen que la misión fue un fracaso, y que esto ocasionó el final de su carrera como espía, su nuevo viaje financiado y preparado desde adentro del establishment, esta vez a la costa colombiana, deja dudas al respecto.

La tapadera perfecta para su misión en la provincia de Santa Marta sería el trabajo de campo para el desarrollo de su tesis doctoral. Una provincia donde, como hemos mencionado, había una importante presencia de compañías europeas que llevaban a cabo sus emprendimientos en la región.

<sup>18</sup> Sylvanus Morley junto a otros científicos como Herbert Joseph Spinden, sirvieron a la inteligencia de los EEUU, en México y Centro América (Browman 2011).

La misión de Mason sería observar y comunicar los movimientos de estas colonias de técnicos extranjeros. Entre las compañías europeas más importantes que actuaban en la región estaban la recién creada sociedad colombo-alemana de aviación SCADTA, que despertaba gran sospecha ya que entre sus fundadores la mayoría eran alemanes recién llegados. Con sede en Barranquilla la SCADTA utilizaba hidroaviones Junkers capaces de acuatizar en el río Magdalena,<sup>19</sup> y que constituía una fuerte competencia en la región para la compañía norteamericana Pan American Airways. Por su parte, el principal negocio de la provincia de Santa Marta, como era la producción de plátano, que estaba en manos de compañías norteamericanas, tenía su contrapunto en la compañía inglesa Santa Marta Railway, principal medio de transporte de la fruta producida en la zona bananera desde 1890.

La United Fruit Company proporcionó apoyo logístico y de seguridad para que Mason llevara a cabo su misión. Se embarcó en Nueva Orleans hacia Panamá en el *Heredia*, un vapor de la United Fruit Company, y allí se entrevistó con autoridades, en sus propias palabras, “para el caso de que fuera preciso algún trabajo en la República de Panamá” (Mason 1931, 13). También realizó algunos reconocimientos en la región. En otro buque de la misma Compañía viajó con destino de Cartagena, y luego de pasar por Puerto Colombia y Barranquilla, llegó a Santa Marta en abril de 1922.

Fiel servidor, Mason no desaprovechó oportunidad para reconocer el desarrollo que la compañía había llevado a la región: “La ciudad se había sumido en un somnífero letargo hasta hace una década o más, cuando la United Fruit Company descubrió el valor de la fértil zona vecina” (Mason 1931, 15). Funcionarios y agentes norteamericanos le brindaron una calurosa bienvenida; anfitriones, que decía Mason, le facilitaban y hacían muy placentera la estadía en la ciudad, a los cuales les agradeció en el prólogo de su trabajo: “especial gratitud es expresada a Mr. William A. Trout, quien ofreció la hospitalidad de su encantadora casa y nunca estuvo demasiado ocupado para ayudar; al Sr. y a la Sra. O. L. Flye y a su gran familia... al Sr. y la Sra. M. A. Carriker<sup>20</sup> [...]; a los señores Dozwell, Hatch, Bremner y Crawford y sus familias y muchos otros de la United Fruit Company, así como a la propia empresa; a Mr. Manuel Chediak, comerciante local y anticuario [huaquero ilustrado y reconocido, podría haber precisado], quien me dio mi primera introducción sobre la arqueología de la región; a Mr. C. F.

<sup>19</sup> Sociedad Colombo Alemana de Transportes Aéreos fue el inicio de la Actual Avianca. Escobar Corradine, Jaime. “100 años de Avianca: La historia de SCADTA” (*Volavi* 2019).

<sup>20</sup> El señor A. Carriker era nieto de Francis C. Nicholas.

Deeter, ex cónsul y Mrs. Leroy Sawyer, y el ex cónsul Charles H. Derry; a Mr. Eduardo Bermúdez; a la gente hospitalaria de la Santa Marta Railway” (Mason 1931)<sup>21</sup>.

Fueron las indicaciones de F. C. Nicholas, quien puso a Mason sobre la pista de importantes yacimientos, entre Santa Marta y Río Hacha. Pero llama la atención que hubiera sido el señor Manuel Chediak, un comerciante sirio que se dedicaba al comercio de antigüedades, quien introdujera al arqueólogo sobre cuáles eran los principales lugares para excavar en las villas de “Mamatoco, Bonda y Taganga” (Mason 1931, 15). Era evidente que la “huaquería ilustrada” vivía una época de esplendor. Además, entre los trabajos de reconocimiento en la Sierra, en el valle del Toribio, Mason exploró las haciendas Cincinati y Vista Nieves, pertenecientes a los señores O. L. Flye y al matrimonio Carriker respectivamente (Mason 1931, 16), antes mencionados, y en ambas haciendas había evidencias de ocupación prehispánica: “Era evidente por doquier, en la forma de caminos de piedra pavimentados, casas con muros de contención, cantidades de tiestos y cabezas de hachas” (Mason 1931, 16). El trabajo arqueológico en las haciendas no fue tan exhaustivo como lo sería en la costa, donde Mason haría sus principales hallazgos.

