TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	xxx
Summary	xxxii
Resumé	xxxiv
Fihinkevitra	xxxv
Chapter 1	
The Land: Climate, Geology, Geomorphology, Flora and Fauna	1
Climate, currents and hydrology	1
The climate and hydrology of the south	3
Geology	4
The geology and geomorphology of the south	5
Geomorphological and geochronological investigations	7
The dune sequence	7
Stratigraphic units	7
Chronological framework and palaeoenvironmental significance	8
Alluvial deposits within the Manambovo estuary	9
Flora	11
Flora of the south	11
Fauna	13
Fauna of the south	14
Chapter 2	
The People: the Tandroy and their Neighbours	15
Tandroy social structure	17
The living and the dead	18
Cattle and social status	18
Gifts and obligations	10
Taboos and prohibitions: <i>faly</i>	19
Places and positions of authority	20
Hazomanga	20
Mpisoro and mpandenta	20
Ombiasa	21
Fakanalana	21
Life in a Tandroy village	21
The house	22
Food and water	22
Alcohol and tobacco	25
Cloth, dress and accoutrements	26
Dancing, singing and wrestling	26
The Tandroy lifecycle	26
Birth and childhood	26
Circumcision	28
Marriage and adulthood	29
The four steps of marriage	29
Sex and adultery	29

Transvestism and homosexuality	29
Death and funerals	29
Dying young	30
Funerals	30
Tsimahaivelo	30
Anak'ampela	33
Basimena	34
Fandofo	34
Hair-cutting	35
Fafa	36
Tandroy tombs	36
Erecting a standing stone	36
Cattle and the dead	39
Social conventions for burials	39
Tandroy tombs in historical perspective	39
Funerary ritual in historical perspective	41
Twentieth-century changes in Tandroy life	41
Chapter 3	
The Project: Archaeological Objectives and Methods	43
Background	43
Previous work in the south	43
The context of the project	44
Research aims and objectives	47
Survey areas	47
River valleys and hills	49
Vohidolo-Amanda	49
Faritsoke	49
Bevotry	49
Angavo	51
Tsihombe	53
Jafaro-Amandabe	53
Berenty	53
The Middle Menarandra	53
Beraketa	54
The Manambovo basin survey	54
The sand plateau	55
Ambaro-Laparoy	55
Montefeno-Anjampenorora	56
Andrañanivo	58
Soalapa	58
Belindo-Benonoke	58
Amanda, southern Karembola	60
Coasts and rivermouths	60
Talaky and the Manambovo rivermouth	60
Cap Sainte Marie	60
The Mandrare rivermouth	60
Faux Cap	62
Maroaloke	62

Kotoala	62
Anavoha	63
The Menarandra rivermouth	63
The Linta rivermouth	63
Survey methods and circumstances	64
Remote-sensing satellite imagery	64
Aerial photography	64
Oral history	64
Field survey	64
Survey in the river valleys and hills	66
Survey on the sand plateau	66
Coastal survey	66
Excavation methods and circumstances	66
The excavations	66
The nature of the archaeological deposits	67
Excavation and recording techniques	67
Ceramic petrology and clay sources (by Alan Vince)	68
Geology	68
Clay sources	68
Chapter 4	
Extinction of the Megafauna and Earliest Human Occupation	69
Problems with the early dates for human arrival	70
Sub-fossil remains	71
Extinct fauna of the south	71
Lemuroids	71
Non-primate mammals	71
Reptiles	71
Ratites	71
Sub-fossil sites in the south	72
Anavoha	73
The Mandrare rivermouth	75
Talaky	75
Eggshells of Aepyornis and Mullerornis	75
The geographical and chronological distribution of Aepyornis eggshells in the south	76
Faux Cap	77
Kotoala	77
Maroaloke	78
Cap Sainte Marie and the western littoral	78
Talaky	78
Human colonisation: the earliest occupation sites in the south	79
The mouth of the Menarandra	80
Pottery	80
Ceramic petrology (by Alan Vince)	82
Other possible early sites	83
Sites with later East African ceramics of the eleventh to twelfth centuries	84
Pottery	85
Discussion	85
Occupation sites with Aepyornis eggshells	86

