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Chapter 4

SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY ON THE SWAHILI COAST, 1500–1750[1]

Thomas Vernet

A great deal of research has been carried out on the slave trade and slavery on the Swahili coast. John Middleton wrote, "Slavery has been perhaps the best-studied of all Swahili institutions."[2] The great majority of these works, however, deal only with the nineteenth century.[3] Contrary to the previous centuries, economic upheavals occurred in the region during this period, because from the 1810s onward a plantation economy flourished on the coast, which demanded plentiful servile manpower. The slave trade, centered on Zanzibar, developed on an unparalleled scale in Eastern Africa, and an actual slave mode of production became widespread on the coast.[4]

Conversely, very few publications have dealt with the slave trade for the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Almost all deal with the second part of the eighteenth century, mostly from the 1770s onward. During this time the French from the Mascarene Islands developed an intense slave trade with the Swahili coast, mostly from the port towns of Kilwa and Zanzibar, giving new momentum to the slave trade in East Africa. In the same period the Omani imposed their sovereignty on Zanzibar and progressively took over the entire coast. They controlled more and more of the trading networks and encouraged new trends to the slave trade. Historical documentation on the Swahili coast is a little more prevalent for the last third of the century, with an increasing number published in English.[5] The first half of the eighteenth century has received much less attention from the historians. Finally, the few existing treatises on the slave

trade before the nineteenth century have mainly studied slave demand from the French or the Omani, but not the role the Swahili had in it.[6]

Debates have occurred concerning the number of slaves exported from the East African coast before the nineteenth century, but they were limited in scope and have not led to deep historical investigation. Coupland's book is the only one to tackle the slave trade in detail over a long period of time. He claims that the East African slave trade had been continuous and massive since antiquity, led by the "Arabs" who according to him settled on the coast and began trading in the interior. A "prodigious" number of slaves had been exported, contributing to the depopulation of East Africa, and exceeding the transatlantic slave trade.[7] Such allegations, which aimed to justify British colonization, have been seriously criticized for lack of evidence. Rejecting Coupland's thesis, some historians have minimized the slave trade and its economic impact before the eighteenth century.[8] Because of the lack of explicit evidence, they even question the existence of the slave trade on the Swahili coast before the Omani settlement on the coast in the eighteenth century.[9] Other scholars contest the claims of Alpers and Freeman-Grenville and have asked for a revaluation of the slave trade.[10] Nevertheless, most of the historians of the Swahili world have generally adopted a prudent position, admitting the existence of the slave trade, but maintaining that before the end of the eighteenth century, it remained a minor part of the coastal trade compared to the trade in ivory or gold.[11]

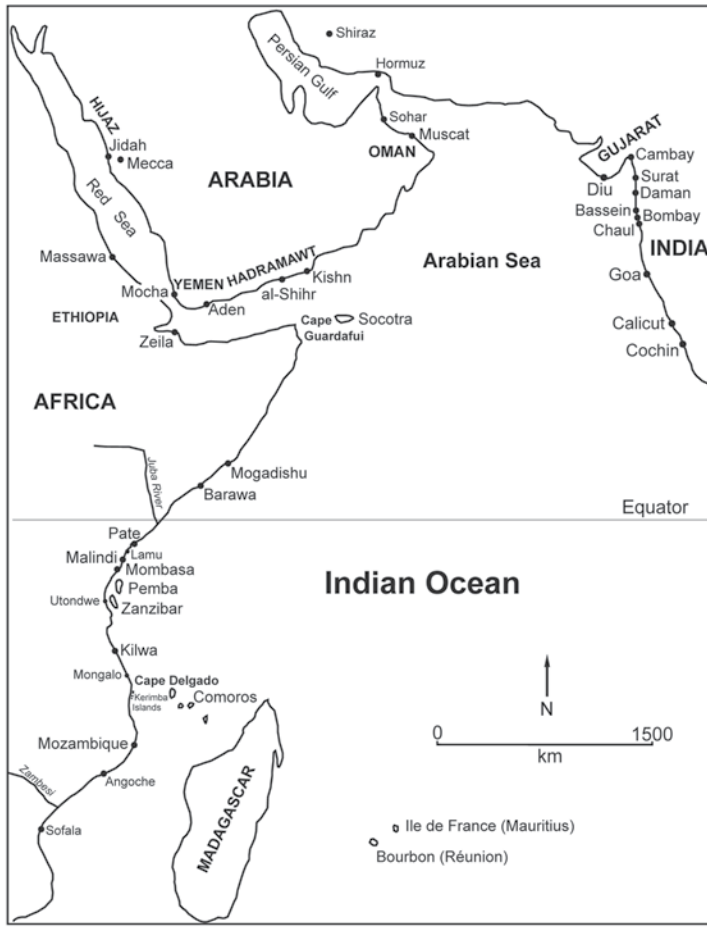
The lack of interest in Swahili historiography on this issue can be explained by the proportionally small amount of research conducted on the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which have not aroused as much debate as the origins of Swahili civilization or its evolution in the nineteenth century. Studies on ancient social and political organization are few, and are often too linked to nineteenth-century historiography and ethnography.[12] Moreover, works on this period so far undertaken have often neglected contemporary documentation, mostly Portuguese, although it can be a rich source of information. For the most part, historians have relied on a few useful, but incomplete, publications.[13] As such, it is revealing that the three historians who have recently rediscovered the Portuguese sources have all mentioned the existence and the importance of the slave trade or servile work.[14] Several studies dealing with Madagascar tackled the slave trade between Madagascar and the Comoro Islands and the Swahili coast,[15] but they were neglected by Swahili historiography, which is too often separated from the Malagasy and Comorian historiography.

Since the 1970s the revival of Swahili historiography has often ignored these matters. For a long time a major goal of Swahili studies has been to demonstrate the sociocultural proximity of Swahili society with

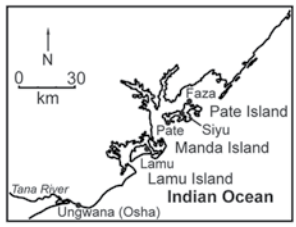
the African interior. Thus, studies of the East African slave trade and the use of slaves have emphasized Omani participation and influence as well as French demand. Moreover, the controversial status of Swahili populations in the modern states of East Africa, and more generally the issue of African involvement in the slave trade, remain sensitive issues, which have probably inhibited research on this matter. Last but not least, until recently the slave trade in the Muslim world was rarely investigated and often underestimated.[16] This study reconsiders the slave trade and slavery on the East African coast before the second half of the eighteenth century, mostly through Portuguese sources. It focuses on the region from Cape Delgado in the south to the Lamu archipelago in the north, because this area is the heart of cultural debates about Swahili civilization. Yet this does not mean that Swahili communities inhabiting other parts of the coast, in particular the Mozambique area or the Comoros, were not concerned with the slave trade.

Between the early sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century the Swahili were widely involved in slave trading networks. Most captives came from northwestern Madagascar and were destined to fill demands for servile labor in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and the Swahili city-states, and from the late seventeenth century, the Omani. This study primarily examines the nature of the slave trade organized by Swahili traders, especially its scale, its role in the development of prosperous new trading networks of some coastal city-states. In addition, it will shed more light on the movements of some Swahili and Hadrami groups on the East African coast. Conclusions arising from these investigations largely question the earlier assumptions about and estimations of the East African coast slave trade.

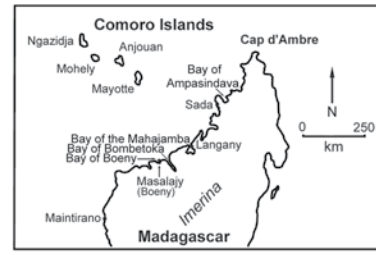
So far historical sources are too few to estimate the scale of the Swahili coast slave trade before the sixteenth century. The famous Zanj rebellion in Iraq (869–883) is often cited to attest the antiquity and importance of the slave trade at this time and its decline after the uprising. [17] A rarely cited study by G. H. Talhami, however, has shown that slaves imported from the Swahili coast formed a very small minority in these rebellious.[18] Moreover, most of Africans involved came from other regions of Africa or were of free status. According to Talhami, Arab and Persian geographers did not mention slave trading between the East African coast and the Arabian peninsula before the tenth century. Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, who wrote around 950, is the first to state that Zanj slaves were caught or purchased in the area between Sofala and Zanzibar to be sold in Oman. Later in the mid-twelfth century al-Idrisi wrote that



The Swahili Coast and the Indian Ocean, 1500 - 1750



The Lamu Archipelago



North-western Madagascar and the Comoro Islands

MAP 4.1

Arab traders captured Zanj to enslave them, but generally speaking, medieval geographers rarely mentioned the slave trade on the Swahili coast, although they often did so for other regions, particularly western Africa.[19] For instance, Ibn Battuta reported the existence of slaves in Kilwa in 1331, but not their trade.[20] Thus before the sixteenth century most of the slaves shipped by merchants from southern Arabia probably came from the Horn. A recent study based on the exceptional Rasulid administrative documentation has shown that the port town of Zayla, in present day Somaliland, was the coastal terminus of major slave routes from the Ethiopian highland. Slaves, including eunuchs, were then shipped to Aden on small ships. This maritime route between Zayla and Aden was very prosperous between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Conversely the Rasulid documentation tells very few about Zanj slaves.[21]

Between the tenth and fifteenth centuries the presence of African slaves is documented in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, as well as in China and India in smaller numbers, although it is difficult to determine their origins, due to the ambiguity of the word Zanj. [22] Most of them seem to have come from the Horn of Africa or Nubia.[23] Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century the slave trade was already an established practice on the Swahili coast, probably continuous for around five centuries, but in relatively small proportions in comparison with other trade commodities or other parts of Africa.

THE SWAHILI SLAVE TRADE FROM MADAGASCAR TO ARABIA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Portuguese accounts are our main sources for the sixteenth and seventeenth century period; yet they do not mention much about the slave trade since Portuguese merchants were not as involved in the trade in slaves as they were in other commodities like gold or ivory. This relative lack of evidence about the slave trade, and the fact that what trade did exist was centered on the Comoro Islands and Madagascar, has probably resulted in the underestimation of the Swahili slave trade during that era. Nevertheless, slave trading was noteworthy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mainly due to a steady demand for slaves in Arabia and the Persian Gulf. These slaves were Islamized and assigned various roles, such as servants, soldiers, guards, craftsmen, sailors, dockers, or pearl divers in the Persian Gulf as well as concubines who seem to have been widespread.[24] Slaves were also employed for agricultural tasks, notably in

the palm groves and the maintenance of the irrigation systems. Before the expansion of Omani agriculture in the late seventeenth century, however, agricultural slavery seems to have been relatively limited.[25] Some Portuguese authors report that captives imported in Arabia, whether males or females, often children or adolescents, were trained in their master's home.[26] Emancipation was considered an act of piety, and slaves could also be redeemed, which explains the need for a continuous flow of slaves.[27] Important Swahili and Arab trade networks based in Malagasy as well as the Horn of Africa supplied these slaves.