Las expediciones en el litoral comenzaron en mayo y se extendieron hasta el mes de enero de 1923. Mason llevó a cabo excavaciones en yacimientos de Taganga, Punta Aguja, Gairaca, Cinto, Guachaquita, San Juan de Guía, Cañaveral, Río Piedras, Palmarito, San Juan de Guía y Nahuange; y en este último sitio excavó una “tumba revestida de piedra encontrada en todo el viaje, proporcionando cantidades de cuentas, algunos adornos de oro, nefrita y otros adornos de piedra, y los únicos especímenes de cerámica pintada obtenida por la expedición [...] excelentes trabajos de conchas talladas, cuentas y cerámica [...]” (Mason 1931, 20). Además, extrajo diversos objetos cerámicos en Bongá y Dibulla. La expedición de la cara este de la Sierra incluyó algunos de los valles que se pronuncian hacia la ciénaga, la zona alta del río Manzanares, Bonda y su entorno, sobre la cual anotó Mason que “Todos los sitios conocidos han sido saqueados, y la búsqueda debe hacerse en los bosques profundos”. En el sitio Terán, cerca del nacimiento del río Manzanares, Mason encontró un importante yacimiento que mostraba algunas de las evidencias arquitectónicas más complejas que habían

<sup>21</sup> La Santa Marta Railroad, era una empresa británica que existía casi exclusivamente para la extracción del plátano desde las plantaciones hasta el puerto, la mayor parte de los funcionarios eran ingleses.

visto en su exploración.<sup>22</sup> La expedición a las cumbres de la Sierra Nevada fue aprovechada para visitar comunidades indígenas de la cara oriental y la cara norte del macizo, donde Mason tuvo oportunidad de obtener una colección de objetos antropológicos.

El primer intento de exportar los objetos extraídos de yacimientos y obtenidos de las comunidades fue obstaculizado por la aduana de la ciudad de Santa Marta, hasta que fueran presentados todos los permisos, que debían ser aprobados por el “Gobierno Central”. Los trámites duraron varios meses y en abril la Academia Nacional de Historia de Colombia informaba a Mason en correo oficial que había sido denegado el permiso de salida del país de dicha colección. “Esperé en Santa Marta hasta el 10 de julio, tratando de obtener alguna acción oficial en cuanto a la disposición de la prohibición”, escribió Mason. “Luego regresé a Chicago, dejando la colección almacenada en Santa Marta. Sin embargo, poco tiempo después de mi regreso, el ministro de Instrucción Pública colombiano anuló la decisión de La Academia y decretó que la colección podía ser exportada” (Mason 1931, 22), como se hizo días más tarde.

Aunque Mason recoge en sus publicaciones un gran número de objetos embarcados, es posible que no fuese el total de la colección recogida en Santa Marta. Lo cierto es que fueron necesarias varias semanas para culminar el proceso de embalaje de todos los objetos, algunos muy grandes con tinajas funerarias, e incluso el mismo Mason dice que le costó mucho trabajo encontrar las cajas para empaquetar todo de forma segura. El primer destino de esta colección habría sido el Field Museum of Natural History, de Chicago, pero sabemos que algunos de estos objetos fueron adquiridos en 1932 por el Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) y por la University Museum of Philadelphia. Hoy no sabemos dónde se encuentran todas estas piezas.

### **1931 | Gregory Mason**

Probablemente sería Gregoy Mason quien sucedería a John Alden en Santa Marta en la misión de “espionaje” e información. Gregory fue antropólogo, explorador y arqueólogo norteamericano, y estuvo varios años realizando trabajos en Centro América. Llegó a Colombia a principio de la década de los 30’s y realizó exploraciones en Santa Marta en 1931, y posteriormente en 1936, con el propósito de finalizar la recolección de datos para su tesis

<sup>22</sup> Pueden consultarse en detalle lo que Mason obtuvo en la campaña de Santa Marta, en sus trabajos (Mason 1931; Mason 1936; Mason 1939).

doctoral (Mason 1938). Trabajó bajo la dirección de Marshall H. Saville, que como mencionamos antes estaba íntimamente relacionado con el espionaje norteamericano. Gregory, igual que Alden Mason, recibió ayuda de la comunidad norteamericana afincada en el norte de Colombia, entre ellos los funcionarios de la United Fruit Company y más particularmente uno de sus superintendentes George Bennett (Striffler 2003, 119, 126), que venía de una misión en Honduras (Beaulac 1980, 64; Londoño 2020).

