Documentary And Archaeological Evidence of Peopling And Contact Of Eastern Africans With Ancient Egypt Revisited

Ibrahim B. Namunaba[1], **Simiyu Wandibba**[2] **& Ephraim W. Wahome**[3]

[1]*Lecturer of Archaeology, Pwani University, (i.busolo@pu.ac.ke)*

[2]*Institute of Anthropology and Gender Studies, University of Nairobi, (swandibba@yahoo.com)*

[3]*Department of History and Archaeology, University of Nairobi*

Abstract

This paper examines documentary and archaeological evidence of peopling and contact of Eastern Africans with ancient Egypt. The central argument of this article is that the Eastern African region was already occupied by indigenous people who interacted with ancient Egypt by 3000 BCE. The ancient records reveal that Egyptians interacted with the land of Punt and Puntites from 2500 BCE. Archaic language notwithstanding, the ancient documents and current archaeological data have yielded information regarding the knowledge, capabilities and contact between the people of Eastern Africa with the outside world during and after the 3rd Millenium BC. Further, occupational sequences indicate continuous habitation of eastern African sites exhibiting smooth transition of cultures to the early modern historical period. By examining and analyzing current archaeological evidence in the Eastern African region, the study has shown that there is cultural continuity throughout the occupation sequences since the Middle Stone Age through to the Later Stone Age to Premodern period. We conclude that eastern African region had been occupied by people much earlier than previous thought. These people were capable of independent development and innovation within their physical and social environments.

***Keywords*: Documents, Archaeological Evidence, Eastern African, Puntites, Paradigms, Egypt**

Introduction

Since the invention of writing, humans have had almost an inherent tendency to keep records. The desire to understand ancient human activities and developments has been the main focus of both historians and archaeologists. Ancient civilizations kept records of their interactions with the outside world (O'Connor and Reid 2003, Kitchen 2004). The accuracy of such records can be corroborated through objective interpretation of archaeological remains left behind by the interacting parties. In this article we argue that the eastern African region, otherwise known as Punt in ancient Egypt, was already occupied by indigenous people as ca. 3000 BCE, contrary to the migration theories (Chami 2009). The latter had for a long time posited that some other people immigrated from outside bringing with them new technologies and culture change (Robertshaw 1993).

Contact with ancient Egypt is important in this discussion because by 3000BCE, Egypt was already a leading civilization capable of literary documentation and had profound influence upon other parts of Africa especially Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean littoral (O'Connor and Reid 2003: 10). Besides, the period between 3000 BCE and 500 CE witnessed immense documentary records in form of funerary registers depicting expeditions between Egyptians and the Puntites (O'Connor and Reid 2003: 14, 15, Kitchen 2004, Chami 2006). More other documentary records have shown that beside ancient Egyptians, other people such as Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans interacted with Africa south of the Sahara from ca. 2500 BCE (Irwanto 2019; Chami 2006).

By the time (3000 BCE), the eastern African region and the Indian ocean littoral had already developed livestock keeping, agriculture and hence permanent settlements (Chami 2009:202). This comes contrary to the view that these economic activities spread from West Africa at about the BC/ AD transition to reach South Africa in less than 500 years (Soper 1971b).

The ancient Egyptians maintained records on tablets and scrolls, capturing vivid eyewitness accounts (O'Connor and Reid 2003: 15). These old documents about human societies in Africa provide a glimpse of the past. Obscure as some of the documents may be due to the archaic language and the poor state of preservation, these have helped both modern historians and archaeologists ask valid questions regarding the ancient Eastern Africans' knowledge, contact with their neighbors and technological capabilities. By examining these documents, modern researchers can now understand the contexts and influences under which some of the historical authors found themselves, to write what they wrote about Africans and their history.

At this juncture, it is necessary to examine the historical place of East Africa in ancient records to appreciate the region's significance and the related islands. For a long time since the archaeological research of the Eastern African interior and coast in the 1950s, it was postulated that every element of civilization came through migration or trade with the outside world (Childe 1951; Amadi 1989

Kuklick 1991). Some of the issues that emerged to preoccupy researchers in the region include; the peopling of the vast east African interior (Sopper 1971a), the origins of Great Zimbabwe (Kuklick 1991) and the Swahili stone towns (Chittick 1975). These early scholars assumed that the Eastern African region and the coastal strip were still uninhabited territory by the first millennium BCE and if there was evidence of development then it was easily attributed to immigrants who initiated new technological innovations and cultural change. This assumption was influenced by the tendency to justify the 19th-century European imperialism that was the order of the day then (Sinamai 1997).

During the 19th century CE, there was an attempt by history philosophers to deny that Africans south of the Sahara had a history and culture. One typical example of such views is found in Hegel's Philosophy of History. Hegel argued that Africans had no intrinsic capacity for development and acted out of their natural desires, which does not amount to freedom (Verharen 1997). He justified colonialism as a necessary means of eradicating naturalness because it spreads to those without acquiring liberty and development. Overall, Hegel asserted that Europeans had a duty to help Africans realize development and culture. Yet his claim that human capacity for self-determination was universal seems to contradict his position on Africans south of the Sahara as lacking history and culture (Stone, n.d.).

Furthermore, despite finding evidence of earlier occupations in the Eastern African territory, archaeologists working in this region have exclusively termed imported ceramics as 'trade ceramics' from China, Arabia, Persia, or elsewhere outside Africa (Chittick 1984; Horton 1996; Mutoro 1998; Kusimba and Ndiema 2020). This attitude certainly discredits the significance of locally made ceramics which were also traded in large volumes within the vast east African region and littoral. For instance, Mutoro (1978 cited in Kusimba 2020, 45) reports that trade ceramics in the Eastern African coastal sites accounted for only 0.04 percent of the entire pottery assemblage, meaning that 99.96 percent was made and not traded at all nor exported anywhere else. This raises two questions related to the market forces of demand and supply. First, how was the large volume of local pottery manufactured without an effective driven demand? How was the distribution of local pottery maintained in the prevailing exchange system without an economic value to warrant the movement of this important household artefact? The answer to these questions is that the so called local pottery was traded and seemed to enjoy monopoly.

