

Studies in African Archaeology 12



# **The Origins and Development of Mogadishu AD 1000 to 1850**

**Ahmed Dualah Jama**

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**A study of urban growth along  
the Benadir coast of southern Somalia**

by  
Ahmed Dualeh Jama

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### **Abstract**

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This study deals with the development of urbanism in southern Somalia. It is based on oral, historical and archaeological sources from AD 1000 to 1850. The relationship between the coast and the interior of the Benadir region and the role of the Shabelle River flood plain in the development of the towns are studied. The importance of the hinterland resources and the maritime trade, in the development of towns in the Benadir region is shown.

**Keywords:** African archaeology, Somalia, Shabelle River, urbanism, agriculture, trade.

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Cover: Excavation of the old Shangani Mosque

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## Chapter 1

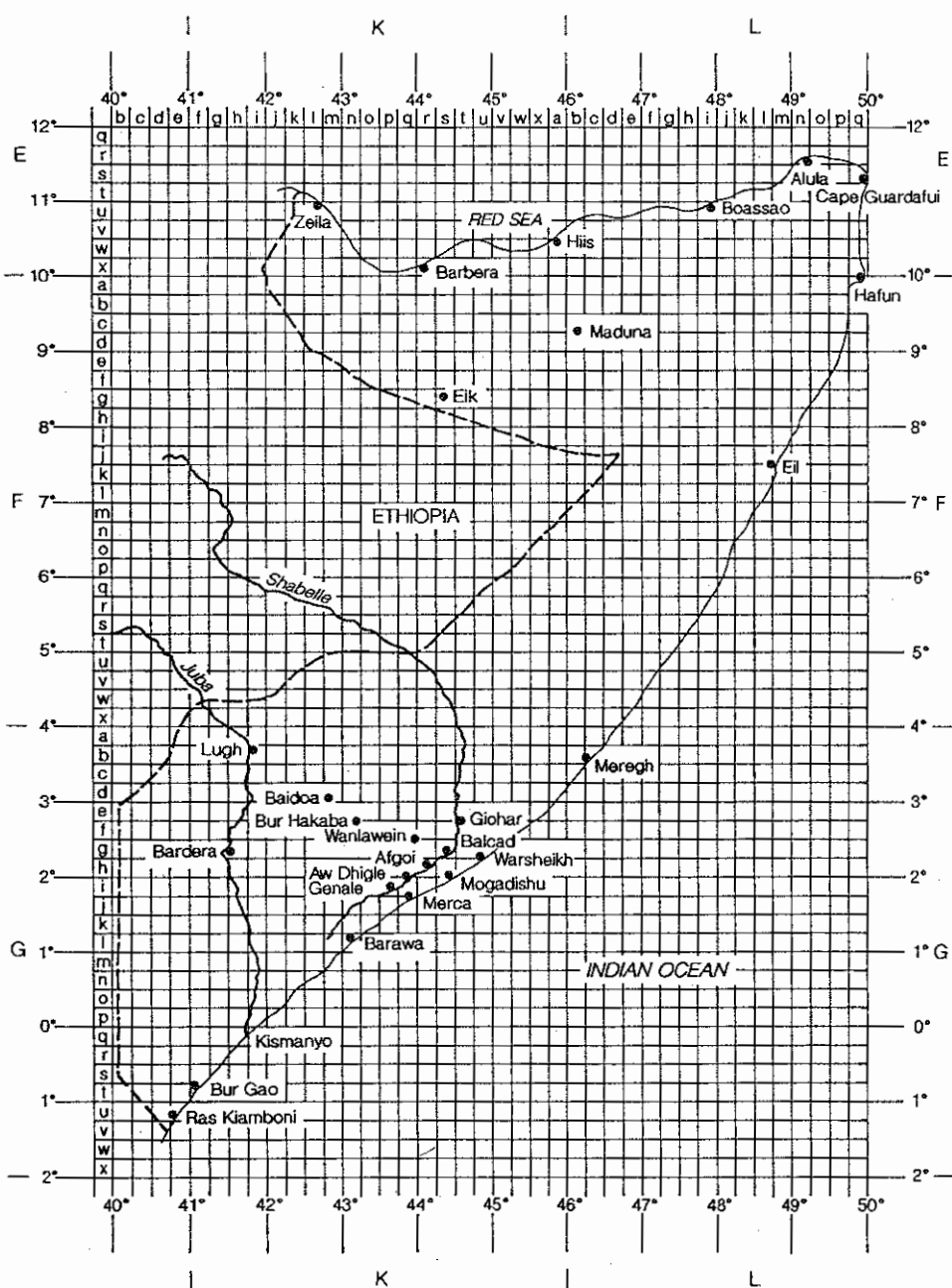
### Introduction

The coast of southern Somalia stretches from Cape Guardafui to Ras Kiamboni, and it is within these limits that Somalia faces the Indian Ocean. Along this coast are located early settlements (towns) which have for centuries served as trading entrepôts for Africa, Asia and the Mediterranean countries. Somalia has produced frankincense and myrrh, and it is believed that the 'land of incense', as it was called in the old Egyptian sources, was situated here (Hindi 1961; Hersi 1977, p. 46; see also Kitchen 1993). Some of these settlements are mentioned in ancient documents, including the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and the works of later Arab geographers and historians.

The translated, topographical summary of the *Periplus* mentions Avalites as the port of (Zeila) near the border with Jibuti, Malao (Berbera, 10°27'N., 45°1'E.) and Mundu (Heis, 10°53'N, 46°54'E.). Mosyllon could be either Elayu (11°14'N., 48° 54'E.), which has the highest concentration of cairns in the world, or Candala (11°28'N., 49°52'E.), or Bendar Cassim, the present Bossaso 11°17'N., 49°11'E. (Casson 1989, pp. 117, 120 and 126-7). The *Periplus* also mentions Cape Elephas (Ras Filuk), Akannai (Bendar Alula), Damo, the spice port, Tabai (Tohen), Cape Guardafui or Ras Asir (11°50'N., 51°18'E.) and Oponé (pp. 129-30). It is interesting to note that all these settlements are located along the Red Sea shore, except Oponé (Ras Hafun), the bluffs and strands of Azania and Mogadishu (Casson 1989; Hersi 1977, p. 308), which are located on the Indian Ocean side. The sites on the Red Sea are located where Somalia's richest frankincense regions are to be found, especially between Mundu and Oponé. Large quantities of frankincense were shipped from this zone even in the days of the *Periplus* (Casson, p. 127). Casson continues by stating that Mosyllon marks the eastern edge of the myrrh-producing region, while Avalites is the western limit (p. 128).

In the case of the Indian coast, Hamar (the historical name for Mogadishu and for one of the old quarters of the present town) is one of the main coastal outposts prominent in early trade, as well as showing cultural continuity as a result of continuous occupation (Map 1). However, with the exception of Hafun, which was occupied from the first century BC and from the second to the fifth centuries AD (Chittick 1976; Smith & Wright 1988), the foundation dates of these settlements have not yet been established archaeologically. This study, based on research designed to examine both the town sites and





Map 1. SASES grid of Somalia showing the locations of the settlements mentioned in the text.

their hinterland, will attempt to settle such issues. The town is seen as a unit of settlement, which performs certain functions, either economic or social or both, in relation to a broader hinterland. This leads us to examine the nature of the interaction between the settlements, which is the key to understanding the growth of cities in Somalia as part of a regional system.

The development of urbanism along the Benadir coast was inseparable from the agricultural and pastoral production of the adjacent hinterland behind the littoral sand-dunes. However, some of the coastal settlements were distinguished from the mud-and-thatch farming villages in the interior by their conspicuous masonry buildings, and their prominent role in maritime commerce and religious activities (Hassan 1993, p. 551).

Somali archaeology today is still in its initial stages, especially with regard to the development of coastal settlements. This is a sparsely populated field of enquiry, compared with the relatively greater number of researchers involved elsewhere in East Africa. The few works which have been conducted on Somali archaeology have focused on the coastal sites for reasons of access and logistics. But, with the exception of the works of Steven Brandt, focused on the Stone Age (Brandt & Gresham 1988; Brandt & Gresham 1990) few of these works have considered the environmental parameters. One reason may be that, after independence, the existing social and economic problems took priority over the study of the distant past. Another reason, until the late 1980's, was the lack of local archaeological trainees. More effort will be needed to gauge the very considerable, archaeological potential of Somalia, when time and the political climate permit.

From another perspective, based on biased, historical sources, it was widely believed that the settlements dotted along the coast of the Benadir region, like those in other parts of East Africa, emerged in response to either direct contact with immigrants from the Middle East (Kirkman 1964), or the stimulating effect of Arab-inspired, long-distance trade on the local economies (Chittick 1977; Horton 1984). To correct these imbalances, the purpose of the present work is to study the development of Mogadishu and other sites in a wider region, in terms of their economic potential, their catchments and the location and distribution of sites in the adjacent hinterland and the western Indian Ocean region as a whole.

As will be shown later in this thesis, in considering the development of Mogadishu, the inland, riverine site of Afgoi, located 30 km west of the present city of Mogadishu, pre-dates the better-known, stone-built settlements. Afgoi is situated by the Shabelle River, where two, historically known, trade routes merged before reaching Mogadishu. The same may be true of Gezeira, down the coast south of Mogadishu, where Chittick reported imported pottery datable to around the ninth and tenth centuries, mostly

fragments of white, Islamic, tin-glazed bowls and of blue-glazed 'Sassanian-Islamic' ware (Chittick 1969, pp. 117-8).

New information from the hinterland has become indispensable in re-examining the whole question of coast/interior interactions (Jama 1990; Abungu 1989). Preliminary fieldwork, conducted in both Afgoi, and Gezeira, indicates the existence of substantial settlements contemporary with, if not earlier than, Mogadishu. However, as Mogadishu is the main site and information is readily available about it, it provides data for establishing a ceramic typology for the site system as a whole. It also provides a good stratigraphy, that can be used to correlate with other sites and ceramic collections.

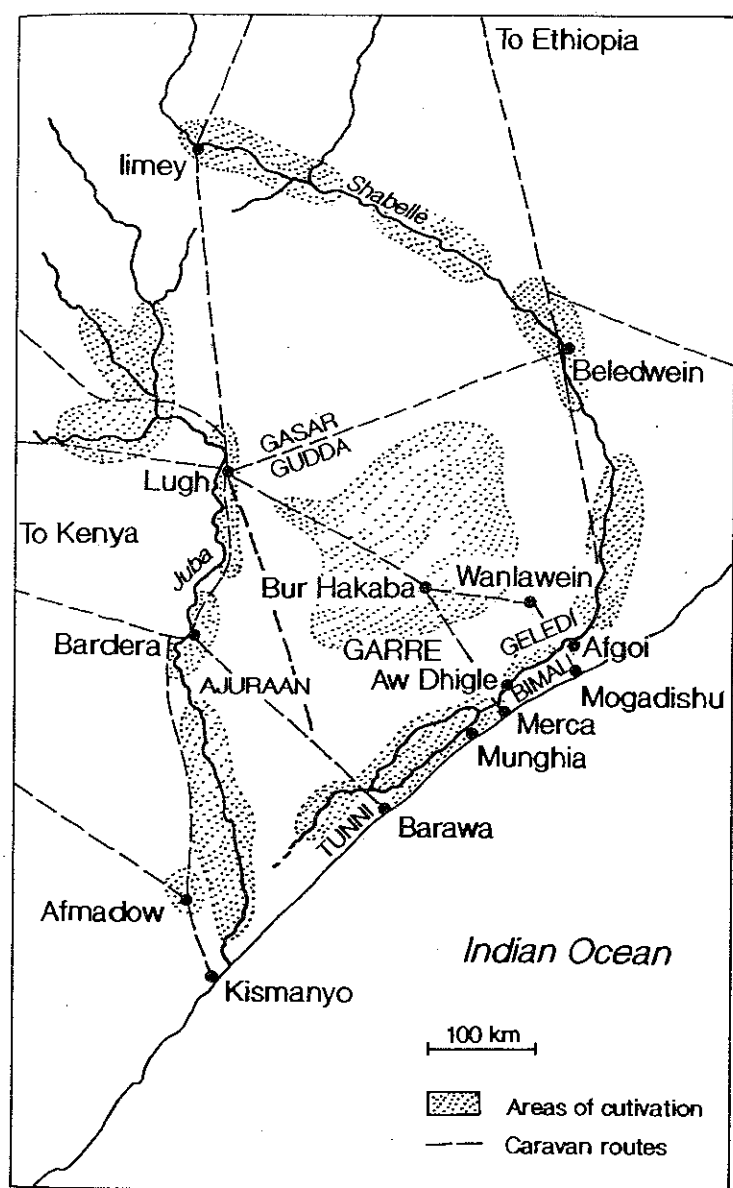
It should be noted, however, that, in considering the Benadir coast, we are dealing with three large sites, Mogadishu, Merca and Barawa, which were prominent in the cultural landscape in their development as centres for the exchange of resources, as well as the performance of religious activities (Hassan 1993, p. 552). Each of them benefited from a fertile, riverine hinterland, which, even though severely depleted by the ravages of war, can in the future still be used to establish a chronological sequence. These settlements also enjoyed abundant maritime resources on an almost equal footing for centuries.

In other words, we do not have a settlement hierarchy or a central-place situation in Somalia in the real sense. In this context, the idea of Mogadishu emerging as an outstanding primary city above all the others is part of the later colonial heritage (Breese 1966; Hance 1970), and does not fit into the perspective used here. The relative dominance of Mogadishu over Merca and Barawa is beyond doubt, as indicated in the geographical location section.

The Benadir coastal settlements consist mainly of the twin town of Mogadishu and single ones, such as Merca and Barawa, supported by riverine agriculture. As will be demonstrated later, it is quite obvious that the hinterland played a crucial role in the development of urban centres on the Benadir coast. The immediate surroundings of Mogadishu are quite unsuitable for food production, and other areas must have been utilized for this purpose. The Shabelle River, rising in the Ethiopian highlands near areas known to have been prominent in cultivation at an early date, together with its fertile plain, provided good pre-conditions for prehistoric agriculture in the Benadir.

Geographical factors for settlement location are very important, and in this regard Mogadishu enjoys certain advantages:

(1) It is located at the point where the River Shabelle first runs close to the sea. Other major Benadir towns, such as Merca and Barawa (Map 2), are located near (or within reach) of riverine and marine resources. Similar urban



**Map 2.** The locations of potential areas for agriculture, as well as the trade routes, around 1850 (after Cassanelli 1982, p. 151).

developments have been found beyond the area delimited by Warsheikh, north of Mogadishu, and Mundun, inland from Barawa in the south, beyond which, the river ends in sand-dunes with no direct outlet to the sea. The Benadir group of sites, extending from Warsheikh to Barawa, is separated from a southern group of coastal sites stretching from Kismayo to the Kenya border by a barren coast 235 km long (Wilson 1984, p. 73). The present study is concerned with the former group.

(2) The coral reef which runs parallel along most of this coast is not continuous but has gaps which provide vessels with access to protective anchorages at for instance Mogadishu, Lamu and Mombasa (Haywood 1935, p. 59).

In this thesis, an assessment will be made of environmental units drawn from an analysis of a Spot satellite image, as well as existing soil maps (FAO 1977). This will link the archaeological and historical sources with ethnographic data on the cycle of activities, and the impact of these on the landscape. The conceptual approach is defined here in simple terms, as the study of the relationships between phenomena and processes in the landscape, including plants, animals and human interactions (Vink 1983, p. 2).

The aim is to understand how town sites developed. Current efforts elsewhere in East Africa have shown how towns grew out of formerly small villages and subsistence economies in this part of eastern Africa (Mutoro 1987; Chami 1994). This may well be true of Somalia, but the limitations in the data referring to indigenous, urban development have to be recognized. Foreign elements (Arabian and Persian), especially in terms of religious influences growing out of connections revived during the Islamic era, reinforced the Islamic identity of the Somali people (Lewis 1993, p. 10). However, without underestimating this impact, the external inputs may not have led to the origins of these settlements. In that regard, there is a need to combine both internal and external stimuli in considering the origins and growth of urban settlements along the Benadir coast.

Furthermore, it is a fact that we do not find magnificent, early, stone-structures along the Shabelle flood plain, probably for a number of reasons. First, the two main quarries for building are located on the coast, about 30 km away and separated by sand-dunes from the interior, while the second source is located further inland towards the Bur area, about 150 km away. Even if problems of transport were solved somehow, any remains would have been buried by the silt deposited by the Shabelle River floods, which are very common in this area. The mainly thatch-and-mud buildings seen today are the result of appropriating the material, nearest at hand (Jama 1990, p. 120; Hulthén, *pers. comm.*).

## Chapter 2

### Physical context and site-catchment data

The coast of southern Somalia is characterised by high mountains in the north-eastern part and a low plateau in the south. The coastal plain which, in some areas is about 100 to 160 km wide, slopes gently towards the sea. The climate of most of southern Somalia, bordering the Indian Ocean, is classified as arid or semi-arid, like the rest of the country (White 1983, p. 111; Krokfors 1983). However, in environmental terms, it would be misleading to describe the southern part of Somalia as desert (Meigs 1966; McGinnies, Goldman & Paylore 1968). The environmental conditions in the study area, which stretches from Warsheikh in the north to Barawa in the south, will be the focus of more detailed attention here. Environmental information was obtained from a Spot satellite image, aerial photographs, soil maps, field surveys and historical documents.

The Spot satellite image (Plate V) was taken in February 1987, (during a dry season). The interpretation was carried out during October–November 1992 in the Department of Physical Geography at Uppsala University with the help of Rydén. The satellite imagery covers three major archaeological settlements – Mogadishu, Gezeira (along the coast) and Afgoi (in the interior) – together with the Shabelle River flood plain.

The art and science of obtaining reliable information about objects and the environment through the processes of recording, measuring and interpreting satellite imagery, is called remote sensing (Strömquist & Larsson 1994). Remote sensing can support all phases of archaeological investigations, but images do not directly help in first-hand, site location; they are more useful in assessing the physical context, using the land-system approach, which is crucial in archaeological catchment analysis (Sinclair 1994, p. 93). The data derived from the image can be used to generate maps and Geographical Information System (GIS) data themes. In this study image interpretation has been used.

One major advantage of satellite imagery, is that, it facilitates the regional assessment of resource concentration, and relation of settlement patterns to environmental units. Additional descriptions of soil classification, agricultural productivity and natural vegetation patterns were drawn from the soil maps of the world of 1974, 1977 and FAO 1978, while those on temperature, precipitation, vapour pressure and evaporation for both coast and hinterland settlements were obtained from FAO 1984.

Although part of the study area has been ground-surveyed, we have to bear in mind that, in dealing with remote sensing and the GIS, we are studying the picture rather than the actual phenomena. One way in which the GIS can help is in the study of site catchments, which is used to investigate correlations between the settlement location and the subsistence economy, aiming to understand the resources utilized by a site through study of the existing environment. This method of investigation developed originally by Higgs and Vita-Finzi (1972; 1978), and applied with modifications throughout southern Africa, despite some criticisms made of it (Sinclair, *pers. comm.*), aims at fitting in the archaeological sites located along the Benadir landscape.

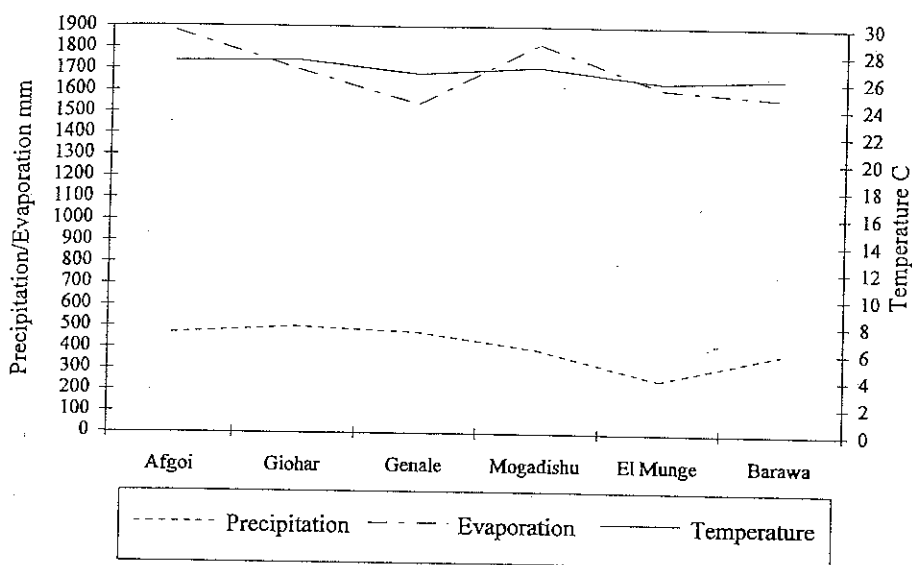
## 2.1. Seasons

There are four seasons in Somalia – Jilal (dry season), Gu (spring), Haga (summer), and Dair (autumn) – and two of them are rainy seasons. These are related to the influence of the southwestern monsoon in summer and the northeastern monsoon in winter (White 1983, p. 111). The Gu is longer and more dependable and lasts from April to May. The Dair, which is shorter, occurs from November to December. In the Benadir, the mean annual temperature ranges from 24°C along the coast to 27°C in the interior, and the mean annual precipitation at the Afgoi Central Agricultural Research Station is 536.3 mm, with a regular distribution (Mokma & Abdalla 1984, p. 221). The station is located on the flood plain, about 3 km east of Afgoi. This region also receives what is locally known as ‘xagayo’ rains, which fall in June and August and result from a cold, seasonal current caused by the southeastern monsoon winds. The rains reach up to 50 km inland and are very important for crop productivity in this region (Figs 1 and 9).

Estimates of crop productivity and the length of the growing periods of some of the traditional crops are available, and this information can elucidate some of the factors that, influenced settlement location, and distribution within the Benadir region (Fig. 1).

## 2.2. Land systems and soil units

The land-classification system used here combines a number of mapping units obtained from satellite interpretation (Fig. 2). In this study two main land systems (littoral and flood plain) have been identified, and each system has its specific land facets, which will be considered on the basis of the existing landscape ecology and analysed, using the GIS (Haines, Green & Cousins 1993, p. 23; Strömquist & Larsson 1994).



**Figure 1.** Yearly distributions of precipitation, evaporation (mm = millimetre) and temperature (C = °C) of six settlements located along the flood plain and the coast. These are important, as they help us to compare agricultural production and livestock-raising in the region (Figures 1, 5, 6 and 9, FAO, Rome, No. 22, 1984).

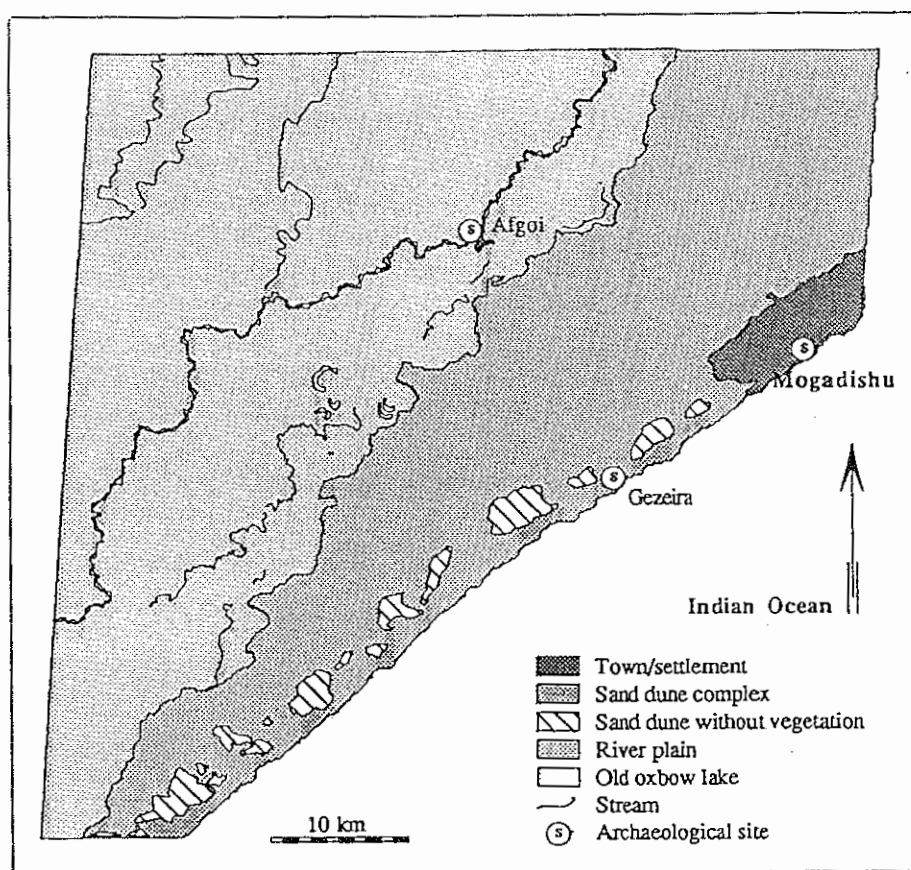
The land-systems and soil units found in the Benadir region include the following:

### 2.2.1. Littoral plain

The dominant soils here are arenosols (calcaric arenosols), which are formed by weathering and transportation, and are weakly developed soils of coarse texture (Meigs 1966). They are associated with shifting sand-dunes (ba'ad). An intermittent chain of sand-dunes stretches from Eil in the north for 2000 km along the Indian Ocean coast and for up to 20–25 km inland. The age of the coastal sand-dunes has been estimated at 100,000 to 130,000 years (G. Brooke, *pers. comm.* 1985), possibly dating to the last inter-glacial.

A framework which links the sea-level changes and the development of settlements along the coast of East Africa has been outlined by Mörmner. He notes that such places refer to, dates back to the first centuries AD, coincidentally with low sea-levels in East Africa (Mörmner 1992, p. 261). The formation of flat, off-shore areas of coral fragments at about 1–2 m above sea-level are common on the Benadir coast. In this situation, Mörmner alludes to a high sea-level followed by a low sea-level. The ruins of old buildings eroded by the





**Figure 2.** The two main landsystems in the study area, the littoral and the Shabelle flood plain, include a number of land facets. The drainage pattern is also shown (Figures 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13 and 14 were obtained from satellite-image interpretation, carried out by the author with the help of Anders Rydén).

sea along this coast, indicate a former, lower sea-level and a subsequent sea-level rise, and some of the buildings of Merca and Barawa that were originally by the shore have long been abandoned.

Sand dunes, raised-beach terraces, beach bridges, emerged coral reefs and buried alluvial deposits are all considered roughly contemporary with a high sea-level (c. 5 m above the present sea-level) and are dated to around 125,000 years ago. The dunes reach about 20 km inland in some parts of the

study area today and reach up to 180 m in height, despite their moderate slope. The coastal vegetation, which holds some of the shifting sand-dunes in position, is mainly sparse, with *Acacia* as the dominant tree species. The land use of arenosols in the Benadir is limited to a short period of grazing, together with very small-scale, subsistence farming during the wet season.

### 2.2.2. *Shabelle flood plain*

Vertisols are found along the Shabelle flood plain and contain heavy clays. The dominance of vertisols, formed by deposition, is indicated by the drainage. They are agriculturally fertile but are heavy to work and may contain salt (calcic vertisols). The meandering river indicates a low variation in annual flow (Fig. 2). From the presence of old oxbow lakes and the meandering pattern, we can assume that there have been better climatic conditions previously in this area (Driessen & Dudal 1989, p. 60). Furthermore, truncated meanders indicate that the Shabelle has changed its course through time.

The river plain is situated about 80 m a.s.l. and consists of fertile clays and silts. This plain is interrupted only by the Shabelle and a few, seasonal, river beds. Important events in the later geological history of this area include dune formation and blocking of the river's access to the sea. The river ends in sand-dunes after having been diverted towards the southwest along the coast. The vegetation along the river is bush with thick undergrowth, but further inland grassland is dominant with a gentle slope. In terms of land use, these soils are fine-textured, with poor drainage, but are productive, despite their poor workability (Driessen & Dudal 1989, p. 68).

### 2.2.3. *Upland area (Doi)*

This is red-soil land, located between the Shabelle and the Juba Rivers. Fluvisol soils are found here (calcaric fluvisols), and are indicated by the drainage, which implies a better permeability, than that of the vertisols. They are developed in alluvial deposits and are used for a wide range of crops, as well as for grazing. The high fertility of fluvisols allows cultivation of a wide range of dry-land crops, several of them even twice a year (Fig. 2).

## 2.3. Vegetation

The parameters assessed include vegetation, as well as land-use units in the FAO system. In this regard Mogadishu lies within the Somali-Masai vegetational sub-region, which occupies a significant part of Africa's mainland between 16°N. and 9°S. and between 34°E. and 51°E. (White 1983, pp. 110–11). Further south from Barawa, the vegetation is part of the Zanzibar-Inhambane mosaic, which stretches as far as southern Mozambique.

The vegetation around Mogadishu is tropical and sub-tropical semi-desert, with sparse and widely spaced, vegetation cover. The main genera are *Acacia* and *Commiphora* (Pignatti & Warfa 1983; White 1983, p. 113). The open thorny woodland, which is mainly *Acacia*, is wide-spread on the sand-dunes and extends between Mogadishu and Afgoi and up to Gezeira and Bala'd. The same community is also found along the sand-dunes facing Barawa, about 200 km south of the capital.

The vegetation of the research region ranges from areas of dense shrubs and *Acacia* woodland to areas with little vegetation. The grazing potential of this area is enhanced by the forms and variety of the natural grasses, which support livestock as well as wildlife, despite their low level of productivity in the low-rainfall areas (Skerman & Riveros 1990, p. 63). Important species on the coastal plain are, for example, *Aerva javanica* and *Jatropha pelargoniifolia*, while a shrubland with a rich variety of species is found further inland (White 1983, 115–16). *Chrysopogon plumulosus*, which is grazed during the dry periods when many, small, more palatable grasses disappear, is the dominant grass in many arid areas of Somalia (Skerman & Riveros 1990, p. 15).

Widespread over-grazing in the modern sense (White 1983, p. 110) was not a major concern during the development of settlements in the Benadir area, as the population was very small and space was available for the seasonal movement of animals, permitting other grazing grounds to regenerate.

As already mentioned, vegetation, density increases from the coast towards the hinterland, where cultivation is predominant. There is much less natural vegetation along the coast south of Mogadishu down to Barawa, when compared with the north coast adjacent to Mogadishu. There is probably one main reason for this, as, according to early maps and observations made during the ground-surface survey, there were a good number of early, small, village settlements dotted between Mogadishu and Merca (a distance of 70 km). Such communities included Gezeira, Nimow, Aw Make, Danane, Gendershe, and Gehib-Merca. This is an area where the River Shabelle runs closely parallel to the coast, which means that resource exploitation has been very intensive in this ecozone, with the presence of settled communities for centuries. This long period of resource utilization has probably resulted in the extensive soil erosion in that zone. Accordingly, the present soils are characterised by mainly shifting sand-dunes along the coast and fertile clay around the river plain. This assessment excludes the huge sand-dunes, which are contemporary with sea-level changes during the last inter-glacial c. 125,000 years ago.

## 2.4. Land-system area and catchment distance

For calculations of areas utilized around sites and within each land system, a 200 x 200-m resolution raster (GIS) was chosen. In addition, the crop yield per land unit can be estimated by utilizing information from the FAO and the information derived from the image interpretation.

To calculate the resource availability, we take pre-defined radii of 5, 10 and 25 km (Table 1) from three settlements in the Benadir region on the basis of information obtained from the Spot image (Fig. 3). Since resource availability depends upon the nature of the land-system, this will show the type of land facets and their potentiality for exploitation. For the coastal sites of Mogadishu and Gezeira, the sea is excluded, since its potentials are not determined in the same way as those inland.

**Table 1.** The area of land units within radii of 5 and 10 km around

(a) Gezeira and (b) Afgoi and within radii of (c) 5, 10 and 25 km around Mogadishu.