Por recomendación de Saville, Mason, que visitó varias comunidades indígenas en la provincia de Santa Marta, fijó su objetivo en el estudio de los indígenas Kagaba (Mason 1938, VIII). En colaboración con Miguel Nolavita,<sup>23</sup> guía, traductor e informante, Gregory exploró los yacimientos arqueológicos del litoral y llevó a cabo varias excavaciones en la región, descubrió el sitio que denominó Tairo y que al parecer Alden no había encontrado, sobre el cual anotó que tenía la misma estructura que los del “área Tairona en las pendientes más bajas de las mismas montañas”. Además encontró y excavó dos cementerios que aportaron gran cantidad de materiales, urnas y objetos que hacían parte de los ajuares funerarios. Su tesis doctoral, *The Culture of the Taironas*, sustentada en 1938, representa un importante catálogo sobre cultura material en el área, y en ella describe detenidamente uno a uno los yacimientos, demostrando una especial preocupación por los ajuares funerarios, que él mismo extrajo, utilizando como referencia comparativa los resultados de Alden Mason.

Gregori era bien conocido por ser un gran promotor de los intereses de los Estados Unidos en el exterior, y en 1923 publicó un artículo en que exhortaba a abandonar las ansias de coleccionar objetos de las culturas clásicas mediterráneas cuando había grandes tesoros en América Central y del Sur a las que llamaba “el Egipto propio” (Mason 1923, 43). Y en el capítulo IV de su trabajo *Kagaba traditions of the Taironas*, anotó que, aunque encontraba similitudes en la cultura material de los Tairona y los Kagaba, las diferencias entre uno y otro pueblo demostraban que en la región no había pueblos emparentados con dicha cultura superior y desaparecida. Gregory decía haber llevado con él, en sus visitas a las comunidades serranas, una muestra de los objetos más importantes que había desenterrado en las excavaciones “con el fin de obtener una interpretación de los Kagaba-Arhuaco,

<sup>23</sup> Mason habla de Miguel Nolavita como un Mama que habría servido de informante de Preuss y de Alden Mason (Mason 1938, 162). Y probablemente se refiere al mismo Trinidad Noivita, que menciona Aura Reyes, que habría sido intérprete e intermediario de Brettes y Sievers (Reyes 2018).

de estas piezas” (Mason 1938, 155), y pudo concluir que no se mostraban identificados con ellas.

En 1931, el escritor (como se refiere Gregory a sí mismo) fue instruido por el Museo de la Universidad de Philadelphia, y el Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) de Nueva York, para tratar de conseguir, por encima de todo, una de las máscaras ceremoniales de madera que, era bien sabido custodiaban los mamas Kagaba (Mason 1938, 171). Gregory se sorprendió gratamente cuando en una representación de un baile ceremonial, preparado especialmente para él en el pueblo de San Miguel, el asistente del mama usaba una máscara de madera: “La máscara le daba el poder de un dios de curar la enfermedad, detener inundaciones y prevenir deslizamientos [...]”, anotó, y continuaba informando: “Él pareció dudar cuando se le preguntó si cambiaría la máscara por una de las ranas de oro que el escritor había obtenido de las excavaciones del sitio La Cueva” (Mason 1938, 172). Según Mason, aunque el indígena dudo por un momento, luego explicó que era muy antigua y que los Kagaba modernos no sabían cómo hacer una máscara así, por lo que no podía cedérsela.

Tendría que recurrir a otras artimañas para conseguir las máscaras encargadas, y las tretas dieron resultado, porque durante una fiesta en el pueblo de Palomino, y en ausencia del mama Miguel, el comisario Venancio Mamatacan, le vendió varias máscaras, aunque el autor solo publica la fotografía de una de ellas, y comenta Gregory: “Fue en gran parte debido al comportamiento posterior de Mamatacan que el escritor dedujo que estos objetos habían sido robados. Pero para cuando llegó a esta conclusión, les pareció a ambos, a él y a su asistente, James Hawkins, que regresar las máscaras sería peligroso para ellos y ciertamente para el Comisario” (Mason 1938, 173). Las colecciones arqueológicas y antropológicas que Gregory Mason obtuvo en la Sierra Nevada y que incluía las máscaras, vasijas y urnas funerarias, restos humanos y un gran número de objetos que hacían parte de los ajueres funerarios (objetos de piedra, oro, conchas), tuvieron como destino la Universidad de Philadelphia, el Museum of the American Indian de Nueva York y el Museo de la Universidad del Sur de California. Solo un minucioso trabajo en los olvidados almacenes de estos museos podría demostrarnos que aún se encuentran allí.

