

Islands Connect: People, Things, and Ideas Among the Small Islands of the Western Indian Ocean

Edward A. Alpers

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

More than 15 years ago, I published a short overview of what I called “the island factor” in Indian Ocean Africa (Alpers 2000; Alpers 2009, 39–54). Whatever the virtues of that essay, I did not specifically address the questions of “connectivity in motion” that constitute the central theme of this book. To be sure, connections abound in what I wrote, but the larger point I made was to argue generally for the relevance of Indian Ocean islands in the history of eastern Africa rather than of connectivity as such. Indeed, only a fleeting reference to “the tangled web of island connections that integrated East Africa into the commercial affairs of the Indian Ocean” and a single allusion to “this complex network” in my discussion of the slave trade in the southwest Indian Ocean (Alpers 2000, 377 and 380; 2009, 45 and 50) suggest anything like the subtleties of connectivity that I believe interest us all in this current project.

E.A. Alpers (✉)
Department of History, UCLA,
Los Angeles, CA USA

© The Author(s) 2018
B. Schnepel and E.A. Alpers (eds.), *Connectivity in Motion*,
Palgrave Series in Indian Ocean World Studies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-59725-6_2

The title of our volume raises some interesting semantic questions. First, what exactly do we imply by the term “hub?” Leaving aside physical definitions connected to a wheel, dictionary definitions suggest that a hub is “the effective center of an activity, region, or network” or simply “a center of activity.”¹ This last meaning only came into common usage after 1858, when Oliver Wendell Holmes opined that “Boston State-House is the hub of the solar system.”² For our purposes, I suggest we first consider focusing on the notion of connectedness through certain critical nodal points, which is to say the small islands of the western Indian Ocean, only then determining if we regard any of these nodal points as hubs. Next, exactly how are we to define “small islands?”

In his pioneering study of the small islands of the Indian Ocean, French geographer Jean-Louis Guébourg acknowledges “the problem of limits and that of micro-insularity.” He adopts Pierre George’s definition of an island as “a land isolated on all sides by water,” noting that George’s inclusion of “the term ‘isolated’ is not neutral [as] the author insists on insular isolation as a primordial concept” (Guébourg 1999, 13; George 1970).³ Insularity has important consequences for human identity, he notes, and indeed much of the recent literature on islands reveals that questions of identity loom large, though this is not our primary concern in this volume. Indeed, our focus is on connectivity rather than on isolation. More important, perhaps, is Guébourg’s categorization of different kinds of islands, for which he employs “a coastal index, which is the relationship existing between the highest limit of oceanic waters and the surface of the island” (Guébourg 1999, 13).⁴ If the ratio is equal to or more than one, he writes “the island offers a small surface and an important land-sea [ratio of] contact” (ibid., 13). For islands that have sheer coasts, like the Comoros and La Réunion, this index falls to between 1/2 and 1/10, even 1/20. Using this scale, Ngazidja (Grande Comore) has a ratio of 1/6, whereas Sri Lanka equals 1/60 and is thus considered to be “continental.” In addition, Guébourg takes account of both the extent of an island’s shoreline and its topography; an island that has many lagoons and inlets, such as those that feature mangroves, for example, will be more attuned to the ocean than one with precipitous cliffs marking its shores, which will cause it to turn to its interior (Guébourg 1999, 14). It remains to be seen just how useful such distinctions are for our purposes, but in his own book, this definition excludes

only Sri Lanka, Madagascar, and the major islands of the Indonesian Archipelago.

In the abstract that I submitted for the workshop that gave rise to this collection of essays, I indicated that “I will explore the multiple linkages that historically connected, and in many cases still connect today, the small islands of the Western Indian Ocean” (cf. Alpers [forthcoming](#)). Although my initial thinking was to do so by employing the kind of “network approach” advocated by Francesca Trivellato (2002, 62–65), my reading of Julia Verne’s book on translocality in contemporary Swahili trade suggested that I might attempt a somewhat different approach.⁵ Verne provides a carefully argued critique of network analysis “by calling for an image that is less static and schematic than most conceptualizations of networks still dominant today.” Instead, she prefers “the metaphor of the rhizome” (Verne 2012, 16, 10). To be specific, “the metaphor of the rhizome serves ... to account for the complex, dynamic and genuine relational character of translocal connections, getting to grips with the questions of how the connections are made, what they consist of and how they manage to endure” (ibid., 23). She contends that this image enables one to understand how translocality “incorporates the tension and interplay between mobility and situatedness, movement and stability,” something that in her own way, Trivellato similarly recognizes as a methodological problem in her adoption of a “network approach.” In her very dense epistemological analysis, Verne argues for the superiority of the rhizome metaphor because it enables the researcher “to do justice to complexity and grasp the best we can what is actually happening” in the ever-changing way in which networks actually function. Thus, she continues, “the ‘rhizome’ is imagined as a continuously changing process” (ibid., 18, 25, 29). Verne’s grounded research, which she describes as “a mobile ethnography of translocal trading practices,” (ibid., 33–67) took her from a base in Zanzibar on field trips in the company of several Swahili traders to upcountry Tanzania and Dubai. In her conclusions, she rethinks “the relationship between mobility and cosmopolitanism in the Swahili context” and challenges “a rather idealized image of Swahiliness.” What Verne argues for is that “living in a translocal space and engaging with many different places does not necessarily mean that one ends up being at home in the world and maneuvering expertly in different social and

cultural contexts.” Accordingly, she believes, “Instead of producing extroverted, cosmopolitan cultures, translocality thus translocalizes the sense of home, always including social exclusion, as this translocal home cannot be home to everyone. ... On the contrary, translocal space offers a way to be constantly at home despite being mobile” (ibid., 234–38).

