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increasing the profile and status of earth as a building material is widely acknowledged as the best way in which earthen architecture can be retained in different contexts around the world. As such, the research undertaken in new-build contexts is important in influencing the retention of both tangible and intangible heritage of earthen architecture around the world.

The conservation and preservation of earthen architecture have proved itself to be immensely complex. There is evidence of repair and maintenance from archaeological contexts from the early uses of earth structures. Today, the ongoing development of multidisciplinary approaches to the material will significantly aid our understanding and response to complexities faced throughout the twenty-first century.

Cross-References

- ▶ Authenticity in Archaeological Conservation and Preservation
- ▶ Bam: Archaeological and Social Investigations after the Earthquake
- ▶ Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites
- ▶ Conservation and Preservation in Archaeology in the Twenty-First Century
- ▶ International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS): Scientific Committees and Relationship to UNESCO
- ▶ Near East (Including Anatolia): Origins and Development of Agriculture

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East Africa: Historical Archaeology

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Introduction

For almost four decades, Africanist archaeologists have expressed dissatisfaction with the more dominant definitions of historical archaeology – as either the study of time periods and events for which written sources are available and of societies that have developed a literate tradition (e.g., Deetz 1977) or the era of European expansion and exploration from the fifteenth century onwards (e.g., Hall 1993) or even of the emergence of the modern world (e.g., Orser 1996). Their primary objection to these alternative definitions, most of which originally developed in North America, has been that from the perspective of the African continent, these offer only a partial indication of the potential scope of "historical archaeology," given the existence of a rich legacy of diverse oral sources and the activities of a range of non-European yet external actors at different times both prior to and after CE 1500. Aside from the often Eurocentric bias of several of the more prominent definitions of historical archaeology, concern has also been expressed over the legitimacy and need for the distinction between "historical" and "prehistoric" archaeology, with some scholars arguing for complete abandonment of these terms and the division of intellectual labor they promote. One consequence of this dissatisfaction is that it has generated a rather diverse range of approaches to and definitions of historical archaeology in different parts of the continent and among different scholars, underlining Hall and Silliman's observation that "historical archaeology means different things to different people" (2006: 1). This entry reviews some of these issues and illustrates the changes in approach and theoretical frameworks that have shaped historical archaeology in eastern Africa since the 1950s.

Historical Background

Initially, the practice of historical archaeology in East Africa, as was the case for most parts of the continent, followed the textual model. Publication by Freeman-Grenville (1962) of documents dating from the first to early nineteenth century CE concerning the east coast of Africa made these sources more accessible to archaeologists. However, it is the work of James Kirkman (1959) and Neville Chittick (1974) on East African coastal sites that is more usually considered as representative of the first examples of historical archaeological study in the region. Kirkman, in particular, was one of the first scholars working in the region to explicitly define his investigation of coastal Islamic sites such as Gedi and Ungwana in Kenya, as "historical archaeology," largely because these initial investigations were guided by existing Classical and early Islamic textual sources. The former include the first- to second-century CE Greco-Roman texts, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (~CE 100) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (~CE 150), while the latter comprise diverse geographies such as Al-Ma'sudi's reports in the tenth century and that by Ibn Battuta, based on his travels on the continent during the fourteenth century. The various Swahili Chronicles are another much used set of historical texts. These are locally written documents that record the history of Swahili towns from their foundation to the beginning of the Portuguese period but which were penned much later. There are also a number of relevant Chinese textual accounts from the early second millennium CE, some of which may be based on firsthand observations and are currently guiding efforts to locate possible shipwrecks off the north Kenya coast.

Like many of the first generation of historical archaeologists in North America, Kirkman and Chittick paid more attention to the most visible monumental ruins such as forts and large stone-built towns, rather than on the less obvious archaeological remains, thereby prioritizing the sites that they assumed were associated with "outsiders." In doing so, Kirkman (1959), for example, associated all of the Swahili stone towns as having been founded by Arab "invaders" that he believed once settled along the coast of East Africa. Likewise, Chittick's excavations at Kilwa and Manda relied heavily on the Swahili Chronicles to inform his research. Like Kirkman, Chittick (1974) tended to associate the origins of Swahili coastal stone towns with Arab immigrants, who likely began arriving from the eighth to ninth century.

This tendency to focus more on visible monuments rather than on less obvious archaeological remains, as well as overreliance on written texts, not only excluded indigenous Africans from their own history but also distorted the historical facts. Since the mid-1980s, however, archaeologists working on these Swahili period sites have typically downplayed the "foreign" element to their formation, emphasizing instead local dynamics and contributions. More recently, several research projects undertaken by African archaeologists (e.g., Chami 1999) at Kilwa Kisiwani and other coastal sites including Mafia, Kwale, and Koma and in the Rufiji Delta have overturned most of the original models proposed by Chittick and Kirkman. In particular, these later studies have revealed that at many of these sites there is evidence of pre-Islamic settlements dating as far back as the Stone Age periods. These findings thus contrast with those of scholars who asserted on the basis of written records and a specific focus on the visible archaeological remains that the ninth century was the date for the beginning of settlements along the East African coast, these being established by Arab-Persian immigrants.

As the subdiscipline of historical archaeology has continued to grow and expand geographically, scholars working in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Reid & Lane 2004; Schmidt 2006) have criticized the narrow focus on "the spread of European culture, practices and peoples to other parts of the world" that characterized the historical archaeology in its earlier, largely North American phase. Schmidt (2006: 4), in particular, has argued forcefully that such an understanding needs "repair" because its Eurocentric focus excludes other research areas of significant interest to non-European communities. Methodologically, earlier definitions of historical archaeology have also been criticized for considering the presence of written records as central to the practice of

historical archaeology, a perception that implies an absence of any historical processes and events in the non-Western/nonliterate world prior to the advent of a literary tradition. Reid and Lane (2004: 7) argue that this approach obscures the study of extended periods of the past in areas where literacy appeared relatively late, as was typically the case for much of sub-Saharan Africa and many other parts of the world. Schmidt (2006), meanwhile, has highlighted the potential offered by oral sources to access much "deeper" time periods well before a European presence and which are more conventionally understood to be the realm of prehistorians.

Additionally, the earlier definitions of historical archaeology failed to recognize the existence of "other" non-Western written texts that were produced well before the era of European expansion (Reid & Lane 2004). In Africa, for example, these include ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Chinese, and Amharic texts, all of which recorded the history of indigenous Africans, and in some cases these texts predate the advent of Western literacy. Finally, the temporal range of more dominant definitions is another major problem. Specifically, the onset of European expansion into other parts of the world (from 1498 – when Christopher Columbus first sailed to the Americas) has often been regarded as the date for the beginning of historical archaeology. This seems to imply that there cannot be anything termed as "historical archaeology" prior to the late fifteenth century. Contrary to this idea, however, there have been several studies termed as historical archaeology, particularly along the coast of East Africa, that have extended beyond this temporal boundary, due to their use of both textual and material sources. In short, the older definitions of historical archaeology seem to imply that non-European communities only began making their histories with the arrival of Western writing traditions, something that is manifestly untrue.

Key Issues

Definitions and Methods

Responding to calls to refine earlier definitions and perceptions of historical archaeology, Africanist archaeologists (e.g., Reid & Lane 2004; Pikirayi 2006; Schmidt 2006) have found it more helpful to define their field on the basis of methods used rather than the period and subject of study. Pikirayi (1993: 36), for example, has proposed that historical archaeology in Africa is essentially "the study of sites which can be interpreted with the aid of historical sources such as written documents, oral traditions and historically datable artefacts." His approach is thus one in which the material record is used to test written or oral records to reveal changes within communities who have not necessarily been represented in recorded history. Pikirayi goes on to identify two categories of historical sources that can be integrated in historical archaeology studies, namely, "external" and "internal" sources (2006: 230-32). The former are those produced by "outsiders as direct observers, transcribers (for the case of Africa), and copiers of verbal accounts provided by various visitors to foreign lands" (Pikirayi 2006: 230). Thus, the published firsthand accounts by Europeans in Africa since c. 1500 CE onwards fall within what Pikirayi calls "external sources," as would late first millennium CE and early second millennium accounts compiled by Arab geographers and the early first millennium Classical texts such as the *Periplus*.

On the other hand, internal sources include a range of broadly historical accounts produced by different African societies, such as "oral tradition and histories, myths and personal anecdotes transcribed by professional historians and anthropologists" (Pikirayi 2006: 232). Regardless of which definition is preferred, there is general consensus among Africanist archaeologists that historical archaeology should seek to integrate and interrogate archaeological types of sources such as artifactual, ecofactual, structural, and architectural remains and their contextual, spatial, and temporal associations and characteristics, with other non-archaeological sources that can broadly be defined as "historical."

Escaping Ethnocentrism: Alternatives in Non-Western Settings

The realization of the potential of non-written sources in historical scholarship began in the

1960s, notably through the use of oral traditions to document the histories of those Africans (who constituted the majority of the continent's population) whose histories had never been textually documented. Oral information has been utilized in many ways by archaeologists working in the region, including, for example, for locating and interpreting archaeological sites and materials, in aiding an understanding of potting techniques and functional categories, and in explaining the techniques and symbolism associated with iron production. More generally, archaeologists working in east Africa and elsewhere on the continent began to integrate non-written sources into their works in a range of contexts as part of a broader goal aimed at rewriting the histories of African people.

Initially, much of this work aimed at either verifying or "fleshing out" the oral sources. During the 1950s–1960s, for instance, various archaeological campaigns were undertaken to locate archaeological sites in Uganda, such as Bigo, Munsa, Kibengo, and Kasonko, mentioned in the oral traditions concerning an elite known as the Bacwezi, so as to get a better idea of their function and date of construction. This lead to the proposal by Posnansky (1969) that Bigo was the capital of the pastoral Bacwezi kingdom and that the other sites were part of the same political system. More recent field investigations by Robertshaw (1999) at Munsa and Kibengo, however, suggest that rather than there having been a single mega-state, there were a number of smaller polities each administered from a capital encircled by a complex of ditched earthworks.

Schmidt (1978) also drew on the oral sources concerning the Bacwezi to develop an alternative, structural approach to the study of the region's historical traditions and to extend their application to consideration of a deeper time depth. In particular, he brought together archaeological methods and oral traditions to explain the development and flux of African Iron Age culture from its earliest beginnings (around 500 BCE) in the Buhaya region of Tanzania to contemporary times. Through oral traditions, Schmidt explored several aspects of Haya culture, ranging from the economic systems of iron working and agriculture, to mythology and local spirit mediums, in order to inform his archaeological interpretations. Interestingly, Schmidt found that the Bahaya's conceptualizations of the past clearly related to the patterns and distribution of material remains left by Iron Age peoples some 2500–2000 years ago. A similar study by Mapunda (1995) is another excellent case demonstrating the value of oral tradition and ethnography in archaeological research. In his research on iron-smelting practices and symbolism in the southern highlands along the shore of Lake Tanganyika in Tanzania, Mapunda engaged with the oral tradition and histories of people in the region to identify and locate iron-smelting sites, where he found the remains of bowl furnaces (*Katukutu*) that are, in most cases, invisible on the ground surface.

More recently, the incorporation of non-written sources such as oral traditions and ethnographic information in archaeological studies has gone even further by helping to challenge elements of "received wisdom" concerning the causes of contemporary problems, much of which originated from the "colonial library." One case to demonstrate this concerns the alleged impacts of precolonial African subsistence strategies on the environment. A study by Lane and his colleagues on soil erosion in the Haubi Basin, north central Tanzania, for example, aimed at delineating the link between soil erosion, iron smelting, and human settlement in the area (e.g., Mapunda 2003; Lane 2009) from the perspective of historical ecology. Colonial and postcolonial narratives had pointed to local iron-smelting practices in the region as the main cause of soil erosion, assuming that this practice involved the mass harvesting of fuel wood that led to deforestation. Contrary to this idea, oral traditions and ethnographic data collected by Mapunda, coupled with the results of archaeological survey and excavation (Lane 2009) and metallurgical analysis of iron-smelting remains (Mapunda 2003), revealed that the smelting technology practiced in the area was fuel efficient and was unlikely to be the primary cause of deforestation since smelters used only three to four tree species of hardwoods for charcoal and these made up

only a fraction of local forests that existed prior to soil erosion (cf. Schmidt 1997).

A more recent historical archaeology study by Biginagwa (2012) examined aspects of the animal economies practiced by local communities inhabiting the Lower Pangani River Basin in Tanzania, to discern whether any changes to these economies could be plausibly linked to the expansion of the caravan trade in the nineteenth century. The study aimed at recovering archaeological evidence from a sample of settlements known to have been involved in the nineteenth-century caravan trade. Analysis of the faunal remains sought to determine whether herd management strategies and culling practices had been modified so as to generate a surplus supply of meat that could be sold to the passing caravans. The study relied on multiple sources of information, including written and cartographic nineteenth-century European sources, oral traditions and histories, and archaeological data encompassing artifactual, structural, stratigraphic, and faunal remains, in order to address those objectives. The existing archaeological records and written and oral historical accounts were used to help locate settlements that had *direct* contact with trading caravans, while oral information and ethnographic studies were used to help explain some of the patterning in the zooarchaeological record – such as the high presence of rodents in the faunal assemblages – and also to help identify different fishing practices. Artifactual evidence recovered from these settlements was cross-referenced and analyzed, and as with the faunal remains, oral traditions were used to aid interpretation of cultural materials and to help understand local practices surrounding those materials.

By cross-referencing oral historical and archaeological data, it became clear, for example, that many of the primary and secondary written sources either underestimated or overestimated (and in some cases overlooked completely) important aspects of the trade and social lives of the community under study. For example, hunting is not given much attention in the historical texts, yet the zooarchaeological data obtained by this study indicates that hunting of wild animal species formed an important aspect of the subsistence strategies of nineteenth-century Zigua communities in the Lower Pangani. Additionally, while the dominance of smaller mammals such as rodents and elephant shrews in the faunal assemblage could be misinterpreted (based on the Prey Choice Model derived from Foraging Theory) as an indicator of subsistence stress, the Zigua oral traditions consistently claimed that inclusion of smaller mammals in the diet was due to their palatability, and not because of shortages of meat supply. Another example concerns the misperception of the Zigua island settlements. These have long been regarded in the primary historical sources as having originated in the nineteenth century as refuges, built in response to the increasing threat of cattle raiding by neighboring pastoralists, which is known to have intensified during this period. On the contrary, both absolute and relative dates from these sites indicate that these settlements predate the nineteenth century (Biginagwa 2012), suggesting that some other cause lay behind their creation. Generally, it can be said that most of the written texts consulted for this study tended to lack sufficient spatiotemporal specificity of historical events against which the archaeological data could be tested and cross-referenced, making it even more critical to also incorporate the oral evidence.

International Perspectives

Current historical archaeological research is well placed to contribute to ongoing debates on the framing of capitalist global relations, which is currently receiving considerable scholarly attention. Specifically, research findings from several studies in the region help assessments of the place and status of indigenous Africans within the nineteenth-century world economic system that ringed the Indian Ocean. For example, given the evidence for localized selectivity in the type of imported trade goods found on nineteenth-century sites in different areas and used to procure ivory and other key raw materials, it can be argued that local consumers were not simply passive receivers of "trinkets." Instead, as argued

by Croucher (2011), these commodities were actively desired by nineteenth-century East African consumers and like any fashionable commodity were highly subject to shifting fashions and cultural recontextualization.

For example, in her work on nineteenth-century Zanzibar clove plantations, Croucher notes the dominance of mass-produced European ceramics on such plantations, which contrasts with their virtual absence on settlements outside the plantations. In interpreting these in the context of the development of consumer culture and identity during the nineteenth century, Croucher argues that the imported wares had social functions, such as for reinforcing social bonds between groups of plantation residents and bridging the gap between plantation owners, enslaved laborers, and others living upon plantation sites. She further argues that neighborliness, which was a crucial part of Zanzibari plantation society, was cemented through reciprocal obligations of lending goods that had acquired social value (including those mass-produced imported ceramics) to those in need. After all, residents on plantations shared a common cultural understanding that such dishes were to be used at particular social occasions. Thus, Croucher (2011: 180) is of the view that the social norms of reciprocity not only worked to cement social unity and community cohesion but also served to highlight wealth disparities and unequal relations between those who had and those who did not have such socially valued goods.

Moreover, as Croucher (2011: 184) argues, acceptance or rejection of European manufactured goods was likely predicated on preexisting patterns of taste in the new markets to which these goods were taken by the passing caravans. Along the Lower Pangani River (northern Tanzania), for example, the use of pre-European contact shell beads (obtained from the coast) would have helped to shape the variety of beads desirable in local markets during European contact period, such that changing densities of beads of a particular color and/or shape in particular assemblages better reflect the manner in which commodity exchange was incorporated into local cultural contexts than shifts in the direction or scale of international bead supply. Thus, for example, at former settlements along the nineteenth-century northern caravan route in the Pangani Basin, cylindrical white glass beads dominate the imported glass bead assemblage throughout their occupation, which ended in the early twentieth century. Despite other shapes and colors of beads being readily available, oral histories indicate that the local Zigua occupants chose white beads because of the significance of the color white in a variety of cultural practices. For instance, the beads were used as charms to protect children from being seen by witches. They were also worn by young men when wooing women, by all participants in clan rituals, and by those attending cultural ceremonies to enshrine someone to a traditional title like chieftainship. Even though these beads were cheap and easy to acquire, so were other types, and the archaeological evidence suggests that Wazigua were highly selective in their consumer choices, even when presented with a wide range of global commodities. Contemporary historical sources support this and suggest that bead manufacturers in Europe adjusted their production strategies to take into account such variations in "taste" and cultural preference (Palaver 2009), underlining Croucher's observation that "capitalist forms and processes are continually made and unmade" (2011: 186).

Future Directions

Recent archaeological work undertaken in East Africa serves to demonstrate how historical archaeology studies can and should be designed with a view to interrogating multiple sources, both written and non-written. In doing so, such studies will serve to supplement, cross-reference, and/or correct oral and written sources, thus bringing a new understanding of the society under study. It was through a combination of multiple sources, for instance, that the Lower Pangani historical archaeology study discussed above was able to develop new understanding of

several issues pertaining to the status and general lives of Africans as they were steadily integrated into the global nineteenth-century economic system. Other studies are now starting to explore the nature of the colonial encounters that followed and in particular how European powers used space and architecture to exert and express their authority. Others still have begun to explore the changes in the nature of slavery and especially the shift from a "domestic"-oriented system with a limited export component to one dominated by larger-scale export coupled with the growth of local plantation-based chattel slavery. There is also growing interest in the underwater heritage of the coastal zone, both in terms of shipwrecks and the extraction of marine resources.

There are many gaps, however, partly because it is in only recent decades that the archaeology of the last c. 500 years has become a legitimate field of study. Topics that would warrant further investigation include investigating responses by African societies to the opportunities and constraints introduced by the arrival of non-African groups, and subsequent repercussions of these in creation or destruction of ethnic identities; research on the perceptions, valuation, and processes of integration and consumption by African groups of a variety of exotic imported commodities in the region; and the nature of land use, subsistence base, and settlement pattern of African groups prior to, during, and after contacts with non-African groups.

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- ▶ Connah, Graham
- ▶ Kirkman, James
- ▶ Oral Sources and Oral History
- ▶ Posnansky, Merrick
- ▶ Schmidt, Peter R.
- ▶ Southern Africa: Historical Archaeology
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East Africa: Museums

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Introduction and Historical Background

The first East African museums, like other early museums in Africa, were introduced during colonial times. They were started either by amateurs or professionals interested in particular scientific disciplines such as earth sciences, botany and zoology, archaeology and paleontology, and ethnography or by colonial governments as places of study, collecting and exhibiting nature, and/or local people's cultural heritage.

The museums in East Africa were at the beginning all located in the big capital cities notably Nairobi in Kenya, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and Kampala in Uganda. These often took the form of natural history museums with strong ethnographic component to depict "the natives and their cultures," the geology and land forms, and nature in "its raw form" of animals and plants. This was mostly for the colonialist administration and settler communities' consumption and enjoyment.

The museum was seen as a mirror of local traditional society and nature. To Africans, their culture, and their imaginary natural environment he coexisted with that was portrayed as a "unique jungle" with its "Big Five". The museum also provided an excellent research space and a facility for international partnerships in many scientific disciplines for amateurs, and enthusiasts, as well as well-established researchers of European and North American extraction of whom many were from the elite families of colonial-settler background.

Until the early 1980s, East African museums were therefore nongovernmental organizations that provided entry points to the unlimited research opportunities within East African countries. They attracted partnerships with Western researchers eager to establish a foothold in the continent, renowned for its rich heritage, including evidence of human origins. This made the museums in East Africa an exclusive property of the privileged white elite, who even after independence continued to ensure that their interests remained intact through ensuring powerful patronage structures both at local/political and international levels.

The museums in this context were therefore divorced from the common person, the African majority who were part of the objects on display. More so, the museums they were located in areas where Africans were rarely allowed to venture during the colonial periods except as servants. When they were, it was within very specific days and times. School children were transported in and out by buses. Like Western museums, most remained places of curiosities with little to do with national identity and community ownership.

With independence and the subsequent development of African heritage professionals, who began to question the status quo, changes came slowly but steadily. Kenya, in particular, with the interest and energy of the renowned Leakey family who collectively ran its museums for over 30 years, and who used their name and