From Kaiserstraße to Barabara ya Bandarini. What Swahili street names can tell us about the past

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Abstract

"Many streets in Iringa municipality and indeed in many towns in Tanzania have no street names, and many buildings have no unique identification number" (Mugerezi, 2002, 84). PO boxes serve in fact as postal addresses and Tanzanians, asked where they live, will most probably not name a street but a ward. These few examples show that in Tanzania street names do not have the important primary function, i.e. *orientation*, that they have in contemporary western societies. Yet they do have – as in western societies – what Elisabeth Fuchshuber-Weiß calls a secondary function, i.e. the *memory* function (1996, 1468-1469). The purpose of my article is to show how Tanzanian street names, thanks to their memory function, contribute to preserving the community's cultural memory and, along with history and archaeology, offer a reading of a town's historical landscape.

In particular, I will focus on the town of Bagamoyo, which is located some 70 km north of Dar es Salaam. Within the current socio-political Tanzanian context, Bagamoyo is a rather unimportant town, with ca. 30,000 inhabitants. Yet in the last three decades of the 19th century it was the most important caravan terminal and seaport on what is now the Tanzanian coast, and for some years it was the capital of German East Africa. From local informants and tourist information material it was possible to collect nearly 30 street names. In the article, these names are analysed from a linguistic point of view and the naming motives given by local informants are presented. In the main part of the article the naming motives related to the caravan trade and German colonization will be compared with historical and archaeological sources. Here it can be shown that some of the names actually preserve memories which had otherwise been lost in the community's memory and/or contemporary written sources.

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1. Introduction

In her article about German street names, Elisabeth Fuchshuber-Weiß distinguishes between a *primary* and a *secondary* function of street names:

> "Grundsätzlich alle StraßenN[amen] dienen, indem sie Verkehrswege bezeichnen, der Orientierung. Aber sie besitzen neben dieser ‚Orientierungsfunktion', die als Primärfunktion bezeichnet werden könnte, noch eine andere. Sie transportieren auch immer, ob gewollt oder ungewollt, Botschaften ihrer Namengeber und -benutzer. Dieser Sachverhalt spiegelt ihre Sekundärfunktion, die man als 'Erinnerungsfunktion' bezeichnen könnte." [On principle, all street names provide orientation by indicating routes. Alongside this 'orientation function', which could be called primary function, they possess another one. Intentionally or unintentionally as may be, they always convey their name givers' or name users' messages. This reflects their secondary function, which could be called 'memory function'] (1996, 1468-1469)

In contemporary Western societies street names are first and foremost landmarks indispensable for everyday orientation. They guide our movements, indicate where people live and where buildings are located. In Tanzanian daily life, however, street names seem to have no such important orientation function. This minor importance of street names in terms of landmarks is shown most strikingly by the fact that "[m]any streets [...] in many towns in Tanzania, have no street names" (Mugerezi, 2002, 84). Accordingly, if you ask Tanzanians where they live, they will most probably not name a street but indicate their ward or *mtaa*: "Wards today […] act as […] addresses for which their occupants have loyalty and pride based on long habitation by a lineage's forebears" (Horton, Middleton, 2000, 155). A specific

building is located by the ward and a nearby well-known place like a mosque, a school or the home of an important person. But even though Tanzanians generally do not use street names for orientation, these names possess the secondary function indicated by Fuchshuber-Weiß. As will be shown in this article in the example of the town of Bagamoyo, Tanzanian street names can become an important depositary of the community's cultural memory.

Bagamoyo is located on the Indian Ocean, approximately 70 km north of Dar es Salaam. Currently it has about 30,000 inhabitants and is the capital of the District of Bagamoyo. Only in very recent years has it become "one of the most popular recreational and conference centres in Tanzania [and] a good number of foreign tourists resort to Bagamoyo for their last nights in Tanzania" (Mapunda, 2008, 1). The key factor in this recent development has been the completion of the tarmac road between Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo in 2003, which has given visitors relatively easy access to pristine beaches and a quiet unknown in the three-million-inhabitants city of Dar es Salaam. But what makes Bagamoyo really special is the town's history, since it was Tanganyika's most important seaport during the last decades of the 19th century. This glorious past is still tangible, thanks to numerous historical buildings in the town's centre.

As in its recent growth, the town's rise in the late 19th century was also strongly linked to communications. Before that time, however, very little is known about Bagamoyo and there is no record, either oral or written, about the year or even the period when the settlement was founded:

> It is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate how early the site was inhabited. Yet, this stretch of coast was certainly occupied by fishermen and cultivators long before the mid-eighteenth century. […] The earliest evidence of their presence is found in the town's cemeteries. Among more than forty tombs at Makaburini Mwana Makuka, the only two legible dates are read as: A.H. 1208 (= A.D. 1793/94) and A.H. 1228 (= A.D. 1813) (Brown, 1970, 71).

In the historical records, Bagamoyo appears for the first time in about 1850, when it is mentioned by two Arab traders as a caravan terminal (cf. Chami *et al.*, 2004, 26). Until the late 1850s the major caravan route to Western Tanganyika and the Lake Region "started from the coastal town of Kaole, a military and administrative centre of the Sultan of Zanzibar about five kilometres south of Bagamoyo" (Wimmelbücker, 2009, 12-13). The different hypotheses concerning the factors that led to the decline of the century-old settlement of Kaole and the contemporary rise of nearby Bagamoyo are beyond the scope of the present paper.[1] However, by the end of the 1860s Bagamoyo had become Zanzibar's gateway to the interior, as the starting point of the then most important caravan route leading to the Western region of Unyanyembe, where it then branched off to the lake regions, Zambia and the Congo. Because of its paramount economic importance, in 1888 Bagamoyo became the first capital of German East Africa. Although the capital was transferred as early as 1891 to Dar es Salaam, "Bagamoyo remained the colony's main export harbour at the terminus of the central caravan route" (Iliffe, 1979, 128), and its "surprising tenacity [allowed] Bagamoyo to remain the centre of regional trade and finance until around 1907" (Brennan, Burton, 2007, 28).