This is admittedly pretty heavy theoretical sledding, but it finds an interesting complement in Engseng Ho’s question, “How does one write transregionalism that is thick, socially and historically?” Writing about a stimulating set of papers that address the historical use of different legal regimes in pre-independence Indian Ocean history, he emphasizes that, for historians, “*disaggregation* is a key methodological step for moving away from a unitary frame.” Stated differently, by eschewing broad generalizations and breaking a topic into its component parts, we gain real interpretive leverage. Taking this idea a step further, he writes that “disaggregation enables *mobility*,” in these cases of people and ideas, “separately and together” (Ho 2014, 885). In his summary of the article by Fahad Bishara (2014a) in this same collection, he notes both a “dense network of social relations across the ocean, between regions” and “the horizontal patterns of circulation” that Bishara describes (Ho 2014, 888; cf. Bishara 2014b). What I appreciate about Verne’s approach and Ho’s related question and observations is that they suggest ways to think about connectivity that account for time and space, social and cultural complexity, and the contradictions that macro- and micro-historical analyses involve.

There is no way that I can hope to replicate the kinds of detailed analysis that marks the work of Verne and Bishara in this chapter. What I do hope to accomplish is to isolate a number of themes and topics reflecting connectivity that are discernible in the scholarly literature or that emerge from the available primary sources, and then to suggest ways in which Verne’s and Ho’s insights might point the way toward a more complex, historically thick understanding of what they represent and how they might have changed over time. First of all, for me, this initial survey emphasizes that the most significant kind of connectivity that occupies our attention is not between islands as whole entities, but rather between the island–towns. Second, these connections are determined neither by geography nor by islandness as such, but rather by the people who inhabit these island–towns. Third, it seems to me that, in the wider context of the western Indian Ocean, we cannot divorce these island connections from littoral towns that are part of their maritime networks.

Some of these locations will, of course, be inshore islands, but others will be on the continental land mass.

Because the western Indian Ocean contains literally thousands of small islands, hundreds of which are or have historically been inhabited, in the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on the small islands of Indian Ocean Africa that lie from the Benaadir coast of southern Somalia down into the Mozambique Channel, together with the two main Mascarene Islands of La Réunion and Mauritius. The most immediate source of island connectivity across this broad region reflects the movement of people both from continental or mainland littorals and from other islands. In the case of the small African islands, these movements include migrations beginning in the first millennium of the Current Era from Africa, Arabia, the Gulf and even Southeast Asia. The Mascarenes, which were uninhabited until they were settled by the Dutch and then the French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, clearly represent a later and quite distinct era of island settlement, but once inhabited they became integrated into the older set of connections that linked Africa's Indian Ocean islands. In different eras and in different ways, the diasporas represented by these continuing and overlapping population movements are one basic element in the complex process of rhizome formation. What we cannot demonstrate evidentially for the earlier foundational processes of island settlement, however, is just how such movements took place. Archaeological, linguistic, and genetic evidence are invaluable artifacts in enabling scholars to disaggregate the origins and components of the modern populations of these islands, but they do not reveal the fine detail of human history or the agency of the individuals and family groups that constructed these island populations over time.

THE COMORO ISLANDS AS A CASE STUDY

To take one relatively well-documented example, let us examine how this combination of methodologies plays out for the premodern history of the Comoros. Archaeology indicates that the islands were settled from about 800 CE by a combination of Arabs and Africans in what archaeologists call the Dembeni phase. In reminding his readers that archaeology cannot reconstruct past societies, Henry Wright (1984, 55) nevertheless offers the very helpful observation that we can still view these communities “as an integrated system of social actors and actions, tools and techniques, and meanings and strategies, a cultural foundation upon which

subsequent developments all depend.” Following the Dembeni phase, there is further archaeological evidence from the original Dembeni site on Maore (Mayotte) of later settlement from Madagascar (Allibert and Verin 1996). One intriguing aspect of these data is the identification that “some thirteen species of fish had been eaten whose location today, as far as they are known, are in some cases limited to the eastern coast of Africa and in others restricted to the coast of Madagascar. Such exterior origins of fish implies the transportation of food and its preservation in salt to be sold ...” (ibid., 465).⁶ In short, it would appear that the inhabitants of Dembeni were in contact with the coasts of both eastern Africa and western Madagascar. By the fifteenth century, the southern half of Maore was fully populated by Sakalava from western Madagascar, with the northern half being settled by “Arabo-Shirazis,” both on a base population of Africans (Rombi 1983).⁷

Reflecting again the African connection, the language evidence clearly links the individual island dialects of Shikomori or Shimaswa, the “language of islands,” to the larger Sabaki branch of northeast Coast Bantu, which includes Kiswahili, while the historical spread of this Bantu language along the East African littoral jibes chronologically with the archaeological evidence for the settlement of the Comoros (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993). Yet while Shikomori is a blanket term for the four island languages of the archipelago, there is a marked difference between the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the two westernmost islands, Ngazidja and Mwali, and the two more southerly islands that are closest to Madagascar, Ndzuwani and Maore. Perhaps this distinction reflects the greater orientation of the former toward continental Africa, while the latter two looked more to Madagascar. Genetic research based on blood samples taken from 577 unrelated Comorians (men = 381, women = 196) from Ngazidja, Ndzuwani, and Mwali reveals that the gene pool of Comorians is predominately African (72 percent), with important contributions from western Asia (17 percent) and Southeast Asia (11 percent), a combination that both confirms much of what we know about the settlement history of the Comoros and raises numerous questions about how, exactly, this settlement occurred (Msaidie et al. 2011). Of the African haplogroups, the authors of this study identify Kenya and Tanzania as the most likely origin of the Y chromosome haplogroup and Mozambique as the probable source for the mitochondrial haplogroup, suggesting the possibility that more male Africans came from the former and more females from the latter. Additional evidence

of a Mozambican connection may be seen in Mahorais, the language of Maore. According to the French linguistic anthropologist Marie-Françoise Rombi (2003, 307), “occasionally one even finds there, in parts of songs, some magical formulas, incomprehensible to Mahorais today, that are actually from makua [eMakhuwa], a language spoken in northern Mozambique, which shows that contacts between Mayotte and the African coast have been complex (properties very ancient besides those more recent tied to the modern Indian Ocean slave trade).” Returning to Wright’s observation, by reviewing the history of the human settlement of the Comoros before about 1500, we can discern the existence of numerous lines of dense connectivity that were implicitly, if not explicitly, overlaid one on top of another over the course of six or seven centuries.

