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THE IRON-USING COMMUNITIES OF THE CAPE DELGADO COAST FROM AD 1000

Studies in Global Archaeology 8
The iron-using communities of the Cape Delgado coast from AD 1000
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Abstract
To my wife Atália da Felicidade and my sons Francisco K. Madiquida and Hilário Madiquida
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Despite the relative lack of academic attention to the northern coast of Mozambique, the Cape Delgado coast is rich in archaeological sites. There are vestiges of the Swahili (pottery, buildings), traces of local cultures (Lumbo and Sancul tradition pottery) as well as stonewalls, such as those at Gomene (Duarte 1993; Santos 1973), which are not part of the Swahili culture. The overall stagnation of a historical perspective on northern Mozambique is in part the result of the relative lack of archaeological research on this coast.

The study and interpretation of the history of this area has often been done on the basis of linguistic analyses without taking into account the material remains which are very important for the understanding of the process of settlement (e.g. social organization and their bases of economy). There are few archaeological investigations in this region that can enhance the understanding of social and cultural changes (but see Sinclair 1986; Liesegang 1988; Duarte 1993).

**Aim (1)**: The present study aims to discuss the processes of social and cultural change in the Cape Delgado province on the basis of archaeological material, supported by written sources and ethno-archaeological research. The study focuses on the time period from AD 1000 onwards, and covers the entire Cape Delgado coast, i.e., from the mouth of the Lúrio River to the Rovuma River. The work has resulted in the identification of a number of iron-using farming community sites and further studies at already known sites.

**Objective (2)**: The principal objective of this study is to investigate iron-using communities from the period AD 1000 onwards on the basis of their material remains and to better understand their economy and social organisation. Work was divided into two phases: in a first phase, reconnaissance interviews and collections of surface remains were undertaken to identify sites with good stratigraphy and great variety of materials. A second phase culminated with excavations conducted at two such sites, chosen also for ease of access.
at Quissanga Beach, in the immediate hinterland of Quirimba Island in the Cape Delgado province (where 90% of the research was undertaken) (Fig. 1.1).

As regards the present day local context, most of the people of coastal urban centres and villages of Cape Delgado are Mwani and Muslim. There are also a few Catholics, mainly the Makhuwa and the Makonde who settled here after the Independence in 1975.

There is no doubt that the natural conditions of the coastal area were attractive to the communities whose remains we now study. However, notwithstanding the first European presence from the sixteenth century, it was only in the early twentieth century that the need to construct the fort of Quissanga as a strategic site was felt, after the islands were occupied as a defensive stronghold against the constant 1992, p. 325) destroyed anc.

1.1 Formu

The emerging communities of the coastal areas have contributed to the development of the region. The communities have been able to adapt to changing circumstances and have taken advantage of new opportunities. The communities have also been able to maintain their traditions and customs.

In this study, the communities have been divided into two categories: those living in the coastal areas and those living in the inland areas. The coastal communities have been further divided into those living in the eastern and western areas. The inland communities have been divided into those living in the northern and southern areas.

Despite the challenges faced by the communities, they have managed to adapt and thrive. The communities have been able to maintain their traditions and customs. The communities have also been able to adapt to new opportunities and challenges.

The expansion of the communities has been driven by the need for food and water. The communities have been able to adapt to new conditions and challenges. The communities have also been able to maintain their traditions and customs.
the constant threat from the sea and from peoples of the hinterland (Bento 1992, p. 325). At this time, the urban centre of Quissanga Beach was already destroyed and abandoned.

1.1 Formulation of the problem

The emergence and development of farming communities in the region of northern Mozambique is poorly known. There are few studies on hunter-gatherer communities and on the growth and development of farming communities in the first millennium AD. Similarly, the transition taking place in the end of the first millennium AD with the emergence of population centres, long-distance trade and centralised political control has not been discussed in this region.

There have been few studies of the communities which developed on the coast of northern Mozambique from the period of hunter-gatherer societies to those of the later iron-using farming communities. A further problem that arises is the definition of these same societies. There has been a concentration of studies on this coast to that of the Swahili, owing to the development of urban centres, long-distance commerce and stone buildings. However, there is little understanding of the dynamics of different population groups.

In this study, the following problems were addressed:

1. Identification of earlier presence of the iron-using communities on the Cape Delgado coast through different types of evidence (pottery, iron slag, buildings, bones, etc.) from the different sites on this coast, so as to identify local communities and migrants from the interior, comparing it with present day life so as to understand its development.

Despite the lack of existing data, pottery encountered by the author is similar to that found on Tio and Quirimba islands in Cape Delgado by Sinclair and Liesegang (Sinclair 1986, 1993; Liesegang 1988), and Lumbo and Sancul in Nampula (Sinclair 1985). Another objective is also to discuss possible earlier presence of material related to iron-using material in this region.

The expansion of the Lumbo tradition from the fourteenth century and later appearance of Sancul may suggest that the Cape Delgado coast was occupied at least from the second millennium AD. Surely there is a good chance of early farming community occupation similar to that of other zones like the Rufiji delta (Chami 2001) and (Unguja Ukuu) on Zanzibar (Juma 2004). In Somaná, Duarte (1993) also found some evidence for this dating from the end of the first millennium AD.

Other evidence comes from the Nampula sites discovered by Adamowicz (1987), for example Chacota, Nakwaho and Nampula. The ceramic Sancul tradition was more worked and its decorative motifs more highly perfected, with finer and more thoroughly baked clay comparable with porcelain, indicating
high ceramological development. It is not known whether the Sancul tradition represents an evolution of the Lumbo tradition, which appeared in the first half of the second millennium AD, as already mentioned, since they present different ways of manufacturing and decorative motifs.

The pottery of the Lumbo tradition is mainly characterised by small bowls with an impressed areal decoration, in bands or in irregular geometric surfaces immediately below the rim. The Sancul tradition differs from this in its later dating and its decoration, which is mainly characterised by interwoven ochre motifs, aerial crosshatching fine line incisions and applied motifs. The occurrence of weaved ware appliqué is worth noting (Sinclair 1985a; Duarte 1993).

The excavations conducted by Paul Sinclair on Ibo Island resulted in the discovery of stratified collections of pottery of these two traditions. Particularly in their decorative motifs, the later Sancul tradition sherds can be compared to pottery from Kilwa IIIb–IV, c. 1400–1700 AD and with remains found at Santo António de Taana at Mombasa port from the final decades of the seventeenth century (Sinclair 1987, p. 27).

The study of the origin and development of pottery as well as material information of the fauna and flora is important for the understanding of the possible origins and routes of peoples occupying the coast, and in determining or deducing the economic base of the first communities: whether they lived from fishing, hunting-gathering or domestic stock or both hunting-gathering and domestic stock (Horton & Mudida 1993, p. 673).

2. The second problem is related to the expansion of the Swahili culture and to the processes of exchange and international trade in the second millennium AD. It involves the identification of the main products traded, especially porcelain, beads and other ornamental objects and their sources, as well as the origin and improvement of the base of economy of the local communities particularly in the region of Quissanga.

The communities of the east African coast, i.e., the inshore islands and the Madagascar coast, traded their wares with urban centres existing in the region, where Swahili and other languages of Bantu origin were spoken. These languages form a group of the family of Bantu languages, perhaps originating from the ancestor language in the Cameroon/Nigeria region (Wright 1993, p. 658). In relation to other parts of Mozambique, the geographical context of Cape Delgado contributed much to its being the first to experience these commercial movements, migratory currents and cultures arriving from the north, or from the interior, in their expansion southward.

The existence of pottery of the Lumbo and Sancul traditions in almost all the sites of the Cape Delgado coast may point toward the hypothesis that this pottery originated in Cape Delgado and then diffused southward to Nampula (Lumbo and Sancul), or that there was considerable trade between the communities li with the except originated from.

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uncul tradition in the first half represent different small bowls. Stetetic surfaces his in its later woven ochre he occurrence 1993). resulted in the. Particularly compared to and at Santo seventeenth material information the possible for deducing from fishing, nd domestic culture and millenniumy porcelain, e origin and ularly in the ands and the the region, c languages ng from the p. 658). In pe Delgado movements, interior, in nost all the is that this 0 Nampula between the communities living in the interior or along the coast, taking into account that, with the exception of the Asians, it is not yet known whether the inhabitants originated from the interior or from the coast.

In the past, pottery may have been an important trade product among the coastal communities, and thus there may well have emerged a group of specialist potters able to copy the original article. On the other hand, the communities themselves may have had the same cultural origins with knowledge of pottery production (Wright 1993, p. 660; Horton & Mudida 1993, p. 673).

As a result of this knowledge, it is notable that the appearance of pottery in the regional production style occurred along almost the whole east African coast, from Somalia to southern Mozambique. Here it is important to note that in all regional production, the local style has consistently maintained some traces of the traditional origins. Regional differentiations in the pottery production confirm this argument. There is no doubt that this style would have developed with expansion on this coast of Islamised peoples speaking Swahili, to whom is attributed what Chami designates “triangular incised pottery” (Chami 1994, 1994/5).

Further analysis of these questions leads to the necessity of further research, particularly along the northern Mozambique coast, where studies have been sporadic, with little systematic reporting of the material collected. This material, together with that recently recovered, will be used to explore the hypotheses formulated here on the origin and diffusion of communities and pottery of the Cape Delgado coast. The complex relationship between lineages and trade links existing among these societies will be illuminated in the process. In addition, in this study it is expected that more detailed analysis of the different pottery types will show whether or not material from the Cape Delgado coast is older than that found to the south of the province, mainly in Nampula.

1.2 The historical context

According to Chapurukha Kusimba (1999, pp. 89–95), before the emergence of the establishment of permanent agricultural communities, the coast was occupied by stable shepherd communities practicing transhumance. These originated from populations in the interior and appeared at the coast probably at the end of the Holocene as hunters and gatherers of wild fruits and cereals (ibid.). Owing to the lack of archaeological investigation, the absence of sites from this time on the coast of Cape Delgado can be explained as a result of successive human re-occupation masking early occupations and natural environmental changes.

It is probable that the first permanent communities settled here at the beginning of the first millennium AD were confined to areas having fresh water with
abundant food supply and with immediate attractions for residence. Some settlements were located in poor areas where these communities gained some adaptive remuneration, as centres of exchange and commerce. Sites of this period in the archaeological record are identified by Urewe pottery; this is part of the “eastern stream” migration of Bantu-speaking peoples. These are associated with population movements beginning 3000 years ago in what is now Cameroon and the eastern Nigeria area toward the coast and the interior of the continent, setting eastern and southern Africa with novel food producing economies (Phillipson 1993; Vogel 1997; Kusimba 1999; Mitchell 2002).

It can be suggested that the demographic expansion on the east African coast is associated with two important factors: (1) existence of natural resources which attracted habitation of early farming communities and (2) the development of long distance trade with Asia in the first centuries of the 1st millennium AD. It is clear today that wattle and daub houses are less durable than those of stone. The stone-building technique is apparently of Swahili origin and influenced by southwest Asian culture with which the African traders had long contact. This means that where these African traders settled, there were local communities and the resources necessary for the development of trade, mainly raw materials, as ivory, iron, gold, as well as slaves.

Artefacts found on the northern coast of Mozambique are not sufficient for a full understanding of the emergence of the first communities occupying the coastal area, or their activities.

Studies performed during Portuguese times speak of urban centres of people originating in southwest Asia (Oman, Arabia, India, the Sassanid dynasty, Persia, etc.) on the northern Mozambique coast without clearly identifying the remains from local communities. Moreover, the descriptions of urban areas raise doubts as to whether they were of southwest Asian newcomers or of the Swahili (Monteiro 1966, p. 51). However, as we shall see, reports of the first navigators from southwest Asia to this coast mention the first contacts with the ‘zanj’ (black skinned people), which indicates that the coast was occupied before they arrived. Nevertheless, the period during which permanent occupation first emerged remains obscure.

The existence of little material from previous studies on the Quissanga region leads us to that from neighbouring areas where research has been conducted, such as the Ibo Island (Sinclair 1987), the Quirimbas (Lieseegang 1988), Vamizi and Tungui (Monteiro 1966). Another important question to be discussed below is the trade itself and the importance of Quissanga in the process, as well as the relative limited development of this site. Lastly, starting from the ceramic similarities, I expect to reconstruct the regional relations, which existed, which will lead us to conclusions about the existence of cultural interchange among the inhabitants of the region.
When dealing with iron using farming communities in eastern Africa, it is understood that those using metal technologically were technologically more advanced than preceding societies limited to stone-working. Today it is known that metallurgy brought deep changes on the environment and in the supply of resources (Clark 1971, p. 207; Kense 1985, p. 30).

1.3 Research background

The study of archaeology in northern Mozambique began with the work of the Anthropological Mission to Mozambique and Missão de Monumentos in the 1940s (Santos 1940, 1961, 1973) and of Amaro Monteiro in the 1960s (Monteiro 1966).

Toward the end of the 1970s, after independence, studies in this area were resumed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Paul Sinclair (Sinclair 1985a and b, 1987, p. 23). In the 1980s, Leonardo Adamowicz continued these efforts with the identification of more than 100 sites in Nampula province alone (Sinclair et al. 1993, p. 421). In addition, Gerhard Liesegang used his participation in an Anthropological project in the Cape Delgado coast to survey Querimba and Vamizi (Liesegang 1988).

Adamowicz’s research was centred on the Nampula province, while in Cape Delgado and Niassa surface reconnaissance was conducted to identify more sites. Later, during the civil war, despite Adamowicz’s efforts to expand his work from Nampula (Adamowicz 1990), work in this region was abandoned, for logistic and security reasons, leaving us with only sporadic colonial and post-colonial references, all pertaining to the coast of Cape Delgado, and the important excavation work and research by Ricardo Duarte (1993).

The research objective is to continue from initial studies so as to understand the origin and development of early farming communities, which settled on the coast and Swahili urban centres to produce information on the history of the area, integrating into the wider region.

The site of Quissanga beach was chosen on the basis of local chronicles, which indicate this as the oldest site with evidence of Arab-Swahili occupation on the northern coast of Mozambique. As the research is based on study of the first coastal communities, this information attracted the research team from the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology to Quissanga.

The abundance of material and the size of the site of Quissanga together with the absence of any ruin well enough preserved to easily observe the architecture of the buildings required us to undertake further archaeological research, including prospecting and excavation.

A comparative analysis of the different materials collected for the study, mainly of the decorative motifs, shows that the Quissanga site is of the later
iron-using community and was inhabited at the end of the first half of the 2nd millennium AD. As already mentioned above, the pottery has more developed decorative motifs (areal crosshatching fine line incisions with stamped and applied motifs) than those Chami describes in Tanzania or that Abungu describes in Kenya belonging to the early iron-using communities (Chami 1994, pp.73–83; Abungu 1994/5, pp. 252–3). There is also more undecorated pottery, which will be described in more detail in following chapters.

These ruins have particularities in their construction, in that there are no fortifications as in other ruins described by Amaro Monteiro and François Balsan on the Cape Delgado coast (Monteiro 1966, p. 51; Balsan 1966, p. 57), a fact that raises doubts as to whether or not there was Omanite or other armed attacks from the sea at the time.

There is no doubt that the development and growth of urban centres on the east African coast was in large part owing to commerce with Asia as well as to connections with inter-regional trade (Sinclair & Håkansson 2000, pp. 466–7).

Swahili urban centres were located not only in situations favourable for commerce, but also in zones with greater agricultural potential (ibid. p. 467).  

Juma (2004, p. 37) defends the position that the first urban centres, which appeared on the east African coast derived from the activities associated with the first merchants and he calls these centres commercial cities on the local level. In these centres, the communities were engaged exclusively in commercial activities.

As already mentioned, despite the important contribution of Duarte (1993) there is little information available on the coast of Cape Delgado from previous studies and it is hoped that publication of this work will extend knowledge of the history of the Cape Delgado province.

1.4 Importance of the study

A preliminary evaluation of existing publications on Cape Delgado in the area of archaeology clearly shows the need for further work, particularly in the interior, where there are only sporadic references and little information on the material collected.

