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A MIXED POT: HISTORY AND IDENTITY IN THE NDAU REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE 1500-1900

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Elizabeth MacGonagle

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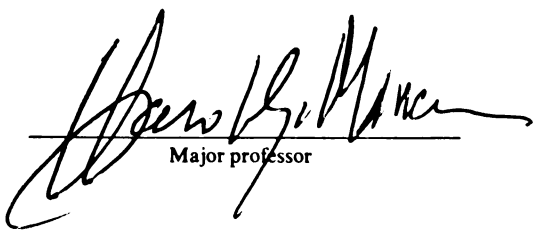

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A MIXED POT: HISTORY AND IDENTITY IN THE NDAU REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE 1500-1900

By

Elizabeth MacGonagle

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ABSTRACT

A MIXED POT: HISTORY AND IDENTITY IN THE NDAU REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE 1500-1900

By

Elizabeth MacGonagle

This dissertation examines the development of a cultural identity among the Ndau of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe. I reconstruct how the Ndau came to 'be Ndau' and added cultural, social and political ingredients to their mixed pot of 'Ndauness' over a period of 400 years. An awareness of a common identity existed among Ndau speakers long before the arrival of formal colonialism, and over time history has transformed ethnic identifications in the Ndau region. In this study I draw on oral histories collected from Ndau elders and documents preserved in the archives and libraries of Mozambique, Portugal and Zimbabwe to explore shifts in Ndau history over the *longue durée*.

Evidence garnered from both interviews with Ndau speakers and written colonial sources demonstrates that a wider 'Ndau' identity does not reflect a deep primordial allegiance, for 'Ndauness' is created and shaped as an ongoing process. This study begins around 1500, after the collapse of the Great Zimbabwe state, when the Portuguese first reached the Mozambican coast and recorded their interactions with Africans at Sofala who spoke Ndau, a dialect of Shona. I close at the end of the nineteenth century, when formal colonialism took hold in Mozambique under the Portuguese and at the hands of the British in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). I contend that the wider Ndau identity that emerged in the twentieth century stems from common cultural traits,

mutually intelligible dialects and a political history of both state formation and fragmentation.

The study is organized into eight chapters that follow a thematic approach. In the first chapter I revisit both the rewards and pitfalls of examining ethnic identifications over time. Chapter two focuses on fieldwork experiences, sources and the methodology used to 'get at' issues of ethnic identification. The third chapter deals with precolonial exchanges, namely trade and political relations, for economic and political ties in the wider region were central to the formation of cultural linkages.

Chapters four, five and six then turn to consider how 'Ndauness' is shaped within Ndau communities. I examine cultural practices and social structures--the ties that bind--in chapter four, and in chapter five I consider how cultural affinities in Ndau dress, jewelry, and body art reflected a sense of identity. Chapter six examines three important activities for the Ndau: brewing beer, making rain and holding court. I analyze both the practical and the symbolic aspects of these rituals and emphasize the steadfast importance of shared beliefs among the Ndau.

Chapter seven deals with a more recent recreation of 'Ndauness' during a turbulent time in the nineteenth century when the Gaza-Nguni arrived from the south and ruled over the Ndau area. The final chapter addresses negotiations between past and present and considers the Ndau region in retrospect. I address the prickly problems of 'tribalism' and more recent redefinitions of what it means to 'be Ndau' after Gaza Nguni overrule. I conclude by showing how the Ndau have responded over time to alterations in the political and cultural terrain with their own mixed pot of shifting identities.

For my Mom and my map maker

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Chafamba chapenga.
One who has set out on a journey cannot help being foolhardy.[1]
-Shona proverb

Numerous people, both at home and abroad, helped me navigate this project to fruition. Scholars gave generously of their time and knowledge, friends and family kept watch as crew members, and advisors were there to see that I stayed on course. But it is really the elders of the Ndau region who made this work possible, and I am thankful for their willingness to share a small part of their history with me.

At Michigan State University, I received support, assistance and funding from the African Studies Center, Department of History, College of Arts and Letters and The Graduate School. Advice and encouragement came from many places and professors, including the Africanist contingent of Bill Derman, Elizabeth Eldredge, Harold Marcus, John Metzler, David Robinson and David Wiley. Peter Beattie, Harry Reed and Steve Averill helped me to explore other regions beyond Africa. Harold Marcus, David Robinson and Peter Beattie deserve special recognition for seeing this project through to the end with grace and wit. Thank you.

I am deeply indebted to my four assistants: Pinimidzai Sithole in Zimbabwe, and Jaime Maconha Augusto, Farai (António Francisco) Raposo and Pedro Castigo in Mozambique. Their contributions helped to ensure successful fieldwork. Looking back, it is difficult to imagine working with anyone else, for these scholars made the many journeys and interview experiences among the Ndau enjoyable and productive.

[1] Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 422.

Fieldwork in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Portugal was carried out with grants from Fulbright-Hays, the Social Science Research Council, the Luso-American Foundation and the National Library of Lisbon. I gratefully acknowledge their financial support.

I walked down many paths during the course of fieldwork, and I appreciate the cordial receptions I received at the end of them. In Mozambique, Gerhard Liesegang not only shared his insight into Mozambican history, but also provided me with a place to stay during the elections in 1994. David Hedges, Solange Macamo and Amélia Neves de Souto were helpful fonts of knowledge at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, along with the libraries of the Centro de Estudos Africanos and the Archaeology and Anthropology Department. I would also like to thank Luís Covane and ARPAC (in Maputo, Beira and Chimoio) for their support. The staff at the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique were most accommodating, and this work is enriched by the many sources that António Sopa brought to my attention at AHM. In Machaze, the staff of CARE graciously provided lodging in their compound. The acampamento in Moribane, a very special place, also hosted us. Rachel Chapman and James Pfeiffer provided good food and company in Chimoio. In Maputo, Carrie Manning, John Fleming, Heidi Gengenbach, Lloys Frates, Anne Pitcher, Martin Murray, Eric Allina-Pissano, Rob Marlin and Daphne Sorensen provided support, encouragement and companionship. Research in Maputo would have been an entirely different endeavor without their presence.

In Zimbabwe, the Mpofus provided me with a home away from home in Chikore that was much appreciated. Thanks also to Lorraine and Bill Giles and Mbuya G. for providing transport and conversation in and around Chikore and Chimanimani. David

and Melanie McDermott Hughes hosted us in Chipinge and provided not only a ride to Vhimba, but also more importantly an entrée into the community. Ruben Zuze was a gracious host in Vhimba, where alas, my time was too short. Elias Nyamunda made fieldwork in Vhimba run smoothly. His keen sensibilities allowed us to meet and interview many elders in the area. Elias also conducted several interviews in Vhimba for this study. Gilbert Pwiti, Innocent Pikirayi and the staff at the University of Zimbabwe's History Department made sure that my time at UZ was productive. Likewise, the staff at the National Archives of Zimbabwe facilitated my archival research in Harare. Colleagues in Zimbabwe such as Diana Jeater, Tony King, Mark Guizlo and Heather Holtzclaw provided company and support for this endeavor. Others, in ways both large and small, were there to assist and encourage—including many in the U.S. and Portugal.

This project builds on the careful and thoughtful work of other scholars steeped in the region. Allen Isaacman always offered warm guidance as this project progressed over the years from a proposal to a dissertation. James Bannerman (and his detailed maps) provided insight into early Shona history. Finally, I deeply regret the loss of David Beach of the University of Zimbabwe who died in February of 1999. His copious work in Shona history was unparalleled, and he displayed an unwavering enthusiasm and support for my investigations into precolonial history. From our very first correspondence and meetings in 1994, I appreciated his indefatigable encouragement and kind assistance. This manuscript, regrettably not enriched directly by his comments, builds upon his scholarship and enthusiasm. I wrote this dissertation with fond memories and a shared passion for the study of early Shona history. *Nhasi haasiri mangwana.*[2]

[2] Today is not tomorrow. Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 291.

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CHAPTER ONE
Labels, Identities and Histories: On Being Ndau

For me, we are called Ndau because we say 'Ndauwe',
that is why we are called VaNdau.[1]
- Marien Dziwandi

We cannot say there is still Ndau. People are now modernized.
Ndau is disappearing. I do not want to lie to you.
...When you come here you call us VaNdau. [2]
- Sarai Nyabanga Sithole

Ndau is difficult.[3]
- Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana

This study examines the development of a cultural identity among the Ndau of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe over a period of 400 years. As Ndau speakers came to 'be Ndau' long before the arrival of formal colonialism, they added cultural, social and political ingredients to their mixed pot of 'Ndauness'. Both historical processes and a shared material culture shaped a sense of identity among the Ndau. An exploration of the relationship between social identity and political power as far back as the fifteenth century reveals intriguing historical factors that led to shifts in 'Ndauness' before the arrival of missionaries and colonial officials on the continent. Drawing on rich historical data gathered from Ndau elders and archival documents, I contend that the larger Ndau identity which emerged in twentieth-century Zimbabwe and Mozambique

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[1] Interview with Marien Dziwandi, Nyanyadzi, Zimbabwe, 31 July 1999. (All interviews cited hereafter by name, location of interview and date.) The prefix "Va" in *VaNdau* denotes the plural.
[2] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[3] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, commenting on the limits of the Ndau region. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

stems from common cultural traits, mutually intelligible dialects and a political history of both state formation and fragmentation.

The Ndau Setting--Labels and Identities

Although Ndau, a dialect of Shona, is the language spoken by most of the people living between the Pungwe and Save rivers, neither 'Shona' nor 'Ndau' were terms found in sixteenth or seventeenth-century vocabularies. Both came into use in the nineteenth century before formal colonialism took hold under the Portuguese in Mozambique and at the hands of the British in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. Yet a common identity was evident in the unified linguistic and cultural history of the 'Shona' in the east who spoke what came to be called the Ndau language. This work seeks to reconstruct how the Ndau formed and maintained a sense of 'being' Ndau over the *longue durée.*

When the Portuguese established a presence along the Mozambican coast at Sofala in the sixteenth century, Africans living between the Save and Zambezi rivers spoke several dialects of the Bantu language known today as Shona. The famous port of Sofala and the surrounding coastal region were used by Arab traders, probably since at least the ninth century, until the Portuguese established a fortress at Sofala in 1505 and began interfering with established trading relationships.[4] Even though Sofala failed to offer the best access to the gold found on the Zimbabwe plateau to the northwest, the settlement remained a strategic location that the Portuguese exploited long after their

[4] Erosion has changed the shoreline of Sofala and destroyed the Portuguese fortress. The modern port is 20 miles to the north at Beira. Gerhard Liesegang, "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala," *Azania,* 7 (1972): 147-159; T. H. Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia, and the Portuguese, 1500-1865* (Waltham, MA, 1981) 72.

arrival in the region.[5] The port, located south of the mouth of the Búzi river on a low-lying sandy coast, remained an important local center for the export trade in ivory, gold and other goods from interior markets such as the *feiras* of Manica and Quiteve between the Save and Pungwe rivers.[6]

Early on, the Portuguese referred to the peoples along the Sofala coast and in the hinterland as 'Karanga'[7] (Figure 1). This word translated into a somewhat imprecise ethnic reality, however, even when it was substituted with "Karanga peoples" or later "people of the Shona language." Africans in this region had their own terms of self-identification that included not only the same word 'Karanga', but also more specific names such as 'Teve', 'Danda' and 'Sanga.' Yet, despite these local names of territories that in turn became separate polities, a sense of collective identity among eastern Shona-speakers was acknowledged by early Portuguese observers when they used the term 'Karanga' to refer to the peoples along the coast and in the Sofala hinterland. Ceremonies at the court of Quiteve in the east, for example, resembled royal customs at

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[5] Over the first two centuries of the Portuguese presence exports of ivory rose to overshadow a declining gold trade. As Malyn Newitt notes, "By the eighteenth century the rest of the world thought of east Africa, if it did so at all, as the producer not of gold but of ivory." *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, 1995) 176.

[6] The main Manica fair was at Chipangura, later named Masekesa, and Bandire was an important feira in Quiteve. The names and exact locations of other fairs further south are not known. See Newitt, 194-202, 211-216; H. H. K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom* (Salisbury, 1982); "Senhor" Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena," In George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa,* (Cape Town, 1964) VII, 380. (Hereafter referred to as *RSEA.*)

[7] Variations of "Karanga" appear in very early Portuguese documents, the first time probably in 1506, when a Portuguese chronicler referred to the gold at Sofala coming from a king called "Ucalanga". In subsequent Portuguese texts, the terms "Mocaranga" and "Makalanga" appeared. See for example, Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho, "Report on the Present Situation of the Conquistas of the Rivers of Soffalla" (1699) in D. N. Beach and H. de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890" (2 vols. Harare, mimeo. 1980) I; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 196.

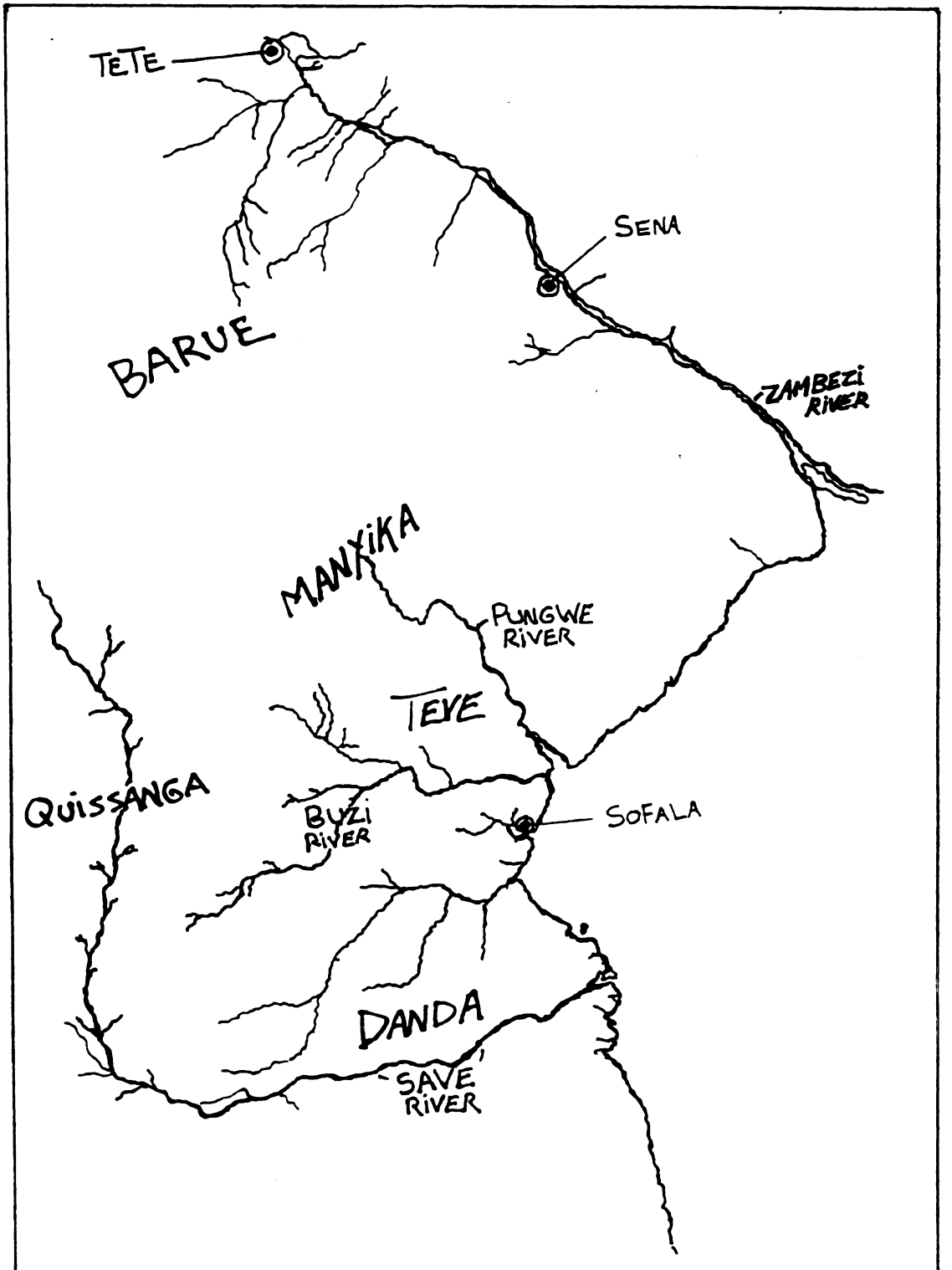

Figure 1 Early polities in the Sofala hinterland

Mutapa, a large and famous state on the plateau known to the Portuguese for its gold.[8] Succession patterns in particular are similar throughout the region.[9] In this study I follow current practice and refer to the larger Shona-speaking group as the *Shona* people, but my focus is on those who live in the eastern region and speak Ndau, a recognized dialect of the Shona language.