Talaky	86
The topography	86
Sites on the east bank: Areas A and B	86
Sites on the west bank: Area C	87
Excavations at site 243 (Talaky VII)	88
Excavations at sites 244, 247 and 252 at Talaky	88
Radiocarbon dating of occupation layers and Aepyornis eggshells at Talaky	88
Chronological mismatches of eggshell and charcoal	88
Conclusion	90
Maroaloke	90
Kotoala	90
Cap Sainte Marie	91
Bevala Beach	91
Reampeko, east of the Menarandra rivermouth	91
Ambohibola	93
Other occupation sites with eggshells	93
Other coastal sites	94
Inland sites	94
Occupation sites with remains of other extinct species	95
Andranosoa	96
Bekatrafay/Beankany	96
Beropitika	96
Human colonisation and megafaunal extinction	96
Rates of extinction	96
Hypothesis A	97
Hypothesis B	97
Hypothesis C	98
Legends of the roc	98
Conclusion: the earliest Malagasy?	99
Site inventory	100
Locales with large quantities of Aepyornis eggshell fragments	100
Sub-fossil sites without definitive evidence of associated human activity	100
Occupation sites with remains of Aepyornis sp. eggshell	101
Sites of East African TIW (pre-Andranosoa) and PW ceramics	101
Chapter 5	
The Proto-Urban <i>Manda</i> Civilisation of the Tenth	
to Thirteenth Centuries	102
Introduction	102
Major settlement sites	103
The five large manda	103
Andranosoa	104
Andasy Meriñe	105
Mandan d'Ramananga	108
Mandameriñe at Mafelefo	108
Settlement distribution	108
River valleys and hills: the Manambovo catchment	110
Amanda and its environs	111
Faritsoke	112

Bevotry	112
Maienkandro	114
Ankotsobe at Vohimena	115
Mañolodroe at Vohipary	115
Varavaña	116
Beropitika	116
Androvontsy	117
River valleys and hills: the Mandrare, Menarandra and Linta catchments	118
Coasts and rivermouths	120
Settlement and society	124
The manda	125
A settlement hierarchy	125
Imports	126
Chronology – Andaro to Beropitika styles	126
Andaro	127
Location and surface features	127
Aims and objectives	127
The surface survey	129
The walls	129
Interior stone features	130
Finds distribution	130
Trench 1	132
The house platform 011	132
Special deposits and other features outside the house	133
Trench 2	138
The trackway	138
The pits and features east of the trackway	140
The house in the southeast extension	142
The complete pot from south of Trench 2	143
Trench 3 – the defences	143
The quartz wall	144
The timber palisade	145
The absolute dating: radiocarbon and optically stimulated luminescence	147
Radiocarbon dating	147
Optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating	152
Discussion	152
Pottery	154
Forms	155
Rims	156
Bases	156
Decoration	156
Handles	156
Discussion	156
The distribution and density of imported ceramics and glass	156
Imported ceramics (by Seth M.N. Priestman)	157
Sgraffiato	159
Sgraffiato-related classes	161
Sgraffiato fabrics	163

Other classes	163
Discussion	165
Glass beads (By Bako Rasoarifetra and Marilee Wood)	167
Glass	167
Stone artefacts	168
Copper alloy artefacts	168
Slag	169
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	169
Summary	170
Talaky	171
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 2	172
Radiocarbon dating	174
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 4	174
Radiocarbon dating	174
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 6	174
Radiocarbon dating	174
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 7	174
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 8	174
Radiocarbon dating	176
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 9	176
Radiocarbon dating	177
Excavations on Site 252 – Trench 10	177
The excavation	177
Radiocarbon dating	178
Optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating	178
Pottery	179
Conclusion	182
Imported pottery	182
Artefacts	182
Worked stone	184
Coral	184
Calcareous sandstone artefacts	185
Clay weight	185
Iron	185
Shell	185
Faunal remains: molluscs, animal bones and fish bones	185
Discussion	187
Maroaloke	192
The excavation	192
Pottery	194
Radiocarbon dating	194
The ceramic petrology of Andranosoa-period pottery (by Alan Vince)	194
Andaro-type basins	194
Geology	194
Petrology	194
Other Andranosoa-period vessels	195
Geology	195
Coarse fabrics	197