### (a) Gezeira

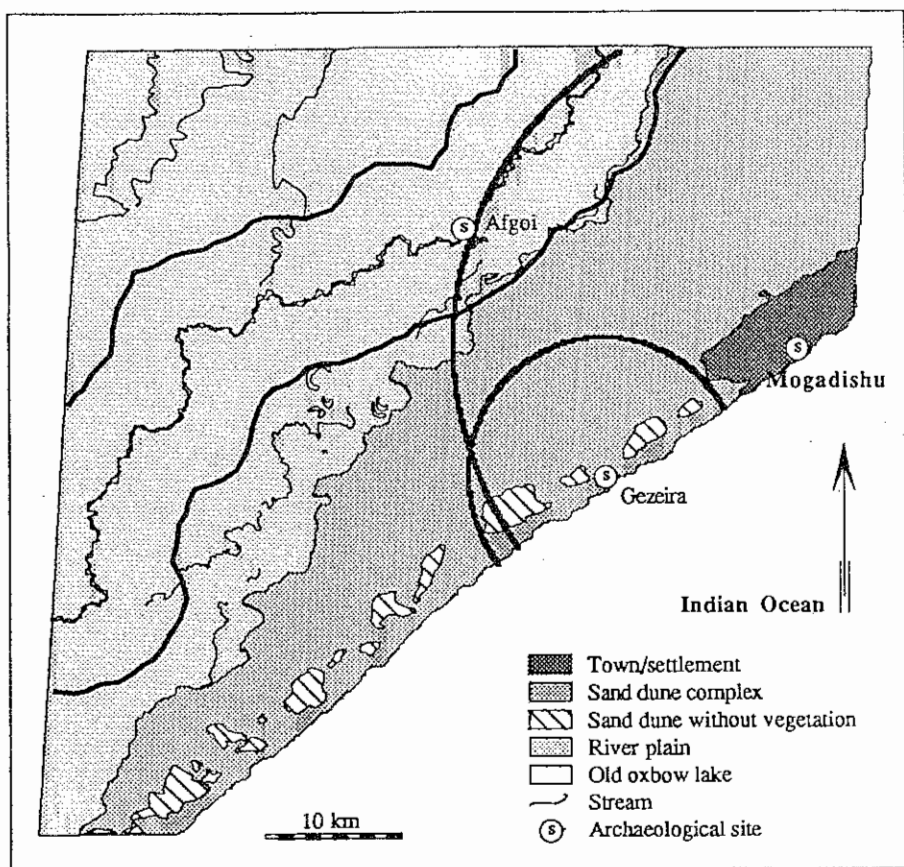
5 km	1018	pixels	Sand-dune complex	=	44 km <sup>2</sup>
	185	pixels	Sand-dunes	=	8 km <sup>2</sup>
5-10 km	2588	pixels	Littoral plain	=	112 km <sup>2</sup>
	418	pixels	Sand-dunes	=	18 km <sup>2</sup>

### (b) Afgoi

5 km	1789	pixels	River plain	=	78 km <sup>2</sup>
	12	pixels	Littoral plain	=	1 km <sup>2</sup>
5-10 km	4242	pixels	River plain	=	184 km <sup>2</sup>
	1222	pixels	Littoral plain	=	53 km <sup>2</sup>

### (c) Mogadishu

5 km	1112	pixels	Littoral plain	=	48 km <sup>2</sup>
5-10 km	2424	pixels	Littoral plain	=	107 km <sup>2</sup>
	22	pixels	Sand-dunes	=	1 km <sup>2</sup>
10-25 km	11437	pixels	Littoral plain	=	496 km <sup>2</sup>
	364	pixels	Sand-dunes	=	16 km <sup>2</sup>
	2512	pixels	River plain	=	109 km <sup>2</sup>



**Figure 3.** The settlement-exploitation catchments within radii of 25 and 10 km for Mogadishu and Gezeira respectively. However, marine products are obtained in abundance, though they are not a diet favoured by most Somalis. It was only within a range of 25 km that the coastal inhabitants had access to interior resources. In the case of Afgoi, its location on the bank of the Shabelle River ensured that food could be obtained from all directions.

## 2.5. Agricultural productivity

Cultivation depends upon the climatic conditions such as rainfall, water and solar radiation, together with vegetation and the soil type of the area. The temperature in the Benadir interior, as noted earlier, averages about 27°C and the mean annual precipitation is 536.3 mm, with a regular distribution. Animal husbandry is, however, the key to the survival of the majority of the Somali population. Cattle, camels, sheep and goats all supply milk, milk products, meat and the means of exchange for non-pastoral products, such as sugar, tea, cloth and the other foodstuffs that supplement the customary diet of the pastoralists (Cassanelli 1982; Lewis 1961).

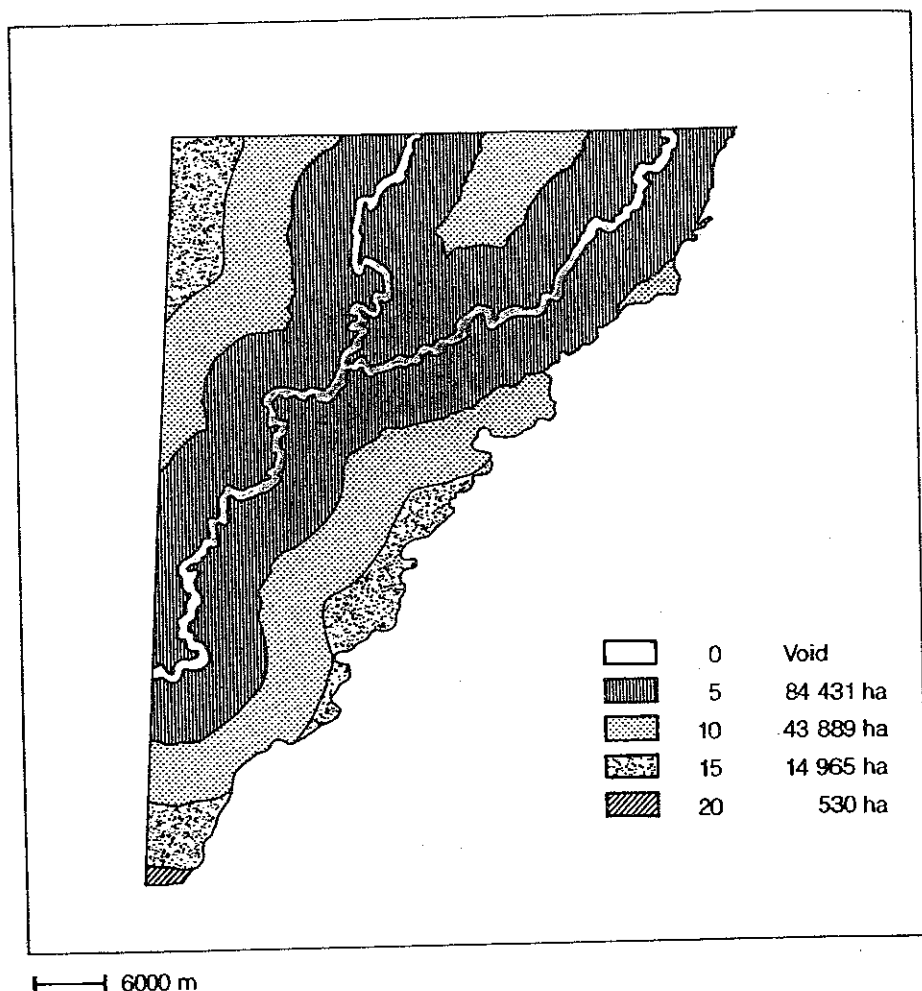
### 2.5.1. Land suitability

In arid areas like Somalia, farmers face the problem of salt accumulation in the soils, and this causes crop loss for small-scale farmers. The problem has existed for centuries but has become worse in modern times, when the amount of land under irrigation has increased. The salt problem along the Shabelle plain (Fig. 4) was not a major threat to food production during the development of the Benadir coastal settlements as centres of power and commerce. Date-palms, which are salt-tolerant are grown extensively along the coast of the northeastern region, while grains and vegetables, which are moderately salt-tolerant, and fruits, with their low salt-tolerance, are grown in the river flood-plain (*Daily Nation* 1993, p. 3; Mohammadain 1984, pp. 27-9), and consumed by the people of Mogadishu as reported by Battuta during his visit to Mogadishu in AD 1331.

It is important to define the conditions under which crops could have been grown. According to the Report on the Agro-Ecological Zones Project (FAO 1978), the land- suitability classes are the flood plain, rated as very suitable, which means 80% or more of the maximum attainable yield, while the land adjacent to the flood plain (known as Doi) in this region is considered as suitable, meaning that between 40 and 80% of the maximum attainable yield is possible under rain-fed conditions. In both cases, the yield is little affected by soil conditions (FAO 1978, p. 92). Marginally suitable which is between 20 and 40% of the maximum, is considered in the study area as the buffer zone between the two main land systems. This is an area with moderate soil limitations, because the soil can support grazing grounds and some subsistence farming. Finally, the unsuitable category is less than 20% of the maximum yield. This applies to the land immediately adjacent to the coast (FAO 1978, p. 91). However, no part of the research area is entirely free from natural limitations in terms of production. For example poor workability exists in areas around the river because of excess moisture in the soil,

while the land beyond the river has unreliable rainfall (FAO 1978, p. 93, also see Figs 4 and 8).

Moreover, vertisols are heavy soils and can not be cultivated with hand tools. We are dealing with two different but closely related soils (vertisols and fluvisols) in this region, and they were chosen for cultivation, depending on the level of technology in use (Fig. 7).



**Figure 4.** Arable land in the research area within 5, 10, 15 and 20 km of the Shabelle River, calculated from the Spot image in cumulative form, i.e. 5 and 10 km of arable land represent  $84,431 + 43,889 = 128,320$  hectares. This map is related to Figures 2 and 7. For orientation see Plate V.

### 2.5.2. Growing periods

The growing period relates to the number of days in a year in which conditions are suitable for plant growth. It is defined here (FAO 1978, p. 33) as the period during a year when precipitation exceeds half the potential evapotranspiration, plus a period required to evapotranspire an assumed 100 mm of water from excess precipitation stored in the soil profile. A normal growing period must exhibit a humid period i.e. a period with an excess of precipitation over potential evapotranspiration. In other words, by comparing the amounts of rainfall, together with the evaporation, the length of the growing period can be estimated and related to the situation of the study area (Fig. 5).

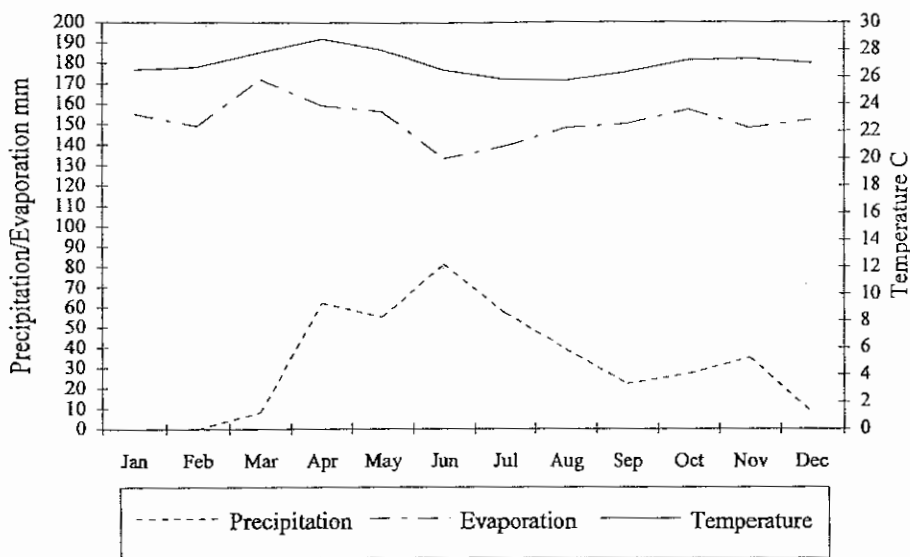
According to the historian I. M. Lewis, sedentary cultivators make two sowings of *durra*, (later confirmed by interviewing some local elders). The first sowing is in May and is harvested in August, and the second is in September or October and is harvested about four months later (Lewis 1969, p. 72). The yield harvested averages from 317.52 kg to 408.24 kg per acre. Sesame has a three-month, growth cycle and cotton is harvested eight months after planting. All the crops can be harvested twice a year. Some crops have multiple uses, for example, when the *durra* is harvested by cutting off the heads, the leaves are given to the cattle, the stalks to the camels and the roots provide fodder for other herds (p. 73).

The growing period begins when the rainy season starts, while the humid period (which is June in this region) is also considered as prolonging the growing period. Such a period not only meets the full evapotranspiration of crops but also replenishes the moisture deficit of the soil profile (FAO 1978, p. 35; see Fig. 6).

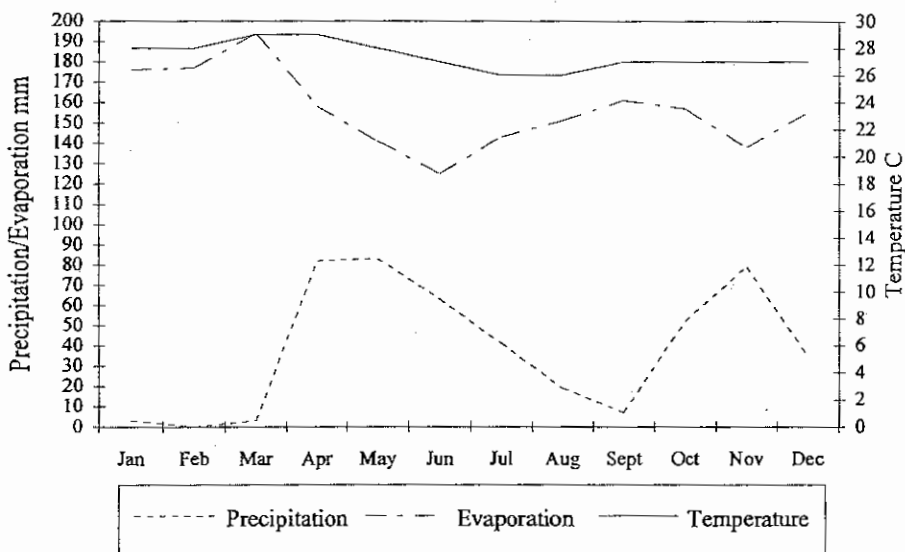
Similarly, the end of the rains occurs during the post-humid period, in which precipitation is again less than potential evapotranspiration and crops begin to draw upon water stored in the soil. The end of the growing period for most crops continues beyond the rainy season, as along the Shabelle flood plain, where crops take advantage of the moisture stored in the soils. In discussing the length of the growing period in this area, the high content of moisture in the soil is crucial (FAO 1978, p. 37).

In this connection, a brief outline is provided below of some of the crops grown in the study area, together with their growing-period zones (FAO 1978, p. 15). In this regard, millet has the shortest growing period, because it grows quickly and at the same time is normally more drought-resistant than other crops.





**Figure 5.** The distribution of monthly rainfall, evaporation (mm = millimetre) and temperature ( $C = ^\circ C$ ) in Mogadishu (littoral plain, latitude 2.02, longitude 45.21, elevation 9 m). June is the period of highest precipitation period due to the summer (xagayo) rains connected with the southeastern monsoons. This map relates to Figures 2 and 13.



**Figure 6.** The distribution of rainfall, evaporation (mm = millimetre) and temperature ( $C = ^\circ C$ ) of Afgoi (flood plain, latitude 2.09, longitude 45.08, elevation 83 m).

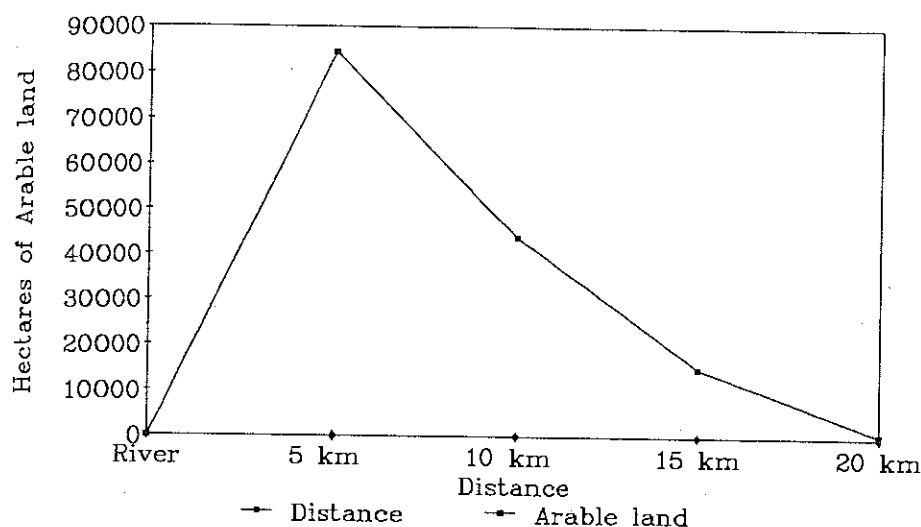


Figure 7. Shabelle flood plain. The area of arable land in hectares, at intervals of 5 km, on both sides of the river. This figure corresponds to Figure 4.

### 2.5.3. Conclusion

In the past, farming activity was considered by the Somali pastoralists as inferior and was practised only by some southern tribes living along the banks of the two main rivers, the Juba and the Shabelle. Agriculture was the sole occupation of the people who formed two confederations of clans, the Digil and the Rahanwein. However, that attitude has been changing gradually for the last thirty years, particularly along the well-watered, river zone.

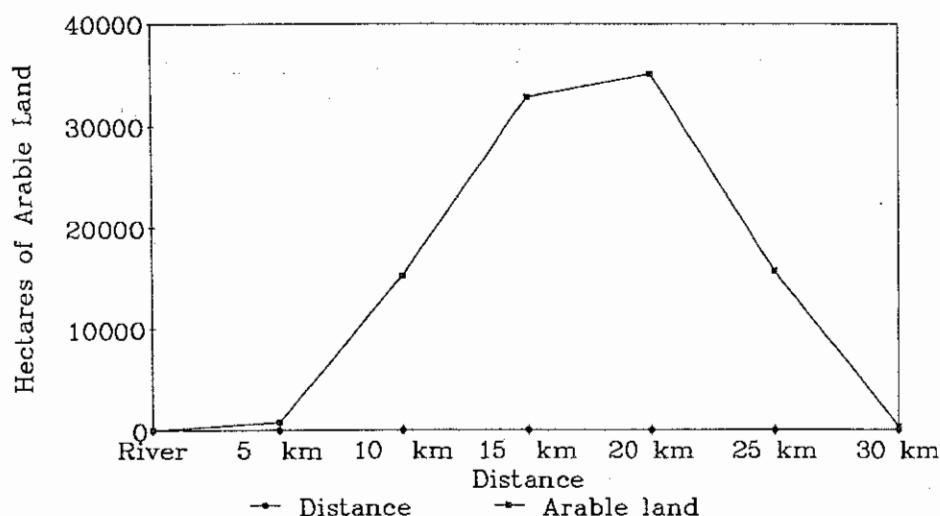
In this riverine area agriculture depends mainly upon the flooding, as well as the local rainfall (Fig. 8). Moreover, areas with slightly less rain support various crops, such as sorghum, which is seeded heavily and grows fast, with high yields (Skerman & Riveros 1990, p. 74). Furthermore, both sorghum and millet are drought-resistant.

The traditional crops in this area are cereals, *durra*, beans, elusine, sesame, cotton, manioc, papaya, Indian corn, sweet potatoes and millet. Initially, these crops were grown on a subsistence basis by using hand tools and draught animals. Later on, the agricultural system of the Shabelle developed to a level of surplus production, owing to increased demand from the coastal settlements for consumption, as well as for export to other parts in the region.

*Durra*, which best withstands the harsh conditions, is favoured in areas where stock-rearing and cultivation are closely associated. However, live-stock is the basis of the economy, and the supply of milk and milk products represents the major component of the Somali diet. In addition, in the riverine area, unlike the northern nomadic zone, porridge (*sor*) made from *durra* flour is popular and largely consumed. Along the coast, cassava, a long-duration crop with good storage potential, is preferred by many people.

In connection with productivity in the social aspect, there is a festival known as Istun or 'stick-fight', which is associated with agricultural productivity in the Shabelle region. It takes place during the summer harvest,

Crop	Growing-period zone, days
Millet	70-90
Sorghum	90-120
Maize	90-120
Beans	90-120
Cassava	180-330



**Figure 8.** The area of arable land in hectares, in relation to 5-km intervals from the river, going towards the coast. The first 5-km interval is very small, as the soil is wet and hard to work. In the coastal zone, small-scale subsistence farming and grazing can be practised during the rainy season. This figure relates to Figures 2, 5 and 13.

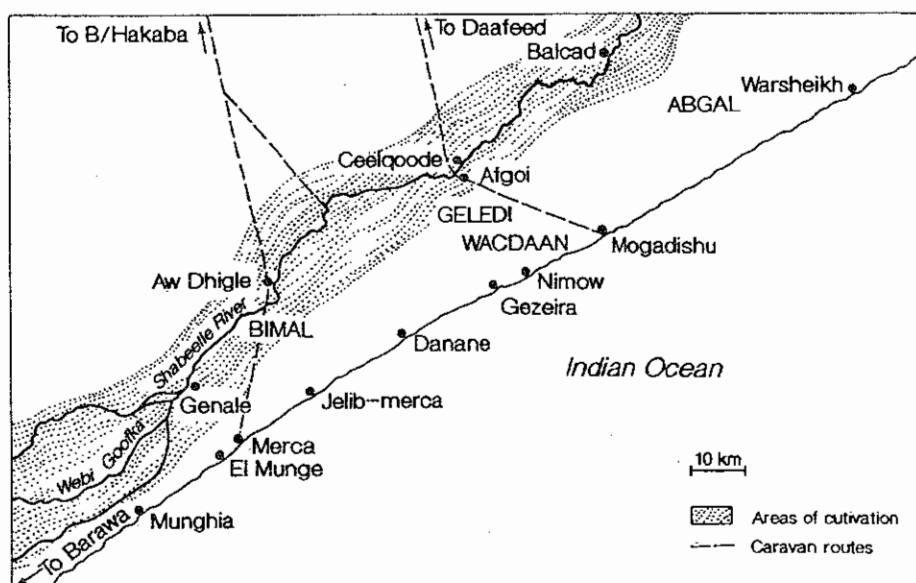
June-August, in the town of Afgoi, 30 km southwest of Mogadishu. The town is divided into two parts by the Shabelle River, and two teams representing the two halves of the town participate in the mock battle, which takes place in a field outside the town. The festival is based on a popular belief that the earth would not yield rich crops and the women would not conceive if the Istun was not performed and human blood not spilt on the earth. The festival also marks the day of the new-year festival of Dabshid, and the first day of the agricultural year (Luling 1984, p. 49). The combatants, who are equipped with light sticks, are led into the field by old warriors, singing songs that recall the past. The warriors are encouraged by their wives, who follow them to the battlefield, retiring before the fight starts.

## 2.6. The people and their cycle of activities

In the following discussion, the study area will be divided into zones. Ecological factors will be integrated within the context of the existing social cycles of herding, farming, fishing, hunting and gathering, weaving, pottery-making, metal-working and boat-building. By Benadir, I mean here the coast from Warsheikh in the north to Barawa in the south and the immediate hinterland, for example Bala'd, Afgoi, Genale, Aw Dhiggle and Mundun, following the Shabelle River basin zone (Map 3). The land between the rivers known as Doi will be included, in order to assess the whole network of interaction. What is important to note in advance is that, apart from pastoralism (more than 60% of the Somali population are engaged in livestock-raising as nomads or semi-nomads; Lewis 1993, p. 10), all these occupations are practised in the study area; the people (except for the pastoralists) perform different activities in different seasons. Most of the small-scale crafts, such as pottery-making, metal-working and shoe-making are practised by minority groups.

On the bases of the economy and the ecology, the nature of the seasonal movement in this area can be discussed. Fluctuations are remembered and named after important events which took place in their course, i.e. *Duumaale* (the year of the malaria), which entails a lot of rain and thick undergrowth, favouring the breeding of mosquitoes; *Caanoole*, the year of the milk and *Saamalaaye*, the year of the animal corpses, which means severe drought (see also Lewis 1969, p. 64). In this way, through generations of experience, people gain knowledge of the movements of the stars, seasons and grazing cycles.

The first zone, north of Mogadishu, has more vegetation than that to the south. The main activity is farming during the rainy period May-June and September-November, followed by herding and fishing. During the rest of



**Map 3.** The lower Shabelle River area (after Cassanelli 1982, p. 184), with some modifications by the author.

the year, the conditions are quite different. The weather gets windy, which makes fishing grounds less favourable, if not impossible of access, but small-scale herding continues, as well as quarrying and collecting stones for building purposes. There is a strong clan system in Somalia, and the major group in Mogadishu and its environs is known as Abgal.

The second zone is south of Mogadishu, where there is less vegetation, as indicated in the section on the environment. This area is important for a number of reasons. It is where 90% of the littoral plain in the study area is located, stretching from Mogadishu down to Barawa, with a variety of different ethnic groups and caste occupations, such as iron-working, leather-working and pottery manufacture. It is where all the known, early settlements are found, yielding a range of finds from Late Stone Age (microolithic) artifacts to modern ceramics. The activities practised are as mentioned above and include: fishing, pottery making, weaving, metal working, shoemaking and trading. Farming and herding are hardly known with the exception of few domestic animals.

The third zone we need to consider is the river flood plain, where most of the farming is practised. As noted earlier in the section on agricultural productivity, this is where almost all farming takes place for most of the year, except for a few months from December to April. This is a very dry period for the whole region (Fig. 9).

The fourth zone is the land between the Juba and the Shabelle Rivers and is known as Doi (red soil), which is a flat plain sustaining large herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats and forming the hunting and gathering grounds for the Eile hunters, especially around the Bur-Heybe area.

Having defined the four zones, it is appropriate to highlight in general terms the people who live within them. The range of ethnic groups mentioned here refers to clan divisions rather than classes. The groups found along the coast include the Abgal and the Murursade, who are mainly involved in farming, herding and quarrying. The other groups are called Reer-Hamar, since they claim Asiatic ancestry; their name is derived from Hamar, which is an old name for Mogadishu, and is a collective name for people who are not related by blood but by association (the term 'Reer' refers to a group of people, who are related in some form or another). The principle in traditional, Somali, social organization is kinship, which is traced patrilineally in the male line (Lewis 1993, p. 47).

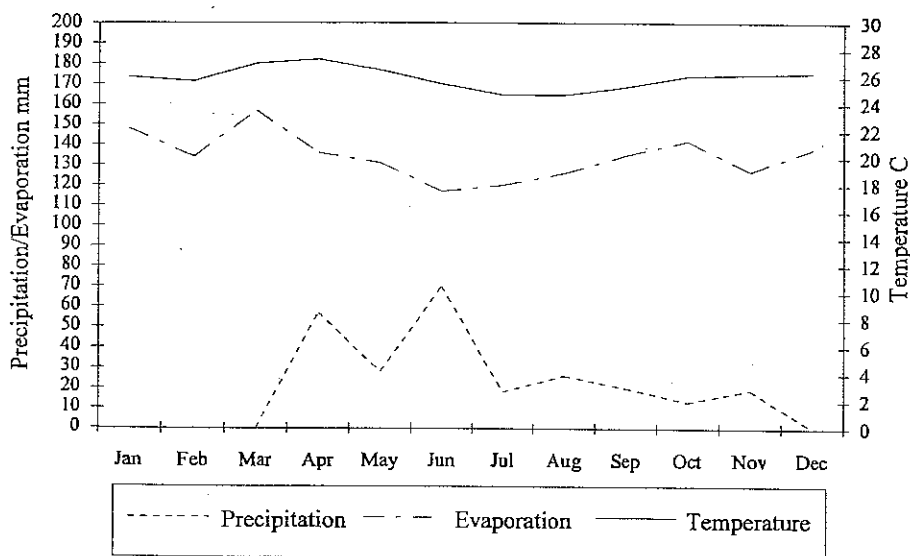


Figure 9. The distribution of rainfall, evaporation (mm = millimetre) and temperature ( $^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) of El Munge, a small village 6 km. south of Merca (latitude 1.43, longitude 44.46, elevation 12 m).

The people living in the towns consist of several groups, such as the Khabarweyne, Shanshi and Faqay, who are traders, while the Qalinshube, Bandhabow and Reer-Manyo are gold-smiths, weavers and fishers respectively. There are also Amurdi and some Indians and Arabs who are engaged in trade, and local cloth-weaving is practised all along the Benadir coast.

In Merca, the Reer-Merca, (similar to Reer-Hamar), comprise the Durugbo and Ashraf, who are traders and religious leaders respectively. In Barawa, the Reer-Barawa are known as Wabarawa, and they are traders and shoemakers. The population composition on the coast partly reflects how places such as Mogadishu, Merca and Barawa were connected with Arab immigrants and settlements.

The groups found along the Shabelle River flood plain, as well as further inland, include the Geledi and Wa'adaan in and around Afgoi, and they are involved in both herding and farming. The Gal-Je'el are exclusively herders, while the Eile are engaged in hunting and gathering throughout the year, depending on the type of resource available. Inland from Merca and Barawa, the Biamal and Tunni are involved in herding and farming.

Mobility is a constant condition among most groups, depending on the season, and the only groups who are strictly attached to town life on an annual basis (living in the old quarters) are the Reer-Hamar, Reer-Merca and Reer-Barawa. They are very closed communities and retain their Asiatic features and customs.

In connection with cycles of activities, differences exist between the northern nomads and the southern pastoralists. In the north pastoral nomadism represents the most important, human-subsistence strategy, and the transhumance cycle is determined for each clan by the location of permanent water. However, in the south, the riverine environment transhumance and sedentary cultivation are combined. Around the Shabelle and the Juba, the cycle of movement is from the Doi towards the rivers, when the dry seasons fall and the pasture is exhausted, to water the livestock in a territory occupied by cultivators, with their permission. Each clan has a grazing area, which is defined in relation to a settled village. The movement of people and livestock takes place twice a year and they move away from the home base when the rainy season is expected (Lewis 1969, p. 93).

In other words, a mixed agricultural-pastoral economy is typical of this region. Moreover, a wide expanse of pasture-land is common to all, while the areas bordering the mixed-cultivation villages are regarded as private. In summary, the peoples of this region can be divided, in terms of their activities into five groups:

(a) Pastoral nomads, who consume milk, bush fruits and meat, when necessary.

(b) Agricultural pastoralists, who consume milk, *durra* or beans, meat and bush fruit like the pastoralists. The movements of both groups depend mainly upon the rainy seasons; when there is no pasture left, they move out in search of new pasture. During the rainy season, livestock spreads, as water is available in many places, but in the dry season they converge to areas close to permanent water, where there is also mainly ungrazed grass.

(c) Sedentary cultivators, who consume local bread (*mofa*), *durra*, maize, beans, vegetables, bananas, dates, mangoes and poultry and practise small scale fishing along the rivers. Most of the communities are village-based rather than kinship-based.

In the interior, pottery-making is carried out by men, while women work as farmers. Along the coast, pottery-making is done by women, while men go fishing. Pottery-making is carried out mainly during the dry season, when little time is needed for working on farms or on fishing. In the case of the pastoralists, camels and cattle are under the care of the young men, while flocks are tended by the women and children.

(d) Hunter-gatherers. The hunters in the study area are known as Eile, and they hunt with dogs, *ei* (dog) *puccioni* (Lewis 1969, p.75). For hunting, the available game includes dik-dik, antelopes, giraffe, zebra, gazelle, hippopotamus, elephant, lion and leopard. The best time to hunt is in the dry season, when game collects at water-points (Lewis 1969, p. 75).

The wildlife congregates in areas of short grass during the wet season and when this is consumed, they move towards the riverine area (between the Juba and the Shabelle) during the height of the dry season. However, this does not necessarily mean that all wildlife migrates *en masse*. Judging from my own seven years' experience in the region between the Benadir and Bay areas, some wildlife (dik-dik, kudu) remains in the Bur-Heybe and Dafet areas (Wanlawein). They group in pockets, where there is thick undergrowth that large animals could not reach during the wet period. The dry season is the best time for the Eile hunters to hunt, because they trap small animals when they gather in such pockets, while gathering is mainly performed when bush fruits are available.

(e) The coastal communities are mainly found between Warsheikh and Barawa, practising fishing, pottery-making and weaving, as well as trading, performing religious ceremonies, building houses and interacting with the interior clans for influence.

In general, in terms of the domestic economy, fishing in both the rivers and the sea is important, as reported by Colucci (Lewis 1969, p. 74); tuna fish, shark, turtle and tortoise are preferred. However, fish is not eaten by most Somalis, probably owing to their nomadic nature. At least in the case of Somalia, most of the livestock keepers always remain in the interior and



maintain few contacts with the coast. Secondly, they do not consider fish as a source of food. Thirdly, any type of meat has to be slaughtered first; otherwise it is not fit for consumption and probably, the smell plays a role too, since the idea of refrigerating is not known. In spite of this, the coastal Reer-Manyo are the traditional sea-fishers in the Benadir waters.