In the present context of academic research on the pre-colonial period, it is crucial to undertake archaeological research designed not only to identify remains of the past but also to contextualize them so as to understand essential elements in the interaction and impact of human societies and the environment (Adamowicz 1987). In this sense, we will seek to understand and explain the development and expansion of iron-using and agricultural communities, and the impact that they had on the establishment of economic relations with other people of the region (i.e., within and between regions).
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In this context, the studies conducted of the Nampula province attest the existence of communities using polished stone: for example, the artefacts found at Lalaua and Namialo sites (Castro 1961, p. 26; Adamowicz 1987 p. 59), and sites of communities of the later iron-using at Lumbo, Sanctu and Somanà (Sinclair 1985a, pp. 7–8; Duarte 1993, pp. 61–8). Is this a result of the direct development from stone-using to iron-using communities in northern Mozambique, or one which started with the movement of Bantu-speaking peoples along the east coast of Africa?

Do the polished stone axes indicate the practice of agriculture prior to the arrival of Bantu speakers, nowadays considered the main vector in the expansion of iron technology and agriculture on the southeast coast of Africa? The iron-using communities, which appear here, are very likely of Bantu-speaking origin, according to the material evidence.

As indicated above, the history of this part of Mozambique is little known and it is too early to identify the first food-producing communities emerging in the area as the result of the expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples.

Taking an approach based on documents, information is available from Frei João dos Santos (1999, pp. 262–3) who visited this coast in 1592. He reported the existence of Moorish settlements on the coast, whose populations had mostly left for the adjacent islands owing to the attacks of the musímbo. However, he does not specify when the coast began to be settled. In his account João dos Santos gives the impression that the littoral was occupied before the islands.

Malyn Newitt (Newitt 1978, pp. 116–7) argues that the Portuguese occupied the islands one by one, and that the Muslims living there left for the mainland where they continued to render commercial and other services to the Portuguese. It is thought that on the mainland a considerable part of the communities did not wish to go to the islands, some of which are not suitable for habitation, owing to the lack of arable land and the consequent lack of foodstuffs, as well as the lack of drinking water-conditions which caused concentrations of population to develop more readily on the mainland.

The analysis of the communities, which existed alongside others originating in the interior and established themselves on the coast with fishing activities, attracted by better climatic conditions and soils suitable for the development of agriculture and expansion of Swahili culture developing regional and long-distance trade, informed by two forms of occupation should help understand the dynamics of political and social organisation, and the main bases of subsistence of these communities. There are still some problems in clearly identifying the origins of some of the cultures on this coast. For example, the ethnic and economic origins of Swahili urban centre continue to be a subject of some controversy. The model of Asiatic colonization has been widely rejected by historians and archaeologists (Horton & Mudida 1993), but now the identification of an African
group involved in the interchange process is a more plausible hypothesis for the origins of the early commercial centres. For this identification, two types of archaeological evidence are of particular importance: pottery and animal remains (Horton & Mudida 1993, p. 673).

The pottery of the local communities, a fusion of different coastal peoples with long contacts with the interior and exterior, is completely different from the Swahili, which also changed much through interaction with these communities.

More consistent data on the origin of these communities may be developed on the basis of faunal evidence. On the stratigraphic sequence it is possible to clearly work out the economic basis of the first local communities, as well as the Swahili, with each having very different cultures, whether living from fishing, marine mammals, hunting or domesticated stock (ibid.).

In north and west Africa, the diffusion and use of copper is dated to the third millennium BC. Evidence for east Africa shows the wide use of metals in the first millennium BC, with the consequent introduction of profound economic, cultural, social and political change within communities (Kense 1985, pp. 11–27).

On the basis of the studies made to date, it is known that on the coast of the Cape Delgado region, not yet identified early iron-using communities existed, which introduced and used iron, simultaneously developing the domestication of plants and animals before the arrival of the Bantu-speaking peoples. All collected data and excavation show evidence of later occupation (Sinclair 1987; Liesegang 1988; Duarte 1993). These communities were settled here later than what has been identified in Kenya and Tanzania, which suggests the practice of plant and animal domestication between the third and second millennia BC (Phillipson 1977; 1988, p. 143), activities which continued in this region with the expansion of the eastern stream of the early iron-using communities.

Information for Mozambique and for neighbouring countries from the first millennium AD clearly shows the existence of long-distance trade among the communities of the African coast, as well as the prevalence of regional contacts with the interior. An example of the latter phenomenon is the remains Dakawa in the Tanzanian interior (Sinclair 1987b, Sinclair et al. 1993, p. 418; Haaland 1994/5, p. 232) and Mijikenda in Kenya (Abungu 1994/5, p. 248). However, as Felix Chami concludes: ‘the communities inhabiting the eastern region of Africa produce similar pottery, which indicates the economic interaction and cultural similarity’ (Chami 1994, p. 69). Nevertheless, the reality in Mozambique as a whole is somewhat different: for the various coastal sites have left much diversified pottery. To the north, for example, the most common later iron-using community pottery is from the Lumbo and Sancul.

Comparing decorative motifs, it will be noted that the above-mentioned traditions are very different from those Chami describes in Tanzania. This is probably the result c in relation to the sp. The community first millennium AD developed along th.

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To understand the and later iron-using introduce new mc shape the hypothe. The research un. Indeed, the establish of the Bantu-speak resulted in socio-ex existing communit. The archaeolog of the region – are in the past the best understand. As is well know arbitrary limits of the same technic geographical spacet. The stone indus (Clark 1971, p. 12 iron-using comm 83) argues that M communities livi Indian Ocean coe. In studying the different cultures to later farming c. Moreover, the a link between coc

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probably the result of the formation of separate groups developing independently in relation to the specific conditions of each region.

The communities of Swahili culture developed from at least the earlier of the first millennium AD (ibid. p. 14), which suggests that long-distance trade developed along the coast before that time.

This is the context in which the present research took place, searching on the basis of studies of iron-using communities' remains for occurrences of these activities, while integrating information about the coast into the regional context, by comparing the materials with those already found in neighbouring countries (Tanzania, Kenya, the Comoros Islands and Madagascar).

1.5 Research hypotheses

To understand the adaptive socio-cultural and economic changes of the early and later iron-using communities of the east African coast it is necessary to introduce new models, which address the real conditions of each region, to shape the hypotheses which will help us interpret these phenomena.

The research undertaken on the coast of Cape Delgado followed this principle. Indeed, the establishment of iron-using communities in Mozambique was as result of the Bantu-speaking people's expansion to the southeast coast of Africa, which resulted in socio-economic changes in different spheres of life appertaining to the existing communities, although this happened gradually (Morais 1978, p. 3).

The archaeological records of the Quissanga site – in comparison with those of the region – are fundamental for the reconstruction of the relations existing in the past between communities in the east African region, thus contributing to a better understanding of this important component of Mozambique's history.

As is well known, the present territorial frontiers are the very recent and arbitrary limits of colonizers. In the past, southern African communities shared the same techniques in making tools and a different way of demarking geographical space.

The stone industries of South Africa and Zambia can be found in Mozambique (Clark 1971, p. 124; Morais 1978, p. 3), and the way of making tools in the early iron-using communities is similar throughout the region. Adamowicz (1992, p. 83) argues that Mozambique formed a natural space of transition between the communities living in the interior (Zambia, Malawi, South Africa, etc.) to the Indian Ocean coast and vice versa, and from east Africa to the south.

In studying the artefacts, it is important to clearly perceive the interaction of different cultures that developed on the east African coast from the early time to later farming communities.

Moreover, the study undertaken in northern Mozambique seeks to establish a link between communities of the interior with a long tradition of iron technology.
(from before the first millennium AD) and those which emerged in the second millennium simultaneously developing trading activities and the making of metal tools.

One of the main factors in the history of the east African coast in the last 2000 years has been the interpenetration of two cultural streams; migrations from the interior toward the coast and interaction with the outside world by sea, which led to a new blend, the Swahili coastal civilization (Sheriff 1983, p. 565).

However, study of the east African region has not been easy owing to lack of material evidence before the seventh century AD. According to Sheriff, all the available sources are the result of international trade and there is little material on the history of the east African coast before these contacts (ibid.). However, archaeological research during the last years has contributed with an understanding of the settlement of iron-using communities on the east African coast (Chami 1999; Kusimba 1999).

It is important to take into account that the reports of peoples coming from south west Asia, Graeco-Roman, Chinese and European, aroused great interest among archaeologists for the study and understanding of east African history from the earliest times. Apart from the existence of historical data, archaeologists are working consistently to reconstruct the history of the Swahili coast (Chami 1999, pp. 237–41). This research will make a considerable contribution to the history of northern Mozambique in the second millennium, linking the area with southern Tanzania.

It is in this sense that the author sees the great importance and relevance of the work developed in Cape Delgado and Niassa in northern Mozambique, such that the questions and lacunae here discussed can be partially answered.

1.6 Definition of concepts

Iron-using communities – These are communities whose economic base is founded on cereal agriculture and with permanent and semi-permanent settlements and the production and use of iron tools. The period is divided in two parts:

Early iron-using communities – Apart from the use of iron, this is characterised by distinctive ceramics considered as rudimentary, owing to its poor moulding, ornamentation and baking. Hunting, fishing and collection played an important part in the diet of these communities. Stone implements did not disappear – they continued to be used; in rock art, the white colours appears for almost the whole of the first millennium AD. The concept of early iron-using communities is used also in relation to sites having the earliest evidence of iron slag in south and east Africa (Morais 1978, pp. 3–5; Chami 1994, p.13; Pwiti 1996, p. 18).
The earliest iron-using communities appeared in eastern Africa, and are characterised as belonging to the great Chifumbaze complex, defined on the basis of ceramics and iron-smelting debris, the associated communities gradually dispersed and formed subcultures, for instance as the Urewe, Kwale, Matola, Gokomere Ziwa, etc (Phillipson 1977; Mitchell 2002, p. 261).

Apart from these communities, the Proto-Swahili culture emerged on the Kenyan and Tanzanian coast at the beginning of the first millennium AD, the Chifumbazi Complex and the associated ceramic traditions were gradually modified into the TIW from the VI century AD, generally connected with the Proto-Swahili Culture in associated settlements, and there are indications of a gradually increasing importance of trade. From the end of the first millennium AD, some of the populations in these settlements were Muslims (Chami 1994, pp. 14–7) and we see indications of stone buildings, agriculture, control of maritime activity and long-distance commerce (Middleton 1992, pp.12–5).

The spread of the Chifumbaze Complex is linked to the expansion and use of iron technology, although this was not homogeneous throughout eastern Africa. In this period, there was considerable dynamics in the use of iron in all the communities, now distinguished as early iron-using communities, which Adamowicz (1985) divides into:

- Settlements located in arable soils;
- Settlements having vestiges of iron smelting;
- Settlements with a great diversity and quantity of pottery.

According to this author, the early iron-using communities extend from 295+110 AD to 1010+215 AD (Adamowicz 1985, pp. 4–5).

According to Phillipson (1988), the period ends before 1000 AD. Communities of the early iron-using communities in eastern Africa first appear in the first centuries BC around Lake Victoria, and expanded in the first three centuries AD toward the south as far as Natal (Phillipson 1988, pp.171–83).

Later iron-using communities — It is impossible to establish exact dates of the beginning of the later iron-using communities on the east African coast. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in most of southern Africa, the pottery of these communities spread; indicating what archaeologists define as the later iron-using communities (Moraes 1978, p. 6).

These communities appeared before AD 1000 and extend to the present day, characterized by the development of the existing communities and the appearance of a new form of social organisation with local chiefs controlling local exchange and long-distance commerce (Adamowicz 1985).

The early iron-using communities developed gradually into the later iron-using communities, with great improvement in their tools. New decorative motifs
appeared in the pottery, and the clay was finer and more thoroughly baked (the Lumbo and Sancul tradition). It was possibly this period that saw the beginning of the Shona linguistic grouping and the intrusion of Arab mercantile capital through trading establishments on the coast, which contributed decisively to the transformation of some subsistence level units into much larger and complex centres of production (ibid). The small villages at the end of the first millennium AD grew into large urban centres of international commerce with very complex social structures. Many researchers designated these as city-state cultures, e.g., Kilwa, Mombasa, Mogadishu and Mozambique Island (Sinclair & Häkansson 2000, pp. 463–80).

The prosperity of some Swahili urban centres in this period, e.g., Kilwa, was manifested in the spectacular architecture with spacious stone buildings of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Doubtless this enabled the commercial and political control of neighbouring lands, including those in Mozambique that contributed to the appearance of important commercial centres on the northern Mozambican coast, such as Somaná, Matemwe, Quissanga and Mozambique Island.

During this time, other types of architecture made with dry stones layered without any mortar appeared in the interior. This is what archaeologists term the Zimbabwe tradition, which is very different from the Swahili architecture (Sutton 1998, pp. 113–69; Adamowicz 1985, p. 47).

The prosperity of Kilwa at the beginning of the second millennium AD was largely due to the control of the coast to the south almost to the Zambezi delta, which channelled gold into world trade systems. Kilwa served as an intermediary for this trade (Sutton 1998, pp. 113–69).

As Büttner (1981) and Pwiti (1996) argue, the great economic development of the Zimbabwe state in the fourteenth century AD was the result principally of internal and external trade, particularly between the interior and urban centres of the Indian Ocean coast, where gold and ivory were traded for Asian manufactured products, such as cloth, porcelain, beads and other objects of adornment.

Control of the seas exercised by the Swahili community in the first of half of the second millennium, facilitated by natural conditions — the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean —, enabled the establishment of commercial contacts between the east African coast, the Comoros islands, the northeast coast of Madagascar and Asia (Radimilahy 1998, pp. 32–3).

The arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century and the loss of control of some of the sea routes owing to the weakening of Arab trade and possibly the exhaustion of water supplies led to the abandonment of many Swahili urban centres on the east African coast at the beginning of second half of the second millennia AD (Büttner 1981, pp. 74–83; Sutton 1998).

Community — This term is used here to designate a group of people with similar cultural practices, customs, work, and social structure. As Phillips (1997, p. 42) notes, the coastal peoples coming from the Arab-Swahili-Silk (1996, p. 1) symbiosis of culture and religion established trading posts and towns along the coast. These areas were home to a variety of peoples who spoke different languages and had different cultural traditions. The Swahili culture, which emerged from this symbiosis of culture and religion, was characterized by a strong emphasis on trade, commerce, and the exchange of goods and ideas. This area of the world has long been a center of cultural exchange, and the Swahili culture played a major role in this exchange. Today, the Swahili culture continues to influence the culture of the region, and its influence can be seen in the language, art, architecture, and cuisine of the area.
similar cultural traces represented by an archaeological tradition (pottery, decorative motives, etc). Normally, such information is encountered in their customs, work implements, architecture, subsistence and language.

As Phillipson (1988, pp.171–86) argues, the first iron-using communities, which occupied a vast area of south and east Africa, showed a marked degree of homogeneity. Study of pottery typology may show that the first iron-using communities were descended from Urewe, part of Chifumbaze complex, and these first groups were undoubtedly speakers of Bantu languages.

**Swahili Culture**—The word Swahili appears on this coast with the arrival of peoples coming from southwest Asia. As Middleton argues, the word originates in the Arab Swahili (‘coast’), which suggests that Swahili means ‘peoples of the coast’ (Middleton 1992, p. 1). The Mwani of Quina identify themselves as Swahili. However, Sik (1966, p. 153) argues that the word Swahili comes from distinct Bantu people who call themselves ‘Shirasi’. Before the arrival of people from southwest Asia, the coast was already inhabited by communities with wattle and daub buildings (Allan 1993, p.21). Chinese sources indicate that the earliest coastal people’s houses were made of palm leaves and were covered with thatch now difficult to find, and whose remains are limited to pottery specific to each sub-region.

The Swahili culture is, in part, an urban, mercantile, literate and Muslim culture, which emerged and flourished on the east African coast from the beginning of the first millennium AD. As Rita-Ferreira notes, it results from the symbiosis of cultural elements of Bantu, Arab, Persian and Indian origin (Connah 1987, pp. 150–82; Rita-Ferreira 1990, p. 95). It is most prominently characterised by its stone buildings. To be Swahili means, more than anything, being born on the coast and being a farmer, fisher, artisan, trader and sometimes a Muslim.

Traditionally, the Swahili occupied the area between Kisiwayu, in the north of the Lamu archipelago to Tunge (Tungu, Tungu = Palma), not far from the Rovuma, on Cape Delgado in present day Mozambique, including the coastal islands and the Comoros. But in practice, they expanded to the south, north and west. This area is used to define Swahili identity. In his discussion of the origin of the word Swahili, Allen (1974, pp. 105–39, 1993), similar to many western scholars, thinks that it originated from Arabic or Persian and that it includes all those who speak the Swahili language.

