**Chapter 2**

**Imperial Beginnings**

The few Europeans who visited the west-central coast of Madagascar prior to the eighteenth century described the inhabitants of this region as cattle herders.[[1]](#footnote-1) They lived along rivers, taking advantage of the fertility of riverbanks for growing crops, and used the rivers to travel between the coast and interior.[[2]](#footnote-2) European descriptions, however, hinted at a dramatic military revolution within western Madagascar during this century. In 1616, a Portuguese priest described bloody battles between people living in the west-central coastal village of Sahadia and their enemies, the “Suculambes.”[[3]](#footnote-3) For the next several decades, few Europeans mentioned the Sakalava, but at the start of the eighteenth century, observers noted that the Sakalava were attacking the northwest and southwest coasts of the island.[[4]](#footnote-4) These areas were centers of trade, located about two hundred miles to the north and south of the original Sakalava state. Following the conquest of these regions, the Sakalava gained control of most of the ports in Madagascar.

 Sakalava expansion and aggression on the western shores of Madagascar occurred over a hundred years, from around 1610 to 1710. Prior to the 1690s, few European ships visited the west-central coast of the island, yet there was a growth of interest by European captains in purchasing food and slaves there before the turn of the eighteenth century.[[5]](#footnote-5) European observations hinted at the transformation of the region into a Sakalava-controlled export center. The few Europeans passing along the shoreline recorded descriptions of the Sakalava and their military and commercial power. These observers included merchants, Portuguese missionaries, and a shipwrecked Englishman named Robert Drury.[[6]](#footnote-6) Other Europeans passed through neighboring regions of Madagascar and frequently mentioned the movements of the Sakalava, especially in the trading ports of St. Augustine’s Bay and the northwestern ports frequented by Portuguese and Dutch traders.[[7]](#footnote-7)

 Another body of evidence described the early history of the Sakalava state and its consolidation into an empire. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, European visitors became interested in gathering histories, folklore, and traditions from communities in Madagascar. Taken from recognized leaders and their historians, the publications detailed the genealogies of contemporary rulers and their rise to power.[[8]](#footnote-8) A French captain, Charles Guillain, wrote one of the earliest and most influential collections of Sakalava traditions. In 1845, he published *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar.* He used oral histories taken from Malagasy he met along the coast, along with earlier observations of Europeans, to write this book as a complete history of the Sakalava. His first chapter was entitled, “The history of the Sakalava from their origins to 1812,” and he cited Sakalava traditions as the primary source for this history.[[9]](#footnote-9) Guillain’s writing described an “instinct for conquest” and a desire to rule over neighboring groups as the impetus for the expansion of the Sakalava state during the seventeenth century.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Guillian’s publication and similar ones written by missionaries and anthropologists have been influential sources for scholars seeking to understand the early history of the Sakalava.[[11]](#footnote-11) Sakalava traditions described the existence of a strong and dominant Sakalava Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, according to traditions, one early Sakalava ruler “was ambitious and animated by a desire to develop the growing strength of the Sakalava; he understood, without a doubt, that, for this to happen, he must exercise his absolute authority...”[[12]](#footnote-12) Written during a period of encroaching Merina and European power, these traditions extolled legendary leaders and their exploits in the past. They also confirmed the legitimacy of Sakalava rulers who inherited rule from their ancestors. The European recorders of these traditions were also concerned with identifying legitimate Sakalava rulers, who could work with the French colonial state.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Despite the influence of more contemporary concerns on the traditions, some scholars have relied on them to make sense of the development of the Sakalava kingship.[[14]](#footnote-14) Recently, anthropologists, especially Gillian Feeley-Harnik, have been critical of labeling Malagasy religious beliefs and practices, including divine kingship, traditional. She has argued that many of the important “traditions” of Madagascar were in fact nineteenth-century developments.[[15]](#footnote-15) The nineteenth-century landscape of power and identity in Madagascar was drastically different from that of the seventeenth century and Feeley-Harnik is right to caution against conclusions about past beliefs.

 African historians using oral traditions to study pre-colonial African societies have dealt with similar issues and suggest how traditions could be used to interpret the priorities and beliefs of communities.[[16]](#footnote-16) Despite problems in interpreting traditions, many scholars have insisted, “empirical knowledge of the African past may be derived from close analysis of oral texts and cultural forms associated with them.”[[17]](#footnote-17) In the case of the Sakalava, traditions illuminated major themes in the creation of the Sakalava state and empire. Traditions described the travels of the Sakalava leaders from the southeast to the west of Madagascar.[[18]](#footnote-18) They asserted that the Sakalava, through their superior organization and military power, were able to claim sovereignty over the area along the western shores of Madagascar.[[19]](#footnote-19) Sakalava traditions also traced the adoption of certain religious beliefs due to these migrations. These beliefs became significant in the exercise of political authority in nineteenth century Madagascar.[[20]](#footnote-20) According to traditions, the Sakalava learned of religious practices from the southeast of the island, especially divination. These practices were similar to those followed elsewhere on the island and tied to Muslim and East African divination practices as well.[[21]](#footnote-21) The influence of Islam on Sakalava rituals contributed to the belief held by some Europeans that the Sakalava kings were descended from the prophet Mohammed or were, at the very least, of Arab descent.[[22]](#footnote-22)

One way to understand these Malagasy traditions is to compare them with traditions from the East African coast and the Comoro islands. Swahili traditions described the arrival of foreign Shirazi leaders to various port cities throughout the East African coast. Their arrival during the thirteenth century started a new period of Islamization along the coast.[[23]](#footnote-23) Rulers and aristocrats in Swahili port cities began to assert their power through claims of Shirazi ancestry.[[24]](#footnote-24) In the Comorian version, the Shirazi also settled in the Comoro Islands and portions of Madagascar, linking the populations of these islands with those of East Africa.[[25]](#footnote-25) In Malagasy traditions, the migrants also travelled to the southeast of Madagascar.[[26]](#footnote-26) These migration traditions from East Africa, the Comoros, and Madagascar appear to date from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, a period of increasing trade between East Africa and the Persian Gulf region. [[27]](#footnote-27)

Along the East African coast, historians have described how Africans incorporated themselves into the Indian Ocean world, through trade, migration, and religion. Through this incorporation, assertions of foreign origins justified social stratification and the domination of oceanic trade by foreign elites.[[28]](#footnote-28) Archeologists have unearthed trading posts throughout Madagascar, including along the southeastern coast that connected the island with trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula and Indian subcontinent. Malagasy traditions linked coastal Malagasy groups, particularly the Antaloatra, with others throughout the Indian Ocean. Likewise, the Sakalava used traditions to assert their ties to regions in and around Madagascar, especially after the rulers converted to Islam during the nineteenth century.[[29]](#footnote-29)

For this reason, Sakalava traditions are helpful for making sense of the nineteenth-century alliances of the Sakalava rulers, not as much for understanding events further in the past. Therefore, within this chapter, oral traditions are used to help understand the chronology of rulers among the Sakalava.[[30]](#footnote-30) These genealogies were kept carefully by the Sakalava monarchies, thanks to the importance of royal ancestry throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[[31]](#footnote-31) This chapter is also based upon European written sources, sources that allow us to examine the seventeenth-century history of the Sakalava state and its development into a recognizable empire. These sources have certain limitations as well, as they reflect European perceptions of statehood and empire.

Despite the difficulties in making sense of the early history of the Sakalava, tracing the beginnings of the empire is important for making sense of how Sakalava leaders dominated interactions on the island and mediated contact with Europeans.



Map 4: West-Central Madagascar

**Rivers and Cattle**

 Traditions described the proto-Sakalava as originating in the southeast of the island and traveling westward, towards the Onilahy and Fiheraña rivers of southwestern Madagascar.[[32]](#footnote-32) The people then moved northwards and reached the Morondava River, where access to fresh water and the green growth in the surrounding environment helped convince the travelers to stay near its shores.[[33]](#footnote-33) To the north was the Tsiribihina River (or, according to one traveler, “Tsijobóhina, which cannot be waded through”).[[34]](#footnote-34) Fertile land teeming with wildlife covered the land in between the two rivers. This island of growth contrasted with the drier surrounding environment. Europeans later described the “rich alluvial soil” along these rivers as “remarkably fertile,” which probably encouraged people to settle on the shores of the rivers.[[35]](#footnote-35)

 The Sakalava renamed this region of west-central Madagascar *Menabe*, or “very red,” the red symbolizing power and strength, as well as describing the color of the soil in the region.[[36]](#footnote-36) One tradition describes how the Sakalava founded their kingdom in Menabe. At a chosen location, the Sakalava placed the bodies of “a man, a woman, a magnificent red steer, and a goat” into a deep pit. Then they poured the blood of the steer over the others.[[37]](#footnote-37) The burial of these bodies, blessed with the blood, represented Sakalava’s desire to reside in the region. Another tradition described how divine intervention, in the form of an enormous red bull descending from the sky, led a Sakalava king to victory over his opponents. Following this victory, the king named the region Menabe, in honor of the red bull.[[38]](#footnote-38)

 Traditions also described how the Sakalava founded the *Maroseraña* kingdom in Menabe, along the Morondava River before 1600.[[39]](#footnote-39) According to one interpretation, the term *serana* in Maroseraña referred to medicine and the name of the kingdom meant the rulers had much (*maro*) medicine. The word medicine alluded to the king's domination of ritual power via his priests (*ombiasy*) and their amulets (*ody*).[[40]](#footnote-40) In this interpretation, early leaders had preferential access to the ombiasy and, over time, their spiritual power came to constitute a belief in divine kingship. According to traditional histories, even at this early stage, the Sakalava kingdom rested upon the domination of rituals by its leaders and their legendary feats of strength.