Then the northwestern shore of Madagascar from Maintirano to the Cap d'Ambre was sporadically settled by an Islamic population known by the Malagasy name "Antalaotra". The Antalaotra inhabited a few port towns, mostly situated in the region from the Bay of Boeny to the Bay of Ampasindava. Although the composition of this community was vague, it seems to have been influenced by Swahili civilization, sharing an adherence to Islam, the Swahili language, some Shirazi traditions, and a similar material culture. The trading ports of this mercantile society appeared around the eleventh century, expanded from the end of the fourteenth century and increased in the fifteenth century.[28] In the early sixteenth century the main Antalaotra town was Langany, located in the Bay of the Mahajamba, probably founded in the fifteenth century.[29] Around the 1580s Langany was supplanted by Boeny, another port city, founded at this time and located on the island of Antsoheribory in the Bay of Boeny. This town was often referred to as "Mazalagem Nova" by the Portuguese, or "New Masselage" by the English (from the Antalaotra name Masalajy), as opposed to Langany, which the Europeans began to call "Mazalagem Velha" or "Old Masselage."[30] Boeny was very prosperous during the seventeenth century and attracted most of the maritime trade in the area. The Jesuit friar Luís Mariano, who had traveled several times to the town between 1613 and 1620, describes it as a Muslim city with an estimated population of 6,000 to 7,000, which engaged in trade with Swahili and Arab ships. Townsmen spoke both the "*Buque*" language (that is Malagasy) and the tongue of "the Malindi coast," the Swahili language.[31] Other sources corroborate these details. The smaller Antalaotra port towns also engaged in the coastal trade, in particular Sada (Anorotsangana) and the region of the Bay of Ampasindava in the north.[32]

It seems that the prosperity of these towns was largely based on the slave trade. Some kingdoms situated in central Madagascar continuously waged war on each other. Capturing slaves was certainly one of the main purposes of these conflicts, because the numerous war prisoners were intended for sale to the "Moors" of Langany or Boeny.[33] Moreover, the

aim of these sorties was "to capture rather than kill."[34] Most of the slaves seem to have been driven to the shore by inhabitants from the interior and the highlands named "Hova,"[35] who were certainly settled in the region later called Imerina.[36] An account dated 1640 states that every year the Hova came down the river Mahavavy, south of the Bay of Boeny, forming "caravans" of 10,000 heads of cattle and 2,000–3,000 captives to be sold in Boeny.[37] The Antalaotra monopolized the trade with the island inhabitants like the Swahili did with the African mainland.[38] Thus, the intense slave trade in northwestern Madagascar in this period can be explained by this continuous and massive supply of slaves from the center of the island. According to Philippe Beaujard fortified villages appeared in the highlands around the fifteenth century and the growth of humid rice cultivation may have sustained a demographic growth and indirectly the slave trade.[39] Although this traffic may have originally been linked to a troubled political situation, it is beyond doubt that this trade was supported by conflicts that became razzias, if not actual enslaving wars, to supply the slave market controlled by the Antalaotra. They then sold the captives to Swahili and Arab traders in the port towns of Langany, and later Boeny, and sometimes in the region of Sada.[40]

The Comoro archipelago, particularly the islands of Anjouan and Mohely, was the second area frequented by Swahili or Arab slave traders because it acted as a platform for redistributing northwestern Madagascar slaves. That trade was one of the principal incomes of the archipelago, which enjoyed great trading prosperity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and stood apart from Portuguese claims.[41] As early as 1521 there are references that Comorian traders bought slaves in Madagascar, along with rice, meat and cattle, and then sold them to the ships reaching the archipelago.[42] It even seems, if we accept the claims of Turkish author Piri Reis, that slaves were not only stocked but also encouraged to breed before their export.[43] This raises the issue of whether slaves owned by Swahili or Comorian masters could be sold after they had spent some time as domestic or field slaves during which time they had undergone some acculturation. This problem, more broadly linked to the general issue of African slavery, needs further research.[44]

The Arab traders visiting Madagascar and the Comoro Islands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mainly came from the Red Sea and the South Arabian coast. Yet most of the slave purchasers were Swahili from cities of the "Malindi coast," that is from Mombasa to Mogadishu. This trade is mentioned as early as 1506, and some seventeenth century sources specify that they went to Madagascar each year.[45] Other goods were bought by the Swahili traders in the northwestern part of the island:

chiefly rice, cattle and meat, which were plentiful; however, the modes of transaction between the Swahili and the Antalaotra are not well known. Slaves and other commodities might have been bartered for Indian cloth and metals.[46] There was also a permanent trade in agricultural goods or slaves between the Comoros and the Swahili coast.[47]

Among the Swahili merchants, traders from the Lamu archipelago apparently dominated the Malagasy slave traffic to the East African coast. The trade of the city of Pate with Madagascar is mentioned for the first time in 1589,[48] followed by more frequent references during the seventeenth century. Pate Island and the towns of Lamu and Faza are also cited.[49] Furthermore, when Dom Jerónimo Chingulia, the rebellious king of Mombasa, took refuge in Boeny in 1635, he was defended by numerous Swahili from Pate, Lamu, and Siyu.[50] More broadly, the accounts about Chingulia between 1633 and 1637 are explicit on the networks between Pate, northwestern Madagascar, the Comoros, and the Hadramawt, mostly operated by the political elites of the Swahili city-state.[51] According to Mariano in 1616 and 1619, and Buckeridge in 1663, Pate ships sailed almost every year to Boeny to load slaves.[52] According to Buckeridge, an estimated 2,000 slaves were shipped each year from Boeny and Sada by Pate island merchants, but a Portuguese report dated 1663 (cited by Axelson) gives a higher estimate of around 3,000–4,000.[53] Very likely traders from the Lamu archipelago formed a powerful and active community in Boeny. We do not know if they resided in large numbers in the town outside the winter period, but we know that they were an influential element in town politics. In 1619 they were blamed by the Portuguese for the troubles that arose between the Jesuit missionaries and the Antalaotra leaders.[54] Lamu merchants were also much involved in the Comoro Islands slave trade. In 1620 the French trader Beaulieu met two ships off Ngazidja (la Grande Comore) coming from Mayotte and heading for Lamu, their port of registry: they were loaded with a great quantity of rice, smoked meat, and "many slaves."[55]

The tight connections between Madagascar, the Comoros, and the Swahili coast, particularly the Lamu archipelago, may be explained by the trading networks established by Hadrami and Yemeni lineages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At that time, probably from the years 1520–1540, many clans of sharifs and shaikhs, originating from Mogadishu, Barawa, Yemen, and most of all, from Hadramawt, settled on the East African coast. Renowned for their piety, they had great charisma. Often their first port of call was Pate where they founded lineages, as they did in Lamu and other towns in the region. During the seventeenth century most of these groups also settled on the rest of the coast from the Lamu archi-

pelago, notably in the Comoros, especially the islands of Anjouan, Moheli, and Ngazidja, where they sometimes ruled small sultanates. These clans took part in the sea traffic and trade as far away as Indonesia. According to B. G. Martin and Randall Pouwels, from the sixteenth century on, they created complex trade networks that were run by lineages settled in various places on the coast where they played prominent roles in local politics. [56]

We can surmise that these networks were partly based on the Malagasy slave trade. Considering their experience in the slave trade with the Horn before 1500, as evidenced by Eric Vallet, Yemeni and Hadrami merchants probably reoriented part of their traffic towards the Swahili coast and Madagascar after sometime around that date. This hypothesis could explain the vitality of the trading connections between the Lamu archipelago, the Comoros, and Madagascar as shown by much of the evidence. This does not mean that the Hadrami and Yemeni migrants had been responsible for establishing the slave trade from Madagascar, for the Antalaotra port cities, which had Shirazi foundation myths like the Swahili coastal cities, had already been in existence since the end of the fourteenth century and sometimes earlier.[57] It thus appears that the Malagasy slave trade existed before the sixteenth century.[58]

Besides the Arabic and Swahili chronicles cited by Martin and Pouwels, the Portuguese sources attest to tight trading links between the Swahili coast, the South Arabian peninsula, the Red Sea, Madagascar, and the Comoros. As early as 1570 Monclaro mentions the dense traffic between Pate and the Red Sea.[59] In the early seventeenth century Diogo do Couto clearly corroborates these connections. According to him, the island of Ngazidja was divided into twenty kingdoms, ruled by "Arab Moors" (*Mouros Arabios*—some perhaps were lineages of Hadrami and Yemeni origin) who had reached the "coast of Malindi" before settling on the island. Each year traders from "Mecca" (the Red Sea) came to the island to obtain slaves and various products.[60] As mentioned before, the Arab merchants going to the Comoro Islands mostly came from southern Arabia, and slaves were principally exported to that area, mainly to Mocha, Aden, al-Shihr, and Kishn.[61] For instance, a 1611 English account states that four small ships sailed each year to Mocha from the "coast of Swahell" loaded with slaves (purchased in Madagascar), ivory, and ambergris.[62] These port towns were the principal Arabian commercial centers linked to the East African coast before the advent of Oman as a naval power in the late seventeenth century. One of their functions was to re-export to the Red Sea and Egypt the products of the western Indian Ocean trade, like Indian cloth, and also slaves, as implied by some of the evidence: Piri Reis explicitly mentions Yemen and Jidah as importing Comoro slaves.[63]

Merchants from Mogadishu, Barawa, Malindi, Mombasa, the Lamu archipelago, and of course the Comoros, traded in Madagascar, some of them certainly descended from the Hadrami and Yemeni lineages settled in those regions.

Two documents confirm this hypothesis more firmly. According to Barreto in 1667, the traders from "Mecca," Barawa, and Mogadishu who visited the port cities of Madagascar to buy slaves were "*cacizes*."[64] In Portuguese texts, this expression, transcribed from the Arabic *qasis* (priest), or its Swahili equivalent *kasisi*, usually refers to a Muslim religious figure, possibly a sharif or other person believed to have religious charisma. A statement by São Domingos in 1630 is even more explicit: "To this island of Pate come ships, on their way from Mecca to the island of Saint Laurence [Madagascar] with sharifs, who are their *cassizes* [*qasis*], and who spread their sect there, and take back many *Buques* [*Buki* —Malagasy], pagan children, to bring them to Mecca."[65] This extract sheds light on the connections between the Red Sea, the Lamu archipelago towns, and Madagascar or the Comoros. These trading networks appear to be partially run by sharifian groups, settled from the south of the Arabian Peninsula to the slave exporting lands. Even if evidence fails to identify the specific lineages that settled in Madagascar, there is no doubt that Swahili and Arab migrants settled there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attracted by trading opportunities.[66] Moreover, in the early eighteenth century, after the Sakalava conquest of northwestern Madagascar, links remained strong between the region and the Lamu archipelago. An Antalaotra tradition maintains that an Islamized Sakalava princess married an "Arab" from Pate.[67]

Chronicles and oral traditions dealing with the prestigious Hadrami and Yemeni clans that settled on the Swahili coast during this period date back to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All insist on their fame and religious proselytism, their role as political mediators, or their decisive help to the Swahili against the Portuguese and the Oromo.[68] Trade, particularly the slave trade, was probably their main goal in settling in eastern Africa, but it is not surprising that such traffic would not be mentioned in traditions or written accounts from the late nineteenth century.