Major F. B. Pearce, cited by Allen, the first English official resident in Zanzibar, published a book on the Swahili in 1920 (*The Swahili*), and considered that a person must fulfil three criteria before being considered Swahili:

- Above all, he/she must be of African descent;
- He/she must speak the Swahili language;
- Lastly, he/she must originate on the east African coast.
Figure 1.2. Archaeological sites on the east African coast.
Estatas arqueológicas na Costa Oriental da África.
Pearce’s successor in Zanzibar, W. H. Ingrams, also cited by Allen, considers that the Swahili were a mixed race (natives of the coast, slaves from the interior and people from southwest Asia or Persia) (Allen 1993).

The proto-Swahili community inhabited the northern part of present day Kenya are Bantu language-speaking people, known as “the eastern stream” dispersed from the region of great lakes toward the east African coast following the rivers and settled the region of Tana, who opted for a seaward looking life, and gradually expanded to the south along the coast (Duarte 1993, p. 38). Nevertheless, the north of Kenya is known for the earliest evidence for iron-using communities farming in east Africa pre-dated to the beginning of farming communities, which could create another hypothesis of the origins of proto-Swahili communities. In my opinion, these communities could originate not necessarily from Bantu language-speaking people, but from these early east African herdsmen.

The east African coast – This region extends from Cape Guardafui in Somalia to the south of the Limpopo River, according to Idrisi and Ibn Sa’id, geographers from southwest Asia in the twelfth century (Chittick & Rotberg 1975, pp.137–8).

Chami (1994, p.13) consider this coast to extend from Somalia to the south of Tanzania, including the islands of Pemba, Unguja Ukuu and Mafia.

The present author considers the east African coast to extend from Somalia to the Vilanculos bay in Inhambane in southern Mozambique. This description is based on trade evidence from Chibuene and the description of Sofala, although it is not known where Sofala was located (Fig. 1.2).

Tradition – is the oral transmission of knowledge, practices and long established habits. Here the term is used to designate or characterise a group, or identity in the archaeological material on the basis of manufacture, form or ornamentation of ceramics. It refers to the development of particular form of tool or decoration over time (ibid.)
Chapter 2

THE CAPE DELGADO COAST – WRITTEN SOURCES AND MATERIALS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the east African coast was navigated by voyagers from southwest Asia from earliest times, at the beginning of, or even before the first millennium AD. Phoenicians were perhaps the first to round the continent and people from the pre-Islamic kingdoms of Yemen and Hadhramaut developed trade with the east African coast in the first millennium BC, which may indicate that the area was occupied before its settlement by Bantu speakers (Ki-Zerbo 1972, pp. 120–1).

In analysing the literature on the east African coast it is important to take into account the origin of the sources. Unfortunately, the archaeological records do not confirm the earliest written documents, recorded casually by merchants. However, a careful analysis of the documents of the Cape Delgado coast enables them to be classified in different periods. The pre-colonial period includes a range of documents written by merchants, geographers and other sailors before the advent of European navigators, some of which date from the first century of the Christian era, such as the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. This is one of several of Graeco-Roman documents, which are all limited to the coast as far south as Cape Delgado or Sofala.

The Portuguese period begins with the first voyage of Vasco da Gama to India at the end of the fifteenth century, and this marked the start of European settlement on the east African coast and the struggle for control of Indian Ocean trade routes. Given the lack of attractive trade goods produced in Portugal, this struggle was at times violent, with military means used to expel southwest Asians who had controlled the trade previously. It is from this period that the history of the east African coast begins to be well documented, as we shall see below in the analysis of the Portuguese sources. However, the most important document to single out at this stage is the *Jornal da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama 1497–1499* (Narrative of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama), which
describes the journey to and from India, written anonymously, perhaps by one of Vasco da Gama’s ship-borne servants (Freeman-Grenville 1975, pp. 50–168). In the sixteenth century, the anonymous narratives of the voyage of Pedro A. Cabral, the second voyage of Vasco da Gama, and João dos Santos descriptions of each of the Cape Delgado islands are of great interest (ibid. pp. 50–168; dos Santos 1999). Another important description of sixteenth century is that of Duarte Barbosa, who travelled on the east African coast from Cape of Good Hope to Lamu, 1517–18 (Freeman-Grenville 1975, pp. 127–34).

In the final period, it is possible to confront written sources with material evidence. The first archaeological evidence, although not with the greatest scientific rigour, begins to develop from c.1900 to the mid-twentieth centuries AD (Monteiro 1966; Santos 1973).

2.1 Written sources

An analysis of the written sources on the east African coast should be seen from two perspectives: firstly, those written by travellers, navigators or geographers as guides to their voyages, orientations, or simply as reports to their kings, as in the case of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with non-academic rigour or interest (Chami 1994, p. 25).

Secondly, from the eighteenth century, European navigators began to introduce a more rigorous analysis of sources as well as studies of the populations of the east African coast. At the beginning of the twentieth century, although the empirical analysis of sources and excavations in search of treasure continued, one can note the systematic recovery of archaeo-anthropological and ethnological data, archaeological excavations of some sites and attempts at interpretation of the data (Monteiro 1966; Santos 1973). However, it should be emphasised that this recovery still had many defects, as in the identification of the origin of material and its stratigraphy (such as in the works of the Anthropological Missions in Mozambique).

For this reason, it can be concluded that these sources did not always have a scientific rationale. Nevertheless, the studies aroused interest for continuing archaeological research to attempt to answer the various questions raised.

2.1.1 Graeco-Roman sources

The earliest known sources for the east African coast are Graeco-Roman. However, there are very few sources at all before the seventh century AD, and these sources only have indirect references to the area of the Cape Delgado coast.

The most important in this period that has apparently written in v
The Periplus is basic and uncertain, but see centuries AD: Chami (p. 19) to between the 63) between 76–100 AD.

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2.1.2 Arabic sources

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structured political s obtain supplies.

2.1.3 Chinese sources

The first document: Tuan Ch’eng-Shih i
The most important source on the Indian Ocean and the east African coast in this period that has direct information is the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, apparently written in very difficult Greek by an unknown Greek trader in Egypt. The *Periplus* is basically an eyewitness testimony (Huntingford 1980). Its dating is uncertain, but researchers attribute the date to between the first and second centuries AD: Charmi (1994, p. 25) attributes the date to 40–70 AD, Duarte (1993, p. 19) to between the first and second centuries AD, Mathew (1975, pp. 155–63) between 76–100 and Nurse & Spear (1985, p. 27) between 130 and 140 AD.

In the *Periplus*, Rhapta was the limit of territorial knowledge, and Rita-Ferreira (1990, p. 90), Huntingford (1980) and Sheriff (1983, p. 563) comment that it to have expanded south to Cape Delgado. Recent archaeological studies from the beginning of the twentieth century show that evidence has been found south of the Cape Delgado coast, which could confirm trading activities in the first centuries of the first millennium AD. Examples of this are Sena in central Mozambique and Chibune in the Inhambane bay, south of Mozambique.

2.1.2 Arabic sources

There are various documents dating from the Islamic period, as Juma (2004) terms it, from the ninth and tenth centuries. These contain rich information concerning local population and aspects of social organization and show that Arabic-Islamic navigators were interested in the commerce of the east African coast from the earliest times. However, only a few accounts make direct mention of the Cape Delgado coast and according to Allen (1993, p. 68) it is doubtful whether these first traders sailed south of Cape Delgado before the twelfth century. Allen's affirmation is contradictory with clear long trade evidence found in Chibune in southern Mozambique dating from the eighth century AD (Sinclair 1982, 1987). Reports on Sofala mention the influence of the Islamic civilization as far as Cape Delgado (Kusimba 1999, p. 21); and it is clear that from early times, Cape Delgado represented a limit of known land in almost all references to the east African coast (Duffy 1963, p. 77).

Vanizzi Island was a significant reference point for these Arabic sources, which speak of the existence of a great settlement on the island, with a well-structured political system, where Arab ships bound for the Sofala coast could obtain supplies.

2.1.3 Chinese sources

The first document written by the Chinese on the east African coast is from Tuan Ch'eng-Shih in the ninth century AD. He wrote the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, a
compendium of different types of knowledge and information on eastern Africa. According to this document, the land of Po-pa-li was located in the southwestern part of the Ocean. The population did not eat cereals, but did consume meat; frequently they would puncture the vein of a bull of their herd, mix the blood with milk and drink the mixture raw (Freeman-Grenville 1975, p. 8).

Important in this document is the mention of Persian traders who attempted to enter these lands and the continuous attacks of people from southwest Asia trying to conquer the area, which shows a considerable knowledge of the east African coast and the widely diffused commerce in this century (Freeman-Grenville 1975, p. 8).

Another important document of Chinese origin on the east African coast, particularly about Zanzibar and Somalia in the thirteenth century AD, was written by Chao Ju-Kua, commissioner for external trade of Ch’uan-chou, in the Chinese province of Fukien. He indicates Zanzibar as TS’ONG-PA, and describes it as an island with a great mountain in the western part. The inhabitant people from southwest Asia and were of the Arab religion. These inhabitants dressed in blue cloth and red leather shoes (Freeman-Grenville 1975, p. 21).

According to the same author, every year ships from Arabia were sent to this land with white cotton clothing, porcelain, copper and red cotton for trade. This report clearly shows that the whole population of the coast to Cape Delgado or to the south of that point already was Islamized and that long-distance trading contacts were a daily activity.

2.1.4 Portuguese sources

The history of the northern coast of Mozambique began to be well documented on the arrival of the Portuguese with the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, in the fifteenth century AD. In this first voyage, Vasco da Gama says little about the Cape Delgado coast, only making reference to Mozambique Island in the Indian Ocean. But the description of the peoples inhabiting the mainland on the coastal area as far as the mouth of the Rovuma would seem to be similar, considering that the Makonde lived in the interior of the Mueda plateau.

Father João dos Santos, cited by Freeman-Grenville (1975, p. 147) writes that:

the coast from this last Cape (Cape Delgado) to the Equator is the coast of Melinde which is of the jurisdiction of the captaincy of Mombasa. The firm land is inhabited by cafre, differing in language and customs, agreeing in barbarousness. Along the Kingdom of Mongollo run to the north the Kingdom of Munimugi a great cafre which confines on the south with the lands of Mauraca and on the north with the Abyssine. The main island of this coast, Kilwa, where the king of the whole coast lived in the past.
From this time, the Cape Delgado coast began to be visited constantly by Europeans and João dos Santos was the most systematic writer, describing in minute detail most of the islands of the Quirimba archipelago. In his book *Etiópia Oriental e várias História de cousas notáveis do Oriente*, João dos Santos (1999, pp. 259–65) states that the islands of the Quirimba archipelago produced abundant supplies of rice, domestic animals and cloth. He speaks of the well-structured architecture before the arrival of the Portuguese, mainly on the island of Matemwe, a few kilometres from Quissanga, which may suggest similar architecture on all these islands. He also affirms that the Moors living on the islands formerly lived on the mainland, along a river called Milvane, and that when the Muzimba passed through these lands, destroying and consuming all they found, the inhabitants fled to the islands where they stayed until the arrival of the Portuguese.

From this account it is clear that the region to which dos Santos refer to is located on the south of Cape Delgado and was settled before the European conquest of this coast.

There are few direct references in the Portuguese documents that mention the Cape Delgado coast in the first half of second millennium AD.

### 2.1.5 Archaeological sources

For many years, research on the Cape Delgado coast was conducted on the basis of ethnolinguistic and anthropological studies (da Conceição 1993; dos Santos 1999) without reference to material sources, which resulted in great chronological limitations. In the Portuguese period, various researchers carried out such work (Monteiro 1966; dos Santos 1973). In modern debate between archaeologists and historians on the east African coast there is no consensus on the beginning of sea-borne trade, only that, according to Oliver and Fagan, this activity extended to Cape Delgado in the time of Ptolemy, and that some Muslim peoples lived there (Oliver & Fagan 1975, p. 193).

Henriksen (1978, pp. 29–34) writes that after the conquest of Angoche by the Portuguese in 1511, they attacked the Quirimbas islands, breaking one of the main centres of Muslim commerce. Located to the south of Quirimba archipelago, the Quirimbas Island served as a staging post for merchants going from Kilwa to the south and vice-versa. The islands have fresh water and good conditions for agriculture, a strategic commodity for ships.

Archaeological research on the Cape Delgado coast began with dos Santos Junior in 1953, which resulted in the first description of the walls of Gomene in the Mecufi area, and culminated in the opening of a trench over the whole diameter and the collection of a considerable quantity of material, now deposited in the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical in Lisbon. The results of these excavations in Gomene were not published.
In the 1960s, Dr. Amaro Monteiro excavated Tungi and conducted archaeological research resulting in a detailed description of the Arab establishments at Kiuva, M’buezi and Quisiva (Monteiro 1966, pp. 51–6). After independence, work continued with studies and excavations on Ilbo Island (Sinclair 1986, 1987, Lo福特e 1990), on Great Quirimba island (Liesegang 1988), on the uplands of Cape Delgado (Adamowicz 1990), on the coast and on the islands of the Quirimba archipelago (Bento 1992; Duarte 1993).

This work produced a considerable quantity of archaeological material, mainly potsherds of Lumbo and Sancul traditions, beads and porcelain, to support a study of the dynamics of trade and the socio-economic, cultural and political life of the region. As a result of these material sources, the history of the Cape Delgado region began to be understood anew. Linguistic interpretation left many gaps in the study and in the interpretation of the past of the first iron-using communities of the Cape Delgado coast.

These material sources at least enabled the clarification of which were the main products traded, settlement structures and the main activities practised by the communities of this coast in the beginning of the second millennium AD. However, there was still much to do in order to establish links between the interior and the coast.

2.1.6 Maps

The representation of the routes and localities where trade developed began to appear with the Arab geographers of the twelfth century AD. Al Idrisi was the first to represent the east African coast in 1154. This map shows some localities which have not yet been identified and others which are known. Idrisi’s account provided valuable primary information on the inhabited and desolate shores of the east African coast, the cities, economic activities and commerce, and has contributed much to the knowledge of the coast, its routes and natural resources (fauna, flora and raw material). Trimmingham, however, refers to the great lack of collaboration between geographers and astronomers, which results in serious discrepancies between coordinates and localities (Trimingham 1975, pp. 138–9).

A revolution in cartography came after the arrival of the Portuguese in the later fifteenth century during the voyages of discovery to India. The first voyage of Vasco da Gama and his crew round Africa resulted in the elaboration of a map of the continent, annotated with names of localities visited; these details were important for two reasons: economic interests and geographical knowledge. Many of the recorded names are still in use today, and others were changed for easy use, owing to linguistic difficulties.

Maps not only constituted sources of primary geographic and economic information but also served as sources of navigational orientation; it became
easier to plan voyages as distances, climatic conditions, types of crops, diseases and natural conditions of each region were clearer.

These sources are useful in comparing oral sources and in correcting information presented by the first navigators and geographers from southwest Asia to the east African coast. These maps provided relevant information on on the Cape Delgado coast for the present study.

2.2 Oral sources

Oral sources on the Quissanga area indicate that it was the first place on the whole of the Mozambican coast to be occupied by southwest Asian peoples, who built the first mosque in Mozambique. According to Bisse Bisse:

in 924, three brothers named Said, Bwana and Tamimo came from Bussira and settled in Quissanga constructing the first mosque. Quissanga had the best conditions, fresh water and many types of cereal, mainly rice, which led to their building stone houses here.

After some time, other Arabs from Bussira came to settle and build here, so it turned into fine urban centre, with the Sheikh’s house overlooking the mosque being the largest, with enormous grounds (a moat measuring 2x2m was dug). These Arabs did not like black people, and even those who were Muslims were not allowed to enter in the mosque. In 1060, a group of blacks was organised to go by boat to a land called Amu (Lamu island?), to learn how to build a stone mosque and when they returned, they built this mosque of Quissanga in 1114. This information was transmitted from one generation to another.

(interview with Bisse Bisse, Quissanga, 05.08.1996).

However, research carried out in Quissanga by the present author did not reveal materials from the period referred to by Bisse Bisse. The pottery, porcelain and beads are all from about the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries AD.