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[1] For a detailed discussion, see Chami *et al.*, 2004, 17-22. To the environmental factors and political decisions taken in Zanzibar discussed by Chami *et al.*, Wimmelbücker adds socio-political changes arriving from the interior: "From the 1860s on, however, caravans used to cross the Ruvu shortly after leaving Bagamoyo, traversing the more arid area north of the river. Apparently, this was a reaction to the formation of the Mbunga confederacy in the Mahenge area which extended its influence up to the Uluguru Mountains and partly destabilized the regions east of Morogoro" (2009, 7). That the Mbunga confederacy had been a real threat to the whole of the Bagamoyo area proved true during the Bushiri war (1888-1889), when a consistent number of Mbunga, who were also called *Mafiti*, allied with Bushiri's troops.

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Yet in the end it was once again communications that led to the town's inexorable fall. Bagamoyo's open beaches are most suitable for traditional Arab dhows but are too shallow for modern deep-draught ships. Therefore, ocean steamers and warships had to anchor at a minimum distance of two sea miles offshore (cf. Leue, 1900/1901, 13). The fact that Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, possesses a natural protected deep-water harbour led not only to the transfer of the capital but also decided the route of the central railway (begun in 1905) from Dar es Salaam to the Lake Region, which did (and still does) not touch Bagamoyo. Excluded from the major trade routes, the town "fell into ruin only to be rescued in the 1980s, when it was made a seat for district administration and more recently in an effort to declare it a World Heritage site" (Chami *et al*., 2004, 16). Since 2006 it has been on the *World Heritage Tentative List* as part of the *Tanganyika Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route*.[2]

In the following paper I will show that it is not only the town's historical centre that bears witness to the past. Rather, a good number of the existing street names are also an important means to preserve memories which, jointly with written history and archaeology, offer a reading of the town's historical landscape and in particular of its heyday in the last third of the 19th century. I will start by illustrating the sources and composition of the street name corpus (chapter 2). The corpus will then be described from a linguistic point of view. The analysis will deal with the general composition of the street names, and will compare the English versions found in guide books with current local use. I will then go on to discuss the morphological and lexical aspects of the specific elements in Swahili and will present the naming motives (chapter 3). Thereafter I will discuss in detail some of the street names in order to show their role in preserving knowledge of the town's history (chapter 4). The paper concludes with a short summary.

2. Bagamoyo Street Names: the Corpus

The basis of the following discussion are several interviews with my two informants, Samahani M. Kejeri[3] and in particular Aloys E. Malekela.[4] The interviews were conducted in 2010 and 2011, in Bagamoyo. The information thus gathered has been compared with both linguistic and historical data. In this chapter I will describe the type and scope of the corpus.

The starting point for the corpus was the *Bagamoyo Map*, which is part of the *Bagamoyo-Town-Guide* (2001, 6-7).[5] The map refers to the historical centre of the town and displays 15 street names. The *Town-Guide* also includes a list of guesthouses and restaurants which contains, among others, 5 street names not shown on the map (*ibid*., 13). To these my informants added another three names which are missing on the map. In addition, they gave the current local names where these were different from the names displayed on the map. Finally, two more names could be found on two street signs. All names relate to streets located in the historical town centre. Directly adjacent to the centre are the two streets indicated by

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[2] Cf. http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/2095/ [last visit: 4th October 2011].

[3] *Mzee* Samahani M. Kejeri is a well-known and respected community member: "He is a grandson of a famous farmer, Sheik Mtelekezo Mwinzikondo, who owned slaves. Soon after graduating […] in 1958 he joined Mr. Neville Chittick in an archaeological expedition that took them to Kaole, Tongoni and Kilwa. […] Between 1959 and 1976 he took different jobs before returning back to the Antiquities Department in 1977 where he worked until 1997, when he retired and joined the Catholic Museum [in Bagamoyo] where he worked until 2006" (Mapunda, 2008, 25).

[4] Aloys E. Malekela is director of *Ancient Ost Afrika Limited*, a tour operator based in Bagamoyo. I met him during a guided tour and he turned out to be extremely knowledgeable about the town's history. His ability to adapt to western discourse strategies is outstanding, which made our many talks smooth and pleasant. It was he who introduced me to *Mzee* Kejeri.