This paper poses pertinent questions relating to the material evidence for the Eastern African region's people. How could long-distance trade be a crucial factor in developing complex African societies and urban polities, yet little is mentioned about the diversity of ceramics that formed the most significant single assemblage at all sites? Was the long-distance trade merely a conduit of the Trans-Indian Ocean trade, or did it also link up with other trade networks in the Nile Valley and ancient Egypt? We endeavor to show using documentary and current archaeological evidence that the Land of Punt

is indeed Eastern Africa, including the littoral and the Puntites.

Theoretical Framework

Until about the 1960s archaeological studies in the eastern African region, and of course the entire sub-Saharan Africa, were conducted on the basis of migratory and diffusion theories (Harris 1968: 373). Classification and description of artefacts were treated as 'ends in themselves'. Thus, characteristics of artifacts would invariably explain how they were made, why they were made and under whose influence were they made. This meant that culture change, contact and trade were mainly debated in line with the advent in the region, of new or at least non-Negroid people (Chami 1994:19). It was held that these new people were the precursors of technological innovation and development (Sanders 1969: 53). However, the early 1960s saw the emergence of *Processual archaeology* which emphasized and adopted inductive and deductive inferences as it were in *scientific method* of inquiry borrowed from natural science (Hempel 1965; Binford 1968). The proponents of Processual archaeology considered archaeological landscapes, settlements and their materials as products of human occupation realized by a particular culture (Chami 1994: 22). The principle tenet is that culture is adaptive, responsive and productive to the physico-socio environment. The *Processual archaeology* have endeavored to understand past human cultural behavior as having been premeditated by and related to environment, technology, socio-demographics, social organization and ideas (Chami 1998:20). About two decades (1960s to 1980s) of continued synergies among processual archaeologists and anthropologists keen on reconstructing past cultural behaviour have seen a build-up of multi- disciplinary approaches known as 'middle range theories' that would steer scientific enquiry into human cultural past (Clarke 1978).

This study has applied the processual archaeology approaches as discussed above. The examination of subsystems such as technology, environment and economic base as well as subsistence is crucial to the understanding of the ancient Eastern Africans in terms of adaptation and change. These people were part of the cultural process that saw different populations exploit their environmental resources differently. The result was a mosaic of cultural affinities across vast archaeological landscapes in the region over a relatively short period.

Eastern Africa in ancient documents

The Eastern African region was populated by people with political establishments comparable to other civilizations of the ancient World (Kusimba, 2008). By the end of the second millennium BCE, the region had already established trade links with ancient Egyptians, Carthaginians, and, later, with the Romans. For instance, the Egyptians have had trade links with the Land of Punt since 2500 BCE or even earlier (Irwanto, 2019). The Egyptians also considered their gods to have originated from these lands in the south. However, some scholars have tried to present ancient Egypt as the origin of western heritage and have embarked on a mission to disconnect Egypt from Africa,

particularly the Great Lakes region. It has emerged that the effort put in has always shown commonalities in thought and symbolism rather than differences (O'Connor and Reid, 2003).

It is worth pointing out that Egypt, located in a hot desert climate throughout the year, relied upon the River Nile for agriculture as the only lifeline. It is understood that humans treated some peculiar natural phenomena such as large rivers, mountains, or even hot springs with divine power, primarily if they were directly associated with livelihoods. Therefore, it is not surprising that the land from which the Nile flowed was associated with the ancient Egyptian gods. In this paper, we endeavor to discuss the evidence for modern human populations in the East African region, known as the Land of Punt, in ancient Egyptian records. Its inhabitants, the Puntites, traded with the North Africans as well as Romans and Greeks. However, the Land of Punt location has been controversial, with some scholars placing it in present-day Somalia. So, where exactly was the land of Punt, and who were the Puntites? Do the ancient records point us to Punt's exact location that later historians and anthropologists refuse to acknowledge and instead advance Africa's contrary idea as a 'dark' continent?

Punt's first mention can be traced back to the Old Kingdom of Egypt between 2575 and 500 BCE during Pharaoh Sahure's reign (Irwanto, 2019). According to Egyptian records, a territory known as Pwenet or Pwene was located southeast of ancient Egypt. It was characterized by an abundance of wild animals and products such as ebony, henna, palm-like trees, and gum copal (Irwanto, 2019). Although Punt was remote and difficult to get to, Egyptians travelled there in two ways. One of these was by ship along the Red Sea coast, and the other was the most challenging land route along the Nile (O'Connor and Reid, 2003:13).

The Egyptians themselves seem to have had trade contact with Puntites as more or less equal trading partners. For instance, during the 5th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom of Egypt that lasted between 2465 to 2323 BCE when Pharaoh Sahure reigned 2458 - 2446 B.C, an expedition to Punt returned with 80 000 measures of merchandise, among them 23030 staves of precious wood and 6,000 measures of gold and silver (Irwanto, 2019). Besides, in the 12th Dynasty of the Middled Kingdom of Egypt that lasted from 1938 to 1756 BCE, during the reign of Amenemhet I (1938- 08 BCE), the Land of Punt was mentioned in the *Shipwrecked Sailor's Tale (* . In this tale, the shipwreck occurred on Punt's island, where precious products could be found (Irwanto, 2019; Chami, 2006). Some scholars have tried to locate Punt anywhere between Arabia, modern Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan (see, for example, Leclant, 1981: 144). This suggestion has led to another grave mistake in history; the erroneous use of Puntland for one of the federal member states within Somalia. It is not clear what motivated the use of the name Puntland for a federal state of presen Somalia. One view could be that Puntites were assumed to be of Asiatic origin, just as the Somalis have been associated with a non-African origin. Therefore, any geographical vicinity that would place them near Asia was welcome. On the other hand, Kitchen (1991) suggests

that Punt could have extended to the coast of Eastern Africa, a view accepted by Chami (Chami 2006 :149), to include Zanzibar, Pemba, and the northern islands of Lamu.

An examination of Egyptian records reveals the initial interchangeable use of Nubia and Punt. In some of the inscriptions, Nubians dominated Egypt during the twenty-fifth Dynasty (O'Connor and Reid, 2003: 12). Nubia was known in Egypt as *Ta Nehesy* or the Land of Nubia. Chami (2006) notes that the Egyptians were able to identify the Puntites as *nyehusi*, meaning *He of Nubia*. This term *nyehusi* was used in ancient Egypt to refer to a Nubian engaged at Pharaoh Hatshepsut court. The Puntites frequently feature in Egyptian art and are assigned reddish skins just like the Egyptians. On the other hand, Libyans are represented as having light-colored yellowish skin. Puntites are depicted as separate people who wore long hair with a headband at a later date.

