

## THE DEBATE OVER MALAGASY ORIGINS

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### **I n t r o d u c t i o n**

One of the last great historical mysteries is the origins of the Malagasy. Theories and speculation abound. Historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, paleobotanists and geneticists have all brought their skills to bear on the issue. Adventurers in imitation of the *Kontiki* expedition have constructed models of early boats and sailed across the Indian Ocean and beyond. However, the precise geographical and ethnic origins of the proto-Malagasy, the time of their departure from their homeland(s) and of their arrival(s) in Madagascar, the route(s) they took, and their motivation for settling Madagascar continues to perplex. This paper re-examines the issues and findings to date.

### **The Proto-Malagasy Homeland**

From the early sixteenth century, when they first made contact with Madagascar, Europeans speculated as to the origins of its population. Excluding the Swahili and Indians (Karana), and the Arabised Antalaotra, small communities of coastal traders who arrived in Madagascar from East Africa, Arabia and India between the ninth and twelfth centuries, there appeared to be two basic ethnic groups, a lighter-skinned 'Malay' looking people inhabiting the central highlands, and a darker-skinned 'Negroid' people living in the lowlands.

### **The British School**

Before the nineteenth century there was sporadic speculation as to the origins of the Malagasy. However, sustained scholarly interest in the topic only commenced in the nineteenth century with the formation of the 'British School' comprising chiefly British missionaries to the island and members of London-based learned societies.<sup>1</sup> They confirmed that all Malagasy spoke variants of an Austronesian (then termed 'Malay' or 'Malayo-Polynesian') language, indicating that the forebears of at least some Malagasy originated from the 'Malayo-Polynesian' region. These, on physiological (lighter-pigmentation, 'Malay' features) and cultural (e.g. rectangular huts, irrigated riziculture) grounds, they assumed to have been the ancestors of the Merina (and possibly of the Betsileo) highlanders.

However, the origin of the 'Negroid' looking lowland peoples remained problematic as they also spoke variants of the same Austronesian language. Their traditions were vague, with at the most an indication that their forebears had migrated to Madagascar from somewhere 'overseas'. Merina traditions complicated rather than clarified matters. They claimed that their forebears were the last wave of migrants to reach Madagascar, the result of a shipwreck around the start of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Due to hostility from local people and to disease on the coast, the proto-Merina quickly made their way to the highlands where they encountered the Vazimba, a dark-skinned Stone Age population of hunter-gatherers who spoke an unintelligible language. With their Iron Age technology, the forefathers of the Merina swiftly conquered the Vazimba who either became assimilated by them or fled west. Members of the British school thus assumed that the Vazimba were either a group indigenous to Madagascar, or the earliest immigrants from Africa, possibly related to the Wazimba of East Africa or the Khoi. African cultural influences (cattle-raising) were also present among darker-skinned lowland peoples of western Madagascar who had inhabited the island long before the arrival of the Merina. However, the fact that lowland Malagasy spoke dialects of the same language as that spoken by the Merina indicated that their forefathers were from Austronesia and might subsequent to their arrival in Madagascar have intermarried with Africans.



The 'Sarimanok', a replica double outrigger sailing across the Indian Ocean, 1984. (From E. Wiebeck & I. Lubeck, *Welt der Entdeckerschiffe*, Busse-Seewald: DSV Verlag, 1994, p. 23)

### **The Grandidier School**

The British School dominated until 1895 when, with the French takeover of Madagascar, a new orthodoxy emerged based on the views of the Grandidiers, a father (Alfred) and son (Guillaume) team. On the basis that Madagascar's peoples all spoke variants of a common language, a phenomenon unparalleled in any region of similar size on the African continent, the Grandidiers argued that the ancestors of the Malagasy were Austronesian: the forefathers of the lighter-skinned highlanders were 'Malay-Polynesians' and those of the darker-skinned lowlanders were 'Negrito' Melanesians.<sup>3</sup>