## Chapter 3

### Sources: documents, oral traditions and archaeology

The Somali language was not written until 1972, so for centuries information about all historical events had to be passed on orally or recorded in Arabic. However, oral traditions in this study are treated with caution, since a long time elapsed before they were recorded. Moreover, I am aware that many historians do not accept traditions more than 300 years old as convincing. But after the adoption of Islam, Somalis began recording their affairs in Arabic in a local script known as Far-Guri (local or home script). Arabic was the only language that, learned Somalis could write, and the primary historical accounts of Somali coastal settlements are those of Arab historians and geographers.

#### 3.1. Historical documents and oral traditions

The antiquity of some of the coastal settlements along the shores of Somalia, such as those in the Benadir is not questionable, despite the survival of only a few monuments, which are mainly mosques and minaras that have been renovated for present use (Ahmed 1978, p. 10). However, the founding dates of almost all of the Somali coastal settlements are still a matter of research. In spite of that, much is known from the classical documentary sources, especially from Arab writers, who have provided us with some general insights into the ways of life of the coastal peoples within the context of the seaborne trade. We learn very little, however, about their material culture from the historical sources. As regards the origins of Somali coastal towns, there is reported to have been an influx of immigrants from Arabia in the aftermath of the Prophet's death (Powells 1975). As early as the tenth century AD, members of a group of merchant immigrants, from the Al-Ahsa district, on the Persian Gulf, who fled to the Somali coasts, are supposed to have founded Mogadishu and Barawa among other places (Kirkman 1964; Chittick 1977; Hersi 1977; Horton 1984).

Despite the efforts made by Chittick, no systematic research has confirmed traces of the ports mentioned in the *Periplus*, except Hafun. Recent oral, written and archaeological evidence, however, contradicts the outright view of the Middle Eastern origins of the coastal settlements. Firstly, the guide book called the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written in the first

century AD, and translated several times into English by various scholars, such as Casson, under the title of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, alludes to those towns as 'Sarapion' and 'Nicon' respectively (Casson 1989, pp. 138–39). Secondly, the inscription on the tombstone of a lady who died in Mogadishu in the year 101 of the Islamic calendar would, with substantial justification, put the foundation of the city in the first century AH (Hersi 1977, p. 91). This indicates the existence of the town before the arrival of the Al-Ahsa group. There are also other tombstones and mosque inscriptions in Shangani, where most of the old tombs are found. The earliest of them, recorded by Cerulli in 1920, is that for Abu Abdulla B. Raya b. Muhammad b. Ahmad an-Nayasaburi al-khursani, who died in Rabi' al-Awal in (614 AH) (AD 1217). Another inscription records the death of Muhammad ibn Abdusamad ibn Muhammad Al Husayn in 670 AH (9th August AD 1271 to July 1272), (Cerulli 1957a, p. 4).

Concerning Barawa, there are convincing oral traditions which give the credit for the foundation of Barawa to a Somali folk hero, named Ali Barrow, whose descendants received Arab immigrants at later times (Hersi 1977, pp. 91–2). In terms of regional significance, Barawa is seen by many scholars as the northern limit of the Swahili community. It has much in common with both its northern, neighbouring settlements, which once formed the Benadir region, now consisting of Mogadishu and its surroundings, and with the East African towns in the south. Unlike other settlements, like Mogadishu and Merca, the inhabitants of Barawa (known as Barawani) speak a Swahili dialect. This definitely puts Barawa firmly in the position of maintaining long established contacts with other East African towns.

Addressing the origins of this Swahili dialect in the Barawa of today, Hersi (1977), writes that, towards the end of the fifteenth century, a new group of Arab returnees from Spain wandered up and down the East African coast before finally settling in Barawa, and this, together with Barawa's strong trade ties with the south, may account for the Swahili linguistic ties.

Other scholars maintain that, the Swahili dialect called Chimini, spoken in Barawa, indicates that, the original population was strong enough to resist the influence of both Somali and Arabic. Oral traditions collected for this research support the former position. For Mogadishu, some similar oral traditions collected for the present project in 1990 indicate that, the building of the early town started in two different places, called as Hamar wein and Shangani. Linguistically, the word '*Hamar wein*' is made up of two Arabic and Somali words. In various folk tales, it is related that an Arab traveller, together with his wife and riding on a lame she-camel, visited what is today known as Hamar wein. The story continues that, as night fell, the man alighted from the camel to say his prayers. Surprisingly, after he had finished

the prayers, four guests arrived. Then, as a host, he consulted with his wife on how to receive the guests. Taking care of a guest is a tradition highly honoured in Somalia. For this purpose, they killed their camel (the only commodity they had to offer) for the guests, who then helped themselves to the meat and slept on the camel's hide. Early in the morning the host's wife went to see them, but they were already gone. The story says that, on the hide mat, they left some glittering objects. On seeing them, she became excited and called her husband and when he saw the objects, he shouted 'Hamar, Hamar.' Simultaneously, she shouted very loudly 'wein' meaning 'a lot of gold'. Literally, *Hamar* (*Ahmar*) means 'red' and the Somali word *wein* means 'much' or 'big'. Caniglia (1917) rejects the relationship between Hamar' ('Amar') and the Arabic root *Hmr*, red (Chittick 1982, p. 48). In a more conspicuous sense, the Amarani are people who are found in Barawa, Merca, Mogadishu and Afgoi and are mostly traders and sailors; they speak a Swahili dialect known as *Hamarani* (*Chimbalazi*). de Vere Allen, writes Hamar as equivalent to 'Shungawaya' in the sense of *mji*, sacred settlement, in which its Bantuised derivative, *hamarani* or *amarani* is still used (Allen 1984, p. 38).

Hamar and Shangani (Fig. 10) were the two main quarters of the town before its expansion in recent times. More information about the early parts of Mogadishu is contained in a summary of private manuscripts and oral traditions collected for this study in 1990 (Hadi, Yussuf & Hassan 1990, pp. 1-5). However, the historical validity of these folk tales remains unclear, but if they are true, they point to the existence of an early union between the indigenous people and the incoming Arabs.

In the case of Shangani, it is acknowledged that the name comes from one of the quarters of the town of Nishapur in Persia, and probably indicates the influence of the Nishapurian community on Mogadishu (Hersi 1977, p. 97). In addition, Hersi, in his PhD thesis entitled, *The Arab Factor in Somali History*, draws attention to the oral traditions and manuscripts kept by a private citizen in Hamar, claiming that, a sultan named Asa'ad al-Himyari ruled the city of Mogadishu in pre-Islamic times. Although, this is a quite significant contribution, Hersi's sources for it are not clear (Hersi 1977). From another perspective, the breaking of the dam of prosperity in Arabia (the *ma'rib* disaster) might have forced southern Arabians to migrate northwards (Lewis 1966, pp. 24-5). This was connected with the change of trade routes from western Arabia to the Red Sea in the last quarter of the sixth century AD (Hersi 1977, p. 67). It is thought that some of these displaced Arabs, who knew the trade between Africa and the Arabian coasts, moved to the northern coast of Somalia. However, any Arab migrations in this region before the coming of Islam have to be verified and treated with caution. The

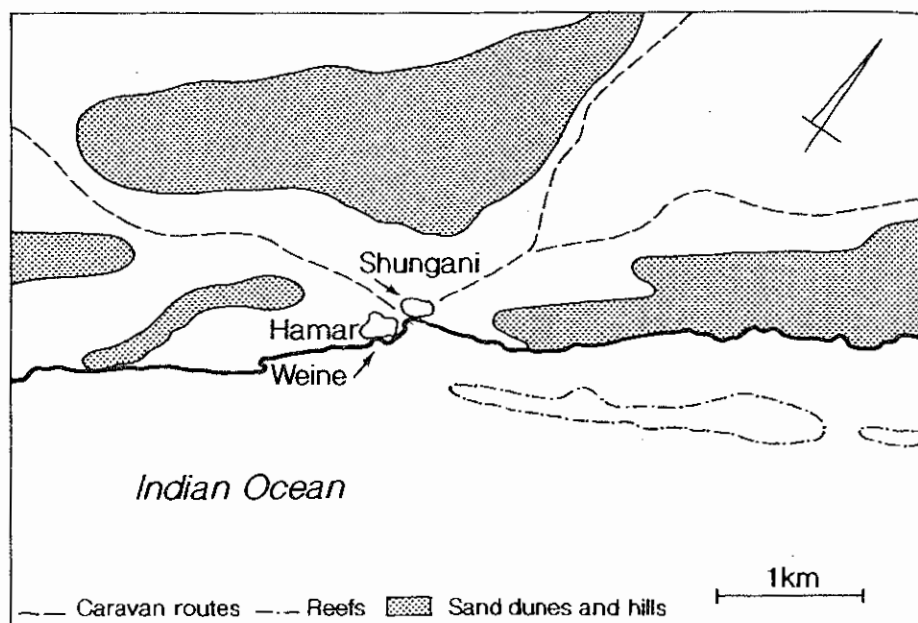


Figure 10. The initial site of Mogadishu (after Puzo 1972, p. 21).

problem of the lack of fairly substantial, pre-Islamic settlements along the Benadir coast, could be solved by the recovery of non-Islamic, cultural materials below the better known Islamic ones.

A ninth-century, Chinese source described Bobali, probably on the northern coast of Somalia (Berbera), where the people stick a needle into the veins of cattle and draw blood (a similar practice by the people in northern Kenya is probably related to later population movements, which carried the tradition), which they drink raw mixed with milk (Duyvendak 1949, p. 13). From that time, the Somali coast is described as the Bilad al-Barbara, and the East African coast as the Bilad az-zanj. Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar mentions the Sea of Berbera as 700 farsakhs long (3170 km), and located *en route* to the Sea of the Zanj (Freeman-Grenville 1981, p. 66).

Whatever the case may be, after the emergence of Islam, Arab geographers invested much energy in providing accounts of the Moslem world. Arabic sources have much to contribute to the Somali historiography. Al-Mas'adi (915-937) in his book *Muruj al-Dhahab Wa-Macadin al-Jawhar* gives considerable accounts of the East African coast, particularly the Somali coasts facing the Indian Ocean (Bahr al-Zinj) and the Gulf of Aden

(al-Khalij al-Barbari). He provides some account of the African coastal history, including the Somali coast facing the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden (Mukhtar 1986, p. 2). Mogadishu, as an important Islamic port during the first era of the Islamic period, was first mentioned by Yakut Al-Rumi (known as Al-Hamawi) in his book *Mucjam al-Buldan* AD 1228 (Trimingham 1964).

Al-Idrisi's account (AD 1100–1166) is entitled, *Kitab Nuzhat al Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq*, the book of the travellers by one who could not travel by himself. He mentions that Mogadishu was a significant port in the region, and its role among other things was to act as an intermediary between the eastern and the western trading centres for Indian Ocean products (Mukhtar 1986, p. 3; Cerulli 1970). He alluded to Merca and Barawa as Somali towns. Ibn Said (1213–1286) mentions Sawahil as a coast or port in northern Somalia in his account, *The Book of the Extension of the Land in Longitudes and Latitudes*. He considers Mogadishu to have been the biggest Islamic centre in the early Islamic period (Mukhtar 1986, p. 3; Trimingham 1975, p. 122; Cerulli 1957c).

Ibn al-Mujawir (Löfgren 1951) describes the links between Aden, Mogadishu, Kilwa and Madagascar. Mogadishu is supposed to have been founded before the Kilwa sultanate, as reported by De Baros. It is clear from inscriptions that it was already an important place in the first half of the thirteenth century. Ibn Battuta, the great Moroccan traveller, who visited Mogadishu in AD 1331 provided by far the longest account given by an early foreign scholar. He found the city to have been of considerable antiquity, although the surviving monuments were few. He mentions the diet of the people as comprising meat, cereals, fish, poultry and vegetables, which they consumed in large quantities (Mohammadain 1983, p. 28; Gibb 1962, p. 376). This gives the impression of considerable wealth.

The other historical sources relevant to this work are contained in the records of the early trade relations between China and the Somali coast and are connected with the visits of Cheng Ho in AD 1421–1427. In the early fifteenth century, horses, sheep and camels at Mogadishu were fed on dried fish as testified by Chinese records (Duyvendak 1939). Chittick attests the feeding of fish to animals in southern Arabia (Chittick 1982, p. 51). However, it seems to me that this was probably a strategy to deal with a drought situation. At Barawa, fish oil was of ritual importance, as it was used to put on standing stones, especially in a religious ceremony (Lewis 1974, pp. 117–18). Chinese descriptions from around the fifteenth century describe Barawa as an infertile country, where people depend on fish alone for their subsistence (Duyvendak 1939).

Finally, during the Portuguese period in East Africa, we have some accounts mentioning their attacks on Mogadishu and other coastal towns in Somalia. Relics of the Portuguese, including cannons, are still found in Barawa. The later Arab influences, especially from Oman, and the connections with Zanzibar are not the immediate concern of this study.

### 3.2. Summary of previous archaeological work

The Indian Ocean coast of Somalia, especially the Benadir and Wamu regions, is dotted with settlements such as Meregh, Warsheikh, Mogadishu, Gezeira, Gendershe, Merca and Barawa, to mention only a few. Moreover, most of these coastal sites had twin settlements in the immediate hinterland.

In 1868, Richard Brenner visited Kiamboni, where he noted the ruins of large buildings, mosques and wells, while G. Revoil, who sailed along the Benadir coast in 1882–83, made observations on the Kiamboni ruins (Horton 1984, pp. 82–3).

In the 1930's, A. T. Curle, in an article entitled *The Ruined Towns of Somaliland*, documented several abandoned towns located in northwestern Somalia and east of neighbouring Ethiopia, with a material dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. After some decades, Desmond Clark listed a few Late Stone Age sites within the city of Mogadishu and also mentions one Late Stone Age site at Gezeira (Clark 1954, pp. 252–3). His book provided an excellent, broad, cultural-historical and climatological sequence for Somalia.

Chittick carried out several reconnaissances and dug several test pits in the 1970's and 1980's on the coastal sites, stretching from the Kenyan border to Tokhoshi, near Zeila (the possible location for the port of Avalites). In Gezeira, he reported a site with imported pottery types of Sassanian-Islamic ware dated to the ninth and tenth centuries (Chittick 1969, p. 117–8). On the same occasion, he described abraded sherds from a survey carried out in Lido, east of Shangani, identifying Chinese porcelain remains, which consisted mainly of celadon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with some blue-and-white ware.

In both Merca and Munghia, the same author identified imported pottery, mostly sgraffiato, which might have dated from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (p. 120). Moreover, Chittick visited Barawa, where thirteenth century ceramics were collected, and again, in 1983, he performed surveys and dug trial trenches in the same town, down to a depth of 4 m, but without reaching the sterile layers, because of soil instability. In addition, in 1988 and 1990, Hussein Suleiman, who has conducted surveys and excavations in

Merca, recovered sgraffiato pottery associated with a radiocarbon date of AD 1150 (Hussein, *pers. comm.*).

In 1980, while attending the first Congress of International Somali Studies, held in Mogadishu, Chittick excavated two trenches near the Jamia' Mosque (Chittick 1982, p. 54). On the basis of a preliminary analysis of some of the finds, he claimed that Mogadishu was founded during the twelfth century. However, stone walls well below the present ground level were observed during sewer construction near the al Aruba Hotel in the Shangani quarter in 1986. About 50 m to the north-east is also located the Shangani Mosque with its sequence of eight cultural layers, which I shall discuss later. Similar observations of stone walls underlying the modern town were reported by Chittick in 1969. This indicates a considerable depth of earlier occupation. Unfortunately, it is hard to see early deposits, even from the shore, because of modern dumps.

At Biyo-Guure, located 14 km east of Berbera, Chittick and I (1984) carried out short surveys and dug small test pits in two buildings. With the available permanent water, it was observed that the inhabitants practised irrigation-based agriculture. The imported pottery (mostly glazed) contained Chinese fragments, datable to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Chittick 1984, p. 16). From that, we may deduce the possibility of contemporaneity in the development of prominent coastal settlements along both the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, with similar developments in the immediate hinterlands.

In 1982, the Swedish archaeologist Sune Jönsson carried out a survey in some areas of the country and documented a range of archaeological sites (Jönsson 1983).

Thomas Wilson has discussed the archaeological sites and settlement patterns located along the coast from Wamu to the border with Kenya. The sites he describes are parts of similar sites distributed from Warsheikh (north of Mogadishu) to Mozambique, the Comoro Islands and the coast of northern Madagascar (Wilson 1984, p. 73). He lists some of the local community activities as house construction and lime-burning, together with subsistence fishing, which was improved by the reefs, and marine commercial products, which included cowries, dried fish and tortoise shell (p. 75). He gives the spatial distribution and settlement patterns of coastal sites.

A similar listing of sites along the coast south of Mogadishu was provided by Horton in 1984.

Hilary Sanseverino carried out surveys in the mainland creeks of the same area from 1981 to 1984. Some of the sherds collected included undecorated pottery, as well as Islamic monochrome and pieces of celadon. White Chinese ware was also found. She concluded that nothing found pre-dated the mid sixteenth century (Sanseverino 1986, p. 338; 1983). They both sug-



gested the need to carry out serious archaeological work before these sites disappeared. Iron using farming communities have yet to be discovered in Somalia. However, two trenches excavated in Ras Hafun, near the eastern tip of the Horn, by Chittick and others in 1976, revealed contacts with the Greco-Roman world, and is probably one of the ports mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

Henry Wright re-examined the ceramic assemblages collected from the above mentioned site. Mathew Smith first investigated the ceramics, and three occupation periods are now known from the first century BC and 2nd century AD and 3–5th centuries AD (Smith & Wright 1988). It is now known that, in East Africa, wares associated with the green glazed ceramics at Sohar are found only in later occupation at Ras Hafun and at Chibuene at the far southern extension of the East African coast in Mozambique (Sinclair 1991).

## Chapter 4

### Field Surveys 1986–1990

From 1986 to 1990 successive surveys were carried out along the coastal plain from Mogadishu in the north to Barawa in the south, together with the adjacent hinterland stretching from Bal'ad to Hawai marshes, beyond which, the River Shabelle ends in the dunes.

#### 4.1. Methods

A variety of methods was employed during the site survey to investigate and to locate archaeological sites. Aerial photographs and reconnaissances were conducted to assess possible areas for investigation, and surveys on foot were conducted in areas which seemed to have archaeological material.

Interviews were carried out in Gezeira, Munghia and Barawa. Fishermen and elderly residents provided valuable information about the history of their localities and early coastal settlements.

#### 4.2. Archaeological survey of Barawa in 1986

The survey started with Barawa, which is renowned as one of the oldest Islamic settlements along the East African coast. But most of its old buildings are now buried underneath deposits up to 6 m deep. Distinct ground floors and foundations are visible in the seashore section and walls superimposed on one another through centuries of occupation. Rainfall eroding channels in the town exposes early rubbish dumps. Preliminary surveys were carried out in Merca and Barawa by the writer, Sinclair, Damell and Redin in 1986. Special attention was given to the area around Barawa, where new finds of pottery did not support the Kwale tradition identified by Chittick on the basis of a single sherd. However, it was not possible to relocate the site which Chittick investigated at the time the survey was conducted, as it was occupied by army officers. Thirty-three pieces of local pottery and one piece of porcelain were found in the surface collection from the nearby sand-dunes around Barawa.

The ceramic methods used follow those of Sinclair (1990), as applied to assemblages from the Shangani Mosque site. The vessel parts rim/neck/shoulder/body/base are defined by Nordström (1973) and are derived from Shephard (1961). The form data are recorded by reference to Hulthén (1974). Also the form of decoration is similar to the approach used by Hulthén

(1977). Decoration format and structure are recorded for each part of the sherds from Shangani Mosque that have been primarily analysed by Sinclair (1990; see Appendix II). However, other attributes have been added with regard to the new material, as indicated in the code list (see Appendix I). In addition, following Sinclair (1987), seven categories have been introduced which refer to variations in the structural level of the vessel shape. These categories are adapted for sorting broken sherds into shape groupings, as reported by Sinclair.

The ceramic analysis as well as the drawing of the sherds were carried out by Kaingu Tinga and Mohamed Mchulla under the supervision of George Abungu, of the Fort Jesus Museum in Mombasa. The Shangani ceramic studies were conducted by Paul Sinclair and provide the basis for the rest of the material. Ceramics from Barawa (Table 2) and Gezeira (Table 3) come from surface collections, while those from Shangani and the interior are from excavations.

**Table 2.** Ceramics from Barawa grouped in seven shape categories.

	<i>Shape categories</i>						
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
No of sherds	16	10	0	1	2	1	1

Shape categories: R = rim, N = neck, Sh = shoulder, Bo = body, Ba = base

Category 1: R; Bo/Ba; Bo; Ba

Category 2: R/N; N

Category 3: Sh/Bo/Ba; Sh/Bo; Sh

Category 4: R/N/Sh/Bo/Ba; R/N/Sh/Bo; R/N/Sh; N/Sh/Bo/Ba; N/Sh/Bo; N/Sh

Category 5: R/N/Bo/Ba; R/N/Bo; N/Bo/Ba; N/Bo

Category 6: R/Sh/Bo/Ba; Bo/Ba; R/Sh/Bo; R/Sh

Category 7: R/Bo/Ba; R/Bo

#### *4.2.1. Pottery analysis*

The diagram numbers correspond to the drawings, while the numbers in brackets indicate the accession number of each sherd for proper identification. This system is adapted to the ceramics used throughout this work for illustrations.

# Ceramic illustrations from Barawa

Number in brackets indicate the accession numbers. Scale 1:2.

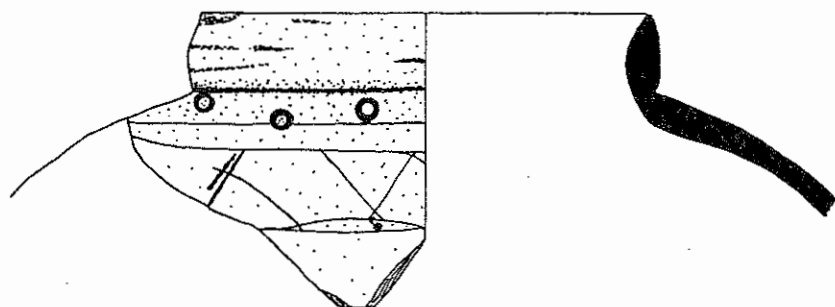


Diagram 1 (246). Hard, reddish-brown, sandy clay with granular inclusions and mica. Everted rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 12 cm, T. 5–10 mm. Thin, red slip. Faint cross-hatched decorations and punctates on and below the neck.

*Barawa* category 4, motif R (cross-hatchings and punctates)

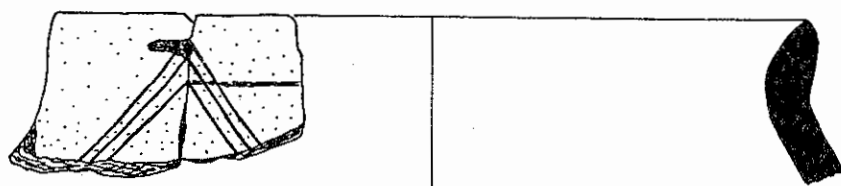


Diagram 2 (216). Hard, fine, brown-to-grey, sandy clay. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck pot. D. 16–20 cm, T. 10–13 mm. Thin, brown slip. Inner surface wearing off, forming minor depressions. Interlocking diagonal incisions (possibly zigzag).

*Barawa* category 2, motif DZ (diagonally incised zigzag)

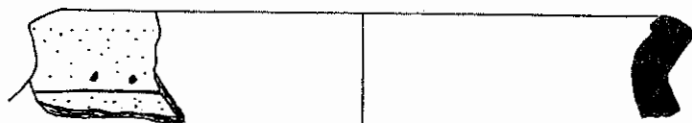


Diagram 3 (227). Hard, fine, reddish-brown, sandy clay, with air spaces. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 16–20 cm, T. 10 mm. Smooth. Short, faint, horizontal incisions on shoulder.

*Barawa* category 6, motif I (horizontally incised)

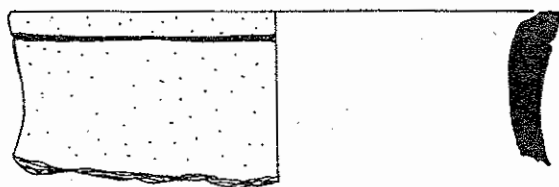


Diagram 4 (230). Hard, fine, brown sandy clay with granular inclusions and minute pieces of shell. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck jar. D. 10 cm, T. 6–10 mm. Both surfaces slightly smooth. Grooved on rim, deep line below rim.

*Barawa* category 2, motif B (linear incision)

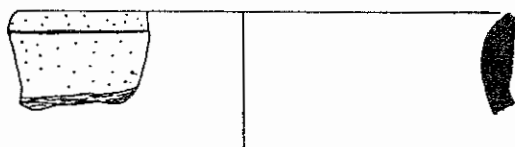


Diagram 5 (228). Hard, fine, red clay with inclusions of shell. Slightly everted rim. Short-neck pot. D. 14 cm, T. 5–8 mm. Thin, red slip. One incised line on rim.

*Barawa* category 1, motif B (linear incision)

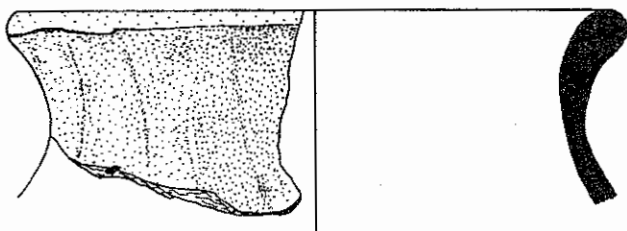


Diagram 6 (233). Hard, fine, red clay with limestone inclusions. Everted round rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 14–16 cm, T. 6–12 mm. Smooth.

*Barawa* category 2, motif A (plain)

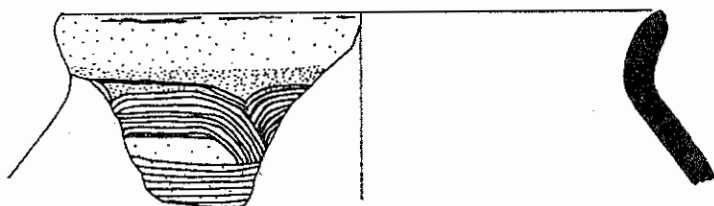


Diagram 7 (232). Hard, fine, reddish-brown-to-grey clay with minor inclusions of limestone. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 16 cm, T. 6–10 mm. Slipped red. Wavy-line decoration on body.

*Barawa* category 2, motif W (wavy lines)

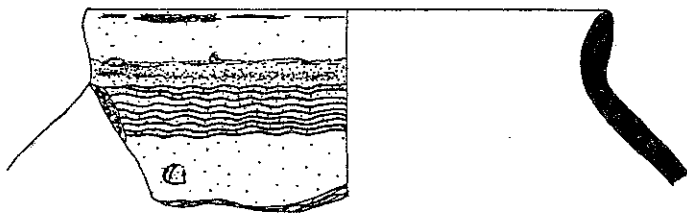


Diagram 8 (236). Hard, fine, dark-reddish-brown clay with some limestone inclusions. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 14 cm, T. 4-8 mm. Roughly made surface. Wavy line decorations below neck.

*Barawa* category 2, motif W (wavy lines)

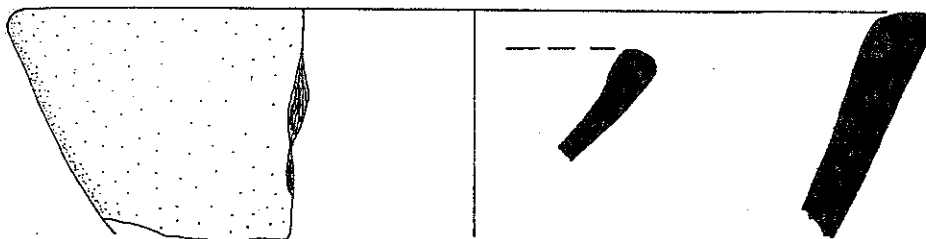


Diagram 9a (229). Hard, fine, brown, sandy clay, with some additions of shell. Everted rim sherd. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 12-16 cm, T. 5-10 mm. Interior surface burnished.

*Barawa* category 7, motif I (incision)

Diagram 9b. (244). Hard, fine, red-to-dark-brown clay with granular inclusions. Everted rim sherd. Wide-open-mouth dish. D. 24 cm, T. 10-17 mm. Burnished.

*Barawa* category 1, motif A (plain)

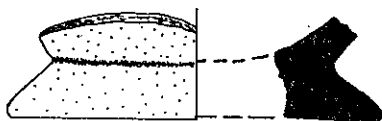


Diagram 10 (243). Hard, fine, red clay with small amount of limestone and shell. Base. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 10 cm, T. 6-20 mm. Burnished.

*Barawa* category 1, motif A (plain)

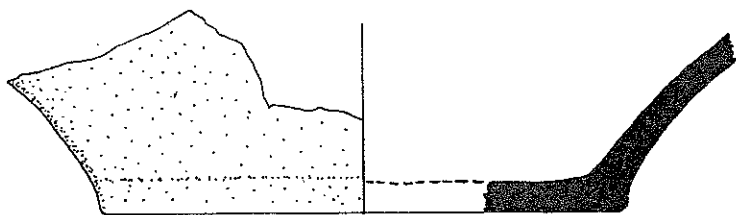


Diagram 11 (247). Hard, compact, reddish-brown clay with minor particles of shell. Flat base sherd. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 14 cm, T. 7–14 mm. Rough outer surface, inner surface slipped red. Heavy thick body.  
*Barawa* category 1, motif A (plain)

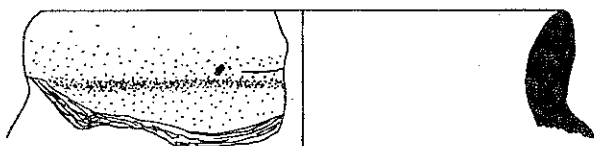


Diagram 12 (242). Hard and compact, red clay. Slightly everted rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 14–16 cm, T. 10–13 mm. Red slip.  
*Barawa* category 2, motif A (plain)

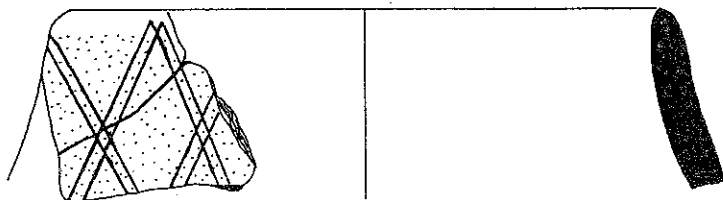


Diagram 13 (217). Hard, fine, brown-to-grey, sandy clay. Slightly everted rim. Medium-neck pot. D. 14–16 cm, T. 7–9 mm. Thin, brown slip. Cross-hatched neck.  
*Barawa* category 2, motif C (cross-hatching)

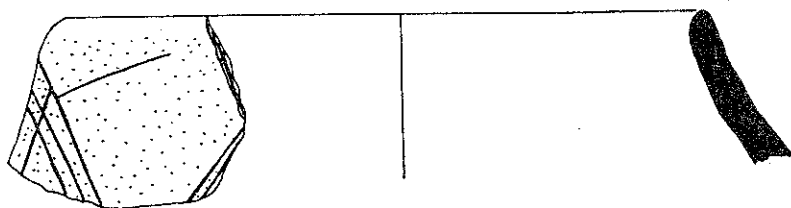


Diagram 14 (220). Brown-to-grey sandy, clay with inclusions of limestone and shell. Slightly everted rim. Short-neck pot. D. 18 cm, T. 6–8 mm. Smooth. Interlocking diagonal incisions.  
*Barawa* category 2, motif C (cross-hatching)

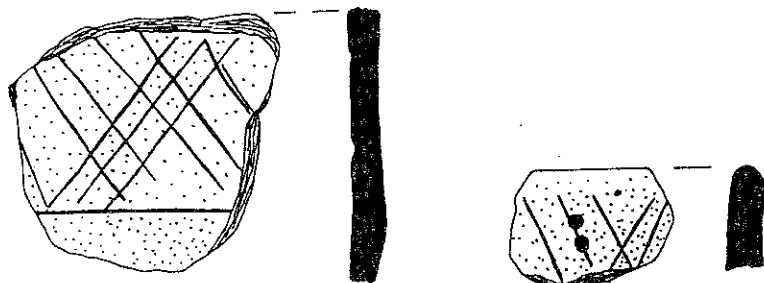


Diagram 15 (219). Hard, fine, brown-to-grey, sandy clay. Neck sherd. Pot. T. 8-10 mm. Brown slip. Cross-hatched on neck.