[5] The map is part of the bilingual (Swahili/English) *Bagamoyo-Town-Guide*. This small leaflet has no imprint except for *Printed by Peramiho Printing Press 3/2001*; the guide has 14 pages and is sold at the Catholic Museum, one of Bagamoyo's central tourist attractions.

street signs. According to my informants, this is nearly the totality of existing street names, since most of the streets outside the historical centre – which are mainly mere sand tracks – do not have names. Leaving aside for the moment the generic parts of the street names, I was able to collect 29 different names, which are listed in the following chart:

1. *Bandarini (Customs)*
2. *Bomani*
3. *Bongwa*
4. *Dunda*[6]
5. *George*

6. *Gongoni* (--)

7. **Jakaya* (--)

8. *Kauzeni* (--)
9. *Kitopeni Soga*
10. *Majengo*
11. *Makarani*
12. *Mangesani*

13. *Msata* (*Mtoni*; *Msata*)

14. *Mwambao*

15. *Mwanakalenge*
16. *Pumbuji* (--)
17. *Shuleni* (= *School*)
18. *Sokoni* (= *Market*)
19. *Uhuru* (*Caravan*; *Caravan Serai*; *Uhuru*)

20. **Uzaramo* (--)

21. *Vigae* (*India*/*Ocean*)

As can be seen from the chart, these 29 names relate to 21 different streets. The first element is always the current local name. Where there is only this element, current use and the *Town-Guide* are matching. The two elements marked with an asterisk are the ones found on street signs. An empty bracket means that the *Town Guide* does not mention the name, either in Swahili or in English. An English element in brackets means that the *Guide* uses either a literal translation of the local term (=) or a name which is not a semantic equivalent. Where there are two or more names in brackets divided by a semicolon, the *Guide* displays different names on the map and on the list *without* explaining that these names relate to the same street. Two names in brackets divided by slash indicate that the map displays them clearly as different names of the same street. Excluding the two direct translations, *Market* and *School*, there are, in all, 27 different names composed of 28 different specific elements. These will be discussed in the following chapter from a linguistic point of view.

3. Bagamoyo Street Names: linguistic analysis

The linguistic structure of street names is very similar in Swahili and English. In both languages the names have a generic and a specific part. All names in the corpus are built up of one generic and one specific term; only one comprises two specific terms (*Kitopeni Soga*). The generic element in Swahili is *Barabara ya* with *barabara* meaning indiscriminately 'street' and 'road', plus *ya,* which denotes relationship.[7] Unlike English, in Swahili the generic element precedes the specific one, the Swahili *Barabara ya George* thus becoming *George Rd/St* in English.

3.1. Linguistic structure of the street names in the **Town-Guide**

Although the *Town-Guide* is bilingual and the Swahili text precedes the English one, both on the map and in the list, the general element of the names is always in English, i.e. *street* or *road*. As can be seen from the chart above, some specific terms are in English (*Customs*,

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[6] *Dunda* is not, as the *Town-Guide* claims, a street, but a ward. For the importance of the historical meaning of the name it is included in the list (cf. chapter 4.3.).

[7] All lexical information is based on Höftmann, Herms, 2005; Legère, 2006; TUKI, 2001; TUKI, 2006. *TUKI* stands for *Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Swahili*, i.e. Institute for Swahili Studies. The institute is the successor organization of the *Inter-Territorial Language Swahili Committee,* which was founded in 1930 to carry out the codification and standardisation of the Swahili Language. Grammatical information is mainly based on Mohammed, 2008.

Market, *School*, *India/Ocean*), whereas the majority are displayed in Swahili. In these latter cases the street names have a hybrid form, with the generic part in English and the specific one in Swahili, e.g. *Bomani Road* or *Mwanakalenge Street*.

In two cases the specific English term expresses the Swahili meaning: *Market* (*Street*) is equivalent to (*Barabara ya*) *Sokoni* and *School* (*Street*) to (*Barabara ya*) *Shuleni*. The English *Customs* (*Road*), on the other hand, does not translate the Swahili version (*Barabara ya*) *Bandarini*, since *bandarini* means literally 'to the harbour'. The same applies to (*Barabara ya*) *Uhuru*, since *Uhuru* means 'freedom', and to (*Barabara ya*) *Vigae,* where *Vigae* means 'tiles'. It is not really clear on what grounds some terms have been translated into English and some have not. At first glance it could seem that there is an English version where the Swahili name can easily be translated. But if this is the case, why has *Mtoni Rd* not been translated into 'River Rd', *Mwambao Rd* rather than into 'Coast Rd', and *Uhuru Rd* not into 'Freedom Rd'?

3.2. Morphological and semantic analysis of the names' specific terms

The 28 specific elements can be subdivided into a group of 22 Swahili elements and a much smaller group of 6 English elements. From a morphological point of view, 12 of the 22 Swahili terms are common nouns that fully respect grammatical rules. In particular, they show two features common to Bantu languages, i.e. the use of a *locative marker* (cf. Raper, 1995, 257) and of *class markers*. The Swahili locative marker is the suffix *-ni*. *Sokoni*, for example, is made up of *soko* 'market' and *-ni* forming the meaning 'at/from/to the market'. One of the *class markers'* functions is to distinguish singular from plural forms. *Makarani*,[8] for example, is the plural of *karani* 'clerk'. The class marker *u-* attached to the stem of a noun that refers to human groups denotes their area of settlement. The specific terms which are regular common nouns are:

Specific element	Literal meaning	Specific element	Literal meaning
Bandarini	at/from/in/to/… the harbour	Mwambao	at/to/ … the coast
Bomani	at/to/ … the enclosure, fortress	Shuleni	at/ to/ … the school
Gongoni	at/to/ … the height, pinnacle, top	Sokoni	at/ to/ … the market
Majengo	buildings	Uhuru	freedom
Makarani	clerks	Uzaramo	area inhabited by the Zaramo[9]
Mtoni	at/to/ … the river	Vigae	tiles

The specific element *Bongwa* can be interpreted as the passive form of the verb *-bonga* 'bore a hole'. Alongside these 13 Swahili lexical items, there are 5 toponyms, i.e. *Dunda, Kitopeni, Msata, Pumbuji* and *Soga,* which are the names of nearby villages, whereas *Jakaya* is a personal name.

The specific elements *Mwanakalenge* and *Kauzeni* are composite forms. *Mwanakalenge* is a compound of the Swahili noun *mwana* 'child, offspring' and the Zaramo personal name *Kalenge*, meaning, according to my informants, 'son of Kalenge'. A linguistically very interesting form is *Kauzeni*. This specific element can be considered a *Satzname*, i.e. *sentence as name*, with the structure 'verb + verb'.[10] According to my informants, it can be divided in

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[8] The final *-ni* in *makarani* is not locative, but part of the stem.

[9] The *Zaramo* is the indigenous people living around Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam.

[10] For a general discussion of the term *Satzname,* cf. Hellfritzsch, 1995.

ka and *uzeni*, where *ka* is understood as an imperative form with the meaning 'go!'.[11] *Uzeni*, on the other hand, is the imperative of the second person plural of the verb *-uza* 'sell'. Therefore the meaning of *kauzeni* is 'go and sell!'. This particular formation pattern does not seem to be very frequent, but the explanations given by my informants are corroborated by other similar place names. According to Owens, one of the wards of pre-colonial Kunduchi (a still-existing settlement on the coast some 50 km south of Bagamoyo) was named *Kauzeni*, and his informants, too, explained that "[t]he name means «Go and sell it»" (2006, 730). Some five km south of Bagamoyo are located the village and nearby archaeological site of *Kaole*. According to Lui the name goes back to the Zaramo *chite chikalole* 'go and see' (n.d., 34). Another very similar example can be found in Zanzibar Stone Town, where one ward is named *Kajificheni*. As in *Kauzeni* and *Kaole*, the first element *ka* is interpreted as 'go!', whereas *jificheni* is the imperative of the second person plural of *-jificha* 'hide', therefore composing the meaning 'go and hide!'.[12] Only one of the 22 Swahili specific elements, i.e. *Mangesani,* has no retrievable lexical or onymic meaning.

The second, English, group consists of 5 nouns currently used in English, i.e. *Caravan*, *Caravan-Serai*, *Customs*, *India*, and *Ocean*, where the first two are strongly related to the specific historical context, as well as 1 English anthroponym, i.e. *George*. In the following paragraph I will indicate the naming motives as such. A sustained discussion of the interplay between (some of) the street names, history and archaeology will be offered in chapter 4.

3.3. Naming motives

From a topological point of view, the street names show an arbitrary distribution and most are linked to local conditions. This suggests that they are mostly traditional rather than conferred names. Apart from *Mangesani*,[13] which has no meaning at all, there are two street names whose naming motives have been lost. Although the specific terms *Bongwa* 'to be beaten' and *Gongoni* 'to the height' are meaningful, no plausible naming motive can be identified. Furthermore, the lexical meaning of the specific element *Makarani*, 'clerks', could suggest that originally the area had been the settlement site of "clerks". But, differently from the following naming motives, in this case it was not possible to find any evidence for such a hypothesis. The specific element *Dunda* will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Among the remaining 22 street names, the most prominent naming motive is *destination* (13 names), in particular nearby villages, particular buildings and places. The streets named *Kitopeni Soga* and *Msata* are the initial parts of the roads which lead to the homonymic nearby villages. Four names refer to buildings: *Caravan Serai Street* leads to the old *Caravan Serai*, which currently serves as the town's historical museum, whereas (*Barbabara ya*) *Bomani* 'to the fortress' is on the road to the German *Boma*, built 1895-1897 as residence of the German Colonial Government. The third is (*Barbabara ya*) *Shuleni*, 'to the school', where a primary school is located at the intersection with *Mwambao*. Finally, (*Barbabara ya*) *Majengo* 'buildings' is the street that leads to the ward named *Majengo mapya*, 'new buildings', a part of the town characterized by modern brick buildings. The reason why the place of Kalenge's son was so important that the street leading there is known as *Mwanakalenge* 'son of Kalenge' has not been passed down. George, on the other hand, is the owner of the *Alpha Hotel*, a little guesthouse in today's Bagamoyo, and the street leading there is generally known as (*Barbabara ya*) *George*. The northern end of (*Barbabara ya*)

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[11] It is not clear if, from an etymological point of view, *ka-* is derived from the Swahili verb *-enda* 'go' or from another African language, as suggested by Lui (n.d., 34).

[12] According to one of my Zanzibari informants, *Bwana Farid Himid*, the name recalls a natural tunnel where the local people used to hide from the Portuguese invaders. It is said that they were discovered and shot on the spot.

[13] Not only is there no identifiable meaning, but an internet search suggests that this particular street name is only found in Bagamoyo.

Mwambao 'to the coast', arrives at the border between the town and the mostly abandoned coast line. (*Barbabara ya*) *Sokoni* 'to the market', is where the old market was in fact located. As will be remembered, the *Town-Guide* version *Customs* (*Road*) is not a lexical equivalent of the Swahili (*Barabara ya*) *Bandarini* 'to the harbour'. The local name indicates that at the end of the street is situated the open-beach harbour. Instead, the street's English name refers to the presence of the tax authority's building, the so-called Custom's house. Finally, there is *Barabara ya Mtoni* 'to the river', which actually leads to the river *Ruvu*, also known as *Kingani*.

Four street names indicate that they were the *settlement sites* of particular population groups. The specific elements *India*, *Pumbuji* and *Uzaramo* are related to ethnic groups. Whereas *India* and *Uzaramo* 'area where the Zaramo live', directly refer to the Indian immigrants and the Zaramo people, the "traditional ethnic group in this region" (Chami *et al.*, 2004, 13), the relation between *Pumbuji* and the corresponding ethnic group, immigrants from what is now Pakistan, is rather indirect. According to my informants, *Pumbuji* is the original name of Kaole.[14] In *Pumbuji/Kaole* was located a garrison of Baluch soldiers, a kind of *Swiss Guard* of the Sultans of Zanzibar (cf. Prins, 1967, 16; Mangat, 1969, 13) who later moved to Bagamoyo. There they were addressed as *Pumbuji*, i.e. the ones who came from Pumbuji. *Kauzeni* is interesting not only from a formal point of view, but also with regard to the naming motive. The place named *Kauzeni* was an area where wealthy people lived. Therefore (poorer) people who had something to sell were advised to go there and sell their goods, the exhortation 'go and sell!' finally becoming the street's name.

Two names refer to *particular features* displayed by the corresponding streets. At a certain point *India St* was renamed *Ocean Rd*, pointing to the fact that the street runs parallel to the shore. The locals, however, currently refer to the street by the name (*Barabara ya*) *Vigae* 'tiles', giving importance to the fact that it is the only paved street in the whole town. A *particular purpose* is the naming motive of *Caravan Rd*. The specific element points to the fact that this is the road used by caravans arriving from or leaving Bagamoyo for the interior. The only names which are clearly conferred ones evidence the naming motives *commemoration* and *personality cult*. The liberation from colonialism was celebrated throughout Tanzania by (re-)naming streets with the specific term *Uhuru* 'freedom'. *Jakaya Drive*, instead, the only street name displayed by an *official* street sign, refers to the current Tanzanian president, Jakaya Kikwete, who was born in the district of Bagamoyo.

4. Reading the historical landscape

Below I will illustrate by selected examples how street names, history and archaeology jointly offer a reading of Bagamoyo's historical landscape. First I will show that not only do eyewitness accounts from the German colonial period shed light on the development of both the town and the street names, they also corroborate and further explain some of the naming motives offered by my informants. Thereafter I will discuss in detail some street names which are linked to the two central themes of the town's history, i.e. the caravan trade and German colonisation. As will be shown, these names preserve knowledge about the town's history which otherwise threatens to disappear.

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[14] This information is corroborated by Lui: "Kabla ya kuitwa **KAOLE** palikuwa panaitwa **PUMBUJI** [Before it was called Kaole, the place was named Pumbuji] (n.d., 34; emphasis in original) as well as by the dictionary entry: "Pumbuji ancient town South of Bagamoyo" (TUKI, 2001, 272).

4.1. Bagamoyo in eyewitness accounts

The Swahili noun *mtaa* (plural: *mitaa*) can be translated as 'town quarter', 'street/avenue' or 'suburb'. This somewhat undefined meaning can be explained by the underlying structure common to traditional Swahili settlements:

> Houses […] are arranged in clusters, with streets and alleyways between them. […] Dwelling houses are single-story, rarely of stone, the streets are of sand, and the general impression is one of large and rather untidy villages […]. The main unit of settlement is the "town" (*mji*), a self-contained unit with its own sense of identity, its own proprietary citizens, its own lands, and its own organs of internal self-government. A part of the town that is spatially separate may be referred to by the diminutive form *kijiji* (pl. *vijiji*); this may be translated as "village", but it remains a section of a town, which is thus a cluster of villages. […] The whole town is surrounded by its townlands in the bush […] Towns are divided into moieties (*mitaa*, sing. *mtaa*). […] Moieties are typically separated by an open stretch of land on which stands the congregational mosque. Towns are divided into wards or quarters, for which the word *mtaa* is also used" (Middleton, 1992, 69-70; emphasis in original).

It seems that the idea of planned street lines was introduced by the German colonialists. Richelmann, military district official of Bagamoyo in 1889, describes vividly the difficulties caused by the German directive to build new houses along traced-out street lines (cf. Richelmann, 1892, 138-139). In a textbook for learners of Swahili as a foreign language, there are several descriptive texts about coastal settlements under German control, and among these there is a text about Bagamoyo. In this text only two streets are named, i.e. *Zollstraße* (Customs Rd) and *njia ya wahindi* (with the German translation 'Inder-Straße'[15] in brackets). At the same time, there are 21 names of *mitaa* 'wards', among them *Pumbuji*, *Kauzeni*, *Mangesani*, *Dunda*, *Kwa mwana Kalenge*, and *Gongoni* (Rutz, 1908, 159). Based on this list, some interesting observations can be made. Whereas *Dunda* is still the name of a ward, the others, in the meantime, have become street names documenting a change in the town's underlying – or perceived – structure. Furthermore, the explicit form *Kwa mwana Kalenge* 'to the child + Kalenge' corroborates my informants' claim that *Kalenge* is a proper name and that the name has a locative meaning no longer expressed in the current version, *Mwanakalenge*.

In the same text we can read the following passage: "Ukiondoka pwani, kwenda mjini, utapita njia, ikwitwayo Zollstraße, utaona kwa kuume mtaa wa wahindi" [Going from the beach into the town, you will meet the street which is called Zollstraße, and you will see on the right the Indian quarter] (*ibid.*). Indeed, coming from the beach the westbound *Zollstraße*/*Customs Rd* very soon intersects northbound *India St*, where Rutz locates the Indian quarter. Leue, another German official, points out that the Indian quarter is situated "auf dem etwa 15 m hohen Meeresufer" (Leue, 1900/1901, 15), i.e. on a 15-meter-high terrace. Indeed, in relation to the beach the town has an elevated position. Despite ongoing siltation which "is caused by the material brought by many small and large rivers empting [sic] into the ocean and winds reaching the central coast from the southeast dragging the sand further north along the beach" (Chami *et al.*, 2004, 5) and which has raised the level of the beaches in the last century, the difference in altitude between beach and town is still marked. *India St* actually forms the border between the historical town centre and the more or less steeply sloping shore. From these indications it can be inferred that the name *India St* actually refers to the old *mtaa wa wahindi*, the Indian quarter.