Pero la historia no termina aquí: según señala el propio Gregory en 1936, y no sabemos bien por qué razón, si acaso por una mala conciencia obstinada, el director del museo de la Universidad le dio permiso para devolver la máscara, y dispuso todo para entregarla a sus legítimos dueños: “Él [se refiere a sí mismo] pensó que lo mejor sería ofrecerla al más importante y anciano de

los sacerdotes Kagaba, Mama José de la Cruz Dingula, de Macostama [...]” (Mason 1938, 175). Cuando llegó ante ellos con la máscara, los mamás reaccionaron con miedo, y al verla exclamaron que era “Malo, muy malo y Diablo muy diablo” (Mason 1938, 175). Otros sacerdotes se mostraron atónitos, pero no expresaron mucho miedo... Pero todos coincidieron en que era una máscara muy antigua, que representaba a un dios del inframundo, y todos rechazaron el ofrecimiento de quedarse con la máscara. Así escribe: “Y el falso rostro regresó con el escritor al museo de la Universidad de Philadelphia” (Mason 1938, 175). La interpretación del profesor Wilhelm Londoño a la negativa de aceptar la máscara es que, de haberlo hecho, habrían ido en contra de las prohibiciones impuestas por la iglesia a la práctica de cualquier ritual indígena “so pena de castigos físicos [...] ello podría implicar severas sanciones” (Londoño 2020). Una explicación que parece un tanto traída por los pelos. Quisiera poder ofrecer otra teoría a esta negativa de los indígenas de recuperar un objeto que, supuestamente, tenía un gran valor, pero sería mera especulación de esta autora, y me temo que como ya señaló en el siglo XIII el fraile Guillermo de Ockham, la mayoría de las veces la explicación más sencilla es la mejor explicación, y en este caso la sencillez está en que, para los indígenas, la máscara había perdido el valor mágico/simbólico al estar tanto tiempo en manos del gringo.

### **De la denuncia a la propuesta**

El estudio sobre el expolio del patrimonio no debe agotarse en la cronología del despojo, debe servir como base para fundamentar la condición pública y la necesidad de la protección y el amparo del patrimonio en la actualidad, para lo cual será necesario establecer claras líneas de investigación que puedan escalar hacia normas legales y planes especiales. En este artículo queremos destacar tres posibles rutas que sirvan en este propósito:

— Debemos profundizar en la trazabilidad y auditorías de los fondos que se encuentran en instituciones extranjeras, no basta con el registro histórico de las piezas vendidas. La investigación actual debe confrontar los inventarios de sus almacenes con los diarios de campo y registros de carga, para identificar el volumen real del patrimonio descontextualizado que hoy “duerme el sueño del olvido”.

— Es importante evidenciar por qué las leyes de protección de 1907 y 1918, fueron sistemáticamente ignoradas por funcionarios y científicos, que “miraban hacia otro lado” mientras el patrimonio era extraído del país.

Poder entender este expolio, no como un accidente producto de intereses filantrópicos, sino como un mecanismo estructural donde la ciencia sirvió de “tapadera” para el expansionismo, permitirá blindar la gestión pública actual frente a nuevas formas de colonialismo científico.

— La investigación debe conducir hacia la legitimación del patrimonio que ayude a que el Estado colombiano establezca medidas más claras y contundentes para la recuperación de piezas y/o colecciones que, siguen en el país, y que hoy en día continúan en manos de privados. Sólo las instituciones del Estado dedicadas a la salvaguarda del patrimonio deben tener la potestad de inventariar este patrimonio material, e instrumentar la devolución a sus verdaderos herederos, o bien delegar en otras instituciones, públicas o privadas, su custodia. Sólo de esta manera podremos cumplir con el compromiso de reconocer la naturaleza pública y social de la historia.

No podemos perder de vista que el patrimonio material es parte inherente del patrimonio inmaterial y de la identidad de los pueblos. La urgencia de reconocer la condición pública del patrimonio no es solo una necesidad jurídica, sino un acto de justicia para con las sociedades que aún habitan la Sierra y que han visto su dignidad arrebatada por siglos de huaquería y expolio impune. Solo mediante la identificación y recuperación de este legado se podrá transformar el estado de sospecha contemporáneo en un fundamento sólido para la reconstrucción de la memoria colectiva.

### **La historia interminable**

Estas actividades que comenzaron con la campaña sistemática de saqueo llevada a cabo por los conquistadores europeos en el siglo XVI, llegaron a constituir después, en los siglos XIX y XX, por un lado, un modo de ganarse la vida para muchas familias de huaqueros, la demostración de la expresión de la codicia individual de especuladores, comerciantes y mercaderes de antigüedades que, además, alimentaba el proceso sistemático de despojo para la legitimación del colonialismo científico. Estos actores contribuyeron, aunque en diferentes escalas, al despojo del patrimonio material y también inmaterial, en muchos casos aplicando métodos de rapiña, engaño y extorsión. La complicidad del Estado colombiano resultó determinante en este escenario, ya sea por una negligencia burocrática sistemática o por la participación activa de funcionarios que permitieron que el patrimonio fuera tratado como simple “moneda de cambio” en el tablero de la diplomacia internacional.

