At-Issue

Reality and Representation of Eastern Africa's Past: Archaeology and History Redress the 'Coast-Inland Dichotomy'

JONATHAN WALZ and PHILIP GOODING

Abstract: This article seeks to redress what the authors perceive as a coast-inland dichotomy in understandings of eastern Africa's past. Through allowing aspects of highly problematic historical paradigms to persist, some of which are European in origin and date from the Victorian and colonial eras, and through adopting certain scholarly practices that reify rather than question such paradigms in spatial understandings of the region, archaeologists, historians, and scholars of cognate disciplines have emphasized difference and distance between coastal and inland areas of eastern Africa. The authors provide a framework for deconstructing this dichotomy at a vital time, during which Eurocentric and colonialist assumptions are coming under increased scrutiny. They do so by building on their respective research into the pasts of two inland areas: the Pangani (Ruvu) River Basin since c. 700 CE (Walz) and nineteenth-century Lake Tanganyika (Gooding). Although they draw on divergent scholarly training (Walz is trained primarily as an archaeologist; Gooding as a historian) both integrated methods more customarily associated with cultural anthropology, such as participant observation and oral interviews. Collectively, their research emphasizes entanglement and connectivity between coastal and inland areas. This article represents a call for further interdisciplinary research and collaborations, such as the one that supports this article, to examine additional ways in which the region's pasts may be recontextualized in space. Far from being "sibling rivals" as scholars a generation ago described the relationship between archaeologists and historians, scholars of such disciplines should see themselves as "sibling colleagues" working on the same endeavor. In this instance, the endeavor is an evidence-based redress of spatial paradigms whose roots have considerable links to Eurocentric and colonialist interpretations.

Keywords: historical representations, spatial paradigms, collaborative history, connectivity, Eastern Africa

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Introduction

"But the coast, of course, is quite different." In this framing of coastal eastern Africa, anthropologist Pat Caplan underscored several issues that influence(d) contemporary understandings of the Swahili.[1] In debating the ways in which Swahili coastal society is (and is not) fundamentally different from other African societies, including in inland eastern Africa, Caplan drew on history and its cognate disciplines, as well as historiography. This article seeks to do likewise, building on some of Caplan's key themes, which are also apparent in other influential scholarship on the region.[2] The authors write, however, with their primary disciplinary training in archaeology (Walz) and documentary history (Gooding), rather than strict ethnography. Both authors nevertheless employ on-the-ground observations and oral histories and traditions associated more typically with cultural anthropology. The intention is to deconstruct what the scholarly community and many residents of the region perceive as a "coast-inland dichotomy" in understandings of the eastern African past during the last millennium or more. The core argument is that historic and scholarly assumptions and practices have obscured dynamic connectivity among Africans, especially between coastal and inland areas. The authors draw on their respective research in the lower Pangani (Ruvu) River basin and the Great Lakes to reconsider and demonstrate how the African past might be better captured absent of a strict spatial division. The historical reality, on the one hand, and scholarly and public representations of a dichotomy between the coast (or littoral) and hinterland (or interior), do not align. They may not be so "different" after all, but rather entangled in a mosaic of mutual interdependence.

Redress of the coast-inland dichotomy is a particularly urgent pursuit in light of current world events. As will be examined, the dichotomy, in which difference and distance rather than connectivity between coastal and inland eastern African societies is emphasized, was (and is) strengthened by colonialist and persistent Eurocentric paradigms, although these are not the only factors at play.[3] Especially since c. 1970, research in Africanist and other Global South circles has queried and deconstructed the often racist logics that underpinned colonial thinking about people and geography.[4] However, the persistence of the coast-inland dichotomy shows that such thinking still casts a shadow. This article, then, comes at a time when colonialist paradigms are under increased scrutiny. The substantial growth in African institutions and experts, expanding interest in Africa and its people and pasts, and the dissolution of disciplinary silos suggest we are at a watershed moment. Funding streams controlled by outsiders, questions that sidestep African agency, and traditional European models of project design and implementation are all being reconsidered, yielding potentially transformative results. Social justice movements have focused the public on Africans and people of African descent, magnifying interest in their experiences and collaboration. The dynamic character of contemporary Africans inspires reflections on trends in the continent's past for which indications from history and archaeology are essential.

Critical reflections on the context and meaningfulness of trends in disciplinary thinking, training, and practice can lead to inclusive and transdisciplinary histories. Archaeology and history have the potential to examine pasts at multiple scales in time and space. Together, they employ written, oral, and material evidence, but several practitioners (including the authors) also take account of sources and methods from cognate disciplines, such as cultural anthropology and linguistics. The starting point for our more detailed reflection is circa 2005. A few decades earlier, the intellectual footing to study eastern Africa had begun to shift. But, by

2005 or so this turn emerged as a manifest tendency.[5] In part, this pivot was motivated by emphasis on global history and maritime studies. In the authors' view, the "myth of continents" critique was a product of and motivation for studies of human diasporas, which spurred reflections about entanglement and invention in deeper time and also in terrestrial spaces, including inland areas beyond coastal fringes. As one example of an outcome, scholars invested in political economy turned more of their attention to distribution, particularly including mobile items (e.g., beads, books, and textiles), which raised new questions about African and Indian Ocean production, consumption, and connectivity.[6] Alongside contributions from cognate disciplines and the substantial growth in scholarship by African scholars, there was new light cast on "historical archaeology" as a way to re-represent pasts and to make new histories, by asking new questions, some of which address the centuries between or across traditional chronological domains of scholarship in eastern Africa: archaeology (pre-1500 CE) and history (post-1800 CE).[7] Used critically and in concert, historians and archaeologists embraced their capacity to reframe how the past of eastern Africa could be understood.

Three substantive sections and a conclusion comprise this article. The first section recounts the origins and character of the perceived coast-inland dichotomy. It further reviews how (inadvertently or not) researchers and African communities contributed to the dichotomy's persistence despite its association with highly problematic colonial paradigms. The second section articulates relevant developments in history, archaeology, and broader scholarship about eastern Africa's past since the end of the twentieth century. Original engagements with this historiography led the authors to question and challenge the persistence of the coast-inland dichotomy through their research and writing. In the third section, the authors each present a case study from their respective research areas. Taken together, the case studies show how the questions the authors posed and the methods they employed led them to deconstruct the prevailing coast-inland dichotomy and to make new pasts. The authors further explicate the broad implications of their studies. The article stands as a call for researchers to examine ways in which their training, questions, and research can confront residual paradigms and better study and represent the eastern African past, including entanglements among societies in the region.

Character and Origins of the 'Coast-inland Dichotomy'

Multiple factors initiated and sustained the perceived coast-inland dichotomy in eastern Africa. Historically, it has been grounded in phenomena both distinct to the region and to impositions from outside. To be clear, the factors underpinning this perceived dichotomy have changed over time, even if it has remained remarkably persistent. In this section, the authors recount the rise of the dichotomy, tracing its foundations to the origins of Swahili society, historical developments in the nineteenth century, and the imposition of European colonial rule.[8] The authors then examine how historical and archaeological methods and practices have contributed to its perpetuation, despite attempts to decolonize understandings of the eastern African past since the mid-twentieth century.

The first traces of a coast-inland dichotomy in understandings of eastern Africa may be in the foundations of Swahili society from around the eighth century CE. Many coastal elites claimed ancestry from the Middle East, especially from Shiraz in present-day Iran, as a marker

of social status.[9] In so doing, they identified with the maritime world as opposed to the rest of the African mainland. Insufficient evidence inhibits a more certain interpretation, but the extent of separation between coastal elites and other Africans, including those operating inland, likely varied among towns and through time. Nevertheless, this social distinction between coastal and inland people in coastal thinking was firmly established by the nineteenth century. Coastal paradigms of this era distinguished coastal people as *waungwana* (respectable, freeborn) and inland people as *washenzi* (barbarians). Being *waungwana* in this context meant being a free, urban-dwelling Muslim who pursued a mercantile and maritime lifestyle. By contrast, *washenzi* were rural, non-Muslims of "slave stock."[10] Non-Swahili coastal and inland Africans challenged these assumptions at the coast. Many, especially porters, claimed the position of free-waged laborers, thus rejecting slave status. Some also converted to Islam. However, invariably, their conversions were rejected as heterodox or blasphemous, and even free-waged laborers were regarded in terms of their 'unrespectability.'

Several further phenomena hardened the social distinctions between coastal and inland areas from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Firstly (in time, not necessarily in importance) was the rise of *ustaarabu* (to assimilate oneself to Arabs, to become an Arab, or to adopt the customs of the Arabs).[11] Through this paradigm, 'respectability' among Swahili town dwellers became heavily intertwined with Arab-linked fashions and cultural expressions.[12] This practice partly arose via increased Omani engagement with the region, especially by the Omani Sultan, who moved his capital to Zanzibar in the 1830s.[13] In this context, being 'respectable' was increasingly tied to creating broader connections across the ocean, especially to the Arabian Peninsula. Secondly, Victorian and colonial era Europeans, using highly racialized assumptions, asserted that the Swahili were an 'Arab' society. They did not believe Africans capable of building a cosmopolitan, urban, Islamic society with durable architecture. In their view, then, the Swahili society of the eastern coast of Africa must have been built by outsiders. This, again, in sweeping terms, artificially divorced the coast from inland areas.

Scholars have done much since the 1970s to counter this racialized thinking, not least by identifying and recognizing the African origins of Swahili society.[14] Nevertheless, one of the results—that is, the conceptual divide between understandings of coastal and inland eastern Africa—remains largely in place, even if, as Caplan's article shows, some (though not all) contemporary eastern Africans question the distinction.[15] Why is this the case? In the remainder of this section, the authors lay-out five observations about scholarly practice among historians and archaeologists that continue to perpetuate the representation of a coast-inland dichotomy: treatment of space, treatment of time, a disciplinary schism, the quality and quantity of research efforts, and the influence of institutions, authors, and audiences.[16] It should be noted that each tendency is not discrete. Each may reinforce and be reinforced by the others. As with all trends, there are exceptions (see endnotes).

Treatment of Space

In eastern Africa, the global and local have been cast as oppositional categories. Thus, most scholarship is site specific or addresses broad sweeps of space rather than operating at an intermediate scale: the region. The same can be said about the categories "continent" (Africa) and "ocean" (Indian Ocean). Oceanic influences need not be thought about as only at the ocean. This idea may be best captured by Michael Pearson, who argues for "history in" and "history of" the Indian Ocean, in other words, also a history of the Indian Ocean which is not in the

Indian Ocean (e.g. Indian Ocean influences in inland spaces or elsewhere globally).[17] On the continent, Africanists also tend to fracture East, Central, and southern Africa.[18] As a result, there is less emphasis on connected geographies: river basins, or highland-lowland interfaces, or across language communities or the borders of modern nation-states. The application of project resources to study dynamism and connectivity across ostensible boundaries remains underdeveloped. For example, where are the new studies of the corridor between southern Lake Tanganyika and northern Lake Malawi, or the area between coastal Mozambique and Lake Malawi, or between coastal Kenya and Tanzania and inland areas beneath the Eastern Arc Mountains?[19] For the latter, the *nyika*—represented as an uninhabited, semi-arid scrubland (when in reality it was occupied and traversed)—reinforced geographical silos that assume human absence.[20]

Treatment of Time

Archaeologists and historians tend to work in different time-frames in eastern Africa. Notwithstanding considerable historical research in the 1960s and 1970s on the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries that used oral traditions, the pattern has been that archaeologists tend to research periods prior to 1500 CE and that historians tend to study the last two hundred years or so.[21] Other inhibitive chronological designations that work against the study of the past might also be captured as pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial.[22] Scholarly narratives also often take Eurasian or ocean-centered events as prominent factors to outline the region's past.[23] Setting aside that African societies may conceive of time differently and debate, represent, and communicate their pasts through other concepts, mechanisms, and forms, it is troubling that—even when using a Western concept of time—archaeology and history are applied to tackle different domains that are more likely to reify than query the accepted periodization. The intermediate period (1500-1800CE) lying between the two traditional domains of history and archaeology is a period through which the dichotomy might best be unsettled.[24] The methods and sources of archaeology and history (especially oral traditions), when collected and applied alongside ethnography and linguistics, can identify precursors and displace agency away from Swahili elites and "the external." Other regions of Africa provide exemplars.[25]

Disciplinary Schism

In a general sense, the locations of research and the sources and skills of historians and archaeologists who work in eastern Africa are different and applied differently. History is idiographic and archaeology nomothetic. Historians in eastern Africa tend to work with documents and oral testimonies, while archaeologists highlight landscapes, sites, and artifacts to address anthropological questions and to describe and capture people, places, and eras. A historian might spend most of their research time away from the places they write about, dedicating more attention instead to archives in distant capital cities. Thus, the coast, which has documents that refer to it dating from antiquity, is studied as historical, and the interior before c. 1800 receives significantly less attention.[26] Oral traditions, which were promoted in the 1960s-70s as key to the early histories of inland societies, have not received the attention they deserve in recent historical analyses. Since the 1970s, the historical kingdoms or chiefdoms of the coastal

hinterland and interior of East Africa (e.g. the Shambaa and Hehe) have been little examined or elaborated by professional historians.[27] Meanwhile, at the coast, visible Swahili monuments persist up to the present and are studied alongside Islamic and later Chinese and European documents.

Furthermore, history and archaeology often are treated in a nested hierarchy in Western scholarship, where archaeology is viewed as a "hand-maiden" to history.[28] In this way, documents, in particular, are the main source for history, as juxtaposed to other source types treated as support for (rather than as potentially new challenges to) the details of extant narratives reliant on documents.[29] This nested relationship, not embraced by many Africanists, can lead to uncritical projections of more recent coastal outcomes onto deeper pasts for the region. This hierarchy also can generate misrepresentations where absence of evidence (i.e. a general lack of documents) supports evidence of absence (i.e. absent inland societies and thus coast-inland separation in antiquity). One outcome is that when few or no documents are available or assessed, the coast-inland dichotomy is assumed rather than robustly tested in an empirical manner.[30]

Quality and Quantity of Research

The perceived coast-inland dichotomy persists in part because many scholars, especially in archaeology, do not evenly (or sometimes at all) engage inland and non-Swahili coastal communities, or their places, pasts, and practices. There is a decent density of research along the coast distributed in different nation-states, communities, and settlements. In addition, at the coast, both urban and some rural areas have been researched by historians and/or archaeologists. Much of this work has been done systematically with representative sample sizes of documents or sites, enough so that comparisons can be made across modern borders, from town-to-town, or during different periods of the last two millennia.[31] For many inland areas, especially coastal hinterlands, there is little to no material or recent historical study. Inland areas that have been studied are widely dispersed and research often tends not to be systematic. For example, archaeologists have conducted a number of coastal surveys of scale, but reconnaissance (informal in nature) tends to be the primary method to identify inland settlements.[32] Limited exceptions include the vast body of historical literature on pre-twentieth-century Buganda, although – again – historians of Buganda rarely make wider connections across the region, especially to the coast.[33] For the most part, the coast has a greater density of research and finer-grained analysis, whereas several inland areas have a marked absence of historical or scientific investigation. This absence inhibits comparison.

Influence of Institutions, Authors, and Audiences

Until recently, most archaeologists and historians who consider themselves specialists on eastern Africa were writing for other historians, archaeologists, and practitioners of cognate disciplines. For instance, much writing by archaeologists is technical. Many historians and linguists misunderstand archaeological evidence and arguments. Meanwhile, few volumes of history about the region clarify the meaningfulness of research for African communities or tackle representations of Africans that advance the rationale and ethics of costly academic study in an impoverished region. There has been a trend among scholars to spend lengthy periods in archives or at sites without interacting with and listening to people (in African languages),

visiting multiple settings, and observing and experiencing for an annual cycle (or more) how contemporary Africans make their world. Scholarly outcomes expressed publicly create opportunities to wrestle with alternative perspectives and leave rigid ideas, like the dichotomy, unquestioned. During the last generation, more eastern Africans have become professional historians and archaeologists as new university programs furthered education and research, for example at the University of Dar es Salaam.[34] Not only do such scholars now have decent (though not equal) funding, but they also have begun to reinvigorate public-facing museums to confront both historical misrepresentations and pragmatic challenges by applying African knowledge collaboratively to address contemporary needs. A focus on "heritage" for society—rather than history and archaeology for academics—has begun to change debates.[35] Heritage—linked, as it is, to diverse public audiences—is yet another domain and set of practices with the potential to influence the coast-inland dichotomy.[36]

The 'Sibling' Relationship between Archaeologists and Historians

Despite these long-term tendencies, interdisciplinary approaches in archaeology and history have the capacity to deconstruct the perceived coast-inland dichotomy moving forward. Calls for increased collaboration between Africanist archaeologists and historians have only grown in recent years. We are now somewhat removed from historian Jan Vansina's (1995) assessment of archaeologists' contributions to our knowledge of the African past, about which he claimed he and his disciplinary colleagues had "good reason to be cautious."[37] This shift can partly be attributed to archaeologist Peter Robertshaw's (2000) attempt at reconciling Vansina's claims, in which he positioned archaeologists and historians as "sibling rivals." Thus, he put them in the same family, but he still framed the issue of potential collaboration somewhat defensively.[38] Nevertheless, increased linkages between these disciplines, especially since 2005 (and notwithstanding the reticence of some) is probably more a testament to broad calls in the humanities and social sciences for multidisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and interdisciplinary research, including through the practice of "historical archaeology" in eastern Africa.[39] Not only have many archaeologists and historians found more common ground recently, they also have increasingly engaged with historical ecologists, cultural anthropologists, linguists, and other researchers.[40] Scholarship in the wider region may tentatively be on the cusp of a new period of collaboration among Africanists in historical, social, and environmental domains. In addition, more African scholars fluent in multiple regional languages and familiar with oral historical sources are addressing heritage legacies, a topic that draws on African knowledge systems, expressions, and experiences.

Keeping this cross disciplinary trend in mind, collaboration on this piece arose largely through a synergy between the authors' respective scholarship. From a micro-perspective, their primary research focused on different areas and periods of eastern Africa's past. Walz studied the pasts of the lower Pangani River basin, emphasizing the late first and second millennia CE. Gooding highlighted nineteenth-century Lake Tanganyika. In the first case, aspects of the region's past had been lost between foci on pre-1500 CE coastal archaeology and oral histories and traditions from the last few centuries in the proximal highlands. Meanwhile, Lake Tanganyika is usually contained within the historiography of the Great Lakes, a region often seen to be interconnected by certain social and cultural linkages, even if scholars acknowledge

that some perceptions of these bonds were colonial and Eurocentric in origin.[41] Yet, both authors encountered similar conceptual and geographical challenges when attempting to place their studies into broader regional contexts. Both recognized that the Indian Ocean and the eastern African coast emerged in testimonies and materials identified in their areas and eras of study. This contravened against established spatial paradigms that divided their respective regions from the coast, and further suggested a similar theme worthy of amplified consideration in their respective studies of inland places.

Acknowledging potential coast-inland linkages, such as those in northeastern Tanzania and the Great Lakes, provides significant transdisciplinary opportunities. Rather than "sibling rivals" in the Vansina-Robertshaw sense, the authors suggest historians and archaeologists might be more supportive of each other. To build on the Vansina-Robertshaw family-based metaphor, they might see themselves as sibling colleagues working collaboratively on the same family endeavor. In this instance, the endeavor is an evidence-based critique of extant paradigms (many of the roots of which lie in the Victorian and colonial eras) and a making of new pasts that recognizes African entanglement and creativity. This process already has begun, not least—in temporal terms—with Africanists from both (and other) disciplines denouncing concepts such as 'prehistory,' 'early modern,' and 'precolonial,' which are rooted in European historical framings.[42] This work has challenged trends in African archaeology that did not engage contemporary or post-1800 CE communities and pasts, as well as trends in African history, which, by increasingly emphasizing the colonial period, have 'foreshortened' understandings of ongoing or recent patterns whose origins pre-date European authority.[43] Closer collaboration between archaeologists and historians, especially African scholars and researchers fluent in African languages, can also incorporate Africa-centered epistemologies that inform studies guided by African conceptions of time and periodization.

The focus of this article, though, is space and the perceived coast-inland dichotomy. Despite long-standing scholarly trends that reinforce the divide (see above), such a representation did not align with either author's findings. Walz, using primarily archaeological survey and excavation, identified material evidence of inland settlements and connections between Swahili coastal and inland areas since c. 500 CE. Meanwhile, Gooding drew on archival materials written by European travelers and missionaries that shed light on cultural connections between the coast and the Great Lakes area. Crucially, though, both authors—despite their divergent disciplinary backgrounds—drew on oral sources, thus leading them to integrate methods more commonly associated with cultural anthropologists. The testimonies and traditions of interviewees grounded interpretations of materials and archives in Africa-centered narratives, including epistemologies that recognized pasts of connection. Read together, research outputs represent 'Africanist' more than disciplinary interpretations. In this article, the Africanist perspective emphasizes exchanges and entanglements among communities in eastern Africa - coastal and inland plus inland and further inland, over the long-term. These pasts embrace mobility, as well as the importance of innovation in shaping how exchanges developed.

Case Studies

Focus Archaeology - The Lower Pangani Basin, Northeast Tanzania

For archaeologists, up to the mid-1980s the Swahili Coast was represented as strikingly different from interior communities, and the two areas were engaged separately. Many of the coral and coral-rag monuments of the Swahili endured; clustered ruins are still visible along the ocean's shoreline from southern Somalia to Mozambique, including on the offshore islands. To early archaeologists, these monuments showed an urbanism antithetical to European representations of Africans. The Swahili also were literate, Muslim, and engaged in maritime commerce, which brought far-flung objects of glazed ceramics and glass in exchange for local goods and resources. Swahili patricians were elites and, in the minds of European archaeologists, the patterns of their material culture and language (with Arabic loan words) necessitated the label "civilization" and indelibly connected the Swahili to the Near (Middle) East.[44] However, in the 1980s, new questions and material (to that point glossed or ignored) received attention: rural, non-monumental structures and components of Swahili settlement systems, locally made ceramics [what is now called Triangular Incised Ware (TIW) or Tana Tradition (TT), which comprised more than 95 percent of ceramic assemblages], and subsistence remains demonstrative of farming and fishing.[45] Studies of Swahili language showed its Bantu structure and African origin at least 1,500 years ago, with Arabic loan words only integrated into the core language during recent centuries.[46] Soon thereafter, archaeologists, including the first doctorate-holding African archaeologists, began to research the outlying hinterland and its archaeology.[47] However, more recent histories—e.g. of the nineteenth-century slave and ivory caravan trades and imperialism/colonialism—remained the domain of historians, so the region's later pasts were disconnected from earlier periods and from the pasts of the outer landscapes of the Swahili and of other Africans.

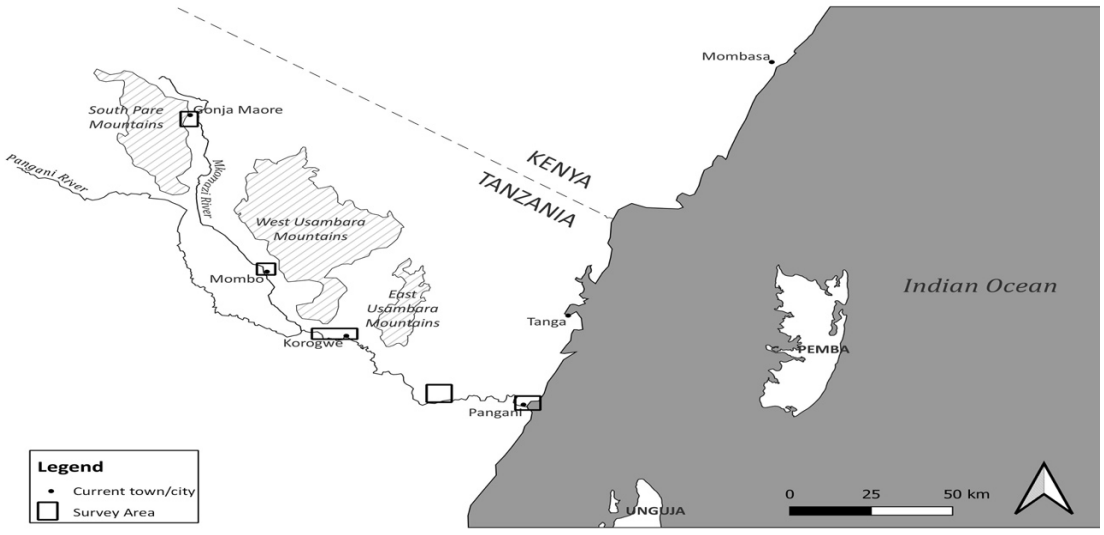

Figure 1: Map of Lower Pangani River Basin with locations. Drawn by Gooding.

In the immediate interior, British archaeologists in the 1960s had conducted reconnaissance and identified Iron Age sites, ceramics, and smelting debris. A series of ceramic types were linked to the so-called Bantu-expansion into eastern Africa. Supposedly, the first farmers and speakers of Bantu languages entered eastern Africa via migration. Southeastern Kenya and northeastern Tanzania played an important role in this interpretation because archaeologist Robert Soper identified Early Iron Age ceramics in the area, later labelled "Kwale" and "TIW-TT", respectively. Soper noted iron production as well as locally produced and non-local beads at these sites.[48] The lowlands of this region include the lower Pangani River basin: the area of focus for Walz's dissertation research and subsequent studies. That project took account of extant and scattered geographical, historical, and archaeological clues: 1) prominent mountains (East and West Usambara Mountains and South Pare Mountains) with unique raw materials that approached the coastline to within twenty kilometers at Tanga Town and which were visible from offshore; 2) the Pangani River and its tributary (Mkomazi River) which, abutting these mountains to the south, created a natural lowland corridor from the interior near Mount Kilimanjaro to the coast; 3) Early Iron Age ceramics at Soper's sites suggesting contemporaneous African settlements with the same ceramics as those discovered to underlay Swahili monumental sites at the littoral; and 4) African oral traditions and nineteenth-century European documents, including maps, indicating a caravan route for the trade in ivory and enslaved persons with named nodes and their approximate locations.[49] Using archaeological methods, caravan nodes along the route were identified near the modern towns of Gonja Maore, Mombo, Korogwe, and Pangani, among others.

Oral traditions from the surrounding kingdoms and chiefdoms further suggested the nodes of this nineteenth-century route were positioned in the same vicinities as earlier rotating markets, where members of diverse agricultural, pastoral, food gathering, and urban societies met to exchange and to negotiate social relations.[50] These nodes lie proximal to unique landscape features (e.g., distinct mountains, waterfalls, and whirlpools in the river) repeatedly highlighted by interviewees as the domains of mythological ancestors and nature spirits. Preliminary archaeological investigations in the vicinity of nodes showed good potential for the recovery of earlier material evidence of regional connectivity among inland and between inland and coastal societies, including the Swahili.[51]

Systematic archaeological survey identified hundreds of sites and settlement clusters in the areas synonymous with nineteenth-century and earlier caravan traffic, extending up to 150 kilometers inland. Thirteen sites were excavated to recover material evidence and to establish a chronological sequence. The quality of survey and excavations was equal to efforts conducted along the coast.[52] Most importantly, this was the first archaeological project in eastern Africa to demonstrate that much earlier (c. 1000 CE) evidence of settlement and exchange existed in the same vicinities. The earlier sites effectively served as precursors to the later, better known network of caravan traffic and commercial and social entanglement among diverse communities.[53] This conclusion is further supported by subsequent analysis of materials and the more recent field investigations of Thomas Biginagwa in the vicinity of Korogwe.[54]

In their earliest iteration, Walz's project sites show copious evidence of local production, regional exchange, and wide interaction to as early as 700 CE. Connectivity at these nodes includes indications of entanglement at multiple scales: individual objects and features, individual sites and across sites, and across geographical areas in the region. The demonstrated linkages occurred between 1) lowland inland areas and the Swahili Coast and wider Indian

Ocean region, 2) lowland inland areas and the proximal highlands, and 3) inland areas and other areas further into the African interior. In other words, the earlier sites that date to the "Middle Iron Age" (approximately the last centuries of the first millennium CE and the next two centuries) were places of connection. Shared shifts in settlement patterns across coastal and inland regions, finds of unique geographical origin from outside the area and often beyond eastern Africa, production of iron and of land snail shell discs for non-local consumption (see below), and the recombination and repurposing of some foreign items to make new items or to serve new purposes also exemplify the innovations left absent or glossed in earlier less invested studies of the coastal hinterland and its people.

Prior to this project, locally-made ceramics in northeastern Tanzania had been treated as relatively distinct types representative of different communities with somewhat unique lifeways. However, at Kwa Mgogo (near Mombo Town) several ceramic traditions, including TIW-TT, are found together. Non-local ceramics also appear at this site, which is more than 100 kilometers distant from the Indian Ocean coastline: hatched *sgraffito* (glazed) ceramics (twelfth century) and Swahili feasting bowls (thirteenth century) from the coast. In addition, multiple first millennium CE vessels are decorated with impressions made with marine shells. There is profuse on-site production of disc beads made from the shells of giant land snails. However, excavations also recovered multiple species of marine and estuarine mollusk shells, often pierced or ground to be hung as ornaments. Discs of ostrich eggshell (not made at the site) also appear at Kwa Mgogo. These discs, copper items, and pieces of graphite were exchanged by African communities yet further inland or in the highlands, where these resources were present.[55] Scattered among these items also were beads of aragonite (coastal origin), agate, rock crystal, carnelian, and glass. Analysis using a scanning electron microscope showed the carnelian beads (eight in total) were drilled using diamond-tipped bits and made in South Asia. Additionally, geochemical techniques applied to thirty-four glass beads at Kwa Mgogo and other glass beads from other archaeological sites in the same vicinity indicate that they are from different points of origin in a continuous sequence that spans the eighth to seventeenth centuries. Beads derive from glasses with origins in South and Central Asia and, later, in Europe and China.[56]

The project in northeastern Tanzania emphasized an archaeological approach, but also applied Africanist training. The scale and complexity of coast-inland and broader multi-directional entanglement parallels the timing for the emergence and peak of Swahili towns (750-1550 CE). Being present for three years and listening to/collaborating with communities allowed the perspectives and experiences of people on-the-ground to enrich the project and establish an evidence-based past for the lower Pangani basin. This interdisciplinary project was inspired by the research of other archaeologists and historians, notably Felix Chami and Chapurukha Kusimba.[57] Other practicing archaeologists also have addressed areas of the coastal hinterland in unique and important ways.[58] Kusimba recently collaborated with Walz to begin to unify their areas of work to confront a reemerging coastal and maritime bias that newly subverts inland people, pasts, and a growing body of transformative, evidence-based scholarship. Hinterland pasts should not be restricted by nation-state borders and should integrate pasts of more recent centuries to inform narratives.[59] Work along these lines should begin to embrace Mozambique, Somalia, and the eastern desert of Ethiopia into discussions about inland people

and connectivity in the wider region. Only then will archaeologists, historians, and those working in cognate disciplines begin to understand the variations in coast-inland links throughout the region and across different periods when there may have been continuous connectivity.

Focus History - The Great Lakes

The Great Lakes region is geographically more distant from the eastern African coast than the inland Pangani River basin. Thus, it could make sense that the people of the region had less direct contact with the coast in the deeper past. It is perhaps partly for this reason that when Gooding set out to study the history of Lake Tanganyika during his doctoral program, possible connections to the coast seemed a distant and somewhat unimportant avenue of analysis. Instead, Gooding's interest in nineteenth-century Lake Tanganyika stemmed from a desire to understand the history of a region that had been relatively understudied, at least compared to the regions and structures beyond its immediate hinterland, for example, Mirambo's, Nyungu ya Mawe's, and Msiri's states and Tippu Tip's "commercial empire."[60] Gooding sought to analyze what happened between these better known zones, all of which experienced processes of centralization during the nineteenth century. It was only through a visit to the region in 2013 and by conducting interviews with elders at various locations on the lake's eastern shore that he found the coast to be a significantly important context, especially in terms of cultural exchange. His interviewees discussed long-term histories of, for example, urbanism, boat-building, and Islam—key features of coastal history, but neglected in histories of inland regions. Contrary to what Gooding expected from his reading of the prevailing historiography of the Great Lakes, the marine coast loomed large in the history of Lake Tanganyika.[61]

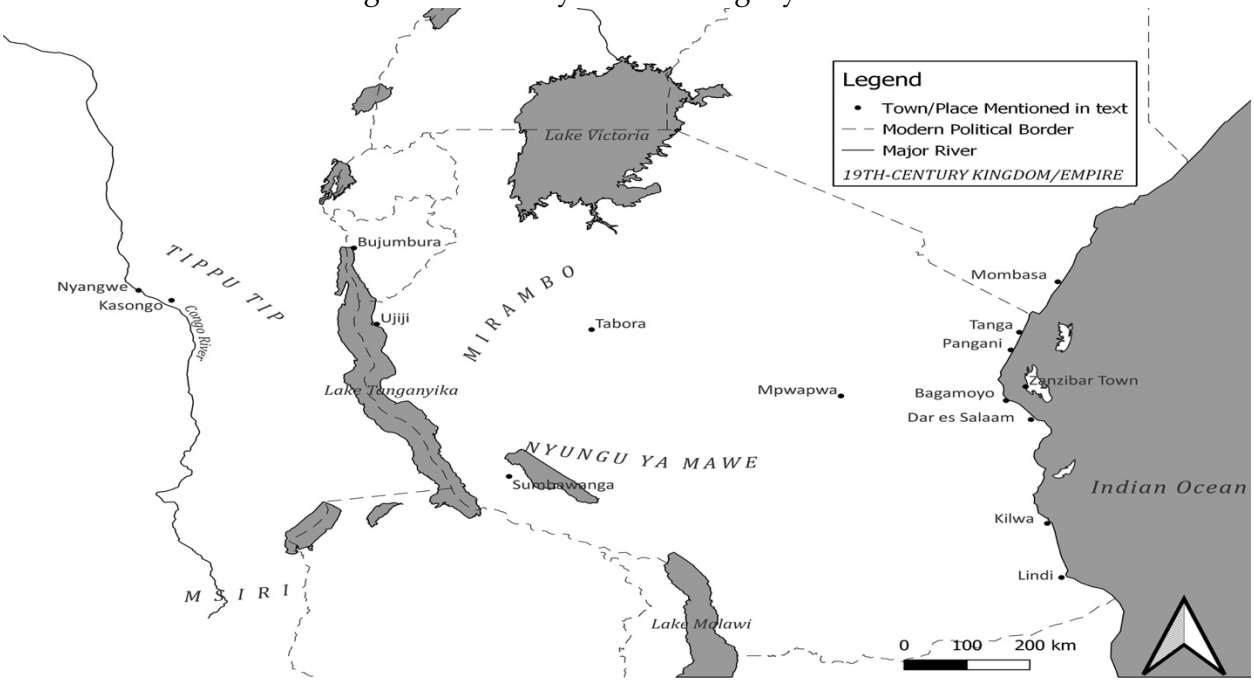

Figure 2: Map of Great Lakes Region with locations. Drawn by Gooding.

There is evidence for connectivity between the coast and Great Lakes in the deep past, though it is not currently as extensive as it is for the Pangani River basin. Distance plays a role, but so also likely does a lack of systematic archaeological research. Felix Chami and Amandus

Kwekason attribute the foundation of Swahili society in part to migrations from the Great Lakes. Bananas, a crop of Southeast Asian origin, were established in the region by at least 1000 CE, and possibly several millennia earlier.[62] Evidence that the relationship between coast and interior was dynamic from some time thereafter comes largely from glass beads and cowries. Up to now, these artifacts have been used to support theories of social complexity or of long-distance connections between different inland communities.[63] These arguments rightfully contest older colonial paradigms that viewed inland Africans as incapable of such activities without outside influence. But, they also neglect the possibility that social complexity and long-distance trade could involve dynamic interaction with the coast, even if it was not coastal influence that triggered these phenomena. At present, it is somewhat assumed that glass beads and cowries arrived in the Great Lakes region through a relay system of trade from village to village (down-the-line exchange).[64] Although, based on a logic related to demographic challenges and a lack of carrying animals, this assumption has never been adequately tested. Additionally, archaeological research demonstrates long-distance connectivity across inland regions in eastern Africa. Further interdisciplinary research is required to disentangle the possibility of coast-inland connectivity in the Great Lakes region, especially for the period before c. 1800.

Regardless of these possibilities for earlier periods, it is well-established that connectivity between the coast and Great Lakes increased significantly during the nineteenth century. This was the period of the long-distance trades in slaves and ivory—the former mainly emanating from around Lake Nyasa (Malawi) and towards Kilwa, and the latter mainly from around Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria towards Bagamoyo—during which significant numbers of coastal people journeyed to and beyond the Great Lakes for the first time.[65] Uncritical readings of traveler, missionary, and colonial documents, however, have led to some popular misconceptions about this history, most clearly evident in the museums that span the early ivory routes across present-day Tanzania—specifically those in Bagamoyo, Tabora, Ujiji, and Zanzibar.[66] The museums, and an accompanying application made in 2006 to UNESCO to have them recognized as World Heritage Sites, painted the nineteenth century on mainland Tanzania as the era of the slave trade, with exploitative 'Arabs' enslaving inland Africans and forcing them to the coast and elsewhere in the wider western Indian Ocean world.[67] Thus, such popular misconceptions promote the idea that the first sustained encounters between coastal and inland people in the Great Lakes region were primarily characterized by acts of exploitation and extraction.

What are the origins of this discourse? Unsurprisingly, given the above analysis on the origins of the coast-interior dichotomy, they lie in Victorian and colonial era European paradigms. Europeans first encountered the Great Lakes region through the writings of travelers (e.g. Richard Burton and David Livingstone) and missionaries from the mid-nineteenth century during a period of ascendance for European abolitionist movements. The Atlantic slave trade was close to being eradicated, and slavery was illegal in the British Empire. Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean became a new focus for abolitionist campaigning. Missionary work was embroiled with an anti-slavery crusade.[68] When these missionaries observed social statuses and labor forms that did not entirely equate to their definitions of "freedom" or "free-waged labor," they were labelled as "slavery."[69] This obscured the existence

of other complex social and labor relations, such as clientage. Nevertheless, some missionaries emphasized that few enslaved people from around Lake Tanganyika were ever sold to the coast.[70] However, this did not matter in Europe. By identifying 'slavery' and noting the long-distance trade of ivory, metropolitan Europeans made the jump that there must also have been a long-distance slave trade across what is now Central Tanzania to the coast.[71] This was a logical step in their mind; it conformed to their expectations learned from western and southeastern Africa about slave raiding and trading, and it built on racialized tropes about Africans as the victims of Arab exploitation. The combination of missionary motivations, abolitionist sentiment, and this invented, long-distance, Arab slave trade to the coast then acted as one of the moral justifications for colonial rule.

Given these origins, it should be unsurprising that such representations do not stand up to robust scholarly analysis. As historians have shown, the evidence for a long-distance slave trade from inland to coastal Tanzania is almost non-existent: the routes between Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria and the coast were primarily ivory routes, not slave routes.[72] Instead, relationships between coastal and inland peoples in the Great Lakes region took a variety of forms that undermine previous historical representations. To be clear, slave raiding and trading were a feature of these relationships, but they were neither the only nor the primary relationship, and the destinations for enslaved people were largely to inland centers, including to, for example, Ujiji and Tabora, where coastal traders settled in significant numbers.[73] Many 'slaves' in such contexts learned to speak Swahili, adopted and adapted coastal dress styles and diet, and converted to Islam. Those who did so often claimed to be *waungwana*, thereby claiming 'free' social status and, moreover, challenging coastal social hierarchies that stated that to be *muungwana* was to be born legally free at the coast.[74] At the same time, other inland Africans incorporated products brought from the coast, such as glass beads, cotton cloth, and firearms, into their everyday lives, attributing to them new cultural meanings.[75] Coastal traders, meanwhile, adapted their Islamic belief system to incorporate local nature spirits, such as those that were believed by some inland populations to inhabit Lake Tanganyika. These were highly dynamic cultural interactions between coastal and inland peoples and landscapes, resulting in the development of new cultural forms.[76]

The vitality of these connections, and the importance of exploring them further, is supported by recent, pioneering work by historians working mostly on the twentieth century. A special feature in the 2019 issue of *History in Africa* sought to bridge the histories of East and Central Africa. One of its contributions was to challenge Eurocentric spatial paradigms in historical writing. The feature editors noted that the historiography is frequently divided between francophone, anglophone, lusophone, and germanophone zones, despite people and historical patterns regularly traversing the boundaries among them.[77] Of particular note for this discussion are the 'translocal' ties between the Great Lakes and the coast.
Translocalism is the establishment of connections and mobilities at various scales to inform a sense of place in a distinct environment. Thus, for Geert Castryck, Muslims in Bujumbura drew on a broader 'Swahili' culture, whose origins were at the coast, but which took on new meanings and expressions in different inland centers.[78] Also, Julia Verne argued that her informants in Sumbawanga (southwestern Tanzania) "try their best to intensify" their connections to the Indian Ocean through their lifestyle, kin, and travel.[79] These works placed ostensibly Swahili and Arab cultural forms in the history of the Great Lakes, but stressed the importance of the latter region's peoples and contexts in shaping how they developed. Just as

with Gooding's research on the nineteenth century, a process of dynamic interaction between and across coastal and inland regions is on view here.

What this scholarship shows, though, is that there is significantly more research to be done. Castryck was correct to state that Muslims have featured little in histories of Bujumbura (and Burundi, more broadly), partly because they fit uneasily with broader national and regional narratives.[80] Similarly, Verne's research was informed by interviews with people of Omani descent, whose twentieth-century histories in inland eastern Africa have received little attention.[81] Indeed, it is a remarkable feature of eastern African historiography that Omanis and coastal eastern Africans practically disappear from most historical analyses of the Great Lakes from around the dawn of the twentieth century.[82] Apart from some research into Sufi scholars, they are often relegated to being described as 'itinerant traders,' following similar paths to some African traders in the region.[83] In very broad terms, this suggests a certain cultural and occupational compatibility between people of inland and coastal descent around the Great Lakes from the early twentieth century, further contravening nineteenth-century tropes about inland Africans simply being the unfortunate victims of Arab slave trading. However, how and in what terms such compatibilities manifested (for example, culturally, religiously, economically, or in terms of kinship), and how closer analysis might further break down historiographical distinctions between people of or descended from coastal and inland origins remains under-explored. Interdisciplinary historical research at a regional scale that takes into account both coastal and inland influences is likely required to unpack these histories further.

Conclusions

The perceived coast-inland dichotomy has been known to be problematic in eastern African historiography since the last quarter of the twentieth century. Yet, the community of scholars has not acted collectively to practice at scale to expose the assumption of dichotomy and its affiliated tropes. This piece and other scholarship provide avenues to begin to rethink the region and treatments of it moving forward. Archaeologists, historians, and scholars of cognate disciplines should develop "regional practices" capable of intensifying and integrating dynamism in inland Africa and its entanglements with the eastern coast and other communities in the Indian Ocean world. Given the authors' experiences since 2000, these practices should be rooted in Africanist interdisciplinarity. Working together, with respective disciplinary training in archaeology and history, has both confirmed and enriched our approaches developed independently, including significant engagement with oral histories and traditions. As 'sibling colleagues,' the narrative of African connectivity across the region and through time is manifest and can be elaborated.

What implications and possibilities arise from actualizing 'regional practice' and designing research that queries the dichotomy and values difference in connection? Highly racialized representations of inland people once demeaned them as "savages" or of "slave stock," and so it is indefensible to employ archaic paradigms to underpin contemporary readings of the region and to caricature Africans in this manner. Pasts that center inland societies and that integrate these societies' understandings of their relationship with the coast set a new standard. Similarly, scholarship that takes account of the reflections of contemporary Swahili on their historical relationship with other Africans and areas would be equally transformative to normativized

practice. Caplan's article, addressed at the outset, is instructive. In recent years, people identifying as Swahili have claimed closer associations with inland areas, stressing, for example, their African origins and entanglements with the wider African continent up to the present.[84] Although their claims may have much to do with contemporary identity politics, there *is* a parallel historical record.[85] More needs to be done to test this development further in other areas of the region and during other periods, but the two case studies above make a compelling illustration.

Thinking more broadly, global history has been resurgent since the turn of the millennium, which is partly attributable to the emergence of maritime and transnational histories that reiterate a theme ever-present in today's world: connectivity. A prevailing feature of these histories is that they transcend borders and contest Eurocentric spatial paradigms, such as Area Studies silos and nation-state boundaries. With only a few exceptions, inland eastern Africa has been excluded from such narratives, while the eastern African coast has received significantly more attention.[86] Interactive and mobile people and the areas in which they lived were also part and parcel of a wider "world," and like all communities, they made and consumed items, but also repurposed what they obtained from elsewhere. Scholars of inland eastern Africa and all of Africa would be better served by considering the tensions between histories and historical representations and the multiple spatial frames—local, regional, and global—that inform the experiences of African communities in the interior. The broad global implication of such research is that it would feature the role of people on the continent, of which inland Africa is a vital part.

Finally, a core caveat deserves attention. One factor underpinning the perceived coast-inland dichotomy has been the pursuit of scholars attributing societal complexity in inland regions to indigenous factors, in contravention of racialized colonial-era paradigms which associated complexity with outside influence—such as from the Arabian Peninsula. Diminishing the coast-inland divide should not erode that type of rationale.[87] Rather, the intention is to highlight the possibility of connections between coastal and inland areas (or among inland areas) as an additional feature of inland societies with already elaborated and nuanced practices and extra-local relationships. Counter to persistent paradigms enabled by scholars working at the coast, inland Africans had a significant role in the trajectories of coastal societies, including the capability to determine the outcome of events. Giancarlo Casale's analysis of the Ottoman siege of Mombasa in the 1580s could be instructive in this regard. He attributes the outcome of the battle between the Ottoman and Portuguese empires not only to the role of Swahili allies, but primarily to the influence of the "Zimba," an inland people.[88] Thus, an appreciation of regional relations further challenges a resurgent maritime myopia in coastal archaeology and history. Rejuvenated study of inland eastern Africa and its societies will remake histories, including of the Swahili, whose past entanglements largely have been cast as maritime rather than also Africa-centered.

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Notes

[1] Caplan 2007. See also: Eastman 1971; Mazrui and Shariff 1994; Mugane 2015. A society living along a 3000 kilometer coastline, the Swahili people speak a Bantu language and share characteristics with other coastal communities. Their urban-centeredness, literary tradition, Afro-Islamic practice, and a diverse economy is nearly two millennia old. The Swahili have shared the eastern coast of Africa with other Bantu- and Cushitic-speaking communities, with whom they have interacted through periods of peaceful coexistence and competition for resources and power. Until the mid-twentieth century, their subsistence strategies incorporated foraging, fishing, agropastoralism, and farming. Highly complex, intercommunity and regional socio-economic networks arose sustained through heritable blood brotherhoods. The expansion of such networks occurred alongside elite conversion to Islam, such that by the sixteenth century - when Europeans made their first forays into Africa - Islam was the dominant religion of elites.

[2] For conspectus see: Allen 1993; Chami 1998; Gonzales 2009; Helm 2004; Kusimba and Walz 2018; Pouwels 1999; Spear 2000; Wynne-Jones and LaViolette 2018.

[3] Perspectives from the wider Indian Ocean influence representations of the coast-inland dichotomy. These largely derive from traders and diasporans with origins outside of Africa, espe-

cially from southern Asia: Bose 2002; Desai 2013; Kresse 2009. While acknowledging these perspectives as important, this article emphasizes African and other scholarly representations. Also see: Benjamin 2005; Giles 2013.

[4] Asad 1987; Mbembe 2001; Mudimbe 1988.

[5] Kusimba and Walz 2021.

[6] Ho 2006; Machado 2014; Prestholdt 2008.

[7] Schmidt and Walz 2007. Also see: Biginagwa and Mapunda 2018; Giblin 2010; Helm 2004; Oka et al. 2009.

[8] Allen 1993; Chami 1998; Horton and Middleton 2000; Kusimba 1999; Nurse and Spear 1985; Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993.

[9] Horton and Middleton 2000; Pouwels 1987.

[10] Deutsch 2006, pp. 67-74; Glassman 1995, pp. 2, 62; Gooding 2019a; Horton and Middleton 2000, pp. 18, 107, 115; McMahon 2013, pp. 11-14; Pouwels 1987, pp. 65, 72-73.

[11] Pouwels 1987, p. 129; Pouwels 2000, p. 251.

[12] Fair 2001, pp. 103-104; Prestholdt 2008.

[13] Mutoro 1998; Sheriff 1987.

[14] Allen 1993; Chami 1998; Horton 1996; Kusimba 1999; Nurse and Spear 1985.

[15] Caplan 2007. Also see: Ray 2018; Topan 2006.

[16] Walz 2013, pp. 71-74.

[17] Pearson 2007. Also see: Verne 2019.

[18] Castryck et al. 2019.

[19] For exceptions see: Fourshey 2012; Mapunda 2008; Walz 2015.

[20] Allen 1993; Kusimba et al. 2013.

[21] For summaries see: Ehret 2001; Ochieng 1992; Roberts 1968; Webster et al. 1992. For an excellent example see: Alpers 1976.

[22] For a critique see: below and Mbembe 2001.

[23] Campbell 2019; Schmidt 2006.

[24] Further exacerbating the outlined tendency, archaeology projects in eastern Africa currently are trending away from this intermediate period and toward temporal extremes: heritage studies and "contemporary archaeology" *and* the Late Paleolithic and Neolithic. With the latter, the primary research emphasizes early human skeletons, the origins of plants and animals, and chemical analyses of materials usually based on the study of single sites. This pattern of work obscures the potential for both regional histories and the integration of oral traditions relevant to the intermediate period. While scientific studies of deeper time generate new data, they foremost pose questions about environments and objects - the "perfect postcolonial subject" - at a time when Africans and their voices, interests, and histories finally were being elevated in the study of regional and global pasts. See Fowles 2016; Kusimba and Walz 2021.

[25] For examples see: Chirikure 2020; Monroe 2014.

[26] The earliest known document is translated in Casson 2012.

[27] For one summary of 1960s to 1970s scholarship in inland Tanzania see: Roberts 1968. The contributors to this volume wrote several detailed monographs during the subsequent decade.
[28] DeCorse and Chouin 2003; Deetz 1977.
[29] Schmidt and Walz 2007.
[30] Cf. Chaudhuri 1990; Pearson 1998.
[31] For examples see: Wilson 1980, 2015.
[32] Walz 2013, Forthcoming (a). For an early exception see: Schmidt et al. 1992.
[33] For examples see: Hanson 2003; Médard 2007; Reid 2002.
[34] Mehari et al. 2014.
[35] Mire 2007.
[36] Ichumbaki and Mapunda 2017; Kusimba 1996.
[37] Vansina 1995, p. 369.
[38] Robertshaw 2000. Also see: DeCorse and Chouin 2003.
[39] Lane 2007; Schmidt 1978, 2016. For examples elsewhere on the continent see: Ogundiran 2002; Pikirayi and Pwiti 1999; Stahl 2009.
[40] For examples see: de Luna and Fleisher 2019; Lejju et al. 2005.
[41] Chrétien 2010.
[42] Campbell 2017; Mbembe 2001; Schmidt and Walz 2007.
[43] Reid 2011. There are exceptions. Historians of the Interlacustrine region have been among the more prolific in writing pre-1900 histories since the early 1980s. For examples see: Doyle 2006; Hanson 2003; Tantala 1989.
[44] Cf. Chittick 1974; Kirkman 1966.
[45] Abungu and Mutoro 1993; Chami 1998; Fleisher and LaViolette 1999; Horton 1996; Kusimba 1999.
[46] Nurse and Spear 1985.
[47] Chami 1994; Schmidt et al. 1992.
[48] Soper 1967.
[49] Walz 2010. Examples of the documentary, oral historical, and linguistic underpinnings include the following: Farler 1882; Feierman 1974; Giblin 1992; Gonzales 2009; Johnston 1879; Kimambo 1969; New 1874-75; Wood 1978.
[50] Feierman 1974, pp. 133-134; Kimambo 1969, p. 238.
[51] Walz 2005.
[52] Walz 2013, pp. 74-82.
[53] Walz 2010, 2017.
[54] Biginagwa 2012, Biginagwa and Ichumbaki 2018.
[55] Walz 2010, 2017, Forthcoming (b).
[56] Walz and Dussubieux 2016, Forthcoming.
[57] Chami 1994, 2001; Chami and Kwekason 2003; Kusimba 1999; Kusimba et al. 2013.
[58] Biginagwa and Mapunda 2018; Håland and Msuya 2000; Helm 2004; Mapunda 2008; Pawlowicz 2017; Wright 2005.
[59] Kusimba and Walz 2018.

[60] Only one Ph.D. dissertation, written in the 1970s, gave the topic significant attention: Bolser-Brown 1973. On these regions/structures see Bennett 1971; Laing 2019; Shorter 1968; Verbeken 1956.
[61] Gooding 2017.
[62] Chami and Kwekason 2003; Lejju et al. 2005; Schoenbrun 1993.
[63] Reid 1996: pp. 623-624.
[64] Walz 2017. Cf. Posnansky 1975; Reid 1996.
[65] Sheriff 1987.
[66] The key museums are as follows: Livingstone Memorial Museum (Ujiji), Livingstone's Tembe (Kwihara, Tabora), the Catholic Historic Museum (Bagamoyo), Caravan Serai (Bagamoyo), and 'Slave Market Church' (Zanzibar). Historians have noted the historical inaccuracies in these museums: Fabian 2013; Glassman 2010; Gooding Forthcoming (b); Lindström 2019. For archaeological perspectives on slaving and slavery in eastern Africa see: Kusimba 2004; Lane 2011.
[67] UNESCO 2006.
[68] Chrétien 2010, p. 4.; McCaskie 1999; Rockel 2006, pp. 13-14.
[69] Médard 2013, pp. 12-16; Wright 1993, p. 8.
[70] For example see: Council for World Missions / London Missionary Society Hore to Mullens, 16 Apr. 1879. The full quotation: "[Coastal traders] going coastwise with ivory may take a few odd slaves… along with them if profitable investments offer, but not in large numbers and I should say [they] are always parted with before reaching the coast." Also see: Hore 1883.
[71] Rockel 2006.
[72] Fabian 2013; Sheriff 1987, pp. 172-190.
[73] Gooding Forthcoming (a); Pallaver 2020.
[74] Glassman 1995; Horton and Middleton 2000. For similarly-themed work, in which an ethnic identity in eastern Africa has taken on different meanings in different temporal contexts see: Willis 1992.
[75] Machado 2014; Macola 2016; Pallaver 2016; Prestholdt 2008; Wynne-Jones 2010.
[76] Gooding 2019a, 2019b, Forthcoming (a); Wright and Lary 1971. See also: Rockel 2018. For preliminary archaeological perspectives using reconnaissance methods, see: Arazi et al. 2020; Insoll 1997.
[77] Castryck et al. 2019, pp. 218-220.
[78] Castryck 2019.
[79] Verne 2019, p. 373.
[80] Castryck 2019, pp. 266-267.
[81] Verne 2019, pp. 373-379.
[82] For a limited exception see: Hino 1971.
[83] Gooding 2019c, p. 14; Iliffe 1979, p. 141. For Islam see: Nimtz 1980. For revisionist perspectives see: Becker 2008. Becker departs from Nimtz in stressing the importance of inland communities in the spread of Islam in early twentieth-century eastern Africa. They were not passive

receptors of Islamic teaching from coastal populations. This is supported by Gooding's research on the nineteenth century: Gooding 2019b.

[84] Caplan 2007, pp. 308-310; Topan 2006.

[85] Decker 2015; McDow 2018.

[86] Kusimba and Walz 2018, p. 438. For recent coastal oriented narratives see: Alpers 2009; Bishara 2017; Pearson 2003. For recent narratives by historians who integrate inland eastern Africa see: Campbell 2019; Gooding Forthcoming (a); Prestholdt 2008.

[87] Feierman 1993.

[88] Casale 2007, p. 270.