Another piece of evidence for the use of *nyehusi* to mean black people comes from an engraved stele. In memory of his military expedition and victory against a rebellious Nubia, Pharaoh Tuthmosis I lists the defeated tribes as 'Those with braids,' 'those (with cheeks) with scarified, the *Nyehusi* with a burnt face,' 'those with skin,' those with frizzy hair" (Cargnino, 2019:1).

The people of Kush used *nyehusi* for people of black complexion who lived in the southern lands. The *Nyehus*i resembled the black people or the *burnt face* (a phrase used by the Greeks to refer to all people of the black race who lived south of ancient Egypt). The word *nyehusi* is also found in the Swahili language in the form of *nyehusi*, meaning black (Chami, 2006). It was known that the *Nyehusi* occupied the area around the Nile between 1500 and 1100 BC. In about the mid-first millennium BC, Herodotus described the people in the south as 'Ethiopia,' meaning black, and those who appeared to have 'burnt their face' as mentioned earlier in the text.

Another source of information on the Puntites comes from the Persians, whose conquest of the *Nyehusi* took place in three expeditions. One of these was against the people who dwelt in that part of Libya, which borders the southern sea. During this period, Libya referred to the vast land south of the Mediterranean Sea, apart from Egypt along the Nile Valley and Carthage. Libya does border the vast Sahara Desert in the south, but there is no sign of a sea or ocean except for the Indian Ocean further south-south East. From Herodotus' records, the sea in the south is named *Erythrean* (Hecalaeus, cited in Riad, 1981:195). In his representation of the World, Herodotus knew a large ocean bordering the land southeast of Meroe. According to Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, ancient Egyptians procured spices from islands in this ocean for trade with ancient Egypt (Chami, 2006:157).

According to Chami's (2006) analysis, Punt's name becomes Panchae during the Hellenistic period. Reports by three ancient travellers during this period confirm that they visited the land of Punt or Eastern Africa. Euhemerus, for instance, reports of a ruler of an island that produces agricultural products and merchandise for trade with other regions of the world. Another traveller, Iambulus (cited in Oldfather, 1961: 65-67), states that

the island of spices was on the African coast south of Arabia. It appears that he lived there for seven years. Iambulus also identifies this island as the 'island of the sun' due to the overhead sun all year round. The overhead sun was a distinctive feature that would have been noted, especially by a traveller from the northern hemisphere, where the sun was always to the south. Like Euheremurs, Iambulus noted that agriculture and domesticated animals were present in Eastern Africa by the last millennium BC or even earlier. Panchaens are known to have cultivated palm like-trees that bear coconuts (Chami, 2006: 163). It is also documented that chicken was among domesticates (Oldfather, 1961: 79).

Eudoxus (130 BC) reports a shipwreck's relics originating from Northwest Africa, which had sailed from the west to reach Eastern Africa from the south. The vessel belonged to the people of Gades in Spain- the land then ruled by Carthaginian Phoenicians. The shipwreck is confirmed by yet another traveller who had set sail to southern Africa from the 7th century (Chami, 2006: 153).

During the late last millennium BCE and the early first millennium CE, the Eastern African coast was known as Azania (Chami 1994: 25). Azania was indeed Eastern Africa, lying between present-day southern Somalia and northern Mozambique. Azania is the same region that had been known earlier-on as Panchae and Punt. One of the authors of this period, Pliny, noted that Eastern Africans were in control of the trade-in spices. Another author, Strabo, reports of cave dwellers of the Eastern Africa coast and islands. Both Pliny and Strabo report a trade network across the Indian Ocean by 800 BCE. Towards the close of the Roman period, a travellers's guide, known as *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* written by an unknown author between 40 and 70 CE, provides unequivocal detail of the Eastern African coast. Contained in this guide are directions, distances, and accounts of ports on the coasts of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean of Eastern Africa, and Asia. The *Periplus* was a record of seaports, the people and their characteristics, and the nature of trade and merchandise exchanged between those ports (Huntingford, 1980:95). The guide shows the first seven 'stades' (translated as sails or courses) of Azania from the northern coast covering NIKON, including Brawa or Brava, Makasi well, El Dere, Kismayu, Burakao, and Ras Kiamboni. After the seventh course, the 'PURALAON ISLANDS' is now identified as the Lamu islands comprising Pate, Manda, Lamu, and 'THE CHANNEL' or Siyu Channel separates these islands from the mainland. The southern coast of Azania is reached after two courses to 'MENOUTHIAS ISLAND' (likely to be Pemba or Zanzibar or Mafia), 'RIVER RHAPTOS' and the mart of Azania called 'RHAPTA' located on 'Rhapton cape.'

Ptolemy, who is likely to have visited the Eastern African coast, relied heavily on the *Periplu*s to compile his *Geographia* guide in about 150 CE (Huntingford, 1980:99). Ptolemy's guide gives details of the coast of Azania and the interior. There is no doubt that the coast of Azania is the Eastern African coast featuring islands with spices and major seaports that serviced the Trans-Indian Ocean trade. Ptolemy points the reader to the Arab merchants who sailed to the cape of spices on the coast of Azania and Rhapta, the

metropolis set back a little from the sea but near the mouth of river Rhapton. Although some of the municipalities mentioned in this guide have not been located, Rhapta was likely located near the mouth of river Rufiji on Tanzania's mid-south coast (Hantingford 1980: 103).

Off the coast of Azania, Ptolemy cites the mountains of Phalangis, located in the eastern parts of Africa called Barbaria, which begins where the land of Ethiopia terminates. The mountains feature three peaks and are thought to be the source of the Nile. It appears that there was confusion from the ancient Egyptian and Greek records in identifying the various mountains in Eastern Africa that could be associated with the Nile. It is not clear which of these two mountains, Kilimanjaro and Kenya, were cited by Ptolemy, but some scholars think this was Mount Kilimanjaro (Chami, 2006). We know that Kilimanjaro is not the Nile's source, although it is snowcapped and a source of rivers.