As da Conceição (1993, pp. 64–8) writes, the first inhabitants to settle in Quissanga were Swahili from north of the Rovuma. The three first Swahili settled in a zone called Bassuarah (Bassorah).
CHAPTER 3

THE ENVIRONMENT

The northern Mozambican coast is characterised by a diversity of micro-environments, as these are dependent on geological formations and different climatic conditions, and by local environmental changes (Tinley 1971; Duarte 1993, p. 55). Other differences are notable from the coast to the interior where the mountain ranges affect the climate and vegetation. The islands are often formed from coral reefs, with a much diversified marine life. In general, the coast is irregular with an abundance of mangrove swamps on alluvial marine soils.

3.1. Physiography

The Cape Delgado area is highly vulnerable to cyclones and tropical storms, as mentioned by Paul Sinclair and Ricardo Duarte (Sinclair 1987, p. 24; Duarte 1993).

In terms of altitude, the coastlands and sub-littoral can be classified as low, from 0 to 200 metres with deep intrusions along the valleys of the rivers Rovuma, Lugenda, Messalo and Lúrio.

Toward the interior, the region is characterized by a sub-plateau and lowland plateau area, with altitudes between 200–500 metres. This reaches inland into generally higher areas in the valleys particularly of the rivers Rovuma, Lugenda, Messalo and Lúrio. The area is underlain largely by rock of granite-gneiss and gabbro-diorite.

The middle plateau area, from 500–1000 metres, is an archeaic massif of similar geological formation. In Cape Delgado, the middle plateau of greatest interest are those of Mueda, Montepuez, Balama and Nungo. The high plateau does not exist in the Cape Delgado province.

The high plateau area from 1000–1500 metres is little represented – practically non-existent – in the Cape Delgado province (Fig. 3.1).
3.1.1 Main periods

The Centro de Investigação Científica Algodeira (C.I.C.A.) (Gouveia 1955) performed the first geological surveys in Mozambique, particularly of the north region. From these studies and through comparisons with South African systems, it can be seen that there were no deposits in Mozambique between the primitive (Archaic) and the Umkondo (pre-Devonian). In the first phase of the Cretaceous, there was a large marine transgression in the south, which affected a small strip of the Cape Delgado and Nampula littoral, reaching the plateau of Mueda and Macomia.

3.1.2 Climate

The climate of the northern Mozambique coast is strongly influenced by monsoon winds and maritime currents of the southern Indian Ocean. The rainfall regime is one of monsoon rains, which fall, as is normal, with the humid sea winds of the northeast monsoon, but the first rains are not usually heavy. The rainy season begins in December and continues until April. The area is subject to western Indian Ocean cyclones, which occasionally reach this coast (Azevedo 1955, pp. 149–51).
The Quissanga Praia and the Quirimbas archipelago zone have a hot and humid climate, with rainfall totals of 800–1000 mm per year, which makes this area the driest part of the Mozambican coast (Duarte 1993, p. 55) (Fig. 3.2 & Fig. 3.3). The mean annual temperature is 30°C. The hottest period is between October and April, with an average of 31°C, which diminishes to 29°C between May and September, July being the lowest temperature month with an average of 28.6°C (Fig. 3.4 & Fig. 3.5).

3.1.3 Hydrography

The regime of the rivers in Cape Delgado is very irregular, with wide differences in flow between flood and dry periods, which is caused by variations in the rainfall regime (Fig. 3.6). Many of the secondary watercourses have a torrential flow during the rains, but nevertheless dry up in the dry season. Even some of the larger rivers of the region, such as the Rovuma, Lugenda, Messalo, Montepuz e Lúrio are possible to cross on foot in the dry season (Gouveia 1955, pp. 87–102).

However, in the rainy period, the flow of the rivers expands very rapidly, resulting in floods. It is probable that in the past, the rivers were navigable in the rainy season, enabling some goods to be transported by this means to the interior. Most of the rivers of Mozambique are oriented west/east, i.e., from the interior to the coast.

3.1.4 Soils

The soils of the coast of Cape Delgado (Fig. 3.7) mainly consist of marine deposits, which have accumulated in successive layers. To the south of Mocimboa da Praia, between this strip in the east and the ancient massif to the west, are alluvial plains and valley lowlands; the black soils from Quissanga Beach to Pemba and the brown soils of the Lúrio River, forming flat to undulating surfaces, form the continuation of the coastal sandy belt (Gouveia 1955, p. 75).

The fluvial soils of the region are very productive, but the region is subject to significant climatic limitation with low rainfall; the generally low soil humidity impedes intensive forms of agricultural development along this coast.

The soils of northern Mozambique include littoral dunes (Entric Regosols: Re 69-1a FAO 1973) of the strip from Ibo to Mozambique Island as well as fertile but poorly drained vertisols (FAO: V1-3a) toward the interior. To the north there is the complex of ferruginous acriosols, alluvial soils and arenosols (FAO: QF 31-1a), (Sinclair 1987, p. 23). In the valleys of the rivers and the lakes, there are rich clayey deposits. This includes the valleys of the Rovuma,
Figure 3.2. Map of mean annual rainfall of the Cape Delgado province. 
Mapa da precipitação anual da província de Cabo Delgado.

Figure 3.3. Mean monthly rainfall of the Cape Delgado province 
Media da precipitação mensal da província de Cabo Delgado

Figure 3.4. Map 
Mapa da tempe.

Figure 3.5. Met 
Media da temp.
Figure 3.4. Map of mean annual temperature of the Cape Delgado province.
*Mapa da temperatura anual da província de Cabo Delgado.*

**MONTHLY TEMPERATURE**

![Bar chart showing monthly temperatures](chart)

Figure 3.5. Mean monthly temperature of Cape Delgado province
*Media da temperatura mensal da província de Cabo Delgado*
3.1.5 Vegetation

The vegetation on the littoral is the Zanzibar-Inhambane mosaic, which White, cited by Chami (1994 pp. 40–2; Kusimba 1999, pp. 71–4), identifies as the east African coastal mosaic – vegetation modified extensively by human activity, mainly agriculture. This secondary grassland and forest is general and extends to the coast and the islands. It typically supports cereal and tuber (cassava, potato) agriculture.

Marshy forests generally occur close to lakes, estuaries, creeks and on alluvial sediments on riverbanks or the coast itself. Mangroves are also typical of these localities and have been exploited by coastal communities since early times for local use or export.

With regard to the vegetation of the study area, i.e. the Cape Delgado coast, the initial work was done by Tinley, and later Wild and Fernandes, and the FAI mainly grazed and the coconut (Cocos* digitata)* was harvested. Ritualistic activities were usual exploitation charcoal so natural impala there are for all is second Toward* nia, Bombonje* spread thro
and the FAO, cited by Sinclair (Sinclair 1987, pp. 23–5). Coastal bush, mainly grassland and mangrove are common and cover some of the islands and the coast, thus forming extensive marshlands. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is also common on this coast, as this tree is associated with traditional rituals and the fruit used in the traditional medicine. The trees were usually planted by the communities. The intensive and extensive exploitation of these resources for fuel, construction and the production of charcoal so as to smelt iron and other minerals for the making of agricultural implements houses and boats and objects of adornment, means that there are few parts of the zone with any of the original forest, so that almost all is secondary or even tertiary or quaternary forest.

Toward the interior, there are patches of dry transitory forest (*Adansonia, Bombax, Flora Zambeziaca unidade 6*). Stands of Miombo forest are spread throughout and *Brachystegia* appears in various associations with
Berlinia, Adansonia, Afzelia, Sterculia e Acacia, Rigescens (Sinclair 1987, pp. 23–5; Duarte 1993, p. 59).

3.1.6 Fauna

The coastal zone and islands of Cape Delgado constitute a milieu for many varieties of marine life, which develop on the unique coral reefs. Fish and shell fish offered, and still offer, a rich diet for the communities living on the coast. In all the coastal sites (Adamowicz 1987; Sinclair 1987), the first material evidence is composed of shells and fish bones. The islands are very poor in terrestrial fauna, with only smaller species, such as lizards, snakes, birds, monkeys, squirrels, moles, rodents and insects.

The fauna in the interior is very rich, with a large variety of species: e.g. elephants, leopards, lions, monkeys, hyenas, antelopes, wild boars, wild pigs, impalas, gazelles, birds, reptiles, etc. In the past, these animals, mainly
the elephant, rhinoceros and leopard, were the source of raw materials (ivory, horn and skins) for export. This existence of resources inevitably led to the coast being an area of competition for human occupation and exploitation (Kusimba 1999, p. 74).

The abundance of marine and terrestrial species until the present led the Mozambique government to afford protection to the zone, creating the Quirimbas National Park in order to attempt conservation of the species unique to this region.

3.1.7 Agro-ecological zones in the past and present

The northern coast of Mozambique is classified as region Ln in the agro-ecological system of the FAO with severe climatic limitations, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Exceptions are some small areas having a favourable climate for agriculture, such as Mossuril on the mainland – facing Mozambique Island in Nampula. In Cape Delgado, the region between Mocimboa da Praia and Quissanga Praia (Fig. 3.8) has relatively good conditions for cereal agriculture, particularly wet rice (Oryza sativa), which is cultivated through a system of flooding since pre-colonial times (Duarte 1993, p. 55). Apart from rice, sweet potatoes and cassava, introduced in the colonial period by the Europeans, is still cultivated. Chinese coconut, banana, sorghum, millet, groundnuts, sugar cane and maize are also grown.

On the coast of Cape Delgado, rice is the main food, according to Islamic tradition and Muslim religion, which is professed by the Mwani people who constitute the majority. Rice is cultivated in flooded fields, which are man-made during the dry season, and which can be compared to the old system used in Mesopotamia, where the fields fill with water during the rainy season, and effectively become lakes where rice is planted. The second most important food is cassava, associated with the Makhuwa population living there.

According to our informant Bisse Bisse, this technique came with the first Arab settlers when they arrived from Bussira (Basra?). The climatic conditions of Quissanga area on the coast of Cape Delgado are favourable for the practice of agriculture. There is no doubt that in the past, these conditions contributed much to the settlement of communities.

Apart from agriculture, the villagers also practice small stock breeding, particularly of goats which can be seen today in Quissanga and it is expected that in the near future, cattle will be introduced, as there is no danger from the tsetse fly.
CHAPTER 4

ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL
RESEARCH ON THE REGION

The study of today’s ethnic groups in the coastal zone of Cape Delgado may help to understand the history of the area, the way of life of its people, their crafts, cultural and agricultural activities and their diet. From the present day activities of the population it is possible to reconstitute some of the past, considering that there is always a transmission of knowledge from generation to generation, as in the case of e.g. pottery, ornamentation and blacksmithing.

However, the great problem is the origin of the peoples who inhabit the east African coast and of the Swahili culture. Explanations through linguistic data have not proved sufficient, and recourse to oral sources has also been frustrating, since the large majority of these sources do not refer to remote times. Another problem of oral sources is their reliability, as informants often add details that are invented or that come from third parties. Careful and critical analysis is therefore always necessary.

The solution for this has been to use material sources from archaeological research, which enable comparisons of various data including linguistics. In the study area, the different methods described here have been little applied owing to the paucity of research. Nevertheless, some important steps have been made with archaeological and anthropological studies conducted on Ibo Island, Quirimba and elsewhere on the Cape Delgado coast (da Conceição 1993; Sinclair 1986, 1987; Liesegang 1988; Loforte 1990).

There are few linguistic studies of the area that aim to explain the origins of the communities of the Cape Delgado coast. More ethno-archaeological and anthropological work has been done. Many studies centre on Makonde art, mainly in Dar-es-Salaam, southern Tanzania, the north of Cape Delgado (Mueda) and on the frontier zone of the Rovuma valley. Interest in Makonde art has been marked among both national and foreign researchers.

These studies began with a German interest in the former colony of Tanganyika by Karl Weule 1908. The first results from these studies were published the same year, and a second edition, translated into Portuguese was published
in Maputo in 2000. Later after the colonial incursions onto the Mueda plateau, the most prominent of these first works on the Makonde in Mozambique were those of António Jorge and Margot Dias (1970) “Os Makonde de Moçambique” and Karl Weule (2000) “Resultados científicos da minha viagem de pesquisas etnográficas no sudeste da África Oriental”. After the independence, Ricardo Duarte published a work entitled Escultura Makonde, the result of research on Makonde art on the Mueda plateau and in the Nampula museum, where he worked as director (Duarte 1987).

Weule’s work includes research on the Makhuwa and the Yao who live in the frontier region of Cape Delgado and Tanzania, as these ethnic groups have a history in common, and it is almost impossible to study them separately. There are other works on the Makhuwa of the Nampula province (Machado 1970; Geffray 1987a, 1987b; Rita-Ferreira 1975), as there are some differences in the mode of occupation of these two regions. On the Mwani, little is written, with only a few references with little detail on the origin of their language (da Conceição 1993).

In general, the literature shows that a study of the communities of the Cape Delgado coast requires consideration of two groups of main factors, the internal and the external, which influenced the formation of these societies.

4.1 The present day communities of the Cape Delgado coast: Makhuwa, Yao, Makonde and Mwani

Research on the origin of the communities inhabiting the east African region continues to be difficult to interpret. Ethno-linguistic studies of these groups show surprising heterogeneity at the general level. This mosaic of ethnic groups appears in a context of various physiographic, ecological and climatic conditions.

Their origin continues to be considered part of the Niger-Congo family of African languages and of the Bantu-speaking populations, which migrated from forest regions toward east and southern Africa as metal-using mixed agriculturalists, basically black skinned people who compose the majority of the population of east Africa today. The expanding Bantu speaking people came to dominate the Cushitic hunters herders and cultivators who were living in these areas at least as early as 1000–1500 BC (Nurse 1982, pp. 199–222).

The Makonde form part of the eastern Bantu sub-group, which dispersed from the Bantu nucleus south of the Congo forest migrating north and occupying the southeast of what is today Tanzania (Nurse 1982, p. 219).

The migrations of Bantu speakers from the equatorial region of eastern Africa (the Great Lakes region) in the second century AD to southern Africa took place gradually. The ancestors of the Bantu speakers now known as Yao and
Makhuwa populated the area between the Rovuma and Zambezi Rivers. In the nineteenth century, these groups also populated the southern region of what is now Tanzania, settling first the Rovuma area and then moving to the southeast coast of Tanzania and the northern coast of Mozambique. These Bantu speakers are known as belonging to the eastern stream of Bantu (Junod 1938, p. 18).

Apart from linguistic considerations, the study of material remains, that is, archaeological sources, show that in the early iron-using communities, these linguistic groups were associated with the KwaI tradition, probably with a progressive loss of the decorative elements in the pottery over time, as they advanced toward. This is confirmed by the appearance of specific affinities in the different regions to which this tradition diffused (Soper 1982, pp. 223–38).

According to Soper, the development of the later iron-using communities was parallel with the emergence of modern Bantu languages of east Africa (Soper 1982, p. 235).

4.1.1 The Makhuwa

The Makhuwa people, according to Leonardo Adamowicz, are a widely dispersed group living in the north of Mozambique. They spread to this region from central Tanzania through Malawi or eastern Zambia around 1000 AD, absorbing early iron communities of Bantu agriculturists and groups of hunter-gatherers (Adamowicz 1987, pp. 81–2). Later, on the coast, they absorbed elements of the religion and culture of Arab migrants and also the Swahili; their type of house construction is of Swahili origin. In the sixteenth century, Father João dos Santos (1999) observed that the Africans living on the coast and Mozambique Island prayed to their local deities.

The pottery of this period is characterized by a blend of stylistic elements of different origins mainly from the coast, reflecting the prolonged trading contacts.

The reports collected by Weule on the origin of the Makhuwa indicate that this group lived near the river Messalo. Expelled from there by the Lomwe, they migrated to Mount Mímbo to the north of the Rovuma River. Ngumi attacks in the 18th century AD obliged the Makhuwa to leave this region for the area of Newala (Weule 2000, p. 89).

With this hypothesis, Weule disputes the main line of Bantu expansion from the region of the Great Lakes to the southeast of present-day Tanzania, reaching the Rovuma River and from there in two main directions: toward the coast of Mozambique and to the west as far as modern Zimbabwe. It is possible that a Makhuwa group established itself north of the Rovuma, migrating not from the Messalo, but from the north.

The pottery referred to above may be divided into two groups, corresponding to the early and later iron-using communities:
Pottery of the early iron-using communities. Apart from Tanzania, this pottery occupies a vast area of northern Mozambique; the pottery is characterised by Adamowicz as belonging to the cultivators and producers of the early iron-using communities, similar to that of the Chifumbazi complex of eastern Africa (Adamowicz 1987, pp. 77–80).

Pottery of the later iron-using communities. Adamowicz suggests three distinct traditions: Interior Swahili and local. The first of these is attributed to the Makuwa, developing as a linguistically and culturally dominant group in an area influenced by their Swahili and Maravi neighbours on the coast of the Indian Ocean (Adamowicz 1977, p. 80).

4.1.2 The Yao

The Yao are formed by a matrilineal group of Bantu-speaking people originating on the Cameroon/Nigeria border. This group, associated with Kwale pottery production (Morais 1978), appeared during the twelfth century AD as a subgroup of the proto-Wasongea and the ancient Wapogoro of the southeast Bantu (Ehret 1984, p. 483–4). The word Yao refers to a hill, treeless and grass grown situated in the area between Mwembe and the Luchilingo River from where the Yao sprung (Abdallah 1973, p. 7). The predecessors of the Yao settled in the region between the Rovuma and Lugenda Rivers, the zone considered as their original home, to the east of Lake Niassa. According to Mitchell, these people were the first to initiate long distance trade from the area, with the organisation of regular caravans to the coast. At that time, firearms were not known in the interior of east Africa (Hallet 1974, p. 233; Mitchell 1971, p. 22).

The Yao were very active in trade with the Arabs on the coast. They traded ivory, slaves, wax and tobacco for firearms, ammunition, salt, cloth and beads (Abdallah 1973, pp. 26–39). The contacts with the Arabs began early, before the arrival of the Europeans, perhaps even as early as the third century AD (Mitchell 1971, p. 22).

The area inhabited by the Yao is associated with the pottery of the Kwale tradition, which has an extensive distribution part of which includes southeast Tanzania and northern Mozambique. In the Niassa province, some sites, such as Monte Minukwe, have been identified by João Morais (1978) as having pottery of the early iron-using communities, although it has not yet been positively determined to which tradition the pottery belongs.

However, the decorative elements in present day pottery of the Yao of the Niassa zone and along the Rovuma River contain figures which show continuity with items of the later iron-using communities, in particular, the geometric figures (Weule 2000, pp. 226–7). Among traditional ceremonies, we can note the...
initiation rites to mark the transition to adulthood, which are common to the communities of this area.

4.1.3 The Makonde

_Vamakonde valakadile silambo sa kundonde pepi na Kuluma na likola ijetu iya vanambogwa (va situnguli va mwe Maunda) valakadile kumakuwa, nakufwevu wa kala ave makuwa na lina ijetu ya sinsema Nduulana, jani nsi makuwa Nahula._

The Makonde came from the lowlands near the Rovuma and our Sinambogwa clan (the clan of the Situnguli of our forefather Maunda) was of Makuwa origin. Our great grandmother was Makuwa and was called Nduulana, meaning that Nahula was Makuwa.

Information recounted by my deceased grandmother, Mbuba, in August 1997, as she explained the genealogical origins of our clan.

This paragraph, although without material value, provides clarity on the origin and expansion of the Makonde along the Rovuma River, leaving the main branch of the eastern Bantu who settled in south east Tanzania, and later moved along the river towards the coast. Nurse classifies the subgroup to which the Yao and Makonde belong as P20. In lexical and phonological terms, this subgroup is similar to subgroups N10 (the Tanzanian Ngoni) and P10 (Rufiji). However, until further linguistic and archaeological work is done, the degree of separation and linkage between these groups will remain imprecise (Nurse 1982, p. 219).

Very little is known of the origins and the culture history of the Makonde. According to sources collected by Weule at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Makonde are near relatives of the Maaraba, who live in the coastal zone near Mikindani (Weule 2000, p. 89). But it is seems that the Makonde expanded into the coastal area very recently.

The lack of archaeological studies on the Mueda plateau and in the whole of the Rovuma valley as far as Niassa results in the great lack of historical knowledge of the area. Contacts with Swahili culture have greatly influenced the form of social organization and architecture. The explanation of the withdrawal of the Makonde towards the interior – the Mueda plateau, which formed a natural defensive barrier – lies mainly in the wars with the Xirazi, and Sakalava of Kilindi, who had originated in Madagascar, according to oral sources recorded by Weule (ibid.), and also in wars in the west caused by the Ngoni.

Oral sources collected in this region and other studies made to date do not make any reference to the communities existing at the time of the arrival of Bantu speakers on the Mueda plateau. Some stories mention the presence of pygmies in the Rovuma basin, but there is no material evidence for this. Weule
attempted to collect information on the original inhabitants, showing various
designs of stone tools found in South Africa and at Lake Tanganyika, but with
no result. The inhabitants always state that the area was unoccupied before
their arrival (Weule 2000, p. 90).

Archaeological surveys made by the present writer on the plateau in 1997
resulted in the identification of some stone tools in the area of Matiu, such as a
hand axe and some microliths, which suggests ancient occupation in this area.

Previous archaeological studies on the interior of Cape Delgado have not
yet come to light. The only references to archaeological sites are to those on
the coast, with particular attention on Swahili culture, whose architecture aroused
most interest since colonial times. The reasons for the lack of archaeological
research on the interior are in part the result of two wars, which negatively
affected this area, landmine and awful roads.

In all the communities of northern Mozambique, the Makonde are considered
the best in the arts of carving and pottery making (Duart 1987; Dias 1998),
making items of different types used in food preparation: water jars, cooking
pots and lids, eating plates etc. This work is reserved exclusively for women. In
these items, the decorative motifs are what distinguish them; these are made
with knives, wood, fragments of gourds etc. There are various designs, such as
geometric figures, animals, plants or simply dotting. These motifs are used in all
decorative applications, including in the bodily scarification of men, of the chest,
arms and legs, apart from facial markings, which is very common among women.

The tattoo marking the head and face are considered a proof of loyalty to
traditional customs (Adamowicz 1987, p. 82). The Makonde considered people
without tattoos as slaves and they suffered disregard in society, and had difficulty
in marrying. In ebony sculptures and mapico masks, these tattoo motifs are
applied to symbolize their integrity.

Traditionally, the Makonde, as a group of the Bantu-speaking peoples, do not
have a way of life very much different from others of the same origin on the
east African coast. Their traditional house was circular, with a conical roof but,
owing to Swahili cultural influence, the rectangular style was adopted, with a
two- or four-sided sloping roof, made of wooden staves joined by interwoven
laths and daubed with kneaded mud, and covered with grass thatch. These
houses are commonly surrounded by a platform or veranda, also covered by
the roof, supported on wooden posts. In these small settlements, in which the
houses are grouped, the main cereal food is maize flour, and occasionally sorghum,
cassava or millet flour.

The settlements were directed by a lineage elder knowledgeable in mystical
arts who was always the last to sleep, as a means of guarding against malevolent
spirits, and a chief known as Huma governed large lineage settlements. There
was no king of the Makonde on the plateau. The Makonde do not believe in
natural death – it is always related to a malevolent spirit or witchcraft.
Children are integrated into adult society through initiation rites, and only after this can they undertake activities reserved for adult members of the community.

In the Makonde community, there were various forms of marriage: first, marriage between cousins (son of sister – daughter of brother), (kuntamedya); second, a father displayed his daughter to all the young men (kuntenga). The young men applied to marry to the girl, who had to choose whom she liked and would then inform her mother. In turn, the mother would tell her brother who would decide on the price of bride. The young man would then inform his uncle of the acceptance, and he in turn organised payment of the bride price. Normally, this consisted of an Arab musket or cloth, according to Weule (Weule 2000, p. 113). In the case of separation afterwards, these goods had to be returned. Thirdly, marriage on the death of a brother or uncle meant that the surviving brother or nephew married the widow (kumwinjila ding ‘ande). Lastly, marriage by ‘seizing’ of the bride (kuntwala sinuntwala) could be affected among various classes of women, such as spinsters, married women or widows, with their agreement, and later the bride price would be agreed and paid. Normally, after the marriage, the couple would live with the bride’s mother, sharing in all domestic work and cultivation.

4.1.4 The Mwani

The Mwani appear in the last period of the formation of the Bantu-speaking peoples of east African coast and the Cape Delgado islands. They emerged at the time of the great Swahili and Arab expansion on the coast, which gave rise to widely diversified intermixing. The peoples already occupying the area, such as the Makhuwa and Makonde, came to be partially broken up, and a new language and people, the Mwani, formed from elements of Makhuwa, Makonde, Swahili and Arab (Nurse & Spear 1985, pp. 61–5).

The Mwani consider themselves traditionally superior to the Makhuwa and Makonde, owing to their long contacts with the Arabs – which has led them almost in their entirety to be Muslim – and, later, with the Europeans. European influence has, however, had little cultural impact on the Mwani. Architecture continues in the Arab style, both on the coast and in the interior, among the Makonde, Makhuwa and Yao this is characterised mainly by rectangular houses built along the road, with a large yard at the back of the house.

Among religious beliefs, apart from Islam, the Mwani profess local animist religious beliefs, believing in life after death. It is important to note the use of sacred writ or amulet text in traditional medicine. These writs are held to contain forceful divine strength, which cures illness and wards off any misdeed resulting from witchcraft.
These religious beliefs are not much distant from most of those of Bantu origin, despite their being influenced by Islam. Apart from these aspects, the Mwani practice initiation rites to integrate children into adult society. In this respect, they are similar to all northern Mozambique coastal societies, which all hold such rites, with some differences in relation to the time devoted to them. Male children are circumcised and adult practices of sexual behaviour are explained, while with female children, sexual practices and behaviour as adults and wives after marriage are explained.

The study of the pottery of this coast shows that there is none of specifically Mwani origin, which supports the suggestion of more recent origin of this group in relation to the main body of Bantu speakers. The use until the present of mainly non-ornamented cooking dishes made by local potters may be noted.

The techniques of working with metals has mainly been retained by the Mwani on the Ilha Island in the making of objects of adornment as well as agricultural implements (Da Conceição 2006, pp. 214–25).

4.2 The Swahili of the south of Cape Delgado

In some publications, (such as Allen 1993), the Cape Delgado coast was considered the end of Swahili expansion or known country in south part of east African coast. New material on the Swahili culture is continually appearing, as for example at Chibuene, where pottery of the Tana tradition, dated to the 16th century AD, has been reported, according to Paul Sinclair, cited by Horton (1996, p. 408). This tradition is characterized as belonging to the first phase of Swahili cultural expansion on the east African coast.

With this evidence, it is definitely concluded that the Swahili culture was not limited only to the area of Cape Delgado – it extended to the south, touching almost the whole of the Mozambican coast as far as Inhambane. However, there are many differences in the form of occupation despite the existence of objects of Swahili origin and the evidence of trade.

4.2.1 General description of the Cape Delgado coast

The southern part of Cape Delgado is characterised by an abundance of natural resources: it is rich in marine and terrestrial life, fresh water and natural, particularly climatic conditions propitious for the establishment of early settlements and the development of regional and long-distance commerce. For this reason, as has already been mentioned, although there is so far little information on the way of life of the first occupants of the region, it seems that it was early occupied by hunter-gatherer people from the interior before the arrival of Bantu speakers.
The expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples and the introduction of new production techniques is likely to have encountered fishing, pastoral and hunting communities living on the coast. However, the main focus of study of the coastal peoples has been of the settled and agricultural communities, as some of these were direct ancestors of those who later transformed into the Swahili (Kusimba 1999, p. 90).

As the hunting and pastoral peoples did not leave behind large and impressive monuments, they have aroused little interest among academic researchers (Kusimba 1999). The little evidence remaining consists of pottery sherds, most of which are mixed with those of Swahili or Arab culture, and thus are not easily distinguishable.

4.2.2 The towns and architecture

The expansion of the Swahili culture south of Cape Delgado was characterised by the appearance of permanently settled towns less developed, without the large buildings that exist in the north, such as Kilwa and Mogadishu, with their large mosques and palaces. To the south, many sites have neither stone ruins nor evidence of pottery or domesticated animals testifying to the existence of this culture, although the presence of imported objects and pottery painted in red and graphite is highly indicative.

What could have caused this relatively weaker development south of Cape Delgado? From the archaeological evidence, it may be concluded that regional and international trade continued on the Swahili coast, resulting in the creation of new family ties through marriage alliances, and that at the time, the towns were directed by a Sheikh, who was in charge of the mosque and who had the powers of a king. This form of social organisation continues to the present among Swahili origin communities of the northern Mozambique coast, such as the Mwani, the Koti and the Muslim coastal Makhuwa.

Religion and commerce played an important role in the expansion of the Swahili culture, integrating pre-existing communities into the newly emerging Swahili.

From the urban ruins, such as those of Quissanga and Matemwe, the existence of three main strata may be noted: the elite with well-built solid houses made of stone and cement and a large courtyard, such as the one found in Quissanga; a middle class with lesser houses, sometimes small once without courtyard or external wall such as the remains found in Quissanga and Matemwe; and lastly, the poorer communities, which have few material traces apart from pottery, as their housing was of temporary nature or of wattle and daub.

The ruins of this area display a single, rectangular, type of architecture. However, present day communities, mainly Makhuwa, continue to build round
houses. Makonde communities have completely assimilated Swahili architecture, only the canopy erected in the middle of the settlement for the council of males being round, presumably reflecting the previously dominant style.

4.2.3 Types of occupation

According to Nurse and Spear (1985) cited by Ricardo Duarte (1993, p. 47), apart from trade, the Swahili were mainly farmers. It is known today that the first farming communities in the region grew sorghum as well as finger and bulrush millet (Nurse & Spear 1985, p. 3). The establishment of towns depended on natural conditions, particularly the localities having good conditions for the development of these two activities: agriculture and trade. Two main types of occupation can thus be distinguished in Swahili culture:
1. Permanent settlements, with well-developed buildings, including stone built palaces and brick or coral rag built houses;
2. Semi-permanent settlements, with no large structures, recognised only through the material evidence such as porcelain, pottery and beads.

The lack of permanent structures and evidence of the presence of domesticated animals in some sites can be explained by the continuation of seasonal occupation, that is, the population occupied a region for the practice of a particular activity, leaving the area on its completion at a particular time of year (Horton 1996, p. 412). Such is frequently the case with coastal communities, which move to more productive zones in the rainy season for the production mainly of rice. They remain there for up to four months in temporary housing, and return home after the harvest. This type of semi-permanent settlement is also common between fishing communities’ observable today.

For the Swahili, the Indian Ocean always constituted the main corridor for trade. The ocean imposes specific climatic conditions, namely the monsoon winds, which blow from the southwest to the northeast between April and October, favouring the passage of small ships departing the east African coast for the southwest Asian coast, loaded with trade goods, and vice versa between October and April. The communities living on this coast, particularly in the Quirimba archipelago, still undertake these voyages by sail to Tanzania and the Comoros islands, whence they bring cloth and other products for local sale.

4.2.4 The economic base

A specific characteristic in Swahili establishments south of Cape Delgado, whether of the earliest or later farming communities, is their strongly maritime character. In general, these Swahili establishments are located near beaches or on the sand dunes, which clearly suggests that their economy is oriented towards

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the sea, notwithstanding the practice of agriculture, as already mentioned. Many Swahili establishments are also found on the islands, such as Vamizi, Matemwe, Ibo and Quirimba, or on headlands, such as Cape Delgado itself.

Evidence of diet reported from various east African sites shows maritime contents, such as shellfish, turtles and fish. On the other hand, evidence of domesticated animals is in general very rare, as in the earlier level of the Shanga sites at Unguja Ukuu (Horton 1996, p. 407).

Another important aspect of the economic base relevant to the growth of the larger coastal cities is the elaborate system of exchange. The pre-Swahili communities living on the coast were in a position to collect products coming from the interior and to use their boats to develop trade in products imported from Asia (ibid p. 412). Systems of trade were thus established; were naturally developed on sites where trade always took place, and these later developed into cities.

In this process, the Cape Delgado area belonged to the zone of the Zanzibar channel, where, until the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, cities were ruled by the Sultanate of Zanzibar, which dominated the whole region. The commercial process depended on the Sultanate, the coastal cities appearing as its satellites dispersed along the coast. This may well explain its relative weakness: we might not surmise that there was a Swahili town on the Cabo Delgado coast with a sophisticated trading system such as that developed at Shanga, Manda or Kilwa, with their quality and quantity of imported material, because that important cities were not found in this coast (cf. Horton 1996, p. 412).

