



**HAL**  
open science

# Slavery in the literature of Madagascar: The case of Raharimanana

Claire Riffard

► **To cite this version:**

Claire Riffard. Slavery in the literature of Madagascar: The case of Raharimanana. Charlotte Baker and Jennifer Jahn. Postcolonial Slavery, 2008. <halshs-01237123>

**HAL Id: halshs-01237123**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01237123v1>**

Submitted on 2 Dec 2015

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



HAL Authorization

Claire Riffard

*Slavery in the literature of Madagascar:  
The case of Raharimanana*

Although the question of slavery is often linked to the African continent, which paid a heavy tribute to the three-cornered trade, other pages should be recalled, in the Indian Ocean and beyond.

Khal Torabully *Africultures* N°67, p.101.

Madagascar is often said to be a digest of Africa and Asia. This is partly true as the first inhabitants of the island came from African and south-eastern Asian coasts. But, this is also partly false as Madagascar doesn't look either like Africa, or like other islands of the Indian Ocean or any other place in the world. Many animal and vegetal endemic species live there. As far as the people of Madagascar is concerned, it is composed of a great number of ethnies such as the Merina and the Betsileo living on the High Plateau of the centre, the Sakalava and the Betsimisaraka on the coasts... But all these ethnies are united by one common language : Malagasy.

Could Madagascar avoid foreign predation thanks to its eccentric geographical situation? Unfortunately not. It had been a long time since Arab sailors knew the island which Marco Polo noticed on his way to China and which was officially "discovered" in 1500 by Portuguese sailors, the first Europeans to land on the island. They call it Sao Lourenço. But the presence of European people won't last, except for a French trading post in Fort-Dauphin (in the South), maintained with great difficulty from 1643 to 1674. For its part, the Madagascan state forms itself progressively and in 1828 it is unified ; the first queen of Madagascar is named Ravalona 1<sup>st</sup>.

In these particular conditions of distance and independence towards the slave states, how could slave trade develop in Madagascar?

Actually, slavery already existed within the country. Any free man could become a slave one day, either because of debts or theft, or following his capture during a war... This is why the slaves in Madagascar were called *zazahova* (children of free men). This means that one could easily fall in slavery. So explains Jean Aimé Rakotoarisoa, a Madagascan searcher :

The demarcation between free men (*andriana, hova, mainty*) and *andevo* is clearly established by the incapacity of these *andevo* to establish social relationships, and more precisely parently links (weddings, filiations), but also by their non-participation to the different rituals which mark the status of subjects or members of the community. So, the law, by compartmentalizing the different social classes, and by maintaining each one in his particular group, fixes the *andevo's* position outside the society.

The big change came from the setting up of a second outlet for the slave market : non only between tribes but also aimed at the outside of the country. As early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, local kings began to trade with the Dutch, selling for instance 10 slaves for 10 golden rings in 1646. And, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Arab traders removed each year more than 1,000 Madagascan slaves per year. As far as the slaves sent to the Bourbon Island are concerned, they were sold for one barrel of powder, some guns, some pieces of linen and a certain quantity of piasters (up to 50 french crowns). Literature and in particular novelists hardly mention this dark period of the Madagascan history. Though, a young writer, Jean-Luc Raharimanana, broke the silence.

Born in 1967 in Antananarivo, the capital city, Raharimanana spends his youth there and then, at the age of 22, he decides to travel to France and to study at the Sorbonne. Afterwards, he shall never live the region of Paris ; he earned a living as a journalist, teacher of literature, writing literary criticism... In 2002, he decides to dedicate himself entirely to writing, which earns him several prizes for literature. In his work, he uses forthright words and describes with courage the difficult realities of his country. "*I was scandalised by the fact that we always talk of lemurs but never of the Madagascan people*", he explained. His novel *Nour, 1947* was published in 2001 after two anthologies of short stories which introduced Raharimanana in the literary universe : *Lucarnes* and *Rêves sous leinceul* (*Skylight* and *Dreams under the shroud*).