Historical evidence for the centuries after about 1500 is fairly abundant with respect to commercial exchanges connecting the individual Comoro islands to a web of sites within the Mozambique Channel and north of Cape Delgado to the Swahili coast, most especially to Zanzibar Town (Newitt 1983). These sources enable us to document the goods exchanged, but are less forthcoming on the human relations associated with these economic transactions. At certain moments in time, however, such sources provide some insight into the impact of commercial exchange on specific strata of Comorian society. The most thorough example is Jeremy Prestholdt’s analysis of what he calls similitude in the history of self-representation among the ruling elites of Mutsamudu, the main port and capital of the Ndzuwani sultanate (Prestholdt 2008, 13–33; for Ngazidja, cf. Walker 2005). What Prestholdt achieves, however, illustrates the intersection of insularity with global forces and influences more effectively than it does the connections of these elites over time with other regional small islands. What I would like to examine more closely are those more mundane exchanges that linked the commercial, political, and learned classes of the different Comorian towns to each other and to the other small islands of the western Indian Ocean.

This exercise means revisiting the movement of Hadrami and Yemeni men from Arabia to coastal East Africa and thence to the Comoros. In some respects, this is a fairly well-understood process thanks to the pioneering work of B.G. Martin (1974) and Randall L. Pouwels (1987, 37–42), who have traced the most important Hadrami family networks that settled the coast and its islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More recently, by focusing on the ‘Alawī *sāda*, Anne

Bang (2003, 23–34) has meticulously reconstructed the most important of these kinship structures. In the 1500s, certain Hadrami families settled in the principal continental towns of the Benaadir, Mogadishu and Barawa; others moved on to establish themselves at Pate and Lamu. In the following century, some of these island-based lineages extended their settlements to the Comoros, creating a tightly integrated commercial network that operated across the western Indian Ocean (and even as far as Indonesia) (Blanchy 2016). A vivid testimony to how family ties facilitated trade is revealed in a letter written in 1907 by an elder of a Hadrami family from Tarim that was prominent in Singapore, but by analogy I think we can imagine that similar advice was given to junior members of Hadrami trading families that operated in the western Indian Ocean:

When you reach al-Mukallā, you should stay with Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Ḥāmid al-Miḥdār [...] All the money you might require, you will obtain from Sālim Yazidī whom we have notified. Send presents and letters to your family and children and to us – write us from everywhere so that we can rejoice at your well-being.

Once you have arrived in Aden: We have notified ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh, he will write you a letter of introduction. When you have met him, follow his instructions. ... [my ellipses] We have also asked Muḥammad Jabār in Aden to provide you with everything you need.

If there is honey available in al-Mukallā, get some as presents for the relatives in Singapore. Everything you might need from my money, whether little or much, is at your disposal [...]

When you travel to Singapore, reserve private cabins in the second or third class. Once you arrive in Singapore, follow the advice of your uncle, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh. On the day that you arrive in Aden, send a card to al-Kaf, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, so that he knows you are in Aden.⁸ (Bang 2003, 24)

Even allowing for the difference in means and speed of travel on the sea—that is, by steamship rather than dhow—the availability of cash and credit, letters of introduction, gift-giving, and reminders to stay in touch with the family at home—all the elements in this set of instructions to a young man about to embark on a career of trading in the Indian Ocean world—very likely applied to ‘Alawī family networks linking the Hadramawt, the Lamu Archipelago, the Comoros, northwestern

Madagascar, and eventually Zanzibar. As the German traveler Otto Kersten noted when he stayed in the small town of Kitanda, in Itsandra sultanate, in 1864, for the people of Ngazidja “the city of Zanzibar was like the embodiment of everything beautiful and great” (Kersten 1871, 231; cf. Walker et al. forthcoming).⁹ During his visit to Ngazidja, “not far from the beach, we met several people, among them some acquaintances from Zanzibar, emigrated Comorians, who had received vacation time to visit their homeland. One of them, an overseer of O’Swald and Co., [the important German trading company based in Hamburg] had come here in order to take a wife, even though having already married in Zanzibar” (ibid., 238). A good illustration of how effective inter-island communication had become by the late nineteenth century is the fact that, when the recently “liberated” Mariamo Hali (an elite young woman from Ngazidja who had been captured in a slave raid) arrived at Zanzibar from Mwali on board a British Royal Navy vessel in 1883, she was greeted by her maternal uncle, who was waiting for her at dockside (Alpers 2016).

Some of these Hadrami actors also established small sultanates in Ngazidja, Ndzuwani, and Mwali. Most, but not all, claimed to be *shurafa*, that is, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. While historians have recognized the importance of their trading activities, it is as pious religious leaders that they have attracted the most attention to date. By posing a completely different set of questions, however, Thomas Vernet adds an important dimension to previous discussions of the Hadrami diaspora in East Africa. Drawing upon his unrivaled knowledge of the Portuguese sources, Vernet argues persuasively that a complex chain of slave-trading ties developed among northwestern Madagascar, the Comoros, the Lamu Archipelago, and Arabia (Vernet 2009). Building on the scholarship of Martin and Pouwels, he attributes these connections to the expansion into East African waters of Hadrami and Yemeni family groups in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to Vernet, “we can surmise that these networks were partly based on the Malagasy slave trade,” on which he elaborates further in his chapter (ibid., 45).