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[15] Differently from the English version *India St*, the Swahili and the German specific elements mean 'Indian people'.

In his detailed description of Bagamoyo, made around 1890 (Leue, 1900/1901), the author names the following streets: *Inderstraße* (16), *Kaiserstraße* (21), *Zollstraße* (22), *Gravenreuthstraße* (22) and *Sewa-Hadji-Straße* (22). Besides the already mentioned *Inderstraße* and *Zollstraße*, the other three names celebrate contemporary historical persons: *Kaiserstraße*, naturally, refers to the German Emperor Wilhelm II; *Gravenreuthstraße* to a German officer who had a significant part in the suppression of the so-called "Arab revolt" (cf. 4.3.); and *Sewa-Hadji-Straße* to one of the most important Indian settlers in Bagamoyo, who donated several large stone buildings to the German colonialists. In this context, some doubt exists regarding information gathered in Bagamoyo (orally and from a photograph caption displayed in the Catholic Museum) claiming that the German colonialists renamed the whole of *India St Kaiserstraße*, while from Leue's description and from two enclosed photographs (1900/1901, 16 and 20) it would seem that only the part from the southern end up to the German Boma was called *Kaiserstraße*, with the longer northern part continuing to be called *Inderstraße*, i.e. India St.

The historical *Kaiserstraße* is crossed by (*Barabara ya*) *Bomani*; it has been said above that the street is called *Bomani* because it leads to the German *Boma*. However, it is also the case that the word *boma* is often read as an acronym of *British Overseas Management Administration*.[16] In this case the naming motive given above, i.e. 'leading to the *German* boma', would not be correct. On the other hand, The Swahili-English dictionary TUKI labels *boma* as a Swahili noun of Persian origin with the meanings 'enclosure', 'fort', 'fortress', 'stockade', 'bulwark', 'government offices' (2001, 29). Further evidence in favour of the non-acronymic interpretation can be found in a historical Swahili poem about the German conquest of the Swahili coast (Miehe *et al*., 2002, 118-188), whose Swahili author repeatedly uses the noun *boma* in reference to the fortified camp built by the Germans' adversaries:

Jeshi ikarudi nyuma wakenda lijenga boma kwa majiti mema mema na malango yakatiwa	[Abushiri's] forces went back to build a fortress of well fitted poles. And a gate was fixed (Miehe *et al*., 2002, 158, stanza 364)[17]

The *boma* mentioned in the poem was conquered by the Germans: "Nach heftigem Gefecht wurde die Boma erstürmt und Buschiri verjagt" [After a violent battle the boma was conquered and Bushiri chased away] (Leue, 1900/1901: 17). As can be seen from the quotation, in contemporary German descriptions the Swahili noun *boma* is used to denote the fortified camps of the African adversary (cf. also Behr, 1891, 128; Leue, 1900/1901, 17; Schmidt, 1892, 29). In addition, in *Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* the term *boma* is used to denote the residential part of a fortified military and religious centre erected prior to 1000 CE (cf. Insoll, 2003, 155). At this point it is clear that the acronymic reading of *boma* has to be considered pure folk etymology, and the naming motive given for (*Barabara ya*) *Bomani* remains valid.

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[16] Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boma_%28enclosure%29 [last visit: 26.08.2011] and personal communications in Tanzania.

[17] Other stanzas referring to Abushiri's *boma*, i.e. his fortified camp in the vicinity of Bagamoyo (cf. 4.3.), are: 412 and 414, p. 164; 480 and 481, p. 171; 485, p. 172.

4.2. Bagamoyo and the caravan trade

As already mentioned, Bagamoyo's rise to becoming the most important seaport on the Tanganyika coast was triggered by the fact that around 1860 it had become the terminal of the then extremely important central caravan route. Traders like the famous Tippu Tip (cf. Brode, 1905) and European explorers like Speke and Stanley (cf. Stanley, 1872) set out for the interior from Bagamoyo. The importance of the caravan trade is reflected by the fact that the street where caravans entered or left the town is still known as *Caravan St*. Another street name which is closely connected with the caravan trade is (*Barabara ya*) *Mtoni* 'to the river'. In fact, the continuation of the street leads to the river. But for caravans it was not just the road to the river, but to the exact place where they could safely *cross* the river: "Die wichtigste von beiden [war] die sogenannte Mtoni-Fähre – hier überschreitet die große Karawanenstraße den Fluß" [The more important of the two (was) the so-called Mtoni-ferry – where the great caravan road crosses the river] (Richelmann, 1892, 114). Today the name *Mtoni* is no longer in use. Yet the replacement of *Mtoni* by *Msata* is still associated with transport routes, since the village *Msata* has become a very important junction for north and southbound traffic. In fact, the road still crosses the Ruvu/Kingani River, where the old crossing point has become the village *Mtoni*.

Still more important for the preservation of memories connected with the caravan trade is the name *Caravan-Serai St*:

> The American Heritage Dictionary has defined caravan-serai as a large inn or hostelry. Understanding the history of a town's caravan-serai would therefore entail the understanding of the history of the town in terms of trade and hence its importance in relation to the larger regional and probably world economy (Chami *et al.*, 2004, 2).

In Bagamoyo, the origins of the stone-built caravan-serai go back to the years between 1870-1880; at that time it was located outside the town centre. In 2001 and 2002 two excavation campaigns were undertaken with the objective of testing the historical and oral records archaeologically. One of these records was the oral tradition that the building had been a place for the storage of slaves before they were shipped to Zanzibar. Indeed, during their stay in Bagamoyo the archaeologists found out that:

> The real surprising thing about the history of Bagamoyo is that few, if any at all, remember how the caravan-serai looked before 1950. One old man could only remember that at one time there had been many rooms in caravan-serai and another person remembers a developer who built the place using bricks. *The only story shared by virtually everyone is that the place had housed slaves* […] (Chami *et al.* 2004: 9; emphasis added).

In the history of the Middle East and the Near East, caravansaries were places of great importance, comparable to palaces and religious centres (cf. *ibid*., 2). If the Bagamoyo building had actually been used as a storage place for slaves it would not have been a caravan-serai. The excavations, however, were able to ascertain that the Bagamoyo caravan-serai had all characteristics displayed by this type of building: a large quadrangular building, a spacious courtyard, a number of small rooms and a large gateway (cf. *ibid*., 59). The archaeologically-established existence of the caravan-serai is supported by Leue in his detailed report on Bagamoyo:

> "Außerdem unterhält die D.O.A.G. noch die vor etwa 10 Jahren in nächster Nähe der Stadt erbaute Karawanserei. Die letztere besteht aus einem steinernen Mittelbau, der zur Aufbewahrung des Elfenbeins und sonstiger wertvoller Ausfuhrartikel dient, und aus etwa einem Dutzend großer,

wellblechgedeckter Schuppen zur Unterbringung der Träger. Während der Karawanensaison […] kommt es nicht selten vor, daß gegen 10000 fremde Träger in der Karawanserei hausen." [Furthermore, the D.O.A.G. (German East Africa Company) runs the caravansary, which was built about 10 years ago near the town. The caravansary comprises a central stone building which is used for the storage of ivory and other valuable export items, and approximately a dozen large sheds with corrugated sheet roofs where the porters dwell. During the caravan season […] it happens repeatedly that approximately 10,000 foreign porters dwell in the caravansary] (Leue, 1900/1901, 22).[18]

4.3. Bagamoyo under German colonial rule

Several buildings and monuments still recall the German colonial period. Besides the above-mentioned German *Boma*, the following are known as *German* buildings: the Old Post (1893), the first post office in Tanganyika; the Customs House (1895), still used by the (now Tanzanian) tax authorities; the Block House (1889), built as a defensive fortification during the Bushiri War (see below); and a cemetery with 20 tombs of German soldiers. In contrast, there is only one street name, i.e. (*Barabara ya*) *Bomani,* which directly recalls the German colonial period, since it is immediately associated with the German *boma*. Yet there is another name closely linked to the colonial period, i.e. *Dunda*, which has been the most challenging name in this whole research project.

Since Bagamoyo had become the leading coastal town by the end of the 1880's, German dominion began here on 15th August 1888 – and it began with a war. The conflict is generally known as the *Bushiri War*, after one of the leading figures on the African side, Bushiri bin Salim;[19] whereas the Germans at that time deliberately called it *Araberaufstand,* the 'Arab revolt' (cf. Behr, 1891; Schmidt, 1892, 22-23; Leue, 1905, 114; Müller, 1959; Iliffe, 1979, 88 et sqq):

> Like many other imperial adventures of the time, this one was justified as a move against the slave trade. It became politically expedient for the Germans to characterize the movement against them as an "Arab revolt", engineered by Omanis and other Arabs in an effort to preserve their position as the region's premier slave traders, planters and power-brokers (Glassman, 1995, 6).

Closely connected to the Bushiri war is the name *Dunda*, which represents a superb example of the preservation of the memory of historical events through names. At that time *Dunda* was "a small settlement close to a shallow section or ford of the Ruvu (Kingani) River about twenty kilometres southwest of Bagamoyo" (Wimmelbücker, 2009, 7). At the beginning, Bushiri's troops were able to take all the German-controlled towns except Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. So he built a fortified camp, the one recalled in the Swahili poem above, which was located between Bagamoyo and the village *Dunda*. Therefore, the naming motive of the ward *Dunda* seems to be that the road to the homonymous village starts from there.

But my informants told me a completely different story about the name's meaning. They narrated about a man named *Dunda*, who had lived in Bagamoyo during the Bushiri War and had helped the Germans build the above-mentioned Block House, which is located at the bottom of the road that once lead to the village, *Dunda*. Subsequently the man *Dunda* was captured by Bushiri's troops. He was considered a collaborationist and was punished at the part of the body that he had committed the betrayal with: his hands were chopped off. Then he was sent back to the Germans to deliver the message that Bushiri's troops had not yet been defeated.

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[18] The enclosed photograph (Leue, 1900/1901, 22) shows without doubt that it is the same building site where the excavations took place.

[19] In some Swahili texts (e.g. Miehe *et al*., 2002) and in Iliffe (1979) he is called *Abushiri.*

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Since for a long time I couldn't find any trace of the story in my written sources,[20] I began to consider it mere folk etymology. Intrigued by the story, however, I continued to search for evidence, and finally I found a number of publications that give an account of the same story, for example:

> Wissmann's troops arrived at the coast in April [1889]; by May he felt they were ready for action, and he wanted only a pretext for violating the cease-fire. He got it early that month when the rebels captured a stonemason employed by the Company: Bushiri had the *fundi's* [craftsman's] hands hacked off and sent him back to Bagamoyo with a defiant message (Glassman, 1995, 253).

Though the story told is almost the same, there is one small difference. Most sources report the name of the man as *Dunia* (Perbandt, Richelmann, Schmidt, 1906, 207; Richelmann, 1892, 12; Schmidt, 1892, 52, 53, 161, 162; Müller, 1959, 439), Hirschberg as *Dunir* (1895, 71) and Brown as *Dundir* (1970, 81). My informants, on the other hand, call him *Dunda*. Therefore, there is a bit of folk etymology. In any case, whichever the original name of this poor man was, over the course of time it has been replaced by *Dunda* in Bagamoyo. Actually, there are some concomitant factors that can explain this replacement. First of all, the village named *Dunda* has disappeared. When the memory of the place had vanished as well, there was a new naming motive needed. At the same time the memory of the *fundi's* fate was still vivid, the memory of the man who is still known to have helped the Germans build the Block House or *Dunda Tower*. According to my informants, the latter is believed to be called *Dunda* Tower because the *fundi Dunda* had participated in its construction. Furthermore, *Dunda* could be understood as a kind of nickname, since the verb *-dunda* means '(to) beat' and the derivational form *-dundua* 'to be a cripple'.[21]

Probably we will never know the real name of this poor man. But his fate seems to have left a strong impression on his contemporaries. Apart from the reports written by German colonialists, he has been immortalized by a photograph (exhibited in the Catholic Museum in Bagamoyo and reproduced in Glassman, 1995, 254) and in the Swahili poem *The Conquest of the Swahili Coast*. In the poem is mentioned a letter sent from von Gravenreuth "to Bwana Heri [one of Bushiri's allies] in which he required him to surrender" (Miehe *et al.*, 2002, 174), and which contains a hint at the *fundi*, too:

Na fundi yangu huyuno	And that craftsman whose hands
ulomkata mikono	you cut off, was my agent.
usinisahau mno	Don't forget me too much!
kaa ukikumbukiya	Do remember me sometimes (*ibid.*, stanza 507)

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[20] In fact, in my principal sources about the history of Tanganyika and of Bagamoyo (Alpers, 1969; Henschel, 2009; Iliffe, 1979; Lui, n.d.; Mapunda, 2008; Ndunguru, Kadelya, Henschel, n.d.; Pesek, 2005), *Dunda* is mentioned, if at all, only as a village.

[21] With regard to *Dunia, Dunir* and *Dundir*, an internet search gave no results at all for *Dunir* and *Dundir. Dundir* is reported by Brown who, however, indicates Hirschberg as his source (Brown, 1970, footnote 106). Since Hirschberg indicates the name as *Dunir* (1895, 71) it is possible that Brown's version is a mere typographical error. At the same time, *Hirschberg 1895* is the collection of Captain Hirschberg's letters and diaries, edited posthumously by his widow. Therefore, it is possible that *Dunir* is the result of a transcription error. *Dunia,* on the other hand, is a Swahili noun meaning 'earth' and 'world'. Although there is, e.g., a safari camp named *Dunia*, the name is not considered a proper name: "The name "Dunia" was merely chosen due to the Swahili definition of earth/soil & is not associated with any person or place" (Email communication by Liesa Torina from *Asilia Africa, Camps, Lodges, Safaris*, September 22, 2011).

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But first and foremost, he is remembered down to the present day by his fellow citizens through the re-interpretation of the ward name *Dunda*.

5. Conclusion

Whereas many of the names discussed above undoubtedly help to preserve the memory of events that delineate the town's history, and especially its heyday in the last part of the 19th century, there are other aspects which would seem to be consigned to oblivion. In particular, the name *India St* has not only been replaced by *Ocean Rd* and currently by *Barabara ya Vigae*, but it seems that the memory of the important role played by the Indian community with respect to the caravan trade – and therefore the rise of Bagamoyo – is also destined to oblivion. For example, the (still existing) *Shule ya Msingi Mwambao* or Mwambao Primary School is remembered first and foremost as the first interracial school opened in German East Africa. Nearly forgotten is the fact that the building – together with a series of other stone buildings – was donated by the Indian merchant Sewa Haji Paroo (1851-1897). Another example for this vanishing memory is the Shia Ithna Asheri Mosque located on *India Street*. The Mosque, opened in 1889, occupies a very large area and is an impressive testimony to the wealthy Indian community whose number had grown to around 1500 in the 1880s. Nevertheless the Mosque is not included in guided tours and information about the Indian community is scarce in general. However, this topic cannot be discussed here, and not only for lack of space. The relations between Africans and the various immigrant communities, whether colonizers or simple settlers, is a highly complex subject of its own, and today's attitudes cannot be understood without a thorough discussion of the historical context and is therefore beyond the scope of the present paper.[22] But it should be said that, apart from vanishing historical memories, in today's Bagamoyo the various ethnic groups seem to have laid the grounds for peaceful and productive coexistence and cooperation (cf. Mlacha, 2004).

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[22] For a detailed discussion of the century-old relations between the East African Coast and the western Indian Ocean, the Asian immigration, racial division in colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the struggle for independence see Glassman, 2011; Iliffe, 1979; Mangat, 1969; Sheriff, 1987 and 2010).

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