Possessing from early times excellent boat-building and navigational skills, and driven by a spirit of adventure, these peoples sailed in their outrigger canoes across the Pacific Ocean as far as Easter Island, colonising myriad islands en-route. They also

sailed west on the equatorial current some 4,800 kilometres directly across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar which they colonised in a series of migratory waves beginning in c.1500 BCE and continuing until the arrival of the proto-Merina.<sup>4</sup> That such a trajectory was feasible was proven in August 1883 when equatorial currents washed onto the east coast of Madagascar pumice ejected by Krakatoa three months after the volcano had exploded.<sup>5</sup> The Grandidier theory has also received support from studies of outrigger canoe distribution in the Indian Ocean indicating that it spread west from Indonesia to the coasts of Sri Lanka, south west India and Madagascar, but only a limited portion of East Africa: a sub-equatorial coastal strip facing north west Madagascar.<sup>6</sup>

The Grandidiers argued that, by contrast, east Africans (Khoi, Cushites, Bantu-speakers) lacked the skills to sail beyond strictly coastal waters, and had they tried to cross the Mozambique Channel (some 300 kilometers at its narrowest), they would have encountered difficult, often dangerous winds and currents<sup>7</sup> that later proved a graveyard to many skilled deep-sea mariners from Europe.<sup>8</sup> Thus those people in Madagascar of genuinely African ancestry were the product of a much later, predominantly nineteenth-century, slave import trade.<sup>9</sup>

The Grandidier theory won immediate favour with the French government which wished to distance Madagascar from the rest of southern and eastern Africa which, except for French Somalia, fell predominantly under British formal or informal (including Portuguese East Africa) imperial influence. Henceforth, Madagascar was classified by the French alongside its Pacific Island possessions, a categorisation accepted by the British who subsequently excluded Madagascar from the field of African studies. The Grandidier theory was also looked upon favourably by the Merina because of a deeply ingrained prejudice against Africans in Madagascar as *mainy*, an essentially servile and impure people of outsider status with no claim to true Malagasy ancestry.

Most scholars received the assertion in 1951 by the missionary and linguist Otto Christian Dahl of a strong affinity between standard Malagasy and Manyaan spoken in Kalimantan, south east Borneo,<sup>10</sup> as an indication of the precise origins of the proto-Malagasy and further support for the Grandidier theory. On the basis of the paucity of Sanskrit influence on the Malagasy language, Dahl argued that the proto-Malagasy left their homeland prior to the 'Indianisation' of Indonesia from around 400 C.E.

### **The Africa School**

Theories of an initial African migration to Madagascar originated with the British school, but Gabriel Ferrand, an Arabicist and contemporary of Alfred Grandidier, was the first to consistently promote the view that Madagascar was colonised overwhelmingly from Africa by separate or mixed Indonesian and African groups. He reasoned that the proto-Malagasy movement west was a result of Indonesian involvement in a growing long-distance oceanic commerce, notably during the height of the Srivijayan trading empire, based at Palembang in Sumatra, from the late seventh to twelfth century C.E. Ferrand considered that Indonesian trading colonies arose during this time, first in India

and subsequently on the east African coast from a proto-Malagasy group that subsequently migrated to Madagascar.

The 'Africa' thesis remained dormant until 1959 when Murdock advanced the theory that Indonesian migrants directly introduced to East and West Africa an array of southeast Asian plants and cultural traits. The most significant of these were the banana, yam and cocoyam which diffused across the continent to the forest zone of West Africa where, he argued, they laid the basis for the initial Bantu-speaking migration into the northern equatorial forest.<sup>11</sup> Roland Oliver in 1962 proposed an amendment to Murdock's theory, suggesting that the Bantu-speakers first encountered the Indonesian crops somewhere on their migration route from the north to the south of the equatorial forest.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Current Debate**