In the absence of contemporary sources for the period before about 1800, how can we imagine the evolving process by which these intrepid Hadramis carried out their business as slave-traders, built their family networks, engaged with the host populations that they encountered on the islands where they settled, and pursued their activities as carriers of

a specific kind of Islam? Although it is methodologically unsatisfactory and threatens to lead us into static notions of “tradition,” let me suggest that we can at least suggest some ways of thinking about these questions by resort to evidence from more recent history. First, there is no contradiction between trade and proselytization (*da‘wa*). Although Vernet states, regarding the Madagascar trade, that “most of the slave purchasers were Swahili from cities of the ‘Malindi coast,’ that is to say from Mombasa to Mogadishu,” he also provides evidence that at least some of the slavers were indeed *sharifian* “priests” (2009, 43, 46). We cannot ascertain whether or not any of these individuals regularly both traded in slaves and engaged in *da‘wa*, but Kersten records that the most important person in Kitanda, a *sharifian* trader named Sherif Said Abubakari ben Abdallah ben Semedi, “was tolerant of practitioners of other religions and was not shy to speak about religion” (Kersten 1871, 231).¹⁰ In fact, this individual was the founder of the prominent Āl bin Sumayṭ family in Ngazidja, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sumayṭ (Walker et al. forthcoming; Bang 2003). A quite different example from twentieth-century Tanzania suggests that business and proselytization could go hand in hand. At one point in the career of Sh. Nūr al-Dīn b. Ḥusayn, at the time the *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* Shādhiliyya Yashruṭiyya in East Africa, he engaged in trading fish from his base at Kilwa into Zambia. In the words of Chanfi Ahmed, who interviewed Sh. Nūr in 2002:

The *shaykh* always combined his business trips with *da‘wa* activities, as indicated by a slogan written on the front of his car referring to the Prophet Muḥammad (*Akazaliwa Makka S. W.*; “He was born in Mecca, God bless him and grant him peace”). On the completion of his daily work, he would go to the mosques to pray and preach. (Ahmed 2006, 336)

What this brief glimpse into the life of an itinerant Muslim fish-trader and teacher brings into focus is that the life of a slave-trader could just as easily have allowed for proselytization as it did for Sh. Nūr al-Dīn. Moreover, since we know that Islam was well established in northwest Madagascar and in the Comoros by the sixteenth century, such an individual could well have prayed and preached the ‘Alawī understanding of Islam in local mosques.

Proselytization of specific, inevitably reform Islamic tendencies represents one way in which commercial networks provided an opening for a thickening of the character of relationships between one category of

island inhabitants and those co-religionists with whom they did business. Within this same social group of local traders, another way in which such networks were made more complex was by intermarriage. Writing about the Muslim Antalaotsy of northwest Madagascar, Noël Gueunier has commented:

We know that in the 19th century, and undoubtedly already a long time before, they were bilingual, speaking Malagasy and Kiswahili; they had, and some families continue until the present, a tradition of overseas matrimonial alliances (in the Comoros and on the East African coast), allowing them to have bonds between the two coasts of the Mozambique Channel ... (Gueunier 1994, 41).

Several examples of this kind of family connection, one of which explicitly involved fellow slave-traders, are known to have existed between various Comorian rulers and their counterparts on the Mozambique coast. Some of these connections provided links to important families in the mainland village of Sancul, to the south of Mozambique Island, while others joined them with leading families on Quitangonha Island, at the north entrance to Conducia Bay, just north of Mozambique Island. Some of these are no more than casual references in official letters between the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique Island and different Comorian sultans (Alpers 2009, 149–53). However, a letter from Sultan Said Bakar of Ngazidja, written in 1878 from Moroni to an official at Sancul, Molidi Vulai, begins by requesting that the latter keep tabs on three slaves whom the Sultan had sent to Sancul. The author, who was later to write the authoritative *Chronicle of Ngazidja*, then comments: “Your brother’s young nephew is on Mohilla [Mwali] and Allah willing when he finishes his studies I will send him home to Mozambique” (Hafkin 1973, 56–57; Ahmed 1977). It appears, as well, that there existed marital alliances between prominent families from Iconi, on Ngazidja, and the Murrapahine lineage on the mainland around Mozambique Island. In the words of a Portuguese colonial intelligence officer writing in the late 1960s, “They do not know how to give a good explanation for the family and clan ties to Iconi canton in the Comoros, of which many are natives who come to these lands,” noting later in the same report that the original marital connection was apparently between a Comorian man and Mozambican woman in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Alpers 2009, 161).¹¹ More generally,

the most powerful Comorian connections in that century were with the rulers of Angoche Island, the leading Mozambican slave-trading port in the second half of the nineteenth century (Newitt 1972).

Although the imposition of effective French colonial rule in the Comoros and Portuguese colonial rule in northern Mozambique disrupted many of the older commercial activities in the Mozambique Channel, the emergence of Ngazidja as the center for the expansion of the Shādhiliyya Yashruṭiyya added another layer of inter-island contact to the inshore islands of northern Mozambique (Bonate 2007, 73–112). What we do not yet know, however, is what—if any—back and forth connections continued between the Comoro centers of this *ṭariqā* and its branches based on Mozambique Island, the site of its initial implantation on the coast, into the colonial period and after independence. If colonial boundaries weakened or obliterated some of the linkages that had developed over previous centuries between the Comoros and the small inshore islands of the Mozambique littoral, I expect that they did not repress those that connected the four islands of the archipelago to each other, at least not until the Mahorais voted against independence and to remain a French dependency, as they still are today. Once again, however, the nature of scholarly inquiry has focused either on the political history of the islands or on the anthropology of its different communities, rather than on communication between the islands and its families. In the case of Ngazidja, of course, we do know that the considerable migration of many of its residents to Zanzibar Town from the end of the nineteenth century established a set of relationships that remained strong until the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964. These ties are reflected in both the Islamic history of the coast and the regular movement between Zanzibar and the Comoros (Saleh 1995; Clockers 2009; Walker 2014 and this volume). One notable example is the history of the ‘Alawī Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ, who settled in Lamu in about 1870 and became a major figure in Islamic reform there until his death in 1936. As Anne Bang carefully shows, Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ first journeyed to Lamu with an uncle, returning to Ngazidja a year later to marry a cousin of a woman who later married Ibn Sumayṭ, founder of the Shādhiliyya Yashruṭiyya in East Africa (Bang 2003, 100–101). This tendency to seek marriage partners among the Ba ‘Alawī appears to have been reinforced during the colonial period (Blanchy 2016). Thus, at least among the most important *shurafa* families, intermarriage continued to be a prominent feature that consolidated inter-island communication. A challenge for future small island research

is to disentangle these ‘Alawī and Hadrami linkages from among the larger networks that connected them to the Hadramawt and the greater Muslim world.