 The constant war and conflict in western Madagascar described by Europeans made it more likely that subjects joined the kingdom in search of Sakalava protection.[[41]](#footnote-41) During the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, according to Europeans and Malagasy traditions, Andriamandazoala (Dianmazoto or Andrianmazoto[[42]](#footnote-42)) ruled over the Maroseraña Sakalava kingdom.[[43]](#footnote-43) Portuguese missionaries encountered this leader around 1613, although traditions placed his rule as beginning several years earlier. Traditions described how he convinced his followers it was his divine destiny to rule over west-central Madagascar.[[44]](#footnote-44) He oversaw the centralization of Sakalava power. The Sakalava king led a large number of dependents and used them to extend his power within the Menabe region.[[45]](#footnote-45) Europeans revealed that the king had at least five hundred subjects with him when Portuguese missionaries arrived on the coast in 1613.[[46]](#footnote-46) How did Andriamandazoala manage to gather enough supporters that the Portuguese believed the coast to be well populated?

 The king’s subjects probably desired stability and protection under his rule during a period of increased danger of enslavement, perhaps due to the expansion of the slave trade in northwestern Madagascar. [[47]](#footnote-47) Around 1665, a Frenchman living on the east coast of Madagascar described the movements of predatory raiders throughout the island to gather slaves for the northwest ports.[[48]](#footnote-48) These attackers likely targeted the Sakalava region of the island as well, which may have prompted the development of a strong military to defend Sakalava subjects and nearby communities who became part of the state. During periods of ecological stress, communities battled for access to resources.[[49]](#footnote-49) Such stress may have even encouraged the development of the Merina state, as well as the expansion of the Sakalava state.[[50]](#footnote-50) Exports of food items set off small but perceptible waves in Malagasy communities on the east and west coasts of the island. These challenges allowed the new rulers to come to power, rulers that could ally with the powerful Sakalava and other leaders and guarantee the stability of their communities.

 In addition, Andriamandazoala’s army may have threatened neighboring communities, such as those in Sahadia, in addition to defending Sakalava subjects.[[51]](#footnote-51) Drury stated that Sakalava rulers gained the support of their subjects by providing them with supplies of cattle and slaves gained in wars of expansion. Rulers also tried to maintain good relations with the first occupants of the land.[[52]](#footnote-52) According to Drury, the kings gave people already inhabiting the region of Menabe, the *Vazimba* (the *tompon-tany*, “original land owners”), land along the riverbanks, providing them with a means for survival, even as he instituted a new government for controlling their commerce and labor.[[53]](#footnote-53) To ally with these inhabitants, the Sakalava rulers intermarried with local families and adopted many of their cultural beliefs, including the worship of ancestors who previously had inhabited the land.[[54]](#footnote-54) This practice likely began during Andriamandazoala’s rule, as he sought to assuage the fears of the groups he conquered and gain additional followers.[[55]](#footnote-55)

 By the early eighteenth century, conquests led to the establishment of Sakalava tributaries throughout Menabe. Europeans observed that conquered peoples sent the Sakalava king an annual tribute in the form of silk, rice, sheep, vegetables, and probably slaves, in return for the cessation of war with the Sakalava.[[56]](#footnote-56) Tributary states retained, at least ostensibly, much of their independence and freedom. For instance, Vezo fishermen of the west coast later claimed that while they were tributaries to the Sakalava, they were never subservient.[[57]](#footnote-57) As head of this nascent empire, it was likely that the Sakalava king Andriamandazoala did not possess direct control of all of the provinces, but was gradually asserting his power through the threat of force and integrating new groups through a process of intermarriage.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Andriamandazoala’s rule probably coincided with the spread of new agricultural techniques and crops in the region.[[59]](#footnote-59) Around 1527, a Portuguese visitor to southwestern Madagascar described finding little food for purchase.[[60]](#footnote-60) By 1613, Andriamandazoala provided the visiting Portuguese priests with plentiful food.[[61]](#footnote-61) While these Portuguese did not list the food provided by the Sakalava, people in the northwest during this time possessed stores of rice, “millet,” “mungo [mangahazo or manioc],” beans, peas, nuts, bananas, ginger, sugarcane, and limes.[[62]](#footnote-62) This description revealed that farmers in Madagascar had begun successfully cultivating crops from the Americas. [[63]](#footnote-63) These new crops, including maize, sweet potatoes, and manioc, became dietary staples on the island, especially in west-central Madagascar.[[64]](#footnote-64) Drier western and southern regions of Madagascar never supported extensive rice farming, but growing crops such as manioc provided insurance in case of drought or other natural disasters.[[65]](#footnote-65) In Menabe, manioc and maize production quickly surpassed earlier rice cultivation.[[66]](#footnote-66) When European traders purchased rice from Sakalava ports, much of this rice was imported from the interior of the island, and the Sakalava fed their families manioc, maize, callavances (a white bean), and milk.[[67]](#footnote-67)

Andriamandazoala likely benefited from the introduction of new plants around this period to increase agriculture in Menabe, especially on royal fields perhaps worked by slaves.[[68]](#footnote-68) The Sakalava king captured and enslaved men, women, and children in raids on his neighbors, as well as purchasing slaves from other groups throughout the island. Andriamandazoala, according to Portuguese reports, owned slaves originating from other regions of the island and one slave told them that she had been transported across three countries (*pays*).[[69]](#footnote-69) The slaves may have also been used in Sakalava military campaigns.[[70]](#footnote-70)

 Despite these innovations, Andriamandazoala did not create the expansive empire that later defined the Sakalava kingdom, as the kingdom's borders barely extended beyond Menabe during his lifetime, but his heirs completed the process of Sakalava expansion. Andriamandazoala had many children, but it appears that, traditionally, the eldest male would take his throne. His son, Andriamandréci, reportedly ruled the Sakalava state but died without any male heirs. After his death, the son of his brother received the throne.[[71]](#footnote-71) This king, Andriandahifotsy (ruled from 1610-1685, according to traditions[[72]](#footnote-72)), reportedly inherited the rule over a considerable number of other claimants.[[73]](#footnote-73) Andriandahifotsy’s name referred to his contact with whites according to some later observers (*fotsy* means white in Malagasy), or perhaps to his “white” “Arab” origins in the southeast of the island.[[74]](#footnote-74) This Sakalava king supposedly enlarged the Sakalava state beyond the Menabe region and expanded towards the south by 1685.[[75]](#footnote-75) The Sakalava remembered Andriandahifotsy for creating a Sakalava commercial monopoly across much of west-central Madagascar and for being perhaps the first Sakalava ruler to sell commodities to Europeans.[[76]](#footnote-76)

According to traditions, Andriandahifotsy established a permanent center of power along the shores of the Morondava River and near the burial site of his ancestors. Andriandahifotsy installed his Sakalava capital at the village of Mahabo, located in the Menabe region.[[77]](#footnote-77) Mahabo was a convenient base for controlling long-distance trade in the region. From Mahabo, Andriandahifotsy extended his reach to the west, along the shores of the Morondava River and the coast of the Mozambique Channel. He founded a trading port at the mouth of the Morondava River, also named Morondava. Andriandahifotsy not only established an administrative capital in the interior of Madagascar, but also oversaw the development of the first Sakalava port city intended to attract global trade.[[78]](#footnote-78)

Morondava, however, was not as easy to locate as St. Augustine's Bay and few seventeenth-century Europeans visited it in search of trading goods. The port did not become an important entrepôt until the Sakalava had solidified their hold on western Madagascar. It was hardly surprising that Europeans failed to locate Morondava on maps or travel guides prior to 1700.[[79]](#footnote-79) It was not until 1703, after the extension of Sakalava power along the west coast, that the English East India pilot guide described Morondava. One English guide stated, “Youngoule or Mandeota, alias Morondava, is a very convenient port for trade,” and then gave a description of how to anchor near the port.[[80]](#footnote-80)

European captains began to recognize Morondava (also known as Young Owl or “Séclave”) as an importance source for food and slaves in Madagascar during the eighteenth century.[[81]](#footnote-81) By the eighteenth century, the port began attracting Europeans seeking supplies of food and slaves. A century after it was founded, an English captain described the port as welcoming for Europeans seeking provisions for their vessels. There was “a wood very convenient for wooding” and sources of fresh water nearby the anchorage.[[82]](#footnote-82) The location of the port also allowed foreign traders easy access to the Sakalava capital of Mahabo where the king resided. The city was just a few days’ trip up the river. When ships arrived, the king could easily travel towards the coast with his soldiers and oversee trading negotiations.[[83]](#footnote-83) By creating the port of Morondava, Andriandahifotsy successfully linked trade from the interior of the island to the west coast port and cemented the control of Sakalava monarchs over exchanges in this region.[[84]](#footnote-84)

 Subsequent generations remembered Andriandahifotsy for being the first to attack coastal communities in southwestern Madagascar and the first to arm his soldiers with firearms.[[85]](#footnote-85) In fact, his warriors more likely carried only spears. Until around 1700, it does not appear that Sakalava monarchs imported firearms from Europeans for use in battle, although guns may have been fired on ceremonial occasions.[[86]](#footnote-86) Later pictures and descriptions of the Sakalava leaders provide a representation of the link between firearms and power.[[87]](#footnote-87) The first appearance of guns to Madagascar began during the seventeenth century, as the French provided them to the Malagasy in the southern part of the island. European slave traders also bought slaves with guns in eastern and northwestern Madagascar. Andriandahifotsy began exporting slaves on Dutch vessels during this period, but Sakalava soldiers do not appear to have used guns in warfare as a result.[[88]](#footnote-88) It was unlikely that access to these technologies helped the Sakalava warriors, who appear to have focused on quick victories and the rapid seizure of slaves and goods.[[89]](#footnote-89)

 Traditions probably mentioned the use of firearms in order to emphasize the military prowess of Andriandahifotsy, an emphasis confirmed in European sources.[[90]](#footnote-90) In 1665, a group of forty-five Frenchmen sailed to the west-central coast of Madagascar, a region seldom visited by Europeans.[[91]](#footnote-91) The French commander found a welcoming river inlet and went ashore to negotiate with a local ruler, named “Lahe Foutchy” [Andriandahifotsy]. The French narrator described “Lahe Foutchy” as not only one of the richest lords of this region, but one of the greediest. After the chief refused to sell the Frenchmen cattle for cheap prices, the French commander led his troops inland, into a region rich in cattle and, the French hoped, possibly gold. The French forces met an army numbering 12,000-15,000 men, armed with spears. The Malagasy, led by “Lahe Foutchy,” massacred all of the soldiers, save one, a Portuguese man who hid and escaped to the small French trading post in the south of the island.[[92]](#footnote-92) According to this description, Andriandahifotsy was willing to trade with passing Europeans but only on his terms. He was determined to prevent Europeans from trading with rival groups on the island, a practice continued by his descendents. The king used his large army (although probably numbering in the hundreds, not thousands) and violence to assert his monopoly on trade.

A few years later, the French sent a ship to explore the west coastline.[[93]](#footnote-93) In passing the region controlled by Andriandahifotsy, the French captain sent a small ship to the beach, where the sailors met with some Malagasy. They appeared peaceful and the French ship came to anchor along the coast. Around four or five hundred Malagasy approached the shoreline with refreshments and several of them asked for permission to see the ship. About fifty or sixty of them, including, he remarked, the wife of one of the local chiefs, came aboard. The captain remained onshore with some of his soldiers to sign a peaceful trading agreement with the chief.[[94]](#footnote-94)

The people on board suddenly seized the French pilot and fired a canon onboard. At that sound, the locals on the shore fell upon the French, who had not brought their weapons. The Sakalava massacred all of the Frenchmen. On board, the Sakalava killed two French sailors and injured another three or four more. As the sailors reached for their weapons, the Malagasy jumped into the ocean and swam ashore. The woman remained on board, but they quickly discovered she was a slave wearing a chief’s clothing as a disguise. The pilot set sail from the coast with only six healthy sailors aboard. He returned to Fort Dauphin with news of the deaths and the French mourned their loss, especially of the captain and the “commis [trading representative].”[[95]](#footnote-95)

The French narrator, Martin, retold these two events to provide an example of the problems Europeans encountered in negotiating with the natives of Madagascar and to serve as a warning to merchants visiting the west coast.[[96]](#footnote-96) In both episodes, the Sakalava ruler demonstrated an increased mistrust of Europeans, perhaps developed from knowledge about European conduct elsewhere on the island. The slave girl dressing as a noblewoman also indicated a level of understanding by the Sakalava of European hierarchy, as they even attempted to subvert European ideas of hierarchy. By 1665, the Sakalava ruler was already asserting his power in trading negotiations with Europeans.

Martin provided a peaceful conclusion to these violent events. Shortly after the second massacre, the Sakalava king sent a troop of soldiers to Fort Dauphin, where they had an audience with French colonial officials. Andriandahifotsy made peace with the French and welcomed them as traders into his territory.[[97]](#footnote-97) Despite these early violent encounters, the Sakalava ruler appeared to have decided that he wanted to attract European traders in search of food and slaves. After such exploits, Andriandahifotsy's posthumous name was fittingly “Andrianhaning'ha-Arivou” (lord missed by thousands).[[98]](#footnote-98)

**Dynastic Expansion to the South**

 By 1685, the kingdom of the Maroseraña was powerful, if unstable. When Andriamanetriarivo (“Rer Timmononngarevo” or “Timovareva,” ruled from 1680/5 to 1712) inherited leadership, he struggled to defeat his two younger brothers who wanted to control the throne.[[99]](#footnote-99) Previously, traditions seem to suggest a rule of inheritance by male heirs, but following the death of Andriandahifotsy, there appeared to be no firm rule of succession firmly in place. Some traditions suggested this was due to the practice of incest.[[100]](#footnote-100) Historians have suggested that the practice of integrating the leaders of conquered groups into the Sakalava ruling family led to “dynastic in-fighting” and “permanent factionalism among Sakalava ruling elites.”[[101]](#footnote-101) To establish his rule, the new king Andriamanetriarivo used military force to expel both brothers from his kingdom. Powerful men in their own right, they both gathered followers and formed their own armies. Rather than continue fighting for control of Menabe, the brothers seized the opportunities presented to the north and south of the Morondava River.[[102]](#footnote-102)

 One of Andriamanetriarivo's brothers moved to the south to attack the profitable trading port of St. Augustine's Bay, with a rumored nine thousand soldiers.[[103]](#footnote-103) At the time of his attack, perhaps during the first years of the eighteenth century, another southern group (the Mahafaly?) invaded the region near the Onilahy River.[[104]](#footnote-104) Imports of French arms may have assisted the southerners, who were long-time enemies of the people of St. Augustine’s Bay.[[105]](#footnote-105) Simultaneously, the “northern enemy,” the “Saccalauvors,” invaded St. Augustine's Bay, having travelled over a hundred miles on foot from Menabe. These battles continued into the first decade of the eighteenth century.[[106]](#footnote-106) Drury described in vivid detail the bloody battles fought between the Sakalava and the Malagasy already living in the region, which he called Feraignher.[[107]](#footnote-107) Rather than responding to local pleas for peace and attending a *kabary* (a meeting of local chiefs, the traditional way of ending warfare), the Sakalava warriors pressed onwards until they controlled the western coast from the Morondava River almost to the shores of the Onilahy.[[108]](#footnote-108)

 Andriamanetriarivo's brother seized control of various villages between St. Augustine's Bay and Menabe. Afterwards, he established a strong tribute state at Tulear (Toliara). He cemented the ties with the local rulers through the *fati-dra*, a blood brotherhood ceremony practiced by the Sakalava.[[109]](#footnote-109) This custom, referred to as a “blood-covenant” by an English missionary visiting Menabe during the nineteenth century, was also found in Africa. He described it as “an absolute guarantee for safety and assistance from the king or chief with whom it is made...”[[110]](#footnote-110) Thanks to this ceremony, the descendents of the ruler of the region were now part of the Sakalava ruling family and dynasty. After many years of war, peace prevailed between the two regions, according to traditions.[[111]](#footnote-111)

 Following the conquest of southwest Madagascar by the Sakalava, European visitors noted a drastic change in the practice of commerce in St. Augustine’s Bay. When they visited the bay, they now had to contend with the presence of a Sakalava trading representative in Tulear. The port city, Tulear, was located just to the north of the bay and lay in between the Fiheraña and Onilahy Rivers. Even though St. Augustine’s Bay was still more practical for anchoring their ships, Europeans now had to conduct trade in the bay and in Tulear. This change in trading patterns occurred very shortly after the expansion of Sakalava warriors towards the south.[[112]](#footnote-112) For example, in 1698, an English captain stated that as he approached St. Augustine's Bay, a Malagasy man boarded his ship and told him to sail to the port of “Tiller,” which would be a better harbor and have more supplies for purchase.[[113]](#footnote-113)

 As in the more northern port of Morondava, merchants in Tulear relied upon supplies arriving from the interior along the river to sell to Europeans. The Sakalava-appointed representative at Tulear, holding the ceremonial title of “King Baba” (or Baubau, Bawbaw) oversaw trade at St. Augustine's Bay for the next century. The king of Tulear was at peace with the Sakalava king in Menabe, with whom he now shared blood. When ships arrived in St. Augustine's Bay, they had to negotiate with King Baba’s representative in the bay, Prince Will (or “Ouil,” in French).[[114]](#footnote-114) When European ships arrived at St. Augustine's Bay, they first met with Will, who spoke broken English, before being directed to Tulear to the north. When European traders arrived in St. Augustine's Bay, trading representatives instructed Europeans to send presents to King Baba in Tulear to start trading negotiations. When a ship arrived in 1733, Prince Will had to send a messenger to the king at Tulear “to acquaint him of our arrival” and ask the king to send some of the slaves he had gathered in his bloody wars with his neighbors. As one observer stated, the king of Tulear's consent was required for beginning trade negotiations.[[115]](#footnote-115)

 King Baba, based at Tulear, controlled this district. This ruler, known under the title “King Baba,” used his army to defend his frontier. This title appears to have been hereditary, as the king groomed his male descendants for assuming the role.[[116]](#footnote-116) He had control over a provincial army and did not hesitate to attack in cases of “breach of faith of their neighbors.”[[117]](#footnote-117) When King Baba decided to invade the neighboring “mountaineers” (the Bara?), the king prepared at length for the expedition, sending out a “reconnoitering party” and gathering his generals and soldiers.[[118]](#footnote-118) King Baba’s army seized food and slaves. The slaves, in particular, were sold to passing European vessels.[[119]](#footnote-119)

 Within King Baba's province, the king had ranked “generals,” possessing hereditary positions.[[120]](#footnote-120) These men numbered almost fifty, according to some observers, and frequently greeted European ships entering into St. Augustine's Bay. Names such as “Prince of Wales” were adopted by these generals as a mark of recognition by the Sakalava state and their connections to the European traders who frequented the coast.[[121]](#footnote-121) When the nobles and their wives boarded European ships, they expected presents, meals, and entertainment. The men carried guns and spears, and wore luxurious clothing. The most important official was Prince Will, who oversaw the trade within the bay and received large presents from visiting European ships.[[122]](#footnote-122)

 King Baba's biggest concern was the kingdom of the Mahafaly. The close proximity of antagonistic neighbors and the need to secure trading routes meant King Baba had to maintain a strong army and fortifications.[[123]](#footnote-123) Controlling the land to the south and east of St. Augustine's Bay, the Mahafaly king also traded with passing Europeans. He ruled the region to the south of the Onilahy “Freshwater” River and attempted to trade with Europeans.[[124]](#footnote-124) The king was a constant nuisance to King Baba and his representatives in St. Augustine's Bay.[[125]](#footnote-125) The Sakalava representative in Tulear coordinated trade in rice and slaves from the interior and established well-regulated trade with Europeans.[[126]](#footnote-126) As a result, the Mahafaly of the south never managed to dominate trade in St. Augustine's Bay throughout the eighteenth century.[[127]](#footnote-127)

**The Northern Sakalava Kingdom**

 Meanwhile, during the expansion of the Sakalava to the south, the king Andriamanetriarivo's youngest brother, Andriamandisoarivo (Tsimanato), moved northwards. [[128]](#footnote-128) He fought for control of the northwestern coast of Madagascar. Andriamandisoarivo's army clashed with multiple groups, including the Antaloatra, on their movement northwards.[[129]](#footnote-129) According to traditions, the Sakalava accomplished these victories thanks to divine intervention. Throughout his march, Andriamandisoarivo relied upon an ombiasy (priest) to advise his every movement and decision and possessed a *vy lava*, a long iron knife, a talisman that empowered his victories.[[130]](#footnote-130) European sources suggest that, when Andrimandisoarivo began to seize ports, he sold his captured enemies to visiting European ships in return for firearms to use in battle.[[131]](#footnote-131)

 By the first decade of the eighteenth century, he founded his trading capital at Majunga.[[132]](#footnote-132) He also established the center of his rule at Boina, a prosperous port on the northwest coast. From his bases of Majunga and Boina, Andriamandisoarivo unleashed soldiers on inland raids to obtain rice and slaves for sale to European and non-European traders.[[133]](#footnote-133) Trade also cemented Sakalava power on the northwest coast, while it connected the northern Sakalava branch to Sakalava territories elsewhere on the island. As in the south, Sakalava kings and queens ruled via a tributary system, established through blood brotherhood ceremonies between Sakalava monarchs and leaders in the north. Agreeing to become tributaries within the Sakalava Empire meant a return to peace and prosperity for communities in northern Madagascar.[[134]](#footnote-134) In so doing, the northern Sakalava dynasty came to rival the Maroseraña dynasty of Menabe, in terms of military and economic power.[[135]](#footnote-135)

 This strategy of indirect control applied to Sakalava control over the Antaloatra trade. Sakalava monarchs did not try to destroy Antaloatra power.[[136]](#footnote-136) Traditions emphasized the respect the Sakalava held for the communities they defeated. During the march north, the Sakalava armies respected local gravesites and the sacred trees that surrounded them.[[137]](#footnote-137) They granted religious freedom to the inhabitants of their territory. Sakalava kings and queens slowly incorporated Islamic beliefs and rituals into their own practice of divine kingship, eventually converting to Islam during the nineteenth century.[[138]](#footnote-138)

 Following some disruption to trade from the northern ports during wartime, the Sakalava reestablished commerce in the northern ports by the first decades of the eighteenth century.[[139]](#footnote-139) The Sakalava, instead of destroying the Antaloatra trade, managed to expand and control the trade by adjusting to pre-existing trade patterns throughout the eighteenth century.[[140]](#footnote-140) By posing little opposition to religious and trading authorities, but exacting tribute, the Sakalava kings encouraged the continuation of trade with non-Europeans and Europeans alike. For example, one European captain described the town of Majunga as a bustling global port in 1764. He wrote that the town, built “after the Indian fashion,” held stone buildings and mosques. Inhabited by “native” Muslims and others from “Surate, Johana [Anjouan], Mosembeck, and the Commoro islands,” Majunga was a cosmopolitan city, under the control of an inland Malagasy empire. Within the city, the Sakalava king allowed Muslims to practice their religion freely. In return, the Sakalava instituted a series of trading controls over the northern cities, similar to those in the south. Along with the chief living in Majunga, the king also appointed a “purser authorized to carry trade on in the king's name, in conjunction with another purser that comes down from the king.”[[141]](#footnote-141)

 Andriamandisoarivo and his eight hundred-man army founded the Boina branch of the Sakalava Empire prior to his death around 1710.[[142]](#footnote-142) He named the new Sakalava dynasty *Volamena*, meaning red money or gold (or *Zafibolamena*, children of the Volamena).[[143]](#footnote-143) He died in the northern city of Bezavo, having cemented his name in Malagasy traditions as the founder of the Volamena kingdom.[[144]](#footnote-144) By the end of the eighteenth century, this Sakalava kingdom extended from the bay of Massaly on the west coast of Madagascar to the southwest, although it was differentiated from the “former country of the Sakalava” (the Menabe Maroseraña dynasty) which extended further to the south and was not subject to the same chief.[[145]](#footnote-145) His kingdom contained the port of Mazalagem Nova, or Massaliege, formerly a center of trade in the northwest.[[146]](#footnote-146)

**Consolidation**

 While Sakalava armies travelled to the north and south, Andriamanetriarivo, king of Menabe, focused on consolidating the rapidly expanding influence of the Sakalava. After expelling both of his brothers, Andriamanetriarivo underwent a change of heart. To gain the forgiveness of his deceased father, Andriandahifotsy (“Deaan Lohefute”), the Menabe king reportedly decided to enter into a treaty of friendship with both his brothers.[[147]](#footnote-147) At this point, the Sakalava, or rulers now related to the Sakalava after completing blood brotherhood ceremonies, controlled all of the west coast of Madagascar. These rulers appeared to have adopted the identity of Sakalava.[[148]](#footnote-148)

 Most importantly, the creation of this Sakalava confederation meant the ease of trade within the empire and the assurance of peace among various groups viewed as Sakalava. Land reaching to St. Augustine's Bay entered into the Menabe dominions, so Sakalava tributary states ruled over all of the land between the Morondava and Onilahy Rivers. While under separate leaders, the kingdoms of Menabe (Maroseraña dynasty) and Boina (Volamena dynasty) united under the Sakalava Empire, as all rulers claimed to be related by blood. This coalition facilitated movement, trade, and defense throughout the western portion of Madagascar.

 After declaring an alliance with his brothers, Andriamanetriarivo dealt with increasing trade not just from St. Augustine’s Bay, but also from Morondava itself.[[149]](#footnote-149) He controlled trade and monopolized the import of firearms into this port.[[150]](#footnote-150) The possession of firearms allowed the king in Menabe to defend his borders against insurgents in the interior.[[151]](#footnote-151) His control of trade routes required thousands of soldiers to secure the movements of merchants throughout the empire and into the interior. Malagasy living in the interior of the island claimed that, during the time of Andriandahifotsy, Sakalava warriors lacked firearms and did not conquer them. They claimed that, under Andriamanetriarivo, the Sakalava possessed guns but would not allow supplies of guns to reach them. [[152]](#footnote-152) Another Malagasy tradition described the purchase of three thousand slaves by the Sakalava from the highlanders, in return for three thousand guns.[[153]](#footnote-153) These people could only purchase guns from the Sakalava through exports of slaves.

 Andriamanetriarivo lived at Mahabo, when not concluding trade agreements with passing Europeans. From his palace conveniently located only a few days travel to the port of Morondava, the Sakalava king oversaw trade and military campaigns run by his nobles. When a European shipwrecked sailor visited his court at the start of the eighteenth century, the king sat under a large tamarind tree, where he held court and sat surrounded by armed warriors. The king's favorite peacetime diversion consisted of making small clay bulls and then crashing them into one another.[[154]](#footnote-154) Although the king appeared to the European to live a life of leisure, in reality, he was likely frequently at war with his neighbors. Later Sakalava rulers had an army of three thousand men under their control and Andriamanetraivo also probably had access to a large army.[[155]](#footnote-155) During the reign of Andriamanetriarivo, the Sakalava took advantage of their military dominance to force neighboring groups into submission.[[156]](#footnote-156) Following the conquest of other groups, the Sakalava king exacted tribute in the form of fish, honey, wild animals, and rice.[[157]](#footnote-157)

 He also established his power and dominance over his people and he became great, perhaps too great according to some traditions. The Sakalava complained to Drury that the king was no longer subject to traditional laws and did not have to listen to the decisions of local *kabary*, or meetings of local leaders.[[158]](#footnote-158) The Sakalava monarchs presented themselves as rulers with unchecked power over their subjects, since “time immemorial,” according to European visitors.[[159]](#footnote-159) As authoritarian rulers, the kings appeared to enslave all of their subjects, probably due to the prevalence of royal work and tribute.[[160]](#footnote-160) Sakalava kings could also force their people to stop trading at a whim.[[161]](#footnote-161) Kings executed men for killing cattle without their permission and seized young girls as presents for European captains.[[162]](#footnote-162) The rulers also had complete control over the exercise of political power and named the different chiefs that ruled provinces under their imperial control.[[163]](#footnote-163) Andriamanetriarivo's capriciousness was legendary, almost as much as his prowess as a military leader. He was remembered in traditions as a “cruel man,” ordering his executions from beneath the tamarind tree.[[164]](#footnote-164)

 Subsequent leaders struggled to maintain control of this loose empire. As during the accession of Andriamanetriarivo, future kings battled with their relatives for control.[[165]](#footnote-165) When the king of Young Owl [Morondava], “Romanetta,” died in 1734, factions fighting for control prompted the people of Morondava to sell any food they had available in return for firearms. The choice of a new king made the region “very unsettled,” despite the assumption that his grandson would accede to the throne. According to one trader, until a new king was declared, the “country [was] all in confusion with one and other ready to cut their own brother's throat [,] striving who shall be the most powerful according to custom.”[[166]](#footnote-166)

 Dynastic instability may have contributed to the failure of the Sakalava to maintain Morondava as a stable trading port, unlike Tulear to the south or Boina to the north. Several Europeans visiting the western coast during the mid-eighteenth century found Morondava covered with empty huts, the inhabitants having moved elsewhere.[[167]](#footnote-167) The mobility of the Sakalava allowed the Sakalava kings to extend rule throughout the island, but it prevented them from establishing completely sedentary agricultural or trading villages on the west-central coastline. Disputes over succession contributed to the instability of trade in the Menabe region.

 During this critical time, the early eighteenth century, the Sakalava struggled to control trade by establishing strong trading protocol that emphasized the hegemony of Sakalava rulers. The next chapter uses European descriptions of commercial visits to Sakalava ports to understand why English and other European ships began frequenting Sakalava ports during the eighteenth century in search of slaves, as well as how Sakalava rulers asserted their power in trading relationships with European merchants. The rulers of the Sakalava Empire, now controlling the entire west coast of Madagascar, needed to prove they could attract traders.

1. During one of first visits of Europeans to west-central Madagascar, the Sakalava king traded cattle for silver chains with the Portuguese. Luis Mariano, letter, 1613, COACM, 2: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Details on the climate of Madagascar come from: M. R. Jury, "The Environment of Madagascar," in *The Natural History of Madagascar*, ed. Steven M. Goodman and Jonathan P. Benstead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 75-84; Solofo Randrianja and Stephen Ellis, *Madagascar: A Short History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 21-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The town is not marked on maps, but the Portuguese described it as located at the mouth of the Manambolo River, which would place it approximately sixty miles north of Morondava. Of course we cannot be certain that the Suculambes were the Sakalava, although the name is comparable. It is perhaps more important that the region was described as subject to “continual” wars during the early seventeenth century. The priest, Mariano, describes the Sakalava acting defensively, building forts, and losing many men in the battles. If this were the case, it would suggest that the early build-up of the Sakalava military was for defensive, not offensive reasons. Luis Mariano, letter, 22 October 1616, in COACM, 2: 224-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The ship journal of the Barneveld, 1719, includes a description of a visit to “Macalena Nova” and wars with other groups on the island, in COACM, 3: 23; Robert Drury describes the expansion of the Sakalava towards the south: Robert Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury* (London: W. Meadows, 1743; reprinted for Stodart and Craggs, 1807), 390-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. This trade was primarily on Dutch and English ships prior to 1700. On the Dutch trade from Sakalava-controlled ports, see Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 100. See also J. C. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Omaly sy anio (Université d'Antananarivo)* 17-20, no. (1983-1984). On the trade to the Americas, see the The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces <accessed November 14, 2008)>. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Robert Drury was an Englishman shipwrecked in southern Madagascar in 1703. Over the next thirteen years, Drury was enslaved in southern Madagascar, but then travelled through the west coast of the island, spending time in St. Augustine’s Bay and in Mahabo. He published his narrative in 1729 and it has been through several reprints. The version used here is Robert Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury* (London: W. Meadows, 1743; reprinted for Stodart and Craggs, 1807).

 Some scholars, most notably Molet-Sauvaget, have argued his book was the work of a novelist such as Defoe. Anne Molet-Sauvaget, "La ‘Relation De Robert Everard’, Ébauche Probable Du ‘Journal De Robert Drury’ De Daniel Defoe," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 241 (1986): 1-28.

 Arguments that his narrative was fictitious have been put to rest (in my mind) by the recent study by two anthropologists: Mike Parker Pearson, "Reassessing "Robert Drury's Journal" as a Historical Source for Southern Madagascar," *History in Africa* 23, no. (1996); Mike Parker Pearson and Karen Godden, *In Search of the Red Slave: Shipwreck and Captivity in Madagascar*, vol. 2002 (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2002). They concluded that, despite Defoe or another writer having a hand in the writing of the book, it appears that “to have written such a convincing book someone must have spent a long time out there in southern Madagascar.” Ibid., 206. I believe there is a possibility some of the details, names, and dates may be incorrect, but the general narrative and description of life in Madagascar is generally consistent with other available data. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. For example: Jacob Granaet, description of war at St. Augustine’s Bay, 1666, COACM 3: 334; Jean Ovington, description of Madagascar and Anjouan, mentioning warfare in northwestern Madagascar, 1690, COACM 3:457. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. E. Birkeli, "Folklore Sakalava: Recueilli Dans La Région De Morondava," *Bulletin de l'Académie Malgache* VI, no. (1924); André Dandouau, *Contes Populaires Des Sakalava Et Des Tsimihety De La Région D'analalava* (Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1922). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Charles Guillain, *Documents sur l’histoire, la geographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845), 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ibid., 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Scholars tend to use Guillain to consider the more recent, early nineteenth century history of the Sakalava. Historians who cite Guillain include: Marie-Pierre Ballarin, *Les reliques royales à Madagascar: source de légitimation et enjeu de pouvoir, Xviiie-Xxe siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 2000); Jean François Baré, *Sable rouge: une monarchie du nord-ouest malgache dans l'histoire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1980); Sophie Blanchy, *Karana et Banians: les communautés commerçantes d'origin Indienne à Madagascar* (Paris: Harmattan, 1995); Dandouau, *Contes populaires*; Raymond K. Kent, "Madagascar and Africa: Ii. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700," *The Journal of African History* 9, no. 4 (1968). Guillain was very influential among nineteenth century visitors to Madagascar, including: Lyons McLeod, *Madagascar and Its People* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, originally published 1865); Joseph Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1875). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Guillain, *Documents*, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. This was certainly the case with Guillain, who was trying to convince the French to ally with the Sakalava and colonize the island. During the colonial period, the French attempted to reduce Sakalava leaders to “functionnaires.” General Report on the Colony, 1910, in *Section Moderne, Administration générale de la France, Commerce et industrie*, “F/12/6190,” Archives Nationales, Paris. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For instance, Lombard uses dynastic traditions, clan traditions, and traditions on representation to understand the ideology of the Sakalava royalty. Jacques Lombard, *Le royaume Sakalava du Menabe, 17è-20è: essai d'analyse d'un système politique à Madagascar* (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1988), 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “Issues in Divine Kingship,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14 (1985): 297. See also Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *A Green Estate: Restoring Independence in Madagascar* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Wrigley discusses how oral traditions reveal beliefs about sacred kingship, genealogy, and myth, but not necessary representing actual events. Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: the Buganda Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

 Some of the pertinent works also include: J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1985); Christopher Ehret and Merrick Posnansky, *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Peter R. Schmidt, *Historical Archaeology in Africa: Representation, Social memory, and Oral Traditions* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006); Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Dennis D. Cordell, “Section Introduction: Oral Tradition: Classic Questions, New Answers,” in ed. Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings, *Sources and Methods in African History : Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 240 [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Birkeli, "Folklore Sakalava,” 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. For the best presentation of this myth, see Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava,”171-192. These myths are paralleled by Merina oral traditions, on their conquest of the highlands of Madagascar. See François Callet, *Histoire des rois, traduction du Tantaran'ny andriana*, 5 vols. (Tananarive: Éditions de la Librairie de Madagascar, 1953),1:8. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. African historians have discussed the overlap in spiritual and political authority in Africa. See David William Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu : A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. See Pierre Vérin and Narivelo Rajaonarimanana, “Divination in Madagascar: The Antemoro Case and the Diffusion of Divination,” in *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing*, ed. Philip M. Peek (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), 54-6. Drury appears to describe these practices: Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 100, 113, 224-7.

 The ombiasy of the southeast Madagascar knew how to write and read sorabe texts but there is no sign of Arabico-Malagasy writing in the western part of the island. On the religious practices of the southeast of Madagascar, see the report of the French establishment in Fort Dauphin, 1665, *Fonds des Colonies, Correspondance à l'Arrivée, Compagnie des Indes*, “COL C/2/2.” [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. M. Vincent Noel, *Ile De Madagascar: Recherches Sur Les Sakkalava*, Extrait Du Bulletin De La Société De Géographie (Paris: Imprimerie de Bourgogne et Martinet, 1843), 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Mark Horton, *Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of East Africa* (London: The British Institute in Eastern Africa, 1996), 427; Marina Tolmacheva, *The Pate Chronicle* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1993), 41-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. On the myths of East Africa, see: John Milner Gray, *History of Zanzibar, from the Middle Ages to 1856* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 26; Derek Nurse and Thomas T. Spear, *The Swahili : Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); James de Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture & the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (London: James Currey, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Said Bakari Bin Sultani Ahmed, *The Swahili Chronicle of Ngazija*, ed. Lyndon Harries (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1977), 4; Alfred Gevrey, *Essai Sur Les Comores* (Pondichery: A. Saligny, 1870), 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Gabriel Ferrand, *Les Musulmans a Madagascar et aux iles Comores* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), vol. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. On East African and Comorian migration histories, see G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford,: Clarendon Press, 1962); Jean-François Gourlet, ed. *Chroniques mahoraises* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001); Tolmacheva, *The Pate Chronicle*. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. See Chapurukha Makokha Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili states* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1999). For a good description of how Swahili city-state functioned prior to the mid-18th century, see Horton, *Shanga.* [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. On Indian Ocean migrant networks, see works such as Anne K. Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family Networks in East Africa, 1860-1925* (London: Routledge, 2003); Linda Boxberger, *On the Edge of Empire : Hadhramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Randrianja and Ellis also rely upon the traditions for establishing the chronology of Sakalava rule: Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar: A Short History*, 100-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. European sources such as Dean and Drury describe the importance of ancestor worship among the Sakalava during the early eighteenth century: John Dean, "Narrative of One of the Crew Belonging to the Ship Sussex, Mss. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11," British Library, ff. 29-30; Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 451-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. This migration is summarized in Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 100-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. A description of the river can be found in the ship journal of the Ilchester, 1750, “IOR/L/MAR/B/601 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. George Herbert Smith, *Among the Menabe; or, Thirteen months on the West coast of Madagascar* (London: 1896), 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ibid, 6; Noel, *Ile de Madagascar*, 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. The region was previously known as “Ansakoua-be.” Noel, *Ile de Madagascar*, 18. On the color red, see Arthur Leib, “The Mystical Significance of Colours in the Life of the Natives of Madagascar,” *Folklore* 57, no. 3 (1946): 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The tradition is recounted in Sherry Olson, "Red Destinies: The Landscape of Environmental Risk in Madagascar," *Human Ecology* 15, no. 1 (1987), 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Guillain, *Documents*,13. Guillain states that there are several other myths involving cattle sacrifice before battle leading to Sakalava military successes. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Discussed at length in Ballarin, *Les reliques royales*, 53-86. Kent insisted on the Bantu origins of Sakalava divine kingship: Raymond K. Kent, “Madagascar and Africa,” 545-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava,”190. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Andriana means lord or chief. The Portuguese priests Mariano and Freire give the king’s name as “Andrianmazoto” or “Diamsuto,” letter from 1613, in COACM, 2: 24, although other accounts imply he had died before this date. There is an interesting theory that his name derived from one of the names for the king of Zimbabwe and means “crushing of trees.” M. Brown, *Madagascar rediscovered. A History from Early Times to Independence* (London: Damien Tunnacliffe,1978), quoted in Chantal Radimilahy and Barthélémy Manjakahery, “Archaeology of St Augustine's Bay, Lower and Middle Onilahy Valley, Southwestern Madagascar,” *Studies in the African Past* 5, no. (2006): 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Ballarin, *Les reliques royales,* 36. An additional source for the chronology of Sakalava rulers and their lineages can be found online: “Généalogie des rois sakalava du Nord de Madagascar,” found online at

http://www.zomare.com/sakalava.html <accessed 26 March 2009>

This site provides royal genealogies for Sakalava rulers in the north, with the source listed as Robert Jaovelo-Dzao, *Mythes, rites et transes à Madagascar* (Paris: Karthala Editions, 1996), 392. These chronologies roughly agree with those described within the dissertation, but I am making no effort to present a definitive chronology of Sakalava rulers, as I am more concerned with issues of trade and violence than kingship. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava*, 22-3 On Menabe during this time, see Luis Mariano, letter, July 1616 and October 21, 1616, in COACM, 2: 208-222. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. It is unclear what preceded the state, but elsewhere on the island people lived in small communities led by chiefs or Andriana. See Chapter 1, as well as: Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 50-2. On French discussions of power in the southeast, see “Mémoire sur l’état présent de l’isle Dauphine,” 1668, in “COL C/5A/1.” [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Mariano and Freire, letter from 1613, COACM 2: 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. On the expansion of the non-European slave trade, see Thomas Vernet, “Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili, 1500 - 1750,” *Azania* 38, no. (2003): 75-88. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. François Martin, report of French colonist in east-central Madagascar, 1665-8, COACM, 9:557. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. On violence in East Africa during the pre-modern times, see Horton, *Shanga*, 427; Tolmacheva, *The Pate Chronicle,* 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Campbell, *An economic history*, 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Mariano does suggest the Sakalava were acting to defend their people. Luis Mariano, letter, 22 October 1616, in COACM, 2: 224-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 391. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Drury describes the “Virzimbers” as having very different customs from other Malagasy, in addition to speaking their own dialect. Ibid., 376. See discussion in Chapter 1, footnote 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Ballarin, *Les reliques royales*, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. The belief in the tompon-tany manifested in terms of the natural environment. During later periods, the Sakalava ritually protected trees in Menabe, especially the tamarind tree. Emmanuel Fauroux, “Les Représentations du Monde Végétal Chez les Sakalava du Menabe,” in *Milieux et sociétés dans le Sud-Ouest de Madagascar,* ed. Jean-Michel Lebigre and Emmanuel Faroux (Bordeaux: Presses Univ de Bordeux, 1997), 11.

 In fact, the eighteenth-century Sakalava kings of Menabe daily held court underneath a large tamarind tree. Dean, “Narrative,” “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11,” f. 24.

 The Merina of the highlands had a similar relationship with the Vazimba. Ramilisonina, "Topographies religieuse d'un terrior et relations entre Vivants et Ancestres á Madagascar: Les Bezanozano Zandroandrena et Tsimifahy (Mandialaza-Moramanga), in *Ancestralité et Identité à Madagascar* (Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2001), 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. As described in correspondence, 1713, *Fonds des Colonies, Correspondance à l'Arrivée, Ile Bourbon*, “COL C/3/3-4.” [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Rita Astuti, *People of the Sea: Identity and Descent among the Vezo of Madagascar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. On the connection between expansion of food productions and the development of states in Africa, see Jan Vansina, *How Societies Are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Manoel de la Cerda, report, 1527, COACM, 1: 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Mariano, letter, 1613-4, COACM, 2: 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Ibid., 2: 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. The first mention of manioc in Madagascar I have found are from the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Portuguese descriptions of “mungo,” mangahazo or manioc, in the northwest ports for sale: Ibid., 2:12. Manioc was probably spread via Portuguese traders in Mozambique and East Africa, from Brazil, as the term for manioc is very similar in Malagasy and Swahili. As far as I can tell, manioc cultivation did not spread to the southern tip of Madagascar, to Fort Dauphin, until the eighteenth century: anonymous account of Madagascar in “Sloan MS. 3392, Campaign of 1704 - 1709,” British Library, ff. 84-7. Manioc was spread throughout the island by the early 19th century: see anonymous source in Barthelemy Huet de Froberville, *Index de la geographie de Madagascar* (1816), microfilm of MS. in British Library, f. 202; R. N. Captain Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences* (1873, reprint London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968), 297. Manioc and other American crops were also popular in the Comoros: see Claude Chanudet and Jean-Aimé Rakotoarisoa, *Mohéli: une île des Comores à la recherche de son identité* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 24. There are early (1506) mentions of maize but probably incorrectly identified indigenous grains: Barros, trading account, 1506, COACM, 1: 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Now these crops have become staple crops, especially for the poor, as they grow in more marginally fertile soil and provide a quick source of calories. Mabrouk A. El-Sharkawy, “Drought-Tolerant Cassava for Africa, Asia, and Latin America,” *BioScience* 43, no. 7 (1993): 443-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. On rice growing practices in Madagascar, see Campbell, *An Economic History*, 23-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. The expansion of rice farming had a strong impact of state formation elsewhere in Madagascar. According to Kottak, highland states developed from “Population growth, an increasingly sedentary way of life, resource concentration, the need for defense, external trade, and hydraulic agriculture were interrelated aspects of the process of sociopolitical transformation in Lalangina between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Because these variables interacted synergistically, it would be misleading to assign prime mover status to any one of them.” Conrad P. Kottak, “The Process of State Formation in Madagascar,” *American Ethnologist* 4, no. 1 (1977): 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. The west coast was the only region consuming milk during the nineteenth century: Gwyn Campbell, “The Structure of Trade in Madagascar, 1750-1810,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, no. 1 (1993): 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Later Sakalava kings used slaves to grow crops and herd cattle. Gillian Feeley-Harnik, "The King's Men in Madagascar Slavery, Citizenship and Sakalava Monarchy," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 52, no. 2 (1982). On the use of slaves to farm in southern Madagascar, see Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 68, 110-111. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Mariano and Freire, letter, 1613-4, COACM 2: 25-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. In the south, however, slaves were not used in warfare. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 94,194. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Guillain, *Documents*, 11-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. This long of a reign seems unlikely. These dates were estimated from the description of genealogy given in oral traditions, probably to overemphasize the impact of Andriandahifotsy on the history of the Sakalava state. The basis for dates is usually Guillain, *Documents*. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Guillain, *Documents*, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. On the origins of this name, see Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava,* 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Ballarin, *Les reliques royales*, 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Originally, he installed the capital at Maneva, to the southeast, but later moved to this more profitable location. See various descriptions of Sakalava kings and their descendents at Mahabo: Dominique Ranaivoson, *Madagascar: Dictionnaire des personalités historiques* (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, France: Sépia, 2005), 8, 37, 42, 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. The meeting between Andriamandazoala and the Portuguese, however, implies the Sakalava were already living near the coast decades earlier. See Luis Mariano, letter, 1613, COACM, 2: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. See, for example, William Hacke, “A chart of the north-west coast of Lorinso (Madagascar), with the islands of Mayotta and Joanna”, 1680, “Maps 9.Tab.37.(8.),” Maps Reading Room, British Library. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. John Thornton, *The English Pilot: the Third Book* (London, 1703), “Maps 22.d.30,” Maps Reading Room, British Library, 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. In 1733, the region was called “Séclave.” See the ship journal of the Vierge de Grace, 1733, *Fonds de la Marine, Séries modernes, Service Hydrographique*, “MAR 4 JJ/86,” French Archives Nationales, Paris (henceforth MAR). [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. See descriptions of trading at Morondava during the eighteenth century in the ship journal of the Dragon, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. The king lived at “Moabo town,” described as 30-40 miles into the interior. The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. On early Sakalava trade with the nascent Merina state by 1700, see Callet, *Histoire des rois*, 1: 455.Eighteenth-century European ship captains complained this port was still hard to find along the west coast of Madagascar, a region protected by offshore reefs and dangerous currents, and frequently missed the anchorage there. The rough surf dissuaded some Europeans from stopping at Morondava. See the following ship journals: the Discovery, 1700, “IOR/L/MAR/A/CL”; the Harcourt, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/558 C”; the Brittania, 1754, “IOR/L/MAR/B/285 GG”; the Fly, 1763, “IOR/L/MAR/B/597 B”; the Prince Frederick, 1722, “IOR/L/MAR/B/663 C”; the Griffin, 1759, “IOR/L/MAR/B/603 D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava,* 26.In 1613, Portuguese visitors said the people of this west-central coastline always fought with the people of the interior. See the accounts of Freire and Mariano around 1613, inCOACM, 2: 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Dean, “Narrative,” “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11,” f. 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. See the illustration of the visit of the Barneveld to “Sadian Bon Porte,” in "De Reyze Van Het Oostindisch Schip Barneveld, Uyt Holland Tot Aan De Kaap Der Goede Hoope, in 'T Jaar 1719,”in *Tweejaarige Reyze Rondom De Wereld,* edited by T. de Haze and J. Roggeveen (Dordrecht: Hendrik de Koning, 1758), 15-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century,” 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Ballarin, *Les reliques royales,* 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. For traditions around Andrianadahifotsy, see Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava,* 26; Guillain, *Documents*, 8, although the sources vary in terms of the date of his death. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Martin, 1665-8, COACM, 9: 479-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Ibid., 9: 480. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Ibid., 9: 514-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Ibid., 9: 514. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Ibid., 9: 515-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Ibid., 9: 605. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Martin, 1665-8, COACM, 9: 605-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. It was usual for Sakalava kings to receive a new name after death. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Guillain states that the name, Andriamagnéti-Arivou, was his posthumous name. Guillain, *Documents*,14. Drury repeats this history of Sakalava expansion that he heard from another European in Madagascar, but does not provide any dates. Drury, *The adventures,* 390; the ship journal of the Discovery, 1700, “IOR/L/MAR/A/CL.” He was perhaps preceded by his father named Andriamaneniarivo. On dates, see the comment in footnote 43 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Ibid., 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Robert Drury is the best source for this history, as he lived on the island during the early eighteenth century and visited both St. Augustine’s Bay and Morondava. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Drury states that “one of them... fled to Feraignher, and go posession of part of the country to the southward…” Drury defines “Feraignher” as “Augustine-bay country.” Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,*82, 299, 390. Drury says that “Rer Trimmenongarevo” led the army. Ibid., 300. These attacks may have been going on for decades. See Guillian, *Documents,* 15-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Drury describes battle between the “Antenosa” (Antanosy), “Anterndroeans” (Antandroy), and the “Merfaughla” (Mahafaly). He states that the Mahafaly possessed the region between Tandroy to the river Onilahy. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 82, 98-9, 207. See the account mid-seventeenth century account given in COACM, 3: 311-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. See the complaint of the chief of St. Augustine Bay to the French for assisting the Mahafaly (the people of southern Madagascar) chief, “Relation de ce qui s'est passé á l'ile Dauphin depuis le 1er Mars 1668,” 1668, “COL C/5a/1.” [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Drury, *The adventures*, 349-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Ibid., 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Drury describes the lengthy deliberations between the leaders in southern Madagascar before going to war, being aware that war causes considerable upheaval. He also describes the meeting of a “grand assembly” of leaders to decide. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 146-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Although I can find no early sources recording this practice in Madagascar, this ceremony may have also been practiced in East Africa. See Horton, *Shanga*¸413. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. George Herbert Smith, *Among the Menabe; or, Thirteen Months on the West Coast of Madagascar* (London, 1896), 22-3. The Englishman did not participate in the ritual, but agreed to exchange gifts with the Sakalava to form a similar relationship. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Guillain, *Documents,* 17. See description of the fati-dra in Birkeli, *Folklore Sakalava*, 174. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. One of the first mentions of Tulear as a trading port occurs in 1700, in a ship's record that mentions the first visit to Morondava and meeting with the king Timavarevo. The ship journal of the Discovery, 1700, “IOR/L/MAR/A/CL.” Compare to French visits in the ship journal of the Astree, 1735, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. The ship journal of the Bedford, 1698, “IOR/L/MAR/A/CXXIV.” [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. The titles of Prince William or Will, and King Baba appear to have been hereditary titles, not proper names. Terms such as “king” and “Prince” were found in French, English, and Dutch sources. Europeans may have been mistaken in understanding the Malagasy, but given the presence of several Malagasy speaking English with some fluency, it seems likely the adoption of these titles was intentional. I have not been able to find any Malagasy word that relates to “Kinne,” as the usual term for a political leader during this period would be a variant Andriana, Ra, or Mpanjaka.