Fine fabrics	198
Haematite-tempered fabrics	199
Summary	199
Discussion	199
Sites of this period	201
Settlements and other sites	201
Ironworking sites	202
Chapter 6	
Defence and Decline in the Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries	203
Introduction	203
Settlement distribution	203
River valleys and hills	203
Coasts and rivermouths	208
The sand plateau	209
Settlement and society	209
Continuity in the eastern Manambovo catchment	209
Reduction in settlement sizes and numbers	210
Defence and warfare	210
Ironworking	211
Declining imports	211
Sakatovo Rivermouth	213
Pottery	214
Chinese celadon	216
Other artefacts	216
Ampahijolike	216
Aims and methods	218
The surface survey	219
Sherds and bone distribution	219
Slag	219
Imported celadon and glass	220
Other finds	221
Interpretation of the surface survey results	221
The excavation	222
Trenches 1 and 2	222
Trench 3	222
Trench 4	222
The house sequence in Trench 4	224
Radiocarbon dating	228
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	230
Pottery	234
Rims	234
Bases	234
Forms	234
Decoration	234
Other ceramic artefacts	236
Stone artefacts	236
Iron	237
Slag	237

Charcoal	238
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	239
Chronology	239
Conclusion	239
Talaky	240
Excavations on Site 244 – Trench 1	240
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 2	242
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 3	243
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 5	245
Excavations on Site 247 – Trench 8	247
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	247
Pottery	247
Fishing equipment	247
Fired clay weights	247
Stone weights	248
Shell-grinding stones	248
Shell spoon	248
Faunal remains: molluscs and fish bones	248
Conclusion	249
Bevala Beach	249
The archaeological sequence	249
Radiocarbon dating	249
Ceramic petrology (by Alan Vince)	249
Coarse fabrics	252
Fine fabrics	253
Marly fabrics	253
Summary	253
Discussion	254
Sites of this period	256
Settlements	256
Ironworking sites	257
Undated stone walls	257
Chapter 7	
Migration, Isolation and European Contact in the	
Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	258
Introduction	258
Settlement distribution	262
Ceramic styles and chronology	262
River valleys and hills	268
Coasts and rivermouths	269
The sand plateau	272
Settlement and society	272
Continuity and desertion in the Manambovo catchment	275
Oral traditions	275
Surveillance and authority	277
Gender relations and settlement patterns	277
From imported ceramics to guns	278
The European arrival	278

Who were the Ampatois?	281
Trañovato – Portuguese fort or Swahili house?	282
Dating	287
Montefeno	288
The size and character of the site	288
Excavation objectives, circumstances and methods	289
The excavation	289
Trench 1 – seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century occupation	290
Trench 2 – the northwestern edge of the site	291
Trench 3 – a house floor and deposits	293
The stratigraphy	293
The house floor – layer 53	294
Below the house floor	296
An overview of the finds	296
Trenches 4 and $5 -$ the northeast side of the site	298
Radiocarbon and optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating	300
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	301
Pottery	305
Fabric	305
Surface treatment	305
Form	307
Rims	307
Decoration	313
Other ceramic artefacts	315
Gunflint and flaked stone	315
Metal ornaments	316
Beads (by Bako Rasoarifetra)	316
Iron artefacts	316
Slag	317
Bone artefacts	317
Cowrie shells	317
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	317
House foundation deposit	317
Discussion	318
Ceramic petrology (by Alan Vince)	319
Coarse fabrics	319
Fine fabrics	321
Summary	321
Discussion	322
Sites of this period	326
Settlements	326
Ironworking sites	328
hapter 8	
Expansion of the Tandroy Kingdom in the Eighteenth and	
Nineteenth Centuries: History and Archaeology	329
Introduction	329
Robert Drury's Journal: shipwreck and massacre in 1703	329
Settlement distribution	330