Bounded to the north by the Zambezi river, to the east by the Indian Ocean, and to the south by the Save river, the lands of the Karanga encompassed a wide area that included not only the immediate Sofala hinterland, but also other Shona-speaking regions to the north and west (Figure 2). The exact western boundary of this 'Shona' area was unknown to the early Portuguese, for the "Karanga" inhabited much of the Zimbabwe plateau that African traders crossed on routes stretching from the Kalahari desert to the Indian Ocean. Throughout the entire Shona area flourishing African communities constructed elaborate stone settlements on the Zimbabwe plateau, including Great Zimbabwe (1250-1450 A.D.), as well as at related sites on the Mozambican coastal plain. These centers contain archaeological evidence of a shared material culture in Mozambique and Zimbabwe before the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.[10]

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[8] The Mutapa state, ruled by a leader known as the *Mutapa, Monomotapa* or *Benomotapa* was linked to several dynastic territories further east under changing conditions from the fifteenth century to the 1880s.
[9] Gerhard Liesgang, "Sofala, Beira e a sua Zona", *Arquivo* (6, Outubro de 1989) 31.
[10] H. A. Wieschhoff, *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in Southeast Africa* (Menasha, WI, 1941); Octávio Roza de Oliveira, "Amuralhados da Cultura Zimbáuè-Monomotapa de Manica e Sofala," *Monumenta: Boletim da Commissão dos Monumentos Nacionais de Moçambique,* Lourenço Marques, 9 (1963); James H. Bannerman, "Notes and Questions Regarding the Archaeology, Language and Ethno-History of Central Mozambique between the Zambezi and Save Rivers," Paper prepared for presentation to the Tenth Pan African Archaeological Congress, Harare, Zimbabwe (June 1995); Graham Connah, *African Civilizations: Precolonial Cities and States in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective* (New York, 1987) and Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860* (Capetown, 1987).

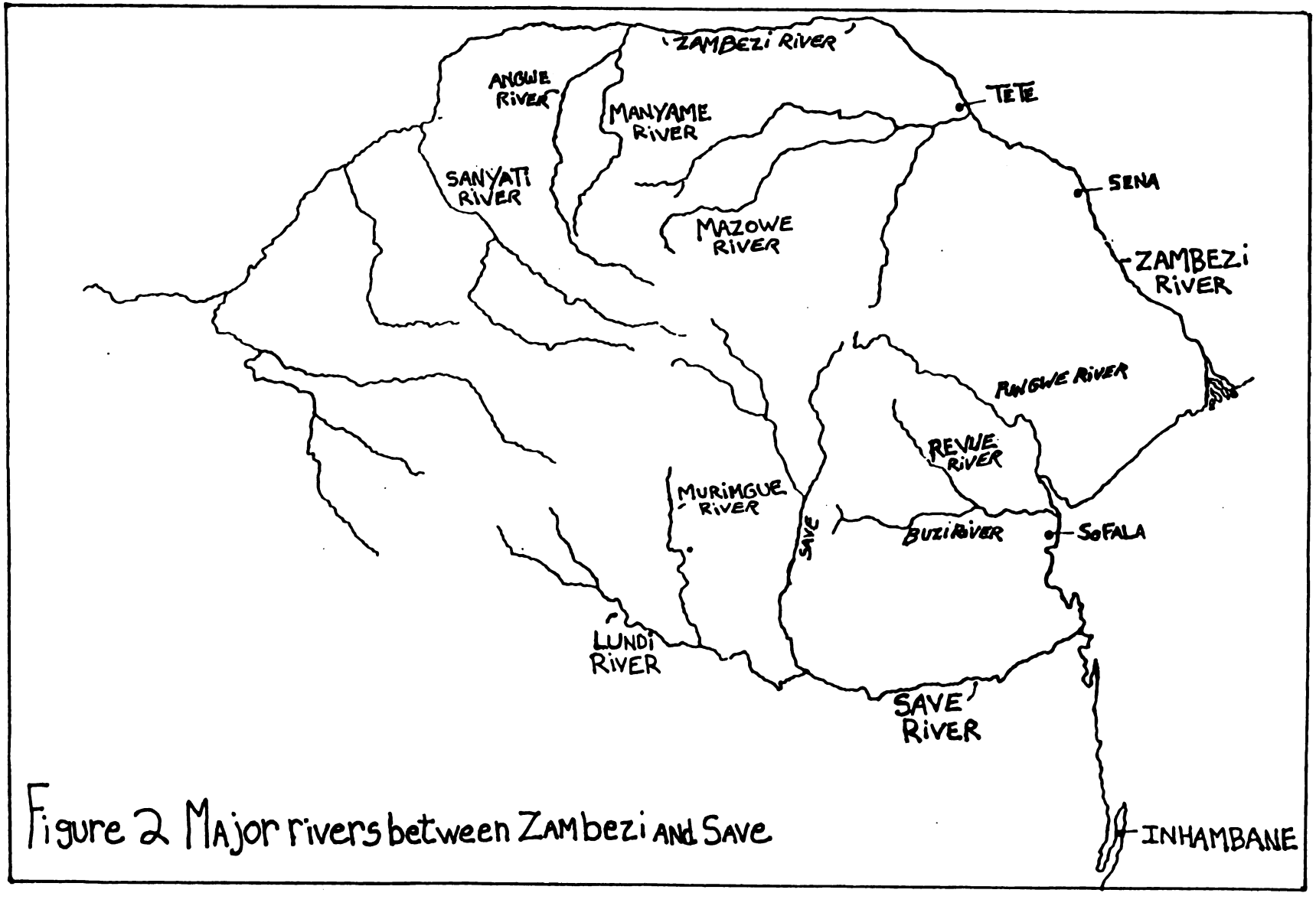

Figure 2 Major rivers between Zambezi and Save

In early Shona history, political divisions and alliances were formed within and across ethnic boundaries to mark cultural identities. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, boundaries were fluid in early Shona politics when both the Mutapa state and smaller eastern territories in the Ndau region vied for political control and economic power to regulate trade in the Sofala hinterland. Economic contexts, particularly trade, influenced Ndau politics and the formation of a cultural identity from the sixteenth century onwards. Political power was inextricably linked to external trade, and these precolonial contacts highlighted and reinforced political and cultural identities for the people who came to be called Ndau.

The Karanga of the northern Zimbabwe plateau were the dominant aristocracy in the Shona region in the sixteenth century when the Portuguese arrived.[11] The first and most prestigious Karanga state, the Mutapa state, relied on military power for support.[12] The Karanga rulers symbolized their prestige by building small *madzimbabwe,* or houses of stone, in the areas where they settled, and they had better living standards than the groups they conquered.[13] Despite the spread of a common political identity known as

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[11] Damião de Goes, "Chronicle of the Most Fortunate King Dom Emanuel of Glorious Memory (1566)" In Theal, *RSEA,* iii, 128-131; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 37-38; John Keith Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-Eastern Shona, 1500-1890," In Ahmed Idho Salim, ed. *State Formation in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi, 1984) 166.

[12] Goes wrote of the Mutapa chief: "Whether in time of peace or war he always maintains a large standing army, of which the commander-in-chief is called Zono, to keep the land in a state of quietness and to prevent the lords and kings who are subject to him from rising in rebellion." In "Chronicle of the Most Fortunate King Dom Emanuel of Glorious Memory (1566)" In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 130. Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 166.

[13] *Dzimbahwe* or *zimbabwe* refers to the court, home or grave of a chief. Earlier scholars thought that *zimbabwe (madzimbabwe,* plural) evolved from one of two contractions: *dzimba dzamabwe:* houses of stone, or *dzimba woye:* venerated houses. Graham Connah, *African Civilizations: Precolonial Cities and States in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective,* 192; Goes, "Chronicle of the Most Fortunate King Dom Emanuel of Glorious Memory (1566)" In Theal, *RSEA,* iii, 129; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 166-167; For evidence of an elite population living inside the stone enclosure at the *zimbabwe* Manyikeni further south, see Peter Garlake, "Excavation of a *Zimbabwe* in Mozambique," *Antiquity,* 50, 198 (June 1976) 146 and "An Investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique," *Azania,* 11 (1976) : 25-47;

'Karanga' over much of the eastern region during the rule of the Mutapa state, there were some Ndau who refused to accept Mutapa overrule. Local chiefs, for instance, could decide to withhold tribute or carry out clandestine trade. Other Africans not under Karanga control, such as those south of the Save in the Inhambane region were called "Bonga" or "Tonga".[14]

External pressure from the Portuguese presence, combined with a lack of unity among the Karanga aristocracy, led to rivalries that resulted in the formation of a series of separate secondary states in the Sofala hinterland.[15] These smaller states thickened and complicated the soup in the mixed pot that was to be 'Ndau'. Three of the states--Teve, Danda and Sanga--relied on the Mutapa state for symbolic legitimacy, for it was said that three sons of the Mutapa chief founded them.[16] The Portuguese persistently recognized the Mutapa ruler in the northern interior as the overlord of the entire region, for they thought that he controlled the gold mines in the area and thus held the key to untold wealth.[17] This led to some hostility between the Portuguese and states such as Teve and

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Graeme Barker, "Economic Models for the Manekweni Zimbabwe, Mozambique," *Azania,* 13 (1978); Berit Sigvallius, "The Faunal Remains from Manyikeni," in Paul J. J. Sinclair, *Analysis of Slag, Iron, Ceramics and Animal Bones from Excavations in Mozambique* (Maputo, 1988), 27 and Paul J. J. Sinclair, *Space, Time and Social Formation: A Territorial Approach to the Archaeology and Anthropology of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, c. 0-1700 A.D.* (Uppsala, 1987), 96.

[14] André Fernandes, "Letter from the Father André Fernandes to the Father Provincial in India" (1560) in Theal, *RSEA,* ii, 66. The term 'Tonga' (also Thonga, Bonga and Bitonga) was a slightly derogatory term that implied chiefless or subject people. It was used by various groups to describe different people between Lake Malawi and Delagoa Bay in southern Mozambique. Today BiTonga and Tsonga-speakers live south of the Save river in southern Mozambique (See Figure 4). Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 158; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 166.

[15] João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* In Theal, *RSEA,* vii, 273, 285-286; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 42-43; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 166-167.

[16] Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* In Theal, *RSEA,* vii, 273; Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1674) In Theal, *RSEA,* i, 23; Rennie discusses several examples of legitimation and external political authority in "Ideology and State Formation," 172-173.

[17] Two detailed studies of the Mutapa state are by Randles and Mudenge. Most Portuguese writers expressed a fascination with and penchant for exaggeration about the Mutapa's control over the region. See, for example, Franciso Monclaro, "Relaçaõ Da Viagem Que Fizeram Os Padres Da Companhia De Jesus Com Francisco Barreto Na Conquista De Monomotapa No Anno De 1569, Feita Pelo Padre

Danda, and these smaller states continued to trade with the Swahili who were now viewed as economic competitors in the eyes of the Portuguese.[18] These secondary states developed their own political identities that lasted into the nineteenth century as a wider sense of being 'Karanga' faded.[19] In the early twentieth century Europeans and Africans nonetheless revitalized these identities as ethnic markers in their quest to classify and sort the 'tribes' of southeast Africa.[20] Even though these secondary states were distinct political entities over several centuries, a wider cultural identity based on a shared history and language permeated the region.

The Shona language is spoken by the majority of the people in Zimbabwe and a considerable number of Mozambicans living between the Zambezi and Save Rivers. Most of the people in Zimbabwe and central Mozambique are labeled 'Shona'. On twentieth-century ethnographic maps, such as Figure 3 and Figure 4, the classification 'Shona' stretches across central Mozambique and into most of Zimbabwe.[21] Yet the use of the term 'Shona' to encompass the various identities--historical, cultural, ethnic or linguistic--of the people living in central Mozambique and Zimbabwe is problematic. 'Shona' is neither an apt ethnic or 'tribal' label, but its usage as a blanket term usually implies that 'being Shona' means speaking the same language, having similar cultural

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Monclaro, Da Mesma Companhia (post 1573)" In Theal, *RSEA*, III, 227 and Manuel Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama (1667)" In Theal, *RSEA*, III, 482 for exaggerated accounts of the Mutapa's power, including the claim that his overrule reached to the Cape of Good Hope. Early maps supported this view as well.

[18] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 167.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] These maps are the products of scholarship that focuses on Zimbabwe and Mozambique, often separately.

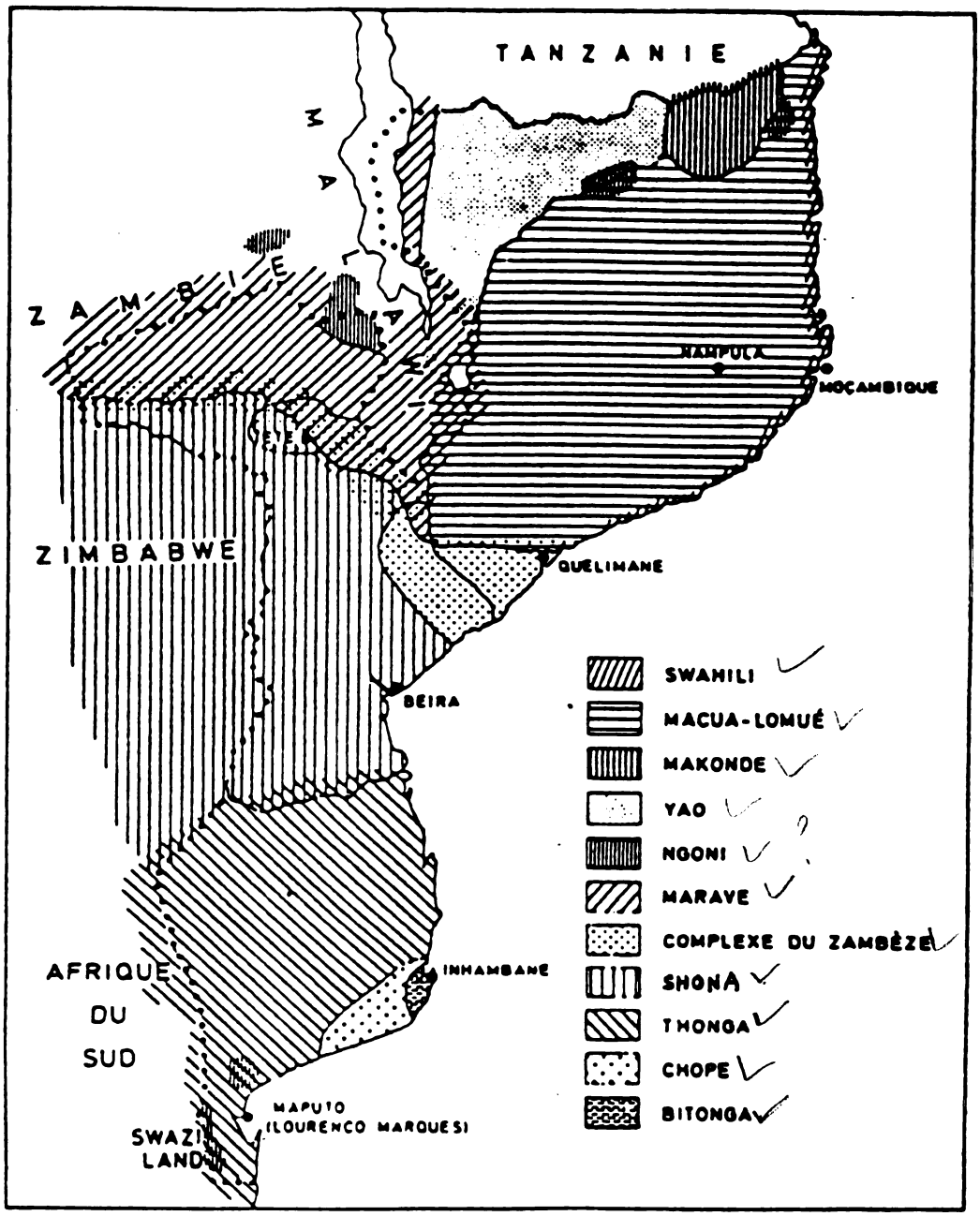

Figure 3 Ethnographic map showing the eastern Shona region (Pélissier 1984)