 The terms Prince and King appear to be used to demonstrate the subservience of the ruler of St. Augustine's Bay to that of Tulear. The French referred to the Sakalava trading representatives in the northwest ports during the 18th century as “Baba.” This king was known as Andrian Baba, Adrian being a Malagasy word for Lord (Andriana, see Chapter 1). The ship journal of the Hirondelle, 1731, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” A leader on île Sainte Marie in 1745 was also named “Andrian Baba,” according to an account by Grenville de Forval, from Charles Grant, The History of Mauritius, 1801, in COACM, 5: 238.

 The title of King Baba in Tulear implies a strong cultural influence from the Arabic-speaking populations of the northwestern coast of Madagascar on the ruler of Tulear, probably via the Sakalava Empire. The use of this term is found in European sources of various kings, always in the same form. For instance, Dutch traders visiting Tulear in overheard Malagasy children greeting the ruler with the shout, “Ha kinne baba,” despite the ruler giving his name to the traders as “Rammanrasse” previously. The journal of the ship De Brack, sent from the Cape for slaves in Madagascar in 1741, in COACM, 6: 80. A nineteenth century visitor to the bay came to the same conclusion about the names: Pascoe Grenfell Hill, *Fifty Days on Board a Slave-Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843* (London: J. Murray, 1844), p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. The ship journal of the Anson, 1746, “IOR/L/MAR/B/549 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Example, the ship journal of the Diligent, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/320E”; the ship journal of the Dragon, 1758, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Blankett, *HOW/3, Ms. 58/102*,” f. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Silas James, *Narrative of a Voyage to Arabia, India, &c.* (London: W. Glindon, 1797?), 161. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Blankett, “HOW/3, Ms. 58/102,” f. 2. See the ship journal of the Dutch ship De Brack, 1741, in COACM, 6: 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 258. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Blankett, “HOW/3, Ms. 58/102,” f. 2; James, *Narrative,* 146. King Baba was also a hereditary title, also used to describe other leaders in Madagascar, including the king of Massaly “Adrien Baba”: the ship journal of the Hirondelle, 1731, “MAR 4 JJ/86”; the ship journal of the Griffon, 1735, “MAR 4 JJ/144 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. For more details, see Chapter 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Chantal Radimilahy and Barthélémy Manjakahery, “Archaeology of St Augustine's Bay, Lower and Middle Onilahy Valley, Southwestern Madagascar,” *Studies in the African Past* 5 (2006): 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. See trading in the ship journal of the King George, 1718, “IOR/L/MAR/B/402 B.” The Mahafaly king was called “King John” by the British and he lived on the southern side of the “Freshwater River”: the ship journal of the Houghton, 1746, “IOR/L/MAR/B/438 F.” [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. “A Special note to find St Augustin's Bay, and how to go in” states that while St. Augustine's Bay is a good location for “wooding and watering,” “Tullea Bay” to the north has “greater trade.” Thornton, “The English Pilot, “Maps 22.d.30,” 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. As with all of these chronologies, sources disagree on the role of Andriamandisoarivo, some stating he inherited the Menabe throne in 1680 following the death of Andriamanetriarivo. The clearest description of this ruler is given by: Ranaivoson, *Madagascar,* 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. See descriptions in Noel, *Ile de Madagascar*, 19; Guillain, *Documents*, 19-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Ballarin, *Les reliques royales,* p. 36; Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “Sakalava Royal Work: A Study of Aesthetics in Labor and Government” (PhD diss, New York University, 1976), 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Ibid. 33-4.See the founding myth of Majunga in André Dandouau, *Contes populaires des Sakalava et des Tsimihety de la région d'Analalava* (Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1922). [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Including hundreds of slaves exported annually to ships sailing to the Americas. On numbers and chronology, see the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. On this process, see Chapter 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. See Guillain, *Documents,* 33-4; Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava*, 32-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. The term Antaloatra refers to Muslim, Swahili-speaking traders who inhabited the northwest coast of Madagascar. See further explanation in Chapter 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Guillain, *Documents*, 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Baré, *Sable rouge*, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Guillain, *Documents,* 19-21. See the 1751 account of the Queen and her “Moor” (Muslim) husband ruling at Massaleige: the ship journal of the Delaware, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Some documents hint that trading suspended following Sakalava conquest of the northwest ports but archival documents largely suggest otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. The ship journal of the Fly, 1763, “IOR/L/MAR/B/597 B.” See also Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 101-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. The sources disagree on the exact date. In 1718, according to Ballarin, *Les reliques royales*, 32. Drury describes his march to the north: Drury, *The Adventures*, 390-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava,” 192; Ballarin, *Les reliques royales*, 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Maurice-Auguste Benyowsky, “Description du royaume des Seclaves appelle Boyana,” in *Voyages et Memoirs de Maurice-Auguste, Comte de Benyowsky*, 2 vols. (Paris: F. Buisson, 1791), 2: 386. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 101-2. It is difficult to uncover the location of some of these ports. See Ibid., 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Drury, *The adventures*, 390-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Guillain, *Documents,* 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. The king would not allow other groups to buy firearms. Drury, *The adventures*, 296-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Drury, *The adventures,* 296-7. Likewise, the French complained the English provided the people of southern Madagascar with firearms, which were used against them. La Bretache, letter, 28 February 1674, “COL C/5A/1.” [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Kottak, “State Formation in Madagascar,” 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Dean, “Narrative,” “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11,” ff. 26-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Benyowsky, *Voyages*, 2: 395. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. On Vezo memories as Sakalava tributaries, see Astuti, *People of the Sea,* 73-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava,”186. On Sakalava control of trade throughout the 19th century, see discussion in Campbell, “The Structure of Trade in Madagascar,” 15, 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Drury, *The adventures,* 391-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. M. Glement, Letter, 1767, “COL C/5a/2,” French archives, Paris. See also the description of the absolute power of the king, from the Dutch ship Barneveld in 1719, in COACM, 5: 21-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. On later exactions of royal work, see the work of Gillian Feeley-Harnik, especially “The King's Men,” 211-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 393-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. See Chapter 4 for details. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava,” 172. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Contrast these accession struggles with the lack of problems at St. Augustine's Bay when Prince Will died. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. The ship journal of the Hertfort, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. The ship journal of the Harcourt, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/558 A-C”; the ship journal of the Fly, 1763, “IOR/L/MAR/B/597 B”; the ship journal of the Snow Mercury, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/554 C”; the ship journal of the Solebay, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/591 A-C”; Dean, “Narrative,” “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11.” [↑](#footnote-ref-167)