Y, como la “historia interminable”, el expolio continúa. Aún hoy, colegas, amigos y conocidos nos cuentan que sus padres y abuelos fueron testigos, y en algunos casos protagonizaron, rocambolescas escenas de huaqueros que llegaban a los bares de Santa Marta a vender los tesoros recién desenterrados de huacas y tumbas de la Sierra Nevada, exponiéndolos sobre las mesas que quedaban atestadas. No son pocos los nombres de conocidos profesores, estudiosos y científicos, de gran prestigio, nacionales y extranjeros, que siguen conservando importantes piezas del patrimonio cultural colombiano y de Santa Marta en sus casas. Esperamos que algún día todo este patrimonio pueda servir, como bienes culturales públicos, para que las sociedades actuales que habitan hoy la Sierra recuperen su memoria de siglos y su dignidad arrebatada con el expolio impune al que han sido sometidas.

Con el expolio de los objetos, se desarticulan registros de la memoria de los pueblos, de sus identidades. Al desvincular definitivamente el objeto de su matriz social y simbólica original, para ser trasladados a fríos catálogos o quedar sepultados en olvidados almacenes extranjeros, estos bienes pierden su función como vehículos de cohesión e identidad para transformarse en meras curiosidades nativas, en la mayoría de los casos completamente descontextualizadas. Esta situación exige que la historiografía actual trascienda la descripción del saqueo y asuma un compromiso ético con la reparación histórica.

### **Fuentes manuscritas y de archivo**

Museo del Oro, Bogotá

“FIGHAS de Registro de Colecciones de Orfebrería Extrajeras”

Archivos del Museo Etnográfico, Berlín

“Objetos recibidos de Santa Marta”. América, n.º 612/57. Colecciones Etnológicas, v. 2.

I. B. Sievers, Wilhelm. “Carta de Wilhelm Sievers a Adolf Bastian, Hamburgo, 1 de noviembre de 1886”. América, n.º 299/86. Colecciones Etnológicas, v.10, agosto 1885- diciembre 1887.

## Bibliografía

- BEAULAC, Willard L. 1980. *The Fractured Continent: Latin America in close-up*. Hoover Institution Press.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1929. *Bergsindianernas skattkammare: berättelse för ungdom*. B. Wahlströms ungdomsböcker
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1916. *Det Tropiska Snöfjällets Indianer: Från en Tåårig forskningsresa till Sierra Tairona och Sierra Motilon, Sydamerika*. Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1924. "Die letzten Chimila-Indianer". *YMER* 44 (2).
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1925. *Hövdingar, rövare och medicinmän: äventyr y resor bland sydamerikanska indianer*. Bonnier.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1921. *Indianer och tre vita*. Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1927. *Indianerna och deras liv: skildringar för ungdom*. Åhlén & Åkerlund.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1987. "Los últimos indígenas chimila". Traducido por Sonia Goggel. *Boletín del Museo del Oro* 18: 10-27.
- BOLINDER, Gustaf. 1942. "Urn Burials in Full-Size Mortuary Urns in Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta: Colombia". *Ethnos* 7 (1): 10-19.
- BOTERO, Clara Isabel. 2006. *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia: 1820-1945*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia.
- BROC, Numa. 1992. *Dictionnaire des explorateurs français du XIXe siècle, T.2, Asie*. CTHS.
- BROWMAN, David. 2011. "Spying by American Archaeologists in World War I". *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21 (2): 10-17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/bha.2123>.
- BROWMAN, David, y Stephen Williams. 2013. *Anthropology at Harvard: A biographical History, 1790–1940*. Peabody Museum Monographs.
- CABALLERO, Beatriz. 1994. *Las siete vidas de Agustín Codazzi*. Carlos Valencia Editores.
- CARRIKER, Melbourne Romaine. 2000. *Vista Nieve: The remarkable, true adventures of an early twentieth-century naturalist and his family in Colombia, South America*. Blue Mantle Press.
- CASTILLO, Luis Jaime. 2012. "Arqueología y políticas públicas en el Perú: ¿Para qué y para quiénes hacemos arqueología?". *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 30: 7-34.
- CASTILLO, Luis Jaime. 2014. "Using drones in archaeological surveying and mapping". *The SAA Archaeological Record* 14 (4): 10-14.