We do not have detailed information on the way the Swahili sold the slaves to the Arab merchants. Possibly the latter did not make the long journey to Madagascar and the Comoros, but rather obtained slaves in the Swahili port cities where they also purchased other products, chiefly ivory. The slave trade is rarely mentioned by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, maybe because it was much less than it would become in the next century. Indeed, the Portuguese did not have a great interest in the

slave trade. Before the end of the sixteenth century there are few accounts of the Swahili coast trade in the archives. These accounts deal mostly with the regions of Kilwa, Mozambique, and Sofala where the slave trade made up a minor part of the sixteenth-century trade. Yet we know that the two Ottoman expeditions, which sailed as far as Mombasa, visiting several ports along the way in 1585–1586 and 1588–1589, obtained slaves from the Swahili.[69] In the seventeenth century the Lamu archipelago dominated the Swahili slave trade from Madagascar and the Comoros; it appears to have been the main port of call for coastal slave traders, probably since the end of the preceding century. An estimated 2,000–3,000 slaves were said to be exported annually to the island of Pate, so the scale of the traffic was quite considerable. While sojourning in Pate in 1606, Gaspar de São Bernardino was told that "Arab Moors" had reached the city to purchase young slaves, and Nicolau de Orta Rebelo, who accompanied him, mentions in his own account that the ship that took them from Pate to Hormuz was loaded with many slaves.[70] In addition to the Portuguese evidence and Buckeridge's account, an English source dated 1645 states that slaves were cheap in Pate and Barawa.[71]

The preeminence of the Lamu archipelago as a redistribution port of Malagasy slaves can be explained by existing trading networks with Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, as well as its outlying position from Portuguese headquarters on the Swahili coast. From the early 1590s Mombasa was under the control of the Portuguese who often visited and patrolled the region located between the town and Mozambique until the late seventeenth century.[72] Arab ships certainly reached the outlying parts of the Lamu archipelago, because ships had to pay taxes in Mombasa, unlike Pate island (before the building of a custom house in Pate in 1633).[73] Lisbon complained that trading ships often frequented this region, which grew rich to the detriment of Mombasa.[74] Likewise Arab ships generally avoided Mombasa because of trade restrictions instigated by the Portuguese. Finally, the Portuguese probably opposed the selling of slaves by the Swahili to the Arabs, because of their systematic Islamization, which was denounced by many authors. Thus, as noted by Buckeridge, slaves were abundant and cheap on the whole coast, except in the places where the Portuguese prevailed.[75] As in the Comoros, the slave trade on Pate Island benefited from the reduced presence of the Portuguese who had been definitively expulsed from the region in 1660.[76] Eventually all the factors favorable to the slave trade were linked: the Hadrami and Yemeni lineages settled in those areas where the Portuguese were not very influential, mainly the Lamu archipelago and the Comoros. We must add that other towns, principally Malindi and Mombasa, welcomed Arab slave

traders in the beginning of the sixteenth century, followed by Barawa and Mogadishu in the seventeenth century. Probably Swahili and Comorian traders also went to Arabia or the Persian Gulf to sell slaves.[77] Bigger Swahili ships were able to sail to Arabia, and it seems very likely that, from time to time, the richest Swahili kings and traders sent their own ships to the western coast of India.[78]

It is difficult to estimate the scale of the Swahili slave trade between Madagascar and the regions of Mombasa and the Lamu archipelago. Because sources are so few for the sixteenth century, we may very likely underestimate the importance of slave traffic during that time. Yet it seems that the slave trade grew during the seventeenth century, for which we have more documentation. Portuguese sources comment more frequently on the slave trade by the Muslims. The growth of this trade was perhaps linked to the population growth of the towns in the Lamu archipelago in the seventeenth century, particularly Pate.[79] Various accounts support claims that merchants from the Red Sea, Barawa, and Mogadishu exported an estimated 3,000 slaves a year in the mid-seventeenth century from Madagascar.[80]

Slave export estimates are derived from accounts of the Malagasy highland trade, Barreto's account, the trade by ships from Pate Island, and Portuguese accounts of trade with Mombasa, Malindi, Barawa, Mogadishu and other Swahili coastal towns. Armstrong proposes a rough estimation ranging from 40,000 to more than 150,000 slaves exported from Boeny during the seventeenth century, which takes into account the whole non-European slave trade (Swahili, Comorian, and Arab).[81] In such a context, we suggest that the estimate for the Swahili trade may have been 2,000 to 3,000 slaves per year direct from Madagascar (in peak times), excluding the trade with the Comoros or by Comorians. Furthermore, such figures are credible when considering the loading capacity of East African ships or ships built elsewhere but used by Swahili merchants. For example, in 1506 two ships belonging to leading inhabitants of Kilwa were inspected by the Portuguese, each capable of transporting 180 slaves.[82] Likewise in 1616 a great Pate merchant, calling at Anjouan en route for Madagascar, took on board his ship 250 to 300 shipwrecked Portuguese.[83] An English document dated 1646 states that an Anjouan ship landed on the island with 500 slaves from Boeny, but this figure may be an overestimation.[84] Finally, some Swahili ships were big enough to be able to sail to Arabia, as mentioned above.

Prior to the eighteenth-century, slave traders (Portuguese, Swahili, Comorian, and Arab) also obtained slaves from the East African mainland. The Portuguese obtained slaves from the Kerimba Islands and the

mainland populations of Mozambique, particularly the Makua, starting in the late sixteenth century. Besides the Malagasy slave supply networks, Swahili traders also obtained slaves from the coastal interior. It is likely that Swahili from the north of this region also bought slaves, as stated by Santos.[85] When considered together, however, available sources show that the traffic in slaves was far from the scale of the slave trade in the eighteenth century. Previously, trade in ivory surpassed any other trade in the area.[86]

On the rest of the Swahili coast north of Cape Delgado, the slave trade with mainland communities was much reduced, if it existed at all. This situation continued until the nineteenth century, except for the Kilwa region. So far no sources have surfaced that deal with the Swahili coast trade between 1500 and 1800, apart from some evidence of rare and minor exceptions like Katwa, a population of Somali origin that settled in the area between the Lamu archipelago and Barawa in the seventeenth century. According to Santos they specialized in captive women and eunuch children. In 1624 Lobo learned that slaves were sold in the Juba River area, in particular Katwa.[87] The Portuguese also owned Katwa slaves.[88] It is also possible that Oromo women from this region were purchased as concubines, and this continued into the nineteenth century.[89] This trade in very specific and expensive slaves remained secondary. As evidenced by numerous Portuguese documents, ivory, agricultural products, and other commodities were the main trades with groups in the hinterland.

In these areas Swahili traders never instigated war or razzia on the surrounding populations for the purpose of getting captives for sale. Swahili society was principally mercantile and not warlike. Merchants obtained slaves from other Swahili communities in Madagascar or the Comoros or from the mainland populations themselves in the Cape Delgado or Juba River areas. The Swahili city-states often appear as weak military powers, frequently attacked by their mainland neighbors, or else dependent on military forces recruited among the mainland people for their defense.[90] Examples of this abound. In any case, it would have been unwise diplomacy for the Swahili to raid the pagan communities on the coastal mainland with whom they had close clientele ties, based on essential trade, political, and military alliances and payment of tributes.[91] These clientship relations sometimes resulted in the Swahili imposing tribute payments in slaves. According to the traditions of the Pokomo, a Bantu-speaking people residing on the banks of the Tana River south of Lamu, sometime before the nineteenth century Swahili from the Lamu archipelago had imposed on Pokomo villages under their authority a tribute of two boys and two girls from each big village and one of each for small settlements.[92] The

presence of Pokomo smiths of slave origin in Siyu seems to confirm this.[93] Slave labor of this sort, however, cannot be compared to the Malagasy slave trade, although it amounted to an oppressive clientship, forming part of the complex relations of dependence. Such tribute arrangements were limited and very rare. Later, traditions assert that this tribute was replaced by payments in bags of rice.[94]

Unlike the southern Swahili coast in the eighteenth century, slave trade networks between the deep interior and the coast to the north of Kilwa did not develop during this era. We can surmise that conditions of the mainland trade routes, the political situation, and demographic dynamics of the area did not favor such a traffic, contrary to the situation in Madagascar, and later, the Mozambique and Kilwa regions. The demand for slaves was not sufficiently attractive to interest other areas of slave purchasing, for the Malagasy supply was large enough to meet existing demand.

PORTUGUESE AND INDIAN DEMANDS

We turn from our discussion of the Arab slave demand to evaluate Portuguese involvement in the slave trade.[95] Apart from the Mozambique region, the Portuguese obtained many slaves in Sofala and its hinterland, whom they employed in their settlements in the area.[96] Between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century a large number of slaves also came from the regular trade between Mozambique and the port cities of northwestern Madagascar, and sometimes from the Comoros.[97] This traffic was much smaller than the one run by the Swahili and the Arabs to supply the Muslim market, because the Portuguese presence on the shores of Madagascar was not as massive or as regular.[98] The Portuguese also obtained slaves from the Swahili north of Kilwa. Most of the slaves were destined for Goa or other Portuguese settlements, where they were employed by the Portuguese administration as soldiers or sailors or sold as servants. [99] For instance between September 1623 and August 1626, 39 Africans were baptized by Augustinian priests in the Portuguese settlement of Muscat: three are described as Katwa, four as Malagasy, the remaining are only mentioned as "Cafres."[100] Zanzibar appears to have been one of the main areas of slave purchasing for the Mombasa Portuguese, a trade run by settlers established in Zanzibar and its Swahili inhabitants. It is possible that the slaves were born on the island as they were numerous according to Monclaro.[101]

It is difficult to estimate the scale of the Portuguese slave trade from the Swahili coast. Demand from India was small, probably around a few hundred slaves a year, as labor was abundant and cheap in India.[102] Fur-

thermore, it is highly improbable, for religious reasons, that the Portuguese would have been involved in the slave trade with Arabia. Nevertheless, they doubtless obtained captives on the Swahili coast itself for local use as servants, manpower for the administration, and perhaps agricultural labor. The Portuguese living in Mombasa around 1630 owned many slaves, Malagasy, Katwa or imported from the Zambezi area.[103] Bocarro mentions that the Portuguese introduced slaves to Pemba for cultivation, as perhaps attested by an anonymous Pemba chronicle discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century.[104] The slave trade between the Portuguese and the Swahili or the Antalaotra certainly contributed to the increase of the East African slave trade, as suggested by Pearson.[105] But it was only a modest addition to the slave trade for Arabia, perhaps amounting to between a few hundred to one thousand slaves (at the maximum) per year intended for India or the Portuguese settlements in the Persian Gulf or on the coast. Moreover, the involvement of the Swahili in this trade was probably limited, since the Portuguese also obtained captives from non-Swahili populations on the mainland. The Portuguese maintained a monopoly on the Swahili coast trade; English and Dutch slave traders were confined to Madagascar.[106]

Indian merchants, both Muslim and Hindu (*Vania*), went each year to the Swahili coast where it is likely that they bought slaves from the Swahili. We know that African slaves were present in India, but the absence of evidence suggests that this traffic was very rare. A solitary account refers to the slave trade before the eighteenth century: in 1518 a ship from the Gujarat region, coming from Malindi and heading for Cambay, had slaves on board, although most of the freight was ivory and metals.[107] Much later, in 1777 the French slave trader Morice says that Surat merchants were involved in the Zanzibar slave trade, but those slaves may have been destined for the Persian Gulf where Indian traders were numerous.[108] African slaves were present on the western shore of India, outside the Portuguese settlements, but they were not numerous and most likely were exported from Arabia or the Persian Gulf and were born in the Horn.[109] Thus, it seems almost certain that no direct significant slave trade existed between the East African coast and India from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century.

THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY AND SLAVE IMPORTATION INTO SWAHILI SOCIETY

Probably the Swahili purchased slaves from Madagascar or the Cape Delgado and Juba areas for their own needs. Despite the fact that none of

the scholars working on the Swahili coast has examined that matter, most of them admit that there were small numbers of slaves in Swahili society before the nineteenth century.[110] Both the slave trade and the status of slavery in Swahili society before that time requires further exploration, particularly the modes of dependency and servitude in Swahili culture, and their importance in the socioeconomic organization of the city-states.[111] In this study we suggest that imported slaves, as distinct from clients from the hinterland, were also employed by the Swahili, which does not mean that their status in Swahili society was totally different from the status of mainland clients. The information in the Portuguese sources makes it difficult to distinguish between "slaves," who might actually be freeborn clients, from slaves who are kinless "absolute outsiders," that is captives from raided societies.[112] This problem stems from the fluidity and ambiguity of the status of dependent people in Swahili society: slaves were considered more like personal clients and much less like chattels.[113] Thus, for the nineteenth century, the distinction between slaves and other subordinates is difficult to perceive.[114] The terms for various kinds of subjection in the Portuguese sources include words like *negros*, *cafres* (from the Arabic *kafir*: infidel, pagan) and *escravos* (slaves), all of which often refers to clients as well as slaves.[115] Other expressions are more explicit, most of all *vassalos* (vassals), or *vassalos da terra firme* (vassals of the mainland), which designate mainland populations tied to a city on a clientship base.[116]

Nevertheless, some sources are less ambiguous. Although generally it is not easy to distinguish the origin and the status of the individuals employed by Swahili patrons, some of them were probably slaves imported from Madagascar or the Cape Delgado region. Dependents and slaves were used in very diverse ways on the East African coast. They served as laborers in some Swahili towns. Some servants in elite households probably came from slave origins.[117] A 1773 Dutch account mentions, for instance, that the citizens of Anjouan "do not work, but have everything done for them by their slaves," in the houses as well as in the fields. [118] Slaves might also serve as bodyguards, sailors, crafts workers, and sailors. [119] Among the Pokomo in Siyu some blacksmiths were slaves. The use of women slaves as concubines was certainly widespread. For example the mother of one of the sons of the king of Malindi in 1528 was a king's slave of "*Cafre*" origins.[120]

The majority of the clients were almost certainly employed in agriculture,[121] but imported slaves were also employed. In particular a rather important servile population might have occupied the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. Perhaps this might be explained by the fact that the Swahili

communities of those islands lacked contact with the mainland populations, so they had fewer mainland clients than the other city-states. Furthermore, the two islands were very fertile, particularly Pemba, which specialized in rice cultivation, and they traded agricultural products to Mombasa and other Swahili coast towns.[122] According to Bocarro, who wrote around 1634, the Pemba Swahili, like the Portuguese, had introduced "*Cafres*" to the island for cultivation.[123] The anonymous Pemba chronicle supports these remarks. In a rather confusing account, it states that some Portuguese, Shirazi, and Nabahani had settled on the island in the early seventeenth century. Each group came with numerous slaves who were settled on the agricultural lands of the island. It should be noted that these slaves were inherited along with the properties, which clearly indicates that they were actual slaves, not assistants or helpers.[124] We could perhaps see this chronicle as an account of the introduction of a kind of slave mode of production on the island; however, this account should be used with caution, for it might have been linked to specific nineteenth-century claims.[125] Kent assumes that the Swahili demand for Malagasy slaves might have been associated with their wish to develop rice-growing on the coast in order to be independent from the importation of Malagasy rice.[126] While we lack sources to support this hypothesis, it seems credible in the light of Portuguese documentation. Apparently there was widespread use of slaves in the Comoros for domestic service and agricultural labor, which was certainly a consequence of the role played by the archipelago in the Malagasy slave trade. Two accounts, dated 1671 and 1673 respectively, mention the presence of slaves working on plantations of coconut trees and other fruit trees.[127] Further, among the rare documents dealing with the use of slaves on the Swahili coast, two letters written in 1598 by the king and the "Prince" of Pate are quite explicit, stating that the town inhabitants refused categorically and fiercely to accept the presence of Portuguese priests in the city for fear that the priests would convert the "slaves" to Christianity. At this time missionaries did indeed purchase slaves and then emancipated them. According to Pate officials, slaves were meant to help the inhabitants in cultivation and were thus essential to their prosperity.[128] Such slaves were certainly not mainland clients, as these latter would have been Islamized and so would not have been bought by the Portuguese priests. A Portuguese report states that in 1728 the islands of Mombasa, Pemba, and Zanzibar were inhabited by Muslims and pagan "captives" who had been bartered for cloth.[129] Later in the 1770s French and English accounts show that there were both free and slave peasants in the towns of Kilwa and Anjouan. In particular, Morice explains that on the island of Kilwa agriculture was done by "Moors" and "slaves," whereas the mainland

was cultivated by "Moors" and "free Africans."[130] Thus, the existence of mainland clients of free status, working side by side with Swahili patrons, did not exclude the presence of slaves brought into the coastal towns by the slave trade. To meet the need for laborers in agriculture or domestic service, the Swahili may have diverted for their own use slaves originally meant for the Arabian trade. Very likely, part of the 2,000 to 3,000 Malagasy slaves, who yearly passed through Pate island during the second half of the seventeenth century, were absorbed by local demand. At this time Pate town underwent a great expansion and became the principal trading and political power on the Swahili coast after Mombasa.[131]

According to Pouwels, chattel slavery, as opposed to dependency based on client relationships, seems to have been introduced on the Swahili coast by foreigners: mainly Portuguese, Mazrui, and Nabahani, and this appears to be confirmed by the Pemba chronicle cited above.[132] Although the evidence for this is not conclusive, it is tempting to see a link between these newcomers in eastern Africa and the obvious (or accelerated) expansion of the slave trade and slavery in Pemba, Zanzibar, and the Lamu archipelago from the end of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the proportion of imported slaves in Swahili society before the nineteenth century, and consequently, hard to suggest an estimation of the scale of the slave trade conducted in the Swahili towns. Yet it is clear that slave exports to these towns represented only a small part of the slave trade; most of it was intended for Arabia. There were abundant mainland clients who offered themselves for labor service to the Swahili.[133] Further study of East African coastal slavery prior to the nineteenth century will surely expand our knowledge on this subject.

OMANI INFLUENCE FROM THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE 1750S

During the second half of the seventeenth century Oman became a crucial trading partner on the East African coast, notably in the slave trade. Omani slave demand arose from Omani needs as well as demands from the Muscat trade. In 1650 the Portuguese were expelled from the town. Following this, in just a few decades Oman became one of the main maritime and mercantile powers in the Persian Gulf and the western Indian Ocean. Moreover, the sovereigns of Oman, called imams, took a larger part in the maritime trade and the economic development of the country.[134] Omani agriculture was mainly based on great date palm plantations, a complex irrigation system, and slave labor. It underwent a remarkable expansion through the efforts of Imam Saif bin Sultan (1692–1711).[135] Chronicles

record that he greatly developed the agriculture. He owned one-third of Oman's plantations, ordered the planting of around 30,000 date palms and 6,000 coconut trees, and ordered the renovation of a great part of the irrigation system. Its complexity and extent, as well as the size of the plantations, required the importation of a large force of servile manpower. Saif is said to have owned 700 male slaves, according to one report, and 1700 slaves of both sexes according to another.[136] Furthermore, according to Barendse, from the 1660s the cultivation of sugar cane may have greatly expanded in Oman. Based mostly on slave labor, the export of sugar from Muscat to the Persian Gulf might have boomed.[137] As elsewhere in Arabia, there were numerous uses for slaves as concubines, servants, sailors, or pearl divers after the conquest of the region by Saif bin Sultan.[138] Military slaves of African origin belonging to the monarchs were also numerous.[139] Sheriff estimates that imports may have amounted from 500 to 1,000 slaves per year in the eighteenth century.[140] It seems clear that local demand increased substantially by the end of the seventeenth century.

At this time Muscat became a very active entrepôt for the whole Persian Gulf, being an ideally located port of call for the merchandise of India and East Africa. We can assume that the town became an important center for the redistribution of the East African slaves for the Persian Gulf, and that Omani traders provided themselves with slaves from the Swahili trading ports. From the 1660s onward Omani merchants visited the East African coast perhaps every year. Contacts were mainly with the Lamu archipelago, independent from the Portuguese since 1660. Pate, in particular, had very close political and economic links with Oman. Ivory and slaves were certainly the main trading products. At this time Pate was largely involved in the Malagasy slave trade.[141] For all these reasons, it is highly probable that the trading connections between Pate and Muscat were partly aimed to supply the Omani demand for slaves.

During the early 1690s Oman imposed its sovereignty over the island of Pate. Hamilton, who had traveled to Oman, stated that in the 1720s the Pate trade in ivory and slaves was exclusively intended for Muscat. He observed that the purpose of the Omani conquest of the city-state around 1692 was to appropriate these two trades.[142] After the siege of Fort Jesus, the Portuguese base in Mombasa, from 1696 to 1698, the Portuguese were expelled from the Swahili coast north of Cape Delgado. Thereafter, Oman dominated the Swahili shore and put garrisons and factories in Kilwa, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, and Pate. The first cause of Omani armed intervention in Mombasa was a military and trading alliance between the Omani faction in the town and some of the Mijikenda communities inhabiting the mainland to control the ivory trade.[143] Despite this, we can

suppose that the control of the slave trade was an additional motivation for the Omani conquest, as Risso suggests.[144] Because of the expulsion of the Portuguese, documentary accounts are scarce, and thus it becomes difficult to get a clear understanding of the trade structures on the East African coast between 1698 and 1750. Clearly, the Omani dominated this maritime trade, with slaves comprising the second exported commodity, after ivory.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, northwestern Madagascar was still a slave exporting area, but this traffic decreased to the advantage of the Cape Delgado region and Kilwa. At the end of the seventeenth century, probably around 1685, the Bay of Boeny area was subjugated by Sakalava conquerors coming from the south of the island. The Antalaotra kept trading, but they were henceforth under the power of the Sakalava monarchs. During the first decades of the eighteenth century the trading port of Boeny (Masalajy) was progressively challenged by the Bay of Bombetoka, but the slave trade continued in both areas.[145] According to Dutch accounts dated 1694 and 1696, "Arab" traders bought numerous slaves in Boeny.[146] Moreover, according to an account in a 1708 French travel journal, Muscat merchants seem to have been the main slave purchasers in Antalaotra ports of trade.[147] Until the mid-eighteenth century the slave trade remained active in northwestern Madagascar, run by Swahili, Omani, European, and sometimes Sakalava traders.[148] Yet the Malagasy slave traffic to the East African coast appears to have diminished markedly during the eighteenth century, perhaps because military conflicts on the island decreased.[149] Thus, the slave trade between the Comoros and Madagascar continued on a small scale in the 1770s, but in the meantime the Comoro Islands ceased to be an important slave trading center. Although the Omani still visited the Bay of Bombetoka, they purchased very few slaves.[150] By the end of the century slaves were even imported from the East African coast by the Sakalava.[151]

Conversely, the slave trade on the coast from the Kerimba archipelago to Kilwa increased appreciably in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Afterwards it largely supplanted the Malagasy slave trade. Information gathered by Portuguese settlers in Mozambique and in the Cape Delgado islands shows that the Omani actively traded in the area, looking for ivory and slaves from the Swahili or the Yao who had developed important trading networks between the interior and the coast.[152] Ivory was the main commodity transported to the coast by the Yao, but we can reasonably assume that captives were also traded along these networks, which greatly expanded the scale of slave exports in the second half of the century. Between 1708 and 1711, the Omani were numerous north of Cape Delgado

and sometimes in the Portuguese territory, where they traded with Kilwa.[153] There the Omani also obtained slaves from the Swahili. In 1698 the Omani accused the queen of Kilwa of helping Portuguese refugees and demanded that she deliver a hundred slaves to them. Later in 1711 she was charged with aiding the escape of slaves belonging to the Omani.[154]

On the northern coast, Hamilton stated that Pate also provided slaves to the Omani. Moreover, when the Portuguese succeeded in retaking Mombasa in 1728, they found "innumerable" slaves during the looting of the Omani ward. Several accounts record that about 500 Omani surrendered and that they had 1,000 male and female slaves in their service.[155] In 1729 the Portuguese were once again evicted from Mombasa. Until the 1770s no sources are available to assist in establishing an estimate of the slave trade on the Swahili coast, particularly in the main coastal slaving port of Kilwa; however, we know that Swahili traders were active north of the Kerimba Islands where they purchased slaves, ivory, and other products for the mainland populations or for the Portuguese and Luso-Africans inhabiting the area. These Swahili merchants came from Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Pate.[156] A 1754 report states that slave trading was their principal trade.[157] Although this traffic supplied slaves for the Omani living in East Africa and the Swahili themselves, its main purpose was certainly to supply the Muscat market, which had become the first outlet of the Swahili coast commodities of which slaves were prominent.[158]