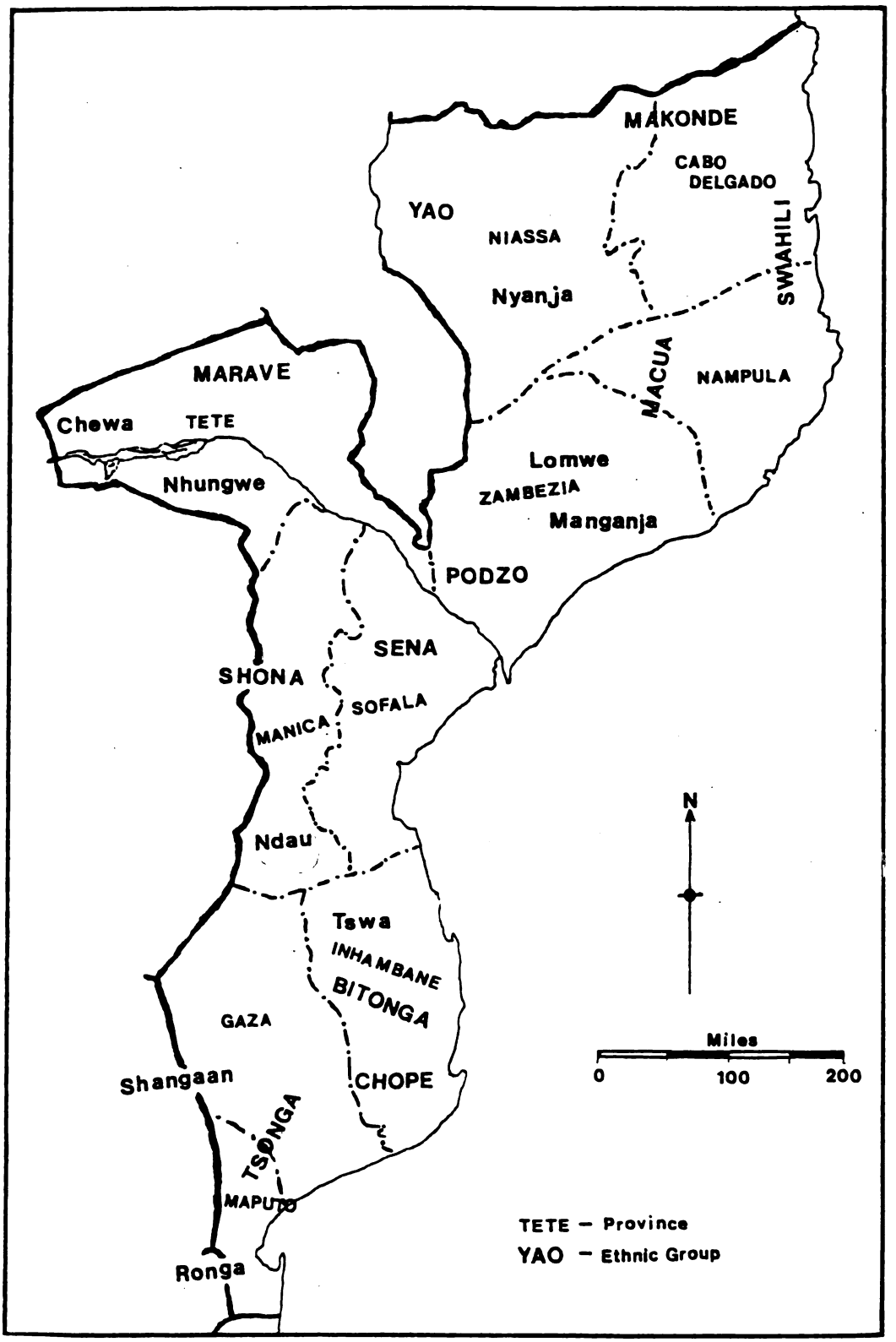

Figure 4 Twentieth-century ethnographic map of Mozambique (Vines 1991)

traditions and experiencing a shared history. Shona is an accepted linguistic term that identifies speakers of the Shona language, which falls within the south-central zone of the Bantu language group. In this region language is often equated with ethnicity. Even though a 'Shona' identity in south-central Africa is based heavily on language, Shona speakers have shared common cultural patterns and historical experiences over the *longue durée.*

The Nguni-speaking Ndebele first used the term 'Shona' to refer to the Rozvi people they encountered after entering the Changamire state in the southwestern area of the Zimbabwe plateau in the 1830s.[22] At that time Shona-speakers described themselves in terms of their region or clan, and they only began to use the term 'Shona' themselves sometime after 1890.[23] The historian Terence Ranger describes his view of the sense of identity among Shona-speakers who shared a common language and political culture in the nineteenth century:

> There certainly existed a very wide zone of common culture, which scholars have come to call 'Shona', but in the nineteenth century the people who shared that common culture did *not* feel themselves to be part of a single 'Shona' identity. People defined themselves *politically*--as subjects of a particular chief--rather than linguistically, culturally, or ethnically.[24]

In the nineteenth century other outsiders besides the Ndebele were describing some Shona-speakers as 'Shona' too. Maps from this period include the term, but it was not used as a comprehensive label for most Shona-speakers on either the Zimbabwe plateau or the Mozambican coastal plain. Indeed, one Portuguese map from 1867 has "Machona'

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[22] The Ndebele under Mzilikazi migrated from South Africa. The term 'Shona' first appeared in writing in 1835, according to David Beach, "Zimbabwe Plateau," 268.
[23] This coincides with the onset of formal colonialism in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Beach, "Zimbabwe Plateau," 268; Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe," (Gweru, 1985) 4.
[24] Ranger, "Invention of Tribalism," 4.

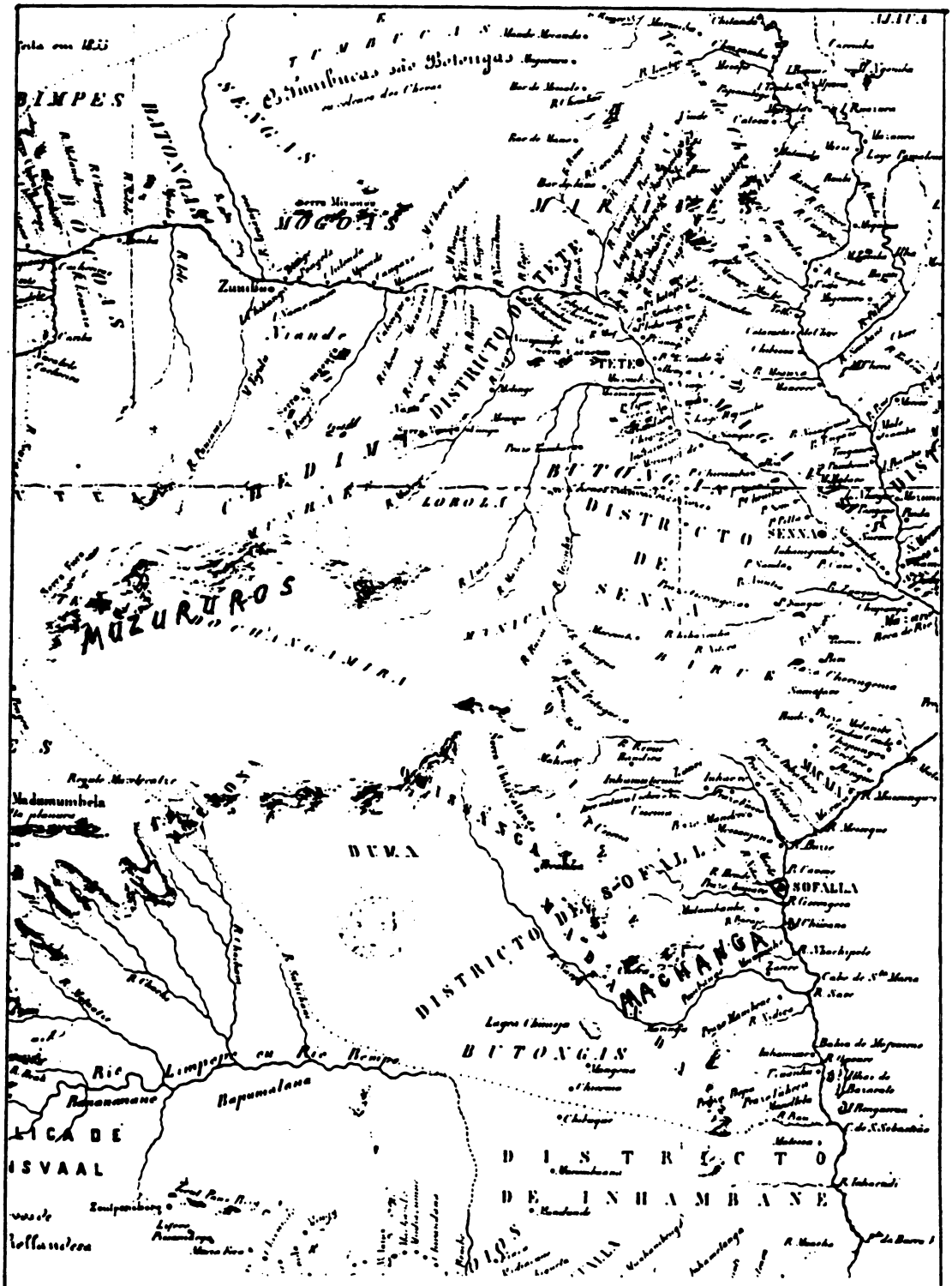

Figure 5 Portion of 1867 map of Zambezia and adjacent regions (Randles 1979)

Figure 6 Portion of 1889 map of Mozambique (Randles 1979)

in the southern area of the plateau near 'Muzururos' and 'Quissanga'[25] (Figure 5). A later map in 1889 places 'Machona' farther north and over a wider area, but 'Manica' is another label which covers the same amount of territory[26] (Figure 6). The southern portion of the plateau was called 'Matebeleland' by the middle of the nineteenth century after the Ndebele settled there, and a large part of the north-central plateau came to be known as 'Mashonaland' sometime after that. White settlers referred to the east, including the Ndau-speaking area, as 'Manyikaland.'[27]

After the Rhodesian government commissioned a study on the unification of the dialects of Shona speakers in the 1920s, the term 'Shona' was recommended by the linguist Clement Doke to be the official name of the language.[28] His report, published in 1931, described the quandary that the Language Committee faced when they chose a unifying name for the language:

> It has been widely felt that the name 'Shona' is inaccurate and unworthy, that it is not the true name of any of the peoples whom we propose to group under the term 'Shona-speaking people', and further that it lies under a strong suspicion of being a name given in contempt by the enemies of the tribes. It is pretty certainly a foreign name and as such is very likely to be uncomplimentary. . .[29]

As the spoken Shona language was turned into various written 'dialects' by missionaries in the early twentieth century, some inventing of 'tribalism' and tradition occurred.[30] Whites drew African language boundaries and demarcated dialect territories. American

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[25] Zezuru is a dialect of Shona spoken in the region around Harare. Sanga is spoken in the Ndau highland region. Randles, "Map of Zambezia and adjacent regions by the Marquis Sá de Bandeira" (2nd edition, Lisbon, 1867).
[26] Randles, "Map of Mozambique" (1889).
[27] Manyikaland, Mashonaland and Matabeleland are three provinces in Zimbabwe today, but "Ndauland" is not a province or a term commonly used.
[28] Clement M. Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* (Hertford, 1931) 78-80.
[29] Ibid., 78
[30] Ranger, "Invention of Tribalism," 14-15.

Figure 7 Doke's 1931 map of "The distribution of Shona-speaking peoples"

missionaries in the east, for instance, championed Ndau so that they could work with just one language that would cover their entire sphere of influence from the Save river to the coast.[31] After examining the developing language situation in Southern Rhodesia, Doke arrived at six main "Dialect Groups": Ndau, Manyika, Korekore, Zezuru, Karanga and Kalanga[32] (Figure 7). Three of these classifications--Ndau, Manyika and Korekore--stretched into Mozambique, then called Portuguese East Africa. Within each area there were also various dialects. For example, among the Ndau cluster, there are sub-divisions that Doke labeled Ndau, Danda and Shanga.[33] We must question Doke's neat boundaries of "the distribution of Shona-speaking peoples," for this South African linguist did not visit many of the areas shown on his map.[34] Nonetheless, in the twentieth century, identities among Shona-speakers expanded beyond historical political units "to be thought of as a matter of language, culture and ethnicity."[35]

This relatively recent and broad characterization of people as 'Shona' or 'Ndau' does not correspond with identities grounded in history that signified membership within

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[31] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169. He traces the adoption of 'Ndau' by the American Board missionaries (including the first published use in 1906) and argues that their usage of the term led to the 'official' designation by Doke. This expanded usage was soon adopted by ethnographers such as E. Dora Earthy and H. P. Junod to describe the entire region from the Save river to the coast.

[32] Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects.*

[33] Note that Shanga (or Machanga in Portuguese) on the coast is different from Sanga (or Quissanga, Chisanga) to the north. It is also not the same as Shangaan (or *Changana* in Portuguese), the name of a group of people in southern Mozambique who trace their identity back to the Gaza Nguni leader Soshangane.

[34] Doke relied on Zulu-speaking informants for information on the "Ndau Group" and did not gain a familiarity with the Mozambican region. Commenting on Doke's enduring classification of Shona into dialects, David Beach noted, "it is curious how it seems to have stood the test of time in light of practical experience and further research." *The Shona and their Neighbors* (Oxford, 1994). The more recent work of C. H. Borland revisits the classification of eastern Shona into the two dialect clusters of Manyika and Ndau. See, for example, "Conflicting Methodologies of Shona Dialect Classification," *South African Journal of African Languages,* 4, 1 (1983) : 1-19 and "Internal Relationships in Southern Bantu," *South African Journal of African Languages*, 6, 4 (1986) : 139-141.

[35] Ranger, "Invention of Tribalism," 6; See also Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, chapter 6.

a political unit.[36] Before 1890, as Terence Ranger contends, Shona-speakers were conscious of local chieftaincy groups rather than one overarching cultural or political identity that could be called 'Shona.'[37] Drawing on David Beach's work in early Shona history, Ranger argues that precolonial states in this region "had never pulled their subjects together into self-conscious identities, nor had they manipulated concepts of group identity in a manner which left a lasting legacy."[38] While this appears to be the case for much of the precolonial period, I will describe how Ndau speakers drew on their history of a shared language and culture to develop a wider sense of identity. This was especially apparent in the nineteenth century when the Ndau endured Gaza Nguni overrule as a conquered population, as discussed in chapter seven.

Some speakers of Ndau, particularly residents of Zimbabwe where about 80 per cent of the population speaks Shona, would identify themselves today as both Shona and Ndau, but their ancestors would not have considered themselves to 'be Shona'or even 'Ndau' in the nineteenth century.[39] Ndau-speakers most likely identified themselves with a region such as the lowland "Danda" area, or a political entity such as "Sanga" in the highlands or "Teve" to the north. As two elders from Machaze, Mozambique explained, "All north of the Save [river] speak Ndau, but the Ndau spoken in various zones is different."[40] Ironically, Doke's 1931 report stressed the need for "a linguistic term to use in connection with the unified language, a term by which the people need never call

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[36] Ranger, "Invention of Tribalism," 6.
[37] Terence Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe" in Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1989), 120.
[38] Ranger, 120. David Beach's scholarship on the Shona includes numerous articles and several books such as *The Shona and their Neighbors*, *A Zimbabwean Past* and *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850.*
[39] David Beach provides the figure of 79 per cent for Shona speakers in Zimbabwe, while other estimates tend to be around 80 or 83 per cent. Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* 185.
[40] Seven Laisse and Timothy Mataca, Guezane, Machaze, Mozambique, 16 July 1998.

themselves."[41] His recommendation of 'Shona' did indeed come to be used as an identification by many of the people themselves, despite the term's lack of historical significance.[42] Similarly, usage of the name "Ndau" has grown to denote about the same area of the "Ndau Group" on Doke's map. A second irony is that the use of 'Ndau' as an ethnic identity today covers a larger area than the local dialect of Ndau spoken only in the highlands.[43]

Just as 'Shona' has ambiguous origins, the exact derivation of the term 'Ndau' is also unclear. Today many Ndau speakers say that the term was first used as a exclamation of deference in greetings. In the late nineteenth century people would say *"Ndau-we, Ndau-we"*, which translates as: We salute you! We salute you![44] These words served as a sign of humbleness and respect, and the use of *"Ndau-we"* as a greeting has become a point of pride that symbolizes the friendliness of Ndau-speakers.[45] In a similar vein, several elders explained that the term is derived from *"ndau-ndau,"* or *"ndau"* (with a low tone), a saying people used "long back" when entering a homestead.[46] Robert Open Nkomo of Nyanyadzi, Zimbabwe said, "I think the Ndaus are called Ndau because when

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[41] Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects,* 80.

[42] The uncomplimentary term 'Shona' is the name of the language spoken by 6,225,000 people in Zimbabwe in 1989 and 759, 923 people in Mozambique, according to the 1980 census. According to Doke's report, there were about 150,000 'Ndau' in the 1930s. One third, or 50,000 people, were living on the Zimbabwean side of the border and the other two-thirds, about 100,000 people, were in Mozambique. In 1970, René Pelissier cited a figure of 750,000 for the number of Shona in Mozambique. Many of these would have been Ndau speakers. Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects,* Appendix III, 136; René Pélissier, *História de Moçambique,* Vol. 1, 39. [Online] Available http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Moza.html.

[43] As noted by Doke in his *Report* and numerous elders, including Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999 and Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

[44] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

[45] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000.