About the identity of the people living in the interior of Azania, Ptolemy writes:

Below Libya… lies Ethiopia (*the land of Ethiopians*), which stretches from the Great Gulf of the outer sea… thereafter comes the Western Ocean (Freeman-Grenville, 1975:3).

He then gives details of four groups of Ethiopians occupying the land east of the Mountains of the Moon as man-eating Ethiopians, fish-eating Ethiopians, Ethiopians who make sewn boats, and Western Ethiopians. However, it should be noted that Greek records identified every black person as "Ethiopian." The first group appears to be merely a mythical conception driven by fear of unfamiliar people in faraway lands. This myth probably originated in ancient Egypt or Greek mythology and was spread to Eastern Africa by such early writers as Ptolemy. Ptolemy's record seems to have influenced later writers, such as the author of a tenth-century story in *The Marvels of India.* In the story, the captain of a ship from Arabia expressed fear of certain death because they had unexpectedly come to the land of man-eating Zanj, the present-day coast of Sofala in Mozambique (Tolmacheva, 1986:108). More than one thousand five hundred years after Ptolemy, in 1586, a Dominican friar named Joao Dos Santos was stationed at Sofala as a priest when he wrote about two tribes with a predisposition of cannibalism thus:

Before Tete, on the other side of the River within Land to the East and North-East, are two kinds of Man eating Cafres, the Mumbos and Zimbas or Muzimbas, who eate those they take in warre and their slaves also when they are past labour and sell it as Beefe or Mutton. ….at Chicoronga a Mumbos Towne, in which was a slaughterhouse, where every day they butchered their Captives, neer which the Portugals found many Negroes, men and women, bound hand and foot, destined to be slaughtered for the next dayes food… (Freeman-Grenville, 1985: 136).

It appears that the Wazimbas also butchered the captives of war as well as their members who fell sick and those wounded in war to escape the labour of nursing them, as the following excerpt would suggest:

They eate those which they kill in ware and drink, in their skull. If any of their own Cafres be sick or wounded, to save labour of cure they kill and eat them (Freeman-Grenville, 1985:137).

The view and fear of cannibalism spread among the Swahili and other coastal Bantu, who invariably referred to inland people as cannibals residing in an unidentified location to the west. However, there is no archaeological evidence to show that there were man-eating people in eastern Africa. Second, fish-eating Ethiopians referred to the coastal Bantu. These could have been the Swahili and proto-Sabaki Bantu speakers and any other coastal groups present at the coast, which, by environmental dictates, could innovate fishing and sailing gear in the form of sewn boats. These would have enabled them to catch fish and other marine resources for subsistence. There is adequate literature on the Swahili showing that their culture largely depended on the maritime economy (Kusimba, 1999a; Horton, 1996; Middleton, 2004). It should also be noted that even non-coastal people who lived near the lake basins of central-eastern Africa and the rift valley made sewn boats and harvested lacustrine resources as much as their subsistence demanded. Another group of black people is identified as Western Ethiopians who, according to Ptolemy's. These people occupied the vast southern African territory south of Ethiopia, labelled as 'anonymous.'

In 916 CE, Ali Masud writes about the land of Zanj and the sea of Zanj, referring to the Eastern African territory and the Indian Ocean, respectively. The name Zanj seems to have taken the place of Panchea, particularly by the Arab writers. Although the Muslim Arabs appear to have settled at the coast, the Zanj stood out as the natives who occupied not only the coastal lands but also the entire mainland south of present-day Ethiopia:

As we have said, the Zanj and other Abyssinian peoples are spread about on the right bank of the Nile, as far as the end of the Abyssinian Sea. The Zanj are the only Abyssinian people to have crossed the branch which flows out of the upper stream of the Nile into the sea of Zanj. They settled in that area, which stretches as far as Sofala, which is the furthest limit of the land, and the end of the voyages made from Oman and Siraf on the sea of Zanj (Freeman-Grenville, 1985: 34).

Masud describes clearly the people dwelling on the coast as well as in the interior of Eastern Africa. According to him, the Zanj territory is located between the upper Nile and Sofala in present-day Mozambique. Valleys, mountains, and deserts characterize the country. This is an accurate description of the rift valley escarpments and the numerous volcanic mountains. The desert in northern Kenya fits well the description of stony deserts in Masud's record. He does not miss to describe the mixed economy of the dwellers of this land as characterized by the trading of ivory and smelting and the use of iron tools. They also cultivated bananas and millet, while the coastal groups had a bias towards the cultivation of palm trees that produce coconut.

The Chinese knowledge of the coast of Eastern Africa was recorded by Tuan Ch'eng Shi, who travelled across the Indian Ocean in

the 9th century CE. He observed that Persian traders were allowed to do business only after blood brotherhood rituals between then and the Eastern Africans who lived in sovereignty.

When Persian traders wish to enter this country, they form a caravan of several thousand men ad present them with strips of cloth. All, whether old or young, draw blood and swear an oath and then only trade their good. …From the ancient times, this country has not been subject to any foreign power. In fighting they use elephant tusks, ribs, and wild cattle horns as spears, and they have corselets and bows and arrows. They have twenty myriads of foot soldiers. The Arabs are continually making raids on them (Freeman-Grenville, 1985: 8).

The blood brotherhood ritual was conducted between the coastal Bantu-speaking communities and long-distance traders from the interior (Busolo, 2020b: 17). Only then were their members allowed to bring their merchandise for trade with their hosts. About the sovereignty of the Eastern African people, Tuan Ch'eng Shi notes that the coastal communities were not subject to any foreign power and that Arabs made regular Jihad raids on them (Freeman-Grenville, 1985: 10). One would probably ask this question: if Arabs founded the Swahili city-states, how could fellow Arabs and Muslims raid them? The true position is that the Arabs raided African states to entrench their rule over Eastern African coastal states. There are multiple historical voices on the Swahili past and the conemporary Swahili practices and perception about their own past. These are discussed in the proceeding section.

Archaeological Evidence

Most archaeological investigations in Eastern Africa since the 1960s are made up of two main research interests. First, those interested in early human origins have confined themselves to the rift valley and lake basin sites in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania (.