- CASTRO, Pablo, Jorge Gómez, y Andrés Posada. 2018. *Wanderjahre, años de viaje en el trópico*. Universidad Eafit.
- COTTOM, Bolfy. 2012. "El patrimonio cultural: De los tratados internacionales a las leyes nacionales". *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de México* 62 (257): 51-84.
- COTTOM, Bolfy. 2005. *La Ley Federal sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicas, Artísticas e Históricas: Un análisis crítico*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- COTTOM, Bolfy. 2008. *Nación, patrimonio cultural y legislación: Los debates parlamentarios y la construcción del régimen jurídico del patrimonio cultural de México (1897-2005)*. Miguel Ángel Porrúa; Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
- DE Brettes, Joseph. 1898. "Chez les indiens du Nord de la Colombie: Six ans d'explorations". *Le Tour du Monde* 2.
- DE Brettes, Joseph. 1893. "Informe del Señor José de Brettes, explorador francés, jefe de la Comisión Geográfica Exploradora del Magdalena en su parte civilizada y en los territorios indígenas de Motilones, Arhuacos y Goajiros". *Anales de Ingeniería: Revista de la Sociedad Colombiana de Ingenieros* 4 (63).
- DE Brettes, Joseph. 1892. "Vocabulaires indiens: Toba, Chamacoco, Senapana, Guana". En *L'Amérique inconnue. D'après le journal de voyage de J. de Brettes*, editado por Marcel Mallat de Bassilan. Libraire de Firmin-Didot et C.
- ESCOBAR Corradine, Jaime. 2019. "100 años de Avianca: La historia de SCADTA". *Volavi*, 5 de diciembre. <https://volavi.co/aviacion/historia/historia-scadta-avianca-centenario-100-anos>.
- GAMBOA Hinestrosa, Pablo. 2002. *El tesoro de los Quimbayas: Historia, identidad y patrimonio*. Ed. Planeta Colombiana.
- GAMIO, Manuel. 1948. *Consideraciones sobre el problema indígena*. Instituto Indigenista Iberoamericano.
- GIRALDO Jaramillo, Gabriel. 1957. *Bibliografía de colombiana de viajes*. Editorial ABC.
- HARRIS H., Charles, y Louis R. Sadler. 2003. *The Archaeologist Was a Spy: Sylvanus G. Morley and the Office of Naval Intelligence*. University of New Mexico Press.
- HARRISON, John P. 1955. "Science and politics: Origins and objectives of mid-nineteenth century Government expeditions to Latin America". *Hispanic-American Historical Review* 35.
- KARSTEN, Hermann. 1858. *Die medizinischen Chinarinden Neu-Granadas*. Berolini.
- KARSTEN, Hermann. 1869. *Florae Columbia et terrarum quoadia centium specimina selecta in peregrinatione duodécima annorum observata*, 2 vols. Berolini.
- LEHMANN, Fritz Rudolf. 1938. "Konrad Theodor Preuß (1869-1938)". *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 71.

- LLERAS Pérez, Roberto. 2005. "Arqueología, patrimonio y conflicto armado en Colombia". En *Arqueología y guerra: Una perspectiva desde la gestión del patrimonio*. Museo Arqueológico Regional.
- LLERAS Pérez, Roberto. 2001. *El tráfico ilícito de bienes culturales en Colombia*. Ministerio de Cultura.
- LLERAS Pérez, Roberto. 2013. "Konrad Theodor Preuss, un alemán que excavó en San Agustín". *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* 100 (857): 431-449.
- LLERAS Pérez, Roberto. 2012. "Patrimonio de quién y para quién: La propiedad y la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico en Colombia". *Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* 14.
- LONDOÑO Díaz, Wilhelm. 2020. "Archaeologist, bananas and spies: The construction of the Archaeology of the North of Colombia". *Arqueología Iberoamericana* 45: 11-21. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3733813>.
- MASON, Gregory. 1938. "The culture of the Taironas". Tesis doctoral, University of Southern California.
- MASON, Gregory. 1923. "The riddles of our own Egypt". *The Century Magazine*: 43-59.
- MASON, J. Alden. 1931. *Archaeology of Santa Marta, Colombia: The Tairona Culture. Report on Field Work, Marshall Field Archaeological Expedition to Colombia, 1922-23* [Anthropological Series v. XX, n.º 1]. Field Museum of Natural History.
- MASON, John Alden. 1931. "Parte 1, Report of Fieldwork". *Anthropological Series XX*.
- MASON, John Alden. 1936. "Parte 2, sec 1: Objects of stone, shell, bone, metal". *Anthropological Series XX*.
- MATOS MOCTEZUMA, Eduardo. 2016. *Arqueología de la arqueología: Ensayos sobre el origen de la disciplina en México*. El Colegio Nacional.
- MATOS Moctezuma, Eduardo. 2010. "Del saqueo a la arqueología: La lucha por el pasado". *Arqueología Mexicana* 103.
- NICHOLAS, Francis C. 1901. "The aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia". *American Anthropologist* 3 (4): 606-649.
- NICHOLAS, Francis C. 1903. *Around the Caribbean and Across Panama*. Colonial Press.
- NIÑO Vargas, Juan Camilo. 2010. "En las inmediaciones del fin del mundo: los encuentros de Gustaf Bolinder y los chimilas en 1915 y 1920". *Antípoda* 11: 43-65.
- NIÑO Vargas, Juan Camilo. 2017. *Indios y viajeros: Los viajes de Joseph Brettes y Georges Sogler por el norte de Colombia, 1892-1896*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia.