[46] "Long back" is at least the end of the nineteenth century in this case. Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000; Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999; Robert Open Nkomo, Nyanyadzi, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.

they get to a home they say 'Ndau.'[47] This expression "meant that if you were busy, that would be a signal to notify you so that you pay attention."[48] Those in the compound would respond by saying "gumai", meaning "come in."[49] Thus, 'Ndau' became a nickname used by others to describe the people who said "Ndau."[50] Today visitors to a homestead respectfully announce their presence by calling out "Do-do-do." The phrase "Do-do-do" serves the same purpose as "ndau-ndau."[51] In contemporary usage, the dweller calls for the visitors to enter the compound by responding with "Pindai." Although many Ndau-speakers no longer utilize "Ndau" or "Ndau-we" in their greetings, elders described this usage as common earlier this century.

In fact, the use of the word 'Ndau' may even extend back to the eighteenth century. The historian J. Keith Rennie argues that the earliest reference is apparently from a Portuguese document that mentions "Mujao" traders who crossed the Save river in 1739 to trade their gold for cloth at Inhambane.[52] This reference to "Mujao" is similar to "Ndjao", the Inhambane version of "Ndau."[53] About one hundred years later, the Portuguese writer João Julião da Silva referred to "Mataos" as well as "Madandas" and "Madandas Vatombozis" in the hinterland of Sofala in a report from 1844.[54] The British explorer St. Vincent Erskine made a similar observation of "Mandanda" in the lowlands

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[47] Robert Open Nkomo, Nyanyadzi, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.
[48] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000.
[49] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000.
[52] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 168-169.
[53] H. P. Junod, "Contribution," 18; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169.
[54] João Julião da Silva, Memoria sobre Sofalla (1844) in Memórias de Sofala (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para os Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998) 34, 49, 59, 67 and 74-75. The editors of this collection of documents, José Fialho Feliciano and Victor Hugo Nicolau, note that the Mataos were "Vatombozis of Quissanga" who were Gaza Nguni subjects integrated into the military structure of these conquerors. 34, n. 10; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169.

near the Save, and he also placed the term "Maandowa" on a 1875 map of his journeys.[55] These written references suggest an earlier existence of the term 'Ndau' and an established distinction from 'Danda' long before the recollections of twentieth-century elders.

The two groups of Ndau and Danda were not always that different, however, and the Danda came to 'be Ndau' as well. "In Nyabanga there are many Ndaus and Dumas," explained Sarai Nyabanga Sithole of Zamchiya.[56] "I want to tell you clearly," she said, giggling, "VaDuma and VaDanda were the enemies of the Ndau."[57] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana recalled that the Danda were "outsiders" who came from Mozambique to marry local people in the highlands so that both groups could "become one flesh."[58] Makuyana, born in Mozambique and now a resident of Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, explained, "the VaDanda can speak Ndau, our languages are almost the same."[59] He argued, "Yes, I can even say they are one and the same thing. The slight difference is the tones. After the Danda region, we could not hear their language, deep within Mozambique."[60] He concluded, "Ndau is difficult. If you go to the south, they are now Hlengwes, and they do not speak Ndau."[61] When Ndau elders made distinctions between themselves and others they often turned to language to define the wider Ndau identity. For instance, Mucherechete Dhlakama of Zamchiya explained, "I am Ndau because I was born by Ndaus. I do not have a Duma tone or language, neither do I have that of Hlengwe. That

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[55] St. Vincent Erskine, Route Map of the Gasa Country in "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 45 (1875) : 45-125, map facing p. 45.
[56] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

is why I say I am Ndau."[62] Unlike the Danda, the Duma to the west and Hlengwe to the south are distinctly *not* Ndau.

Among the eastern Shona known as Ndau-speakers, "being Shona" is replaced for the most part by a sense of "being Ndau", or being something else such as "Danda" or "Tomboji", but nevertheless speaking Ndau. In the East, there are highland Ndau known as Ndau, Garwe, Sanga and Tomboji along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border. Near the coast lowland Ndau are called Danda and Shanga. Mucherechete Dhlakama of Zamchiya also noted that "those from the valley were referred to as *mugowa.*"[63] Those a bit further north claim to be "Manica" or "Teve" and speak Shona dialects of the same name. It is interesting to note that 'Teve' is distinct from Ndau today, despite the fact that the precolonial Teve state was in the Ndau area under study here. In addition, many Mozambicans of the late twentieth century who live in the wider Ndau region do not see themselves as "being" Shona, even though they speak a dialect of Shona, according to linguists.[64]

The amalgamation of dialects in Doke's "Ndau Group," combined with the differences in accent and vocabulary between Ndau and other Shona dialects, has created confusion over Ndau as a language and relegated it to the fringe of the Shona-speaking

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[62] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999. Mubya Dhlakama was born in Maupfu across the border in Chikwekwete, Mozambique. For the Duma, see the work of R. Mtetwa, and for the Hlengwe, James Bannerman.

[63] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[64] One scene I witnessed in 1998 involved a group of young Zimbabweans having difficulty locating the right bus in Chimoio, Mozambique (the capital of Manica province). The Mozambicans they encountered at the market were using the local language of Teve, spoken around Chimoio, rather than the Shona of these Zimbabweans. My assistant, Farai Raposa, who grew up in Chimoio and speaks Teve, helped these young men find their bus by bridging the gap between Teve and Shona. Implicit in this dilemma was the distinction that Mozambicans made between "Shona" (i.e. the language of "Zimbabwe") and Teve (the language of Chimoio), and Farai was happy to offer this incident as an example of the language differences between Chimoio and the closest Zimbabwean city of Mutare near the border.

world. The remoteness of Ndau to most Zimbabweans is apparent in its oversight in two prominent Shona language dictionaries published in Zimbabwe. The authors of these Shona-English dictionaries avoid dealing with the Ndau dialect. A dictionary by D. Dale specifies words common to the dialects of Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Zezuru, but not Ndau.[65] M. Hannan's comprehensive *Standard Shona Dictionary* also leaves out Ndau but includes dialect variations from Karanga, Korekore, Budya and Zezuru.[66] As the ethnographer H. P. Junod argued in 1934, the Ndau are "certainly the most loosely connected group," although their affiliation with other Shona speakers is undeniable.[67] It is the history of the Ndau region in Zimbabwe and Mozambique that casts the most doubt on the usefulness of contemporary ethno-linguistic classifications.

Ethnicity and History

Although the process of creating and shaping ethnic identities is ongoing for any particular group, ethnicity remains tied to a sense of 'being' something that group members hold in common. Shared characteristics may include a language or dialect, geographical region, common origin or ancestry (historical or mythical), religious bond, or political entity. The shifting identities and changing polities among groups such as the Ndau pose a challenge for scholars, since both Africans and Europeans transformed ethnic identifications through social and ideological means at various historical moments. Even though history itself is constantly used to produce identities, ethnic identities tend to

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[65] D. Dale, *Duramazwi: A Shona-English Dictionary* (Gweru, 1981) 1.
[66] M. Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary* (Harare, 1959), xviii-xix.
[67] Henri Philippe Junod, "A Contribution to the Study of Ndau Demography, Totemism, and History," *Bantu Studies*, 8, 1 (March 1934), 17.

take on a powerful salience and appear to be natural, essential and primordial.[68] It is possible to discern how group identities respond to alterations in the political and cultural terrain over time, but continuities and differences in the 'creation' of ethnicity during the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial eras have yet to be explored in much of Africa. Throughout history, social stratification and struggles for power have intensified ethnic awareness among people who view themselves as sharing a common culture and historical origin.[69] Although ethnic identities may arise at any given time, they are most famous for leading to violence when they are used to satisfy group aspirations at the expense of others. The identities of a particular people exist "in a context of oppositions and relativities" as groups classify 'others' during their own acts of self-identification.[70] This study explores how ethnic identities were 'created' through social and political institutions, cultural practices and expressions, economic activities and relations between humans and the environment. For example, social structures such as families, extended kinship ties and patron arrangements shaped ethnic identification. Language, religious beliefs and rituals, oral traditions and aspects of material culture served to foster ethnicity in both subtle and obvious ways. In many instances, diverse socioeconomic activities and unequal access to environmental resources intensified ethnic awareness. Gender relations, shifting class structures and leadership patterns all influenced ethnic identification, and the unequal allocation of power and wealth heightened perceptions of group distinctiveness and exclusion. This project seeks to document how people

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[68] John Comaroff in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago, 1996).
[69] John Wright, "Notes on the Politics of Being 'Zulu,' 1820-1920," Conference on Ethnicity, Society and Conflict in Natal, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (14-16 September 1992); Leroy Vail, ed. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.*

speaking the same language maintain ethnic distinctions, at times more subtle than obvious, despite a history of overlapping political structures. I trace the forging of common identities as well as the processes of exclusion to offer a more meaningful analysis of long-term shifts in identities.

In order to identify the many linking and overlapping patterns and processes of change, I map the existing evidence of material culture over several centuries in the Ndau-speaking region. I examine markers of identity such as language, body art, religious beliefs, rituals and gender roles in the context of changing sociopolitical structures. I discuss cultural affinities in ceremonies and social gatherings and analyze the abundant information on Ndau dress, jewelry and markings on the face and body. The technologies of material culture as well as specific objects such as tools, clothing, pots, crafts and houses reflect changes in self-identity. Since ethnic awareness shifts over time, it is necessary to analyze archival materials, oral evidence and material culture to trace continuities and changes in a cultural identity among the Ndau.

In the archives, I have found scraps of evidence of an Ndau cultural identity in early travellers' accounts, reports by colonial officials, writing of missionaries and other miscellaneous documents. Portuguese records are rich in descriptions of material culture. Obscure ethnographic studies, despite their ahistorical framework, are also very helpful. A critical reading of these sources has yielded ample evidence of material culture and expressions of identity at different historical moments. I strive to bridge the divide between the social sciences and the humanities by offering a historical analysis of the

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[70] Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald and Malcolm Chapman, eds., *History and Ethnicity* (New York, 1989).

evidence of material culture.[71] A deeper historical study of the manner in which people constructed new ways of seeing themselves and others has relevance beyond southern Africa, for the phenomenon of ethnicity is worldwide. People call upon various identities in the midst of ethnopolitical conflicts, and my study examines the ambiguities and complexities inherent in the fluctuations of ethnic boundaries.

Previously, scholars avoided questions surrounding ethnic identities in Africa since ethnicity was considered to be a "retrogressive and shameful" topic, as Crawford Young notes, that could "summon forth from the societal depths demons who might subvert nationalism."[72] Similarly, in South Africa ethnicity was viewed as the false creation of an apartheid state and feared as a divisive force. More recently, scholars have acknowledged ethnicity as a motivating force in the world today. For Edwin Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, ethnicity is "politically constructed and may arise anywhere at anytime."[73] They argue that ethnicity holds the key to the structures of inequality, and they caution against current notions of primordial ethnicity that justify either "new or continued suppression of dispossessed groups." John Comaroff notes that an insidious neo-primordialism, a combination of primordialism and instrumentalism, is currently receiving attention in the discourse about ethnicity. With this "theoretical bricolage", ethnic identities call on some sort of primordial infrastructure in times of crisis or opportunity.[74] For Comaroff, this view legitimizes a racist politics of difference. In South Africa, for example, both Inkatha and conservative Afrikaners express their

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[71] Ian Hodder, "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture." in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, 1994).
[72] Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 103 (1986): 421-95.

ethnonationalist claims in primordialist terms. Ethnicity is attractive, for it simplifies the social world in a diffuse and unspecified manner and couches complexities "in the emotive language of identity, being and belonging."[75] An assessment of the fluidity of ethnic identification and its "historical baggage" is needed to combat destructive consequences of ethnicity, such as those arising from Zulu and Afrikaner nationalism.

In the social sciences, Fredrik Barth's work on the persistence and permeability of ethnic boundaries has shaped the evolution of thinking about ethnicity.[76] He argues that ethnic groups maintain discrete categories, such as observable cultural features of dress, language or architecture, as well as basic value orientations. He also shows that movement across ethnic boundaries and relationships with outsiders, often adversaries, can strengthen ethnic recognition. Expanding upon Barth, social scientists studying the Maasai in East Africa argue that ethnic ideologies shape identity formation and social action.[77] Moving beyond earlier ahistorical analyses, these contributors to *Being Maasai* point out that "ethnicity need not be strictly defined," since people in East Africa 'become' Maasai as both active and latent identities are transformed during a continual process.[78] This interdisciplinary collection allows us to see the interplay of various dimensions of ethnicity across the social field.

Historians have developed their own theories of ethnicity to explain the fashioning of ethnic identity during the colonial period in Africa. Scholars examined the "creation of tribalism" in colonial Africa and argued that the usually fluid cultural, social

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[73] Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago, 1996).
[74] John Comaroff in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference*.
[75] Wilmsen and McAllister, *The Politics of Difference*.
[76] Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston, 1969).

and political boundaries were fixed during the colonial period. Leroy Vail's model of the process of ethnic construction stresses the importance of culture brokers and African intermediaries in shaping popular ethnic ideologies.[79] Language, a central element of the "cultural package," serves either to foster unity or create divisions.[80] Vail's arguments, helpful in understanding the prickly problems of 'tribalism' during colonial rule, can also be applied to the precolonial period. Precolonial rulers used 'inventions' of ideology to heighten ethnic awareness and reinforce the loyalties of their subjects.[81] My study expands upon Vail's model to address gaps in our understanding of the precolonial era and to look further into the past for the motivating forces of ethnicity.

I am examining the shaping of ethnic identity over several centuries in order to analyze shifts that are apparent only over long time periods. The pioneering work of the historian Fernand Braudel sensitizes us to consider the value of analyzing continuities and changes in social, political, economic and cultural systems and traditions over centuries.[82] Braudel's method has led scholars to look at different conceptions of time. He measures time on three scales by examining the very slow history of people's relationship to the environment *(la longue durée)*, the social history of groups over several generations and the exciting yet dangerous history of events. Although the

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[77] Thomas Spear and Richard Waller, *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (London, 1993).
[78] Ibid..
[79] Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*.
[80] The large number of mutually intelligible languages in southern Africa complicates the mix, for Africans developed communication networks through trade and faced few "definable" boundaries in terms of language. For a discussion of a sense of African unity in South Africa before whites worked to erect barriers around African identities, see the recent work of Brett Cohen, "'Something Like a Blowing Wind': African Conspiracy and Coordination of Resistance to Colonial Rule in South Africa, 1876-1882" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2000).
[81] John Wright, "Notes on the Politics of Being 'Zulu,' 1820-1920."
[82] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1972); *On History* (Chicago, 1980); *A History of Civilizations* (New York, 1987).

traditional history of events is "the richest in human interest . . . we must learn to distrust this history with its still burning passions" since events act as a smoke screen to obscure the economic and social realities of the past.[83] By adopting all three types of approaches, historians are able to reflect on both rapid events and slower periods to move beyond traditional narrative histories. Only by looking at the *longue durée* can scholars offer deeper analyses of history with nuances of change and continuity.

I also draw on the methodological and analytical approaches used by several scholars who have begun to extend the discourse on the phenomenon of ethnicity by tracing its evolving course over several centuries. Ronald Atkinson relies primarily on oral traditions to make tentative conclusions about early Acholi ethnicity in Uganda.[84] He argues that the period from the mid to late seventeenth century was the crucial moment when a distinctive collective identity emerged among the people who came to be called Acholi. David Newbury's work contests the traditional understanding of 'clans' as static structures.[85] Using oral traditions and comparative evidence of ritual practices and political forms, Newbury shows that clan identities, rather than being descent-based, were continually transformed over time in the Kivu Rift Valley. Jan Vansina reconstructs political tradition in the rainforests of Equatorial Africa by using "words as history" to examine cultural interpretations and collective representations.[86] He argues that a single tradition, evident in a sense of cultural unity and common institutions, flourished for centuries among small political units previously considered to be unconnected. Vansina

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[83] Braudel, *On History*.
[84] Ronald Atkinson, "The Evolution of Ethnicity among the Acholi of Uganda: The Precolonial Phase," *Ethnohistory*, 36, 1 (1989): 19-43.
[85] David Newbury, *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780-1840* (Madison, 1991).

redefines tradition as a process with "concepts, values, institutions and tools" and declares that it "must continually change to remain alive."

Elizabeth Eldredge's study of nineteenth-century Lesotho provides another framework for tracing the evolving course of ethnicity.[87] She describes processes of amalgamation among southern African chiefdoms which led to the political consolidation of a kingdom and subsequent cultural assimilation. She uses oral traditions, an abundant amount of evidence about material culture and archaeological data to demonstrate the feasibility of tracing regional cultural linkages in spite of changing social and political units. Eldredge argues that the involvement of women in politics contributed to political reproduction. Through marriage alliances "women produced and reproduced the regional political order" and played an integral part in maintaining a common language and culture over a wide geographic area.[88]

Although women play important roles in reinforcing and transforming ethnic identification, politics and ethnicity are often mistakenly viewed as solely the affairs of men. In a recent book on the Anlo-Ewe of southeastern Ghana, Sandra Greene challenges the way in which most historians of Africa have studied gender and ethnic relations as two separate fields of social history.[89] She argues that both fields should be studied together since they are inextricably connected to each other over the *longue durée.* In her study of Anlo social groups known as *hlowo,* or clans, Greene offers an exciting approach for analyzing the intersection of gender and ethncity over several

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[86] Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990).
[87] Elizabeth Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho* (Cambridge, 1993).
[88] Ibid.

centuries. Dismissing the idea that "women have no tribe," she argues that Anlo women, since the late seventeenth century, consciously and explicitly supported and shifted ethnic boundaries within the lineages and clans of Anlo society.[90] Although many other studies of ethnicity have focused mainly on elite Africans, Greene notes that marginalized Africans--men and women--were actively involved in transforming ethnic identities as they defined and redefined their own identities. Disadvantaged people challenged their social definitions as the 'other', and some 'outsiders' were able to alter their identities. Greene's emphasis on the inextricable connections between gender and ethnicity over the *longue durée* is a very different, and welcome, conception of ethnicity.