Early archaeological research in this region was preoccupied with searching for evidence of ancestors of early humans who lived during the Plio-Pleistocene through to Holocene (Kimbel *et al*., 2006). The early hominid sites spanning the entire east African Rift valley from Ethiopia through Kenya to Tanzanian have since been fertile ground for investigating the Early Stone Age (ESA) as well as the transitional cultures through the Middle Stone Age (MSA) to the Later Stone Age (LSA) and the Iron Age (Boisserie et al., 2008). The results of these research appeared to rule out the possibility of early human sites outside the rift valley region. However, against all expectations, MSA sites have been reported in the coastal site of Mtongwe in Mombasa (Omi, 1984). Further, in the interior of Kilifi, an area known as Panga Ya Said has yielded evidence of MSA settlements with a well-stratified sequence of stone tools and fossils of associated faunal (Schipol et al., 2018).

Second are those who focused on the historical archaeology of the sprawling Swahili stone towns stretching from Somalia to northern Mozambique. Their main aim was to explain the origin of ancient urban culture survived by ruins of mansions, palaces, and mosques (Kusimba, 2020: 35).

There has been minimal attention to other sites to bridge the knowledge gap in the transitional periods between the early humans and modern peopling of the interior and the Eastern African littoral. The assumption made for the minimal attention has been that modern human societies did not occupy this region until after the Arabs settled at the coast in the 5th century CE (Chittick, 1977). The Arabs ostensibly established city-states without even the aid of soldiers. It has been asserted that the Arabs founded the Swahili city-states after they had invaded the coast. It is no wonder then that some city-states such as Manda, Takwa, Pate, and Shanga have been dated anywhere between the 7th and 10th centuries CE (Horton, 1996; Wilson and Omar, 1997). Another assumption was that Africans were incapable of such monumental masonry as the Swahili City-states or dry-stone enclosures of the Great Zimbabwe. It was, therefore, postulated that other more 'sophisticated' people pre-existed in the region only to be replaced by the Bantu or that they were contemporaries with the latter learning from them. For instance, Horton (1996) attributes the spread of Tana pottery to a Cushitic speaking cultural group who could have been ancestors of the inhabitants of Rhapta, a city that thrived in the river Rufiji region on the southern coast of Tanzania. He describes the Tana Tradition pottery as different from Kwale pottery than as a variant of the Iron Age tradition. However, it is now plausible that adopting a landscape approach to Eastern African archaeology helps archaeologists understand how diverse groups of people are united by shared histories and ideas (Ndiema, 2020: 23).

There is coherent argument based on archaeological evindence that the people identified as Bantu speakers who include the Swahili, had been living in the land of Punt from the Stone Age. The cultural change seen in the archaeolohgical record does not necessarily indicate the advent of immigrants but an adaptive strategy to deal with a dynamic phyisco and social environment (Chami, 2009: 209). We cannot rule out the fact that the arrival of foreigners had a profound influence on the changes in culture and traditions of the host communities.

The excavation of trade materials and the widespread distribution of non-local materials in archaeological contexts have helped decipher the interdependence between different communities. This has been possible by examining ancient exchange networks and trade, leading to questioning the assertions that Africa was a "dark continent." First, if the Trans-Saharan trade could be conducted across one of the harshest hot desert landscapes in the world, what could have prevented trade networks from developing between productive Eastern African region and ancient Egypt or western Africa? Why could the 19th-century historians think that long-distance traders from the interior of eastern African only traded eastwards to connect with the Trans-Indian Ocean trade and not with the Nile route to ancient Egypt?

The regional trading networks were essential in making the Eastern African littoral and interior an attractive trade partner with the

ancient Egyptians, Carthaginians, and Romans, as alluded to in the earlier section. Through such networks, Eastern African products such as cinnamon and other spices reached the Mediterranean countries (Casson, 1989). The long-distance exchange networks thrived across the Eastern African territory before establishing sedentary settlements ~3000years ago (Ndiema, 2020: 26). Archaeological research in Sudan has revealed an ancient culture dating between 2300 and 1700 BCE at Mahal Taglinos, which has been identified as the inland gateway to Punt's land (O'Connor and Reid, 2003:13).

Neolithic sites in the interior of east Africa have produced evidence of contact with ancient Egypt. The Njoro River Cave and Ngorongoro crater in present-day Kenya and Tanzania show archaeological evidence that this region had trade contact with ancient Egypt (Leakey, 1966). The Njoro River cave, for instance, has produced precious stone beads dated between 800 and 400 BCE (Leakey and Leakey, 1950: 50).

According to Chami (2006:129), similar beads are found in Pre-dynastic Egypt, while the raw materials for these beads can be found in Kenya, suggesting that they were made and exported from there. However, the Leakeys had difficulty reconciling the archaeological evidence with their formed opinion of 'primitive' people who could not produce precious stone beads (Leakey and Leakey, 1950: 26). With similar stone beads, cowries, and shell pendants from the Ngorongoro crater site, it is plausible to suggest that these were trade goods in the long-distance trade that connected the East African interior, the Indian Ocean littoral, and ancient Egypt on the other during the Neolithic. There is no doubt that there were trade links between East Africa and ancient Egypt.

Further, ancient Egyptian material culture from artistic representation on stone tablets demonstrates contact between ancient Egypt and the Great Lakes region. For instance, several ethnographic materials such as the cloth wrappers worn by ancient Egyptian men were common among pastoral communities in the Great Lakes region (Reid, 2003: 62). The Great Lakes region was essential to ancient Egyptians as it was associated with their 'lifeline'- the Nile. The Egyptian empire influenced the Nile Valley Kingdoms, including imposing their religion upon their subjects in the south. Ruined ancient temples and altars of Amun, one of the Egyptian Pharaoh-gods, have been found at Jebel Barka, the landmark of ancient Napata's city and district (Mohammed, 2007).

The plank-sewn canoe seen in ancient Egyptian archaeological records for navigating the Nile was typical in the Victoria and Baringo Lake Basins as the Baganda and the Njemps used these, respectively (Brown, 1991).

Lithic materials such as obsidian and chert from the LSA sites were traded from the central Rift Valley to other regions. Recent archaeological research has revealed that the Fayum Neolithic was the centre of dispersal of black people who had dominated ancient Egypt through the pre-dynastic period (MacDonald, 2003). This culture spread

westwards, southwards, and eastwards at different times. Data shows that the Eastern African littoral and inland sites have properly stratified sequences from the Neolithic period into the Early Iron Age (Mehlman, 1979; Mturi, 1986). One aspect confirmed is that the data is consistently backed with a strong association of materials from variants of traditions across the region. The region has also witnessed interactions between cultures and the transition from LSA to EIA traditions (Ndiema, 2020: 26). Some of the Neolithic and Iron Age pottery variants are widespread in the sites, contrary to the Bantu migration thesis's proponents. For instance, Kansyore pottery was found in central Tanzania by Thorp (1992) and also in an excavation of the coastal site of Bagamoyo (Chami, 1996). There is evidence of Neolithic pottery called Bambata, which is associated with domesticated and wild faunas.

According to Chami (2006), the Bambata pottery is succeeded by a variant of Early Iron Age pottery called Gokomere, suggesting cultural continuity. The Goikomere pottery has also confirmed that some decorative elements are found on potteries from sites far apart and widespread across the entire Eastern African littoral and the interior, most of which date between 3000 BCE and 500 BCE (Chami, 2006; Chapman, 1967; Thorp, 1992). In Mozambique, the city of Sofala, which is identified as the 'end of the World' in Ptolemy's guide, has produced the Neolithic dates (Montgomery, 2008). Neolithic settlements have also been excavated in Zanzibar. For instance, some of the fabulous finds at Kuumbi cave are stone tools dated 19,695 BC, cattle bones dated 3,330 BC, and chicken bones dated 2,003 BC (Chami, 2009: 90). On the other hand, the Machaga cave produced microlithic and chicken bones dated 2,847 BC (Chami, 2009: 88). Domesticated cattle was already evident in Zanziabr by about 4000 BCE (Cami 2009: 202), with earlier suggestions that Bos Taurus had been tamed in the north of East Africa late in the 3rd millennium BCE (Clutton Brook 1993).

Archaeological excavations at inland coastal sites by Soper (1971b) and Helm (2004) have shown the significance of integrating hinterland investigations into coastal archaeology. This approach has now helped to reveal the LSA materials in the coastal regions, a phenomenon thought to be confined to the rift valley sites. For instance, LSA lithics and EIA, and subsequent pottery types have been found in the interior of the upper coast regions of Malindi and Kilifi (Schipton *et al*., 2018; Ndiema, 2020). On the other hand, the site of Ngomeni, in the southwestern part of Mombasa Island, has yielded evidence of the transition from the EIA to the Middle Iron Age (Helm, 2000). Kusimba (2008: 241) reported that trade links between the coast and the interior took place in an organized network facilitated through blood brotherhood rituals. The traders followed river valleys that would connect to ancient Egypt through Nubia and the Upper Nile Kingdoms.

Archaeologists working on the Eastern Africa coast have given unprecedented attention to ceramics from outside the region, often terming them' trade ceramics' when discussing the trans-Indian Ocean trade and emphasizing contact between Eastern Africa, on the one hand, and China and Arabia, on

the other (Mutoro, 1987; Chittick, 1984; Oka, 2018). These supposed trade ceramics account for less than 1% of the entire pottery assemblages excavated in the coastal sites (Kusimba, 2018:45). It is pretty unequivocal that this pottery preoccupied most archaeologists interested in explaining how elites-controlled access to foreign merchandise associated with political power and class. But how much more could we know about Eastern African pottery, which formed the bulk of the total assemblages from both the littoral and the inland sites? For example, at Mtwapa alone, one of the early Swahili settlements on the coast of Kenya, well over 94% of the ceramic assemblages was locally produced with typical Tana ware characteristics of triangular motifs (Zhu and Kusimba, 2020: 123). In the study of Shanga, Horton (1996) excavated over 200,000 sherds of Eastern African pottery, and upon correlational analysis of the typology and stratigraphy, a logical evolution of forms was observed at the site. While local pottery has been significant in understanding transformation in tastes, subsistence, and even demographic profiles of the sites in question, such as family size and potting techniques, not many researchers have examined the pottery's complex distribution magnitude that has been witnessed across the region.

Discussion

If the documentary evidence from ancient records is anything to go by, it suffices that Eastern Africa and, for that matter, Africa was not a 'dark' continent as perceived by 19th-century scholars and travellers. The 19th-century reports did not pay attention to the records by the ancient Egyptians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and even Romans, who wrote official dossiers for their leadership. For instance, the ancient Egyptian kings did not just speculate about the Land of Punt and Puntites but sent out expeditions led by trusted compatriots and soldiers. The expeditions brought back gifts and merchandise and established contacts with Puntite kingdoms in east Africa. These initial contacts were necessary for the subsequent trade ties that developed during the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Some of the precious merchandise brought from the Land of Punt are mangrove and ebony poles, silver and gold, and animal products very richly available in the eastern African interior. The trade items stand out as products from the east African coast. One of these is the most sought cinnamon species, endemic to the Indian Ocean islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. Henna, a decorative skin concoction made from the mangrove's bark, which is also endemic to the winding creeks and shores of the East African coast, was exported to ancient Egypt. Palm-like trees are likely to have been coconut palms from the coastal shores. These were exported to Egypt by the Red Sea and the land route via Mahal Taglinos that linked the east African littoral with ports on the Upper Nile banks.

The researchers in the East African region dedicated their efforts to studying early human cultures in the rift valley sites of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania (Kimbel et al., 2006). These sites have produced fossils in stratified sequences with associated stone artifacts, spanning the Pliocene's last quarter through the Pleistocene to the Holocene. The evidence from these sites has been used to

justify significant projects that have continuously emphasized the rift valley as one of the dispersal points of humans in antiquity. However, the discovery of two MSA sites in the coastal region at Mtongwe (Omi, 1984) and Panga Ya Said (Schipol et al., 2018) indicates that early humans were not just endemic in the rift valley sites. The coastal region relegated to the later historical period also offers an opportunity for research into human antiquity. The later historical period is not without controversy since the rise of coastal civilizations is attributed to exotic origins with minimal regard to local cultures' contributions and influences.