*Barawa* category 1, motif C (cross-hatching)

Diagram 16 (222). Hard, fine, brown-to-grey, sandy clay. Everted rim. Pot mouth. D. 18 cm, T. 7-9 mm. Roughly made. Cross-hatched decorations on rim.

*Barawa* category 1, motif C (cross-hatching)

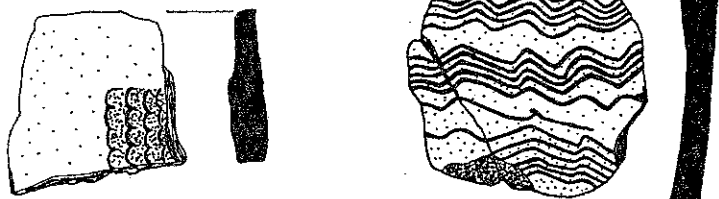


Diagram 17 (226). Hard, fine, reddish-brown, sandy clay. Body sherd. Pot. T. 5-7 mm. Smooth. Punctated on body.

*Barawa* category 1, motif P

Diagram. 18 (218). Hard fine brown to dark grey to black sandy clay. Body sherd. Pot. T. 6-8 mm. Smooth surface. Wavy line decoration on body.

*Barawa* category 1, motif W (wavy lines)

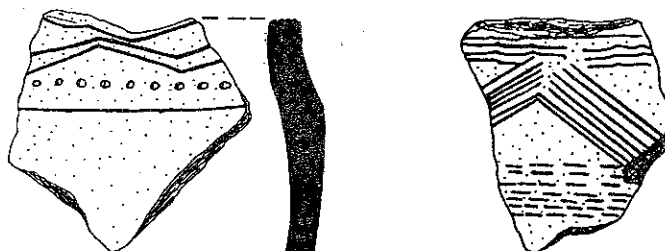


Diagram 19 (241). Hard, fine, dark-brown clay with shell inclusions. Body sherd (broken neck). Pot. T. 7-11 mm. Roughly made. Zigzag incisions above dot decorations on neck.

*Barawa* category 5, motif PP (zigzag incisions)

Diagram 20 (245). Hard, fine, red clay with granular inclusions. Body sherd. Pot. T. 8-9 mm. Smooth. Zigzag, linear and wavy-line decorations on body.

*Barawa* category 1, motif WZ (wavy lines and zigzag incisions)



Wavy-line decorations are pre-dominant on the Barawa material, followed by cross-hatchings, incisions and punctates. Heavy lime on some pieces.

### 4.3. Archaeological survey around the Gezeira

In early 1988 reconnaissances were conducted by two teams from the Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities (SCONA), (Anders Broberg, Ulf Säfvestad and Lars Sjösvärd) and the Somali Academy of Science and Arts (SASA), (Mohamed Abdi Allamagan, Abdi Mohamoud Suleiman and the author) along the coast of Gezeira as well as Afgoi and Bal'ad in the interior. Special attention was given to the Gezeira area (see Plate I) owing to its previously recorded, prehistoric and early medieval sites (Clark 1954, p. 253; Chittick 1969, p. 117-8). Aerial photographs on scale of 1:30 000 were used for the documentation of sites. A total of 12 sites was recorded during the survey. One site had Late Stone Age material. No less than five of the sites produced pottery and other artifacts that are datable to the tenth and fifteenth centuries. These sites also provided evidence of trading contacts in the form of imported pottery of Chinese, Arabian and Persian origin.

A week of surveys in and around Gezeira in 1986, and again in 1988 by Sinclair, Damell, Redin and the author, and the above mentioned researchers from the SCONA and the SASA respectively resulted in the documentation of a series of sites within an area of 16 km<sup>2</sup>. The following discussion summarises the finds of the survey.

Gezeira site 1 extends from about 350 m west of the lower, northern part of the village and 50 m north of the beach to about 600 m due west, up to a present building behind a large wall. Large numbers of sherds and shells were observed. The surface is eroded, as finds in many cases were lying on top of the sand. A small trench revealed a dark, sooty layer at least 0.3 m deep. This is the site mentioned by Chittick and dated by him to the ninth or tenth centuries. The imported pieces we collected were Chinese celadon and Sassanian Islamic (SASA-SCONA 1988, forthcoming).

Gezeira 2 is situated 200 m east of Gezeira village, up on the raised coral reef near the seashore. Exposed local potsherds, bones and shells were seen scattered around. Also one piece of imported, Chinese, blue-on-white pottery was recovered.

Gezeira sites 3 and 4 yielded small amounts of local pottery, the latter similar to Shangani red ware.

Gezeira site 5 is situated on a raised, coral reef. The sand is being eroded on the seaward side and here pottery and shells can be seen in relatively large numbers. The local pottery, is coarse and not as well fired as that from the other Gezeira sites.

Gezeira 6 and 7 produced very few local sherds.

At Gezeira sites 8a and b, cultural layers were seen to be being eroded close to the beach. Local pottery, bones and fragments of grindstones were collected.

At Gezeira 9 large quantities of shells were observed together with sherds. This seems to be the location denoted by the word 'ravine' on the Italian map, but no signs of ruins were observed. Finds included local pottery and recent glass. Gezeira 10 contained local and imported pottery.

Gezeira site 11 is also called Nimow and covers a small, off-shore island. A ruined mosque and wall are located there. The material found included local pottery and a lot of imported pieces.

Gezeira site 12 produced Late Stone Age chert and quartz artifacts, local pottery, two Arabic coins by the name of Hassan B. Ali, a glass bead, a fragment of a bracelet, recent pottery and glass. It should be noted here that the amount of pottery collected was huge, but unfortunately it was stored in the National Museum in Mogadishu and was lost, like the rest of the materials for the exhibition.



Plate I. View from Gezeira. Photo: Anders Broberg.

**Table 3.** Ceramics from Gezeira (Gz. sites 1–12). Shape groupings according to Sinclair (1987).

Site	Shape groupings						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gz. 1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Gz. 2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Gz. 3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gz. 4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gz. 5	3	1	0	0	0	1	1
Gz. 6	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Gz. 7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gz. 8	2	3	0	1	0	0	1
Gz. 9	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Gz.10	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Gz.11	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Gz.12	2	2	0	0	0	0	0

#### 4.3.1. Pottery analysis

##### Ceramic illustrations from Gezeira

Number in brackets indicate the accession numbers. Scale 1:2.

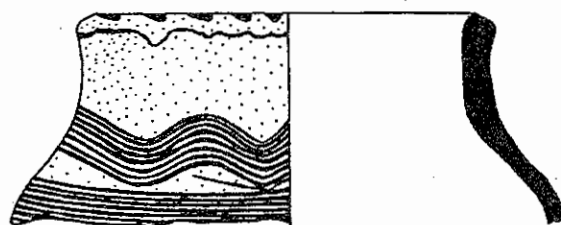


Diagram 21 (061). Hard, reddish-brown clay with shell and sand inclusions and quartz and mica. Rounded rim. Medium-neck jar. D. 10 cm, T. 4–8 mm. Roughly slipped. Fingernail stabbed impressions on rim, wavy-line decorations above fine, parallel, zigzag incisions on neck. Two pieces of the same vessel.

Gezeira site 2, category 4, motif YY (fingerprints, wavy lines, parallel and zigzag lines)

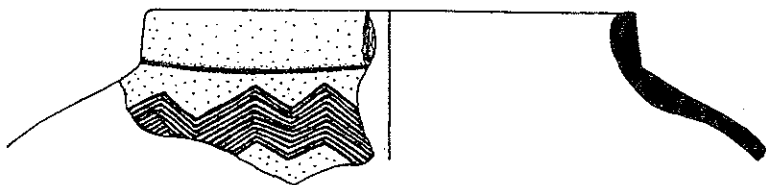


Diagram 22 (072). Hard and compact, fine, reddish-brown-to-grey clay with mica and minor inclusions of limestone. Rounded rim with straight, outer edge. Short-neck, globular pot D. 12 cm, T. 4–7 mm. Red slip. Zigzag decorations on shoulder.

*Gezeira* site 6, category 2, motif PP (zigzag incision)

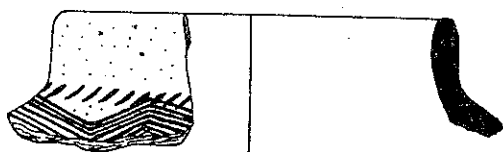


Diagram 23 (084). hard, compact, fine, red clay with quartzite inclusions. Slightly everted, rounded rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 10 cm, T. 5–8 mm. Thinly applied, red slip. Short, diagonal incisions above fine, zigzag ornamentation on neck.

*Gezeira* site 9, category 2, motif M (diagonally incised punctates)



Diagram 24 (071). Hard, reddish-brown-to-grey clay with inclusions of quartz, limestone and mica. Body sherd. Possibly short-neck, globular pot. T. 7–9 mm. Reddish-brown slip, roughly applied on the inner surface. Parallel, vertically inclined incisions above fine, zigzag decorations on the neck.

*Gezeira* site 6, category 1, motif VI (vertical incisions)

Diagram 25 (060). Hard, greyish-brown clay with shell and mica inclusions. Neck/body sherd. Pot. T. 6–10 mm. Rough. Zigzag ornaments above fine, parallel-line incision.

*Gezeira* site 2, category 5, motif ZI (parallel, incised zigzag)

Diagram 26 (095). Hard, compact, reddish-brown-to-grey clay with unconsolidated particles. Body sherd. Pot. T. 4–5 mm. Thin, red slip, with cream laceration.

*Gezeira* site 12, category 1, motif U (parallel incision)

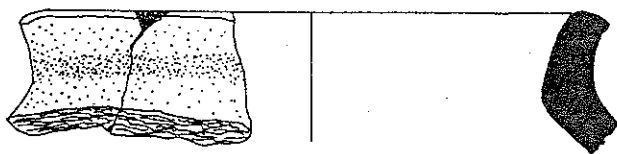


Diagram 27 (078). Hard, brown-light-red clay with small layer of clay and inclusions of unconsolidated particles. Slightly everted, rounded rim. Short-neck pot. D. 14 cm, T. 10–14 mm. Thinly applied slip on inner surface, poorly treated outer surface. Unevenly fired. *Gezeira* site 8, category 2, motif A (plain)



Diagram 28 (062). Hard, red clay, partly with grey layer in the middle, sand-quartzite inclusions. Flat-topped-bevelled rim. D. 12 cm, T. 11–14 mm. Roughly slipped, with lacerations of lime. Grey layer, possibly resulting from poor and uneven firing. *Gezeira* site 2, category 2, motif A (plain)

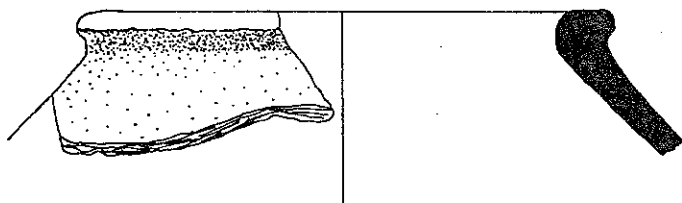


Diagram 29 (077). Hard, brown-grey, fine clay with unconsolidated material inclusions, quartzite/mica. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. High-neck, globular pot. D. 8 cm, T. 7–14 mm. *Gezeira* site 8, category 2, motif A (plain)

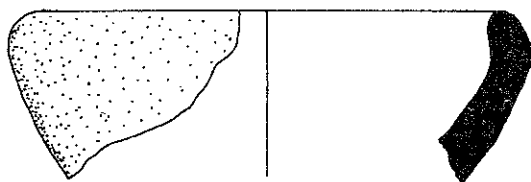


Diagram 30 (057). Hard, fine, clay, reddish-brown, outer layer and grey, inner layer with inclusions of mica. Incurving rim. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 12 cm, T. 8–11 mm. Thinly slipped. Has lacerations of lime mortar. Wide disparity in colour of fabric indicates poor and uneven firing temperatures. Resembles the Kilwa bowl (Fig. 107a, Chittick 1974). *Gezeira* site 1, category 7, motif A (plain)

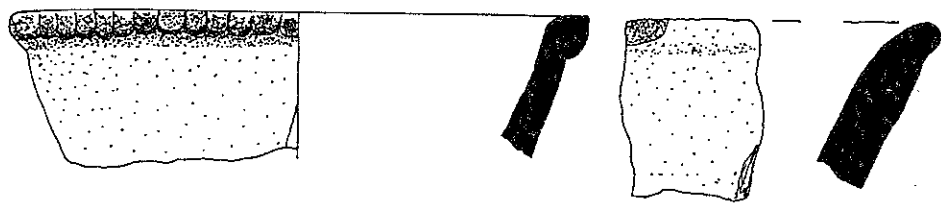


Diagram 31 (085). Hard, grey clay, limestone inclusions, big air spaces. Flat ring-base. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 14 cm, T. 7-24 mm. Poor, brown slip. The big air spaces seem to have resulted from the cracking of the vessel during and after firing.

Gezeira site 5, category 1, motif S

Diagram 32 (083). Hard, greyish-brown, gritty clay with limestone particles, plus shell. Everted rim. Wide-open-mouth bowl/dish. D. 12 cm, T. 6-14 mm. Poorly treated, cracking surfaces. Poorly and unevenly fired.

Gezeira site 8, category 7, motif A (plain)

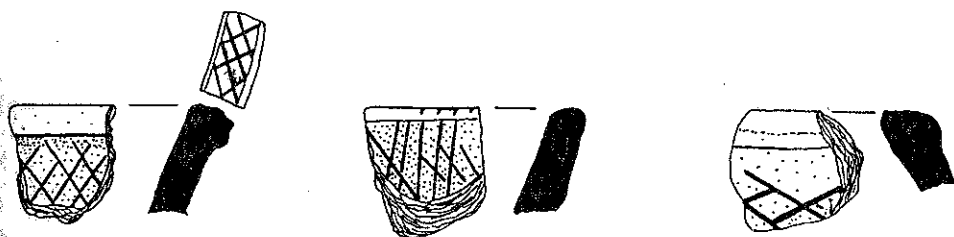


Diagram 33 (075). Hard, reddish-brownish, gritty clay. Flat-topped, cornice rim. High-neck pot. D. 12 cm, T. 9-12 mm. Poorly applied slip with cracking surfaces. Cross-hatched incisions on top of rim and neck.

Gezeira site 7, category 1, motif F

Diagram 34 (090). Hard, red-and-black, sandy clay with granular inclusions. Flat-topped rim. Wide-open-mouth bowl. D. 14 cm, T. 9-10 mm. Roughly slipped red. Fingernail incisions on outer lip and cross-hatched below the rim.

Gezeira site 11, category 7, motif K

Diagram 35 (070). Hard, compact, dark-greyish-brown clay with sand inclusions. Flat-topped rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 12 cm, T. 8-16 mm. Chocolate-brown to grey slip. Cross-hatched ornamentation on the neck, similar to Diagram 26.

Gezeira site 5, category 6, motif C



Diagram 37 (076). Hard, reddish-brown-to-grey, gritty clay. Body sherd. Incense burner. T. 8–12 mm. Slightly smoothed surfaces, inner surface spalling. With indentation (possibly a hole) on body. Vertical incisions crossing parallel lines producing rectangular impressions above cross-hatchings.

*Gezeira* site 7, category 1, motif C

Diagram 38 (058). Hard, grey interior, externally brown, with lime inclusions and mica, air spaces seen. Neck sherd. T. 6–10 mm. Smooth. Cross-hatched.

*Gezeira* site 1, category 2, motif C (cross-hatching)

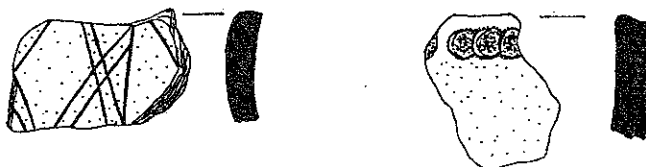


Diagram 39 (059). Hard, brownish, red clay, with lime and mica inclusions. Neck sherd. T. 7 mm. Grey slip on interior surface, poorly slipped, outer surface. Wide, cross-hatched decorations. Initially two identical sherds, now joined.

*Gezeira* site 1, category 1, motif C (cross-hatching)

Diagram 40 (073). Hard, compact, greyish-black fine clay, minor inclusions of shell and quartz. Flat-topped rim. Pot with gently outward-slanting neck. D. 12 cm, T. 8–9 mm. Smooth. Finger-stabbed impressions below outer lip. Fabric appears to have been of grey originally but was over-fired, giving a black colour.

*Gezeira* site 6, category 7, motif F (fingerprints)

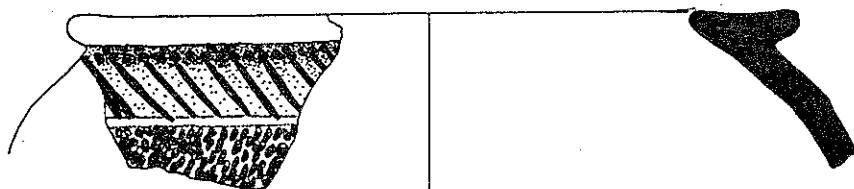


Diagram 41 (082). Hard, compact, fine, yellowish-brown clay. Flat-topped rim. Short-neck, water jar. D. 14 cm, T. 9–28 mm. Yellowish-brown slip. Diagonal incisions between punctates on neck and shoulder. Clay quite unique.

*Gezeira* site 8, category 4, motif M

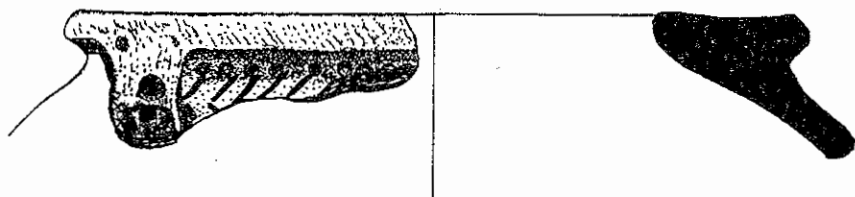


Diagram 42 (094). Hard, compact, reddish-brown-to-grey, gritty clay, inclusions of quartzite and shell. Flat-topped rim. High-neck, spherical jar with handle. D. 12 cm, T. 9–28 mm. Smooth, red surface. Diagonal incisions below punctates on neck, two holes in the handle, two large stabs below and above the holes.

*Gezeira* site 12, category 2, motif N (diagonal incisions, punctates and stabs)

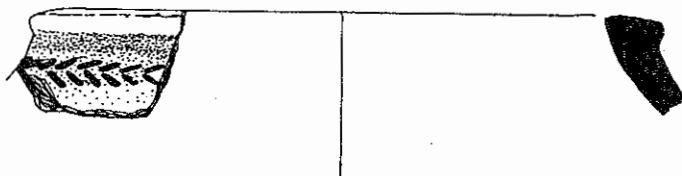


Diagram 43 (069). Hard, dark-greyish-brown clay with shell inclusions. Flat-topped rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 12–14 cm, T. 7–15 mm. Slipped brown outside and grey inside. Uneven over-firing seems to have resulted in contrasting colours of the surface: grey slip on inner surface, on top of rim and brown on neck. Interlocking short vertically inclined incisions on the neck, rather similar to herringbone decorations.

*Gezeira* Site 5, category 2, motif F (nail or fingerprint)



Diagram 44 (089). Hard, fine, light-brownish-grey clay with minor inclusions of quartzite and mica. Flat-topped rim. High-neck, globular pot. D. 14 cm, T. 6–11 mm. Roughly slipped brown. Short, diagonal incisions on neck.

*Gezeira* site 10, category 2, motif DI (diagonal incision)

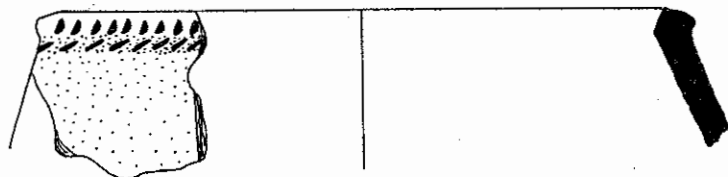


Diagram 45 (088). Hard brownish grey gritty clay. Flat topped rim. High neck globular pot. D. 16 cm. T. 6–10 mm. Rough slip, cracking. Diagonal finger nail impressions on outer lip and neck.

*Gezeira* site 10, category 2, motif DI (diagonal incision)



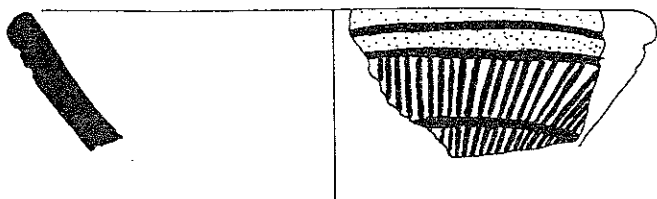


Diagram 46 (092). Hard, compact, brownish-grey clay with sand, shell and limestone inclusions. Everted rim. Lid. D. 16 cm, T. 9–12 mm. Poor, reddish-brown slip. Linear incisions interspersed with vertical, linear impressions.

Gezeira site 11, category 7, motif G (vertical and linear incisions)

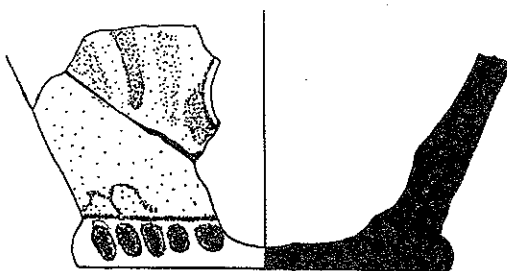


Diagram 47 (067). Hard, greyish-brown clay, with large unconsolidated material, plus mica. Flat ring-base. Incense burner. D. 10 cm, T. 10–24 mm. Roughly made surface. Finger stabbed impressions on the ring, with indentations, which were possibly holes in the body. Initially two separate sherds, now joined together.

Gezeira site 5, category 1, motif F

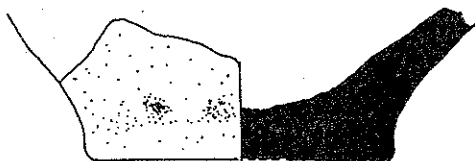


Diagram 48 (066). Hard, grey clay, limestone inclusions, big air spaces. Flat ring-base. Wide-open-mouth bowl or incense burner. D. 8 cm, T. 7–24 mm. Poor, brown slip. The big air spaces seem to have resulted from the cracking of the vessel during and after firing.

Gezeira site 5, category 1, motif A (plain)

*General comments.* Laceration of lime mortar and wide disparity in colour of fabric indicate low and uneven or over-firing temperature. It is interesting to note that most of the ceramics from Gezeira have been poorly fired, poorly made surfaces, probably due to the nature of the clay, which contains large amounts of sea sand as tempering. It is coarse and unconsolidated material with big visible, air spaces. Decoration is mainly cross-hatching and fingernail-stab impression, with fine, parallel lines and incisions. A few have a parallel neck-lace and stamp, and herring-bone decoration.

#### 4.4. The 1988 survey in and around Mogadishu

Prior to Kilwa, among others places, Mogadishu evolved into one of the most prominent trading centres on the East African shore of the Indian Ocean, and it is believed to be one of the oldest towns in Africa south of the Sahara. On this basis, a preliminary survey was carried out in the surroundings of Mogadishu and its immediate hinterland at the end of the first quarter of 1986. The aim of the survey was to get an overall view of the development of the town as an important trading port. This was also at a time when the first report on archaeological rescue work in Somalia was in preparation.

A series of surveys was made along the beaches of Mogadishu, giving special attention to the sand-dunes near the airport and the Lido area. However, it is important to point out that a good view of the nature of the deposits in both Hamar wein and Shangani was obtained during the construction of drainage trenches in 1988.

(i) *Surface collection.* From the Al Aruba Hotel beach, seven pieces of Chinese porcelain were recovered. These pieces are all glazed and some are abraded.

(ii) *Surface collection.* In an area southeast of Hamar Jajab and the new harbour, three imported sherds, two glass fragments, two pieces of Chinese porcelain and thirty pieces of local pottery were found. Some of this material, though out of context, originated from deep-drainage trenches in Hamar wein and Shangani.

It seems appropriate to discuss briefly the settlement pattern of some prominent sites and settlements from four areas, in order to get a possible picture of how they may fit into certain defined classes. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Wilson has described the settlement pattern of the Jubaland area. In his work, he distinguishes between settlement patterns for individual sites, community-settlement patterns and patterns obtained by an analysis of the distribution of sites in a given region (Wilson 1984, p. 83).

The investigation of settlement patterns provides us with knowledge of different aspects of social organization. However, in the absence of the absence of any detailed research in the region concerned in this study, the classification developed by Wilson in the Jubaland zone, which is based on size, has been adopted and extended to some other areas located along the coast of Somalia. Sites or settlements similar in size and composition can be compared with one another or studied as a unit. This means that Mogadishu has more in common with Merca and Barawa than either of them has with sites such as Gezeira, Danane or even Afgoi (Wilson 1984, pp. 94-5). It should be noted that the settlements included in this classification are some

of those which received some sort of archaeological attention, as a basis for understanding urban development in Somalia.

Divisions 1-3 have been adopted from Wilson's system, facilitating the integration of the major Jubaland sites and those of the Benadir region. Classes 4 and 5 of the above-mentioned classification have been excluded from this study, since they represent very small ruins, which are often associated with a few hamlets. Moreover, any sort of classification depends upon the available architectural and archaeological material at that stage and so without departing completely from the method described by Wilson and acknowledging the nature of the sites he was dealing with, additional information will be provided to substantiate the definition of the different classes. However, overlapping is unavoidable, since certain building materials, such as dung and thatch, were in use, in all settlements (Table 4).

**Table 4.** Classification of some of the sites/settlements along the coast, and the adjacent hinterland of southern Somalia (after Wilson 1984, p. 96), with additional information supplied by the author.

<i>Area</i>	<i>Class 1 (c. 8 ha)</i>	<i>Class 2 (c. 5 ha)</i>	<i>Class 3 (2.5-5 ha)</i>
Benadir region (Coast)	Mogadishu Merca Barawa	Warsheikh Gendershe Gelib-Merca	Gezeira Munghia Danane Aw Maki
Flood plain		Bala'd Afgoi Genale Aw Dhiggle Mundun	Lama Jidda
Bari region		Hafun	(Aromatic Emporium, Damo)
Northwest region Jubaland			Biyo-Gure Bur Gao Kiamboni Ghedeni
Ngumi			Chula

*Class 1.* The presence of a Friday mosque, and several relatively smaller mosques, as well as many masonry houses. Tombs and tomb enclosures, as well as town walls, which existed in both Mogadishu and Barawa, while Merca is defended by highly consolidated mountain dunes. Presence of quarters and a central market. Dependent on trade as the major economic resource with a high level of community organization.

*Class 2.* Medium in size, compared with class 1. Presence of a Friday mosque and a few smaller ones, as well as masonry houses. Community dependent on fishing or farming.

*Class 3.* Represents a community very small in size, but definitely with a masonry mosque and a low level of community organization.

## Chapter 5

### Excavations

After an initial assessment by the author, rescue excavations were carried out by Anders Broberg, together with the author (Broberg 1995). Also present at times were, Paul Sinclair, David Damell and Lars Redin in April 1986.

#### 5.1. The Shangani Mosque site

In considering the method of excavation, and keeping in mind the nature of the site, with its deep deposits and the fact it was rescue work, it was not appropriate to apply arbitrary levels. Therefore, in view of the existence of easily detectable, filled floors, we chose to follow the different layers, which were separated by plaster floors 3 cm thick, that was built after each refill, to provide smooth surface. Moreover, each layer had a different depth, depending on the rate of deposition during its formation, as well as the number of time the occupants refilled the floors, so that they should match the surrounding ground level. The pressures of rescue excavation are immense in terms of time, labour and funding, and therefore, it was not possible to screen the dirt from these huge deposits, so systematic bucket samples were picked out by trowel after spreading the dirt on a table.

There still survive a few Islamic monuments, which are good indications of the importance of Mogadishu as a port and a centre of religion during the Islamic period. Some of them have been renovated for present use. Moreover, most of the historically significant monuments are located near the seashore, and they include the Friday Congregational Mosque and the Fakhr ad-din and Arba'Rukn Mosques, all built during the twelfth century and the Minara of Abdul Aziz, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

After the pioneering efforts led by Chittick (1980), the largest archaeological work in Mogadishu was that at the Sheikh Ahmed Sharif Shangani Mosque site. This site was found accidentally during the digging of foundations for a new mosque to be built on the same site in January 1986. As part of the mutual co-operation between the SASA and the Ministry of Planning, the head of the construction team contacted the author, who made a general assessment of the site and secured its preservation for further work.

It is situated in a heavily populated area of the Shangani quarter of the city about 200 m from the seashore and is surrounded by buildings on all sides. The excavation of the Shangani Mosque was the first, archaeological rescue

work carried out in Somalia; it took place in February and April of 1986 and was carried out by the author and Anders Broberg. Later on, some assistance was provided by Lutfi Khalil, sent by UNESCO in March of the same year.

The remains of the *mihrab*, which is oriented towards Mecca, and the walls, except for the southern wall, which is completely covered by the new mosque were recovered. We also found two columns, situated at equal distances from the walls and square at the base but octagonal at the top. These columns were probably used to support the wooden beams that held the weight of the roof. A third column supported the western wall and is located under a niche, which was used for storing books or lamps. The northern wall measures about 5.85 m, which indicates that, the mosque was small, while the closely spaced columns show that the roof beams, which supported the load were quite short. The pointed arch of the niche and the shape of the *mihrab* are contemporary with other ancient mosques in Mogadishu, Merca, Barawa and those along the coast of East Africa.

During the excavation, nine superimposed layers were found (Broberg 1995, p. 119). At this point, it is important to explain briefly how this superimposition was formed. Hamar wein (larger Hamar) is built on a promontory of coralline rock, while Shangani is situated on a sandy soil. At the Shangani Mosque, soil accretion outside the walls raised the ground level and this resulted in the mosque floors becoming relatively lower than the surface. At that point, as stated earlier, the community refilled the floors and heightened the walls to match the level of the outside ground. This took place several times over a span of several centuries. Possible support for this view comes from the Friday Mosque, built in AD 1238, according to an inscription in the *mihrab*. It is located at the heart of Hamar wein and is now about 2 m below the present ground surface. Moreover, the datable material from the Shangani Mosque is not in its original context but derives from a later filling. Therefore, it seems very probable that the first phase of the mosque building could have been a century or so earlier than the material which comes from layer 8 and is dated to the eleventh century AD, while the last phase of the mosque reconstruction is dated by a wooden manuscript which we found in the top layer. It is written in Naskhi script and contains some verses of the holy Koran, and the date given is 1243 AH, AD 1827. The mosque remained in use until its demolition in 1986, when it was replaced by a new one, after the Shangani community contributed a sum of money amounting to five million Somali shillings (interview with Sh. Ali and Sharif Qolateyn, Mogadishu, March 30, 1986). The Shangani Mosque site and stone walls exposed during road construction work, approximately 5 m be-

low the present surface indicate the existence of deep, occupational deposits underlying the present town.

Most of the material used for this study, which is less than 3 % of the actual finds, comes from the Shangani Mosque site with a deposit about 8 m deep. To show the nature of the deposits, I shall describe the thickness and the soil of each layer and give the number of sherds available from each layer. It is also important to note that the thicknesses of the different layers are not equal, because they are not based on arbitrary levels but on refills located between two floors.

The first layer, which was 200 cm thick, was mainly disregarded, on account of disturbances and the destruction of most of the archaeological material. It contained greyish-yellow soil, loose and ashy, as well as white plaster.