In addition to these theoretical influences, my project builds upon the work of others studying ethnic identity among the Shona. Terence Ranger argues that missionaries and colonial administrators played a central role in the "invention of tribalism" among the Manyika in northeast Zimbabwe.[91] Although Ranger creatively shows how ethnicity was tampered with in the colonial period, he gives colonialists too much credit for inventing 'tribalism'. Scholars have begun to contest Ranger's conclusion that the origins of ethnicity do not lie in the precolonial past.[92] Herbert Chimhundu, a linguist, demonstrates how missionary linguistic politics "fixed" the ethnolinguistic map in the Shona-speaking region. He views the creation of "new and wider ethnic identities" to be a result of missionary influence in Zimbabwe, but he fails to

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[89] Sandra Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, NH, 1996).
[90] Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast,* is quoting Vail's Introduction to *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.*
[91] Ranger, "The Invention of Tribalism" and "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika."
[92] See Masipula Sithole's critique, "Ethncity and Democratization in Zimbabwe: From Confrontation to Accommodation" in Harvey Glickman, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and Deocratization in Africa* (Atlanta, 1995). Greene also finds faults with Ranger's approach.

discuss how these linguistic identities spread beyond the missions' sphere of power.[93] J. Keith Rennie's valuable study of Christianity and the origins of nationalism among the Ndau in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) shows how Ndau-speakers could adopt new identities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[94] I will expand upon Rennie's work and extend the scope to consider the precolonial situation on both sides of the border.[95] These studies have highlighted the manipulation of ethnic awareness during the colonial era, whereas I will shift the focus to encompass a longer time frame.

Ndauness as a "Mixed Pot"

The idea of a "mixed pot" of 'Ndauness' comes from an interview with Idah Manyuni of Chikore, Zimbabwe. When asked if there were outsiders living in her area near the border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe she replied, "Oo-oh yes! They are so many now . . . we are now a mixed pot, it is no longer Ndaus only." Her comments reflect the eclectic ingredients in the pot that is 'Ndauness', for both internal contributions and outside influences are part of the mixture. In this study I turn to the ingredients in this mixed pot and attempt to discern the ambiguities, distinctions and complexities inherent in an earlier sense of Ndauness. The metaphor of several different pots also reflects the many facets of Ndauness in the twentieth century, since the Ndau have distinct uses for various pots. For instance, there is a specific pot for water, another for beer, one for cooking greens, and a special pot for maize meal. When women bring

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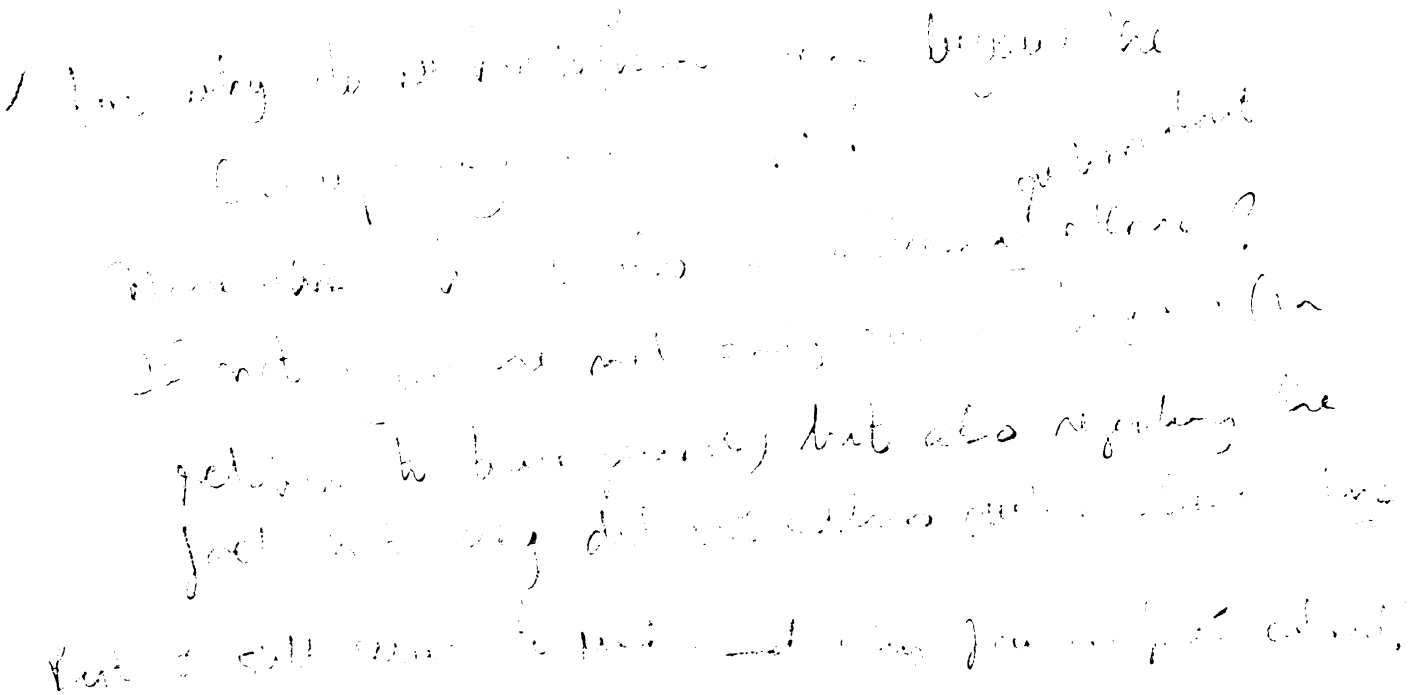
[93] Herbert Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the 'Invention of Tribalism' in Zimbabwe," *Journal of African History,* 33 (1992): 87-109.
[94] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935," Ph.D. diss., (Northwestern University, 1973).
[95] Rennie's short study of "Ideology and State Formation" in the Ndau region is an informative examination of the shaping of political and communal ideologies over several centuries.

these different pots together, they create a delicious meal--or in a larger sense, an Ndau cultural identity.

This study seeks to clarify our understanding of the 'creation' of ethnicity and the shaping of African identities before the onset of the colonial period through an examination of the case of the Ndau. Many historical studies over the last two decades, while groundbreaking for their time, have only highlighted African and European manipulations of ethnic awareness since the end of the nineteenth century. To move beyond the contemporary scholarship that focuses on recent identities, we need to look back in time. A wealth of documents from the Portuguese presence in Mozambique and Zimbabwe since the sixteenth century, combined with rich historical information preserved by elders of the twentieth century, offer scholars a tremendous opportunity to gain insight into the shifting identities at play in southeast Africa over the *longue durée.*



CHAPTER TWO
Sources, Methodology and Fieldwork

That is the thing that will record me.
We will go to America together. [1]
- Riyarwi Mushoma

Kare haagari ari kare.
The past will never remain the past.[2]
- Shona proverb

The sources for this study fall into two distinct categories: oral and archival. Yet as Riyarwi Mushoma joked above, more than 200 interviews conducted during fieldwork in the Ndau region did "go to America." As recorded interviews painstakingly transcribed into written transcripts, they now join the written record of southeast Africa's history alongside archival documents housed in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Portugal as well as published versions of selected documentary evidence.[3] Although there are some obvious differences between the two types of sources, I draw from each as an 'interpreter' with a critical awareness of their biases and 'errors'. I also celebrate the richness of the data and find that the documentary evidence complements the information gleaned from interviews with elders. Portuguese documents since the early 1500s describe African societies at the coast as well as activities on the Zimbabwe plateau. While European writers were often first-hand observers of the time period under study here, I learned just as much about Ndau history from the 'true historians' of the Ndau--

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[1] Riyarwi Mushoma, referring to the cassette recorder, at the beginning of our taped interview. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[2] Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 291.
[3] Copies of interview transcripts will be deposited with the Oral History Project of the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare and Mozambique's Arquivo do Património Cultural (ARPAC) in Maputo.

elders who have an incredible memory of events and traditions passed down from earlier generations. With a wealth of documentary evidence, combined with information gathered from Ndau elders, it is possible to reconstruct early Ndau history and gain a sense of 'Ndauness' over time.

Portuguese Writings as Historical Sources

For scholars of southeastern Africa interested in the early history of the region, the pen of the Portuguese was indeed mightier than the sword. Although most of the first Portuguese arrivals carried either the sword or the cross, they put these down to wield the pen and leave a written record of their triumphs and travails. The documents left by Portuguese soldiers, religious men and others in the service of the crown provide details that are relative not only to the Portuguese experience but also to African life. Rich portraits of African customs and appetizing snippets of Mozambican life are embedded in various Portuguese documents since the sixteenth century. The wealth of evidence left by the Portuguese sheds light on changes and continuities in Ndau history.

The Portuguese pen detailed favored hairstyles and common spices much to the delight of not only contemporary readers in Portugal, but also twentieth-century scholars interested in the past. Fragments of evidence about a type of brewed beer or a manner of dress were heretofore overlooked and most likely overshadowed by other 'official' documentation such as the voluminous correspondence between the King of Portugal and his Viceroy overseeing Mozambique. All of these materials are mere pieces of a larger historical puzzle about the early history of southeastern Africa. An analysis of the reports, letters and other data that have survived demonstrates the feasibility of recovering African perspectives from colonial sources, albeit 'tainted' and prejudiced

ones. Rather than dismissing this colonial record in its entirety, scholars need to acknowledge the inherent biases in these documents and subject them to a healthy interrogation, for they yield amazingly detailed and valuable evidence of African realties in what is today central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe.

Sofala and the African Setting

Before the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, the Sofala region of Mozambique thrived as an important trading center. About 10,000 residents lived around the bay of Sofala in 1505 when the Portuguese first established a fortress and began competing with local African traders, some of whom were Muslim.[4] Known for its gold exports, Sofala was an important East African commercial center similar to Kilwa and Zanzibar. Sofala was linked to wider trade networks that connected the Arabian Peninsula, India, Indonesia and Madagascar. However, its distant southern location meant that it was difficult to access because of the monsoon, and this lower frequency of contact placed it on the fringe of the sophisticated Indian Ocean exchange system.[5] The most powerful man at Sofala was a shaykh related to the Swahili living farther north along the East African coast.[6] This ruler directed exports of gold and ivory

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[4] "Letter from Diogo Alcáçova to the King (1506)" 20 November In *Documentos Sobre Os Portugueses Em Moçambique e Na África Central, 1497-1840* (9 vols., Lisboa, 1962-1972) vol. I, 397; hereafter *DPMAC;* T.H. Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia and the Portuguese, 1500-1865* (Waltham, MA, 1981), 16.

[5] In the monsoon wind system the prevailing direction of the wind reverses itself from season to season. In the Indian Ocean, travel from Mozambique to India was possible during the seasonal monsoon between April and September. Ships would reverse their course and sail to Mozambique from India in the months between November and February.

[6] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa,* extracts In George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa,* 9 vols., (Cape Town, 1964), I, 16. (Hereafter referred to as *RSEA.)*

from the interior and enjoyed considerable prosperity until the Portuguese gained control of Sofala in the sixteenth century.[7]

In the half century before Portuguese ships first entered the bay of Sofala, trade, particularly in gold, shifted towards the north and away from Sofala.[8] This reorientation soon eclipsed Sofala, and the coastal region of Angoche, along with the Zambezi river settlements of Sena and Tete to the north, grew into thriving urban settlements. These trade centers relied on the increased mining activity and new gold trade fairs, known as *feiras,* on the northern part of the Zimbabwe plateau.[9] Although Sofala did not offer the best access to these sources of gold in the northwest, the settlement continued to be a strategic location that the Portuguese managed to exploit after their arrival. At spring tide Sofala offered good entry to the innovative, deep-keeled Portuguese ships known as *naus.*[10] A small number of Portuguese maintained a fortress at the port and capitalized on the trade in ivory with the Ndau of the Sofala hinterland.[11] A combination of larger kingdoms, confederations and smaller polities existed at various times in the Sofala hinterland. The Portuguese tapped into the established trading networks and lines of communication to facilitate their commercial interests. Many rivers crossed this well-watered region known for its abundance in meat, fish and grains. To this day the Pungwe river marks the northern frontier of the Ndau-speaking area and the Save River forms a

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[7] Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, 1995), 4.
[8] Ibid., 10-11.
[9] Ibid., 10. Swahili traders and their local partners probably accelerated the shift in trade routes to the north as they moved to escape the new presence of the Portuguese at Sofala. The Portuguese did not cooperate well with Muslim traders and tended to assert their power through violence.
[10] Fr. António da Conceição, "Tratado dos Rios de Cuama" (1696) in *O Chronista de Tissuary* (2, no. 14-18, 1867: 34-45, 63-69, 84-92, 105-11), 63. Erosion has changed the shoreline of Sofala and destroyed the Portuguese fortress. The modern port is 20 miles to the north at Beira. Gerhard Liesegang, "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala," *Azania,* 7 (1972): 147-159; Elkiss, 72.

rough southern boundary.[12] Details from early Portuguese documents help historians form a fairly detailed picture of the early period, although the regional economic and political situation was not always clear to the Portuguese themselves at the time.

As Portuguese writers described events in the Sofala hinterland, they focused their attention on the Mutapa state, located on the Zimbabwe plateau northwest of the Ndau region. In the interior, extensive Shona political systems such as the Mutapa, Torwa and Changamire expanded rapidly and then disintegrated while decentralized, segmented political structures survived.[13] The Ndau and the Manica, both Shona-speaking people in the east, declared their independence from Mutapa overrule shortly before the beginning of the sixteenth century. From these new political subdivisions the larger states of Quiteve, Manica and Barwe were formed, along with smaller territories such as Sanga and Danda, located southwest of Sofala. The Portuguese left extensive evidence about their trading activities with the Mutapa state, but not surprisingly, documentary evidence about these smaller polities is scattered. From various sources we learn about commercial activities, political maneuvering and details of Ndau daily life.

Early Authors of the Documents

Portuguese chroniclers and missionaries wrote about this part of the world for the pleasure of their readers, while other officials corresponded with the Portuguese king and those in the government out of duty and necessity. The Portuguese monarchy initially

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[11] A mid sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicler, Góis, wrote that 400 households were at Sofala. Liesegang, "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala," 149

[12] The Save continues to serve as the western border of the Ndau-speaking region as it curves northward (from the mouth) in present-day Zimbabwe.

[13] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 79-80.

solicited information about African kings, wars and riches after contact was first made with the Ndau at Sofala and the surrounding region in the early sixteenth century. Often "the noise of gold drowned the thoughts of danger" for the Portuguese 'gentlemen' who sought their fortunes in Mozambique.[14] Some of the Portuguese who ventured into the interior were illiterate, so they described their observations to others who then created a written record secondhand. Missionaries proved to be the best observers and recorders of events. Many learned local languages such as Ndau and came to understand facets of Ndau culture. A long line of writers whose works have survived as archival documents or published texts provides scholars with a wonderful sample of data.

The Jesuit Father Francisco Monclaro was one observer who described African customs in detail in his report of Francisco Barreto's 1569 expedition to 'conquer' the ruler of the Mutapa state.[15] Despite the aggression of this famous mission and Monclaro's perception of Africans as "barbarous", his account offers precious evidence of African 'customs' and politics that can be compared with other great works of the period.[16] Monclaro stated that he has either observed various "customs and principal affairs" of Africans first-hand or "learned upon trustworthy information."[17] Monclaro had only secondhand knowledge of most of the Ndau area.

One of the main sources of information about southeast Africa at the end of the sixteenth century was produced by Father João dos Santos, a Dominican friar who lived in Sofala for a total of five years and also spent time in the Zambezi valley before writing

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[14] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa,* extracts in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 21.
[15] Francisco Monclaro, "Account of the Journey Made by Fathers of the Company of Jesus with Franciso Barreto in the Conquest of Monomotapa in the Year 1569," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 202-253.
[16] Monclaro, In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 226; João Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente,* (1609), (Lisboa, 1999).

his narrative.[18] His monumental, encyclopedic work, *Etiópia Oriental*[19] discusses the geography and culture of the Sofala region and the Zambezi valley. He also provides details about missionary activities and the military and commercial penetration of the Portuguese. His writings about Africans are valuable. Dos Santos had contact with Ndau speakers around Sofala who lived either in the land of Quiteve or just outside its borders. He also resided at the Mutapa court.[20] In *Etiópia Oriental* dos Santos argued that the region "is the most barbarous and brutal that there is in the world."[21] Both dos Santos and Monclaro made these statements in a religious context, however, for they refer to the widespread "heathenism" in the region and the need to introduce Christianity.