THE MASCARENE ISLANDS AND THEIR MARITIME EXTENSIONS

A quite different coming together of small island connectivity dates to the establishment of a French colonial presence on the Mascarene Islands and, later, at Nosy Be and Mayotte. The many connections—administrative, familial, educational, religious—between La Réunion and Mauritius, even after the latter island was captured and claimed by the British in the Napoleonic Wars, are well known and require little elaboration here. Both before and after the abolition of slavery, however, the Mascarenes were part of a complex system of forced labor migration that included sources at Mozambique Island, the Kerimba Islands that dot the northern coast of Mozambique, Zanzibar, Kilwa Kisiwani, Nosy Be, and the Comoro Islands. Before looking into these connections more carefully, I would be remiss were I not to note that the most important island for the Mascarenes was Madagascar, scarcely a small island, but an island nonetheless (Larson 2009). The earliest of these links date to the first half of the eighteenth century and focus on the activities of French slavers on the Mozambique coast, where conniving Portuguese authorities and willing Swahili merchants were only too glad to do business with them (Alpers 1970). In the mid-1770s, an enterprising French slaver named Jean-Vincent Morice shipped a large number of captive Africans from Zanzibar to Île de France (now Mauritius) and shortly thereafter negotiated for a slave-trading treaty with the Sultan of Kilwa Kisiwani, Hasan b. Ibrahim b. Yusuf, to provide labor to the Mascarenes on an exclusive basis (Freeman-Grenville 1965; Vernet 2011). Abdul Sheriff succinctly reviews the several decades of this traffic that extended from the 1770s until the imposition of the first antislavery treaty by the British on the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1822, the so-called Moresby Treaty (Sheriff 1987, 41–48; also Allen 2014, 63–107). Similarly, Richard Allen meticulously reconstructs the illegal slave trade to the Mascarenes after this Treaty was concluded (*ibid.*, 141–78). Yet, although this rich scholarship on the French slave trade reveals commercial linkages among several generations of European slavers, with the exception of the ties they had to several Swahili and Arab political figures, they tell us nothing at all about anything other than the one-way traffic of captive Africans

(and Malagasy). Who crewed the slave ships, what were the onshore social networks of the French slavers, and similar questions that would enrich our understanding of these commercial networks remain largely unasked.¹²

The same problems of procuring labor held true in the aftermath of slavery, when, after its abolition in 1848, the French relied on the *libre engagé* or free labor emigration scheme that they first devised in 1828 in anticipation of abolition (Chaillou 2010). In 1840, France colonized the small island of Nosy Be, just off the northwest coast of Madagascar. A year later, the Sakalava king of Mayotte ceded the island to France. Both islands were intimately linked to the much older, and larger, French colony of La Réunion, as Île Bourbon was renamed by the French in 1848. According to Jehanne-Emmanuel Monnier, Nosy Be suffered a “triple insularity,” combining its isolation with administrative and economic dependency on both Mayotte and Réunion (Monnier 2006, 28–29; Gevrey 1870, 137). When the cultivation of sugar came to dominate all three French colonial islands by the end of that decade, these ties became even more profound. As Monnier demonstrates, what she describes as the second generation of colonists were all either Réunionnais Creoles or “creolized” Europeans who had lived for decades on Réunion. “For the most part,” she writes, “they already knew each other, maintaining either commercial relations or ties of friendship and kinship” (Monnier 2006: 58). These men represented the larger island’s élite; very few ordinary colonists were among their number. Although they invested their energies and capital in the sugar plantations of Nosy Be, most left their wives and children on Réunion (ibid., 58–62; cf. Kersten 1871, 204). Réunionnais Creoles also were the predominant settlers at Mayotte, although Jean Martin suggests that they were of a distinctly lower social order than those who gravitated to Nosy Be (Martin 1983, vol. 1, 204–205).

Despite these social differences, it seems to me that there is an interesting parallel to be drawn between the Creole connections linking these three small French colonial islands in the southwest Indian Ocean and those of the Comorian Hadramis who spread out to the inshore and off-shore islands of the Swahili and Mozambique coasts. Today, there is a regular traffic between Mayotte and Réunion that is made possible by their mutual designation as overseas departments of France. Where this connection is most noticeable is in the numerous Mahorais who, dressed like typical Swahili/Comorians, can be seen around the Central Market

in St. Denis.¹³ Still another example of how such family networks might be constructed comes from the case of the small Khoja community on Madagascar, some of whom resided on Nosy Be. According to Sophie Blanchy (1995, 84, 143, 171, 180, 285), although families preferred marriages within their local community in Madagascar, their second choice would be among Khoja families resident in Réunion or France because most of these came from Madagascar. Indeed, other examples of how commercial travel by Indian Muslims, including Sunnis, as well as Hindus, resulted in the creation of scattered families across the southwest Indian Ocean from Mombasa to the Mascarenes are peppered throughout Blanchy's detailed study (*ibid.*, 123–24).¹⁴ Although many of the nodal points of such networks were not specifically on small islands, many were. Finally, Blanchy notes that Muslim Indians regularly participated in mixed marriages as “a way of coastal life” (*mode de vie côtier*) that connected them to local families across the many settlements, including those on small islands, across the western Indian Ocean (*ibid.*, 314).