Oral history and settlement identification	330
Ceramic chronology	331
Settlement numbers and sizes	333
River valleys and hills	334
The sand plateau	334
Coasts and rivermouths	337
Settlement and society	337
Reconstructing the political geography of 1703-1709	338
Migrations and movement	342
Population growth	343
Cactus and other cultigens	343
European imports	345
Belitsaky – a European shipwreck	345
The bell	345
The two iron cannon	346
The date and provenance of the ship	350
Matching the Degrave with the Belitsaky wreck	351
Other material remains of the Degrave? The Bodhisattva figurine	352
Mionjona	352
Was this Robert Drury's first village?	354
Aims and objectives	354
The size and character of the site	354
Investigation circumstances	356
The surface survey	356
Methods	356
Artefact densities and soil coloration	356
Distributions of other artefacts	356
The layers beneath colluvium at the west end of the site	359
The excavations	360
Test pits 1-4	360
Trench 5 – the central part of the site	360
Trench 6 – the northwest perimeter of the site	360
Trench 6 – the house platform	363
Trench 7 – the northeast quadrant	365
Trench 8 – the west end	365
Optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating	370
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	370
Pottery	370
Form	370
Surface treatment	370
Rims	370
Decoration	370
Overview	373
Imported ceramics	373
Glass	374
Iron	374
Non-ferrous metals	374
Stone tobacco pipes	374

Pipe roughouts and pipe-making debris	377
Beads (by Bako Rasoarifetra)	377
Worked stone	379
Gunflints	379
Musket balls	380
Fired clay	381
Slag	381
Faunal remains (By Lucien Rakotozafy)	381
House construction offering	381
Posthole fill	381
Marine shell	382
Discussion	382
Anjankítíke	383
Aims and methods	383
Surface survey	383
Surface features	384
Surface artefact densities and distributions	385
Excavation	388
Trenches 1 and 3	388
Trench 2	391
Trench 4 – the house and its environs	392
Trench 5	397
Optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating	398
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	399
Pottery	399
Fabric	399
Surface treatment	399
Form	402
Rims	402
Decoration	402
Stone tobacco pipes	402
Gunflints	406
Red ochre	407
Iron	407 407
Copper alloy	407
Glass (modern)	407
Fuel ash slag Charcoal	· 407
Cowrie shells	407
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	407
Discussion	407
Ambaro	409
Excavation objectives and strategy	409
Surface survey	410
Trench A – the probable slaves' quarters	413
The probable house	414
Artefacts	414
Trench B – the site of the Tambohitse hazomanga	414
0	

Trench C – within the main settlement area	415
Artefacts	417
Overview	417
Trench D – next to the sacred forest (site 150)	418
Trench E – outside the east end of the main site	418
Trench F – the house of an <i>ombiasa</i>	418
Artefacts	418
Overview	421
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	422
Pottery	424
Pottery from Trench A	424
Pottery from Trench B	424
Pottery from Trench C	424
Pottery from Trench E	424
Pottery from Trench F	426
Discussion	428
Stone tobacco pipes	428
Worked stone and gunflints	428
Stone artefacts	428
Gunflints and flaked stone	428
Iron	430
Copper alloy	430
Silver	430
Glass beads (by Bako Rasoarifetra)	430
Glass	431
Baked clay	431
Slag	431
Cowrie shell	431
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	431
Discussion	431
Laparoy	433
Surface distributions	433
Laparoy site 196	433
Laparoy 196 SW	433
Laparoy 196 W	433
Laparoy 196 N	433
Laparoy site 195	433
Laparoy site 191	434
Laparoy site 192	434
Laparoy site 189	434
Laparoy site 207	434
Laparoy 207 NE	435
Laparoy 207 S	435
Laparoy 207 Central	435
Trenches A, B, C and D: Laparoy site 196 SW	435
Trench A	435
Trench B	436
Trench C	436