Father Manuel Barreto, a chaplain who spent several years with missionaries and Portuguese officials in the region, wrote a report in 1667 based on first-hand knowledge of the Zambezi and Mutapa region.[22] He urged the Portuguese king to promote the conquest of Mokaranga, Manica, Maungo, Baroe and Butua to secure "endless rich lands, like large counties, with revenues of from five to ten thousand, with which it would be possible to build up many houses and reward many services."[23] He points out that the conquest of Maravi and Quiteve may be left for a later enterprise since these kingdoms

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[17] Monclaro, In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 227.

[18] Dos Santos lived in Sofala from 1586 to 1590 and again from April 1594 to April 1595. In 1591 he left Sofala for Tete, where he spent eight months. He spent time in Sena and on Ilha de Moçambique, and from 1592 to 1594 he lived on the Quirimbas Islands. He returned to Portugal in 1600 and completed *Etiópia Oriental* in 1607. It was published in Évora, his birthplace, in 1609. Dos Santos later returned to Mozambique and lived in Sena. Manuel Lobato, "Introdução" to João Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 7-9.

[19] For dos Santos, *"Etiópia Oriental"* or "Eastern Ethiopia" was the eastern coast of Africa from the southern tip to the Red Sea. Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 73 and Lobato, "Introdução" in *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 24.

[20] Lobato, "Introdução" in *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 21-22.

[21] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 100.

[22] Manuel Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama (1667)" In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 436-508.

would be more difficult to subjugate and yield less lucrative spoils.[24] In one glaring exaggeration, Manuel Barreto overstated the southern boundary of the kingdom of Quiteve in his 1667 account, claiming that the territory ends at the Cape of Good Hope.[25]

Given the large amount of documentary evidence generated by an assortment of prolific Portuguese writers in Mozambique during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, it is fairly easy to whet the appetite of the researcher.[26] Unfortunately, events of the next two centuries are not as well known since the Portuguese were expelled from most of the Zimbabwe plateau in the 1690s.[27] Just as the early Portuguese were obsessed with the Mutapa state in their quest for gold, later historians were drawn toward the Mutapa state because of the extensive documents generated by four centuries of Portuguese contact, albeit uneven. Thus, a fair number of scholars have written about the history of the Mutapa state, but the same attention was not devoted to the surrounding region to the southeast. Many of the early narratives mentioned in this study have been published in multi-volume collections with English translations. A handful were printed in less accessible nineteenth-century journals, while still others are available only in various archives and libraries of Africa and Europe.

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[23] Barreto in Theal, *RSEA*, III, 493. No currency is given for the revenue. The original Portuguese provided by Theal is *"sinco a dez mil de renda."*

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 487.

[26] See, for example, the lists of documents in D. N. Beach and H. de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," 2 vols. (Harare, 1980, mimeo); Ana Cristina Ribeiro Marques Roque, "A Costa Oriental da Africa na Primeira Metade do Seculo XVI Segundo as Fontes Portuguesas da Epoca," (Tese de Mestrado, 3 vols., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1994), D.N. Beach, "Documents and African Society on the Zimbabwe Plateau Before 1890," *Paideuma*, 33 (1987): 129-145; and D.N. Beach, "Chronological list of documents from the beginning of Portuguese contact to the separation of Moçambique from Goa" (Provisional copy provided by David Beach, February 1998).

[27] David Beach, a leading historian of the Shona familiar with many early documents on Zimbabwe and central Mozambique, noted that after the 1690s "there was a decrease of knowledge of the Zimbabwe plateau contained in the written sources between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries." Beach, "Documents and African Society on the Zimbabwe Plateau Before 1890," 129.

Two well-known sources for primary materials are George McCall Theal's *Records of South Eastern Africa* and a collection of *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa* edited by António da Silva Rego and T. W. Baxter.[28] The collection edited by da Silva Rego and Baxter, an attempt to update Theal's *Records,* includes nine published volumes of documents on the Mozambican coast and hinterland from 1497-1615. Theal's volumes are valuable for the reports and chronicles from mainly the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They include informative selections from *Ethiopia Oriental,* the sixteenth-century account written by the Dominican friar João dos Santos mentioned above. There are also important excerpts from *Of Asia,* a 1552 chronicle from João de Barros, and *Decade of Asia,* written by Diogo de Couto between 1609 and 1616. It is possible to discern the early history of southeast Africa by partially relying on documents such as these.

Eighteenth-Century Writers

Although the Portuguese crown was mainly interested in gold and ivory, details about the "uses and customs", *usos e costumes,* of Africans also appears in some of the early accounts that Portuguese writers dutifully returned to the king in Portugal. Trustworthy information from the interior was scarce in both the early and middle part of the eighteenth century due to the distant relations with the Rozvi of the Changamire state, but Portuguese documents from the end of the eighteenth century are especially profuse. There was an impressive increase in the number of requests from the crown for

[28] Theal, *RSEA* and *DPMAC.*

information on Mozambique between 1781 and 1805.[29] The significant volume of responses sent from Mozambique during this time period provides scholars with an informative glimpse of African social and cultural history. Many authors were interested in African 'traditions', daily customs and the causes of conflict, and their manuscripts display a sincere, if at times misguided, attempt to describe an African 'way of life.' The accounts, like their predecessors, reflect an obvious Eurocentric view of the world held by the Portuguese at the time. This assortment of writings was followed by other important studies published later in the nineteenth century when the Portuguese and the British initiated aggressive steps towards a 'firm' control over the Ndau in their respective spheres of influence.[30] These records document how the European "civilizing" mission coalesced into systematic exploitation.

Ethnographic reports are the most valuable sources about things African. The authors included their own observations as well as the second-hand reports of others. João Julião de Silva (1769-1852), for example, consulted written primary sources housed in Sofala for his nineteenth-century *Memórias* about Sofala, and others may have done so as well.[31] Some accounts contain misleading tall tales, while others offer more accurate information. Ignácio Caetano Xavier appeals for sympathy from his European audience when he writes about the children of Portuguese settlers who are enslaved by the African ruler Changamira.[32] Xavier is also critical of the activities of certain priests, and he

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[29] José Feliciano Fialho, "Introdução" to *Memórias de Sofala*, by João Julião de Silva, Zacarias Herculano da Silva and Guilherme Ezequiel da Silva (Lisboa, 1998) 10; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 201.
[30] These include studies such as Joaquim d'Almeida da Cunha, *Estudo acerca dos Usos e Costumes dos Banianes, Bathiás, Parses, Mouros, Genios e Indígenas* (Moçambique,1885).
[31] Fialho, Introdução to *Memórias de Sofala*, 16.
[32] Inácio Caetano Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguezes na Costa de África Oriental (1758)" in António Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, (Lisboa, 1955), 143.

accuses them of devising schemes to enrich themselves at the expense of the crown.[33] Yet the author himself was looking for a royal favor in return for his work, and he managed to secure an appointment after his report was submitted in 1758.[34] Regardless of his motives, Xavier clearly stated Portuguese priorities when he declared that missionary operations should be followed by an influx of skilled mine workers.[35] Indeed, historians are pleased that Xavier was most efficient and detail-oriented in his undertaking, since scholars are able to benefit from the fruits of his labor. These Portuguese writers leave a meandering paper trail that combines informative musings with contradictory, erroneous and humorous details.

One of the most valuable documents is *Reposta das questoens sobre os Cafres,* written in 1781.[36] This reply to questions about the indigenous population of central Mozambique is probably the first ethnographic survey of Mozambique.[37] Before this report appeared in 1796, earlier works included fragments of data on African beliefs, customs, rituals and other cultural aspects amidst personal memoirs and reports of the Portuguese about plans to exploit the wealth of the region and develop favorable trading

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[33] Ibid., 143-44.
[34] Andrade, "Introdução aos Textos," *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,*, 22-23.
[35] Xavier in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* 186.
[36] An alternate spelling of *reposta* is *resposta.* Both mean answer or reply. "Cafre", a Portuguese term that referred to Africans in general, meant infidel or unbeliever in its Arabic origins. Muslim traders first used "kaffir" in southeast Africa to refer to Africans who were not Muslim (i.e. not Swahili). The term remains in use today (particularly in some South African circles) as the derogatory "kaffir." One sixteenth-century published reference is in Goes, "Chronicle of the Most Fortunate King Dom Emanuel of Glorious Memory (1566)" In Theal, *RSEA,* iii, 129: "The inhabitants of the country [the Mutapa kingdom] are black with woolly hair, and are commonly called Kaffirs by the settlers." S. I. G. Mudenge discusses the derivation of the term in *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c. 1400-1902* (Harare, 1988), xiv.
[37] The historian Gerhard Liesegang, who saw the value of this report in the 1960s, wrote the introduction and notes to a published version in 1966. Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* Introduction and notes by Gerhard Liesegang (Lisboa, 1966).

relationships.[38] Yet this *Reposta,* conceived as part of a failed attempt to form a national museum, assembles ethnographic pieces about the Ndau into a substantial package of information.[39] The document describes traditions, religious beliefs and rituals, aspects of social life, weddings and burials, death, divinations, prophecies about causes of death, various aspects of political life, agriculture and food, treatment of sickness, climate, topography, the manufacture of goods, and the use of plants found in nature. This report is attributed to Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, the Governor of Sofala, but another writer was most likely the true author, according to the Mozambican historian Gerhard Liesegang.[40] The *Reposta* deserves considerable attention as the most detailed example of evidence from eighteenth-century Portuguese sources.

Although no detailed discussion of African identities should overlook the value of the *Reposta,* the observations in this work are presented as biased comparisons with a Portuguese way of life rather than neutral observations about African methods and modes. Many paragraphs begin with statements about what Africans do *not* do rather than what they do practice. For example, Gama (or the actual author) claims that the Ndau have no ideas about the origin of their polity.[41] He even contends that they do not think about this question.[42] He alleges that the Ndau are ignorant about the history of the region since they do not know of an apparent "revolution" that once occurred among them.[43] Bearing in mind this caveat about Gama's mistakes and incorrect information,

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[38] One notable exception is the thorough *Etiópia Oriental* from the early seventeenth century by Fr. João dos Santos.
[39] Liesegang, "Introdução" to Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 7.
[40] Carlos José dos Reis e Gama apparently produced a report in 1781 on the natural history of the region.
[41] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 20. I refer to Gama as the author here until this case of alleged plagiarism is solved.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

scholars can turn to supporting evidence from other sources to confirm or reject some of the questionable observations in the *Reposta.*

Significance of the Documents

The methodology of both the Portuguese who wrote these early, 'precolonial' documents and the colonial officials who compiled more recent reports is somewhat similar. In the twentieth century colonial officials relied upon interpreters or acquired a proficiency in a local language, depending on their length of time at a post and their personal views about African languages. Early missionaries in the region learned African languages, including Ndau, and spoke them in their efforts to spread Catholicism. Many Portuguese traders certainly developed a knowledge of one or more local language and those who married Africans were exposed to Ndau culture intimately. These men, and all surviving records of the early period come from men only, studied the "customs and practices" of the people.[44] Scholars are fortunate that some who were well informed recorded their observations. The friar dos Santos conducted his own "oral interviews", presumably as historians do today. Dos Santos spoke with elderly Ndau women at Sofala who "perfectly remembered events that had taken place eighty years before."[45] Most of his writings were the result of direct observations and experience, such as his comparison of women's agricultural practices in Africa and Northern Portugal.[46] At times the valuable observations of dos Santos and others describe realities that still exist in Ndau

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[44] Travel literature did not appear until the second half of the nineteenth century when Europeans, including several big game hunters, wrote accounts of their "adventures" south of the Zambezi river.
[45] George McCall Theal, "Abstract of Ethnographic Information Contained in Portuguese Records and Early Histories, Added to Papers on the Same Subject Published Some Years Ago by the Compiler of these Volumes," in *RSEA,* VII, 392; Lobato, "Introdução" in Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 22.

culture.[47] Yet the documents also reveal a dynamic history, full of good stories with twists and turns along the way to keep the reader, and the historian, entertained.

The information garnered from the early Portuguese pen, combined with evidence from oral histories, aids the historian in mapping the contours of Ndauness over time. For instance, the documents tell us that hand clapping enjoyed widespread use as an important custom. This practice has endured in the Ndau region to this day. Chiefs have their own distinct order and rhythm for the clapping at their courts, and men clap differently from women in daily greetings and expressions of pleasure. It is unfortunate that the Portuguese chroniclers, missionaries and officials--all men--tended to focus on the deeds of men. African women are often noticeably absent from many of the Portuguese descriptions, and thus information about their contributions must be sought elsewhere to obtain a fuller picture. Despite shortcomings such as this, historians who consult the eclectic evidence left by the Portuguese can gain an understanding of Ndau history across the cultural divide.

The Portuguese sources reveal historical data about African perspectives and material culture from earlier centuries that can be compared with evidence garnered from interviews with Ndau elders in the twentieth century. Interestingly, Gama insisted that the Ndau did not have "any memories or traditions of times passed."[48] He was either misinformed about the importance of memory and oral traditions among the Ndau or perhaps felt that unwritten African remembrances did not constitute an accurate recording of the past. It is clear to twentieth-century historians, however, that African oral histories

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[46] Lobato, "Introdução" in Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 37; Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 112.
[47] Lobato, "Introdução" in Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 37.

and traditions have proved to be an essential component for an in-depth study of the region's early history. Scholars can no longer rely solely on European documents, for their inherent biases, exaggerations, misinformation, and repetitions of false rumors often render them severely flawed. Although they do not tell the *whole* story of things past, they do contain a wealth of evidence that merits a thorough consideration and interrogation. By comparing this documentary evidence with other sources such as the archaeological record and African oral traditions, scholars can ask and answer questions about the hinterland of Sofala over the *longue durée.*

Scholars and Interpretations

Not surprisingly, historians have interpreted the evidence about the wider Shona-speaking region differently. For instance, exaggerated Portuguese accounts of the Mutapa's wealth and power often tend to cloud historical realities. Historians studying Shona history have also recognized the limitations inherent in oral traditions. Although D.P. Abraham collected many Shona oral traditions in the 1950s, these have proved to be quite unreliable.[49] Beach has pointed out the problems and pitfalls of relying too heavily on these Shona oral traditions, but his own work on the Shona has demonstrated how oral

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[48] Gama, *Reposta,* 20.

[49] David Beach revises his arguments about D. P. Abraham in *A Zimbabwe Past* (Gweru, 1994), chapter 6, from an earlier article of his, "The Mutapa Dynasty: A Comparison of Documentary and Traditional Evidence," *History in Africa,* 3 (1976): 1-17. Between 1959 and 1963 Abraham published several influential works on Shona precolonial history. He reached his conclusions based upon fieldwork in the northern plateau area as well as documentary evidence. His first work appeared in *NADA,* the journal established in 1923 by Southern Rhodesia's Native Department so that colonial officials could record local histories and observations about "native affairs." Then in 1960 Abraham presented a paper at the Leverhulme conference at the university in Salisbury (Harare) and moved from "the world of *NADA*" to the academic arena of the University College in Salisbury. However, Beach successfully shows why "very little of Abraham's work is trustworthy." *A Zimbabwean Past* (Gweru, 1994), 3, 227-28, 234.

histories enhance an in-depth history.[50] The use of oral traditions is important, but they can be problematic. For example, oral traditions claim that Teve, Danda, Sanga and Manica were formed by the sons of the first Mutapa ruler, but Gerhard Liesegang and others have pointed out that this was probably not the case.[51] However, these 'errors' have their own interesting motivations as well.

Reconstructing the history of these secondary states has proved to be difficult, but scattered evidence from the documents and works by scholars such as J. Keith Rennie, David Beach, Innocent Pikirayi, James Bannerman, Richard Mtetwa, H, Bhila, Andrew Mtetwa and Allen Isaacman provide a framework. Most important for my own interests in the Ndau region, J. Keith Rennie's work provides an indispensable first look at how the Ndau adopted new identities in his scholarship. His dissertation focused on Christianity and the origins of nationalism among the Ndau in Zimbabwe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[52] A short essay published ten years later on ideology and state formation discussed precolonial identities among the secondary states of the Ndau region. Rennie also explored transformations in the Musikavanhu Territorial

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[50] D. N. Beach, *A Zimbabwe Past; The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History* (Harare, 1980) and *The Shona and their Neighbours* (Oxford, 1994). See also other work on oral histories from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), including P. Carbery, "Maungwe Traditions," UZ History Department unpublished M.A. paper, 1986; I. Pikirayi, "The Traditions of Nyanga," UZ History Department unpublished M.A. paper, 1986, and R. Dube, "Family History: A Case Study from Southern Zimbabwe," UZ History Department BA Honours diss., 1989. Through the Arquivo de Património Cultural (ARPAC) in Mozambique, there is much new work on the collection of oral histories in Mozambique as well. ARPAC's offices in Beira and Chimoio pursue an active field research agenda.

[51] Gerhard Liesegang, "Sofala, Beira e a sua Zona," *Arquivo (Boletim do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique)* 6 (October 1989) : 21-64; Mudenge, *Political History,* 46; "Capítulos XX a XXV da Década IX da Ásia de Diogo do Couto" (post 1573) *Documentos,* VIII, 321. In the late sixteenth century, the Friar João dos Santos discussed this connection and "the errors made by certain writers." See João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609) Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 286.

[52] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973).

cult between the Sabi and Lundi rivers.[53] I seek to build upon Rennie's work in the Ndau region.

David Beach's impresive and detailed research has enhanced our understanding of Shona history, for his work on Shona political history, including the intricate arrangements of dynasties spanning several centuries, is invaluable. His first book, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* is an extensive precolonial history of the Shona people on the Zimbabwe plateau between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers. He uses Portugese sources, oral traditions and archaeological evidence to describe the Zimbabwe (Great Zimbabwe), Torwa, Mutapa and Rozvi states. In a more recent work, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* Beach focuses on Shona relations with neighboring Africans such as the Nguni states of the Ndebele ot the southwest and the Gaza Nguni to the southeast. Again, he draws on an impressive amount of evidence to provide a history over a long time frame. He explores the location and nature of Zimbabwe's early populations and includes informative sections on the Shona environment, social structures and commerce. In his last book, *A Zimbabwean Past,* Beach returns to his earlier specialty--Shona dynastic histories and oral traditions. Drawing on research carried our over 24 years, he ingeniously shows how Shona oral traditions reveal the past. Despite Beach's amazing scope, thorough analysis and extensive contributions to the field, more work on the precolonial period remains to be done in the eastern region.

Detailed archaeological evidence from the Mutapa state is analyzed in Innocent Pikirayi's recent archaeological study. In this work Pikirayi explores the historical archaeology of northern Zimbabwe from the fifteenth century to the present. His

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[53] J. K. Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu

excavations focused on the Mt. Fura region, the seat of the Mutapa state several centuries ago. Meanwhile, a political history of the Mutapa state by Mudenge offers a fresh look at the relationship between external trade and internal forces. Mudenge critically examines previous "misconceptions" concerning the history of the Mutapa state and minimizes the role of external trade in internal Mutapa politics. James Bannerman is currently working on tying together the connections between archaeological and historical evidence in the eastern Shona region. He has completed a study of the precolonial state of Bvumba in the Manica region and a history of the Hlengwe, neighbors of the Ndau to the south.[54] His exciting new research on the locations of archaeological sites, linguistic data and ethno-history should help to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of this overlooked region. Pikirayi and Bannerman's work stands out as an innovative approach to reconstructing Shona history through the use of archaeological and historical evidence.

Another excellent case study is Andrew Mtetwa's study of the Mutapa influence over the kingdom of Teve.[55] Through a careful reading of the documents, including sources not used thoroughly before, Mtetwa reevaluates and reinterprets both Mutapa and Portuguese activities in Teve. Mtetwa concludes that Teve was originaly a small unit ruled by a *muchinda,* or prince, that expanded after successful secondary conquests. João dos Santos writes about Teve in all its glory at the end of the sixteenth century, but Teve later disintegrated when several provincial princes rebelled. In his examination of the

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Territorial Cult in Rhodesia," in *Guardians of the Land*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers (Gweru, 1978).

[54] James Bannerman, "Bvumba - Estado Pré-Colonial Shona em Manica, na Fronteira Entre Moçambique e o Zimbabwe," *Arquivo.* 13 (April 1993): 81-98 and "Hlengweni: the History of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi Rivers from the Late Eighteenth Century to the mid-Twentieth Century." *Zimbabwean History,* 12 (1981): 1-45.

[55] Andrew H. Mtetwa, "A History of Uteve under the Mwene Mutapa Rulers, 1480-1834: A Re-evaluation" (Ph. D. diss. Northwestern University, 1984).

internal dynamics of Teve, Mtetwa provides insight into the types of interactions between conquering groups and those that they dominated.

Although Richard Mtetwa's dissertation on the Duma people of southeastern Zimbabwe covers a later time period, from the early eighteenth century to 1945, it is an interesting study of a confederation.[56] He focuses on the decentralized nature of the precolonial economy and the internal trade among the Duma themselves. Mtetwa argues that precolonial trade patterns and industries continued into the twentieth century and played a significant role in the Duma resistance to exploitation. He also contends that the proto-Duma migrated from Teve in response to the activities of Portuguese traders in the region.

Several case studies illuminate other areas in the region. Bhila's book on *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom* examines the political and economic history of the Manyika in the eastern Shona region.[57] Using both documentary and oral evidence, Bhila discusses relations with the Portuguese and surrounding African states as well as the importance of gold in the area. In an earlier article, he first argued that alluvial gold-digging and trade, rather than farming, were the main occupations of the Manyika.[58] He contended that through successful diplomacy and control of mercantile activities, Manyika's leaders prevented both the Rozvi emperors and the Portuguese from exercising any real control over the kingdom from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century.

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[56] Richard M.G. Mtetwa, "The 'Political' and Economic History of the Duma People of South-Eastern Rhodesia from the early Eighteenth Century to 1945," (Ph. D. diss. University of Rhodesia, 1976).
[57] H. H. K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom* (Salisbury, 1982).
[58] H. H. K. Bhila, "Trade and the Survival of an African Polity: The External Relations of Manyika from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century" *Rhodesian History,* 8 (1976): 1-11.

Allen Isaacman's extensive work in the Barwe (Barue) region has enhanced out knowledge of Barwe's history. In his article on "Madzi-Manga," he focuses on only one chapter in the kingdom's political history, due in part to the "paucity of archival data."[59] Madzi-Manga is the name of holy water used in a ritual function. Through the use of oral traditions, Isaacman reexamines the ritual significance of the *madzi-manga* and explores the process of investiture. After analyzing the role of the national guardian spirit in Barwe society, he concludes that sacred qualities of kingship were transmitted through the *madzi-manga.* This study sheds light on the history of Barwe and its neighbors.

A lengthy Portuguese presence in the Sofala hinterland that spanned several centuries did not lead to significant Portuguese influence in the Ndau region. There was a relatively small population of Portuguese officials, *prazeros* (holders of leased crown estates) and traders living in the area, and a viable Afro-Portuguese community did not develop (except along the coast), as was the case further north near the Zambezi river.[60] For the most part, European institutions were not transplanted among the Ndau, and European technology and material culture did not take root. Elements of European culture were present in the form of firearms, a few luxury items and several churches with their accompanying ritual objects.[61] More often the exchange flowed more the other way, for the small number of Portuguese in the area adopted African material culture and an African way of life. Missionaries made few converts, but fortunately they left many

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[59] See Allen Isaacman, "Madzi-Manga, Mhondoro and the Use of Oral Traditions - A Chapter in Barue Religious and Political History," *Journal of African History,* 14, 3 (1973) 395. James Bannerman raises concerns about "Madzi-Manga" in "The Extent and Independence of the Mutapa, Torwa, Manyika, Barwe and Teve Territories and States," University of Zimbabwe Seminar Series, (20 July 1981), 13, n. 65.
[60] In the eighteenth century, for instance, there were *prazos* at Chiloane, Mambone, Chuparo, Ampara, Chironde and Cheringoma, according to Malyn Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa* (New York, 1973). See his map on p. 219.
[61] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique.*

documents. The Portuguese already in the area worked to exclude new settlers and officials so that they could share the wealth among only a select few. Traders extracted the wealth of the region, in the form of gold, ivory, slaves, skins or base metals, and sent it through long-established trading networks from the hinterland to the coast.

Archaeology can fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge of Shona history before the arrival of the Portuguese, but the archaeological evidence is scattered and scarce in the Ndau region. For eastern sites on Mozambique's coastal plain, our best evidence is from studies by Garlake, Barker and others of Manyikweni, 133 km south of the Save River.[62] Manyikweni has an architectural style, *zimbabwe* stone building technique, contents and dates that are contemporary with Great Zimbabwe, since the earliest construction was in the twelfth century.[63] Building in stone, known as *zimbabwe,* occurred throughout the wider Shona-speaking region from the late thirteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century.[64] At Manyikweni, agriculture, livestock and hunting were the basis of the *zimbabwe* economy, but Chinese porcelain and glass beads present at the site are evidence of external trade.[65] Archaeologists have determined that stone structures in the Shona-speaking area indicate the existence of an elite living inside the enclosures separate from the rest of the population.[66] Evidence from *madzimbabwe*

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[62] Peter Garlake, "An Investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique," *Azania,* 11 (1976): 25-47 and "Excavation of a Zimbabwe in Mozambique," *Antiquity,* 50, 198 (June 1976) : 146-48; Graeme Barker, "Economic Models for the Manekweni Zimbabwe, Mozambique," *Azania,* 13 (1978): 71-100.

[63] Manyikweni was occupied up to the seventeenth century. Garlake, "Excavation," 146.

[64] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* 99.

[65] Barker, "Economic Models," 96; Paul J. J. Sinclair, *Space, Time and Social Formation: A Territorial Approach to the Archaeology and Anthropology of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, c. 0-1700 A.D.* (Uppsala, 1987) 99.

[66] At Manyikweni, for instance, analyses of faunal samples reveal that the community near the stone enclosure had a more lavish diet than the ordinary people farther away from the enclosure. Young cattle were slaughtered for an elite around the enclosure and other game were also eaten there. Of the bones recovered, antelope bones exceeded those of domestic livestock both within the enclosure and outside the stone walls. An intermediate level of society that ate sheep, goats or game rather than cattle may have

such as Manyikweni and Great Zimbabwe suggest that a large degree of social and political change was occurring within these societies before the arrival of the Portuguese.[67] Archaeologists have only excavated a handful of *zimbabwe* sites in the Ndau region, but future archaeological work should yield valuable evidence to aid historians studying the Ndau and their neighbors, for these smaller *madzimbabwe* to the east are similar to those on the plateau, where more work has occurred.[68]

To avoid dissonance between the two disciplines of history and archaeology, Jan Vansina points out that historians need to re-think how "to blend an archaeological reconstruction of an earlier period with a substantial historical one."[69] Few historians have shown much interest in material culture, yet both archaeologists and historians would benefit from systematic studies of material culture. Thus, historians need to turn to their sister discipline, or as Vansina says, to their lost 'siblings'--archaeologists--to enhance studies of precolonial history.[70] Archaeology provides "resonance to documentary evidence by placing it against its background, by eliciting the longue durée

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existed also. Others on the periphery ate mostly grain, wild foods and meat acquired from hunting rather than consuming cattle, sheep or goats. These ordinary subjects appear to have relied on agricultural products such as millet and sorghum for their subsistence while occasionally eating meat as a supplement. Peter Garlake, "Excavation of a *Zimbabwe* in Mozambique" and "An Investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique"; Graeme Barker, "Economic Models"; Berit Sigvallius, "The Faunal Remains from Manyikeni," in Paul J. J. Sinclair, *Analysis of Slag, Iron, Ceramics and Animal Bones from Excavations in Mozambique* (Maputo, 1988), 27; Sinclair, *Space, Time*, 96.

[67] Connah, *African Civilizations*, 195.

[68] H. A. Wieschoff, *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in Southeast Africa* (Menasha, WI, 1941); Octávio Roza de Oliveira, "Amuralhados da Cultura Zimbáuè-Monomotapa de Manica e Sofala," *Monumenta: Boletim da Commissão dos Monumentos Nacionais de Moçambique*, Lourenco Marques, 9 (1963); and James Bannerman, "Notes and Questions Regarding the Archaeology, Language and Ethno-History of Central Moçambique between the Zambezi and Save Rivers." Paper Prepared for Presentation to the Tenth Pan African Archaeological Congress, Harare, (June 1995), 1 and appendix one.

[69] Jan Vansina, "Historians, Are Archaeologists Your Siblings?" *History in Africa*, 22 (1995): 369-408, 370.

[70] Ibid.

in which documented events and trends unfold," according to Vansina.[71] Until recently, the historical scholarship was based mainly on Portuguese written records, but an incorporation of archaeological evidence and a careful use of oral traditions will enhance our interpretation of the documents, which have their own biases.

In the future, more work on the archaeological history of the wider Shona-speaking region will help to resolve some of the gaps in the historical record. Bhila's research on the Manyika, A. Mtetwa's study of Teve and Rennie's research on the Ndau are exemplary case studies for the eastern region, but we need more investigations such as these to gain a better understanding of the wider picture. We know much about the Mutapa state, yet the research program for the Ndau area remains unfulfilled. Differences in style variation--any change in material culture that is not related to the function of the object--offer clues about early ethnic identities. The elaborate stone ruins at sites such as Zembe, Messambuzi, Uzuma (Ussoma), Nhamara and Magure are a fertile and scarcely explored ground for archaeological research and historical interpretation in the southeastern region.[72]

Field Experiences

Alessandro Portelli writes about how the telling of 'wrong' tales enhances our knowledge, since "errors, inventions and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings,"[73] Interpreting the meaning of errors can be a difficult business. In this study I have attempted to glean some truths and understand errors as more than casual

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[71] Ibid., 398.
[72] Bannerman, Wieschoff and Roza de Oliveira all provide details of various sites.

mistakes. The large number of interviews allows me to assess a wide range of responses to many of the same questions asked of over 200 elders. Yet, I also have stories from elders that inadvertently answered my questions and also raised new lines of inquiry. They recalled events from over sixty, seventy or eighty years ago, for most of those interviewed were in their 80s and 90s. Elders were very friendly and willing to speak at length about their knowledge of history and customs long ago. When someone claimed to know little about history, I explained that we were also studying *magariro netsika akare*, the way of life and customs long ago. Thus, they had knowledge passed down from earlier generations that was not necessarily 'history', but nonetheless helpful information for my project.

My study area is relatively large since I wanted to speak with elders from one end of the Ndau region to the other (Figure 8). I interviewed elders in both the capitals and outlying areas of all districts inhabited by an Ndau-speaking majority. Throughout my fieldwork I worked with an assistant when conducting interviews.[74] Three Mozambicans, António Francisco (Farai) Raposo, Jaime Maconha Augusto and Pedro Castigo, as well as one Zimbabwean, Pinimidzai Sithole, facilitated my introduction into communities, asked questions during interviews and transcribed the taped interviews. Their assistance

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[73] Alessandro Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli" in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, 1991), 2.

[74] Although my knowledge of Ndau allowed me to communicate with people, some elders I encountered during fieldwork acted as if I spoke strangely. To my relief this was not only due to my American accent, but also a result of the Shona that I mixed in with Ndau--a product of language training with Zimbabweans in standard Shona. "Oh, she is speaking *Shona*!" elders would often exclaim, when they realized that I was not using a "foreign" language such as Portuguese (in Mozambique) or English (in Zimbabwe). This distinction highlighted the perceived gap between Ndau and Shona among elders.