While lack of sources makes it difficult to estimate the Swahili coastal slave trade in the first half of the eighteenth century, a few certainties emerge. We know that the Malagasy slave trade was important at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it was gradually supplanted by the increasing Swahili and Omani trade in Cape Delgado and Kilwa from 1698, mostly supplied by the Yao trading routes. By this time slaves were possibly the second most important export from the coast, chiefly to Muscat. Thus, during the second half of the seventeenth century Oman established political domination over the Swahili city-states, which contributed to the reorientation of the slave trade networks. Probably these trade networks had been operated by lineages of Hadrami and Yemeni origins that had settled in the Swahili and Comorian towns and were largely oriented toward the Red Sea, but they began to be partially replaced by Omani with trading networks in Muscat. This trend increased in the last third of the eighteenth century, when Zanzibar, controlled by the Omani, centralized most of the slave trade. Swahili traders grew increasingly dependent on trade with Muscat. The Lamu archipelago, particularly Pate town, remained very active in the slave trade until the end of the eighteenth century, despite the drying up

of the Comoros and Madagascar slave trade; Pate merchants often visited Kilwa and the Cape Delgado for slave trading.[159]

After 1689 the changing political and economic situations of the East African coast suggest that the slave trade decreased somewhat at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Omani domination did not always favor the trading interest of the Swahili who became increasingly dependent on the Muscat trade. Conflict frequently occurred between the Omani forces and some Swahili city-states from 1698 to 1727, sometimes degenerating into violent uprisings, particularly in Kilwa. The Swahili, once free from Portuguese suzerainty, resented the Omani occupying forces whom they accused of threatening their sovereignty and hindering freedom of trade. During the years 1700–1710 the Swahili also criticized the Omani for not sending enough merchant ships to the East African coast or for importing poor quality cloth, which prejudiced the Swahili trade.[160]

The coast trade with the Omani suffered severely from the 1720s to the end of the 1740s. This was partly due to internal affairs in Oman, for from 1719 to 1749 the sultanate was disrupted by several civil wars, which split the country into two rival factions in disputes about the succession of the imams. This had serious repercussions on the coast.[161] In the 1720s the Omani factions in the Swahili towns tore at one another, sometimes involving the Swahili in the struggles. The Mombasa Omani even attacked those settled in Zanzibar, and ships belonging to one faction were banned from the port towns controlled by the opposing faction or by local Swahili authorities.[162] This continued into the next decade. In 1734 Omani civil strife prevented ships from sailing to Mombasa, with the result that there was a shortage of cloth and other essential trade commodities for the Swahili towns. Again between 1739 and 1745 the Mombasa Omani did not receive reinforcements or textiles.[163]

CONCLUSION

This reevaluation of the Swahili slave trade has shown that it was already important before French and Omani demands for slaves stimulated its expansion in the second half of the eighteenth century. It seems that the traffic grew from the end of the sixteenth century and then declined a bit in the first half of the eighteenth century. This rise and decline occurred for several reasons. In the early sixteenth century the Portuguese began to take over the thriving gold and ivory trade of the southern Swahili coast in Sofala, Mozambique, and Kilwa. From the 1560s onward, they had established control over this area. Some Swahili merchants may have then turned to the slave trade to make up for the loss of this market. Another hypothesis

is that the slave trade from the Horn of Africa, once important,[164] diminished in the second half of the sixteenth century, causing a rise in the Arab demand for slaves imported from the East African coast. As we say, slave trade networks existed between southern Ethiopia, where pagan populations were raided by Christians and Muslims alike, and the Red Sea.[165] Perhaps the Oromo invasion of the region in the mid- sixteenth century considerably disrupted these networks and cut off access. Recent research has rediscovered the networks of Muslim trading towns settled between the Red Sea and the Ethiopian highland, the vitality of their trade is now well evidenced. But we also know that these inland networks greatly declined after the mid-sixteenth century, as did Zayla.[166] The Yemeni and Hadrami may have then turned to the Swahili coast to obtain slaves, although it should be noted that the Horn slave trade continued during the following centuries.

Other factors contributed to increase the demand for servile labor. Portuguese settlements in Mozambique, Mombasa, and India demanded East African slaves for household service or agricultural manpower. In addition, the new prosperity of some Swahili city-states, mainly in the Lamu archipelago, required slaves to work as builders, sailors, and peasants or as status symbols of conspicuous consumption as concubines, servants, guards, and craftsmen. Moreover, agricultural development in Pemba and Zanzibar seems to have begun at this time and probably required a certain work force of peasants of servile origin – though limited in number and working alongside freeborn clients imported from the mainland. Recent Hadrami and Yemeni migrants settled on the coast may have sustained and strengthened slave traffic to Arabia for they had intimate knowledge of both the demand in Arabia and Red Sea towns as well as the supply networks in Madagascar, the Comoros, and the Lamu archipelago. They had also experience of slave trading from Zayla. Lastly, during the second half of the seventeenth century the trading and economic growth of Oman further stimulated an increase in the demand for slaves.

Because of the lack of sources, it is not possible to estimate the scale of the slave trade in the sixteenth century. Figures do exist in the seventeenth century historical documentation; however, these derive from scattered Portuguese and English sources that must be treated cautiously. A few scholars have offered estimates of the slave trade on the East African coast. Austen asserts that an average figure of 3100 slaves were yearly exported between 650 and 1920, but this covers such a large chronological period that his estimate seems questionable, more so because he does not cite his evidence. [167] Lovejoy makes the assumption that around 1,000 slaves were shipped each year to Arabia in the seventeenth century,[168] but this appraisal is not supported by the assessments given in contemporary

documents. According to the estimation given for the Malagasy trade toward Boeny and the figures put forward by Buckeridge, Barreto, and the 1663 Portuguese account cited by Axelson, the Swahili slave trade from Madagascar amounted to between 2,000 and 3,000 slaves a year in the seventeenth century.[169] If we add to these figures the direct trade run by Arabs and Comorians in the Antalaotra port towns, we can suppose that the whole Malagasy slave trade amounted to around 2,000 to 5,000 slaves per year, not counting the European slave trade in the region. These estimates are corroborated by numerous sources of various origins, which very clearly show that slave trading was one of the main activities of the major port towns of northwestern Madagascar and the Comoros in the seventeenth century as well as between the Swahili coast and southern Arabia.

Thus, the scale of the global slave trade run by Swahili, Comorian, and Arab merchants, who provided themselves in Madagascar and the Cape Delgado and Juba areas, might have fluctuated between 3,000 to 6,000 slaves a year in the seventeenth century, which was - again - a peak period. However I favor a low estimate of around 3,000 to 4,000 because of the bias of the sources, particularly the Portuguese accounts.[170] Actually 4,000 slaves might be a possible figure for peak years only: it is impossible to be more precise.[171] This appraisal includes the slaves sold for local use in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, in the Swahili towns, and in the Portuguese settlements, but it excludes the slave trade directly run by the Portuguese with the Antalaotra or the non-Swahili populations of the mainland. Moreover, we cannot assess the proportion of slaves shipped from or to each area. The Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf probably absorbed the majority of the captives, followed by the Swahili towns, and finally, the Portuguese settlements.

Even though these estimates must be considered as approximations, they are far below the transatlantic trade in the seventeenth century. Yet there is no doubt that the extent of this traffic had important socioeconomic consequences for East Africa. No doubt it exacerbated wars in Madagascar's interior. It is obvious that the slave trade took a very large part in the wealth of the Antalaotra port towns of northwestern Madagascar from the end of the sixteenth century. The slave trade, coupled with others like rice and cattle, stimulated urban growth in these towns in the fifteenth century through Swahili and Arab migration. The Comoro Islands may have experienced the same type of population growth at that time. Likewise, the rising prosperity of the Lamu archipelago merchants was mainly based on the ivory trade but also on the slave trade,[172] for its location offered opportunities for strategic connections with southern Arabia, Oman, and the mainland polities.[173] According to Pouwels, the

Hadrami and Yemeni immigrants markedly contributed to the wealth of the Lamu archipelago,[174] and we can conclude that the slave trade took a significant part in this. Moreover, the Swahili traffic in slaves offered an easily accessible servile labor source that might have sustained the beginning of a slave-based agriculture on Zanzibar and Pemba and, more generally, the development of a kind of servile dependency on the coast, although other factors also contributed to this development.

This reappraisal of the slave trade before 1750 demonstrates that it was based on firm networks well rooted in the economic life of some Swahili towns. Thus, the Swahili coast economy was ready to handle the expansion in the slave trade from the 1770s up until the second half of the nineteenth century. Further, the growth of the plantation economy on Zanzibar and Pemba in the first decades of the nineteenth century intensified demands for slaves; perhaps the roots of this servile labor are older than previously thought. It is hoped that future research will elaborate on the issues explored in this chapter.

Notes

1. This chapter is a revision of the article, "Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili, 1500–1750," *Azania* 38 (2003), 69–97. I would like to thank Laboratoire Mutations Africaines dans la Longue Durée, UMR 8054 CNRS-Université Paris 1, and l'Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique (IFRA), Nairobi, for financial support to conduct research in Lisbon and Kenya, and to present this paper at the conference on "Slavery, Islam and Diaspora," York University, Toronto, 24 October 2003. I also thank Randall L. Pouwels, Edward A. Alpers and Pier M. Larson for comments on earlier drafts. Naturally the views expressed herein are solely mine.
2. J. Middleton, *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization* (New Haven, 1992), 204.
3. Ibid., see the extensive bibliography.
4. On the nineteenth century, see F. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, 1977); A. Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873* (London, 1987); and J. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, NH, 1995).
5. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast, Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962); idem, *The French at Kilwa Island: An Episode in Eighteenth-Century East African History* (Oxford, 1965); and R. Ross, "The Dutch on the Swahili Coast, 1776–1778:

Two Slaving Journals," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* [hereafter *IJAHS*] 19 (1986), 305–60.

6. See E. A. Alpers: *The East African Slave Trade* (Nairobi, 1967); idem, "The French Slave Trade in East Africa (1721–1810)," *Cahiers d'études Africaines* 37 (1970), 80–124; idem, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975); Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*; E. B. Martin and T. C. Y. Ryan, "A Quantitative Assessment of the Arab Slave Trade of East Africa, 1770–1896," *Kenya Historical Review* 5 (1977), 71–91; and J. M. Filliot, *La traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1974).
7. R. Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856* (Oxford, 1938), 17–35.
8. Alpers, *The East African Slave Trade*, 7; idem, "The French Slave Trade in East Africa," 82; and J. de V. Allen, "Swahili Culture Reconsidered: Some Historical Implications of the Material Culture of the Northern Kenya Coast in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Azania* 9 (1974), 125. However it should be noted that Edward Alpers recently revised his views. E. A. Alpers, "Mozambique and 'Mozambiques': slave trade and the diaspora on a global scale," in B. Zimba, E. A. Alpers and A. Isaacman, eds., *Slaves routes and oral tradition in southeastern Africa* (Maputo, 2005), 49-50.
9. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "The Coast 1498–1840," in *History of East Africa,* eds. G. Mathew and R. Oliver, (Oxford, 1962), 1:152–55; and H. N. Chittick, "The East Coast, Madagascar and the Indian Ocean," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. R. Oliver (Cambridge, 1977), 3:184–85.
10. J. E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia, Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, 1971), 3; Martin and Ryan, "Quantitative Assessment of the Arab Slave Trade of East Africa," 71–75; B. A. Ogot, "Les mouvements de population entre l'Afrique de l'Est, la corne de l'Afrique et les pays voisins," in *La traite négrière du XVe au XIXe sieÌcle: documents de travail et compte-rendu de la réunion d'experts organiseìe, ed. UNESCO* (Paris, 1979), 183–84.
11. Notably R. W. Beachey, *The Slave Trade of Eastern Africa* (London, 1976), 8; Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 31; M. N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1998), 161–62; and M. Horton and J. Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society* (Oxford, 2000), 84–85.
12. P. J. J. Sinclair and T. Håkansson, "The Swahili City-State Culture," in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures,* ed. M. H. Hansen (Copenhagen, 2000), 468–70; and T. Spear, "Early Swahili History Reconsidered," *IJAHS* 33 (2000), 278–79. These two recent articles stress the need for a better understanding of these matters before the nineteenth century, particularly slavery.

13. See especially Freeman-Grenville, *Select Documents;* idem, *The French at Kilwa*; J. Strandes, *The Portuguese Period in East Africa* (Nairobi, 1961); E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600–1700* (Johannesburg, 1960); and idem, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488–1600* (Johannesburg, 1973).
14. R. L. Pouwels, "The East African Coast, c.780 to 1900 C.E.," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, eds. N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (Athens, 2000), 259–60; and idem, "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: Reviewing Relations in Historical Perspective," *IJAHS* 35 (2002), 395–96, 418; J. G. Prestholdt, "As Artistry Permits and Custom May Ordain. The Social Fabric of Material Consumption in the Swahili World, circa 1450 to 1600," *Working Papers* #3, Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, 1998, 23; T. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise (1650–1720)," *Journal des Africanistes* 72 (2002), 93, 96–97, 108; and idem, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810. Dynamiques endogènes, dynamiques exogènes," Ph.D. dissertation, Centre de Recherches Africaines, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2005.
15. For instance, R. K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar, 1500–1700* (New York, 1970); P. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce sur les côtes nord de Madagascar* (Lille, 1975); and M. Newitt, "The Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade before the Nineteenth Century," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 89–90 (1983), 139–65.
16. For a global perspective on the historiography and the debates on the inter-African and Muslim slave trades, see O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Les traites négrières, essai d'histoire globale* (Paris, 2004).
17. "Zanj" is the name given by medieval Arab and Persian authors to the inhabitants of the East African coast.
18. G. H. Talhami, "The Zanj Rebellion Reconsidered," *IJAHS* 10 (1977), 443–61.
19. Ibid., 445–51; and C. Allibert, ed., *Textes anciens sur la côte est de l'Afrique et l'océan Indien occidental* (Paris, 1990), 66–68, 74, 92. For western Africa, see N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, eds., *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Princeton, 2000).
20. Ibn Battuta, *Voyages*, ed. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1982), 2:94. Similarly, al-Masudi, who claims to have traveled on the coast around 915, does not cite the slave trade and focuses his account on the ivory trade. See Allibert, *Textes anciens sur la côte est de l'Afrique*, 75–86.
21. The Rasulid sultanate ruled Yemen and Hadramawt between 1229 and 1454. E. Vallet, "Pouvoir, commerce et marchands dans le Yémen rasulide (626-858/1229-1454)," Ph.D. dissertation, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2006, 341-353, 467-468. My thanks to Eric Vallet for his insights on the slave trade to and from Rasulid Yemen.
22. In Zanzibar, Pemba, and the adjacent mainland, the Wadebuli traditions mention the presence on the coast of a powerful community before the six-

teenth century, which seem to refer to Indians from the town of Daybul and the Sind region. They are said to have cruelly bullied the local people and forced them to work. According to Randall Pouwels, these traditions suggest an early slave trade between this area and India, since trade networks between northwestern India and East Africa are evidenced at that time. Nevertheless, this remains a hypothesis, as there is a lack of evidence to support this claim. The Wadebuli traditions and the early trade connections with India require more study. Pouwels, "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800," 396; personal communication with Pouwels; and Vernet, "Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili," 74–75. Besides, it should be noted that most of the traditions dealing with the ancient rulers of Pemba, whatever their origin (Wadebuli, Shirazi, or Mazrui), insist on their cruelty. See W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, Its History and Its People* (London, 1931), 140–44, 155. Furthermore, direct slave trading to India was almost nonexistent after the sixteenth century, as we will see.

23. Beachey, *Slave Trade of Eastern Africa*, 4; Talhami, "Zanj Rebellion Reconsidered," 457–61; and F. Renault and S. Daget, *Les traites négrières en Afrique* (Paris, 1985), 45–56. An increasing number of scholarly works are being published on the African diaspora in Asia and the Middle East. For instance see A. Catlin-Jairazbhoy and E. A. Alpers, eds., *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians* (Noida and Trenton, 2004); J. de Silva Jayasuriya and J.-P. Angenot, eds., *Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia* (Leyden, 2008).
24. C. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia, and Other Countries in the East* (Edinburgh, 1792), 2:219; and R. J. Barendse, *The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk and London, 2002), 260.
25. R. Brunschvig, "Abd," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyden, 1960), 1:33–34; Harris, *The African Presence in Asia*, 4; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 26; and E. A. Alpers, "Africans in India and the Wider Context of the Indian Ocean," in *Sidis and Scholars*, eds. Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers, 29–33.
26. G. de São Bernardino, *Itinerário da Índia por terra até à Ilha de Chipre* (Lisbon, 1953), 74; and T. de São Domingos, *Breve relação das christandades que os religiosos de N. Padre Sancto Agostinho tem* (Lisbon, 1630), f. 13v; and Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 37.
27. Brunschvig, "Abd," 26–34.
28. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*; G. Rantoandro, "Une communauté mercantile du nord-ouest: les Antalaotra," *Omaly sy Anio* 17–20 (1984), 195–210; C. Radimilahy, *Mahilaka: an Archaeological Investigation of an Early Town in Northwestern Madagascar* (Uppsala, 1998); P. Beaujard, "L'Afrique de l'est, les Comores et Madagascar dans le système-monde avant le XVI^{e} siècle," in D. Nativel and F. Rajaonah, eds., *Madagascar et l'Afrique* (Paris, 2007), 48, 72-74, 77, 83-85.
29. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, 519–79.

30. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, 243–81; and Henry T. Wright et al, "The Evolution of Settlement Systems in the Bay of Boeny and the Mahavavy River Valley, North-Western Madagascar," *Azania* 31 (1996), 37–73.
31. Buki is the ancient Swahili name of Madagascar. In the early seventeenth century Couto mentioned that the Antaloatra called Madagascar "Ubuque" (transcription of *Ubuki*), in D. do Couto, *Da Ásia* (Lisbon, 1778), 7-4-5, 311–12. See also "Relação da jornada e descobrimento da Ilha de S. Lourenço…;" and "Roteiro da Ilha de S. Lourenço…" in *Os dois descobrimentos da Ilha de São Lourenço mandados fazer pelo Vice-Rei D. Jerónimo de Azevedo nos anos de 1613 a 1616,* ed. H. Leitão (Lisbon, 1970), 208, 308, 310. Most of Luís Mariano's writings have been published in French by Grandidier in the *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar* [hereafter *COACM*] (Paris, 1904), v.2, but due to the poor translation, I am using Leitão's edition for the texts included in it.
32. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, 577–607.
33. Couto, *Da Ásia*, 7–4–5, 312; J. dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente*, ed. M. Lobato and E. Medeiros (Lisbon, 1999), 267; and "Diário da viagem da caravela Nossa Senhora da Esperança [1613–1614]" in Leitão, *Os dois descobrimentos da Ilha de São Lourenço*, 71.
34. "Relação da jornada e descobrimento da Ilha de S. Lourenço…" in Leitão, *Os dois descobrimentos da Ilha de São Lourenço*, 204.
35. "Hova" refers to the inhabitants of Imerina, or more generally in Imerina to the freemen who are not noble.
36. This trade is documented by Portuguese, English and French accounts, which all cite the name *Hova*. See "Relação da jornada e descobrimento da Ilha de S. Lourenço…"in Leitão, *Os dois descobrimentos da Ilha de São Lourenço*, 207; "A Voyage in ye ship Frances from Mossambique for St. Lawrence [1640]" in S. Ellis, "Un texte du XVII^{ème} siècle sur Madagascar," *Omaly sy Anio* 9 (1979), 157–158, 163; and Anonymous, "Mémoire sur les côtes orientales et occidentales d'Afrique contenant des instructions bonnes pour les navigateurs" (c.1696), Doc. 1, 25, Marine 3JJ342 Archives Nationales de France, Paris [hereafter ANF].
37. Ellis, "Un texte du XVII^{ème} siècle sur Madagascar," 157.
38. Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 267.
39. Beaujard, "L'Afrique de l'est, les Comores et Madagascar," 77, 84.
40. For the Sada slave trade, see "Lettre du Père Luis Mariano, datée de Mozambique le 24 août 1619," *COACM* 2:312; and N. Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book of Nicholas Buckeridge 1651–1654*, ed. J. R. Jenson (Minneapolis, 1973), 46.
41. Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 139–52.

42. "The Second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies…in January 1614;" and "Observations Collected Out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe [1615]," in S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, [1625–1626] 1965), 4:292, 315; "Relãche de Pieter van den Broecke aux īles Comores, en 1614," *COACM* 2:93; "Registre des conseils tenus pour le compte de la colonie anglaise de Madagascar (de W. Courteen et C^{ie})," *COACM* 5:518; and Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 149–50.
43. Piri Reis declared that, "They breed slaves like lambs and sheep." Quoted in C. Allibert, "Une description turque de l'océan Indien au XVIe siècle, l'océan Indien occidental dans le *kitab-i Bahrije* de Piri Reis (1521)," *Études Océan Indien* 10 (1988), 27.
44. Edward A. Alpers, personal communication.
45. Afonso de Albuquerque to King, 6 February 1507, *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497–1840* [hereafter *DPMAC*] (Lisbon, 1962–1975), 2:122–23; Allibert, "Une description turque de l'océan Indien," 21; Couto, *Da Ásia*, 7-4-5, 317; Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 267; "A Journall of the Third Voyage to the East India…Written by William Keeling [1608]," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 2:515; "Relação da jornada e descobrimento da Ilha de S. Lourenço…," in Leitão, *Os dois descobrimentos da Ilha de São Lourenço*, 207–08; "Lettre du Père Luis Mariano…24 août 1619," *COACM,* 2:312; Viceroy to King, Goa, 12 March 1623, Documentos Remetidos da Índia (hereafter DRI) 17, f.10, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Lisbon [hereafter AN/TT]; E. Axelson, ed., "Viagem que fez o Padre Ant. Gomez, da Comp.^{a} de Jesus, ao Imperio de de [sic] Manomotapa …," *Stvdia* 3 (1959), 229; M. Barreto, "Informação do estado e conquista dos Rios de Cuama…11 de dezembro de 1667," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 4 (1883), 55; and J. C. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Omaly sy Anio* 17–20 (1984), 213–16.
46. A. de Albuquerque to King, 6 February 1507, *DPMAC*, 2:120–23; Ellis, "Un texte du XVII^{ème} siècle sur Madagascar," 157; and Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 46.
47. Sources are plentiful about this trade; see for example: Viceroy to King, 27 December 1506, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo,* v.X*: gav. XIX–XX, maços 1–7* (Lisbon, 1974), 364; Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 270; "A Journall of All Principall Matters Passed in the Twelfth Voyage to the East-India, Observed by Me Walter Payton [1612];" and "The Second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies," both in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 4:183, 292.
48. Governor of India to King, Panaji, 4 December 1589, Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarias Provinciales, *Libro* 1551, 32/7, f.788, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical—Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, Lisbon [hereafter FUP].