- NIÑO VARGAS, Juan Camilo. 2015. “Viaje y etnografía: Nota sobre la vida del explorador Joseph de Brettes y su obra etnográfica entre los pueblos indígenas del norte de Colombia, 1861-1934”. *Historia Caribe* 10 (27): 141–176.
- PIAZZINI SUÁREZ, Carlos Emilio. 2020. “La colección de antigüedades de Leocadio María Arango Uribe”. *Credencial Historia* 370. <https://www.banrepcultural.org/biblioteca-virtual/credencial-historia/numero-370/la-coleccion-de-antiguedades-de-leocadio-maria-arango>.
- PREUSS, Konrad Theodor. 1926. “Forschungsreise zu den Kágaba: Beobachtungen, Textaufnahmen und sprachliche Studien bei einem Indianerstamme in Kolumbien, Südamerika”. *Anthropos*.
- PREUSS, Konrad Theodor. 1929. *Kunst: Ausgrabungen im Quellgebiet des Magdalena in Kolumbien und ihre Ausstrahlungen in Amerika*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- PREUSS, Konrad Theodor. 1897. “Künstlerische Darstellungen aus Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land”. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 30: 74-120.
- PREUSS, Konrad Theodor. 1993. *Visita a los indígenas kágabas de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta: Recopilación de textos y estudio lingüístico*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología.
- RECLUS, Elisée. 1947. *Viaje a la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*. Editorial Cahur.
- RECLUS, Elisée. 1861. *Voyage à la Sierra Nevada de Sainte Marthe: Paysages de la nature tropicale*. Hachette.
- RESTREPO, Olga. 1984. “La comisión corográfica y las ciencias sociales”. En *Un siglo de investigación social: Antropología en Colombia*, editado por Jaime Arocha y Nina S. de Friedemann. Editorial Etno.
- ROOSEVELT, Theodore. 1914. *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*. Scribner’s Sons.
- RUIZ, Ernesto A. 1989. “Las expediciones científicas de los Estados Unidos y las relaciones interamericanas (1849-1861)”. *Geosul* 4 (7): 16-31.
- SAFFRAY, Charles. 1876. *Viaje a Nueva Granada*. Montaner y Simón.
- SAFFRAY, Charles, y Edouard Andre. 1984. *Fabulous Colombia’s Geography*. Litografía Arco.
- SALGE FERRO, Manuel. 2007. *El patrimonio arqueológico: Un objeto de política y una herramienta de poder*. Universidad de los Andes.
- SALGE FERRO, Manuel. 2025. *En busca de lo que fuimos: La gestión del patrimonio arqueológico en Colombia*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia.
- SALGE FERRO, Manuel. 2010. *La “guaca” y la “finca”: Relaciones de los pobladores rurales con el patrimonio arqueológico en el municipio de San Agustín*. Universidad de los Andes.

- SÁNCHEZ, Efraín. 1958. *Agustín Codazzi y la Comisión Corográfica de la Nueva Granada*. Banco de la República.
- SIEVERS, Wilhelm. 1986. "Los indígenas arhuacos en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta". *Boletín Museo del Oro*.
- SIEVERS, Wilhelm. 1887. *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*. Gressner & Schramm.
- SIEVERS, Wilhelm. 1903. *Süd-und Mittelamerika*. Bibliographisches Institut.
- SIEVERS, Wilhelm. 1896. *Zweite Reise in Venezuela 1892-93*. Geographischen Gesellschaft.
- SIMONS, Frederick A.A. 1879. "Notes on the topography of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, U.S. of Colombia". *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 1 (11).
- SIMONS, Frederick A.A. 1881. "On the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and its watershed (State of Magdalena, U.S. of Colombia)". *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 3 (12): 705-723.
- STOCKING, George W. Jr. 1960. "Franz Boas and the founding of the American Anthropological Association". *American Anthropologist* 62 (1): 1-17.
- STRIFFLER, Steve, y Mark Moberg, eds. 2003. *Banana Wars: Power, production and history in the Americas*. Duke University Press.
- THEKLA, Hartmann. 2000. *Cartas do Sertão: De Curt Nimuendajú para Carlos Estevão de Oliveira*. Assírio & Alvim.
- UCEDA Castillo, Santiago. 2010. "La gestión del patrimonio cultural: El proyecto arqueológico Huaca de la Luna". En *Gestión del patrimonio cultural en el Perú*, editado por J. Alva y S. Uceda Castillo. Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.
- UCEDA Castillo, Santiago. 2000. "Los complejos monumentales moche: Entre la investigación y la conservación". En *Huaca de la Luna: Templos y dioses moches*. Fundación Backus.
- URIBE Tobón, Carlos Alberto. 1987. "Un antropólogo sueco por Colombia: Gustaf Bolinder". *Boletín Museo del Oro* 18.
- VALLIER, Charles. 1902. "Le Globe Trotter chez le comte Joseph de Brettes". *Le Globe Trotter: Journal Illustré* 19: 6-7.
- VIVEIROS, Esther de. 1958. *Rondon conta su a vida*. Livraria São José.