4.2.5 Commerce

The coast of Cape Delgado, like the east African coast as a whole, was the scene of two interlinked trade systems: inter-regional and long-distance. As already mentioned, people, coming mainly from the north, gradually occupied the area. The majority of the 1st millennium villages, made up from iron-using agricultural communities, are not thought to have been highly stratified, producing cereals, raising small animals and hunting for subsistence, with little contact with the outside world (Pwiti 1997, pp. 540–3). It seems likely, however, that this not entirely precludes trade and that the communities were not self-sufficient in foodstuffs, mainly cereals and other necessities, such as meat, which gave rise to the formation of a system of exchange of some importance between the coast and the interior.

Many researchers (Duarte 1993; Chami 1994; Radimilahy 1998; Kusimba 2000) argue that before the development of international commerce in the Indian Ocean, there were systems of trade characterised by exchange and
redistribution. The existence of pottery with almost similar decorative motifs from the early iron-using communities, when the east African coast was practically unknown to outsiders, tends to support this argument.

As has been noted, the Yao seem to have been the first to develop long-distance commerce, an activity taken up by other peoples of the coast (Hallet 1974, p. 233). No doubt before creating trading caravans to the coast, a system of local exchange was developed and continued for generations. The coexistence and establishment of networks of exchange between hunter-gatherers and cultivators has been documented by archaeologists in different parts of Africa (Credic cited by Adamowicz [1987, p. 76]). Cereals, meat, work tools, objects of adornment, salt or simply intermarriage played an important part in this process.

After the development and stabilisation of interregional exchange, coastal communities had begun to create new trade networks with Arab merchants from the 8th and 9th centuries AD. As Matveiev (1984, p. 457) writes, urban centres on the east African coast were simultaneously the main centres of trade and Islam. Ships from Asia loaded cargoes such as gold, ivory, leopard skins and iron.

Archaeological surveys and excavation conducted on the Cape Delgado coast (Sinclair 1987; Liesegang 1988; Duarte 1993) enable us to gauge the importance of this coast in the process of international trade. Fragments of porcelain and beads show the existence of trading activities. From present day communities, it is possible to note the dominance of shipping of the Tanzanian coast, where purchase of goods such as cloth and domestic implements is conducted for private use and local sale in Cape Delgado, as in the past. Beads continue to be used today for adornment (necklaces, earrings, rings or decoration in hair braiding) mainly among coastal societies; they are also used for erotic purposes in some coastal and interior communities (beads made into a belt worn between the legs for sexual stimulation); and traditionally beads are thought to have magical power, and are thus used to make amulets against witchcraft or to cover receptacles containing black magic drugs. This demand lay behind the massive import of beads, such that they occupied an important place in the list of trade goods.

4.2.6 The importance of archaeology in the interpretation of evidence

Through the analysis of material sources, archaeology enables us to reconstruct the historical process more securely than is possible through recourse to other disciplines or sources. Studies of documentary, oral and linguistic sources on the Cape Delgado coast are not sufficient to show and explain the process of
settlement. Oral sources, as mentioned, are not able to cover remote periods. Within four generations or less, the information transmitted is distorted or loses its originality completely. As has been seen, modern societies formed from the expansion of Bantu speakers and who live on the Cape Delgado coast do not know which were the first communities to inhabit the region (see Weule 2000).

Notwithstanding the existence of various documents of Arab and Chinese origin, well-documented written sources begin with the European expansion in the fifteenth century, thus leaving large gaps in our historical knowledge.

Archaeology opens the window on many aspects of the material life of the earliest communities of the past. The evidence it produces and studies can be quantified and dated in a relative and absolute form; collections of artefacts can be identified as the product of human communities of the past, enabling mapping according to material incidence and corridors of expansion (Ehret & Posnansky 1982, p. 1).

According to Ehret, linguistics enables the reconstitution of intangible as well as tangible elements of historic cultures of the past, identifies forms of society and culture according to linguistic affiliation and their progenitors. The techniques of linguistic reconstruction of history nevertheless enable the location of early societies in space and time, although with much less precision than archaeology (Ehret & Posnansky 1982, p. 1).

In order to find a fruitful research strategy, it is necessary to combine diverse forms of research. The origins and linguistic links of the coastal communities are less known, although data for some parts of the area under study are preliminary and often based on work conducted in other areas. Based on archaeological evidence and glottochronology it is relatively possible to construct a hypothetical line of linguistic evolution of modern societies even without confirmation from material sources.

However, the inverse is more complicated; it is not easy to find patterns of change in the material sources owing to their rapid adaptation and the appearance of innovations, which partially or completely change the original techniques of making utensils. This is particularly notable in pottery, in which, with the passage of time, and as communities settle in new areas, new traditions such as Matola, Lumbo, Sancul, Nampula and Kwale appear.

Simple linguistic studies or written sources do not facilitate understanding of the dynamics of communities in the past. It is difficult to reply to questions such as: how did our forefathers live? What did they think? How were they organised? Studies in art history and other historical documents cannot be fully understood without archaeology, as the archaeologist goes beyond what is available from studying history to what has disappeared from the record – to find material remains, analyse them and produce conclusions. This is what underscores the importance of archaeology in the study of communities with an unknown past.
CHAPTER 5

FIELDWORK

The fieldwork begun in 1997 had two main objectives: the first was to search for early occupation sites mainly in the interior of the Cape Delgado province, especially of the iron-using farming communities in areas where only scanty archaeological surveys had been done. This was to expand the research from the coast, where different researchers (Monteiro 1966; dos Santos 1973; Liesegang 1988; Sinclair 1983, 1987; Duarte 1987, 1993) identified sites from later farming communities towards the interior. The second objective was to continue the research initiated in Cabo Delgado in colonial times (dos Santos 1973; Monteiro 1966) and, after independence, by the team from the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology (Sinclair 1983, 1987; Duarte 1987, 1993; Liesegang 1988), and to visit some sites reported in these missions so as to establish priorities in selecting sites for more detailed investigation in terms of material, size and stratigraphy.

Following the methodologies previously defined, the fieldwork was divided into two phases:

- Archaeological prospecting, enabling us to locate and visit sites not previously reported;
- Excavation and topographical surveys to map the sites.

5.1 Prospecting the sites

Prospecting the sites was undertaken after archival research and analyses of the maps in the 1:50000 series of the area in which the existence of sites was suspected. The involvement of the local people was very important for interviews concerning the areas where their ancestors had lived; as Frédéric has noted, important discoveries have often been made as a result of peasants' knowledge and observation (Frédéric 1980, p. 50). It was this motivation which led us to interview several older people in a purposeful way, through a local translator. The latter was paid for his work, in the expectation that this procedure would
help guarantee the professionalism of the translation. The next stage was the proper survey. First, it was necessary to survey the area, covering the ground on foot so as to assess in detail. The localities with greater concentrations of material were marked with GPS equipment, photographs were taken and some samples were recovered so as to allow preliminary comparative analysis.

The sites studied in most detail were mostly located on the coast, on the sand dunes or on the quaternary terraces of river mouths. The coastal zone is easier to access, which led us to concentrate our search in this area. More than ten new sites were located and were collected from the surface 500 pottery fragments, 40 porcelain fragments and 30 beads.

5.1.1 Quirimba

The island of Great Quirimba is located to the south of Ibo Island (12°36′35″S, 40°36′35″E). The island is very different from the other islands in the archipelago. Its natural conditions (arable lands for the cultivation of cereals and cassava as well as the existence of fresh water) were always attractive and enabled the whole island to be settled, which in turn means that the island is vulnerable to demographic pressure.

Archaeological research conducted by Liesegang (1988) identified material of considerable scientific interest, as will be seen below. Great Quirimba has built structures and there is evidence of possible 16th century Swahili houses in the southwest, where more imported material was found, such as beads and porcelain, which indicate long-term trade contacts.

5.1.2 Matemwe Island

Situated to the north of Ibo Island, Matemwe Island is also part of the Quirimba archipelago (Plate 5.1). The first visit to the island was made in August 1997 by the present author as part of the exploratory archaeological research.

During this visit, an important site was found with ruins belonging to the Swahili culture. The site contained both imported and local material as well as pottery with different decorative motifs, as described below. The Matemwe site is located on the northwestern part of the island. The coordinates of the ruined mosque (Plate 5.2) are 12°11′56″S, 40°33′54″E. An ancient cemetery exists on the site (Plate 5.3). The site extends approximately 300m north–south and 200m east–west and remains of building debris, ceramics and shells are spread over this area.
Archaeological research

Archaeological research at Matemwe focused on non-destructive surveys and collections of surface finds rather than excavation. The survey was done on foot together with one escort from the Island. The material collected is composed of sherds of decorated and undecorated pottery, beads, fragments of porcelain, and bones of animals together with shells. João dos Santos, who visited the island in 1999, described a large settlement with evidence of well-structured houses, which had been destroyed by Portuguese incursions in the process of the Island's different occupations (1999, pp. 259–65).

Description of the material

Pottery: The pottery of Matemwe shows much variety. The decorative motifs differ between imported pottery and that of local origin. Imported pottery is decorated with ochre and a significant percentage is glazed. Local pottery consists of bowls, jars and pots decorated with shell stamped motifs with irregular incised lines, mainly characterized by unpainted and painted with graphite ware. There are also very fine lines which are thought to belong to the Sancul tradition, characterised mainly by bowls decorated with banded impressions or irregular geometric impressions below the rim – a style first identified on the Nampula coast, and dated to between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and identified later on Quirimba Island (Sinclair 1985; Adamowicz 1987; Liesegang 1988).

At times, the pottery is decorated inside and outside with different motifs. There is a need for more excavated assemblages for comparative purposes. It is thought that this pottery was produced locally after the expansion of the Swahili culture had resulted in the transmission of this decorative practice.

Porcelain and beads: The appearance of glass beads of different colours (red, blue, white, etc.) of Arab and European origin, fragments of Chinese porcelain with blue on white decorative motifs as well as glazed pottery indicates trade and commercial contacts developed early in the beginning of the second millennium AD on this coast, whether at the regional or international level (Duarte 1987, 1993). However, it is difficult to determine the absolute date of origin of this material until excavations are made. Apart from the glass beads, beads made from shells and stone have also been found.

Organic remains: This material is associated with remains of animals, mainly fish bones, shells of various molluscs (mainly oysters) which are used for food and in the preparation of lime, as well as bones of small animals, which indicate fishing and hunting in the past. The evidence described was found on the surface. Shells are used, as in the past, in the making of cement for house construction and decoration. Today, some of this cement is sold in Pemba.
Monuments: Matemwe Island has many monuments. Apart from ruins pertaining to the Swahili culture, there are also buildings from the period of European expansion. In the south of the island there are two ruins, one of them of wattle and daub construction, with thick posts and no windows. According to Ussene Ali and his wife Ati'a Andalusi, who live adjacent to the stone ruins, "the Spanish used the wooden building to house people before killing and eating them". This should very likely be associated with slavery and the building was probably used to imprison slaves captured on the island before being taken away in the mid-nineteenth century.

Near the ruins, there is the house, which in the old days belonged to the Portuguese Lourenço Vaz de Carvalho, according to João dos Santos (Santos 1592, p. 260). The house has been renovated and is now inhabited.

In terms of archaeology, the Matemwe site or Island remains intact and detailed research – including excavation, topographical surveys, study of stratigraphy and rigorous analysis of the material encountered as well as dating – has yet to be done.

5.1.3 Bambara cave

Interviews conducted in Montepuez with some old people of the area indicated the existence of a cave in Namuno district which had been inhabited since pre-colonial times, and which had now developed into a great cultic centre visited by various people. The cave was said to be dangerous in terms of spiritual power.

The Bambara cave is situated about 50 kilometres to the southwest of Namuno town, at coordinates 13°47'96"S, 38°34'18"E. When anyone arrives in this area, the local population automatically assumes that it is to visit Bambara, owing to its fame and credibility in spiritual power.

This information was very moving, especially as it was said that ancestors lived there before the war of liberation and even before the coming of the Portuguese. I was also told that one could not go there without taking cassava and peanuts for the monkeys, which are the embodiments of the spirits.

I decided to visit the cave and on 22 August 1997. I left Montepuez for Namuno in a passenger truck, and arrived around noon the same day. I went to stay with my sister's colleague, the district head of Social Welfare in Namuno. He organised transport and offered to accompany me.

At 6.00 on the following morning, accompanied by Manuel Munyhare and my driver, we left for Bambara arriving about 11 am. We were taken to old Mr Munyhare, told him what had brought us to the area, and he agreed to accompany us. He took a substantial quantity of peanuts and put them in a cloth, before going to his field to get cassava. After serving us some honey, we departed for the cave.
It took about an hour to get to the cave; when we arrived near the cave the old man told us to rest beneath some bamboo, a place that seemed to be used regularly by the villagers visiting the cave for ceremonial purposes. After several minutes rest, the old man told us to remove our shoes, and he took them to carry. The sun was very hot, and the stones were burning with heat.

We could hardly walk; however, we were determined to reach the cave and we did. We climbed the first large hill and reached a small well where we rested a few minutes; the old man took water with a calabash for us and also gave us cassava and peanuts he had brought wrapped up in the cloth. Then we reached a level area apart from the sun, which now caused injury to our feet.

We started up another hill, and old man Munyhare began to clap his hands and utter incomprehensible incantations until we reached the cave, as a warning to the ancestors of our approach. When we reached the cave, monkeys approached in large numbers, and the old man took out the cassava and peanuts, broke them up and threw them to the monkeys.

There was no difficulty in taking 30 minutes on foot to prospect the cave and its environs. The cave is located on the top of the hill formed by rock and presents some entrances where local people use to evoke their ancestors and to give them the offerings. The surface collection identified different fragments of pottery of Early Iron Age communities. Apart from pottery, no archaeological material was found on the surface. Archaeological material is spread on the foothill some hundred metres from the hill.

**Description of the material**

From the decorative forms and rudimentary manufacture, the sherds of pottery collected appear to belong to the early iron-using communities, characterized by jars and bowls decorated with incisions immediately below the rim. It was not possible to identify any other type of material. No excavation was done.

The pottery was recovered on the hillside, which may imply the existence of peasant villages on the hill.

Owing to lack of time, it was not possible for us to explore the mountain, which might have given us a different view of the habitability of the area. Considering that a few kilometres to the south, rock paintings were encountered at Maia in Niassa, it would be interesting to speculate that the people of Bambara came from Maia region.

As described above, the locality has been transformed into an important cult centre; apart from the traces left by the earliest inhabitants, in colonial times, a chief was interred there and, during the succeeding wars, it was a place of refuge for the local population, as access to the site is difficult.

It is important that more detailed archaeological work is carried out here seeing that the area has received no attention in previous archaeological works.
that might throw light on its past— which contributes to the difficulty of identifying the first agricultural communities of the Cape Delgado interior. This site is promising for an enhanced understanding of the growth and emergence of farming communities in the region.

5.1.4 Matela

The Matela site was visited on 21/08/97; it is located to the east of Montepuez city, with coordinates 13°05'49"S, 39°01'54"E. The site is situated on a small rise, at the base of which there is a small wattle and daub hut where religious ceremonies are held; as with some of the sites, this one had been transformed into a shrine.

The surface material collected is composed mainly of stamped and incised pottery. All the sherds collected belong to the later iron-using communities; no early iron-using communities or imported material was found, which suggests that the site holds little material variation.

5.1.5 The Gomene walled enclosure

The Gomene walled enclosure (Santos 1973; Duarte 1993) is located in the Mecufi district, in the locality of Ingoma, 40 kilometres from the capital of Cabo Delgado province, Pemba city. Its geographical coordinates are 13°10’00’’S, 40°20’00’’E. The first descriptions and photographs by Santos Junior 1973, who excavated a trench across the diameter of the enclosure, show a 2m high wall, but today only a few stones and sherds of pottery remain scattered over the site. There is no description of the work undertaken at the time, although it is known that the material is deposited in the IICT.

As for the origin of the wall, there are many interpretations and it is clear that no one knows why it was built without mortar. This type of construction is typical of the Zimbabwe tradition, and is different from walling in the Swahili building culture. As Santos Junior writes, cited by Duarte (1993, p. 72):

a muralha feita de pedra seca, já ruia em alguns locais, estando no entanto bem preservada na maioria parce a sua extensão ... em alguns pontos atinge dois metros de altura. Na base tem 80 a 90 centimetros de largo. 1

At present, the local communities have transformed this enclosure into a great centre of magic, which indicates local belief in the existence of a powerful divine force bequeathed by ancestors. The local communities hold that the

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1 "The wall, made of dry stone, has already collapsed in some places, being nevertheless well preserved for the greater part of its extension, reaching at some points two meters high. At the base it is 80 to 90 centimeters wide".
enclosure was built by divine powers to protect the people against attack from the sea, the first of which, according to the elder Nteka Musa, interviewed in 1998 was Omar who came from Arabia, but who subsequently disappeared. What is difficult to understand however, is the location of the enclosure, which extends over a small plateau that overlies the sandy beach at a corral accretion.

**Description of the material**

The Gomene enclosure offers a great concentration of diverse material, indicating a prolonged habitation. As previously mentioned, the first excavations have not been published and documented; nor are the academic results available, except that made later by Ricardo T. Duarte (1993, pp. 70–3), who excavated some trenches and recovered different types of material, and that by the present author, who visited the site in 1996 and collected surface remains.

**Pottery:** The pottery of Gomene is highly diverse in terms of form, but is largely undecorated. This type of pottery is encountered on almost the whole northern Mozambique coast, and is described as being of the Lumbo tradition. The decorated pottery has deep incisions as well as finger impressions and is stamped and painted with the ochre Sancul tradition.

**Beads and shells:** The majority of the beads are of glass of different colours: green, red, white, etc. There are also beads made from bone and shell. A noteworthy feature of the enclosure is the great diversity of shells, the most numerous being *Nerita albicilla* and *Cypraea annulus*.

**5.2 Excavation and topographical surveys**

The main objective of the excavation was to use the material evidence to understand the basic economy of the communities, their housing, daily activities and social organization, as well as the age of the site. The excavations were designed to provide potential data to resolve these questions and were undertaken on two sites, the Lúrio Estuary and the Quissanga Beach site, as above mentioned, after a comparative analysis of material collected on the surface, and were not done at all the sites located during the initial Cabo Delgado survey. The degree of representativity and size of the sites were taken into account.

It was necessary to consider logistic factors at the time, such as university holidays, local conditions and estimate difficult means of access for our team as well as the transport of the excavation equipment.

Topographical surveys and the production of maps and computerization of the data using Geographical Information Systems and the registering processes developed by the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology supplemented the excavations.
5.2.1 The Lúrio estuary site

The site at the mouth of the Lúrio River (Fig. 5.1, page 96) was discovered by a team from Eduardo Mondlane University led by Ricardo Duarte in 1983. At the time, various objects of local and imported origin were found (Duarte 1993, pp. 68–70). A 14C dating of charcoal found at the site resulted in a calibrated date of 1214 AD (St11007). The site is located on a small rise formed by a quaternary terrace of the Lúrio River, in the administrative area of the same name, and has the geographical coordinates 13°31'50.72"S, 40°30'13.15"E (Plate 5.4).

The Lúrio site measures approximately 150 m north–south, and about 50 m east–west, and, unusually among most of the later iron-using community sites, is not located amongst baobab (Adansonia digitata) trees.

The first excavations made by Duarte in 1983 were exploratory, and a more detailed study was needed so as to report the stratigraphy and reach preliminary conclusions. It was with these objectives that a new expedition was organized. We excavated two pits of 2x2 m, one at the foot of the house of the administration and the second next to the local primary school teachers' house and four test pits of 1x1 m around these two trenches. These trenches were excavated in the areas with high concentration of pottery fragments of the surface. The excavation recovered very interesting and diversified material, which is described below. Neither in the exploratory nor our later expeditions encountered any sign of stone buildings; as Duarte (1993) states, it was probably the site of a residence constructed of wooden materials. During the excavations, postholes were found which appeared to have been associated with houses. The stratigraphy showed that these communities were permanent or semi-permanent. It is possible that in the dry season, these communities were located close to the richer alluvial soils of the valley floor; during the wet season, they returned to the security of the upper zones to avoid floods.

The pottery encountered at the Lúrio estuary site corresponds to that associated with later iron-using farming communities. However, 100 km to the west, near the bridge between the Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces over the Lúrio, Sinclair (1985) found some pottery thought to belong to the first settled communities, leading us to conclude that communities moved along the Lúrio basin. Evidence of imported pottery indicates long-distance trading contact with other peoples.

The area inhabited by these communities is still occupied (Fig. 5.2) owing to its fertility. The lower zones are appropriate for the cultivation of cereals, mainly rice, sorghum and millet. The forest supports a diversity of game to hunt, such as antelope, wild pigs, rodents, etc. (Duarte 1993, p. 68). The evidence from the excavations makes it clear that the economy of these communities was not only based on agriculture and hunting but also on fishing, iron technology and long-distance trade.
Figure 5.2. Sketch map of Foz do Rio Lúrio site, on the first plan the road, next to the Foz do Lúrio village, and in the background the Lúrio River. Drawing by Francisco Sorte. — Desenho do mapa da estação da Foz do Rio Lúrio. No primeiro plano vê se a estrada, a seguir a vila e mais ao fundo o Rio Lúrio. Desenho de Francisco Sorte.
In general, three levels of occupation were identified in the excavated pits:
- The first layer from 0–60cm is composed of dark sand mixed with stones from construction. This layer contained a large quantity of material out of context;
- The second layer also consists of dark sand with material in context (in situ), with a thickness of 30 to 40cm;
- The third stratum is composed of reddish-brown sand with reduced quantity of material in its context. Thickness varies from 20–30cm.

Description of the material

Surface collection (Plate 5.5) and excavations produced diverse material and gave rich information, which can help interpret the Lúrio estuary site. A quantity of shells, iron slag, animal bones and beads helps identify the economy of the communities living here in the past. Almost all finds were found in the first layer, 0–60 cm, and in the second and third layers we found a few pottery fragments.

Ceramics: The fragments of pottery found during the excavations show wide diversity (Appendix Table 1 & 2; for classification see Appendix Figures 1–2); most of it is decorated with various motifs, while some of it is undecorated (Figs 5.3 a–i). The method of preparation of the pottery, which has a fine grain and is well fired, shows great thoroughness. The decorative motifs consist of fine lines and well-elaborated designs. The pottery appears in the form of bowls, water and cooking pots, etc. To judge from the complex decorative motifs, and the presence of glass beads and pottery mixed with shell, the communities leaving these remains were Later Farming Communities and 14C dated to 1214 AD (Duarte 1994, p. 70) as above mentioned.

Decoration: The evidence found indicates that the site at the Lúrio estuary only had one period of occupation, and that there was not a great difference in the decorative motifs from those described by Duarte (1993). Most of the pottery is stamped with shells. However, the excavations—mainly in pit 2—also revealed a greater frequency of pottery painted with ochre and graphite, considered to be of Swahili origin, according to Sinclair (1985). Pottery ornamented with incisions, traced with lines, and with diagonal cross hatching and dotted stamped lines appeared in both pits (Appendix Table 3; Adamowicz 1987, p. 60; for classification of decoration motifs and position see Appendix Figures 3–4). On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to conclude that the communities of the Lúrio estuary site used both pottery of local design and pottery or techniques imported from the Swahili culture.

From the decoration and dating, the Lúrio estuary site without doubt belongs to the Lumbo tradition, as described by Duarte (1993, p. 68), but some fragments of the Sancul tradition also appear.
Figure 5.3a. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

Figure 5.3b. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.


Figure 5.3c. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

13. Category 4 Decoration of shell stamping on neck.
Figure 5.3d. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

15. Category 4: Decoration of incised crisscross triangle on the neck.
Figure 5.3e. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

17. Category 4: Concave rounded rim. Decoration of incised double lines on the rim and shell stamped on the neck.
18. Category 4: Decoration of shell stamped on the shoulder.
Figure 5.3f. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

Figure 5.3g. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lúrio.

27. Category 7: Inverted tapered rim. Decoration of incised fine lines.
28. Category 1: Decoration of incised lines and punctates.
29. Category 2: Decoration of obliquely incised lines.
Figure 5.3h. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lürio.

Figure 5.3:i. Pottery sherds from Foz do Lurio.

34. Category 7: Everted tapered rim. Decoration of incised double lines and punctates.
35. Category 7: Straight rounded rim. Decoration of incised short lines and impressed rectangular punctates.
36. Category 1: Inverted flat rim. Decoration of incised short lines and incised drawings with mending hole.
Porcelain: Little variety of porcelain appears, and the few fragments encountered in the excavations were of European (Plate 5.6) and Chinese origin, of greyish green and bluish-white colouring, mainly with representations of nature.

Beads: The beads found in the excavations were all of glass and painted in different colours—white with blue lines, red, grey with blue lines, white, etc. (Appendix Table 4; for digit code see Appendix Figure 5)—thus almost the same as those encountered on the surface by Duarte (1993).

Glassware: The recovered glassware is of dark blue and dark green colour, some of it painted, but mixed with bottles of modern origin. It appears that the construction of the road passing near this settlement led to the disturbance of a large volume of sand and to the mixture of archaeological artefacts with recent material.

Organic material: As described above, the excavations revealed animal bones likely to have been those of wild animals which richly populate the river basin. Apart from such bones (gazelles, pigs, etc.), mollusc shells were found, as well as fish bones and the bones of birds. One curiosity in the first 2x2m pit (near the house of the local administration) was found at the depth of one metre: a bird located between three stones arranged in a triangle, along with ash and charcoal, which was recovered for dating. Our informants told us that the bones were related to a religious cult of a night bird. The strata from top to bottom revealed some small white stones, which led us to suspect that it was a human burial.

These excavations also revealed shells, mainly *Cypraea annulus*, *Cypraea moneta*, *Fonthina prolongata* and *Nerita plicata* (Appendix Table 5). Duarte (1993) found the same species in the enclosure of Gomene 70 km to the north of the Lúrio estuary site.

Iron slag: The second 2x2m pit was dug in a place with a large concentration of pottery fragments on the surface, apparently an old smelting or forging site. The material came from an eroded surface.

Most of the material found from the Lúrio site as a whole came from this pit. The ash visible on the surface came from iron smelting, but there was no sign of the furnace. However, we found a considerable amount of iron slag, as well as holes which we concluded were part of the foundations of wooden housing, there being no building in the style of Somaná, Quissanga, Matemue, etc.

Despite not finding a furnace for iron smelting, the ash and iron slag led us to the conclusion that the communities of the area were metal workers at the household level.

5.2.2 Quissanga Beach

This site is located about 200 kilometres north of the Lúrio site (Fig. 5.4, page 97) and one kilometre from the Quissanga district administrative offices (Plate 5.7), at geographical coordinates 12°26'22"S, 40°29'44"E. This site approximately
extends 2km north–south and 300m east–west with evidence of extensive occupation of farming communities in the past.

The area lies very low and during the excavation, the material was only found above a depth of 70cm and it was sometimes submerged by the sea. The only place where we found material down to 90 cm—including a stone from a collapsed wall—was alongside what was held by my informant to be the ruler’s house.

In general, two levels of occupation were identified in the test pits Figs. 5.5a–c:

- The first is composed of dark sand mixed with small stones from the construction. This stratum, with a depth varying from 0–60 cm, has a large quantity of material out of context;
- The second stratum, with a thickness of 20 to 30 cm, is also of dark sand with material in context (in situ). The sand is mixed with sand from the beach, which is common in all the excavations below a depth of 90 cm. The excavations in Quissanga consisted of one test pit of 4x4 m, 4 pits of 2x2 m (Plate 5.8) and 8 test pits of 1x1 m for material and stratigraphic analysis.

Despite these conditions, the level of fresh water is very close to the surface, and today wells are dug on the back yards of residences to draw drinking water. Quissanga Beach has well-watered fertile soils suitable for the cultivation of rice as well as other family subsistence crops (Plate 5.9, Plate 5.10); that is, it had conditions enabling the direct establishment of an urban concentration.

The area is divided into small agricultural plots rich enough for a wide variety of cereals (Fig. 5.6). To the north of Quissanga Beach settlement there are two villages. Apart from agriculture, traditional methods are used to produce large quantities of powdered shell used for lime plasters and salt, which are sold to people in the coast and interior.

Quissanga Beach has its own particularity: the grand water table is very high, allowing access to water only a few centimetres down. There is also a stream with water all year round, facilitating the establishment of settlements in the past as in the present. It is important to note that the Quissanga Beach area has no river navigable at any time of the year.

The communities that settled here from different parts in the interior or on the coast did so perhaps attracted by the conditions mentioned above. At present, Quissanga Beach is occupied by a village of cultivators, fishers and small traders, mainly Muslims who live in houses of wattle and daub roofed with palm fronds, locally known as “macuti” or grass and some with corrugated steel. These people built their homes in places where formerly there were towns, drawn by the same natural conditions as the communities of the past. In some places, while digging the holes for the house posts, fragments of Chinese porcelain bowls have been found, as well as human bones, particularly on the land belonging the great Sheikh of Quissanga Beach. As mentioned above, much of the research
Figure 5.2a, north
1. Dark brown, clay silt; *Terra escara e fina*
2. Dark brown with stones
   *Pedra e terra escara*
3. Dark brown; *Terra escara*
4. Sand beach

Figure 5.2b, south
1. Dark brown, clay silt; *Terra escara e fina*
2. Dark brown with stones
   *Pedra e terra escara*
3. Brown; *Castanha*
4. Sand beach

Figure 5.5a and b. Stratigraphy from Quissanga Beach site, 2x2 test pit.
*Estatigrafia da estação da Quissanga praia, 2x2 m sanja.*
Figure 5.2c, east
1. Dark brown, clay silt: *Terra escura e fina*
2. Dark brown with stones
   *Pedra e terra escura*
3. Dark brown; *Terra escura*
4. Sand beach

Figure 5.2d, west
1. Dark brown, clay silt: *Terra escura e fina*
2. Dark brown with stones
   *Pedra e terra escura*
3. Brown; *Castaña*
4. Sand beach

Figure 5.5c and d. Stratigraphy from Quissanga Beach site, 2x2 test pit.
Estatigrafía da estação da Quissanga praia, 2x2 m sanja.
was concentrated on the Quissanga Beach site. A large quantity of material was found which enables the establishment of the economic basis of the communities that lived on the Quissanga Beach site. All the evidence from this site points towards a late occupation by agricultural communities.

**Ruins:** Quissanga Beach is a site composed of ruins of the Swahili culture, with houses built of coral stone plastered and painted with lime made from shell (Plates 5.11 & 5.12). In the localities where these buildings are found, there are no baobabs (*Adansonia ad.* )—although these can be found in places with greater concentrations of pottery and no signs of ruins, a common feature in most of the coastal archaeological sites of northern Mozambique (Adamowicz 1987, p. 60).

This led our team to distinguish well-defined social differentiation characterized on three different levels: the Sheikh or king of the community with a large house and walled enclosure; higher royal functionaries with housing, also of stone but with smaller dimensions; and lastly, peasants, fishermen or simple functionaries of mosques, who belonged to the local community and lived in housing made of wattle and daub, covered with "macuti", built under the shade of large baobabs. The latter are the spaces with no sign of stone ruins but with large amounts of pottery. Owing to the advanced level of decay, it was not possible for us to distinguish any form of decoration on the doorways or even the walls, which might help to further identify the elite in question. Apart from these ruins, as Bento (1992, pp. 325–39) points out, at the administrative seat of the Quissanga district, a 20th-century fort can be found, built to resist constant attacks from the interior launched by the local communities against European occupation on the coast.

**Description of the material**

**Ceramics:** The pottery remains at Quissanga Beach are varied and composed of local ware and that imported from the Swahili culture or Asia, as a result of prolonged trading contacts. Glazed pottery, painted with graphite and ochre belongs to the Swahili culture. The pottery mixed with shell is of local production, as is the unornamented and unpainted pottery, which belongs to later iron-using farming communities. The material used in production was fine and the firing properly done, suggesting the use of ample local resources (mangrove), which indicates a well-developed pottery production techniques. This pottery is of the Lumbo and Sancul traditions (Sinclair 1985; Adamowicz 1987; Duarte 1993).