49. "Lettre de Luis Mariano sur sa mission à la côte ouest (vers juillet 1616)," and "Lettre du Père Luis Mariano…24 août 1619," both in *COACM* 2:213, 305, 311–312; Axelson, "Viagem que fez o Padre Ant. Gomez…," 229; São Domingos, *Breve relação das Christandades*, f. 13v; and Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 46.
50. J. Nogueira, *Socorro que de Moçambique foi a S. Lourenço contra o Rei arrenegado de Mombaça fortificado na ilha Massalagem,* ed. M. Barreto (Lourenço Marques, 1971), 65.
51. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 199–205.
52. "Lettre de Luis Mariano…(vers juillet 1616)," and "Lettre du Père Luis Mariano… 24 août 1619," both in *COACM,* 2:213, 305; and Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 46.
53. Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 46; and Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600–1700*, 141.
54. "Lettre du Père Luis Mariano…24 août 1619," *COACM,* 2:305, 311–12.
55. A. de Beaulieu, *Mémoires d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales, 1619–1622, un marchand normand à Sumatra*, ed. D. Lombard (Paris, 1996), 70.
56. B. G. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times," *IJAHS* 7 (1974), 377–89; and Randall L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900* (Cambridge, 1987), 37–42. See also, Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 158–69, 179–80.
57. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, passim; C. Radimilahy, *Mahilaka*.
58. The Portuguese reported the slave trade with Malindi and Mombasa during their first trip to the island in 1506; see A. de Albuquerque to King, 6 February 1507, *DPMAC,* 2:122–23.
59. "Relação (cópia), feita pelo Padre Francisco de Monclaro…da expedição ao Monomotapa, comandada por Francisco Barreto," *DPMAC,* 8:354–55.
60. Couto, *Da Ásia*, 7–4–5, 317. The Portuguese, and Couto himself, usually refer to the Swahili as "Moors of the Coast (of Malindi)," as opposed to the "Arab Moors" or the "Moors of Arabia," that is inhabitants of Yemen, Hadramawt, and Oman.
61. Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 267, 270; "Relãche de Pieter van den Broecke aux īles Comores, en 1614," *COACM*, 2:93; "Registre des conseils tenus pour le compte de la colonie anglaise de Madagascar," *COACM*, 5:518; and Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 149–150. Some traders from Kishn (situated on the northeastern coast of Hadramawt) operated from the island of Socotra, which was ruled by the Kishn sultanate. Each year they sent ships to the Comoros to buy slaves and rice. "Observations of William Finch [1607];" and "A Journall of the Third Voyage to the East India [1608]" both in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 2:515 & 4:13–14.

62. This is the earliest mention of the name "Swahili" in an European document; the Portuguese never used the term. Sir H. Middleton, "The Sixth Voyage, Set Forth by the East Indian Company," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 3:155.
63. Allibert, "Une description turque de l'océan Indien," 27.
64. Barreto, "Informação do estado e conquista dos Rios de Cuama," 55.
65. São Domingos, *Breve relação das Christandades*, f. 13v. Although it does not mention the slave trade, a 1624 document refers to a sharif merchant from Aden who came to trade to Pate. João de Velasco to André Palmeiro, Diu, 25 July 1624 in *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX,* ed. C. Beccari, (Rome, 1912), 12:81.
66. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar*, 103–04; Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa," 387; and Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 145.
67. C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar* (Paris, 1845), 21–22.
68. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa," 381; and Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, 40–42.
69. Estimates for 1585–1586 are from Couto, *Da Ásia*, 10–8, 185; and for 1588–1589, from Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 355.
70. G. de São Bernardino, *Itinerário da Índia*, 74; and N. de Orta Rebelo, *Un voyageur portugais en Perse au début du XVII^e siècle,* ed. J. Verissimo Serrão (Lisbon, 1972), 77, 85.
71. "Registre des conseils tenus pour le compte de la colonie anglaise de Madagascar," *COACM,* 5:445.
72. For a lengthy and revised study of Portuguese rule over the Mombasa coast, see Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810."
73. Notably Baltasar Marinho, Goa, 4 February 1634, f.7, transcription of a document from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon [hereafter AHU], located in Fort Jesus Museum Library, Mombasa.
74. King to Viceroy, Lisbon, 25 January 1614, in *Documentos remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções* (Lisbon, 1889), 9:t.3, 13.
75. Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 46. It should be noted that corruption was rife and the customs did not work very well.
76. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 94.
77. For instance, the ships cited above, which went each year to Mocha, seem to belong to traders living on the Swahili coast. "The Sixth Voyage, Set Forth by the East Indian Company [1611]," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 3:155. A 1613 document states that the inhabitants of Mohely "build barkes upon this island, and trade with them, alongst the Coast of Melinde, and Arabia, with slaves and fruits." "A Journall of All Principall Matters Passed in the Twelfth Voyage to the East-India [1612]," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 4:183. Other documents dealing with the slave trade are less explicit, but

seem to imply that some of the ships owned by East African traders sailed to Arabia.

78. For a full discussion, see Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 150–55. Perhaps these ships were not *mitepe*, which were the traditional Swahili ships.
79. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 93–97; and idem, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," passim.
80. See Buckeridge's account; and Barreto, "Informação do estado e conquista dos Rios de Cuama," 55.
81. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 216.
82. Pero Ferreira Fogaça to King, Kilwa, 31 August 1506, *DPMAC,* 1:618–19; and Nuno Vaz Pereira to Fernão Cotrim, Kilwa, 14 January 1507, *DPMAC,* 2:36–37.
83. A. Bocarro, *Década 13 da história da Índia* (Lisbon, 1876), 1:636–37. Nevertheless, the ship was very packed and the Portuguese suffered as a result.
84. "Registre des conseils tenus pour le compte de la colonie anglaise de Madagascar," *COACM,* 5:515, 518.
85. J. Huygen van Linschoten, *Itineraìrio, viagem ou navegaçaÞo para as Indias orientais ou portuguesas*, ed. A. Pos and R. Loureiro (Lisbon, 1997), 82; Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 252, 299–300; and Barreto, "Informação do estado e conquista dos Rios de Cuama," 35.
86. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves*, 63.
87. Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 377–78; and J. Lobo, *The* Itinerário *of Jerónimo Lobo*, ed. D. Lockhart (London, 1984), 59.
88. João da Costa, "Titt.º dos christãos que se fizerão na christandade de Mascate pellos Rellegiozos de Nosso P.de de Santo Aug.º," Muscat, 22 August 1626, Manuscrito da Livraria n° 731, ff. 287-290, AN/TT; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Mombasa Rising against the Portuguese from Sworn Evidence* (Oxford, 1980), 57.
89. C. Pickering, *The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution* (Philadelphia, 1848), 211; C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* (Paris, 1856), 3:537; R. Brenner, "Renseignements obtenus relativement au sort du Baron de Decken et informations géographiques sur le pays de Brava," *Annales des voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie* (1868), 2:136; and M. Ylvisaker, *Lamu in the Nineteenth Century: Land, Trade, and Politics* (Boston, 1979), 119.
90. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu," 271–95, 303–40. The exception is Pate, which led military expeditions against the Katwa and the Bajun in the seventeenth century. These conflicts, however, were part of a much larger plan to conquer the whole area.
91. For example, the "*Muzungulos*" (Nyika/Mijikenda) of the mainland across from Mombasa described themselves as "vassals" of the king of Mombasa.

They had to supply the city with grain while the king was expected to offer them cloth. Antoìnio Bocarro, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades, e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental,* ed. I. Cid (Lisbon, 1992), 2:37–40. For a summary of Swahili intergroup relations, see R. L. Pouwels, "The Battle of Shela: the Climax of an Era and a Point of Departure in the Modern History of the Kenya Coast," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 123 (1991), 367–71, 381–82; Vernet, "Le territoire hors les murs des cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1600–1800," *Journal des Africanistes* 74 (2004), 381–411; and idem, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," *passim*.

92. A. Werner, "Some Notes on the Wapokomo of the Tana Valley," *Journal of the African Society* 12 (1912), 366; and idem, "The Bantu Coast Tribes of the East Africa Protectorate," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 45 (1915), 336.
93. H. Brown, "History of Siyu: The Development and Decline of a Swahili Town on the Northern Kenya Coast," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1985, 180.
94. Werner, "Notes on the Wapokomo," 366.
95. According to Kusimba, the Portuguese raided and enslaved the Swahili and other communities. He assumes that some Swahili and other coastal groups would have taken refuge on the mainland. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Walnut Creek, CA, 1999), 163–71. In another article the same author hypothesizes, from very weak evidence, that the Tsavo region west of Mombasa, suffered severely from slave raiding from 1500 onward. See C. M. Kusimba, S. B. Kusimba, and D. K. Wright, "The Development and Collapse of Precolonial Ethnic Mosaics in Tsavo, Kenya," *Journal of African Archaeology* 3 (2005), 260–65. While Portuguese military repression was often violent in cases of uprisings against their authority, no sixteenth or seventeenth century document corroborates such speculation, although Portuguese authors often insist at length on Portuguese retaliation. The Portuguese never enslaved the coastal and mainland populations north of Mozambique Island. Instead they acquired slaves solely through trade. Besides, as mentioned above, there was almost no slave trade in the interior of the Mombasa area.
96. The first mention of the purchase of a slave is dated 1505. Pero de Anhaia to Manuel Fernandes, Sofala, 6 December 1505, *DPMAC* 1:318–21. After this date such references are numerous.
97. Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 299; "The Second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 4:292; Ellis, "Un texte du XVII^{ème} siècle sur Madagascar," 157; Buckeridge, *Journal and Letter Book*, 44; and Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 150.
98. Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 150; and Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 216.

99. Linschoten, *Itinerário*, 82, 182; Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 335, 340; São Bernardino, *Itinerário da Índia*, 57; Bocarro, *O livro das plantas*, 2:42; and "William Alley: An English Visitor to Mombasa in 1667," in Freeman-Grenville, *Select Documents*, 190. In 1589 the towns of Faza, Siyu, and Pate were sentenced to deliver twenty slaves per year for the galleys of the *Estado da Índia.* Couto, *Da Ásia*, 10–11; Beachey, *Slave Trade of Eastern Africa*, 8; Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders*, 161; and Alpers, "Africans in India," in *Sidis and Scholars*, ed. Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers, 34–35, 56.
100. J. da Costa, "Titt.º dos christãos que se fizerão na christandade de Mascate…," Muscat, 22 August 1626, Manuscrito da Livraria 731, ff. 287-290, AN/TT.
101. "Relação (cópia), feita pelo Padre Francisco de Monclaro…," *DPMAC,* 8:346–47; and G. de São Bernardino, *Itinerário da Índia*, 50.
102. Linschoten, *Itinerário*, 182–83; Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves*, 95; and Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders*, 161.
103. Freeman-Grenville, *The Mombasa Rising against the Portuguese*, passim.
104. Bocarro, *O livro das plantas*, 2:40; "Jambangome ms., An Arabic Chronicle of Pemba," in J. Gray, "Zanzibar Local Histories (Part II)," *Swahili* 31 (1960), 121–22.
105. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders*, 161.
106. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 217–29; and L. Mosca, "Slaving in Madagascar: English and Colonial Voyages in the Second Half of the XVII Century," unpublished paper presented at the Conference on the Siddis of India and the African Diasporas in Asia, Goa, January 2006.
107. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to King, Cochin, 23 December 1518, *DPMAC,* 5:596–97.
108. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 107.
109. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia*, 34.
110. For a detailed discussion of the existence of slavery, see Randall Pouwels, "Battle of Shela," 375–81. For scattered references about slaves, see Freeman-Grenville, "The Coast 1498–1840," 152; Allen, "Swahili Culture Reconsidered," 125; Ylvisaker, *Lamu in the Nineteenth Century*, 20; and Horton and Middleton, *The Swahili*, 135.
111. See Pouwels, "Battle of Shela," 375–81.
112. C. Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: le ventre de fer et d'argent* (Paris, 1986), 68–78.
113. Pouwels, "Battle of Shela," 376–77; and Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 80–95.
114. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 94.
115. For instance, an account states that "slaves" were offered by the Sofala king to the Portuguese to help them to build a fort. J. Augur, "Conquista de las Indias de Persia & Arabia..." (Salamanca, 1512), extract in DPMAC*,* 3:612. But J. de Barros indicates that they were "Cafres," apparently free and remunerated. In Da Ásia (Lisbon, 1552), 1-10-2, f.120v.