**Slavery in *Nour, 1947***

*Nour, 1947* is a novel including several voices which tells one of the most traumatic events of the history of the island : the nationalist rebellion of 1947 against the French colonists. This is how Raharimanana sums up his account:

My narrator takes part in the rebellion but he must avoid the repression. He ends up on a small island, Ambahy. It is a highly symbolic place since he will find there traces of slavery. Moreover, after having slaughtered missionaries with his friends (the former were one of the main target of the rebels), he took away their manuscripts. Once he has arrived on the island, he compares these manuscripts to the traces of slavery (ruins, pit for slaves...) ; then he begins to work on memory by comparing reality to the myths which explain the origins of kingdoms, the justification of certain forms of domination of man by man (of the slave by the nobleman, of the Native by the colonist or that of the black man by the white man).

Slavery takes a significant place in the account, concerning both the content (as *Nour* is also the name of the heroine who is descended from slaves) and in the structure (non-linear) of the text. First of all, one of the main characters of the story, *Nour*, is a slave's child :

As far as she could remember, *Nour* had always been a slave. The men of this country said "mainty", black, non-important human being, without land in his lifetime, without grave where to rest after his death. (...) *Nour* just remembered the traces of chains around his father's neck : whitish, thinner than the rest of his black skin. (p.72)

At the time the French colonists annexed Madagascar in 1896, they enfranchised the slaves ; but this was aimed at a better submission of the whole people to forced work, as the narrator suggests it:

The white men enfranchised us, the class of slaves, but that was actually so as to enslave the whole people, the people of so-called free men, the people of so-called noblemen ! This is my only consolation : we will not be the only slaves on this island... We all are slaves of the colonials ! (p.77)

This kind of notice, as well as the period he chose, give us to think that the topic of the novel is closer to a nationalist chronicle than to slavery. Dominique Ranaivoson notices that "indeed, the French criticism only noticed from *Nour, 1947* the colonial context and the reflections on colonisation induced by the presence of missionaries and soldiers." Though, the topic of slavery is the heart of the novel.

From the first pages, the narrator goes back to the origins of the history of his country, quickly noticing the arriving of the Madagascan people on the island, the allocation of land and then, with many more details, the arrival of the Europeans and systematic slavery :

We sold them as slaves our brothers and friends, thrown the inhabitants out of the hills and villages, reduced our parents to cattle, forged chains, brought women and children throughout rivers and woods. (p.21)

Later, he follows this topic of the arrival of pro-slavers, using other images :

Ships came alongside and did not see the men. Ships came alongside and saw only jewels, discovered only smells. And, as they were told that there was neither gold nor spices on this island, they went away or turned to its inhabitants, calling them ebony... (p.90)

Here is a third variation :

I tell you the story of this island. Came alongside some pirates. Came alongside some adventurers. The kings welcomed them. The kings adopted them. They disappeared into the lands and brought slaves again, slaves always. The kings became riche. I tell you the story of this island. I tell you how the sailing boats laid in its bays. (p.131)

The narrator accuses the Madagascan kings of having contributed to foreign slavery :

Our history tells the betrayal of our monarchs. Our history tells the cupidity of our conquerors. Slavery. Unification of the island. Protectorate. Pacification. Our history is the history of our death.

Holds would never have filled up if our kings had not sold our children. Ships would never have gone away so full of complains and pain. (p.103)

By reading these pages, we get aware of the obsession of the narrator to try and understand the origin of the trauma. This obsession is embodied non only through the rhetoric figure of repetition ("our history"... "our history"... "our history"... / "would never have been filled"... "would never have gone away") but also, more widely, through the very form of the tale : not only a linear but a spiral one which constantly comes back to the same themes, the same voices, the same places... Raharimanana explains :

The theme of memory itself imposed this structure. Our memory, the memory of the Madagascan people, is not linear. Some thinks have been occulted. Slavery, for instance, which is generally mentionned in an idyllic way. Slavery is said to be no more than a "child of the family", a guest in a way, of which the host takes care, considering him as one of his own children. Many proverbs refer to it. But the reality is quite different.

Raharimanana is one of the first Madagascan novelists to break off the taboo of slavery and he is on the border of provocation as he puts in the centre of his novel the character of *andevo* (slave in Malagasy language).

### Why break off the taboo of slavery ?

In Madagascar, people do not speak about slavery. The French searcher Dominique Ranaivoson reminds us that :

The practice of slavery, officially abolished by the French in 1896, (...) is still so firmly rooted in the society, that a not inconsiderable part of the population of African origin remains marginalised because of these marks, discreetly maintained.

But, the philosophy of harmony, national and patriotic unity which puts forward the image of a monolithic and interdependant people is unanimously admitted. The proverbs and the traditional oral literature as well as the morals, the imported republican egalitarian speech and the Christian ethics put forward these values and impose in a way, in the name of an official approval of all, to be silent on these issues and their concrete consequences on the life of the people concerned.

This silent is all the more tremendous since, according to the Madagascan sociologist Jean-Claude Rabeharifara :

The speech in the madagascan societies has always been exclusively kept by the owners of real powers, traditional and, later, modern ones. Therefore, how legitimate is a writer, and especially a young one, to talk ? None... But the writer Raharimanana has been taking the floor to speak for ages, without having ever been given the right to speak... He did so to denounce the attacks on human rights in Madagascar.

Indeed, the topic of slavery, which is in the centre of the novel, does not only have a memorial value. It is mostly aimed at today's Madagascar. In a sense, the novel reminds us of the first slaves narratives, which fashion born in the United States at the end of the 19th century, with the novel called *Uncle Tom's cabin*, to fight for human rights and inspire the abolitionist struggle. But in *Nour, 1947*, Raharimanana fights for his own period. This is what we propose to present now, leaning on a more recent essay by Raharimanana, called *The cannibalistic tree* (2004).

As an introduction to this work, dedicated to his father Vénance Raharimanana, the writer tells that in 1999, he came back on the hills of his childhood and did not understand. "*Villages have appeared, roads have been opened up, while there used to be only high herbs, imposing rocks. So much misery. So many disillusion.*" Facing the metamorphosis of the beloved places, the necessity appeared to write an essay which would keep a trace and will question the memory. This is what the first part of the book is concerned with : *the writing of the roots*. Writing "to

“*dwell in the silence*” (p20), “*transcribe and keep silent, save the origins of things and beings*” (p23). Inursion into the memory, this first part mixes forms and voices to rise the history of the island and the memory of the suffered violence.

But reality gets to the words ; because of the presidential elections of December 2001, a major political crisis started in the country, and the father of the writer, who used to teach history at the university of Antananarivo, is arrested and tortured in June 2002. This events force Raharimanana to reorientate his writing ; he optes for the form of a log in the second part entitled *Lines in sweet lands*. Day after day, while his sick father is in prison, Raharimanana tells and meditates on the events in his book of waiting and anguish. Bitter, his writes : “*These themes on identity, on ethnic group, on poverty, on our powerlessness, that of our people living in the south, I delt them, conscious of their importance. Now I live them*” (p.149). This is why, in this essay, he comes back to the theme of slavery from another point of view. He comes back to it as a key which enables him to explain at least a part of the pains of the actual Madagascan society : “*Slavery. Slavery ! This country has lived on it but it seems it has now all covered under a lead coating, or rather, that it still lives on it.*” (p.37)

One more new point : his reflection is no more theoretical, it concerns directly the writer himself :

I dawdled. The question kept tormenting me, the traditional question, the one people keep asking in my island, between friends, between people meeting, between all : where are your parents from?

Mine are no slaves but what would answer the ones whose feet turned yellow on a land of slaves?

I dawdled. Deeply troubled. (p.40)

If Raharimanana’s father is threatened by the present political power, it is –so he thinks– because of his *Sakalava* origins. The point is that the *Sakalava* (an ethnic group of the west of the island) have fore a long time been the captives of the central power of Antananarivo. The political leaders of the country wish, according to Raharimanana, to silence the discordant voice of the *Sakalava* historian. Therefore, the writer’s role is to fight for the freedom of speech and democratic pluralism in his country.

He quotes some traditional proverbs on pages 38-39 :

*Andevolahy mikalo hariva : tsy alahelo fa kibo tsy feno.*

[A slave was singing plaintively in the evening : it was not due to sorrow but to hunger].

and another one :

*Ny andevo toy ny lavenom-potsy, ka raha aingainaina manditsoka.*

[Slaves are like white ashes : if you take them up, they come into your eyes.]

Adding :

“If one is good to them, they will immediately abuse of it, they will harm you”, interpreted the missionary.

Desire, I say, desire for freedom. White ash of the charred ebony. White ash which does not wait for the wind to drift away in the eyes and burn the consciences. (.39)

#### “Slavery burns the consciences”.

That is Raharimanana’s thesis. He defends it once again in a famous open letter addressed to the French President Sarkozy, in summer 2007 :

We were right in the middle of History when slavery changed the face of the world. We were right in the middle of History when Europe divided our continent. We were right in the middle of History when colonization drew the current configuration of the world. (...) Let us tell you a little bit about this History that you seem to not know at all. Our fathers entered History with their fights to resist slavery; our fathers, thanks to their battles, forced the abolition of slavery (...) Indeed, slavery and colonization are totalitarian systems, and you are wrong to try to justify them by evoking our responsibilities and the good side of colonization.

According to Raharimanana, slavery is yet a terrible weight on Madagascar’s memory. But it is not discussed in the Madagascan society, which officially not acknowledge different status for the citizen. But in fact, it is a very inequitable society. M. Aubert Rabenoro, one of the Madagascan community’s deans in Paris, corrects the smooth description of Madagascar’s people :

In the isle of Madagascar, slavery was abolished more than a century ago, but the spirit of caste reminds very pregnant. It is still very difficult to change master-slave relationships into employee-employer rapports. Outside the country, Madagascan people don’t understand why they are criticized about this or that way of living. They don’t understand , or don’t want to understand, why the things which are totally admissed in their country, are suddenly prohibited.

This analysis is substantiated by an other one, published by Jean Aimé Rakotoarisoa, a Madagascan searcher, in a local revue :

The terms referring to the old hierarchic system (*andriana, hova, mainty, andevo*) continue to be used, as showed in the second part of my analysis. With a modification however. Descendant of former *andriana* and former *hova* are equally denoted by the terme *fotsy* (« white »). In an other part, descendant of the former *andevo* are mixed up with descendant of the former *mainty*, who are yet former free men, under the same appellation *mainty* (« blacks »). To each of theses sociale categories are linked either physical and moral representations. These representations are linked to the supposed origins of the people. African origins means black complexion, fuzzy hair, laziness, alcoholism and sorcery practices for the *mainty* ; the *fotsy* are by contrast represented as possessign a clear complexion, smooth hair, and knowing how to behave in the society.

So considered, even though slavery is abolished and totally over in the texts, it is clearly present in all day’s life, and so it must arrive until the consciousness and be openly discussed. But in Madagascar, slavery is not yet come until words.

That is why, in his more recent novel, *Za* (2008), Raharimanana invents a very impressive character eponymous : *Za*. *Za* is a poor man driven crazy pain by the loss of his little boy, flooded in the stagnant water of a low district of the city (the regular visitors will recognize the capital of Madagascar : Antananarivo, never named). From chapter to chapter, *Za* tells to the first person the chaos of its miserable life, crushed by the violence and the nonsense, in a language never read, gangrened from the incipit by the *zozotement*. But *Za*, it is also the voice of the

anonymous man, to whom we never give access to the word, and which seized with a passion to say, decide to take hostage the language. The syllable "Za" is indeed a part of the word "izaho" which in Malagasy means "I". It is also the alliance of the end and the beginning of the alphabet. Za is thus a character who takes at once an epic stature of anti-hero, increased by his distress without limit and on whom disasters are going to beat down in tornados of dirty violence. The novel is built from a linguistic deformation, the zozotement, which frees the creativity of the language and allows to say with strength, by the irony, the games of words and double sense, the distress of a country in big suffering.

We don't exactly know whether Za is a descendant of slave or not, but he has the same attitude, the same way of thinking as the character of Nour, the young girl of Raharimanana's first novel (*Nour*, 1947). He begins by apologising to speak : "eskuzamoi. Za m'eskuze" [excuse-me, I do apologize], in his very specific language (he babbles, transforming all the "g" into "z" and adding a "a" everywhere). He asks for comprehension, but first of all he asks for the right of taking the words, the right of speaking even if he isn't allowed to. Then he exposes his social situation :

Dinner of lord : Za curves me well by serving the dish. Dinner of lord : the tears assemble me to the eyes. Dinner of lord : Za sighs extremely by depositing the met. The fly on its mountain receives other queens. Za beats ranges, famous scented ! Za leaves you throne and chair ! Za does not have the right. Not right to the parole : O taboo (...).

The character overtakes the speaking interdiction, he transcends the taboo. He explains himself : « *The word of Za must leave, thorough from the interior, you will not go, won't you, retain my language, my language of Za, my language of myself ?* » After this introduction, the character takes all the space, all the place, invading the language with his story, his words, his guilty pronunciation. And with his own way, he tells the story of "the ones without history". A very dark story indeed, story of violence, of hunger and thirst, of mud and darkness. But this is the real history of the madagascan people. This is the real history of all ones who are not kings neither nobles, all the others, descendants of slaves or descendants of no-one, whose parole hardly appears on the piazza.

Thereby, the theme of slavery is indeed still fiery in the Madagascan literature. Beyond Raharimanana, few writers have experimented it. But we must note that, in the novel *Lalana* by Michèle Rakotoson, which describes the initiatory travel of two friends, the question of the place of slaves in the present Madagascan society is asked several times. The writer of this novel, Michèle Rakotoson was born in Antananarivo (the main town of Madagascar) in 1948. She actually lives in France where she arrived in 1983. She first made sociology studies and began as a professor of Madagascan literature, as well as journalist on the radio and on the television. Still a radio journalist, she actually organizes also literary demonstrations. She mostly writes novels and plays. *Lalana* (2002) is not an easy novel. First of all, because of its subject, which deals with the AIDS. In fact, the two heroes of the novel, named Naivo and Rivo, are devoured by this illness and flee Antananarivo and its misery to hope to dying by the sea... They will live a difficult voyage, which crosses the island of Madagascar, skinning with the passage the idyllic image which one could have. But the novel is also a reflection about the Madagascan society, which rejects certain social categories, and among them slaves in the first place. During their travelling to the sea, the heroes of Michèle Rakotoson remind themselves of the slaves who were sold to be workers on the soil of Reunion island. These slaves left chained in procession up to the coast then embarked to the island. This vision haunts the characters of *Lalana*, who go through the same road : " *They go to the sea, they leave towards Mascareignes, it is slaves' procession, Naivo, procession which leaves towards Reunion* ". Themselves are directly touched by the segregation. Rivo tells :

Us, the fuzzy hair, us are overcome and the doors of the sky closed, but us, the Blacks, us are as well hard as our hair, we resist to everything, as our hair, and we do not want to pay for faults which are not ours. There where the smooth hair fall, ours remain present, thick, fuzzy and firm. Fuzzy hair, thick, resistant, violent hair "

Nothing amazing, in the fact, that the books of Raharimanana and of M. Rakotoson have all of them been published in France and not in Madagascar...

But this is not a fate. Even if the Madagascan society do not easily open its hears, these few voices yet arrive, even slowly, to the consciousness. And other interesting voices testifying about the slavery are to listen, outside the country ; those of non-Madagascan authors who assume this work of memory, as well as Monique Agénor, a writer of Reunion island. Of French, Malbare and Madagascan origin, she was born in 1940 in Reunion where she lived till the end of her adolescence. *The Children of the sacred hill* is situated in the 1840s between Madagascar and Reunion. The novel redraws the symbolic route of two children of the High Malagasy Trays, captured by an enemy clan following a bloody expedition against their village and deported on the island of Reunion where they will live the cruelest years of the slavery, up to its abolition in 1848.

At the beginning of the narrative, Nora is eleven years old, she was born in the moonlight and her first name means "joyful, player". Sahy is hardly older than she, he is already a small man who has the sense of the responsibilities, he helps his father in ricefields. Both live in the peaceful Malagasy environment of the countryside. The raid the inhabitants of their hill of which are victims is going to plunge them abruptly into a violent and foreign universe. The survivors of the massacre are chained and taken in Reunion in a slave ship, under the glance cruel and eager for the trader of slaves. Both children are sold as couples with the rich Madam Die, owner of the vastest plantation of sugar canes of the island. Nora will be "slave of house", to the exclusive service of the young ladies Jeanne and Mélanie. Sahy will be "slave of pickaxe" and will maintain the plantation. Of violence in humiliations, both children learn to carry out their task without stumbling. But their eyes can see and their ears can hear. Rumours circulate behind closed doors in the confidences of the slaves: a revolt gets ready, it is necessary to wait for the occasion. It will be the day of a big luxurious feast given by Madam Die, while the surveillance is loosened and while all the slaves collected in gardens. The uprising is bloody and the freed workers take the road of the mountain. Above, they build painfully a life of brown slaves, always threatened by the reprisals of the Whites. But the wheel of history turns, and in 1848, the abolition of the slavery is proclaimed in Saint-Denis. It is finally the freedom for Sahy and Nora !

This story is obviously written for scholar pupils. The young readers will have maybe some notions of the slave draft in the direction of America, and of the "triangular" said business between Europe, Africa and America which insured the profitability. They will doubtless more be many to ignore that the slavery also constituted a prosperous industry in Indian Ocean to leave XVth century. It is the big merit of this narrative of the inhabitant of Réunion Monique Agénor that to suggest the horror, by the romantic intermediary of the story of two Malagasy children captured then deported in Reunion. As the theme of the slavery is thus the central subject of the book, Monique Agénor details for his young reader with pedagogy, and even with a stalk of didacticism, the various stages of the draft until the final liberation : the capture during an expedition, the routing in feet up to the port of embarkation, the négociation of the goods, the

journey profoundly of hold in the slave ship, the sale, and then the work in fields or at the house. In these moments of suffering for the slaves, the violence of the slave traders leans on a not disguised racism, which is well accentuated in the novel. Monique Agénor likes to relate these words escaped to a Madagascan child during a meeting with pupils : « it is the first time that I am told my own story »...

To conclude in a few words, we might remind the sentence of the historian Françoise Vergès, who suggests to “undertake a work on the memory of slave trade and slavery as cultural phenomenon, on the way groups take possession of memory to intervene in the public space.” It seems that, through his novels, Raharimanana, as well as his fellow countrywoman Michele Rakotoson and his neighbour Monique Agénor, and among few others writers, initiated this indispensable reflection about the slavery history on the island of Madagascar.

#### **Bibliographie :**

##### **Ouvrages de Raharimanana ( choix) :**

- Théâtre : *Le Prophète et le Président*, 1990. (inédit).  
*Le Puits*, 1997. (inédit).
- Nouvelles : *Lucarne*, Paris, Le Serpent à plumes, 1996 (1999).  
*Rêves sous le linceul*, Paris, Le Serpent à plumes, 1998 (2004).
- Roman : *Nour 1947*, Paris, Le Serpent à plumes, 2001 (2003).
- Poésie : *Poèmes crématoires* (inédit).
- Récits : *L'Arbre anthropophage*, Paris, Joëlle Losfeld, 2004.  
*Za*, Paris, Philippe Rey, 2008.

##### **Sur Raharimanana :**

- DELMEULE, Jean-Christophe : « Nour ou le tressage des mots », *Interculturel Francophonies* (Italie), n° spécial sur la littérature malgache, juin-juillet 2001.
- RANAIVOSON, Dominique : « Violence inattendue dans la littérature malgache contemporaine », *Notre Librairie*, n°148, juillet-septembre 2002.
- LOUYS, Gille et RAMAROSOA Liliane : « Les cris d'île de Jean Claude Fota et Jean-Luc Raharimanana » (Entretien), *Notre Librairie* n° 122, octobre-décembre 1992.
- MONGO-MBOUSSA, Boniface : « Les revers de notre civilisation », entretien avec Jean-Luc Raharimanana, *Africultures* n° 43.
- RAVANOMANANA, Rondro : « Fota, Jaomanoro, Raharimanana ou la parole d'une littérature engagée », Mémoire de DEA, Université de La Réunion, 2000.
- CHELMA, Yves, « Za, à portée des murs d'ombre », in *Africultures*, published in line ([www.africultures.com](http://www.africultures.com)) on 14 th february 2008.

##### **Sur l'esclavage :**

- COLLECTIF, *Esclavage : enjeux d'hier à aujourd'hui*. *Africultures* n° 67 (juin- août 2006).
- COLLECTIF, *La route des esclaves, Système servile et traite dans l'Est malgache*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2001.
- RAISON-JOURDE, Françoise et RANDRIAMARO, Solofo : *La nation malgache au défi de l'ethnicité*, Paris, Karthala, 2002.
- RAKOTO, Ignace : *L'esclavage à Madagascar, aspects historiques et résurgences contemporaines*, Antananarivo, 1997.
- RAKOTOSON, Michèle : *Làlana*, La Tour d'Aigues, Editions de l'Aube, 2002.