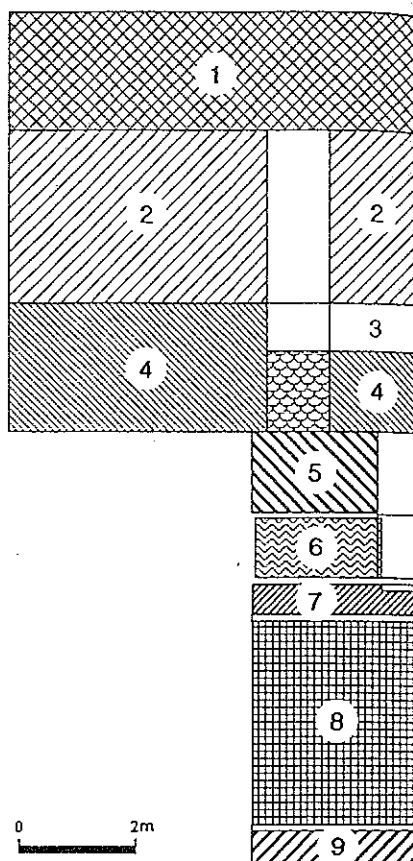
The second layer was 300 cm thick, with light-brown sand, sometimes darker, (see Figs 11 and 12 for the stratigraphy and the plan of the Shangani Mosque).

The third layer was 45 cm thick and had white plaster and at some points was dark-grey in colour. The horizontal continuity of layer 4 was interrupted by a column, and two different thicknesses, 225 and 70 cm, of rather greyish sand were noted. Layer 5 was 75 cm thick and had white plaster and mortar. Layer 6 was 50 cm thick and had brownish soil with plaster and mortar. Layer 7 was 30 cm thick, with white plaster and mortar. Layer 8 was 185 cm thick and had yellow (sometimes dark yellow) sand and coral stone. Layer 9 was 30 cm thick and, despite its appearance as a possible natural sand with some pieces of coral stone, the sterile layer was not reached at a depth of around 8 m.

The ceramics from Shangani Mosque (Table 5) were the first pottery from Somalia to be recovered from a deep deposit as a result of rescue work and were analysed by Sinclair (1990). The ceramics excavated from Hamar wein by Chittick are integrated into the report by Sinclair, which was written as part of the co-operation between the SASA and the SCONA. Some additions to the initial work are included here. However, it should be noted that, the ceramic studies that will be quoted throughout this section are the work of Sinclair in 1990 (Sinclair 1990 and Appendix II).

### Layers 1-9

1. Coral rubble and white plaster
2. Coral rubble and brownishish sand
3. Coral rubble and white plaster
4. Coral rubble greyish sand
5. Coral rubble, plaster and white mortar
6. Coral rubble, plaster, mortar and brownish soil
7. Coral rubble, plaster and white
8. Dark-yellow sand, coral stone and charcoal
9. Possible sand-dune and pieces of coral stone, yellowish in colour



**Figure 11.** The stratigraphy of the Shangani Mosque site (Broberg 1995) with modifications by the author.

**Table 5.** Pottery finds from the Shangani Mosque site by shape categories.

Layer	No of sherds	Categories						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	44	25	2	5	0	1	11	0
2	223	93	38	3	4	1	75	9
3	109	46	3	5	3	0	43	9
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	14	6	4	3	0	0	0	1
6	52	20	5	1	5	0	16	5
7	58	17	18	10	6	3	0	4
8	41	15	6	6	6	4	3	1



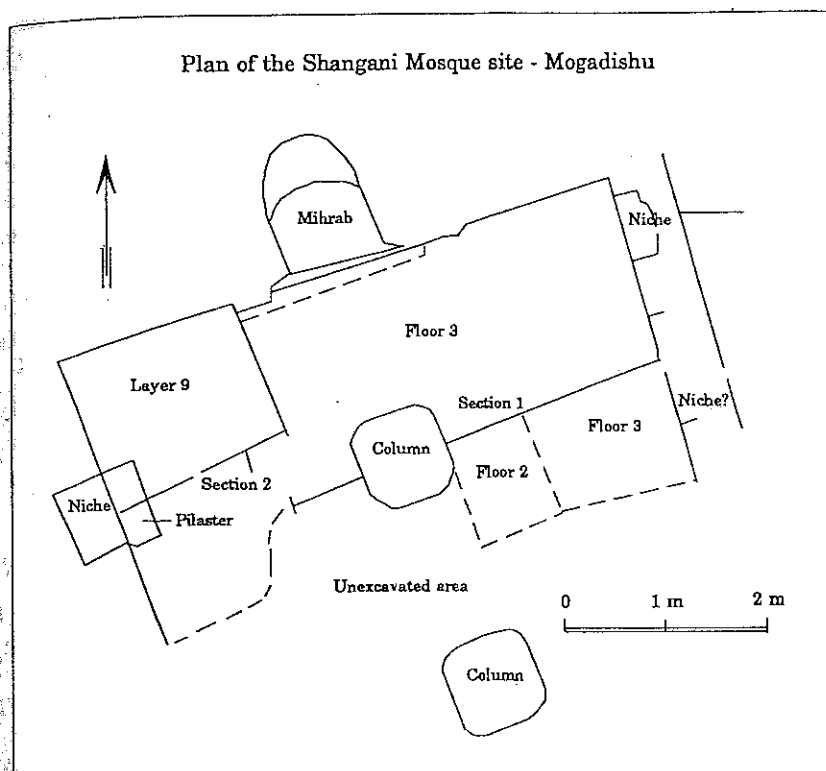


Figure 12. The plan of the Shangani Mosque site with some modifications by the author (source: SASA-SCONA, forthcoming).

The excavation was located in the north wall of the mosque reaching a depth of more than 8 m and a series of nine superimposed floors were cut through (Fig. 11). The sequence represents an unbroken series of building phases, possibly from the twelfth century AD until the present. The ceramic work was focussed initially on shape and decoration variations, but was extended to other criteria, such as fabric, diameter, thickness and surface treatment. Moreover, other material from Gezeira, Barawa and Afgoi was included in order to widen our understanding of Somali pottery and to attempt to build up ceramic sequences for Somalia for the first time.

In this regard, the aim of the ceramic work was to provide samples of pottery that could assist in the creation of a primary chronostratigraphy framework, since there was no ceramic typology for Somalia. With the beginning of the Urban Origins in Eastern African project, attention was focussed upon the coastal sites, and the rescue excavations at the Shangani Mosque provided a good opportunity to test applicable methods in the ar-

chaeology of urban development (Sinclair 1990). The format developed for this pottery analysis consisted of extensions of the approach used in Sweden by Nordström (1972) and Hulthén (1977).

All sherds from Mogadishu, Shangani, Hamar Jajab, Gezeira, Barawa and Afgoi are marked with a name and an accession number; the latter is important, as it allows the information recorded on any sherd to be independently checked and augmented, if necessary. The information recorded from each site is shown in Appendix I.

As the Shangani excavation was a rescue dig, it was not possible to sieve the deposits. Excavations soils were spread on trays with a trowel, and the sherds were removed by hand. A total of 2148 pottery fragments was recovered from each of the excavation layers, with the exception of layers 4 and 9. The assemblage was divided by stratigraphic units and by structural shape categories (Sinclair 1990). See Appendix II for a discussion of the local earthen ware and the imported glazed wares.

#### 5.1.1. Pottery analysis

##### Illustrations of ceramics from the Shangani Mosque Site in Mogadishu

Number in brackets indicate the accession numbers. Scale 1:2.

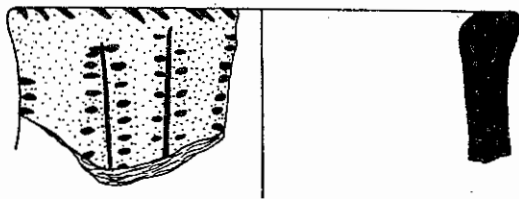


Diagram 49 (100). Hard, compact, dark-grey clay. Flat-topped rim. Long-neck jar. D. 12 cm, T. 11–16 mm. Brown slip. Vertical incisions with punctated decorations on neck and fingernail incision on outer lip.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif QQ (vertical incisions, punctates and fingernail impressions)

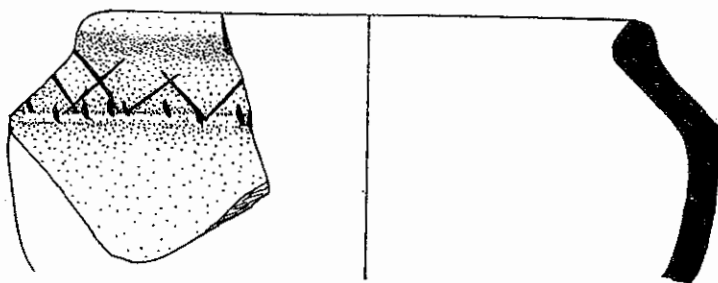


Diagram 50 (169). Hard, fine, reddish-brown, sandy clay with minor inclusions of limestone and roots, air spaces visible. Round rim sherd. Short-neck, miniature, carinated, cooking pot. D. 14 cm, T. 6–12 mm. Thin, red slip. Short, diagonal nail stabs below simple cross-hatchings on neck, lacerated with soot below carination.

*Shangani* layer 8, category 2, motif J (diagonally finger-nails impressions and cross-hatching)

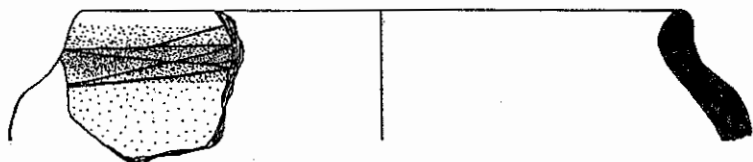


Diagram 51 (164). Hard, fine, brownish-grey, sandy clay with minor inclusions of shell and mica. Everted rim sherd. Thick, short-neck pot. D. 16 cm, T. 10–15 mm. Brown slip. Diagonal incisions interwoven with wide, cross-hatched decorations on neck.

*Shangani* layer 8, category 2, motif Y (cross-hatchings and vertical incisions)

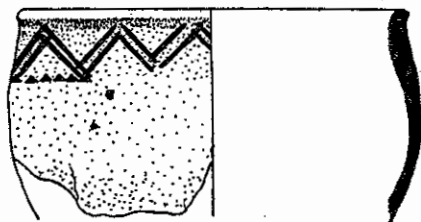


Diagram 52 (136). Hard, fine, dark-brown to greyish-black clay with mica. Everted rim sherd. Short-neck, miniature pot. D. 10 cm, T. 4–5 mm. Brown slip. Triangular stabs (punctates) below zigzag decorations on neck. Dark greyish-black parts imply cooking as its function.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif AS (triangular, zigzag stabs)

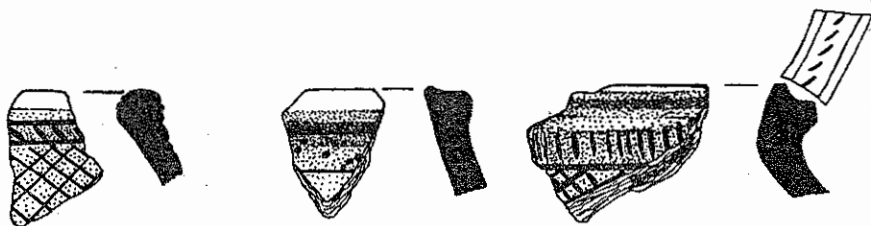


Diagram 53 (108). Hard, fine, brownish-grey clay with granular particles, plus limestone. Slightly ridged rim with downward-tapering, outer lip. High, short-neck water-pot. D. 10 cm, T. 7–11 mm. Smooth surface. Short, diagonal incisions, linear incisions and cross-hatched decoration on neck.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif Q (cross-hatchings and incisions)

Diagram 54 (150). Hard, dark-brown clay with granular inclusions. Slightly ridged, cornice-shaped rim. High-neck vessel. D. 14 cm, T. 8–11 mm. Dark-brown slip. Punctated and linear decorations.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif TT (punctates and lines)

Diagram 55 (107). Hard, compact, brown-to-grey clay with granular particles. Ridged rim, with downward-tapering, outer lip. High, short-neck water-pot. D. 8–14 cm, T. 10–13 mm. Smooth, thin, brown slip. Short, diagonal incisions on rim, vertical incisions followed by cross-hatched decoration on neck.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif Q (cross-hatchings and incisions)

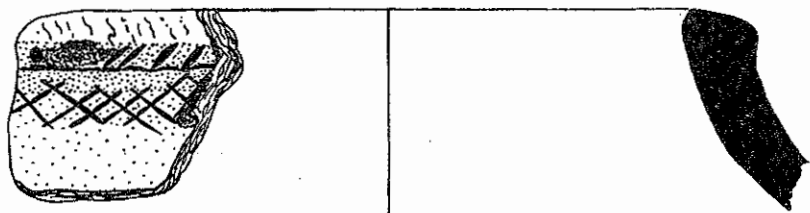


Diagram 56 (106). Hard, brown-to-grey clay with large, unconsolidated particles, including limestone (chalk). Flat-topped rim. Short-neck, hemispherical pot. D. 16 cm, T. 12–20 mm. Reddish-brown slip. Diagonally incised, outer lip, and cross-hatched decorations on neck. Unevenly fired.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif Q (cross-hatchings and incisions)

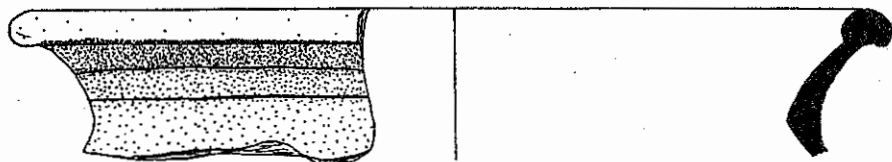


Diagram 57 (166). Indian earthenware (Indian Red). Hard and compact, finely lavigated, reddish-brown clay with mica. Everted rim sherd. Medium-neck water-pot. D. 22 cm, T. 5–10 mm. Thin brown slip. Wheel-made.

*Shangani* layer 8, category 2, motif A (plain)

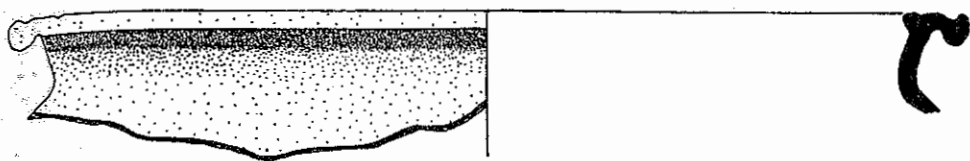


Diagram 58 (170). Indian Red earthenware. Hard and compact, reddish-brown clay with inclusions of grit and mica. Flat-topped, everted rim sherd. Short-neck, globular pot D. 22 cm, T. 3-10 mm. Thin-bodied vessel, upper part of rim slightly ledged.

*Shangani* layer 8, category 2, motif A (plain)

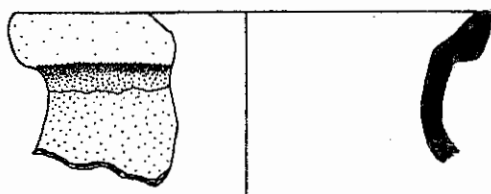


Diagram 59 (157). Hard, fine, brownish-grey sandy clay with large amount of limestone, shell and quartzite. Cornice rim. Short-neck pot. D. 12 cm, T. 4-10 mm. Rough surface.

*Shangani* layer 7, category 2, motif A (plain)

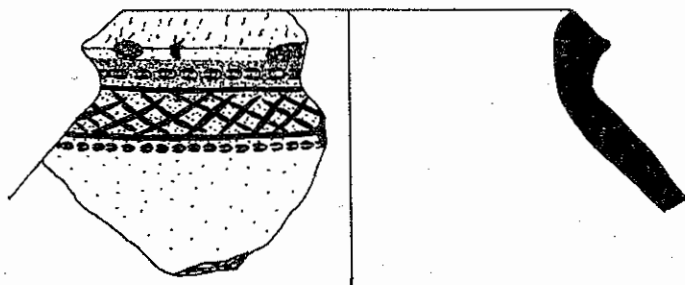


Diagram 60 (151). Hard, compact, dark-brown clay with granular inclusions, plus chalk and mica. Flat-topped rim, inner lip slightly inclined upwards. Short-neck, globular pot D. 12 cm, T. 9-14 mm. Brown slip. Deep, cross-hatched decorations between U-shaped stabs on neck.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 4, motif CS (cross-hatching and stabs).

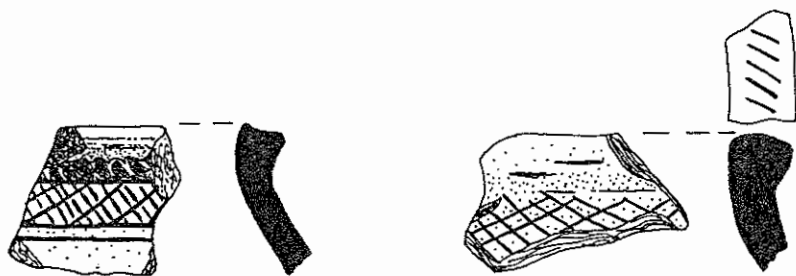


Diagram 61 (105). Hard and compact, brown-to-dark-grey clay with large, granular particles. Flat-topped rim, inner lip protruding upwards. Short-neck, globular pot D. 10 cm, T. 11-13 mm. Slightly rough. Cross-hatched ornaments between large punctates above and linear incisions below neck.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, motif E (cross-hatchings, punctates and incisions)

Diagram 62 (104). Hard and compact, dark-brown-to-grey clay with large, granular particles. Flat-topped rim. High-neck, globular pot D. 14 cm, T. 9-18 mm. Rough. Short, diagonal incisions on rim, cross-hatched decorations on neck.

*Shangani* layer 2, category 2, Motif Q (cross-hatchings and incisions)

It seems to be appropriate in this context to make some general comments on the *Shangani* ceramics. However, more information concerning this is provided by the report written by Sinclair (1990).

*Layer 1.* The outer surfaces of some of the sherds were peeling off, with parallel-line decorations on the others. Most of the pieces came from the same pot.

*Layer 2.* Vertical incisions with punctate decorations on neck and fingerprints. Short, diagonal incisions, cross-hatchings, large, diagonal stabs, thumb-nail notches. Most of the decorations are on rims and necks and are formed in various combinations. Some of the sherds have heavy moratoria and soot. Several pieces of the ceramics which are-probably from the same pots are indications of decoration uniformity. Notched outer lips, spalling on inner surfaces and white lacerations (probably from lime) are recorded.

*Layer 3.* Diagonal incisions, and cross-hatching on shoulder, fingernail impressions and spalling on inner surfaces are noted.

*Layer 7.* Vertical incisions, followed by cross-hatchings, heavy moratoria, wheel-made vessels (*Shangani* stoneware).

*Layer 8.* Diagonal incisions, cross-hatchings and linear punctates. Presence of one, Indian Red, earthenware (thin-bodied) and one, Indian, wheel-made vessel. Cooking vessels predominant, bodies lacerated with soot below carination.

## 5.2. Hamar Jajab, trench 1

According to Caniglia in 1917, as quoted by Chittick, the existence of one of the old quarters in Mogadishu was remembered as Hamar Jajab ('smashed-up' Hamar) and 'El Alauane'. According to Caniglia, Hamar Jajab extended about 4 km west of Hamar wein, and the ruins are reported to have been destroyed during the Fascist era to make way for the airport. With some uncertainty, Chittick suggests that 'El Alauane' could have been somewhere in Hamar Jajab in an area covered with sand-dunes at later times on the basis of Caniglia's description (Chittick 1982, p. 48). In the same report, a glazed jar of possibly seventh century date was illustrated. However, this awaits future verification.

I have stated earlier that Hamar Jajab could have been the original site of Mogadishu and in connection with this, I shall briefly refer to the summary made by Chittick, which is derived from Caniglia's writings. He describes the Hamar Jajab ruins as covering around 5 km<sup>2</sup> and lying in an area surrounded by consolidated dunes (Chittick 1982, p. 49).

The name 'El Alauane' should be spelled as 'El A'gaweyne'; it is a compound term, consisting of 'El', meaning 'well', and 'A'gaweyne', a nickname for a man with big feet. There are a few places in that quarter which are still called by the same name. In addition, I have always maintained that, Hamar Jajab pre-dates both Hamar wein and Shangani.

In an article, Gualtiero Benardelli describes Hamar Gergeb as a destroyed town and, in the past, it was probably a big place with a rich, sedentary population, who practised agriculture (Benardelli 1957, p. 28). There was a thick wall made of big stones, and inside the wall there were some graves and ruins of houses, as well as a large well about 3 m deep. Residents worked for 5 days to remove the huge mass of sand covering the wall.

Benardelli says that the buildings in which the people live are of different sizes and are all close to the wall. There is also a mosque with a *mihrab* oriented towards Mecca (Benardelli 1957, p. 31). The objects found in the different rooms include earthenware vessels, wooden tools, a piece of a grindstone, bracelets (imported from India and Zanzibar), with pieces of glass not very well worked and, above all a large quantity of pots, with varying qualities, depending on the type of clay used in their manufacture (Benardelli 1957, p. 32). Some of the pots are very large, but the most common must have been about 35 cm in diameter, with geometric ornaments and engraved lines.

In the sand-dune around Meregh, a lot of copper coins bearing the name 'Ali Allawi' have been recovered. There were buildings, cemeteries and even villages in the sandy area (Benardelli 1957, p. 32).

Both Chittick's excavations in Hamar Wein I and II to the south and north of the Friday Mosque and the rescue work in Shangani discussed above were located in the two old quarters of the town. Although little has been done in comparing the finds, owing to the disappearance of

Chittick's finds from Hamar Wein, the material from these areas provides substantial clues to the nature of the cultural deposits and artifacts in the two old quarters, which means the presence of deep deposits in Mogadishu. In the case of Hamar Jajab, which I believe to be the original site of the modern town of Mogadishu, no such research had been done, and this led us to focus on that area during 1989.

As a preparation for the excavation, the original plan was to undertake a ground-surface survey by walking from an area near the Police Academy and continuing towards the airport via the Air Force headquarters in 'Afizione'. This was absolutely necessary before any reliable trench could be sunk. Unfortunately, for security reasons, any possibility of carrying out that phase of the work was ruled out. Both oral traditions and written documents claim that the arrival of the Italians during the nineteenth century, together with the encroaching sand-dunes led to the destruction or burial of most of the old buildings. In such situations, the alternative would have been auger sampling; drilling equipment adapted from geological applications has been shown to be very useful in micro-stratigraphic studies elsewhere in East Africa, but the necessary equipment was unavailable at the time.

There was no alternative to excavating a small test pit somewhere in that part of the town. There were no surface indications of finds so there were no visible criteria to follow as to where to dig. The trench is located about 100 m east of the Police Academy and 10 m from the house of the late General Da'ud Abdulle. It is situated in a depression in the centre of a residential area. This is a low land zone within Hamar Jajab and is surrounded by early-twentieth-century, stone buildings but also by some mud-and-thatch dwellings, reflecting the socio-economic differences between the inhabitants.

A trench measuring 2 x 2 m was excavated by using a motorized excavator in 1989 under the supervision of Lars Sjösvärd and the author. This pit was excavated to a depth of 1.6 m, but no cultural material was encountered. Only a few shells of land and sea molluscs were found. The soil was very loose, sandy and unconsolidated, suggesting either disturbance or recent deposition. No cultural layers were discernible. This negative evidence can not, however, be entirely dismissed, as it may be as mentioned earlier, indicative of the area of the site, which may have been used for night dances ('A'weys'). Such dances are still held today and do not leave much material evidence behind.



Moreover, as seemingly confirmed by oral traditions, the impression one gets when looking carefully at the surroundings of the trench is that it was either a market area, as we learned concerning the interior town of Afgoi, or a place where night dances and other festivals such as Idd occasions (Moslem religious practices, marking the annual end of Ramadan and the visit to Mecca for the pilgrimage), were held.

### 5.3. Hamar Jajab, trench 2, near the Sheikh Murad Mosque

After a one-day survey in the area around the National Petroleum Agency, the Somali Fruit building and the coastal road, the author, with the help of the Somali Academy researchers, dug a series of 0.5 x 0.5 m test pits at approximately 20 m intervals near the Sheikh Murad Mosque in the Hamar Jajab district. The main aim was to determine or at least to elucidate the nature of the upper-layers deposits. It is hard to arrive any meaningful conclusions from test pits in an area where the recent, shifting, sand-dune deposition may be as deep as 2-3 m. Drilling equipment will be used to tackle this task in the future. In the meantime, we sank a 2 x 3 m trench to the northeast of the mosque.

After digging about 1.4 m, we recognized the similarity of the soil characteristics of the two pits. As noted earlier, the recent sand-dunes are enormous in this area and one is definitely compelled to go deep down before expecting any viable, cultural layers. Comparing this site with the sites in Hamar wein and Shangani, it can be seen that the two old quarters, especially Hamar wein, are situated on the rock promontory and protected from the major effects of approaching sand-dunes, while most of what is believed to be the core of Hamar Jajab is now buried under sand-dunes.

A 2-m-deep excavation produced less than 25 pieces of local ceramics, mainly, body, rim and neck fragments (Table 6) together with what seemed to be camel/cattle and sheep/goat bones. However, some of the local historians we interviewed told us that, at earlier periods, the site and its surroundings, an estimated area of about 30 x 40 m, has been a permanent station for an Italian garrison at the beginning of the century. The Sheikh Murad Mosque, like the other mosques of this kind, is still in use and is dated about 700 years ago. Popular traditions indicate that the Italians tried several times to demolish this mosque to extend their space, but whenever they decided to do so, their bulldozers broke down, presumably on account of the baraka of the mosque site (spiritual powers). It seems to me to be very necessary to continue the trench and also to in drill its surroundings. So, as Hamar Jajab is popularly regarded as the original site of the modern town, there is considerable archaeological potential in this area.

**Table 6.** Pottery finds from Hamar Jajab grouped in shape categories.

<i>Shape categories</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Layer 4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surface collection	24	0	0	0	1	0	0

A few sherds from the Hamar Jajab surface collection are probably wheel-made with diagonal incisions and floral decorations. Linear incisions, cross-hatchings and finger-nail impressions are all represented. Soot, repair holes and air spaces on the body are easily visible.

#### 5.4. Archaeological survey in the interior

As will be demonstrated later, the adjacent hinterland of the Benadir region was crucial for the development of settlements, both permanent and seasonal. Moreover, this area served as a linkage between the coast and the far interior. No archaeological work had previously been carried out in the hinterland area since it lacked visible monuments. Therefore, it has always been a priority to look at the archaeological potentials of the Shabelle River flood plain, and this has been partly realized, as is shown below.

Three weeks were spent in conducting reconnaissances of selected areas in the region bordered by Afgoi, Wanlawein and Bala'd (SASA-SCONA, forthcoming). The survey team comprised Anders Broberg, Ulf Säfvestad and Lars Sjösvärd, from the SCONA, and Mohamed Abdi Allamagan, Abdi Mohamoud Suleiman, Omer Abdi Hargeye and the author, from the SASA. Moreover, additional work was carried out along the Shabelle in 1990 by the present author as a part of a SASA-EEC cultural-heritage-restoration project. This is an important area in terms of vegetational units (forest, woodland, mixed woodland and grassland), and in terms of functionally meaningful, archaeological land-units, such as arable land, grazing and hunting areas.

The settlement of Afgoi is situated on the Shabelle River, which divides it; the modern part is located to the southeast, while the northwestern part comprises a typical, traditional, agricultural village. Although it was the first archaeological survey of the riverine area, substantial work based mainly on ethnographic studies (Lewis 1969; Luling 1971; Cassanelli 1982) has been carried out there. The survey report deals with the work done between 1986 and 1990.

It seemed obvious that the task of investigating such a complex landscape should start with the main settlement of Afgoi. Later on the work proceeded to its environs and beyond to obtain an overall assessment of the archae-

ological landscape. High-density, cultural material of mainly recent origin covered most of the site zones. Linked to this is the fact that it is hardly possible to find the very early materials, because of the river flood, which deposits a lot of silt on the surface. Afgoi is one of the main centres of pottery production, and it is very common to step on hundreds of broken sherds with various shapes, sizes and decorations.

On both occasions, the investigation followed both sides of the river, and the survey was conducted in thick undergrowth on the river banks. In all the consecutive surveys, the area covered by the ground-surface survey was about 40 km long, with a width of around 100 m. This area being one of the large, food-growing in Somalia, the landscape consists largely of open farmland as well as large-scale plantations which produce bananas, the second cash crop in Somalia.

### 5.5. Excavations in the interior: Afgoi

In all the previous archaeological works concerning urbanization in Somalia, undue attention has been given to the monumental coastal settlements. Some ruined, stone structures were reported in northern and eastern Ethiopia, because of their visible remains (Curle 1937), but none has been documented in the interior of the study region. One of the objectives of the Urban Origins in Eastern Africa project was to look at the role of the hinterland communities in the development of towns.

With this intention, five trenches were sunk in different locations within the Afgoi settlement. Since this town is divided by the river, three test pits were excavated on the western side and two on the eastern, near the general hospital. Each pit that we dug was chosen from the information collected from the literature and interviews with old men in the community. Trench 1, which measured 3 x 1 m, is located in an area which used to be a marketplace, according to our informants. Trench 2, with the same measurements is located in front of the (chief) resident a certain sultan, who recalls continuous occupation in the same area for generations, but how far back is hard to determine at this stage.

Trench 3 is located on the immediate west bank of the river, and it produced far more ceramics and bone fragments than all the other pits together (Plate II). Moreover, a charcoal sample from this site (590/580 cm above the river bed) provided a radiocarbon date of AD 780  $\pm$  230 St 11859 (SASA-SCONA 1988, forthcoming).

The two pits on the eastern side of the river were less impressive than those on the western in terms of site formation and artifact yield. However,

this deposit was not sieved because of the large quantity of finds it contained and the shortage of time and personnel, so the dirt was spread on a waist-high table and samples of ceramics were collected from the different layers of each unit (Broberg 1995, p. 115). It was very interesting to find that the trenches in the west contained far deeper cultural layers, with heavy concentrations of artifacts. This indicates that the former quarter was earlier than the latter and substantiates the statements made in the literature and the traditions. However, it should be noted that most of the finds were destroyed during the fighting.



**Plate II.** Afgoi trench 3 is located on the bank of the Shabelle River. Photo: Anders Broberg.

### 5.5.1. Pottery analysis

The interior town of Afgoi is located in the Shabelle River basin. Most of the houses are in traditional, Somali, agricultural villages but with round structures of straw, wattle and daub. Five trenches were sunk in Afgoi and one in a small village 1 km west of Afgoi named Lamma Jiddah. A few sherds from Afgoi 1, 3 and 5 and from Lamma Jiddah have been utilized for this study to provide illustrations of the interior material (Table 7).

In connection with this, it should be noted that, besides the large quantity of ceramics, similar amounts of bones were also recovered. However, glass and iron objects were quite few, but no date has been established for any of them. In the case of the stratigraphy, all measurements are based on the height above the river bed. The excavation took place in a dry season, so the river bed, which is itself 80 m above sea-level, was easily visible.

**Table 7.** Pottery finds from Afgoi (including Lamma Jiddah) by shape categories. Figures in brackets show cm.a.s.l.

<i>Shape categories</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<b>Afgoi trench 3</b>							
(630/610)							
Layer 1	14	9	0	0	0	0	2
(610/590)							
Layer 2	5	1	0	0	0	0	1
(590/580)							
Layer 3	1		0	0	0	0	1
<b>Afgoi trench 5</b>							
(670/650)							
Layer 1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
(640/620)							
Layer 3	8	4	0			1	
Lamma Jiddah	1		1				

N.B. The characteristics of all sherds (fabric, vessel part, vessel shape, diameter, thickness, surface treatment and decoration) are shown in Appendix I.

## Illustrations of ceramics from Afgoi

Number in brackets indicate the accession numbers. Scale 1:2.

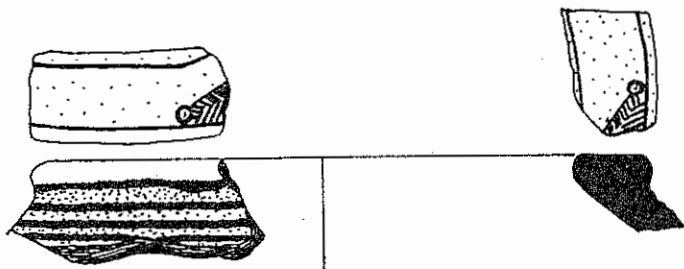


Diagram 63 (003). Hard, compact, dark-brownish-grey clay with sand granules. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water jar. D. 14 cm, T. 9–22 mm. Inner surface smooth, externally roughened by decoration. Leaf imprint with circular tip above rim, continuous 'necklace' ornamentation on the neck. Form and shape show reminiscences of Kwale ware. However, this is not clearly illustrated (Tinga and Mchulla, *pers. comm.*).