116. Such terms are often encountered in accounts dealing with the Mijikenda (Nyika), clients of Mombasa, and the Oromo, Katwa, and Bajun, tied to one or the other city of the Lamu archipelago.
117. Abdalla bin Ali bin Nasir, *Al-Inkishafi, Catechism of a Soul,* ed. J. de V. Allen (Nairobi, 1977), 64.
118. A century earlier Fryer already noticed that the heads of family of Anjouan had several slaves in the service of their households. J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being Nine Year's Travels, 1672–1681,* ed. W. Crooke (London, 1909), 1:61. For references about field slaves, see Ross, "The Dutch on the Swahili Coast," 311.
119. In 1673 the king of Anjouan was surrounded by a guard of a dozen slaves. Fryer, *New Account of East India*, 1:62. In 1776 the bodyguards of the Kilwa king were both freemen and slaves; see Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 177. In 1709 "captive *Cafres*" belonging to a Kilwa Swahili sailed on a trading ship to the Cape Delgado. Manuel de Santo Alberto, Amiza, 18 May 1709, *Livros das Monções* (hereafter LM) 74A, 75/2, f.271, FUP. According to Morice, sailors of the East African coast were "Africans" of free or servile status; see Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 146, 164.
120. Barros, *Da Ásia*, 4-3-4, 143. The poem *al-Inkishafi*, written around 1820 in Pate and dealing with the past fortunes of Pate's great men, states that they had "gay-robed women for their ease." Abdalla bin Ali bin Nasir, *Al-Inkishafi*, 64.
121. Allen, "Swahili Culture Reconsidered," 127–29; Pouwels, "Battle of Shela," 381–82; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 522–33.
122. Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, 338; and Bocarro, *O livro das plantas*, 2:41–42. In 1686, under the Portuguese sovereignty, as in 1711, under the Omani, Mombasa was totally dependent upon Pemba rice for its food. See João Antunes Portugal to *Conselho do Estado*, Mombasa, 6 August 1686, LM 51B, 29/4, f.171; and anonymous to Mwinyi Juma bin Mwinyi Kaya (translation), Goa, 25 September 1711, LM 77, 25/2, f.107, FUP.
123. Bocarro, *O livro das plantas*, 2:42.
124. Gray, "Zanzibar Local Histories (Part II)," 121–26. The whole chronicle insists on slavery.
125. For a fuller discussion see Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 543–47. Presently research is being carried out by the author on the very interesting case of Pemba.
126. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar*, 70, 186.
127. A. Sauvaget, "La relation de Melet du voyage de la Haye aux Indes Orientales," *Etudes Océan Indien* 25–26 (1998), 143; Fryer, *New Account of East India*, 1:66; and Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 155.

128. Sultan Mohammed bin Omar to Francisco da Gama (translation), Goa, 22 October 1598, and Mohammed bin Mohammed "Bwana Mtiti," Prince of Pate, to Francisco da Gama (translation), Goa, 22 October 1598, *Miscelānea Manuscrita da N. S. da Graça de Lisboa*, caixa 2, t.3, pp. 213-14 and 333, AN/TT.
129. A. de Brito Freire, "Jornaes de viagem na India, e regresso a Lisboa 1727 a 1732," cod.485, f.24, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon [hereafter BNL].
130. Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 155; and Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 170.
131. Pouwels shares this hypothesis; see "Battle of Shela," 381.
132. Ibid.
133. Vernet, "Le territoire hors les murs des cités-États swahili," 402–08; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," *passim*. Thus, while the slave trade run by the Lamu archipelago merchants was flourishing, each town of the archipelago had "mainland vassals" who played essential political and economic roles in the area.
134. R. D. Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government: Two Principal Themes in the History of Oman to 1728," in *The Arabian Peninsula, Society and Politics*, ed. D. Hopwood (London, 1972), 98–103.
135. P. Risso, *Oman and Muscat, an Early Modern History* (London, 1986), 2–3, 13; and J. C. Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge, 1987), 23–25.
136. Salīl ibn Razīk, *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān, from A.D. 661–1856,* ed. G. P. Badger (London, 1871), 92; Risso, *Oman and Muscat*, 13–14; and Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition of Oman*, 220–21.
137. However I've never come across evidence that corroborates this and thus one should take Barendse' assertion with caution. Barendse, *The Indian Ocean World*, 212.
138. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, 1:239; Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government," 102; and Risso, *Oman and Muscat*, 200.
139. A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (Edinburgh, 1727), 1:66. A Dutch account states that the ruling Imam in 1756 owned 500 "African slaves from Mombasa," whereas his predecessors had owned 4000 slaves. See W. M. Floor, "A Description of the Persian Gulf and Its Inhabitants in 1756," *Persica* 8, 1979, 179. A French account dated 1775 describes the black soldiers of Muscat as follows: "The infantry I saw is a mix of blacks from various lands, armed with guns… Their wages are 3 rupees per month… The guards are for the most Abyssinian… There is an army of around 4000 men, and the Imam can augment it up to 6000 men." Anonymous, "Sur l'archipel du nord de Madagascar…Sur Mascatte en Arabie," c.1775, C4–145 (Colonies, Seychelles), unfoliated, ANF. Slavery in Oman also needs further research.
140. Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 19, 37.

141. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 93–97.
142. Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, 1:11–12; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 97–98.
143. Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 99–102.
144. Risso, *Oman and Muscat*, 119–20.
145. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, 133–39, 272–79, 446–47; and Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 215.
146. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 215.
147. J. de la Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse* (Amsterdam, 1716), 8.
148. "Relāche du navire *Le Barneveld*, de la compagnie des Indes Orientales… en l'an 1719," *COACM,* 5:32–33; "Journal du voyage du navire hollandais *De Brack*…en 1741," *COACM,* 6:110; and "Relation d'un voyage fait à Madagascar en 1751 par Louis Fort," *COACM,* 5:248–49.
149. The slave trade on the eastern and southern coasts of Madagascar also decreased in the second half of the eighteenth century, which led the French to seek slaves on the East African coast.
150. Newitt, "Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade," 159–60; Ross, "The Dutch on the Swahili Coast," 310; and Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 125, 190.
151. Vérin, *Les échelles anciennes du commerce*, 153.
152. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves*, 63–64.
153. Manuel de Santo Alberto, Amiza, 22 May 1708, LM 73, 12/5, f.49; M. de Santo Alberto, Amiza, 18 May 1709, LM 74A, 75/1–2, ff.270v–271; and Queen of Kilwa, Sultani Fatima binti Sultani Mfalme Mohammed, to Mwinyi Juma bin Mwinyi Kaya (translation), Goa, 25 September 1711, LM 77, 23/2, f.98, FUP.
154. Mwinyi Juma bin Mwinyi Kaya to Bwana Dau bin Bwana Shaka, Mozambique, 15 August 1711, LM 77, 21/1–2, ff.87v–88, FUP.
155. Conde da Ericeira, "Noticias da India," cod.465, f.131v.; and A. de Brito Freire, "Jornaes de viagem na India," cod.485, f.5, BNL.
156. Vigoureux to the contrôleur général de la Compagnie des Indes, Port-Louis, Ile de France [Mauritius], 22 November 1736, Colonies C4–2 (Colonies, Ile de France), unfoliated, ANF; and "Memorias da costa d'Africa Oriental…, Sena, 21 May 1762," in A. A. de Andrade, ed., *Relações de Moçambique setecentista* (Lisbon, 1955), 214–15.
157. Francisco de Melo e Castro to Manuel de Souza e Brito, Mozambique, 19 May 1754, cod.1310, f.54, AHU.
158. Floor, "Description of the Persian Gulf and Its Inhabitants," 179.
159. Mwinyi Saveja wa Bwana Abakari wa Mwinyi Mupate to António Cardim Frois, Kilwa (1730), LM 97B, 81/5, f.594, FUP; F. de Melo e Castro to M. de Souza e Brito, Mozambique, 19 May 1754, cod.1310, f.54, AHU; António Teixeira Tigre to António Manuel de Melo e Castro, Ibo, 8 November 1790, doc. 36, caixa Moçambique [hereafter Moç.] 61, AHU; "Memorias da costa

d'Africa Oriental…, Sena, 21 May 1762," in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique setecentista*, 214; Ross, "The Dutch on the Swahili Coast," 341–45; Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa*, 176; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 482–84.

160. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves*, 70–75; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili et la puissance omanaise," 101–08.
161. Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government," 103–05; and Risso, *Oman and Muscat*, 39–45.
162. Anonymous to João Bautista Lopes de Laure, Surat, 20 November 1724, Viceroy to King, Goa, 16 January 1724 & 1 January 1726 in A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Arquivo Português Oriental (nova edição)* (Bastorá-Goa, 1940), 1-3-3, 279–80, 201–02, 313–14; Strandes, *The Portuguese Period in East Africa*, 278; and Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," 388–90, 423–27.
163. José Barbosa Leal to King, Mozambique, 14 November 1734, doc.23, caixa Moç. 5; and Pedro do Rego Barreto da Gama e Castro to Diogo de Mendonça, Mozambique, 10 November 1745, doc. 15, caixa Moç. 6, AHU.
164. P. E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983), 27; Renault and Daget, *Les traites négrières*, 47; and R. A. Austen, *African Economic History, Internal Development and External Dependency* (London, 1987), 59, 275.
165. Bertrand Hirsch, personal communication; E. Vallet, "Pouvoir, commerce et marchands dans le Yémen rasulide," 343-352; M.-L. Derat, "Chrétiens et musulmans d'Éthiopie face à la traite et à l'esclavage aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles" in *Traite et esclavage en Afrique orientale et dans l'océan Indien*, ed. M.-P. Ballarin, M.-L. Derat, H. Médard, T. Vernet (Paris, forthcoming). According to a Jesuit priest in 1556, more than 10,000 or 12,000 of these slaves were sold to the Turks or the Arabs in the Red Sea ports. But these figures may have been exaggerated by the priest who stated that they all had liked to be Christianized. M. Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570–1860* (Cambridge, 1990), 29–32.
166. Most of these Muslim cities were abandoned and forgotten. B. Hirsch and F.-X. Fauvelle-Aymard, "Cités oubliées, réflexions sur l'histoire urbaine de l'Éthiopie médiévale (XI^{e} – XVI^{e} siècles)," *Journal des Africanistes* 74 (2004), 299-314; T. Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Cambridge, 2003), 58-61.
167. Austen, *African Economic History*, 59, 275. Despite the lack of evidence, Austen's figures are often cited; see for instance, Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Les traites négrières*, 147–49.
168. Lovejoy, *Transformations*, 60.
169. Armstrong's appraisal supports this claim.
170. Considering that the Portuguese denounced the trade toward Arabia, which they probably overestimated. This rough estimate of 3000 to 4000 lowers

my previous estimate published in "Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili," 94.

171. My hesitations here are a good case of the difficulty to estimate non-Western slave trades. As such, to my mind, the analysis of networks is much more important than the "guesstimates."
172. Ivory was by far the main trade of the Lamu archipelago before the mid-nineteenth century, see Vernet, "Les cités-États swahili de l'archipel de Lamu, 1585–1810," passim.
173. Allen, "Swahili Culture Reconsidered," 125. This contradicts Allen's claim: "It is now generally agreed that slave trading did not play an important part in the northern Swahili economy before the nineteenth century."
174. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, 49–54.