With respect to its form, the pottery is greatly differentiated, there being a large number of freshwater pots, cooking utensils as well as bowls (Figs 5.7a–f; Appendix Tables 6–7). Some utensils found at Quissanga Beach could also have been used for preserving cereals, since there is a large diversity of pottery at this site. Normally this type of pot is of greater thickness, a tradition that is
Figure 5.6. Sketch map of Quissanga beach site looking east. At the bottom right the District headquarters, next to the road, paddy fields, Quissanga beach village and in the background the Indian Ocean. Drawing by Francisco Sorte. – Desenho do mapa da estação de Quissanga Praia. No primeiro plano, sede do Distrito, a seguir a estrada, arrozais, a vila de Quissanga Praia e mais ao fundo o Oceano Índico. Desenho de Francisco Sorte.
Figure 3.7

37. Catego
38. Catego
39. Ring b
40. Catego
41. Catego
42. Catego
43. Catego
44. Categc
45. Categc
46. Categc
47. Categc
48. Categc
49. Categc
38. Category 6: Inverted flat rim. Decoration of incised oblique and horizontal lines with triangle drawings.
41. Category 6: Inverted flat rim. Decoration of incised oblique and horizontal lines with triangle drawings.
42. Category 4: Everted flattened rim. Decoration of incised horizontal double line.
43. Category 1: Body sherd. Decoration of impressed horizontal punctates.
44. Category 6: Inverted flat rim. Decoration of incised crisscross single lines.
Figure 5.7b. Pot

50. Category
51. Category
52. Category
53. Category
54. Category
55. Category
56. Category
57. Category
58. Category
59-60. Category
61. Category
62. Category
Figure 5.7b. Pottery sherds from Quissanga Beach.

51. Category 3: Decoration of impressed oval punctates.
53. Category 4: Everted flattened rim. Decoration of incised oblique and horizontal double lines with triangles drawings.
58. Category 7: Straight rim.
61. Category 1: Impressed decoration.
Figure 5.7c. Pottery sherds from Quissanga Beach.

66. Ring base fragment. Incised decoration on outside.
67. Category 7: Straight rounded rim. Decoration of incised horizontal and oblique double lines from the rim.
69–70. Category 1: Body sherds. Decoration of incised horizontal, oblique and crisscross double lines from the rim.
71–72. Category 7: Concave rounded rim.

Figure 5.7d. Pottery sherds from Quissanga Beach.

73. Category
74. Raised base
75. Category lines from
76. Category
77–78. Category
79. Category
Figure 5.7d. Pottery sherds from Quissanga Beach.

74. Raised base fragment. Undecorated.
75. Category 7: Straight rounded rim. Decoration of incised horizontal double lines from the rim.
Each ornament punctuates on the rim and pressed design.

Decoration: Differences between and Sancul traditions in bands or in impressed decoration and frequently above mentioned Swalki culture, beads and porcelain.

Porcelain: Q fragments of as the decorative neck often reveals br...
Decoration: As already mentioned, porcelain fragments from Quissanga Beach are decorated in different ways. Some show scenes from nature, such as representations of animals and leaves, sometimes with rivers and lakes, and some, probably of European origin, show houses or even castles. These designs are painted in blue on white (Chinese and European) or green on blue (Sassanid) (Juma 2004, pp. 116–7; Chami, pp. 66–7).

Beads and glassware: Beads found at Quissanga Beach were of different colours and materials: glass beads were blue, green, red, red outside and white inside, white with yellow bands, and white with red bands; there were also undecorated beads made of shell, clay and bone (Plates 5.15 & 5.5; Appendix Table 9).

The excavation also revealed shells (Appendix Table 10) such as Fontina prolongata, Cyprae tigris and Cyprae moneta.

As already mentioned, these characteristics suggest 3 origins: 1) Sassanian or Arab, the first appearing with the early trading contacts and continuing until Portuguese expansion on the Cabo Delgado coast; 2) with the Portuguese expansion, European beads began to appear; 3) beads of made locally of bone, clay and shells. The latter group may well have greater antiquity, as objects of adornment of the first agricultural or even hunter-gatherer communities.
Figure 5.4. Map over Quissanga Beach site.

Mapa da estação de Quissanga Praia.
Plate 5.1. Landscape of Matemwe Island.
*Paisagem da ilha de Matemwe.*

Plate 5.2. Remains of ancient ruined mosque of Matemwe.
*Ruínas da mesquita antiga em Matemwe.*
Plate 5.3. Ancient cemetery of Matemwe site.
Antigo cemitério da estação de Matemwe.

Plate 5.4. An overview of Foz do Lúrio site from the river.
Vista geral da estação da Foz do Lúrio a partir do rio.
Plate 5.5. High concentration of pottery fragments on the surface of Foz do Lúrio.
Elevada concentração de fragmentos da cerâmica na superfície na Foz do Lúrio.

Plate 5.6. 20th century Portuguese porcelain from Foz do Lúrio.
Porcelana Portuguesa do sec 20 da Foz do Lúrio.
Plate 5.7. Quissanga Beach view from the district administration.
Vista da Quissanga Praia a partir da administração distrital.

Plate 5.8. Test pit 2x2 m of Quissanga showing stratigraphy.
Sanja de 2x2 m de Quissanga mostrando a estratigrafia.
Plate 5.9. Cultivated fields for cassava and maize planting in Quissanga.
*Campos cultivados para a plantação da mandioca e milho em Quissanga.*

Plate 5.10. Paddy fields of Quissanga using flood system of cultivation.
*Arrozais de Quissanga usando o sistema de cultivo por alagamento.*
Plate 5.11. Oldman Rachide Amade entrusted of ancient ruined mosque of Quissanga Beach. *O velho Rachide Amade encarregado de ruínas da antiga mesquite da Quissanga Praia.*

Plate 5.13. Early and later Chinese porcelain from Quissanga Beach site – 1–5, 7–8. 20th century porcelain from Quissanga Beach site – 6, 9–16.


Plate 5.14. 1–4 20th century porcelain from Quissanga Beach site. 1–4 Porcelana do sec. 20 da Quissanga Praia.
Plate 5.15. Beads at the Quissanga Beach made from different material (glass, shell and bone) reveal prolonged commercial contacts and local innovation.

As missangas da estação da Quissanga Praia feitas do material diferente (vidro, concha e osso), revelam prolongados contatos comerciais e a inovação local.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Archaeological research on the northern Mozambican in particular the Cape Delgado coast, has provided knowledge about the different societies established in the region. For such an analysis, and to facilitate our understanding, I have divided these Late Iron Age communities into three groups based on time periods: 1) pre-colonial communities of the interior with no contact with the coast; 2) pre-colonial coastal communities which developed regional trade and long-distance commerce with Arabs and regions in Asia; and 3) colonial period communities which were established on the coast and the islands, performing services to the Europeans; and, as Frei João dos Santos (1999) points out, natives left the coast for the islands owing to the constant attack from the interior. In the colonial period, the communities of the Cape Delgado region were highly stratified and were under the jurisdiction of the Sultan of Zanzibar (Monteiro 1966, p. 54). However, the present research program on the coast did not manage to identify early iron-using communities, and recent results from the Tanzania coast and Zanzibar (see Chami 1994, 1999, 2001; Juma 2004) and the southern Mozambique coast (Cruz e Silva 1975; Sinclair 1982, 1987; Ekblom 2004) indicate a need for further research on this matter.

Moreover, some sites of the later iron-using farming communities identified on this coast, as indicated by Gomene, Matemwe and Vamisi, need more detailed research in the sense of explaining, e.g. in the case of Gomene, why the enclosure was built and which role it played in the past. Matemwe and Vamisi seem to indicate an occupation in the first millennium AD, as do other sites in the Palma and Tungui region. Further research is needed.

As reported in this thesis, only a few archaeological investigations have been performed in the interior of the Cabo Delgado province to enhance our understanding of social and cultural changes.

The present study was aimed to discuss the processes of social and cultural exchange in the province of Cabo Delgado on the basis of archaeological material, supported by written sources and ethno-archaeological research. On the
beginning, the study was focused on the period from 0–1000 AD and was aimed to cover the entire Cabo Delgado coast, i.e., from the mouth of the Lúrio River to the Rovuma River, and from this coast to the interior, reaching the Niassa province but logistical problems limited us to the coast.

The initial objective of the study was to investigate iron-using farming communities from the period 0–1000 AD on the basis of their material remains, and to better understand their economy and social changes through time. The lack of information in the available literature regarding this period in the region provides ample justification for such a study, but logistic problems, land mines and precarious road conditions to the interior limited us to the coast. Furthermore, since sites dating to the period before 1000 AD were not found in the Cape Delgado region during our research, more work is needed on the coast. We focussed on archaeological information from the period 1000 AD onwards.

By analysing the communities that lived on this coast in the past from the second millennium AD it is possible to understand, on the one hand, the dynamics of exchange and international trade and, on the other hand, the farming and fishing activities. In addition, the communities practiced other complementary activities, such as hunting, gathering, weaving and handicraft. According to Duarte (1993, p. 85), some urban centres, mainly on the islands, were located in zones where they would not survive on the basis of agriculture; therefore other resources such as hunting, gathering on the coast, fishing and/or exchange with coastal and interior communities could have played a major role in the survival of those communities.

Regarding the current local context, most people from coastal urban centres and villages exchange their products with the communities living in the interior; dry fish, salt and lime are used to obtain cereals and dry cassava from farmers in the interior. It is possible that these activities have existed in the past, at least throughout the second millennium AD (Duarte 1993). For coastal communities during colonial time, located in poor farming regions, fishing, production of salt and lime from shells became their main activities, while interior communities adopted farming of tubers (*Manihot esculenta*) and cereals (*Zea mays, Sorghum vulgare*) as their main activities for exchange.

It is possible that these movements to the coast increased with development of international trade on the east African coast. However, there were other new products such as gold, elephant tusks, rhinoceros horn and probably slaves as well as other products, which were of great interest to traders. These activities led to the establishment of the first trading centres which later became the great commercial emporia where regional and international trade network were developed.
Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the natural conditions for agriculture in some coastal areas, such as Quissanga and Lúrio, were attractive to the communities whose remains are currently being studied. However, from the different fortifications found on the coast, it is suggested that the coastal communities in the second millennium AD lived in times of turbulence and were victims of different attacks, both from the sea and from the interior (Bento 1992).

The research on the Cape Delgado coast has shown the importance and archaeological potential of the centres such as Quissanga and Matemwe on the Quirimba archipelago and other areas of the Cape Delgado region. Clear priorities for future work lie in the location of early farming community sites both in the interior and on the littoral and a better understanding of the antiquity of external relation with the trading networks in the Indian Ocean.
RESUMO

...ativa falta da atenção académica para a costa norte de Cabo Delgado e rica em estações arqueológicas. Aqui, traços da cultura Swahili (cerâmica, construções), traços râmica da tradição Lumbo e Sancul assim como muralhas que não fazem parte da cultura Swahilí.

...reatuação do passado histórico desta área tem sido feito, e as análises linguísticas sem tomar em consideração são muito importantes para entender os processos da sociedade. Com as poucas pesquisas arqueológicas feitas em Cabo Delgado, a situação é complicada e o estudo das mudanças sociais e culturais na região requer um trabalho mais rigoroso.

...situação, foi desenvolvido o presente estudo que estava destinado aiscrir os processos de mudanças sociais e culturais na região. O trabalho foi feito com base no material arqueológico, apoiado pelas análises etno-archeológicas. Este estudo estava focalizado na foz do rio Lurio e cobriu toda a costa desta província, i.e., da foz do rio Lurio e que culminou com a localização de diferentes estações arqueológicas.

...situação foi dividida em duas fases: a primeira fase foi da prospecção a do material a superfície para identificar estações com possibilidade de escavação e a segunda fase foi da escavação arqueológica e estudo das estruturas que já haviam sido identificadas nessa área.

...situação, foi possível identificar a estratigrafia social, a demografia desta costa. Este valioso contributo...
desenvolveram no interior desta província, desde as comunidades da pedra até as primeiras comunidades agrícolas e as que usavam o ferro.

A prioridade para trabalhos arqueológicos no futuro é bem clara e situa-se na procura e localização de estações de primeiras comunidades agrícolas no litoral assim como no interior, procurar entender melhor a antiguidade de relações externas no que diz respeito as redes do sistema de comércio no Oceano Índico.
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Appendix, Figure 1

Processing of findings

Classification:

For R-rim, N-neck, SH-shoulder, BO-body, and BA-base, then:

1. Category 1 – R; BO\BA; BO; BA.
2. Category 2 – RN; N.
3. Category 3 – SH\BO\BA; SH\BO; SH.
4. Category 4 – RN\SH\BO\BA; RN\SH\BO; RN\SH; N\SH\BO\BA; N\SH\BO; N\SH.
5. Category 5 – RN\BO\BA; RN\BO; N\BO\BA; N\BO.
6. Category 6 – R\SH\BO\BA; R\SH\BO; R\SH.
7. Category 7 – R\BO\BA; R\BO.

Pottery structural shape categories

![Diagram of pottery structural shape categories]

A rim
B neck
C shoulder
D body
E base
F rim/neck
G neck/shoulder
H shoulder/body
I body/base
J rim/neck/shoulder/body/base
K rim/shoulder
L rim/body
M rim/base
N neck/body
O neck/base
P shoulder/base
Q rim/neck/shoulder
R shoulder/body/base
S neck/shoulder/body
T neck/body/base
U neck/shoulder/base
V rim/shoulder/base
X rim/neck/body
Y rim/body/base
Z rim/shoulder/body

Note: Low case for inside decoration

1 After Duarte 1993
Appendix, Figure 2

Pottery rim profiles

G4  G14  G5  G3
G11  G12  G2
G18  G6  G7  G9
G10
G13  G15  G16  G17
Appendix, Figure 3

Alphabetical codes for position of pottery decoration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>rim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>rim/neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>neck/shoulder</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>rim/shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>rim/body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>neck/body</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>neck/base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>rim/body/base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>rim/shoulder/body</td>
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</table>

Note: Lower case for inside decoration
### Appendix, Figure 4

**Pottery decoration—motifs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA (point)</th>
<th>AJ (stamped)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB (broad line)</td>
<td>AK (stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC (fine line)</td>
<td>AL (fluted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD (stamped w/incipion)</td>
<td>AM (crosshatching w/incipion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE (shell stamped)</td>
<td>AN (ochre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF (crosshatching)</td>
<td>AO (graphite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG (stamped criss cross)</td>
<td>AP (stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AH (herringbone incision)</td>
<td>AO (Incision fine line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI (fingertip)</td>
<td>AR (undetermined)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS (stamped)</td>
<td>AX (stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT (pierced)</td>
<td>AZ (stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU (comb stamped)</td>
<td>BA (stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV (herring bone incision)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix, Figure 5

Digit code – beads

- F01 BEAD MICRO – GREEN – DRAWN
- F18 BEAD MICRO – RED – INLAID
- F03 BEAD MICRO – WHITE WITH BLUE STRIPES – INLAID
- F04 BEAD SMALL – WHITE WITH BLUE VIOLET STRIPES – INLAID
- F05 BEAD MICRO – WHITE WITH VIOLET STRIPES – INLAID
- F06 BEAD SMALL – WHITE – DRAWN
- F07 BEAD MICRO – WHITE WITH GREEN VIOLET STRIPES – INLAID
- F08 BEAD SMALL – YELLOW – DRAWN
- F09 BEAD SMALL – BLACK – DRAWN
- F10 BEAD MEDIUM – WHITE – WOUNDED
- F18 BEAD MICRO – RED – DRAWN
- F19 BEAD SMALL – RED – DRAWN
- F11 BEAD MEDIUM – VIOLET – INLAID
- F12 BEAD SMALL – RED – INLAID
- F13 BEAD MEDIUM – GREEN – WOUNDED
- F14 BEAD MICRO – BLUE GREY – DRAWN
- F15 BEAD MICRO – COPPER
- F16 BEAD MICRO – BLACK – DRAWN
- F17 BEAD UNIDENTIFIED

Table 1. FOZ DO LURIC

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Table 2. FOZ DO LURIO – Pottery sherds, structural categories

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Table 7. QUISSANGA PRAIA – Pottery, rim, profiles

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Table 8. QUISSANGA PRAIA – Pottery, decoration motif by arrangement

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