Afgoi trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif B (linear incision)

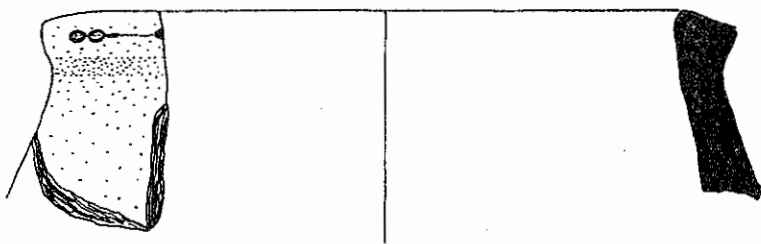


Diagram 64 (016). Hard, compact, greyish-brown clay with sand granules. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 14–16 cm, T. 8–15 mm. Smooth. Fingernail, notched decorations on outer lip.

Afgoi trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif F (nail or finger-prints)

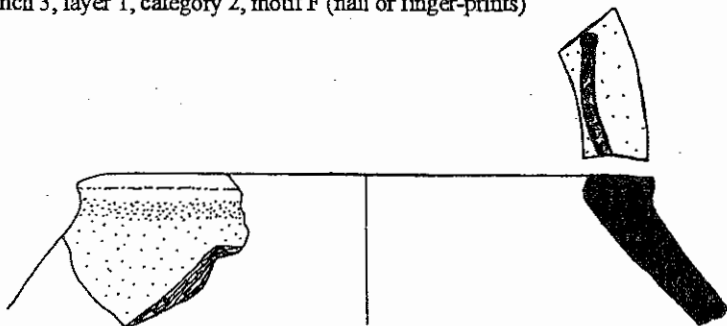


Diagram 65 (029). Hard, greyish-brown clay with sand granules and air spaces. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 12 cm, T. 9–20 mm. Smooth. Glazed outer surface. Irregular stabbed decoration on rim.

Afgoi trench 3, layer 2, category 2, motif SS (irregular stabs)

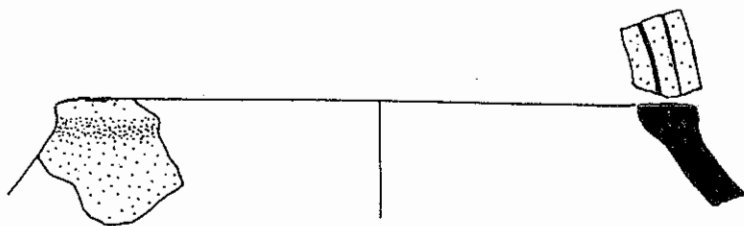


Diagram 66 (035). Hard, brown clay. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Globular water-pot. D. 14 cm, T. 9–18 mm. Smooth. Linear incisions on rim.

*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 3, category 2, motif B (linear incisions)

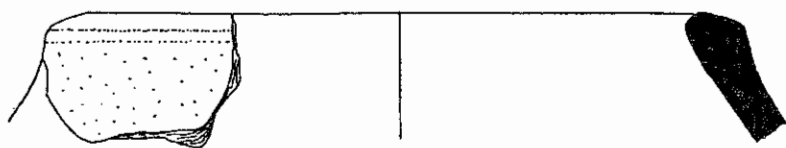


Diagram 67 (020). Hard, compact, brown clay. Flat-topped trumpet rim, outer lip slightly ledged. Water-pot. D. 16 cm, T. 9–18 mm. Outer surface with soot. Neck not well pronounced.

*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif A (plain)

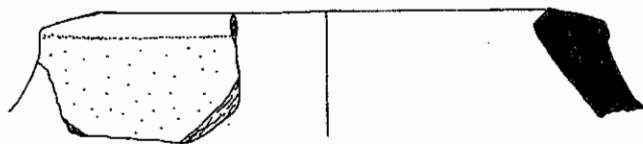


Diagram 68 (012). Very hard, compact, greyish-brown clay with sand granules, plus tiny grains of mica. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 12–14 cm, T. 10–19 mm. Smooth. Interior and exterior surfaces coated with soot, signifying open-air firing. Inner and outer lips slightly tapering down wards.

*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif A (plain)

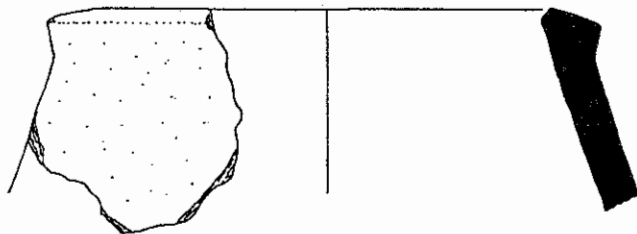


Diagram 69 (013). Hard, compact, greyish-brown clay with sand granules and tiny grains of mica. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 12 cm, T. 10–18 mm. Smooth interior and exterior coated with soot, signifying open-air firing. Body sharply tapering downward.

*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif A (plain)

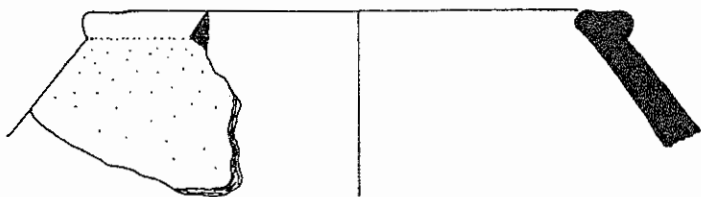


Diagram 70 (014). Hard, compact, brown clay with sand granules. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 12 cm, T. 8–15 mm. Surface marked by smoke.  
*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif A (plain)



Diagram 71 (006). Hard, compact, brownish-grey clay with sand granules. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Water-pot. D. 12 cm, T. 8–15 mm. Smooth.  
*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 2, motif A (plain)

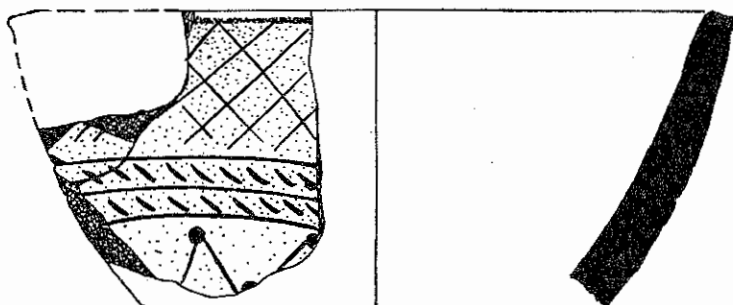


Diagram 72 (026). Hard, compact, greyish-brown clay with sand granules and air spaces. Flat-topped rim. Open-mouth bowl. D. 18 cm, T. 8–14 mm. Lower parts of both surfaces coated with soot. Cross-hatched ornamentation above short, diagonal incisions, fringed by continuous, horizontal lines, below which are zigzag incisions with both stabs on the apex.  
*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 2, category 7, motif CT (cross-hatching, zigzag, incisions and stabs)

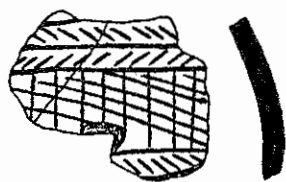


Diagram 73 (048). Hard, grey clay. Body sherd. Pot. T. 5 mm. Smooth. Cross-hatched decoration, interspersed with short, diagonal and linear incisions.  
*Afgoi* trench 5, layer 3, category 2 motif Y (cross-hatching and diagonal incision)



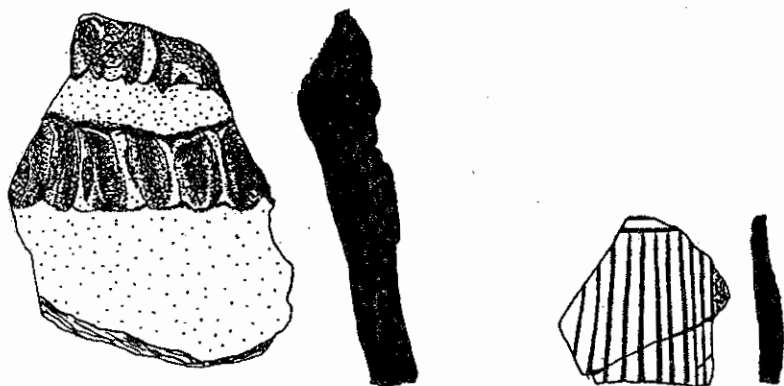


Diagram 74 (053). Hard, grey clay with gritty sand inclusions and has air spaces. Body sherd. Water-pot. T. 12–22 mm. Brown slip. Large fingernail impressions on top of wheeled marks on the shoulders.

*Lamma Jiddah* (1 km west of *Afgoi*), category 3, motif F (nail or finger prints)

Diagram 75 (054). Hard, dark-grey clay with mica. Body sherd. Water-pot. T. 3–5 mm. Brown slip. Parallel and vertical incisions.

*Lamma Jiddah*, category 1, motif VD (parallel and vertical incisions)



Diagram 76 (052). Hard, brown clay with sand inclusions and mica. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 14–18 cm, T. 9–17 mm. Internal surface with soot, fine slip on outer surface. Linear incisions between short, diagonal impressions on neck.

*Afgoi* trench 5, layer 3, category 2, motif B (linear incision)

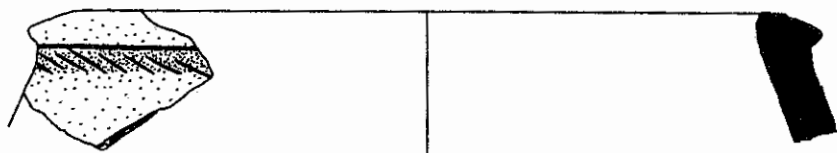


Diagram 77 (051). Hard, greyish-brown clay with mica. Flat-topped, trumpet rim. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 12–18 cm, T. 10–17 mm. Outer surface with brown slip. Short diagonal impressions on the neck.

*Afgoi* trench 5, layer 3, category 2, motif B (linear incision)

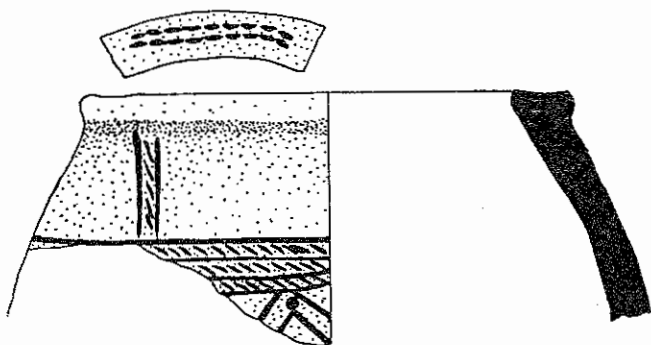


Diagram 78 (050). Hard, brown clay. Flat-topped rim with bevelled lips. Short-neck, globular pot. D. 10 cm, T. 8–16 mm. Smooth with soot. Parallel stab ornaments atop rim. Short incisions between parallel-line impressions on neck, followed by short incisions between parallel lines plus zigzag incisions below.

*Afgoi* trench 5, layer 3, category 1, motif I (incision)

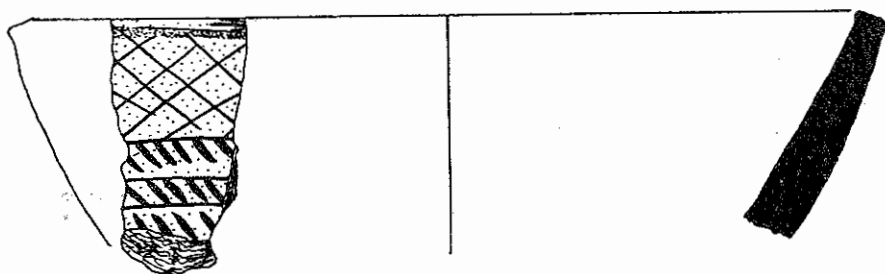


Diagram 79 (004). Hard, compact, light-brown clay with sand granules. Flat-topped rim. Bowl. D. 18–22 cm, T. 8–13 mm. A bit rough. Cross-hatched ornamentation above short, vertical line incisions, fringed by continuous, horizontal lines.

*Afgoi* trench 3, layer 1, category 7 motif Q (cross-hatchings and incisions)

Broken lips are frequent, and signs of post-kiln treatment are recorded. Leaf imprint, with circular tip above rim, continuous necklace ornamentation on neck, form and shape reminiscent of Kwale ware. Necks tapering downwards are represented. A piece of Chinese porcelain with floral, peasant decoration is in the collection. Excessive firing is very rare. Parallel and continuous, horizontal lines, together with various forms of incisions with large finger-nail impressions are common.

## Chapter 6

### Relations between coast and interior in the Benadir region

The Benadir coastal area is one of the few places in East Africa that has a fertile plain in its immediate hinterland. The Shabelle River in the Benadir region was the source of food for the coastal settlements. Along the banks of the river are dotted small villages of not more than two hundred persons, which are centres for a number of hamlets from which people bring their relative surpluses for exchange. These centres are in turn connected with rather bigger, interior centres; in this case, we have Afgoi, which controls the main interior trade routes to Aw Dhiggle and Genale.

To understand how the system of interaction worked in the development of coastal towns, I shall return to the results of the interpretation of the satellite imagery and the soil maps. I have shown that with some exceptions, the immediate surroundings of Mogadishu are unsuitable for cultivation (Fig. 13).

In order to assess the optimum exploitation catchment, I take distances of 20 and 40 km, which are the average distances that can be travelled by donkey and camel in a day respectively. It has been substantiated by research (F. Hassan, *pers. comm.*) that the maximum load that a donkey can carry at one time is about two sacks of grain, each weighing 50 kg, altogether 100 kg, with a market value of 2000 Somali shillings. A camel can carry 200 kg, with a value of 4000 shillings. The cost of the transport is taken as 100 shillings per day. Then we take the costs of three different distances of 10, 5 and 2 days' walks. In doing so, we are examining hypothetically the cost-value ratio, which means the actual value of the item and the costs incurred to achieve maximum profit (Table 8).

From these results, it should be pointed out that a donkey day of 20 km x 2 days, which is 40 km, is the optimum distance of exploitation of a site catchment, while a camel day of 40 km x 2 days, which is 80 km, is considered as an extension of resource extraction in this context, when the need arises. Moreover, since the distance between Afgoi and Mogadishu is about 25 km, the percentage of the original value for the donkey load will be 70% profit and that of the camel 80% after deducting the cost of a one day trip and the profit to the middleman.

**Table 8.** As a hypothetical calculation of the cost-value ratio in the study area (F. Hassan, *pers. comm.*).

(a) Donkey with a carrying capacity of about 100 kg of grain, with a value of 2000 shillings. Costs in Somali shillings.

Number of walking days			Comments
10	5	2	
1000	500	200	Cost of transport by donkey 100 shilling per day
1000	1500	1800	Net after different walking days
100	100	100	Cost of transport from Afgoi to Mogadishu
900	1400	1700	Net
500	500	500	Profit to middleman
400	900	1200	Net
20%	45%	60%	% of original value

(b) Camel with a carrying capacity of 200 kg of grain, with a value of 4000 shillings. Costs in Somali shillings.

Number of walking days			Comments
10	5	2	
1000	500	200	Cost of transport by camel 100 shillings per day
3000	3500	3800	Net after different walking days
100	100	100	Cost of transport from Afgoi to Mogadishu
3900	3400	3700	Net
500	500	500	Profit to middleman
2400	2900	3200	Net
60%	72.5%	80%	% of original value

In this regard, if the consumption in the urban area was 200 kg of grain/person/year, the population of Mogadishu, estimated at around 3000 during the visits of Ibn Battuta in the thirteenth century (Puzo 1972), would have required c. 600,000 kg of grain per year (Hassan 1993, p. 565). Moreover, as stated above, the transport from the interior to the coast was mainly by donkeys; occasionally, camels were used for distances further inland. Therefore, a caravan of about 13 donkeys and 2 camels per day was sufficient to bring the food supply needed in Mogadishu. Similarly, Merca,

with an estimated population of 2000, and Barawa, with 1500 in the same period, would have needed 400,000 kg and 300,000 kg of grain per year respectively.

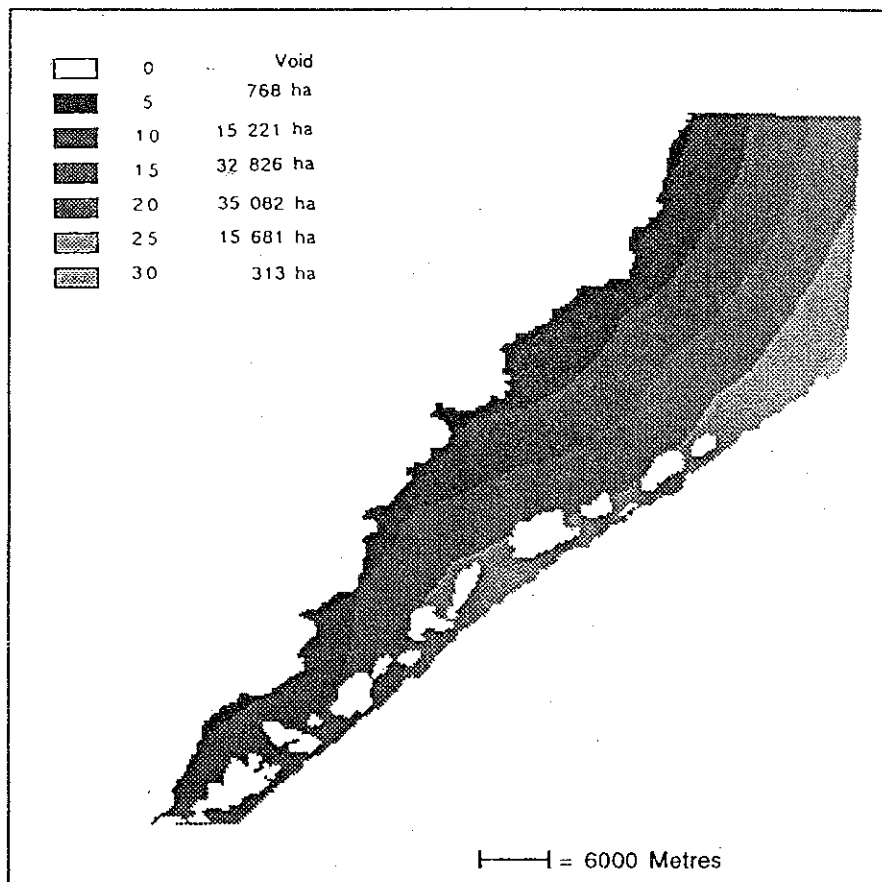
On the basis of the Spot image interpretation and analysis of the soil maps, we learn that about 668 km<sup>2</sup> of the land-system area of Mogadishu and Gezeira, within 5 and 10 km intervals for the latter and within 5, 10 and 25 km intervals for the former, is either littoral plain or sand-dunes compared with only 109 km<sup>2</sup> of the riverine area towards the interior (see Table 1). This shows how coastal settlements can exploit resources from vast areas of the hinterland within a radius of 25 km. Any goods obtained from distances of less than 40, or 80 km will yield more profit and need less time or fewer animals for transportation. What is interesting to note here is the reliability of cultivable land in the river flood plain.

On the other hand Afgoi, being located at the heart of the Shabelle River flood plain with its fertile soils, has the undisputed advantage of obtaining food and other services from relatively smaller communities dotted along the river banks. These smaller settlements have their own small centres, which later feed the main centres, in this case Afgoi (Map 3). Meanwhile, the traditional products of the Somali interior, such as meat, milk, hides and skins are within close reach, especially during the wet season. Obviously, this large quantity of food cannot be consumed wholly by the inhabitants of the interior. Therefore, the surplus has to be sent to the coastal settlements in exchange for trade goods, such as cloth, metal goods, marine products, etc. Competition for resources between Mogadishu and Gezeira is indicated by the dominant role of the former (see Fig. 14), with its direct contacts with the interior, while the latter is relatively separated by huge sand-dunes from the fertile river.

The analysis of resource availability indicates that all agricultural and livestock products should come from the interior, and on this two points can be made. First, it is possible for the coastal towns to feed their people and to export surpluses to other external markets in exchange for other trade goods, which in turn go to the hinterland. Secondly, a settlement system develops, which reflects marine and agricultural/pastoral links, where the larger settlements with their stone structures are located on the seashore. In general, the analysis elucidates how the mixed economies could have operated in the development of towns on the Benadir coast.

On the basis of this perspective on hinterland resources, it is time to review the historical sources relevant to this issue. Yakut (AD 1228), who is also the first writer to mention Kilwa, refers to sandalwood, ebony and ambergris as the main exports of Mogadishu (Yakut 1965, p. 605). Al-Dimashqi (1256-1327), in his *Tuhfat al-Dhahab fi al-Caja' ib al-Bar wa al-*

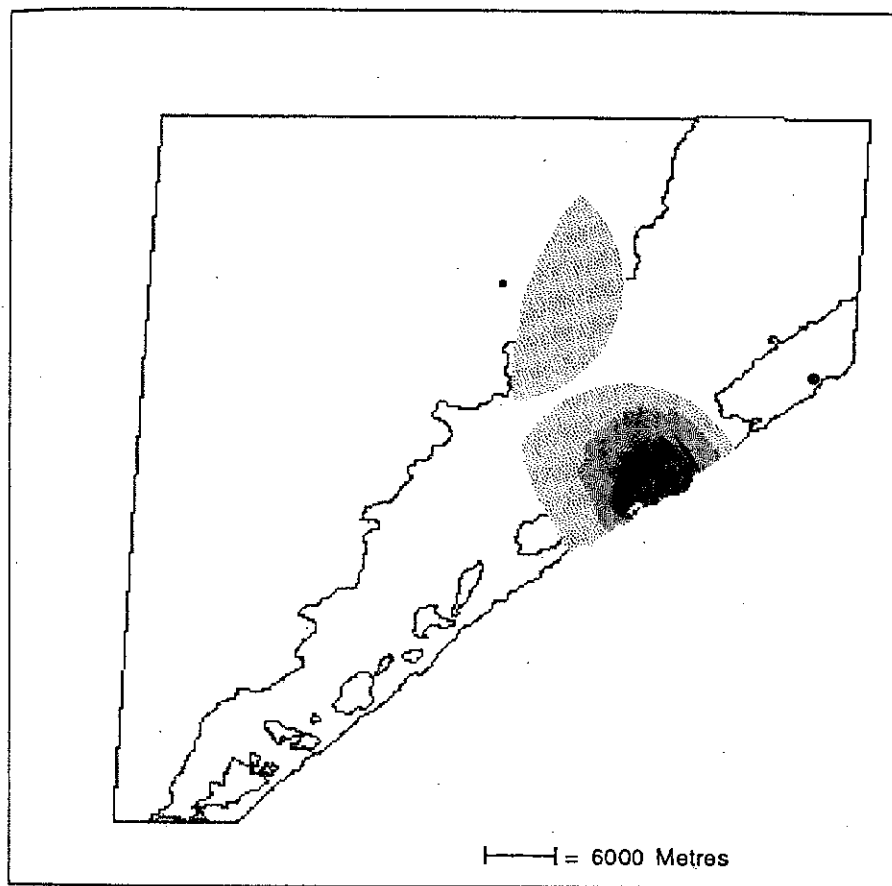
*Bahr*, reveals Indian trade connections with the Benadir region (Cerulli 1957b, p. 43), while Pankhurst mentions ships from the Indies loaded with incense, pepper and cloth (Pankhurst 1974, p. 186). The recovery of the twelfth and thirteenth-century Ceylonese coins in Mogadishu further indicates that trade linkage (Freeman-Grenville 1963, p. 574; Cerulli 1957a). During the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, Chinese sources reveal the receipt of ivory, ostrich feathers, tortoise shell, rhinoceros horns, giraffe



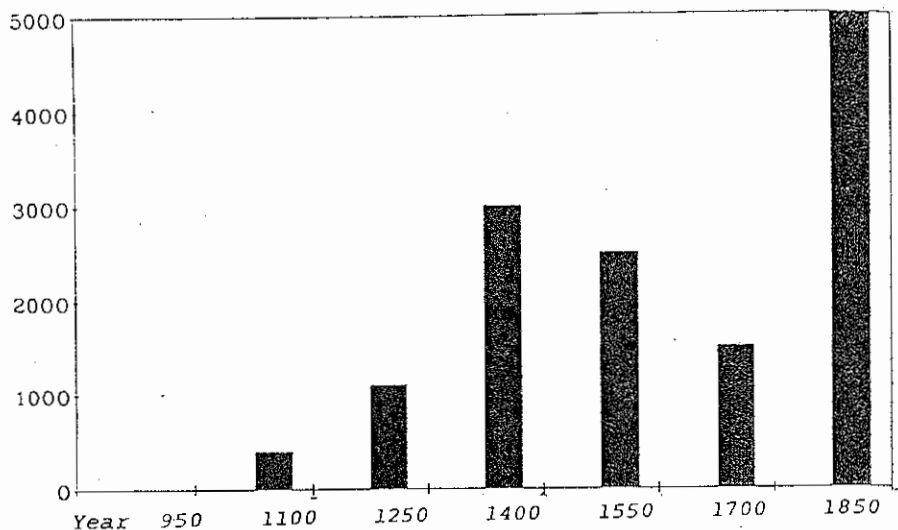
**Figure 13.** The area of arable land in hectares at intervals of 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 and 30 km from the Shabelle River towards the coast. This corresponds to Figure 8. For orientation see Plate V.

hides, leopard skins, gums and aromatic products from Benadir (Hersi 1977, p. 16; Geji 1989).

We learn from Ibn Battuta that his visit to Mogadishu in 1331, was during a time of increasing prosperity, due to the incorporation of the city into the hinterland commercial network (Fig. 15). He claims that he saw livestock exported from Mogadishu in the Maldives Islands (Ibn Battuta 1960, p. 574; Hamdun & King 1975). Battuta also mentions the local textile industry,



**Figure 14.** Within a distance of 25 km on land, there is a resource competition between Mogadishu and Gezeira; the dark shading shows the intensity of the competition on a three level scale and the domination of the former over the latter. There is a potential conflict between Mogadishu and Afgoi although the huge sand dunes may limit the actual conflict in this area. For orientation see Plate V.



**Figure 15.** Estimated population growth of Mogadishu. The fourteenth century was a time when the town was fully integrated into the interior network (after Puzo 1972, p. 139). Puzo obtained these figures from various sources, and they are based on historical documents, as well as on an estimate of the town area.

known as 'Benadiri', reporting that Mogadishu already had an artisan caste of weavers. This local cloth, which still exists, was sold in the interior in exchange for food, and it was also carried by traders as far as the ports of Egypt (Mohammadain 1983; Hersi 1977). At the time of Battuta's visit, Mogadishu was governed by a council of elders, together with a religious hierarchy headed by the sultan (Freeman-Grenville 1962, pp. 27-31; Hamdun & King 1975).

It is reported that Mogadishu was prosperous at the time of the Portuguese presence in East Africa, and Duarte Barbosa (Dames 1914) mentions some of the exports from Mogadishu in the early sixteenth century. Barbosa verified the commercial importance of Mogadishu during his visit around 1616 and he noted that it was a great city:

It has a king; the city has much trade in diverse kinds, by-reason where of many ships come hither from the kingdom of Cambaya (modern India), bringing many things, and in the same way they come from Aden and they carry away much gold, ivory, wax, cloth, and many other things where they make great profit in their dealings. In this place is found fresh meat in great quantity, wheat, barley, cattle and fruits of diverse kinds, however, it is a place of great wealth.

(Puzo 1972, p. 34)



This prosperity was based on the mutual relationships with the interior rulers. Moreover, within that period (1500–1650), the Ajuran clan in the interior of Benadir became dominant. A clan is defined here as the largest political unit in the Somali system, and it recognizes hereditary leadership. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they developed stone walls, dug wells, practised a system of irrigation along the Shabelle and imposed tribute and tax payment. At this time, the Ajuran controlled a large part of the river flood plain, displacing some of the former population, mainly Bantu-speakers (Blench 1993) who had cultivated this area in the past (Cassanelli 1982, p. 102). This put the Ajuran in the position of middleman, by controlling the interior trade routes, which yielded considerable amounts of wealth. For that matter, Mogadishu, under the Muzzaffar dynasty (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries), was an outpost of the Ajuran confederacy, which controlled most of the upper Shabelle area.

In the interior of Afgoi, economic exchange, based on pastoral and agricultural products, took place between the herders, who belonged mainly to the Garre and Gal-Je'el clans, and the cultivators of the Geledi and Shidle communities in the Shabelle flood plain. This exchange depended on the mutual relationships between the various ethnic groups. Herders obtain farm products, such as durrah, masago (which is derived from sorghum and has very dense, compact heads), beans, digir, etc., in exchange for goats and sheep. Most of the larger animals, such as cattle and camels, are sent to Mogadishu, where the main market is located, for consumption by the townsfolk and for export. Moreover, it is important to point out that the nomads and cultivators along the Shabelle do not usually have major conflicts of interests, for the simple reason that they do not live in the same area all the year round. This happens mainly during the dry season, when live-stock herders come to the river area:

1. To obtain water for their animals and themselves, as nomads, and even the game converges in pockets of permanent water supply.

2. During this time, female livestock do not yield milk because nutritious plants are scarce or not available at all. Moreover, in most pastoral societies, meat is rarely consumed by slaughtering an animal intentionally.

3. Nomads obtain cereals and other agricultural products from the cultivators.

During the dry season, the nomads cluster along the Shabelle River banks, where they exchange a few of their livestock for durrah and beans from the cultivators. There develops an economic exchange, based on pastoral and agricultural activities. As regards the coast, towns are places where people from the interior take refuge in bad times. Therefore, an economic and social interaction develops between townsfolk, cultivators and herders.

Traditions speak of the Abgal in the hinterland of Mogadishu during the sixteenth century at a time when the Muzzaffar dynasty was ruling the town (Cassanelli 1982, pp. 73 and 100). In addition, the chronicles from Mogadishu occasionally reflect the intrusion into town life of various groups of pastoralists who inhabited the hinterland.

During the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the Hawiya groups from the interior infiltrated the town. By the end of the same century, the 'Arabs' were replaced by new Somali peoples mainly the Abgal Hawiya, with a new line of Abgal imams. With this new line of imams, they resided in Shangani, but their power base remained among the people in the interior (Chittick 1982, p. 53). As indicated previously, the markets of the Indian Ocean trade were continuously fed by indigenous trading systems passing the interior products to the coast. One of these systems was implemented by the Somali merchants from the Benadir coast (Abir 1968, p. 104; see also Map 3), and since they had long experience in this coast and hinterland trade, they successfully participated in the commercial network.

One of the immediate results of the Abgal arrival and their domination in Shangani was that the rulers of Hamar wein lost their interior allies substantially. For that reason, they were forced to explore a new, interior alliance. For over a thousand years, the Benadir coast, especially Mogadishu as the largest port, had long, commercial contacts with a large stretch of the interior, such as Borana in Ethiopia.

The outcome of Hamar wein's Reer Faqi initiative in searching for an alliance was the creation of a direct, commercial linkage between the coast and the interior town of Lugh (Pankhurst 1965, p. 38). Later on, Reer Sheikh Mumin had influential religious and commercial connections inland with Lugh. Travellers from Benadir went to the far hinterland by way of Bardera. It was reported later on that the town depended upon the grain brought by camels from the Galadi River (p. 46). The other items included rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth and cattle (p. 38).

As noted earlier, the basic existence and the economic activity of the Benadir coastal towns depended upon the agricultural products from the Shabelle River basin and the traditional, pastoral products of the Somali economy, especially hides, ghee (clarified butter) and livestock and the seasonal supply of game meat bartered by hunter-gatherers.

Christopher (1843) describes how the Benadir grain (primarily millet) supplied the whole coast of southern Arabia, and for that reason the Benadir coast could have been called the 'Grain coast' (Christopher, *Extract* 85 and 87). Another important product from the river flood plain was sesame oil. Guillaumin put the population of Mogadishu at 5000 in the 1840's.

The question of whether the twin town developed before or after the Islamic conquest has not been fully addressed. However, on the basis of the information gained during this research, it may be suggested that, owing to the competition of the two quarters for hinterland resources and family alliances, an intensive rivalry between them became very apparent during the eighteenth century. Both Christopher and later Guillain mentioned the animosity which existed between the two moieties of Hamar wein and Shangani. Guillain points out an entry from Shangani into the other moiety of the town (Hamar wein) that was controlled by a gate (Christopher, *Extract* 98; Guillain, *Documents* 11, 511). At later times the hostility was so great that the people in Shangani ceased to pray in any mosque located within the Hamar wein area (pp. 525-6).