Trench D	436
A probable house floor	436
Fenceline	437
Artefacts	438
Trenches E and F: Laparoy site 189	441
Trench E	441
Trench F	442
Fragmentation patterns of pottery and bone	442
Pottery	442
Pottery in Trenches A-D	442
Pottery in Trenches E-F	444
Other finds	444
Baked clay and ceramic artefacts	444
Beads (by Bako Rasoarifetra)	446
Stone tobacco pipes	447
Gunflints	447
Iron	447
Cowrie shells	447
Faunal remains (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	447
Charcoal and wood	447
Discussion	448
Ceramic petrology (by Alan Vince)	449
Coarse fabrics	449
Fine fabrics	450
Summary	450
Glazed imported ceramics from Androy (by David Barker)	450
Introduction	450
Discussion	451
Catalogue	451
Discussion	452
Settlement histories	453
Stone tobacco pipes	454
Flints, gunflints and flintlocks	455
French and English gunflints	456
Manufacture of local gunflints	456
Chronology	457
Beads (by Bako Rasoarifetra)	459
Introduction	459
Characteristics of beads from Androy	459
Commentary and observations	461
Conclusion	462
The end of isolation?	462
Sites of this period	463
Settlements	463
Ironworking sites	470
Chapter 9	
Funerary Monumentality and the Colonial Period in the Twentieth Century	472

Funerary Monumentality and the Colonial Period in the Iwentie	in Century
Introduction	

472

Drought, famine and emigration	472
Settlement and society	473
Settlement distribution	473
River valleys and mountains	473
The sand plateau	473
Coasts and rivermouths	474
Settlement sizes	474
The end of ceramics	474
European imports	474
Funerary monumentality	475
Ancient tombs and burials	476
Vatomita graves	476
The early vatolahy burials	478
Standing stones and eighteenth-century burials	479
Lolom'Bara and lolo Mahafaly	481
Royal Tandroy graves and burial sites	483
The earliest Tandroy tombs	483
Changes in tomb architecture in the later nineteenth century	488
The social and landscape context of the earliest stone tombs	488
Reasons for the construction of the early stone tombs	489
Changes in funerary ritual in the twentieth century	490
Origins of the stone tomb tradition	491
The twentieth-century sequence of tomb styles	492
Changes in funerary monuments at the end of the twentieth century	494
The Vohidolo-Amanda survey – tombs in the twentieth century	501
Size and shape	502
Orientation	504
Tomb decoration	505
Cattle bucrania on the tomb	505
Tomb goods	506
Name and date plaques	506
Trees on tombs	506
Topographic siting	508
Vatolahy groups	509
Summary	509
Discussion	509
Sites of this period	510
Settlements	510
Early tombs	511
Chapter 10	
Landscape, Society and Environment: the Long Term	514
Earliest human arrivals	514
Extinction of the megafauna	514
The <i>manda</i> civilisation of the tenth to thirteenth centuries	518
Social collapse c. 1300	522
The beginnings of isolation: the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries	523
The emergence of the 'Tandroy' way of life: the sixteenth century	524
Warfare and migration: the seventeenth century	525

Robert Drury and after: the eighteenth century	526
Land of the cactus: the nineteenth century	527
Stone tombs and famines: the twentieth century	529
Long-term trends and changes	529
Animal exploitation (by Lucien Rakotozafy)	529
Bone survival	529
Consumption patterns	530
The physical environment	530
Socio-cultural lifestyle	531
Conclusion	531
The individual	531
Adornment of the body	531
Cooking and eating	532
The house	533
The settlement	535
The region	536
Social organisation	536
Gender relations	537
Relationships within the Indian Ocean	538
Research in Androy as a postcolonial dilemma	541
Future research	541
The extreme south	541
Beyond the extreme south	542
Archaeology and local communities	542
Appendix A	
The European Documentary Sources	543
Trañovato: the historical sources	543
Etienne de Flacourt	543
Montefeno	543
Flacourt on warfare and river valley desertion	544
Robert Drury	545
Fenoarivo	546
Who was Robin Razimba?	546
The wreck of the Degrave	547
Other historical sources relating to the Degrave massacre	547
Robert Drury's account of his escape to western Madagascar	548
Names and customs described by Drury	548
Robert Drury's account of Prince Murnanzack (Mananjaka)	549
Robert Drury on the Menarandra river	550
ppendix B	
Oral Histories	551
Genealogies of the Andriamañare roandriañe	551
Oral histories of the Tefanomboke Andriamañare (by Georges Heurtebize)	551
Appendix C	
Site Inventory	556
Bibliography	715