From the 1970s variants of the 'Africa' thesis won increasing support amongst historians of Madagascar. Raymond Kent (1972) advocated that Indonesians founded Great Zimbabwe before fleeing Bantu-speakers and crossing the Mozambique Channel to found the Menabe Sakalava dynasty that proved the prototype for the later Boina Sakala and Merina kingdoms. Others, like Pierre V  rin, argued that the proto-Malagasy crossed via the Comoro Islands. Human genetics research indicates that all Malagasy have mixed Indonesian and African (Bantu) genetic traits indicating at least an ancient inter-mixture of the two groups.<sup>13</sup>

### **Afro-centrism**

By contrast, the majority of Anglophone scholars of eastern and southern Africa have steadily become more Afro-centric, a standpoint that has involved downplaying the role of external forces and highlighting the inherent dynamism of African (notably Cushite and Bantu-speaking) communities. One result of this has been to perpetuate the traditional exclusion of Madagascar from African studies,<sup>14</sup> and to minimise the Indonesian impact on Africa. First, in pushing the date for the initial Bantu-speaking migration back to c.3000 B.C.E., they reject the possibility of any Indonesians presence in Africa at such an early time. Indeed, the recent orthodoxy is that Bantu-speakers represented a highly enterprising agriculturalist people, possibly the main components in what Ehret identifies as 'an African Classical Age' that endured over two thousand years up to 400 C.E.<sup>15</sup> The Bantu-speaking migrants, on reaching central east Africa from c.1000 B.C.E, adopted and adapted pastoralism from their northern Cushitic neighbours,<sup>16</sup> possibly Cushitic sorghum and eleusine millet growing techniques,<sup>17</sup> and possibly invented or adopted iron technology by c.500 B.C.E. or earlier.<sup>18</sup> They thus widened the basis of their economy and with iron tools were able to greatly enhance their agricultural productivity through clearing forest and cultivating the former forest floor.<sup>19</sup> Practising a mixed economy, Bantu-speaking groups reached the Indian Ocean by around the start of the first millennium C.E., after which they expanded rapidly through

out the savannah areas of eastern and southern Africa, where other sorghum cultivation techniques were introduced, and reached northern Natal by about 250 C.E.<sup>20</sup>

Some botanists and linguists have argued for an Indonesian influence in East Africa, indicating that a number of crops, most importantly Asian yams, taro, bananas and sugarcane, reached the east African littoral sometime between the first and third centuries C.E.,<sup>21</sup> and that there was at that time an Indonesian influence on the Kaskazi (north-east Kiswahili) language, currently spoken along parts of the 'Swahili' (Tanzanian/Kenyan) coast.<sup>22</sup> However, most Afro-centrists point to the total absence of archaeological evidence for an Indonesian presence in East Africa. Had Indonesians reached East Africa prior to the Bantu-speaking peoples, they would have used their agricultural complex and iron technology to colonise the region.<sup>23</sup> Thus J.M. Blaut dismisses argument for an early SE Asian contribution to the development of east African agriculture and Bantu-speaking migration as 'outlandish'.<sup>24</sup> Rather, Afro-centrists consider it probable that elements of the southeast Asian agricultural complex that reached East Africa did so either by natural dispersal, (e.g. on oceanic currents: e.g. coconuts can float in saltwater for 4 months and still be viable, and with



the right current could withstand the trans-Indian ocean voyage of 4,800 km)<sup>25</sup> or were introduced by Arab or Indian traders whose presence is attested there from at least the first century C.E.<sup>26</sup> Only then did Southeast Asian crops begin to reach the east African coast, spreading slowly inland to reach the Kenyan and Malawi highlands by c.800 C.E., well after the initial burst in agricultural productivity and the consequent migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples throughout eastern and southern Africa.<sup>27</sup>

### **Initial Colonisation of Madagascar**

Most scholars assume a first settlement in Madagascar between the B.C.E./C.E. changeover and 300-400 C.E., either direct (from Indonesia or via India) or via the Comoros to northern Madagascar.<sup>28</sup> Afro-centrists are quite prepared to accept this,

although most tend towards a direct colonisation, rather than via East Africa. Thus Allen argues that Indonesians probably started settling Madagascar as early as the first century B.C.E, either directly or via their colonies in southern India.<sup>29</sup> Ships from southwest Asia could easily sail in summer to north and northwest Madagascar and, using winds passing round the Cap d'Ambre, the northeast, returning on the trade winds in the cool season when it was also easy to sail from northeast to northwest Madagascar, to the Comoros and East Africa.<sup>30</sup>

Some claim literary evidence for an early migration. Thus Kobishchanow was quite prepared to believe that Madagascar was the island or archipelago referred to by Diodorus Siculus in the first century C.E. that was some months sail from Somalia inhabited by a happy and wise people.<sup>31</sup> Evidence exists for a human presence in the island as early as between the first century B.C.E. and fourth century C.E. to which time has been dated hippopotamus pigmy bones modified by an iron tool found at Lamboharana and Ambolisatra just north of Toliara in south west Madagascar.<sup>32</sup> However this and other early evidence of humans on the extreme northern coasts of the island dating to between the fifth and eighth centuries reflect the temporary presence of hunter-gatherers and give no indication of their origin, African or proto-Malagasy.<sup>33</sup>

In Madagascar (Nosy Mangabe) and the Comoros the earliest known permanent human settlements date to the eighth century. Thereafter there is evidence of the spread of small sometimes temporary settlements in the Comoros, and in Madagascar along the Mananara river valley some 80km south of Nosy Mangabe and at Irodo Bay on the northeast coast. However, Henry Wright considers that such communities were so small that would have also needed external exchange to obtain spouses. More general permanent settlements developed along most areas of the Malagasy northwest coast only from the tenth century, while the first significant settlement of the Comoro Islands and Madagascar (north west coast) only started from the eleventh century with the growing incorporation of the Comoros and Madagascar into the Islamic trade network. This would lend support to Michael Mollat's view that the biggest waves of proto-Malagasy migration west from Indonesia occurred at the height of Srivijayan influence from the tenth to twelfth centuries.<sup>34</sup>

### **Motivation**

An issue relatively few historians have broached is the motivation for the proto-Malagasy settlement of Madagascar. Migration has often been analysed in terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Initially, 'pull' theories dominated, the British School and Grandidiers stressing the 'spirit of adventure' that propelled Austronesians into their vast oceanic colonisation. Vérin notes more pragmatic factors, notably the ease of oceanic and coastal sail and the availability of forest products such as gum copal and chlorite schist (soapstone), crafted into vessels, which were exported into the wider oceanic trading system - which would link settlement to the spread of Swahili-Arab commercial culture in the region.<sup>35</sup>

However, settlement of a virgin territory is always difficult. Madagascar lay outside

the chief oceanic trade routes, currents in the Mozambique Channel were problematic, travel on the Malagasy coast difficult because of thick maze of mangrove swamps, high cliffs, forests and in the rivers the presence of giant crocodiles. Moreover, Madagascar initially possessed none of the three staple exports of the region: ivory (no elephants); slaves (no population); and gold (gold deposits were not exploited commercially until the late nineteenth century).<sup>36</sup> This would appear to highlight 'push' factors, chief of which, according to Ottino, Allen and Dahl, was the Arab-Swahili advance down the east African coast.<sup>37</sup> Certainly there appears to have been considerable commercial enmity as in 945 Buzurg ibn Shahriyar recorded a huge fleet of 1000 'Waq Waq' (Indonesian or Malagasy) ships attack the island of Kanbalu (possibly Pemba) in order to control/seize its trade, notably ivory, turtleshell and ambergris to sell in Indonesia and China, and slaves.<sup>38</sup> What V erin terms the 'first Malagasy civilisation' emerged only from the twelfth to fifteenth century on the northeast and northwest coasts. It was based on a vigorous foreign trade, exporting into the Swahili commercial network rice, livestock and chlorite slate, and importing cloth, pearls and ceramics of Chinese and Arabian origin.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Proto-Merina**

Most scholars accept that the proto-Merina constituted the final and much later wave of Indonesian migration to Madagascar. However, the Merina oral traditions<sup>40</sup> indicate an arrival on the coast of Madagascar in the early sixteenth century at the same time as the Portuguese who reported no Indonesians in the Western Indian Ocean. In c.1508 the Portuguese put 'to fire and flame' two Islamic ports in northwest Madagascar.<sup>41</sup> They subsequently surveyed the coasts of that island and reported in c.1518 that the non-Islamic Malagasy 'do not sail to any ports, nor does anyone come to theirs'.<sup>42</sup>

The majority scholarly view is therefore that the proto-Merina migrated quickly from the coast to the plateau interior which was already settled by the Vazimba. Scholars have thus revised the historical timetable of the proto-Merina, placing their arrival on the Malagasy coast in the tenth century - which approximates to last textual evidence (in the twelfth century) of an 'Indonesian' voyage to Madagascar<sup>43</sup> and a fourteenth century arrival in Imerina (central highlands).<sup>44</sup> However, this poses some problems as the earliest archaeological evidence of a human occupation of the Imerina is for the mid-fourteenth century,<sup>45</sup> and of trade links with the Antaloatra from around the fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

### **Summary**

The origin of the Malagasy has long taxed the minds of scholars and despite enormous multi-disciplinary research in recent years, remains in many ways an enigma. The prevailing scholarly orthodoxy is that in the few centuries around the B.C.E./C.E. changeover a people related to the Manyaan of Borneo plied the main commercial mar-

itime routes along the northern rim of the Indian Ocean to India. From there, they either sailed to the east coast of Africa where they intermarried with Bantu-speaking groups before migrating to Madagascar, or sailed direct to Madagascar. However, there is to date no evidence of Indonesian settlement in East Africa, or of permanent human settlement in Madagascar prior to the eighth century C.E. The timing of the last Indonesian (proto-Merina) migration to Madagascar also poses considerable problems. Moreover, the reason for the proto-Malagasy settlement of Madagascar remains obscure. There are still no clear answers as to why, when and along which routes the proto-Malagasy reached and settled Madagascar

## NOTES:

<sup>1</sup>Gwyn Campbell, 'Theories concerning the Origins of the Malagasy' in Marc Michel & Yvan Paillard (eds.), *Australes* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 1996), 127-53.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Ottino, 'The Malagasy Andriambahoaka and the Indonesian Leagacy' *History in Africa* 9 (1982), 221-2.

<sup>3</sup>Alfred Grandidier *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar IV* (Paris: 1908); Guillaume Grandidier, 'Madagascar', *Geographical Review* 10.4 (1920), 197-222.

<sup>4</sup>A. Grandidier, (Paris 1908); Yu.M. Kobishchanow, 'On the Problem of Sea Voyages of Ancient Africans in the Indian Ocean', *Journal of African History* 6.2 (1965), 137

<sup>5</sup>James Sibree, *A Naturalist in Madagascar. A Record of Observation Experiences and Impressions made during a period of over Fifty Years' Intimate Association with the Natives and Study of the Animal & Vegetable Life of the Island* (London: Seeley, 1915), 38-9

<sup>6</sup>James Hornell, *Water Transport. Origin and Early Evolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946); A.C. Haddon, 'The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 50 (1920), 78-9; Michael Mollat, 'Les relations de l'Afrique de l'est avec l'Asie: essai de position de quelques problèmes historiques', *Cahiers d'Historique Mondiale* 13.2 (1971), 301; James de Vere Allen, Swahili Origins. *Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (London: James Currey, 1993), 67-8.

<sup>7</sup>A. Grandidier, (Paris : 1908)

<sup>8</sup>Alfred Grandidier, *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Île de Madagascar par les Portugais pendant le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: C.Lamy, 1902) 9, 11, 15; see also Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Viagens de Exploração Terrestre dos Portugueses em África* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, 1988), 93-4.

<sup>9</sup>Alfred Grandidier, *Histoire Physique, Naturelle et Politique de Madagascar* vol.4 Tome 1 (Paris : 1908)

<sup>10</sup>Otto Christian Dahl, Malgache et Maanjan. Une comparaison linguistique (Oslo: E+gede-Institutet, 1951)

<sup>11</sup>George Murdock, *Africa: its peoples and their culture history* (New York : McGraw-Hill, 1959); see also Colin Flight, 'The Bantu Expansion and the SOAS Network' *History in Africa* 15 (1988), 284, 291.

<sup>12</sup>Oliver quoted in Colin Flight, 'The Bantu Expansion and the SOAS Network' *History in Africa* 15 (1988), 290, 292.

<sup>13</sup>R. Hewitt, A. Krause, A. Goldman, G. Campbell, & T. Jenkins, 'β-Globin Haplotype Analysis Suggests that a Major Source of Malagasy Ancestry is Derived from Bantu-Speaking Negroids', *American Journal of Human Genetics* 58 (1996), 1303-1308; idem, 'The Origins and Demography of Slaves in Nineteenth Century Madagascar: A Chapter in the History of the African Ancestry of the Malagasy' in François Rajaison (ed.), *Fanandevozana ou esclavage* (Antananarivo: Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université d'Antananarivo, 1996), 5-38.

<sup>14</sup>For example, Michael Pearson almost totally excludes Madagascar from his study, *Port Cities and Intruders. The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore and London: The Johns



Hopkins University Press, 1998) and gives it little attention in his *The Indian Ocean* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003); while R.L. Barendse considers that it was linked far more strongly to the Indian Ocean than to Africa - R.L. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas. The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk: New York & London: England, 2002), 6.

<sup>15</sup>Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age. Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Charlottesville & Oxford: University Press of Virginia & James Currey, 1998) 295.

<sup>16</sup>Derek Nurse & Thomas Spear, *The Swahili. Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1985), 32-3

<sup>17</sup>Philip D. Curtin, 'Africa and Global Patterns of Migration' in Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Global History and Migrations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 66

<sup>18</sup>Peter R.Schmidt, 'A New Look at Interpretations of the Early Iron Age in East Africa' *History in Africa* 2 (1975), 132-3,135; Gadi G.Y.Mgomezulu, 'Recent Archeological Research and Radiocarbon dates from Eastern Africa', *Journal of African History* 22.4 (1981), 436; Flight, (1988), 280-1

<sup>19</sup>Peter Robertshaw & David Taylor, 'Climatic Change and the Rise of Political Complexity in Western Uganda', *Journal of African History* 41.1 (2000), 13; [http://www.fact-index.com/ua/ug/uganda\\_before\\_1900.html](http://www.fact-index.com/ua/ug/uganda_before_1900.html).

<sup>20</sup>Philip D. Curtin, 'Africa and *Global Patterns of Migration*' in Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Global History and Migrations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 66; Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age. Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Charlottesville & Oxford: University Press of Virginia & James Currey, 1998), 295.

<sup>21</sup>Clive Ponting, *A Green History of the World* (Penguin, 1993), 52; M.D.Gwynne, 'The Origin and Spread of Some Domestic Food Plants of Eastern Africa' in H.N.Chittick & R.I.Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient: cultural synthesis in pre-colonial times* (New York : Africana Pub. Co., 1975), 252; see also M.D.D.Newitt, 'The Early History of the Sultanate of Angoche', *JAH* 13.3 (1972), 397; Ralph A Austen, *African Economic History. Internal Development and External Dependency* (London & Portsmouth NH: James Currey & Heinemann, 1987), 15.

<sup>22</sup>Ehret, (1998), 277; Nurse & Spear, , 45-6

<sup>23</sup>Flight, (1988) 292

<sup>24</sup>J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World. Geographical Diffusion and Eurocentric History* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1993), 75

<sup>25</sup>Gwynne, (1975), 252.