## Recursos digitales

- BANREPCULTURAL. “Jorge Enrique Isaacs Ferrer”. Red cultural Banco de la República. Consultado el 24 de mayo de 2024. [https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Jorge\\_Isaacs\\_Ferrer](https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Jorge_Isaacs_Ferrer).
- CARRIKER, Melbourne Armstrong. “Carriker, Melbourne Armstrong, 1879-1965”. Record Unit 7297. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington. [https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/siris\\_arc\\_217454](https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/siris_arc_217454).
- DEUTSCHE DIGITALE BIBLIOTHEK. “Konrad Theodor Preuß en Colombia”. <https://ausstellungen.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/preuss/exhibits/show/kolumbi-en-preuss/publikationen>.
- FISCHER, Manuela. “El largo camino de las máquinas a través del tiempo y el espacio”. *Miradas Alemanas*. <http://portal.iai.spk-berlin.de/Preuss.107+-M52087573ab0.0.html>.
- REYES, Aura Lisette. 2018. “La materialidad amerindia, entre relatos míticos y colecciones: una biografía de Konrad Theodor Preuss”. *Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l'anthropologie*. <http://isidore.science/a/article1526.html>.
- SILVA Vargas, Vicente. 2016. “Preuss el alemán que descubrió San Agustín y se robó 21 estatuas”. *Las Dos Orillas*. <https://www.las2orillas.co/el-aleman-que-descubrio-san-agustin-y-se-robo-21-estatuas/>.

## Recursos Audiovisuales

- GLADVEDT, Ottar, dir. 1920-1921. *Blandt Syd-Amerikas urskovsindianere*. Película. <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0012946/>.

## procedimentos & normas editoriais

---

---

Os *Anais de História de Além-Mar* (AHAM) são uma revista científica de periodicidade anual, publicada pelo CHAM – Centro de Humanidades (FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores) e referenciada e indexada em bases de dados internacionais.

Foram fundados em 2000, por Artur Teodoro de Matos, com o objetivo principal de divulgar trabalhos académicos originais e relevantes sobre a expansão portuguesa, desde as primeiras «grandes navegações» (século xv) até ao final do «Império Ultramarino» (século xx), no seu enquadramento histórico, contemplando a comparação com fenómenos paralelos e as articulações entre as histórias e as sociedades dos espaços envolvidos. Apesar de a maioria dos artigos publicados focar a realidade portuguesa, os AHAM estão abertos à submissão de artigos sobre outras regiões, especialmente quando contenham visões inovadoras de uma perspectiva comparativa e analítica.

Os AHAM acolhem propostas de publicação de artigos originais, documentos/ fontes inéditas, resenhas críticas e notícias, em português, espanhol, francês, inglês e italiano. Aceitam, igualmente, propostas de *dossiers* de carácter temático.

Para informações sobre a política editorial, os procedimentos editoriais e as normas para elaboração e apresentação de textos, consultar: <https://revistas.rcaap.pt/aham/index>.

Os *Anais de História de Além-Mar* (AHAM) (*Annals of Overseas History*) are a scientific journal published yearly by CHAM – Centre for the Humanities (FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores), referenced and indexed in international data bases.

The journal was founded in 2000 by Artur Teodoro de Matos with the main objective of publishing original and relevant academic works about the Portuguese overseas expansion, from the outset of the first “great navigations” (15th century) to the end of the “Overseas Empire” (20th century). The historical framework, and the comparison of parallel phenomena and articulations between the history and societies of the spaces involved should also be contemplated in these works. Although most of the articles published focus on the Portuguese reality, the AHAM are open to articles about other regions, especially if they offer innovative visions from a comparative and analytical perspective.

The AHAM welcome original articles, unpublished sources, critical reviews, and news in Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Italian. They also accept proposals of thematic *dossiers*.

For information on editorial policy, editorial procedures and guidelines for the preparation and submission of manuscripts, please visit: <https://revistas.rcaap.pt/aham/index>.

**fct** Fundação  
para a Ciência  
e a Tecnologia

**N** **NOVAFCSH**  
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS  
UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA