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTION-RAISING

No doubt there are other examples of small island connectivities that existed historically or that have developed in the more recent past and persist into the present (cf. Bakar 1988); these I leave for others to explore. What I would like to do now is return to the ideas with which I began this chapter regarding definitions and concepts. The first of these concerns the idea of a “hub.” While I am not convinced that any of the small islands or the towns upon them in the western Indian Ocean served as meaningful hubs, there are certainly two notable exceptions. The first is Mozambique Island from the mid-eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, when Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) replaced it as the administrative center of Portuguese East Africa; the second is Zanzibar Town during the nineteenth century, until its conquest by Great Britain in 1896. Both of these urban centers were, in fact, colonial capitals, which surely highlighted their respective roles as hubs, although they acted as such well beyond the confines of other small islands. Perhaps there are other candidates for inclusion as hubs among the small islands of the western Indian Ocean, such as Kilwa Kisiwani in the late medieval period or Lamu in the seventeenth century, but whatever their significance in regional Indian Ocean history, I remain skeptical of their designation as hubs.¹⁵

When we turn to the idea of “connectivity,” I return to my earlier suggestion that we need to focus on island towns, rather than on islands as whole entities. Except for the smaller islands—Lamu, Mombasa, and Kilwa are good examples here, as their agricultural hinterlands were on the continent—there remained a historical division between town residents and rural inhabitants with respect to their connections beyond the island on which they resided. The former were Muslims, hierarchically organized internally, with a strong externally oriented outlook, while the latter were, until the twentieth century for the most part, non-Muslims and agriculturalists whose village social organization placed them on the fringes of urban society. For instance, on virtually all of the Comoro Islands, a sharp distinction was drawn between urban dwellers and rural inhabitants, whether free or enslaved. In her detailed analysis of the *makabaila*, the *sharifian* elite of Ndzuwani, Sophie Blanchy identifies this class as a “literate, urban, merchant society.” In the same place, she also notes the sharp distinction made on that island between the *makabaila* and the free rural inhabitants, who were known as “bushmen” (*wamat-saha*), as distinct from slaves (*warumwa*) (Blanchy 2016). A similar argument can be made about nineteenth-century Unguja, with its division between the inhabitants of Zanzibar Town and the rest of the islanders, although in that instance both townsmen and rural farmers would arguably have been Muslim. Lacking a major urban center, the same would have been true for the history of Pemba Island as a whole after about 1500.

In the case of the southwest Indian Ocean, it is also abundantly clear that the central location of Madagascar and its intimate links over time both with the Mascarenes, to its east, and the Comoros and the East African littoral, to its west, make it impossible to separate meaningfully this largest of African islands from the small islands of these waters. More broadly considered, I also remain convinced that the connections of the numerous small islands of the western Indian Ocean cannot arbitrarily be isolated from those equally small continental settlements to which they were so often joined by trade, religion, and family.

Finally, what about the subterranean, vegetal rhizome as a metaphor or theoretical approach to the kinds of connectivity with which we are concerned? While I still admire Julia Verne’s ingenious use of the rhizome as an ethnographic method for analyzing the kind of translocality that lies at the center of her study of contemporary Swahili traders, without much more fine detail over time about a whole range of topics

related to small island connectivity in the Indian Ocean, I think that historians do better by sticking to the “network approach” espoused by Francesca Trivellato. Such an approach is readily grasped by the reader and is sufficiently flexible to facilitate a wide range of analytical tools and sources of evidence.¹⁶ The depth and complexity that Verne seeks in her “rhizome approach” is no less available to scholars who appreciate the many dimensions of small island connectivity inherent in a network approach. Still, I think that Verne points the way to making greater sense of the kinds of identity that emerged historically among elite islanders whose travels and connections shifted them between “mobility and situatedness, movement and stability” (Verne 2012, 18). To illustrate this point, let me take the example of everyone’s favorite medieval Muslim traveler, Ibn Battuta.

Extending the brilliant work of Sheldon Pollock (2006) on the rise of a Sanskrit cosmopolis in South and Southeast Asia, Ronit Ricci employs the concept of an “Arabic cosmopolis” to encompass “a shared meta-mode of discourse” that “fostered a consciousness of belonging to a trans-local community” (Ricci 2010, 18, 19; Ricci 2011). It was into this translocal community that Ibn Battuta moved so seamlessly in the fourteenth century as he traveled from Mogadishu to Mombasa and Kilwa, and eventually to the Maldives, the most important small islands of the Islamic world he encountered. Certainly Ibn Battuta was mobile, but he was always moving in a world in which he felt at home. At Kilwa, he makes a very clear distinction between the highly civilized Islamic court of its benevolent ruler, al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman, known as Abu al-Mawahib or “father of gifts,” and the uncivilized mainland “heathen Zanj,” whom his troops regularly raided for booty (Gibb 1983, 112). As Verne concludes (2012, 238), “translocal space offers a way to be constantly at home despite being mobile.” To what extent was this kind of translocality also true for others who participated in the world of Indian Ocean small island connectivity? For a learned individual like Ibn Sumayt, it was certainly the same. Neither he nor Ibn Battuta really ever engaged seriously with individuals or groups who lay outside the Islamic cosmopolis. By way of contrast, however, Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ’s reputation as an Islamic reformer included his outreach to lower class Muslims and the incorporation of African music into local Islamic rituals in Lamu (Kresse 2006, 17–18; Sessemann 2006, 238–39). What was the case for the ordinary Ngazidjans who worked in Zanzibar and were encountered by Kersten in the 1860s? For those men from Iconi who forged marital ties with

Mozambican families in the late nineteenth century, something much less insular (pun intended) was taking place than was experienced by more elite Comorians. What we can perceive in these few examples, then, is a range of possibilities arising from connections among people, things, and ideas in the western Indian Ocean that suggest the possibility of reconstructing a socially and historically thick transregionalism. What is required now is for future researchers to take up this challenge.

NOTES

1. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/hub and <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hub>, accessed July 17, 2015.
2. Quoted in <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/hubbing>, accessed May 5, 2015.
3. All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.
4. See <http://www.aquaportail.com/definition-4370-trait-de-cote.html> and *À l'interface entre terre et mer: la gestion du trait de côte*, Ministère de l'Écologie du Développement durable et de la Mer, November 2009, http://www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/Gestion_du_trait_de_cote.pdf, both accessed July 20, 2015.
5. For a pioneering article on Swahili traders in the early modern period, see Vernet (2015).
6. The authors add the phrase “as stated by Idrisi,” but the reference in Idrisi to curing fish for sale would seem to refer to the Somali and northern Swahili coast, rather than the Comoros (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 20).
7. The use of the name “Afro-Shirazis” reflects the commonly held Comorian traditions that the original Muslim settlers were Shirazis.
8. Bracketed ellipses in original. Hadrami kinship networks apparently functioned in the same way as early as the seventeenth century, for which see Ho (2007, 355).
9. My thanks to Dr Constanze Weise for this translation. I am equally grateful to Dr Iain Walker for sharing a forthcoming French translation of this valuable source and for clarifying several points in the text for me (Walker et al. forthcoming).
10. Kersten also reports that this man told him “about his family of which some members lived in Java and others in Muscat” (Kersten 1871, 232).
11. Iconi is located south of Moroni; together, they were the two leading towns in the Bambao sultanate in southwest Ngazidja.
12. For an intriguing note on the crew of an Indian-owned dhow at Nosy Be, see Sanchez (2007, 123–25).

13. Personal observation, 2003; for a more scientific account, see Lambek [forthcoming](#).
14. An informal interview I conducted with the founder of Bijouterie Ravior in Quatre Bornes, Mauritius, in June 1999, also revealed his family diaspora on several small islands of the southwest Indian Ocean.
15. It is worth noting that Blanchy (2016) describes Ndzuwani as a *noeud* or node, rather than as a *moyeu* or hub.
16. For one example of how the application of a mathematical concept of network and nodal points can be used to illuminate a more complex socio-economic history, see Suzuki (2017).

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, Chanfi. 2006. "Networks of the Shādhiliyya Yashruṭiyya Sufi Order in East Africa." In *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*, edited by Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann, 317–42. Berlin: Lit.
- Ahmed, Saidi Bakari Bin Sultani. 1977. *The Swahili Chronicle of Ngazija*. Edited by Lyndon Harries. Bloomington: Indiana University, African Studies Program.
- Allen, Richard B. 2014. *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Allibert, Claude, and Pierre Vérin. 1996. "The Early Pre-Islamic History of the Comores Islands: Links with Madagascar and Africa." In *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity*, edited by Julian Reade, 461–70. London: Kegan Paul International and British Museum.
- Alpers, Edward A. 1970. "The French Slave Trade in East Africa (1721–1810)". *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 10 (37): 80–124.
- . 2000. "Indian Ocean Africa: The Island Factor." *Emergences: Journal for the Study of Media and Composite Cultures* 10: 373–86.
- . 2009. *East Africa and the Indian Ocean*. Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- . 2016. "Antislavery, Political Rivalries, and Regional Networks in East African Waters, 1877–1883." *Afriques: Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire* 6. <http://afriques.revues.org/617>.
- . Forthcoming. "Africa's Indian Ocean Islands." In *African Islands: Spaces of Transition on a Global Stage*, edited by Toyin Falola, Danielle Porter Sanchez, and Joseph Parrott. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Bakar, Abdourahim Saïd. 1988. "Small Island Systems: A Case Study of the Comoro Islands." *Comparative Education* 24 (2): 181–91.
- Bang, Anne K. 2003. *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family Networks in East Africa, 1860–1925*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

- Bishara, Fahad Ahmad. 2014a. "Paper Routes: Inscribing Islamic Law across the Nineteenth-Century Western Indian Ocean." *Law and History Review* 32 (4): 797–820.
- . 2014b. "Mapping the Indian Ocean World of Gulf Merchants, c.1870–1960." In *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*, edited by Abdul Sheriff and Engseng Ho, 69–93. London: Hurst.
- Blanchy, Sophie. 1995. *Karana et Banians: les communautés commerçantes d'origine indienne à Madagascar*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- . 2016. "Anjouan (Comores), un noeud dans les réseaux de l'océan Indien. Emergence et rôle d'une société urbaine, lettrée et marchande (XVII^e–XX^e c)." *Afriques: Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire* 6. <http://afriques.revues.org/617>.
- Bonate, Liazzat J.K. 2007. "Traditions and Transitions: Islam and Chiefship in Northern Mozambique ca. 1850–1974." PhD diss., University of Cape Town.
- Chaillou, Virginie. 2010. "De l'Afrique orientale aux Mascareignes, Histoire des engagés africains à La Réunion au XIX^e siècle." PhD diss., Université de Nantes.
- Clockers, Alain. 2009. "Les Comoriens de Zanzibar en 1936." *Taarifa: Revue des Archives Départementales de Mayotte* 1: 97–112.
- Freeman-Grenville, Greville S.P. 1962. *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1965. *The French at Kilwa Island: An Episode in Eighteenth-century East African History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- George, Pierre. 1970. *Dictionnaire de la Géographie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Gevrey, A. 1870. *Les Comores*. Éditions du Baobab.
- Gibb, H.A.R., trans. 1983. *Ibn Battûta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354*. London: Darf.
- Guébourg, Jean-Louis. 1999. *Petites îles et archipels de l'océan Indien*. Paris: Karthala.
- Gueunier, N.J. 1994. *Les Chemins de l'Islam à Madagascar*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Hafkin, Nancy Jane. 1973. "Trade, Society, and Politics in Northern Mozambique, c. 1753–1913." PhD diss., Boston University.
- Ho, Engseng. 2007. "The Two Arms of Cambay: Diasporic Texts of Ecumenical Islam in the Indian Ocean." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50 (2–3): 347–61.
- . 2014. "Afterword: Mobile Law and Thick Transregionalism." *Law and History Review* 32 (4): 883–89.
- Kersten, Otto, ed. 1871. *Carl Claus von der Decken's Reisen in Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859 bis 1865*, vol. 2. Leipzig and Heidelberg: C.F. Winter'sche.