Revoil describes the persistent problem of the intense rivalry between the two old quarters (Hamar wein and Shangani) in 1882 (Fig. 10). He noted that a wall protected Hamar wein against the inhabitants of Shangani and added that the old Fakhru-Din Mosque was reserved for the inhabitants of Hamar wein (Revoil, *Voyages* 38, pp. 49-50 and 52). After the inhabitants of Shangani abandoned the Hamar wein mosque, they built their own Friday mosque. On the regional level at this point, there was the similar cases in other important East African, coastal towns (Alpers 1983, p. 447). It seems that a long-term, dynamic competition in this part of the town's history led to its differentiation into two, spatially separated moieties.

The moiety issue seems to me to have been something which had already developed in the north and later spread to places in the south, such as Mombasa and Lamu. In spite of many apparent, historical differences today, the so-called 'medieval' towns along this coast shared basic elements in the course of their development. Several occurrences of moiety divisions are given by Friedman and Rowlands (1978) and are seen as the final stage in the maturity of urban development.

Having said that, perhaps we may ask ourselves, did Mogadishu develop as a result of it being a centre of production or just as a port of trade depending on its natural resources in the hinterland? I think that it gradually developed into a commercial centre as a great port for trade with its hinterland, up to Borana in Ethiopia and other markets of the east. Its increasing prosperity and its influence were reflected in new construction, in the course of which at least three large mosques were built during the thirteenth century.

Since the conditions of local production are crucial for development, Mogadishu enjoyed a constant flow of local production and long-distance, trade exchange. It also relied upon the vast marine resources from smaller fishing communities. Therefore, it evolved as a centre of power and trade at

the expense of the surrounding communities, as centres are surrounded by smaller settlements in which population is more dispersed.

Mogadishu is a good example of the situation in which the main port of trade and the smaller fishing communities are located along the immediate coastal line, i.e. Warsheikh, Gezeira, Danane and Gendershe, with relatively easy access to the hinterland settlements of Afgoi and Lamma Jiddah, among others.

In conclusion, it has been shown that the basic existence and the economic activity of the Benadir coastal towns depended heavily upon the agricultural and pastoral products of the Somali economy, such as milk, meat, ghee, hides and skins and, above all on family alliances for protection, for example, the Ajuran-Muzzafar alliance. Unlike the coastal settlements of Mogadishu and Gezeira, Afgoi had the advantage of receiving food products and other resources from a distance of at least of 40 km, following the river extensions. This was because of its strategic location between the interior resources and the coastal trade goods, as well as its control of the main, interior, caravan routes, which later on contributed to the rise of the Geledi Sultanate centred in Afgoi.

There are two main interior clans who deserve special attention, on account of their historical significance in the region. One is the Ajuran sultanate, which existed approximately from twelfth to the nineteenth century and ruled over a large part of the central and southern regions. Their economic life was based on animal husbandry and agriculture. They built wells and founded large settlements. The other important sultanate, which flourished in the lower Shabelle region, was the Geledi. It existed approximately from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.

However, being very near to point, where River Shabelle first comes close to the sea and several caravan routes end up, Mogadishu enjoyed a steady flow of local production, trade exchanges both local and long-distance and a large area of fishing grounds. In other words, these sultanates were essentially trading communities, whose prosperity depended upon their positions as middlemen between the interior sources of local produce and the Asian consumers (Lewis 1965, p. 22).

However, at later times, the scene was different from what Battuta reported during his visit to Mogadishu in the 1330's. A dispute broke out between the coastal and the inland people; it became difficult for Mogadishu to feed its inhabitants, and this led to its decline. Both internal and external pressures can be stated for that misfortune. First, the nomads and farmers stopped bringing food to the town, they were weakened by droughts, which reduced the animals and the agricultural products. Secondly, there was the

rise of Kilwa at the end of the thirteenth century, which diverted the maritime trade from Benadir.

I believe that reasonable attempts have been made to demonstrate, with all the existing constraints, that urbanism in this region was based on the supply of riverine, agricultural products and on a network of trade exchanges, together with abundant marine resources. Future research will pick up this issue from where it lies at present and be able to show the extent to which this area fits a regional model of urbanism from a regional perspective. The Benadir coast with the nearby Shabelle River provides relatively favorable conditions for the development of urbanism (Sinclair 1995).

Another task for future research, which is worth mentioning here is the definition of the spatial extent and the internal arrangements of some of the complex settlements revealed in this study, with the application of micro-stratigraphic drilling, which has been adapted from geological investigations and developed in the 'Urban Origins in Eastern Africa' project.

## 6.1. Cultural resource perspective

It has been realized during the course of this study that there is an urgent need to salvage some of the old Islamic monuments and historical buildings that are under threat in the face of social and economic developments. In the 1980's, there was no systematic inventory of archaeological sites for Somalia, so areas in and around Mogadishu were visited in the course of this study. One aim was to establish site size and to classify sites in the order of their relative importance, based on their condition, rarity, fragility, etc., and to determine the necessary actions needed to prevent further deterioration. This is even more necessary now with the widespread destruction of the town of Mogadishu.

It is worth while to consider the relevance of this work in terms of cultural resource management. To begin with, there are tomb and mosque inscriptions in Mogadishu, mainly in the Shangani quarter, and in some of the other Somali coastal towns. Regrettably, these valuable monuments are under threat, because there is no antiquity law in Somalia.

However, Mogadishu retains some of its earlier Islamic settlement features, but the construction of new houses at the expense of the old ones is in progress, especially within the old moieties. For that reason, one of the things that we looked at during this research was the problem of the destruction of historically important buildings and monuments.

Therefore, one major consideration in this work, in the broader stage of cultural resource conservation, was to identify and bring to the attention of the authorities concerned, the main sites which needed to be restored. Since

the Shangani Mosque site is the oldest Islamic site identified archaeologically so far, it was preserved in 1989 with financial support granted by SAREC.

The steps taken to preserve this mosque site included the following:

- The removal of the factors, which were contributing to its disintegration
- The architectural elements which had deteriorated were consolidated
- Sections of the building, which had fallen down were restored by removing the affected masonry and supporting it against collapse
- Considerable attention was given to matching the repairing material to the original surface



**Plate III.** The tapering tower of Abdul Aziz rises to a height of about 15 m and was built in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. It has an inner spiral staircase to the top balcony.

Photo: Anders Broberg

- Vegetation was removed and the surrounding strip of ground was levelled to divert running water away from the site
- To maintain the continuity of the site as a place of worship (the old *mihrab* is under the new one), a spiral staircase was erected, leading down to the lower levels of the-site
- Lighting and fans were also installed, with an entrance on the northern side to avoid disturbing those who are saying their prayers in the new mosque.

Other contributions of this work were as follows:

- Providing or displaying the cultural heritage of the area in which this research has been conducted. This inspired in the people a new awareness of their cultural wealth, so little of which was known to them before



Plate IV. The Jamia' Mosque and Minara are located in Hamar wein. An inscription over the entrance to the Minara records that its construction began in AD 1238. Photo: David Tunnecliffe.

- Providing favourable grounds for the implementation of the Antiquity Law
- Addressing questions that were relevant to other sites along the coast
- Contributing in terms of educational relevance to the protection of the archaeological heritage in the face of economic development
- The sites revealed in this work were made available to the public as cultural attractions.

It should be mentioned here that this work took place before the outbreak of civil strife in Mogadishu, and we now know that at least 50% of Shangani and 25% of Hamar wein have been destroyed.



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## Appendix I

### Ceramic analysis

with the contribution of Mohamed Mchulla and Kaingu Tinga

#### Code list

##### *Column 1. Accession number*

Every sherd or sherd unit is given a consecutive number, which identify the sherd during the analysis (Hultén 1974).

##### *Column 2. Shape category*

Seven categories have been identified from the Benadir material (Sinclair 1990), see Chapter 4 as well as the findlist.

##### *Column 3. Fabric or temper*

0. indefinable	1. sand
2. crushed rock	3. quartz
4. granite	5. limestone
6. crushed shells	7. chamotte
8. mica	9. celadon

##### *Column 4. Vessel part*

0. indefinable	1. base
2. body	3. shoulder
4. neck	5. mouth
6. rim	7. handle

##### *Column 5. Individual vessel profile*

Pot form abbreviations following terminology used by the Fort Jesus Museum, Mombasa.

B	bowl
c	curving
CC	charcoal cooker
Cn	constricted
CP	cooking pot
Cr	cornice
CrP	carinated pot
D	deverted
E	everted
FTB	flat topped bevelled
FTT	flat topped trumpet
GCP	globular cooking pot
Gr	green glazed

GrE	grooved everted
GSNGP	gently sloping neck globular pot
GWP	globular water pot
HNHsP	high neck hemispherical pot
HNP	high neck pot
HNGP	high neck globular pot
HNVS	high neck vessel sloping inwards
HSNGP	high short neck globular pot
HSNWP	high short neck water pot
ic	inward curving
InB	incense burner
L	ledged
LNJ	long neck jar
MnB	miniature bowl
MNJ	medium neck jar
MNP	medium neck pot
MNWP	medium neck water pot
MP	medium pot
oc	outward curving
OMB	open mouth bowl
OMPSi	open mouth pot sloping inwards
P	pot
R	round rim
rg	ridged
S	straight rim
SNGP	short neck globular pot
SNHsP	short neck hemispherical pot
SNmnP	short neck miniature pot
SNMP	short neck miniature cooking pot
SNP	short neck pot
SNWJ	short neck water jar
SpCP	spherically curved pot
sR	slightly round
TrSNP	thick rimmed short neck pot
TsnP	thick rimmed short neck pot
WG	white glazed
Wh	white
WMGP	wide mouth globular pot
WMP	wide mouth open
WMSHSW	wheel-made Shangani stone ware
WOMB	wide open mouth bowl
WOMC	wide open mouth cover
WOMD	wide open mouth dish
WOMP	wide open mouth pot
WP	water pot
wt	wide trumpet



### *Column 6. Diameter*

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 1. plane   | 2. convex  |
| 3. concave | 4. angular |
| 5. conical |            |

### *Column 7. Thickness*

All the sherds listed here have two intact surfaces.

### *Column 8. Surface treatment*

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 0. rough surface | 1. smoothened     |
| 2. slipped       | 3. polished       |
| 4. painted       | 5. coarse-slipped |
| 6. brushed       | 7. glazed         |

S = smoke or soot

### *Column 9. Decoration element (motif)*

- |                         |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 0. plain                | 8. line/s            |
| 1. incised              | 9. wavy line         |
| 2. thumb stab           | 11. cross-hatching   |
| 3. punctate             | 22. parallel         |
| 4. applique             | 33. diagonal         |
| 5. irregular stroke     | 44. vertical         |
| 6. nail or finger print | 55. horizontal       |
| 7. zigzag               | 66. dentate stamping |

### *Decoration motifs*

#### *Motif code Description*

#### *Abbreviation*

0	plain	A
1	incision	I
11	cross-hatching	C
11/1	cross-hatching and incision	Q
11/3	cross-hatching and punctates	R
11/3/1	cross-hatching, punctates and incision	E
11/61	cross-hatching and finger-nail incision	K
11/331	cross-hatching and diagonal incision	Y
11/441	cross-hatching and vertical incision	X
2	stabs	S
2/71	stabs and zigzag incision	H
221	parallel incision	U
2217	parallel incised zigzag	G

<i>Motif code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>
3	punctates	P
3/8	punctates and lines	TT
331/3	diagonal incision punctates	M
331/3/2	diagonal incision, punctates and stabs	N
332	diagonal stabs	RR
336	diagonal finger prints	MM
336/11	diagonal finger-nail and cross-hatching	J
3381/11	diagonal linear incision and cross-hatching	LC
3381/6/11	diagonal linear incision, finger-nail and cross-hatching	HL
427	triangular zigzag stabs	AS
441/221	vertical and parallel incision	VD
4551	vertical and horizontal incision	T
52	irregular stabs	SS
6	nail- or finger print	FYY
6/9/2271	finger prints, wavy line, parallel zigzag lines	YY
6/11	finger prints and cross-hatching	FF
6/331	finger prints and diagonal incision	FD
6/443	finger-nail and vertical punctates	QQ
66	dentate stamping	DS
71	zigzag incision	PP
7221	zigzag and parallel incision	Z
8	line/lines	L
81	linear incision	B
81/441	linear and vertical incision	GG
82/331	linear stabs and diagonal incision	EE
83	linear punctates	CC
85	linear strokes	DD
9	wavy lines	W
9/71	wavy lines and zigzag incision	WZ
9/81	wavy lines and linear incision	V

*Column 10. Motif code and description sorted by abbreviation*

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Motif code</i>	<i>Description</i>
A	0	plain
B	81	linear incision
C	11	cross-hatching
E	11/3/1	cross-hatching, punctates and incision
F	6	nail- or fingerprint
G	2217	parallel incised zigzag
H	2/71	stabs and zigzag incision
I	1	incision
J	336/11	diagonal finger-nail and cross-hatching
K	11/61	cross-hatching and finger-nail incision
L	8	line/lines
M	331/3	diagonal incision punctates
N	331/3/2	diagonal incision, punctates and stabs
P	3	punctates
Q	1/1	cross-hatching and incision
R	11/3	cross-hatching and punctates
S	2	stabs
T	4551	vertical and horizontal incision
U	221	parallel incision
V	9/81	wavy lines and linear incision
W	9	wavy lines
X	11/441	cross-hatching and vertical incision
Y	11/331	cross-hatching and diagonal incision
Z	7221	zigzag and parallel incision
AS	427	triangular zigzag stabs
CC	83	linear punctates
DD	85	linear strokes
DS	66	dentate stamping
EE	82/331	linear stabs and diagonal incision
FD	6/331	finger prints and diagonal incision
FF	6/11	finger prints and cross-hatching
GG	81/441	linear and vertical incision
HL	3381/6/11	diagonal linear incision, finger-nail and cross-hatching
LC	3381/11	diagonal linear incision and cross-hatching
MM	336	diagonal finger prints
PP	71	zigzag incision
QQ	6/443	finger-nail and vertical punctates
RR	332	diagonal stabs
SS	52	irregular stabs
TT	3/8	punctates and lines
VD	441/221	vertical and parallel incision
WZ	9/71	wavy lines and zigzag incision
YY	6/9/2271	finger prints, wavy line, parallel zigzag lines

## The finds

The finds below are listed from four areas: Afgoi, Gezeira, Barawa and Mogadishu (in Mogadishu: Shangani, Hamar Jajab and Al Aruba Hotel beach). The listing starts with an accession number, followed by shape category, fabric or temper, vessel part, individual vessel shape, diameter in centimetre, thickness in millimetres, surface treatment and decoration. The descriptions of these characteristics are shown in the preceding sections such as code list, motif code and pot form abbreviations. All the pottery listed here is local, but those imported are specified by their origin.

### Afgoi

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<b>Afgoi Trench 3 Layer 1 (L 630/610)</b>										
001	2	1	R6/4	SNP	16	12-15	0	0	A	
002	1	1	2	P	?	4-5	0	0	A	
003	2	1	FTT6	WP	14	9-22	1	81	B	Illustrated
004	7	0	FT6	B	18-22	8-13	0	11/1	Q	Illustrated
005	1	1	FTT6	WP	16	8-22	1	1	I	
006	2	1	FTT6	WP	12	8-15	1	0	A	Illustrated
007	1	1	FTT6	WP	10	7-9	1	1	I	
008	1	1	FTT6	WP	12	12-16	1	1	I	
009	1	1	FTT6	WP	15	10-18	1	1	I	
010	1	1	FTT6	WP	12	10-20	1	1	I	
011	7	1	1	B	12-14	7-15	1	0	A	
012	2	2/8	FTT6	WP	12-14	10-19	1	0	A	Illustrated
013	2	1/8	FTT6	WP	12-14	10-18	1	0	A	Illustrated
014	2	1	FTT6	WP	12	8-15	S	0	A	Illustrated
015	1	1	FTT6	WP	14	8-21	S	0	A	
016	2	1	FTT6	WP	14-16	8-15	1	6	F	Illustrated

Accession No	Shape category	Fabric/temper	Vessel part	Individual vessel profile	Diameter cm	Thickness mm	Surface treatment	Decoration element	Motif combination	Comments
017	1	1	FTT6	WP	12-14	11-21	S	6	F	
018	1	1	FTT6	WP	10-12	11-21	1	0	A	
019	1	1/8	FTT6	WP	12-14	12-18	S	0	A	
020	2	0	FTT6	WP	16	9-18	S	0	A	Illustrated
021	2	1	FTT6	WP	14	10-16		0	A	
022	1	8	FTT6	WP	14	8-15		1	I	
023	1	0	FTT6	WP	14	12-18	1	8	L	
024	1	1	FTT6	P	14	12-14	5	0	A	
025	1	1	FTT6	P	14	7-18	0	0	A	
Afgoi Trench 3 Layer 2 (L 610/590)										
026	7	1	FT6	OMB	18	8-14	0	11/72	CT	Illustrated
027		8		P	?	8-10	1	81	B	
028	1	1	2	INB	?	7-18	0	44551	T	
029	2	2	FTT6	WP	12	9-20	1	52	SS	Illustrated
030	1	8	L6	P	10	8-16	1	0	A	
031	1	0	FT6	P	10	11-23	1	0	A	
032	1	0	FTT6	MNJ	18	9-18	0	0	A	
033	1	8	FTCr6	SNP	14	7-14	S	0	A	
Afgoi Trench 3 Layer 3 (L 590/580)										
034	7	1/8	R 6	OMB	12	11	0	81	B	
035	2	1/8	FTT6	SNGP	14	9-18	2	81	B	Illustrated

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<b>Afgoi Trench 5 Layer 1 (L 670/650)</b>										
036	1	0	2	P	14	10-19	1	0	A	
037	1	8	2	P	16	9-13	1	81	B	
038	1	0	FTB6	SNGP	10	8-16	1/S	2/71	I	
039	1	8	FTI6	SNGP	18	10-21	2	1	I	
<b>Afgoi Trench 5 Layer 3 (L 640/620)</b>										
040	1	0	FTI6	GWP	12	8-18	1	0	A	
041	1	0	FFT6	GWP	12	9-18	1	0	A	
042	1	0	FTT6	GWP	14	10-19	1	0	A	
043	1	0	FT6	MNP	16	9-13	S	0	A	
044	1	0	FT6	MNP	12	10-17	1	0	A	
045	1	1	FTI6	GWP	14	11-19	1	0	A	
046	1	8	FT6	GWP	14	8-14	S	11	C	
047	1	8	FT6	GWP	14	10-19	0	11	C	
048	2	1/8	FT6	P	?	5	1	11/331	Y	Illustrated
049	2	1/8	FT6	MNP	12	8-14	1	11/331	Y	
050	6	1/8	FT6	SNGP	10	8-16	S	1	I	Illustrated
051	2	1/8	FT6	SNP	12-18	10-17	1	81	B	Illustrated
052	2	1	FT6	SpCP	14-18	9-17	S	81	B	Illustrated
<b>Afgoi (Lamma Jiddah)</b>										
053	3	1	2/3	WP	?	12-22	2	6	F	Illustrated
054	1	8	2	WP	?	3-5	2	441/221	VD	Illustrated
055		0	1	MnB	4	3-4	7	0	A	European
056			6	cup	6	2-4	7	66	DS	Chinese porcelain

# Gezeira

Accession No	Shape category	Fabric/temper	Vessel part	Individual vessel profile	Diameter cm	Thickness mm	Surface treatment	Decoración element	Motif combination	Comments
<b>Gezeira 1</b>										
057	7	8	6	WOMB	12	8-11	2	0	A	Illustrated
058	2	5/8	4	P	?	6-10	1	11	C	Illustrated
059	1	5/8	4	?	?	7	2	11	C	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 2</b>										
060	5	6/8	2/4	P	?	6-10	0	7221	ZI	Illustrated
061	4	1368	R6/4	MNJ	10	4-8	5	6/9/2271	YY	Illustrated
062	2	1/3	6/4	FTB	12	11-14	5	0	A	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 3</b>										
063	2	1368	R6	MNJ	10	4-8	5	0	A	
<b>Gezeira 4</b>										
064	2	1/3	FTB6	SNGP	12	11-14	5	0	A	
<b>Gezeira 5</b>										
065	7	136	6	OMB	16	10-12	0	0	A	
066	1	2/8	6	WOMB	8	7-24	5	0	A	Illustrated
067	1	2/8	1	InB	10	10-24	2	6	F	Illustrated
068	1	5	1	InB	8	7-24	5	6	F	
069	2	2/8	6/4	SNGP	12-14	7-15	0	6	F	Illustrated
070	6	2/5/8	osCr6	SNGP	12	8-16	5	11	C	Illustrated

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<b>Gezeira 6</b>										
071	1	6	FT6	SNGP?	—	7-9	2	441	VI	Illustrated
072	2	1	FT6	SNGP	12	8-16	2	71	PP	Illustrated
073	7	358	2	GSN	12	8-9	2	6	F	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 7</b>										
074	1	5/8	R6	SNGP	12	4-7	2	4	C	
075	1	3/6	FT6	HNP	12	9-12	1	6	F	Illustrated
076	1	3/5	2	InB	—	8-12	2/G	11	C	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 8</b>										
077	2	0	FTCr6	HNGP	12	9-12	5	0	A	Illustrated
078	2	0	6/2	InB	14	10-14	1	0	A	Illustrated
079	2	3/8	FTT6	HNGP	12	7-12	1	0	A	
080	1	0	E6	SNP	12	10-14	5	0	A	
081	1	4	c6	HNhsP	10-12	10-18	0	0	A	
082	4	0	6/4	SNWJ	14	9-28	2	331/3	M	Illustrated
083	7	0	6/2	WOMB	12	6-14	0	0	A	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 9</b>										
084	2	0	FT6	SNGP	10	5-8	2	331/3/7	M	Illustrated
085	7	5/6	E6	WOMB	14	7-24	0	6	S	Illustrated
086	2	3	E 6/4	SNGP	10	5-8	2	331	DI	
<b>Gezeira 10</b>										
087	7	5/8	osCr6	WOMB	18	8-14	0	6	F	
088	2	1/3	FTB6	SNGP	14	10-13	2	331	DI	Illustrated



<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
089	2	0	6/4	HNGP	14	6-11	0	331	DI	Illustrated
<b>Gezeira 11</b>										
090	7	0	FT6	WOMB	14	9-10	2	11/61	K	Illustrated
091	2	3/8	FT6	HNGP	14-16	6-11	5	0	A	
092	7	1/3	FT6	LID	16	9-12	5	2217	G	Illustrated
093	1	4	2	InB	7	9-11	5	0	A	
<b>Gezeira 12</b>										
094	2	1 5 6	E 6	HNspP	12	9-28	5	331/3/2	N	Illustrated
095	1	1/4	2	P	?	4-5	1	221	U	Illustrated
096	2	3/6	FT6/4	HNspP	16	9-28	1	0	A	
097	1	0	2	P	?	4-5	2	9	W	
<b>Barawa</b>										
216	2	1	E 6	SNP	16-20	10-13	2	3317	DZ	Illustrated
217	2	1	E 6/4	MNP	14-16	7-9	2	11	C	Illustrated
218	1	1	2	P	?	6-8	1	9	W	Illustrated
219	2	1	4	P	?	8-10	2	11	C	Illustrated
220	2	1/5/6	E6	SNP	18	6-8	1	11	C	Illustrated
221	2	5	4	P	?	7-9	2	1	I	
222	1	1	D6	MP	18	7-9	0	11	C	Illustrated
223	1	1	E6	SNP	18	7-9	0	0	A	
224	1	1	2	P	?	8-9	0	1	I	
225	1	1/5	E6	SNP	12-14	4-6	3	1	I	
226	1	1	2	P	?	5-7	1	3	P	Illustrated

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
227	6	1	E 6/3	SNGP	16-20	10	1	331	DI	Illustrated
228	1	6	E6	SNP	14	5-8	2	81	B	Illustrated
229	7	1/6	E6	WOMP	12-16	5-10	3	1	I	Illustrated
230	2	1/6	E6	SNP	14	6-10	1	81	B	Illustrated
231			E 6/1	B	12	2-5	7	0	A	Chinese porcelain
232	2	5	E6/4	SNGP	16	6-10	2	9	W	Illustrated
233	2	5	E6	SNGP	14-16	6-12	1	0	A	Illustrated
234	1	0	1	WOMP	?	8-13	0	9	W	Illustrated
235	1	0	E6	WOMB	14	6-11	3	9	W	
236	2	5	E6/4	SNGP	14	4-8	0	9	W	
237	5	1 5 8	2/4	P	?	5-11	1	9	W	
238	1	1/6	2	P	?	6-9	1	9/81	V	
239	1	1 6 8	E6	SNGP	18-20	5-10	1	9/81	V	
240	1	2/6	E6	CC	18-20	9-33	3	9/1	WI	
241	5	6	2/4	P	?	7-11	0	71	PP	Illustrated
242	2	0	E6	SNGP	14-16	10-13	2	0	A	Illustrated
243	1	5/6	1	WOMP	10	6-20	3	0	A	Illustrated
244	1	2	E6	WOMB	24	10-17	3	0	A	Illustrated
245	1	2	2	P	?	8-9	1	71/9	WZ	Illustrated
246	4	1/8	E6/4	SNGP	12	5-10	2	11/3	R	Illustrated
247	1	6	1	WOMB	14	7-14	5	0	A	Illustrated

## Mogadishu

Accession No	Shape category	Fabric/temper	Vessel part	Individual vessel profile	Diameter cm	Thickness mm	Surface treatment	Decoration element	Motif combination	Comments
<b>Hamar Jajab Layer 4</b>										
178	1	8	E6	MNP1	0	4-6	1	0	A	
179	1	4	E6	WOMB	24-26	4-12	0	0	A	
180	1	5	sR6	MNJ	20	10-11	0	0	A	
181	1	1	2	P	?	6-8	2	0	A	
<b>Hamar Jajab surface collection</b>										
182		0	S6	cup	5	2-3	1	9		Indian EW with diagonal & floral decor.
183			2	B	?	4-6	7	0		Chinese celadon
184		0	2	tile	?	9-10		0		European
185		0	2	bottle	?	3-4		0		Glass
186		0	2	bottle	?	3-4		0		
187	1	5/8	E6	SNP	14	5-12	2	0	A	
188	1	5	1	WOMB	8	10-22	0	0	A	
189		0	1	B	9	13-23	7 Gr g	81	B	Islamic scraffiato
190	1	1	D6	CP	16	8-9	1	11	C	
191	1	5	FT6	WOMB	16	7-14	3	0	A	
192	1	5/6	R 6	WMP	20	9-12	1	0	A	
193	1	1	D6	CP	14	10-12	1	11	C	
194	1	5	R6	B	20	6-7	0	0	A	
195	1	0	E6	WOMB	20	7-13	3	0	A	
196	1	6	E6	WOMB	20	11-16	3	0	A	
197		0	2	tile	?	11-12	1	0	A	
198	1	0	2	P	?	5	0	0	A	European
199	1	1	2	P	?	5-6	1	0	A	
200	1	0	2	P	?	6-7	0	0	A	

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
201	1	0	2	tile	?	6-7	0	0	A	
202	1	0	E6	WOMP	16	6-7	1	3	P	
203	1	1	2	P	?	5-7	1	0	A	
204	1	0	2	P	?	4	1	1	I	
205	1	0	2	P	?	8-11	0	0	A	
206	1	0	2	P	?	12-13	0	0	A	
207	1	0	2	P	?	4-5	2	6	F	
208		0	2	PP	?	3-8	0	0	A	Metal
209	1	0	D6	WMP	14	5-8	0	0	A	
210	1	1	R6	WOMB	18-20	8-16	0	0	A	
211	1	0	D6	SNGP	20	5-7	1	0	A	
212	5	4	2/4	P	?	6-10	0	6	F	
213	1	1	2	P	?	6-7	0	0	A	
214	1	1	2	P	?	6-7	1	0	A	
215										Bone
<b>Shanganl Mosque Site</b>										
<b>Layer 1</b>										
096	1	6	oc6	OMB	12-14	6-8	0	0	A	
097	1	8	2	P	?	6-7	1	9	W	
098	1	8	2	P	?	6-9	0	1	I	
099	1	2/3	2	P	?	4-9	0	8	L	
<b>Layer 2</b>										
100	2	0	FT6	LNJ	12	11-16	2	443/6	QQ	Illustrated
101	1	2	2	WP	?	11-16	0	6.8 pi	F	
102	1	2	2	WP	?	10-16	0	6.10 pi	F	

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/ temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
103	1	2	2	WP	?1	1-16	0	6.7 pi	F	
104	2	2	FT6	HSNGP	14	9-18	0	1/11	Q	Illustrated
105	2	2	FT6	SNGP	10	11-13	0	11/3	E	Illustrated
106	2	5	FT6	SNHsP	16	12-20	2	1/11	Q	Illustrated
107	2	2	rg6	HSNWP	8-14	10-13	2	1/11	Q	Illustrated
108	2	5	rg6/4	HSNWP	10	7-11	1	1/11	Q	Illustrated
109	2	0	FT6	HNGP	8	10-13	2	82/331	EE	
110	1	0	FT6	GSNGP	10	9-20	0	1	I	
111	2	0	FT6	HNGP	6	8-13	2	331	DI	
112	2	6	FTT6	GSNGP	10	7-12	5	332	RR	
113	2	2	FTT6	HNGP	14-16	10-17	0	332	RR	
114	1	2	FTT6	HNGP	12-14	6-15	2	332/81	JJ	
115	2	2/8	rg6/4	HNGP	14	8-13	5	332	RR	
116	1	2	FTc6	OMP	10	9-12	5	11	C	
117	1	0	2	P	?	7	2	8	L	
118	5	2	2/4	P	?	8-10	0	332	RR	
119	1	2	Cn6	GP	14	6-12	5	11/331	Y	
120	2	2	FT6	HSNGP	12	7-19	5	6/11	FF	
121	2	2	FT6	HSNGP	16	4-13	5	6/11	FF	
122	2	2	WT6	MNJ	20	11-17	5	6/11	FF	
123	2	2	FT6	OMPsi	14	10-11	0	6/11	FF	
124	2	6/8	Cn6	HNVs1	12	5-7	0	331/6/11	DF	
125	2	2/5/8	Cr6	HNv1	2	9-12	5	6/11	FF	
126	2	2/8	FT6	HSNGP	18	7-15	0	6/11	FF	
127	2	2/8	FT6	SNGP	16	7-16	2	11	C	
128	2	8	FTB6	SNGP	14	4-12	1	11	C	
129	2	2	FTT6	LNJ	14	9-17	0	11	C	

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
130	6	2	E6/3	HNV	14	9-19	0	11/441	X	
131	1	2	FT6	SNGP	12	10-13	0	331	DI	
132	1	2	2	P	?	?	0	0	A	
133	1	2	2	P	?	?	0	0	A	
134	2	2	FT6	SNP	14	8-13	2	11	C	
135	2	0	FT6	OMP	12	6-10	2	11	C	
136	2	8	E6/4	SNmnP	10	4-5	2	427	AS	Illustrated
137	2	2	FT6	SNGP	14	8-15	5	6	F	
138	1	2	FT6	SNGP	16	9-12	5	6	F	
139	2	2	FT6	SNGP	14	9-19	2	6/331	FD	
140	1	2	FTB6	SNGP	14	11-14	2	6	F	
141	1	0	R6	MNJ	18-20	7-17	2	6	F	
142	1	2/6	FT6	MNJ	20	17	5	6	F	
143	1	2	Cr6	MNJ	10	12-15	2	6	F	
144	1	2	FT6	SNGP	18	9-15	0	6	F	
145	2	2	ft6/4	SNGP	16	9-17	2	6	F	
146	2	6	ft6/4	SNGP	18	9-14	2	6	F	
147	1	2	R6	SNGP	16	13	2	6	F	
148	2	0	FT6	SNGP	10-14	10-18	2	6	F	
149	7	5/6	Cn6/2	WMGP	18	10-15	2	331	DI	
150	2	2	Cr6	HNV	14	8-11	2	3/8	TT	
151	4	2/6/8	FT6	SNGP	12	9-14	2	11/2	CS	Illustrated
152	1	2	1	InB	12	10-20	2	3381/11	LC	
<b>Layer 7</b>										
153	1	1/6/8	1	cover	3	4-27	0	0	A	
154	1	2/5	1	WJ	12-14	11-30	5	0	A	

<i>Accession No</i>	<i>Shape category</i>	<i>Fabric/temper</i>	<i>Vessel part</i>	<i>Individual vessel profile</i>	<i>Diameter cm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Surface treatment</i>	<i>Decoration element</i>	<i>Motif combination</i>	<i>Comments</i>
155	1	1/3/5/8	R6	WOMC	16	5-9	2	0	A	
156	2	1/3/5/8	E6/4	SNmnP	6	5-8	5	441	VI	
157	2	1/3/5/6	Cr6	SNP	12	4-10	0	0	A	Illustrated
158	1	1/5	2	CrP	?	3-6	1	0	A	
159	1	1	2	P	?	3-7	3	0	A	
160	2	1/5	GrE6/4	SNP	14	7-15	2	331	DI	
161	2	5	R6/4	SNP	16	5-9	2	11	C	
162	1	5	L6	SNP	20	7-8	2	0	A	
<b>Layer 8</b>										
163	1	1	2	CrP	?	4-11	3	331	DI	
164	2	1/6/8	E6/4	TrSNP	16	10-15	2	331/11	Y	Illustrated
165	5	1/5/64/2		P	?	4-6	0	331	DI	
166	2	8	E6	MNWP	22	5-10	2/B	Wmade	A	Illustrated
167	1	1/6/82		CrP	?	8-11	2/Red	11/1	Q	
168	1	3/5/6	FT6	TrSNP	22	7-22	2/Red	83	CC	
169	2	1/5	R6/4	SNmnP	14	6-12	2/Red	336/11	J	Illustrated
170	2	2/8	FT6	SNGP	22	3-10	1	0	A	Illustrated
<b>Al Aruba Hotel Beach surface collection</b>										
171			2	?	?	4	7/Gr		A	Chinese celadon
172			2	?	?	8	7/Gr		A	Chinese celadon
173			2	?	?	8	7/Wh		A	Chinese white ware
174			L6	B	?	7-13	7/WG		A	Chineses stone ware
175			2	B	?	9	7/Wh		A	Chinese white ware
176			1	B	6	8-12	7/Gr		A	Chinese celadon
177			L6	B	10	6-7	7/Gr		A	Chinese celadon

## Appendix II

### Pottery from the 1986 Rescue Excavations at the Shangani Mosque in Mogadishu<sup>1</sup>

Paul J. J. Sinclair

The present report is written as part of ongoing co-operation between the Central Board of National Antiquities and the Somali Academy of Sciences (Jönsson 1983). In 1986 rescue excavations at the Shangani Mosque in central Mogadishu were conducted by A. Dualeh and A. Broberg. The excavation located on the north wall of the mosque reached a depth of more than 7 metres and a series of seven superimposed floors were cut through. The sequence represents an unbroken series of building phases, probably from the thirteenth century AD until today. The pottery from the site has been briefly analyzed in regard to shape and decoration variation by the present author with the following results.