As alluded to in the earlier section, the Nile valley and the Land of Punt were characterized by autonomous African kingdoms that managed their internal and external affairs. Ancient Greeks, Romans, and Arabs wrote documents from a truly scientific perspective to understand those states and their people. During the early 16th century CE, the Portuguese were already conversant with southeastern and central Africa. They acknowledged the level of organization that enabled control of trade and networks in most of the state. By the mid-17th century CE, the Portuguese had developed an interest in the gold, silver, and ivory trade. This scenario led to military expeditions that left enormous causalities on both sides. However, during the slave trade and colonialism era, the Europeans tended to disparage the people to justify all sorts of exploitation. The Hegelian school of thought denied the association of the continent of Africa with any civilization. Instead, this school of thought's proponents blatantly attributed the "civilizations of Africa" to the immigrant peoples (Afigbo, 1984:56). This sentiment was reflected in the history curricula determined to advance African civilizations' exotic origin theory. Rather than become a cause for inquiry, the apparent absence of written records defined from the Eurocentric perspective meant that Africa had no history. Nevertheless, the years between the 1940s and 1950s witnessed the rise of vibrant and articulate historians who championed African history, which eventually led to the formulation of authentic curricula on the subject (Chimee, 2018).

After the EIA was first reported at the type site of Kwale (Soper, 1971b), many other similar sites have been reported in Usambara, Mwangia, and Kuumbi café in Tanzania (Chami, 1998). From the above discussion, there was intense interaction among the Eastern African communities during the iron age. Internal trade networks thrived alongside the long-distance trading routes that necessarily fed into the broader Trans-Indian Ocean network. The specialization of potting activities was heightened by the high demand for potting products in the Swahili urbanite societies. The high demand for Eastern African pottery did provide an alternative type of household artefacts for the stratified society. The elite merchants and ruling class shunted and controlled household items regarded with passion as 'trade porcelain' just because they were imported across the Indian Ocean. The ruling class had the executive order and political power to influence the direction, access, and distribution of the imported merchandise and prevent the lower social strata from accessing what they considered high class.

Conclusion

Although the Land of Punt disappeared into mythology in ancient Egypt, its rich heritage is preserved and available in the form of ancient registers and docuemnts. The contents of these have been corroborated by the archaeological record contacted in the eastern African region with which ancient Egypt interacted. Some commentaries on the ancient records by the 19century historians profoundly influenced the curriculum of African histories in the the1950s and still does so in many ways. Suffice it to say that some of them served to advance unfounded views regarding people's origins and presence in the East African region for a period spanning more than five thousand years BP. These histories also questioned eastern Africans' ability to innovate as much as their contemporaries in Northern Africa and elsewhere in the world. We conclude that the East African region has had a continuous occupation with transitional cultures from the MSA, through the LSA to the EIA, and to the modern societies we know today. It is clear that there were people of the MSA cultures in the region and coastal regions and that there are well-defined stratified occupational sequences through to LSA and EIA to modern societies. Further, there was intense interaction among the ancient Eastern African communities as internal trade networks thrived alongside external trade routes. The specialization of potting and iron smelting activities was heightened by the high demand in the urbanite societies both in the interior and in the coastal settelements as well. The increased need for Eastern African pottery and iron tools provided an alternative type of household artefacts for the stratified society, and this did not stop the elite class from importing exotic products from overseas as societies became more complex. The growth of domestaication of cattle, iron smelting and agriculture in the interior premediated some of the numerous centers that later became significant seaports along the Azania coast.

References

Afigbo, A. E. 1984. *K. O. Dike and the African Historical Renascence*. Owerri, Nigeria:

Rada Publishers.

Amadi, I. R. 1989. The northern factors in the history of sub-Saharan Africa: the Hamitic

hypothesis revised. The TransAfrican Journal of Hisory 18, 80-9.

Baines, R. J. and Dorman, P. F. (n.d.). The Middle Kingdom (1938–c. 1630 BCE) and the Second

Intermediate period (c. 1630–1540 BCE). Availble at https://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Egypt/The-Middle-Kingdom-1938-c-1630-bce-and-the-Second-Intermediate-period-c-1630-1540-bce. Accessed on December 23, 2020.

Binford, L. R. 1968. Archaeological Perspectives. In The New Perspectives in Arcaheology,

Binford, S & L. R. Binford (eds). 5-32.Chicago: Aldine.

Boisserie, J. R., Guy, F. Delagnes, A., Hlukso, L.J., Faysal Bibi, Beyene, Y., and Guillemot, C.

2008. New palaeoanthropological research in the Plio-Pleistocene Omo Group, Lower Omo Valley, Ethiopia, Comptes Rendus Palevol, 7(7): 429-439,

Brown, J. 1991. The Ambach Canoes of Lake Baringo. Kenya Past and Present,23: 35-39.

Busolo, I. N. 2020a. Siyu Intertwined Exchange Networks from the early beginnings to the

Fifteenth Century. In China and Eastern Africa: Ancient Ties, Contemporary Flows, pp.89-103. C. M. Kusimba, T. Zhu and P. W. Kiura (Eds.). London: Lexington Books.

Busolo, I. N. 2020b. An archaeological Study of Siyu Old Town on the north coast of Kenya from

the 10th to the 19th century AD: An Exchange Systems Perspective. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Nairobi.

Casson, L. 1989. Periplus Maris Erythreai. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chami, F. 1994.The Tanzanian Coast in the First Millennium AD: An Archaeology of the Iron-working, Farming Communities. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Uppsala University.

Childe, V. G. 1951. Social Evolution. London: Watts & Co.

Chimee, I. N. 2018. African Historiography and the Challenges of European Periodization:

Available at https://trafo.hypotheses.org/11518. Retrieved on 31st July 2018.

Chittick, N. 1967. Discoveries in the Lamu archipelago. Azania, 2: 37-68.

Chittick, N. 1975b. The peopling of the East African Coast. In East Africa and the Orient:

cultutursl esyenthsis in precolonial times, Chittick, N. and R. Rotberg (eds). New York. Africana Publishing company.

Chittick, N. 1984. Manda: Excavation at an island port on the Kenya coast. Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa.

Clarke, D. L. 1972. Analytical Archaeology, 2nd edn. New York. Columbia University Press.