- Kresse, Kai. 2006. "Debating *maulidi*: Ambiguities and Transformations of Muslim Identity along the Kenyan Swahili Coast." In *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*, edited by Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann, 209–28. Berlin: Lit.
- Lambek, Michael. Forthcoming. "Gendered Pioneers from Mayotte: An Ethnographic Perspective on Travel and Transformation in the Western Indian Ocean." In *African Islands: Spaces of Transition on a Global Stage*, edited by Toyin Falola, Danielle Porter Sanchez, and Joseph Parrott. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Larson, Pier M. 2009. *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, B.G. 1974. "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7: 377–89.
- Martin, Jean. 1983. *Comores: quatre îles entre pirates et planteurs*, 2 vols. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Monnier, Jehanne-Emmanuelle. 2006. *Esclaves de la Canne à Sucre: Engagés et Planteurs à Nossi-Bé, Madagascar 1850–1880*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Msaidie, Said, Axel Ducourneau, Gilles Boetsch, Guy Longepied, Kassim Papa, Claude Allibert, Ali Ahmed Yahaya, Jacques Chironi, and Michael J. Mitchell. 2011. "Genetic Diversity on the Comoro Islands Shows Early Seafaring as Major Determinant of Human Biocultural Evolution in the Western Indian Ocean." *European Journal of Human Genetics* 19: 89–94.
- Newitt, Malyn. 1972. "Angoche, the Slave Trade, and the Portuguese, c. 1844–1910." *Journal of African History* 13 (4): 659–72.
- . 1983. "The Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade before the 19th Century." *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 23 (89–90): 139–65.
- Nurse Derek, and Thomas J. Hinnebusch. 1993. *Swahili and Sabaki: A Linguistic History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 2006. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pouwels, Randall L. 1987. *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prestholdt, Jeremy. 2008. *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ricci, Ronit. 2010. "Islamic Literary Networks in South and Southeast Asia." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21 (1): 1–28.
- . 2011. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Rombi, Marie-Françoise. 1983. *Le shimaore (île de Mayotte, Comores): première approche d'un parler de la langue comorienne*. PEETERS/SELAF.HAL. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00439181v2/document>.
- . 2003. "Les Langues de Mayotte." In *Les Langues de France*, edited by Bernard Cerquiglini, 305–16. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Saleh, Mohamed Ahmed. 1995. "La communauté zanzibari d'origine comorienne: premiers jalons d'une recherche en cours." *Islam et Sociétés au sud du Sahara* 9: 203–10.
- Sanchez, Samuel. 2007. "Navigation et gens de mer dans le canal du Mozambique: les boutres dans l'activité maritime de Nosy Be et de l'Ouest de Madagascar au XIX^e siècle." In *Madagascar et l'Afrique: entre identité insulaire et appartenances historiques*, edited by Didier Nativel and Faranirina V. Rajaonah, 103–33. Paris: Karthala.
- Sesseemann, Rüdiger. 2006. "African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya." In *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*, edited by Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann, 229–50. Berlin: Lit.
- Sheriff, Abdul. 1987. *Slaves, Spices & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873*. London: James Currey.
- Suzuki, Hideaki. 2017. "The 'Banian' in a Port Town: A Case Study of the Kachchhī Bhatiyā in Nineteenth-Century Zanzibar." In *Changing Horizons of African History*, edited by Awet T. Weldemichael, Anthony A. Lee, and Edward A. Alpers, 149–72. Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Trivellato, Francesca. 2002. "Jews of Leghorn, Italians of Lisbon, and Hindus of Goa: Merchant Networks and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period." In *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, edited by Diogo Ramada Curto and Anthony Molho, 59–89. EUI Working Paper. HEC No. 2002/2, Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico [FI]: European University Institute. <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/id/935/HEC02-02.pdf/>.
- Verne, Julia. 2012. *Living Translocality: Space, Culture and Economy in Contemporary Swahili Trade*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Vernet, Thomas. 2009. "Slave Trade and Slavery on the Swahili Coast, 1500–1750." In *Slavery, Islam and Diaspora*, edited by Behnaz A. Mirzai, Ismael Musah Montana, and Paul E. Lovejoy, 37–76. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- . 2011. "La première traite française à Zanzibar: le journal de bord du vaisseau l'Espérance, 1774–1775." In *Civilisations des mondes insulaires (Madagascar, canal de Mozambique, Mascareignes, Polynésie, Guyanes): mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Claude Allibert*, edited by C. Radimilahy and N. Rajaonarimanana, 477–521. Paris: Karthala.
- . 2015. "East African Travelers and Traders in the Indian Ocean: Swahili Ships, Swahili Mobilities ca. 1500–1800." In *Trade, Circulation, and Flow in*

- the Indian Ocean World*, edited by Michael Pearson, 167–202. Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walker, Iain. 2005. “Mimetic Structuration: Or, Easy Steps to Building an Acceptable Identity.” *History and Anthropology* 16 (2): 187–210.
- . 2014. “Identity and Citizenship among the Comorians of Zanzibar, 1886–1963.” In *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*, edited by Abdul Sheriff and Engseng Ho, 239–66. London: Hurst.
- Walker, Iain, Marie-Aude Fouéré, and Nadine Beckmann. Forthcoming. “Un explorateur allemande à Ngazidja en 1864, Otto Kersten.” *Études Océan Indien*.
- Wright, Henry T. 1984. “Early Seafarers of the Comoro Islands: The Dembeni Phase of the Ninth-Tenth Centuries AD.” *Azania* 19: 13–59.

Connectivity in Motion

Island Hubs in the Indian Ocean World

Schnepel, B.; Alpers, E.A. (Eds.)

2018, XXVI, 452 p. 4 illus., 2 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-59724-9