#### *Methods*

The approach used is similar to that developed for the Mozambican pottery assemblages (Sinclair 1987) where an important aim of ceramic studies is to provide as many securely dated representative samples of pottery as possible to assist in the creation of a primary chronostratigraphic framework. In Somalia attention is currently focused upon the coastal town sites and the rescue excavations at the Shangani mosque in Mogadishu provide a good opportunity to test methods under considerable time pressure and the exigencies of rescue archaeology in an urban environment.

Primary dating can be accomplished on the basis of imported glazed wares which occurred throughout the sequence. In regard to analysis of earthen wares attention is currently placed on stylistic variability of vessel shape and decoration. Other aspects such as temper analysis will be included later when the programme is more established. The pottery studies provide a useful point of departure for exploring the different levels of variability in ceramic assemblages and for comparisons with previously excavated collections from Mogadishu (Chittick 1974), and further a field at Manda (Chittick 1984) and Shanga (Horton 1984) (Fig. 1). Further the results should provide useful field indicators for coming studies on settlement patterns.

Parallel with the extensions of the field programme a method for analyzing the stylistic variability of the ceramics from surveys and from salvage and more detailed excavations has been developed (Sinclair 1987). It takes a hierarchical view of variability on levels equivalent to Clarke's (1968) attribute state, type, aggregate and aggregate cluster. The format developed for this pottery analysis consists of extensions of the approach used in Sweden by Nordström (1973) and Hulthén (1977). Data on shape, location, and motif of decoration is recorded on each sherd from an aggregate. Ceramic assemblages of preferably >300 sherds are processed in the following way:



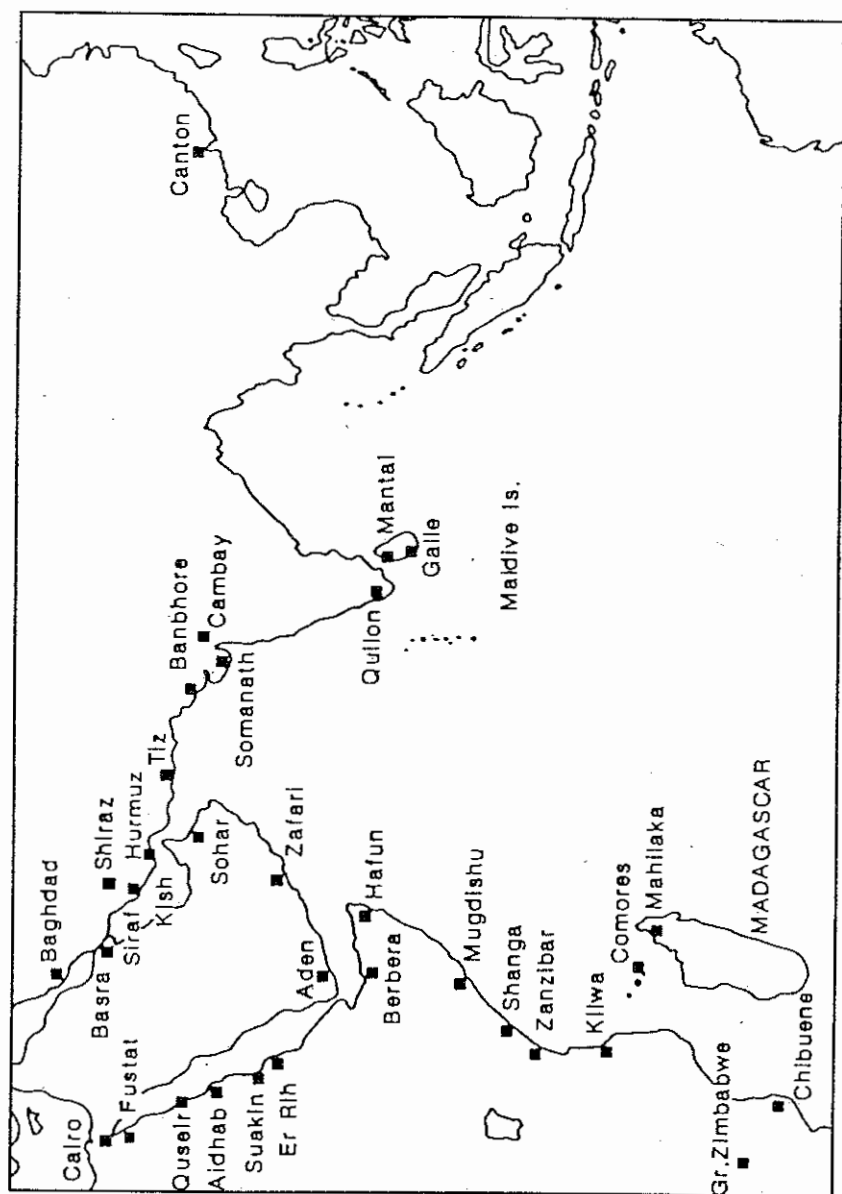


Figure 1. Indian Ocean sites (modified from Horton 1984).

All sherds are recorded except for undecorated body sherds, which are weighed and counted. It was decided to use each sherd as the unit of analysis rather than attempt to reconstruct complete vessel counts in the assemblage. This matches our needs as nearly all of our assemblages are greatly fragmented. An overall 'index of fragmentation' can be calculated by summing the number of degrees from each rim sherd and dividing by the total number of rims. All sherds are marked with a site number and an accessioning number, the latter is important as this allows the information recorded on any sherd to be independently checked and augmented if necessary. Data from each sherd is currently recorded as a single entry in 80 column data sheets (Table 1). When the assemblages are from a multicomponent site more locational data is required and this is included here for illustrative purposes.

The vessel parts rim/neck/shoulder/body/ base are defined by Nordström (1973) and these are derived from Sheppard (1961). The form data are recorded by reference to Gardin's standard curves as used by Hulthén (1977).

The format of decoration, i.e. single line, multiple line, single band, etc. is a modification of the approach used by Hulthén (1977). Decoration format and structure are recorded for each part of the sherd. They are continuously listed and new numbers are given to different formats and motif combinations as they occur (see Fig. 2 and Table 2). A good deal of subjectivity is involved in comparing different motifs and variation between analyses is to be expected. The method currently in use, is only one of many possibilities and the system is flexible enough to accommodate others.

**Table 1.** An example of a column data sheets for registration of sherds.

col 1-8	site number
col 9-12	object number
col 13-21	trench co-ordinates
col 22-23	period of occupation
col 24	nature of object (clay, stone etc.)
col 25	number of fragments belonging to same object
col 26-27	rim form
col 28	neck form
col 29	shoulder form
col 30	body form
col 31	base form
col 32	other (handle, spout, etc.)
col 33-34	format of decoration on the inside of sherd
col 35-37	decoration of motif on the inside of the sherd
col 38-42	same for top of rim
col 43-47	same for outside of rim
col 48-52	same for neck
col 53-57	same for shoulder
col 58-62	same for body
col 63-67	same for base
col 68	surface finish
col 69	notes (useful when there is some doubt about information recorded)
col 70	structural shape category
























A	plain		Q	finger marks
B	△△△	ap	R	red in
C	 △△△	in ap	S	— in
D	△△△	ap ap	T	 finger in
E		ap in	U	 nail
F	 raised	ap	V	 in p in
G	///	in	W	 in ap
H	///	in in	X	
I		in	Y	
J	x x x	in	Z	Black + burnish
K		in	AA	 in
L		in in	BB	 ap
M		in	CC	
N		in	DD	
O		ds	EE	 ds
P		in p	FF	 ap
		ap - applique in - incision p - punctates ds - dentate stamping	GG	 in p

Figure 2. Ceramic motifs.

In addition to the form units which describe sherd profile, seven Categories have been introduced which refer to variation on the structural level of vessel shape c.f. Sheppard (1961). These Categories are specifically adapted for sorting broken sherds into shape groupings.

**Table 2.** Variation on the structural level of vessel shape.

For R=RIM, N=NECK, Sh=SHOULDER, Bo=BODY and Ba=BASE then:

Category 1:	R; Bo/Ba; Bo; Ba
Category 2:	R/N; N
Category 3:	Sh/Bo/Ba; Sh/Bo; Sh
Category 4:	R/NSh/Bo/Ba; R/N/Sh/Bo; R/ N/Sh; N/Sh/Bo/Ba; N/Sh/Bo; N/Sh
Category 5:	R/N/Bo/Ba; R/N/Bo; N/Bo/Ba; N/Bo
Category 6:	R/Sh/Bo/Ba; R/Sh/Bo; R/Sh
Category 7:	R/Bo/Ba; R/Bo

As with broken pottery sherds these Categories have a differing capacity for distinguishing ceramic shape. For instance sherds in Category 1 could be derived from any vessel shape. However, Category 4 refers only to independent restricted vessels and Category 5 to dependent restricted vessels. Category 6 refers to restricted vessels with simple contour (constricted bowls) and Category 7 to unrestricted vessels with simple contour (open bowls). Each sherd being recorded can be assigned to one of these Categories and this is done automatically for the assemblage as a whole by means of a simple computer programme. The Categories are useful in that even when working with severely fragmented assemblages they provide a similar range of shapes to those mentioned by other workers in the literature, e.g. Phillipson (1977), Huffman (1974) etc., while avoiding some of the problems resulting from working with reconstructed vessel counts.

It should be noted that these Categories indicate only the structure of vessel shape and that variation within the rim/neck/shoulder/ body/base units is obtained by reference to the list of rim profiles and Gardin's standard curves (cols 26-31 and figs 1-2).

Recent advances in computer technology allow the use of a digitizer to record sherd profiles in detail but for our purposes the structural Categories and form distinctions based on the standard curves are quite sufficient. In general, although the use of computers is helpful when dealing with large numbers of sherds the method has been found useful for straightforward on-the-spot recording of field data as was the case regarding material from the rescue excavations at the Shangani Mosque in Mogadishu.

## *Results*

### *The earthen wares*

As the excavation was a rescue dig it was not possible to sieve the deposits. Excavated soils were spread on trays with a trowel and sherds removed by hand. A total of 2148 pottery fragments were recovered from each of the excavation layers 1-8 with the exception of layer 4 (see Figs 2 and 3). Body sherd counts are given in Table 3. The assemblage was divided by stratigraphic unit and by structural shape category (see Table 4).

The assemblages were relatively uniform with regard to breakage although layer 5 produced fewer recognizable pottery profiles than the others. Both dependent and independent restricted vessels occur but these are outnumbered by both restricted (category 6) and unrestricted (category 7) bowls. With the exception of layers 7 and 8 the category 6 vessels are the best represented pottery shape in the collection.

As one might expect in such a long series of layers rim forms varied from the simply rounded to the flattened and externally thickened. In view of the rather small numbers of sherds detailed statistics on these were excluded from the analysis. Some examples can be seen in the illustrations. Base sherds were rather uncommon only 13 being recognized.

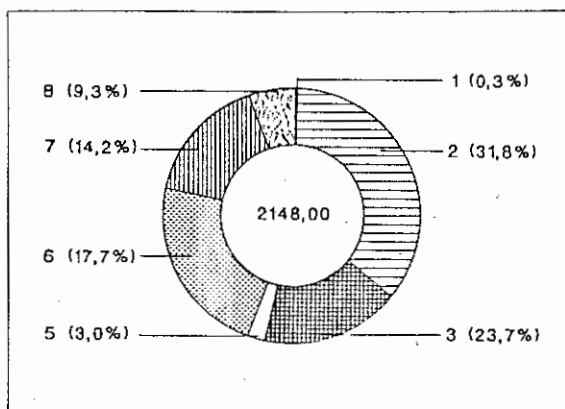
**Table 3.** Shangani Mosque: body sherd count by excavated unit.

<i>Layer</i>	<i>No of sherds</i>
1	7
2	682
3	510
4	0
5	64
6	381
7	304
8	226

**Table 4.** Shangani Mosque: occurrence of sherds by excavated unit and shape category.

<i>Layer</i>	<i>Shape category</i>						
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
1	21	2	5	0	1	11	
2	70	12	3	3	0	74	8
3	46	3	5	3	0	43	9
4							
5	6	4	3	0	0	0	
6	20	5	1	5	0	16	5
7	10	15	10	6	3	0	4
8	10	4	6	6	3	3	1

**Decoration:** 33 motifs were identified in the assemblage (see Fig. 2). The occurrence of these motifs by shape category is shown in Tables 5–11. Some characteristic examples are illustrated in Figs 4 to 11.



**Figure 3.** Occurrence of sherds by excavated unit in the Shangani Mosque, Mogadishu.

**Table 5.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 1* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1	7							1									6															
L2	5	1	1				1	1	3	3			4	2		1	22															
L3	7						1		3	1	1						22		1		1											
L4																																
L5	2						3				1																					
L6	14							1				1				2		1														
L7	5									2						1																
L8	3																1															

**Table 6.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 2* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1	2																															
L2																																
L3	1						1																									
L4																																
L5	2										1										1											
L6	5																															
L7	15																															
L8	2										2																					

**Table 7.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 3* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1	4																															
L2									1	1																						
L3									1																							
L4																																
L5																																
L6	1																															
L7	10																															
L8								1																					1			

**Table 8.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 4* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1																																
L2	3																															
L3	3																															
L4																																
L5																																
L6	5																															
L7	4										1	1																				
L8	4																				1	2										

**Table 9.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 5* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1																																
L2																																
L3																																
L4																																
L5																																
L6																																
L7	1																										1					
L8																					1										1	

**Table 10.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 6* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1		1							1		3																					
L2	11	15			9		11		6	8	2	2			1					1	1											
L3	18	9			4		6	1	1	3				1													2					
L4																																
L5																																
L6	13								1												1	1										
L7																																
L8																																

**Table 11.** Occurrence of decoration motifs on *Category 7* sherds by layer.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	bb	cc	dd	ee	ff
L1	1																															
L2																																
L3	6	1																														
L4																																
L5																																
L6	5																															
L7	3																															
L8	1																															

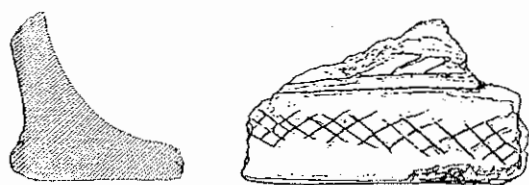
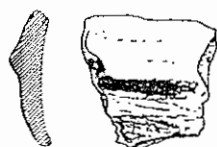


Figure 4 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 1, motif I, layer 2 .



Category 1, motif F, layer 2.



Category 1, motif N, layer 2.

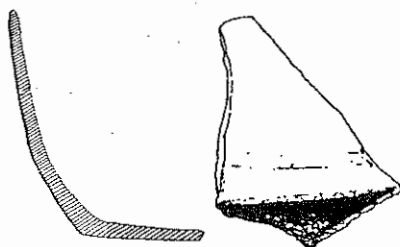


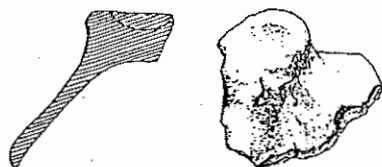
Figure 5 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 1, layer 7 .



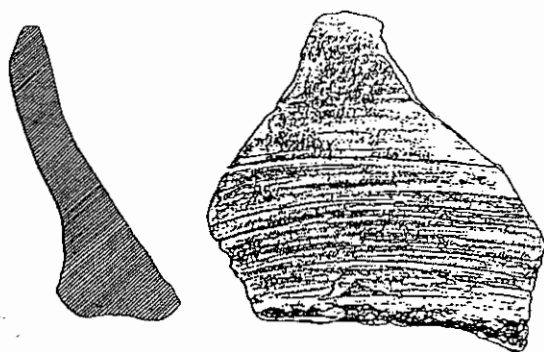


Figure 5. Shangani Mosque, category 1, layer 7.

Category 1, layer 7.



Category 1, (Lid) layer 7.



Category 1, layer 7.



Figure 6 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 2, layer 8.

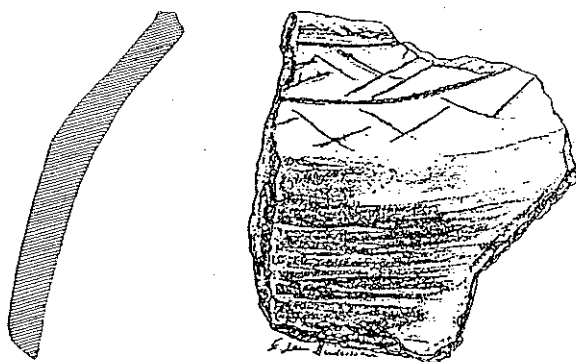


Figure 7 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 3, motif CC, layer 8.



Category 3, motif G, layer 8.

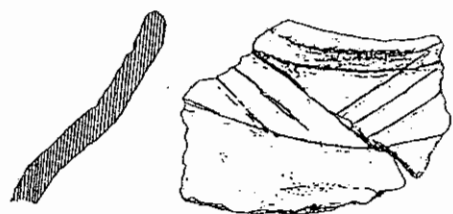
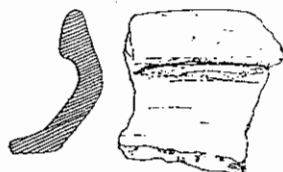


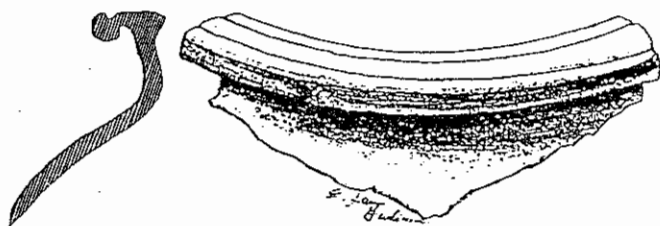
Figure 8 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 4, motif M, layer 8.



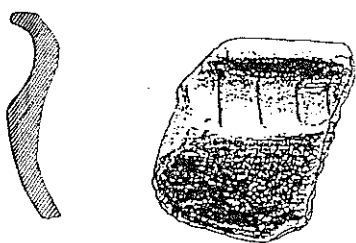
Category 4, motif K, layer 7.



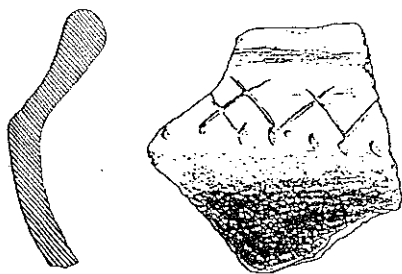
Category 4, layer 7.



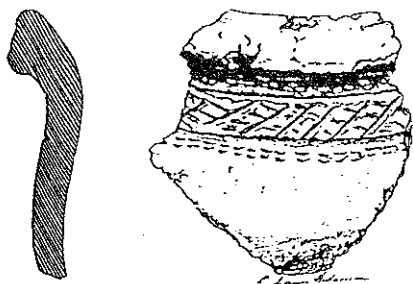
Category 4, layer 8.



**Figure 9** (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 5, motif AA, layer 7.



Category 5, motif DD, layer 8.



**Figure 10** (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 6, motif I, layer 2.

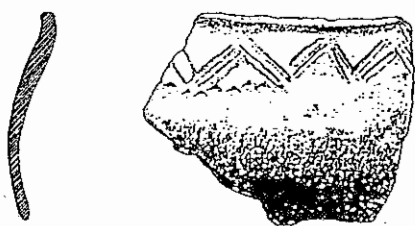


Figure 10 (scale 1:2). Shangani Mosque, category 6, motif M, layer 3.



Category 6, motif O, layer 2.



Category 6, motif H, layer 2.

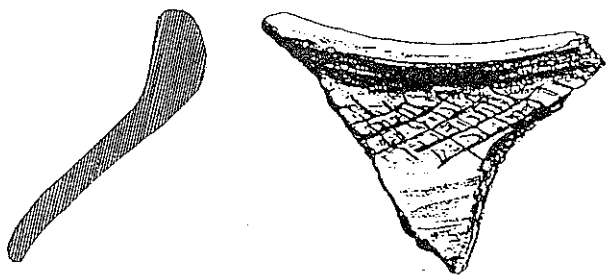


Figure 10 (scale 1:2). Category 6, motif I, layer 3.



Figure 11 (scale 1:2). Category 6, motif T, layer 8.



Category 6, motif O, layer 8.

## Discussion

The primary description of the sherds is best accomplished through a consideration of Categories 4–7 with the remaining sherds being used to amplify results. Plain category 4 (independent restricted vessels) occur throughout the sequence with the exception of layers 1 and 5. Decoration occurs only in the lowermost layers (motifs J and K in layer 7 and motifs M and N in layer 8. Category 5 dependent restricted vessels are rare occurring only in layers 7 and 8 (motifs J, M, Z, CC) with one exception in layer 1 with motif J. Category 6 (constricted bowls) comprises the most commonly decorated vessels, especially in layers 1–3. A number of different motifs occur (see above). Category 6 vessels (constricted bowls) are not recorded from layer 5 but do occur in layer 6 with motifs G, R and S. This category seems to be less common in the lower layers being absent from layer 7 and 8. Category 7 vessels (open bowls) occur throughout except in layers 2 and 5. They are mostly plain one example with motif B decoration occurred in layer 2 and another with motif BB in layer 7.

Judging from variation between the Categories and between combinations of category and decoration the main positive correlations are shown between layers 1–3 in regard to category 6 vessels and to a lesser extent between layers 7 and 8 with regard to Category 4 vessels. Negative correlation such as the lack of occurrence of Category 6 vessels in layers 7 and 8 and the low occurrence of Category 5 vessels in the upper layers are interesting but should be treated with caution. This picture is broadly reinforced by a consideration of Categories 1–3. With regard to Category 1 layers 1–3 show definite similarities. It should however also be pointed out that one decoration motif (Q) occurs in layers 6 and 7 and continues to layers 3 and 2. Motif J shows a similar distribution. As the assemblages are recovered from floor fillings it is necessary to treat these results with some caution although the differences between sherds from layers 1–3 and 7–8 are quite apparent. The assemblages from layers 4–6 are very small and little can be said about their affiliation.

Some general observations can be made in relation to earthen wares from Manda, and Kilwa and the Comores. Category 4 vessels from the upper layers (1–6) in the Shangani Mosque sequence lack incised bands of decoration which are known to occur widely in Kilwa, Manda and the Comores. These do, however, occur in layers 7 and 8 of the Shangani sequence. The occurrence of decorated Category 5 vessels is an early feature from the Shangani Mosque sequence and bands of cross hatching in the neck occur on category 5 vessels at Kilwa and Manda in Periods I–II. Manda lacks Category 4 and 5 vessels from Period III onwards and this together with the decoration occurrence indicates a closer similarity between layers 7 and 8 from the Shangani Mosque to the earlier periods I and II at Kilwa and Manda than to Periods II and IV which would be expected from the evidence of the imported ceramics. Category 6 vessels occur throughout the sequences in Kilwa and Manda but at Shangani are much more common in layers 1–3. The applique decoration from the uppermost levels at Shangani is quite different in concept to the wheeled ware found at Kilwa (Chittick 1974) and the sites of the southern Mozambique coast. Category 7 vessels from Shangani lack the graphite colouring which is a characteristic feature of the assemblages from Periods I–III at Manda and Kilwa and this is a definite difference between the assemblages. The same can be said of red colouring which hardly occurs at all in

the Shangani collections but which is common on Category 7 vessels in later periods at Kilwa and Manda

The occurrence of imported wares in the deposits is of undoubted interest. Only a very brief consideration of these finds was made by the present author the sherds having been submitted to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm by the excavators. However, certain very broad but nonetheless significant observations can be made with regard to dating the mosque sequence. First of all blue and white porcelain definitely occurs in layers 1, 2, and 5. It is also probably represented in layer 3 below this in layers 6 and 7, fragments of celadon occur. In layer 6 some fragments identified by Prof R. Holthoer, are possible golden luster ware dated to ca 1200–1300 in Egypt. A single example of a thin walled Ottoman vessel is also represented in layer 6 as are fragments of green and brown monochrome glazed wares. Chinese imports appear to be lacking in layer 8 which is quite clearly characterized by a number of fragments of matt finished 'black on yellow' painted wares. In addition a single sherd of painted black on dark blue is similar to those known by Prof R. Holthoer from Fustat was found in layer 8. No scraffiato wares as illustrated by Chittick at Manda and Kilwa occurred in the mosque excavation

Imported blue and white Chinese porcelain occurs widely on the east African coast and has been taken as indicative of occupation from the 15th century onwards (Horton 1984, p. 195) although some sherds do occur in Kilwa and Manda in 14th century deposits. The introduction of 'black on yellow' wares, supposedly from Aden is another important marker in east coast archaeology. It occurs from the 13th century levels at Gedi and Ungwana (Kirkman 1966; Horton 1984, p. 194) and is typical of period IIIa at Kilwa and Period III at Manda dating from the late 13th and 14th centuries. (Chittick 1974; 1984). 'Black on yellow' pottery also occurs at Shanga and is considered by Horton to be introduced c. 1250 AD. Chittick (1982) reported 'black on yellow' in association with scraffiato from the lower levels at Hamar Weyne in Mogadishu and accordingly considered it earlier than the finds from other east African sites where scraffiato underlies the 'black on yellow'. The lack of scraffiato in the Shangani mosque is perhaps significant in this regard and might be held, following Horton (1984, p. 194), to indicate a mid 13th century date for layer 8 in the Shangani sequence. In short ceramic collections from the excavations at the Shangani Mosque do not challenge the central assertion by Chittick that there is no evidence for the existence of a town at Mogadishu before the late 12th century. On the contrary the Shangani sequence as it now stands appears to extend back only to the 13th century. The deposits appear to have accumulated at a rate of c. 1 m per century which is very considerable especially considering the compression of the lower levels.

In general although the Shangani Mosque sequence shows an almost ideal degree of continuity in relation to the the different building phases of the mosque clear differences in the ceramic assemblages from layers 1–3 and 7–8 can be observed even within the limitations imposed by rescue archaeology conditions. Similar differences can be derived from the preliminary view of the imported ceramics with the blue and white Chinese porcelains predominating in the upper units and the 'black on yellow' in the lowermost. It would be of great interest to compare the earthen wares from Shangani with those from Hamar Wayne where Chittick (1982) reports a broadly



similar sequence of imported ceramics and to develop the application of these methods to other assemblages from the Somali coast. In addition it is also important not to neglect systematic analysis of ceramic fabric as an integral part of typological studies as this would provide a check on information derived from the analysis of form and decoration. The extension of these analyses to cover ceramic assemblages from length of the east African coast is planned as part of the regional project on 'Urban Origins in Eastern Africa'.

#### Acknowledgements

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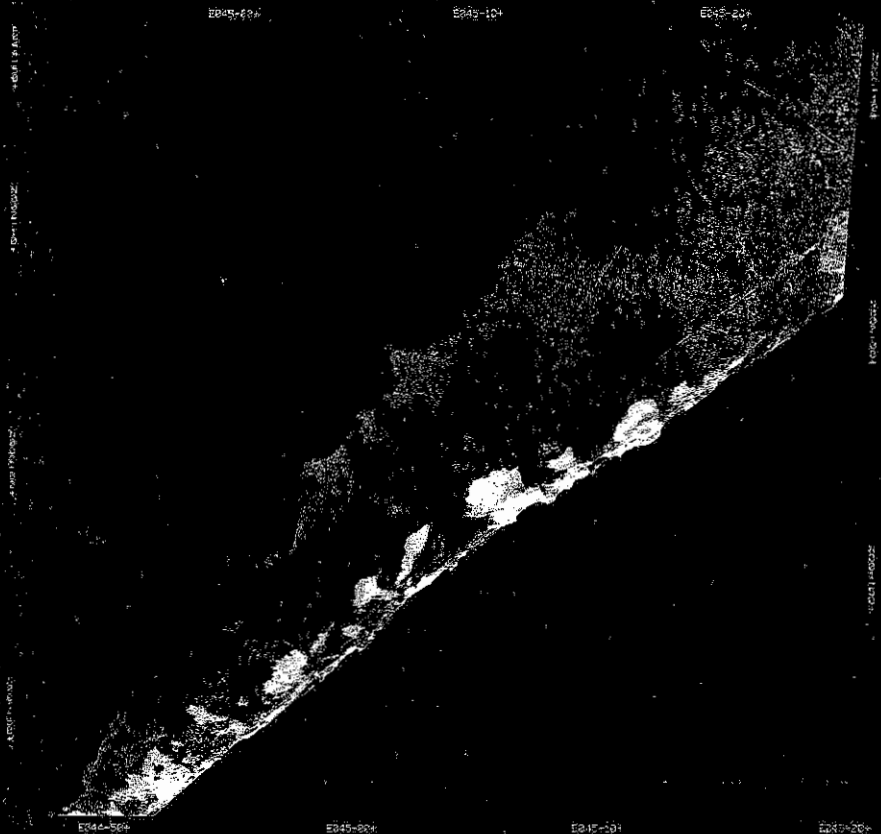
#### Note:

'Pottery from the 1986 Rescue Excavations at the Shangani Mosque in Mogadishu' was published 1990 in *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa: proceedings of the 1989 Madagascar workshop*, P. J. J. Sinclair & J-A Rakatoarisoa (eds), 123-9. Stockholm: The Swedish Central Board of National Antiquities.

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**Plate V.** A satellite image registered 1 February 1987 covering three major archaeological settlements in Somalia – Mogadishu, Gezeira (along the coast) and Afgoi (in the interior) – together with the Shabelle River flood plain.

SPOT (r)-data, (© CNES 1987) © SSC Satellitbild 1987. Scale 1:564,000 (1:400,000 original scale).

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*Sinclair P. J. J.* 1987. Space, Time and Social formation: a territorial approach to the archaeology and anthropology of Zimbabwe and Mozambique c. 0-1700 AD 204 pp., 62 figs, 9 maps, 4 overlays. (AUN 9). PhD thesis.

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