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P.1985. The Eastern African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hempel, C. G. 1965. Apects of Scinetific explanation. New York: the Free Press

Harris, M. 1968. The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Helm, R. M. 2000. Conflicting Histories: The Archaeology of ironworking farming Communities in the Southern Coast Region of Kenya. Unpublished Ph.D. The Thesis University of Bristol.

Helm, R. 2004. Re-evaluating Traditional Histories on the Coast of Kenya: An Archaeological Perspective. In A.M. Reid and P.J. Lane (Eds.) African Historical Archaeologies. Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology, pp. Boston, MA: Springer.

Horton, M.1996. Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of Eastern Africa. Memoir No. 14 of the British Institute in Eastern Africa.

Huntingford, G. W. B. 1980. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. London: The Hakluyt Society.

Irwano, D. 2019. Land of Punt: In Search of the Divine Land of the Egyptians. Available at https://archive.org/details/land-of-punt-in-search-of-the-divine-land-of-the-egyptians. Accessed on December 20, 2020.

Kimbel, W. H., C. A. Lockwood, et al. 2006. "Was Australopithecus anamensis ancestral to A.

afarensis? A case of Anagenesis in the Hominin Fossil Record." Journal of Human Evolution, 51(2): 134–152.

Kuklick, H. 1991. Contested monuments. In Colonial Situtaions: Esssays on the

contextaulaization of ethnographic knowledge, Stocking, G. W. (ed), 362-71. Madison: Univefrsioty of Wisconsin Press.

Kitchen, 1991.

Kusimba, C. M.1999a. The Rise and Fall of Swahili States. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Kusimba, C. M. 2008. Early African Cities: Their Role in the Shaping of Urban and Rural Interaction Spheres. In The Ancient City: New Perspectives on Urbanism in the Old and New World, pp. 229-46 J. Marcus and J. A. Sabloff (Eds.). Santa Fe, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press

Kusimba, C. M. 2018. Trade and Civilization in Medieval Eastern Africa: Socioeconomic Networks. In Trade and Civilization, pp. 320-353. K. Kristiansen, T. Lindvist and J. Mrydal (Eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kusimba, C. M. 2020. Ancient connections between China and Eastern Africa. In China and

Eastern Africa: Ancient Cities, Contemporary Flows, pp.35-63. C. M. Kusimba, T. Zhu and P. W. Kiura (Eds.). New York: Lexington Books.

Leakey, M. 1966. Excavation of burial mounds in Ngorongoro Crater, Tanzania Notes and

Records 66: 123-135.

Leclant, J. 1981. The Empire of Kush: Napata and Meroe. In G. Mokhtar (Ed). General History of Africa II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa: pp. 278-297. Los Angeles, California UNESCO.

MacDonald, K. 2003. Cheik Anta Diop and Ancient Egypt in Africa. In Ancient Egypt in Africa, pp. 93- 105. D. O'Connor and A. Reid (Eds.). London: University College of London Press.

Middleton, J. 2004. African Merchants of the Indian Ocean: Swahili of the Eastern African Coast. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Mohammed, A. A. 2007. Royal and Private Devotion to Amun of Napata Two Meroitic Graffiti recently discovered in Jebel Suweigat, Kush XIX: 127-137.

Montgomery, D. 2008. A Beautiful Ivory Bangle: Eastern Africa and Sea traders, 2nd edn

Lulu.com: Suffolk.

Mutoro, H. W. 1998. Precolonial Trading Systems of the Eastern African Interior. In Transformations in Africa: Essays on Africa's later past, pp.186-203. G. Connah (Ed.). Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Mutoro, H. W. 1987. An Archaeological Study of the Mijikenda Kaya Settlements on the Hinterland Kenya Coast. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Ndiema, E. K. 2020. Tracing Prehistoric Trade and Economic Links. In *China and Eastern Africa: Ancient Ties Contemporary Flows,* pp.23-34. C. Kusimba, T, Zhu and P.W. Kiura (Eds.). London: Lexington Books.

Oka, R. 2018. Trade, Traders, and Trading Systems: Macro modeling of Trade, Commerce and Civilization in the Indian Ocean. In *Trade and Civilization*, pp. 279-319. K. Kristiansen, T. Lindvist and J. Mrydal (Eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oldfather, C. H. (Trans.) 1961. *Diodorus of Sicily* (12 volumes), London: V\William Heinemann

Omi, G.(Ed.) 1984. Mtongwe: An interim report of the East and Northeast African Prehistory Project, 1982. Matsumoto, Japan: Shinshu University Press.

O'Connor, D. and A. Reid 2003. Introduction: Locating Ancient Egypt in Africa. In *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, pp 1- 21. D. O'Connor and A. Reid (Eds). London: University College of London Press.

Reid, A. 2003. Ancient Egypt and the Source of Nile. In *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, pp. 55-76. D. O'Connor and Reid, A. (Eds). London: University College of London Press.

Sanders, E. R. 1969. The Hamatic Hypothesis: its origin anad functions in time perpective. *The Journal of African Hisory,* 10(4):521-32.

Sinamai, A. 1997. Heritage and Politics: the great Zimbabwe controversy. *Social Change and Development* 42/43, 23-14.

Shipton, C., P. Roberts, W. Archer, S. J. Armitage, C. Bita, J. Blinkhorn, C. Courtney-Mustaphi,

A. Crowther, R. Curtis, F. D. Errico, et al. 2018. 78,000year-old Record of Middle and Later Stone Age Innovation in an Eastern African tropical Forest. *Nature Communications*, *9*: 18-32.

Soper, R. 1971b. A general Review of the Early Iron Age of the southern half of Africa, *Azania 5:*

39-52.

Tolmacheva, M. 1986. *The Pate Chronicle*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Verharen, C. 1997. "The New World and the Dreams to Which it May Give Rise": An African and

American Response to Hegel's Challenge. *Journal of Black Studies, 27*(4): 456-493. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784726. Retrieved on 4th December 2020.

Wilson, T. H., and Omar, A. L.1997. Excavations at Pate on the Eastern African Coast. *Azania*, 32:31-76.

Zhu, T. and Kusimba, C. M. 2020. Chinese Porcelain as Proxy for understanding Early

Globalization between China and Eastern Africa. In *China and Eastern Africa: Ancient Cities, Contemporary Flows*, pp. 121-134. C. M. Kusimba, T. Zhu and P. W. Kiura (Eds.). New York: Lexington Books.