<sup>26</sup>Lionel Casson (trans. & comment), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 61, 140; G.W.B. Huntingford (trans. & ed), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea circa AD 95-130* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1980), 23-4, 26, 28-30; Wilfred H. Schoff (trans. & ed) *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001), 88.

<sup>27</sup>Ehret, (1998), 278-9

<sup>28</sup>Wolfgang Marschall, 'Indonesia and Northwest Madagascar', *Omalysy Anio* 17-20 (1983-84), 14; Pierre Vérin, *The History of Civilisation in North Madagascar* (Rotterdam/Boston: A.A.Balkema, 1986), 33; Henry T.Wright, 'Early Communities on the Island of Maore and the Coasts of Madagascar', in Conrad Phillip Kottak et al (eds.), *Madagascar. Society and History* (Durham, NC:Carolina Academic Press, 1986), 53-4; J.C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, 1955), 69, 99-100; Ehret, J.Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. to A.D.641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 159.

<sup>29</sup>James de Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins. Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (London: James Currey, 1993), 64-5

<sup>30</sup>Vérin, (1986), 12-13.

<sup>31</sup>Kobishchanow, (1965), 138

<sup>32</sup>R.D.E. MacPhee & D.A. Burney, 'Dating of Modified Femora of Extinct Dwarf Hippopotamus from Southern Madagascar: Implications for Constraining Human Colonization and Vertebrate Extinction Events', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 18.6 (1999), 695-706; Daniel Stiles, 'The Mikea Hunter-gatherers of

Southwest Madagascar: Ecology and Socioeconomics' *African Studies Monographs* 19.3 (1998), 130; Robert E.Dewar, 'Magascar: Early Settlement' in John Middleton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara* 3 (New York: Simin & Schluster Macmillan, 1997), 72.

<sup>33</sup>Robert E.Dewar, 'Magascar: Early Settlement' in John Middleton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara* 3 (New York: Simin & Schluster Macmillan, 1997), 72

<sup>34</sup>Wright, (1986), 56-7, 68-9, 84-5; Dewar (1997), 72-3; Verin, (1986) 1, 29; Mollat (1971), 301.

<sup>35</sup>Vérin, (1986), 7-8, 29; see also Wright, (1986), 84.

<sup>36</sup>Gwyn Campbell, 'Gold Mining and the French Takeover of Madagascar, 1883-1914' *African Economic History* 17 (1988), 1-28.

<sup>37</sup>Allen, , (1993), 31-2; Marschall, (1983-84), 14; Otto Christian Dahl, *Migration from Kalimantan to Madagascar* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1991).

<sup>38</sup>See Paul Ottino, *Madagascar, les Comores et le Sud-Ouest de l'Océan Indien* (Université de Madagascar, 1974); Allen, (1993), 68; Mark Horton, *Shanga. The archaeology of a Muslim trading community on the coast of East Africa* (British Institute in Eastern Africa: London, 1996), 20.

<sup>39</sup>Pierre Vérin, 'Madagascar', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM Edition v.10 (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 1999)

<sup>40</sup>Transcribed and published in 1908 by RP Callet in *Ny tantaran'ny Andriana*.

<sup>41</sup>Lodovico di Varthema, *Travels in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia AD 1503 to 1508* trans. J.W.Jones (London, 1863), 178, 294-6; Paul Wheatley, *Impressions of the Malay Peninsula in Ancient Times* (Singapore, 1964), 171-6

<sup>42</sup>Duarte Barbosa, *An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants (c.1518)* I (London, 1918), 25

<sup>43</sup>Al-Idrisi *Al-Kitab al-Rujari*

<sup>44</sup>Ottino holds that the Zafiraminia founded the dynasties of the east coast and, at the start of the fourteenth century, the first Andriana of the Merina - see Paul Ottino, (1982), 223; Vérin, (1986), 7-8, 35; Marschall, (1983-84), 14.

<sup>45</sup>Dewar, (1997), 73