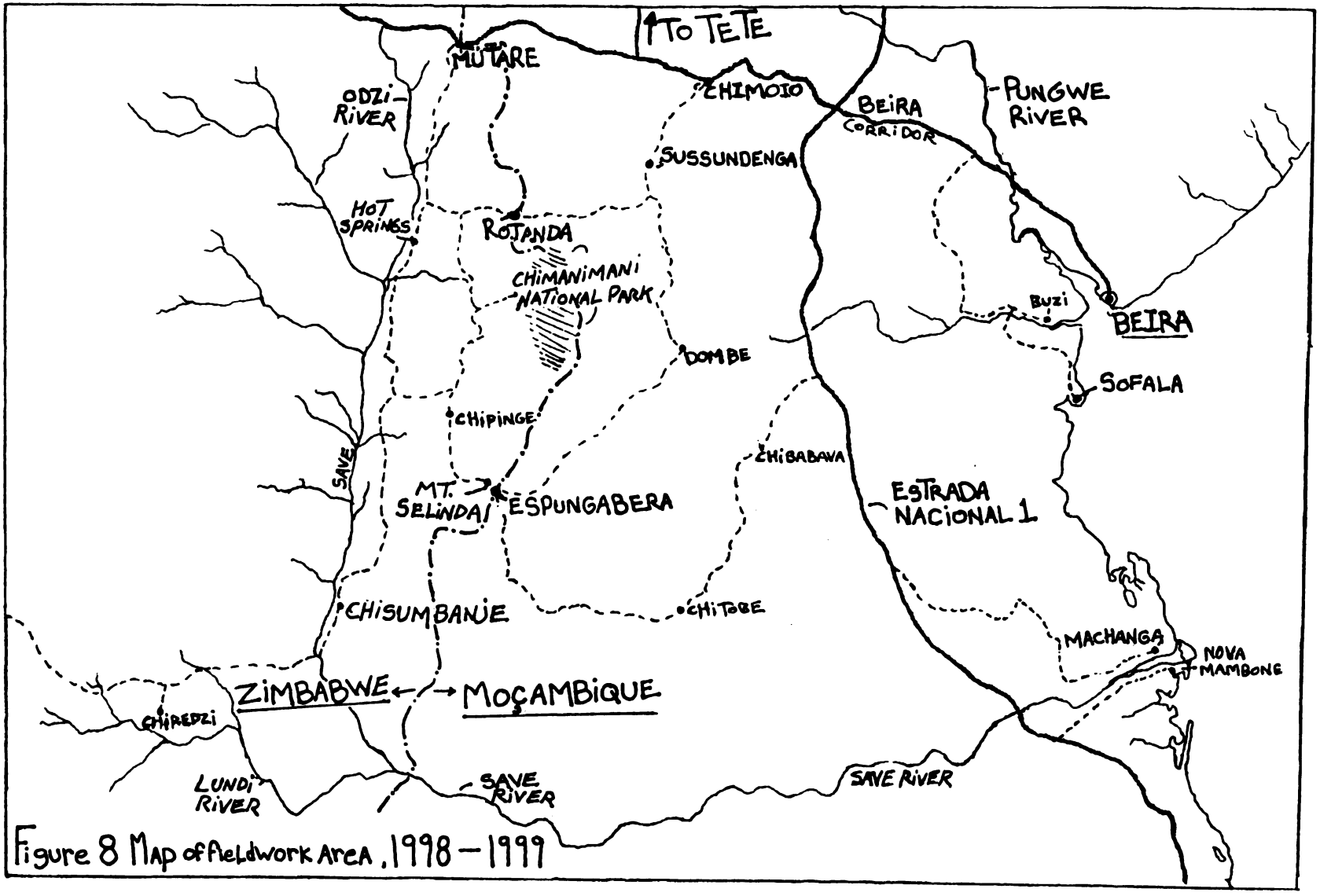

Figure 8 Map of fieldwork Area, 1998 – 1999

was invaluable.[75] At each field site I conducted interviews on a daily basis when logistics permitted, and I tape recorded each interview only if informants were willing and comfortable.[76] Questions during interviews were open ended, but we guided the conversation when necessary. Sociopolitical structures, gender roles, language, religious beliefs and rituals were the main themes raised in each interview. Many questions focused on the technologies of material culture and household production. Other studies of material culture have shown that muted voices, particularly those of women, can be expressed in the decoration of rooms and pots.[77] I spoke mainly with elders over 80 years of age--both men and women--to record their recollections of earlier times. The information gathered from these interviews, although clearly subject to interpretation by both the sources and the researcher, helps to counter the class and gender biases often present in the written record.[78]

As a sign of my appreciation for the time and generous sharing of knowledge from informants, elders interviewed received photographs of themselves. In most cases I presented them with an instant Polaroid photograph, and I also took a picture with my

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[75] Elias Nyamunda also graciously assisted during several interviews in Vhimba, Zimbabwe. Transcripts of taped interviews from Zimbabwe are in English, while my Mozambican assistants transcribed interviews recorded in Mozambique into Portuguese.

[76] I always sought permission to conduct and record each interview. After elders granted consent verbally, I would turn on the cassette recorder to begin taping. Michigan State University's Office of Research and Graduate Study, University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS), reviewed and approved this study on 19 November 1997, with renewal approval granted on 29 January 1999 (IRB # 97777). I also received approval from the Research Council of Zimbabwe to conduct fieldwork and archival research in Zimbabwe as a Research Associate with the University of Zimbabwe. A *Credencial* from the History Department at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane facilitated fieldwork in central Mozambique.

[77] Ian Hodder, "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture," In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, 1994); Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past* (Cambridge, 1991); Ian Hodder, ed. *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1982). For an excellent example from southern Mozambique, see Heidi Gengenbach, "Where Women Make History: Pots, Stories, Tattoos, and Other Gendered Accounts of Community and Change in Magude District, Mozambique, c. 1800 to the Present," Ph. D. diss. (University of Minnesota, 1999).

camera. A copy of this second picture was distributed to each person later. In addition to these photos, I offered each elder a small gift to thank them for the interview and express my gratitude. These tokens ranged from packets of seeds and soap to razor blades and matches. At times I also reluctantly distributed cigarettes, particularly to chiefs, when other gifts seemed inappropriate.

During fieldwork near the border, it was clear that the international boundary separating Zimbabwe and Mozambique is an "artificial" border that cuts through the Ndau-speaking area dividing kin, culture and speakers of the same language. Most people on or near the border are oriented toward Zimbabwe, partly due to the infrastructure on that side. With better roads and more frequent transport, well-stocked shops and greater educational opportunities, Zimbabwe lures Ndau speakers residing on the Mozambican side of the border. Today children cross the border to attend school in Zimbabwean communities such as Zamchiya and Zona, and some Mozambican residents use only Zimbabwean currency.[79]

Both distinct colonial histories and post-independence fighting in Mozambique have created discrepancies between the two sides of the border. People on the Mozambican side fleeing to Zimbabwe "simply traded one set of obligations to their chief for a less severe one" on the other side, as David Hughes has convincingly shown in his recent research.[80] Bonds of marriage, language and culture tie Ndau speakers to one another across the border. They share common interests and a common identity, but they

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[78] See Stephen Devereux and John Hoddinott., eds., *Fieldwork in Developing Countries* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993).
[79] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999; Field notes, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, July 1999.
[80] David McDermott Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-

do make distinctions among themselves. The border is a marker and a tangible facet of the Ndau region. People refer to it in conversation and acknowledge its existence, making this a 'hard' border in some respects.[81] Yet, elders such as Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana noted few differences in the customs and way of life *(magariro netsika)* on either side of the border earlier this century.[82] Comparing his birthplace in Mozambique to his current home across the border in Zamchiya, Zimbawe, he noted, "The only difference was that a school was built earlier in Zamchiya than in Chikwekwete. That is the only difference."[83]

In this study of the shared cultural, political and linguistic heritage that has provided the basis for a larger 'Ndau' identity, it was necessary for me to conduct research in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe since the territory of the Ndau stretches across central Mozambique into southeastern Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, I have found that the imposed boundary running through this region has divided much of the scholarship. With this project, I have attempted to cut across this colonial boundary and transcend the intellectual frontier defining ethnicity in terms of the colonial and postcolonial age. I have discovered the importance of talking to Ndau speakers on both sides of the border and envisioning the wider history of the Ndau region. The next chapter examines exchanges that took place long before the existence of the border.

Mozambique Border," Ph.D. diss., (University of Califronia, Berkeley, 1999), 123.

[81] Ibid., 119. Hughes describes how people cross the border, "but emigration strips at least some people of rights and securities they regularly enjoy at home."

[82] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

[83] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE
Precolonial Exchanges: Politics and the Ndau Economy

Therefore Kaffirs who are careful to choose laborious wives are the richest, and have the most provisions.[1]
-Fr. João dos Santos in the 1580s

There is plenty of ivory in Sofalla and some amber and also gold with which people come from Quiteve and Manica to buy merchandise.[2]
-Fr. Felippe da Assumpção, c. 1698

For centuries, the Ndau and their Shona-speaking neighbors traded gold, ivory and other commodities with Muslims from the Arabian peninsula, neighboring Africans and the Portuguese to develop contacts that strengthened precolonial identities among the Ndau. This chapter discusses the economic and political contexts that shaped these early ethnic boundaries by examining trade (both local and long-distance) and political relations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Ndau region. I also consider activities in the wider eastern Shona region between the Zambezi and Save rivers, for related trade patterns and political systems influenced identities across this area. Large states, confederations and smaller polities existed at various periods across the Shona and Ndau-speaking region, and dynamic trading networks and lines of communication helped to maintain cultural similarities. Political identifications occurred at multiple levels as villagers and chiefs alike recognized overrule by larger states and paid tribute to dynasties such as the Mutapa, Torwa and Changamire at various times.

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[1] João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1609) in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of South-Eastern Africa,* (Cape Town, 1964) VII, 208. (Hereafter referred to as *RSEA.)*
[2] Fr. Felippe da Assumpção, "Brief Account of the Rivers of Cuama c. 1698" in D. N. Beach and H. de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890" (2 vols., Harare, 1980) I, 270.

Dynamic and extensive political systems expanded, competed and splintered long before the onset of the colonial era.

Africans 'created' ethnic identities in part through economic activities and political institutions, and for Ndau-speakers a shared cultural, political and linguistic heritage has provided the basis of a larger 'Ndau' identity. Historically, ethnicity was used for political purposes and ethnic boundaries were drawn within overlapping political structures. Trade and politics shaped ethnic identification, along with other cultural practices and expressions such as language, religion, art and architecture. As the term "Karanga" fell into disuse in Portuguese documents, existing political designations became ethnic terms, or "political ethnicities."[3] By examining the political map and political identities of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe, this chapter begins to unravel how the Ndau shaped history and identity during the precolonial period.

Wealth stemmed partly from the long-distance trade in gold and ivory between the interior and Sofala. Swahili traders from East African coastal towns further north brought cloth and beads to trade for gold and ivory with Shona-speakers along the coast of central Mozambique long before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Ndau probably exchanged goods with the Swahili first at Sofala and later along the Zambezi River at Sena and Tete.[4] The Swahili were Muslim merchants involved in a sophisticated Indian Ocean exchange system over many centuries. Since these Africans had long-term contacts with the Arabian Peninsula and other points further East, there were Arab

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[3] John Keith Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-Eastern Shona, 1500-1890," in Ahmed Idho Salim, ed. *State Formation in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi, 1984), 174.

influences on their Bantu culture and language, KiSwahili. After the Portuguese arrived at Sofala and began to trade with the Shona, they planned to expel all Swahili merchants, many of whom acted as middlemen in the profitable Indian Ocean trade . But the two groups of traders co-existed for some time, and both penetrated the hinterland to trade at *feiras,* or trading fairs, on the plateau.[5] By taking over strategic bases in key East African ports, the Portuguese became a formidable competitor in the Indian Ocean system. Yet trade and commerce, rather than political domination or territorial possession, characterized early relationships between the Shona-speaking "Karanga" and their trading partners--the Swahili and the Portuguese.[6]

As Great Zimbabwe on the southern part of the Zimbabwe plateau declined in the early fifteenth century, major trade routes shifted further north through towns on the Zambezi river. The Mutapa state benefited from this and grew to dominate over the northern part of the Zimbabwe plateau as well as portions of the central Mozambican coastal plain. The Portuguese intervened in the Karanga politics of the Mutapa state to regulate the export of trade goods, but they never completely conquered the Mutapa state or managed to maintain long-term control over the eastern territories of the Ndau, Teve and Manica. The Mutapa rulers, meanwhile, demanded taxes and tribute from subjects in their sphere of influence and attempted to exert some form of rule over outlying areas.

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[4] Sofala, or *Bilad as-Sufala,* was viewed by earlier Muslim merchants from the Arabian peninsula as a region along the coast rather than one specific port. T. H. Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia, and the Portuguese, 1500-1865* (Waltham, MA, 1981) 3, 8.

[5] Trading centers existed prior to any Portuguese presence in the area, but the Portuguese wanted to control the *feiras* (trading fairs) with a *capitão mor* (administrative authority) and soldiers at each fair to increase their profits from the gold trade. The Portuguese attempted to conquer the Mutapa state and take control of the inland goldfields while the Swahili were content to remain as middlemen.

[6] See David Chanaiwa, "Politics and Long-Distance Trade in the Mwene Mutapa Empire During the Sixteenth Century," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 5, 3 (1972): 424-435.

The eastern territories, however, successfully maintained their independence from the larger Mutapa state.[7]

Early Economies and Trade

Difficulties in establishing secure, long-lasting bases hindered initial Portuguese endeavors to reap commercial benefits and proselytize in this part of southeast Africa. The two major coastal sites for the Portuguese were Sofala and Mozambique Island, the administrative center for official business with Portugal's base in Goa under the *Estado da India.* Missionaries arrived at these locations and began to work among African populations. A 1614 agreement instructed the captain of the fortress of Mozambique and Sofala, Rui de Mello de Sampaio, to "not hinder the passage on the Rivers [of Cuama and Sofala] of those clerics or missionaries who are proceeding to the churches and the Christians on the orders of the Archbishop Superior or the Administrator... and they shall be permitted to take with them the things they need for their sustenance and for divine worship."[8] However, they were not permitted to take wine to sell.[9] The documents indicate that commerce was the main priority over all other concerns.

Early on, Sofala symbolized Portugal's power and prowess in the Indian Ocean region. The Portuguese created a captaincy there in 1505 to administer a royal monopoly over gold and, later, ivory. Although the gold mines in the interior were not on the scale

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[7] These included large states such as Teve (Quiteve, Uteve), Manica (Manyika), Barwe (Barue) and Danda (Madanda), as well as smaller territories including Sanga (QuiSanga, Kisanga, Chisanga), Dondo and Machanga (Mashanga).

[8] "Contract of the Trade of the Rivers of Cuama and Sofala with Rui de Melo de Sampaio (1614)," 17 March In *Documentos Sobre Os Portugueses Em Moçambique e Na África Central, 1497-1840* (9 vols., Lisboa: National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; Centro de Estudos Históricaos Ultramarinos, 1962-1972: 335-343) vol. IX, 339. (Hereafter cited as *DPMAC.)*

[9] Ibid., 339-341.

of an African El Dorado, Sofala was an important reminder of Portugal's presence in southeastern Africa and the crown's unrelentless quest for gold. The area, referred to initially as the biblical land of Ophir, remained a mythical "gateway to fabled lands of gold and glory" despite the decline of the settlement at Sofala.[10] In 1530, soon after Sofala's early prominence waned, Goa became the capital of Portugal's *Estado da India*. Later in 1752 the King of Portugal declared the separation of Mozambique from the government of Goa. Even though the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by administrative autonomy for Mozambique, this change made little difference for most of the African population in the hinterland of Sofala.

Manuel Barreto notes that the Portuguese initially used Sofala as a base before it was eclipsed by Sena and Quelimane. He observed around 1667, "Today some gold from Manica is exported from Sofala, which I think does not exceed five hundred pastas, whereas that annually exported from Quelimane is nearly three thousand."[11] The main trade goods from Sofala at the time were ivory from Quiteve and Manica, along with some ambergris.[12] Earlier reports from 1580-1584 of the fortress at Sofala note that the trade in ivory was reduced, compared to the "extensive trade in gold and ivory" earlier.[13] This was not for a lack of ivory. Conceição noted that there was much ivory inland in a region ruled by an African called Caranga (Mukaranga), but a frustrating system of trade left Portuguese traders returning "with their hair standing on their heads after having been

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[10] Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado*, 70-72.
[11] Manuel Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama," In Theal, *RSEA*, III, 479. A pasta was a measure of gold that weighed about 100 *maticals*, according to S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c. 1400-1902* (Harare, 1988), xviii.
[12] Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama," In Theal, *RSEA*, III, 479-80. Ambergris, a grayish, waxy substance from the intestines of sperm whales, was often found floating in tropical seas. It was used in some perfumes.
[13] "Papers Concerning Sofala and Mozambique (c.1580-1584?)" In Theal, *RSEA*, IV, 1-2.

one, two or sometimes three years in the bush, away from their homes."[14] This Shona ruler did not allow unauthorized subjects to trade with the Portuguese since he wanted to maintain control over all external ivory sales.[15] The monopoly of the trade reduced the quantity of ivory that elephant hunters turned over to the ruler and his authorized elders since these leaders failed to cover transport costs and pay "a fair price," according to the Portuguese.[16]

The Portuguese, like the Swahili before them, traded cloth and beads with the Ndau and their neighbors in exchange for ivory, gold and slaves.[17] At the end of the seventeenth century Conceição noted that slaves were very cheap and the land was abundant in meat, fish, maize and rice, yet wheat was absent.[18] Francisco Barreto's expedition to conquer the mines of Mutapa relied on more than 2,000 slaves to transport equipment and supplies up the Zambezi.[19] Trade in slaves north of the Zambezi was noted by Manuel Barreto in 1667.[20] The Mutapa rulers received tribute from chiefs and others who ruled over parts of their empire.[21] The Portuguese also presented an annual gift, called a *curva*, to powerful rulers such as the Mutapa to ensure free passage through their territories and unhindered access to gold mines.[22] Francisco Barreto, the first Portuguese captain of Sofala, initiated this arrangement with the king of Quiteve since

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[14] Conceição in D. N. Beach and H. de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," 200.
[15] Ibid., 204; Fr. António de Conceição, "Tratado dos Rios de Cuama (1696)" *O Chronista de Tissuary.* 2, 14-18 (1867): 63.
[16] Conceição in Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," I, 200.
[17] Conceição, *O Chronista de Tissuary,* 63.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Monclaro in Theal, *RSEA,* III, 238.
[20] Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama," Theal, *RSEA,* III, 481
[21] Conceição, *O Chronista de Tissuary,* 66.
[22] See, for example, "Contract of the Trade of the Rivers of Cuama and Sofala with Rui de Melo de Sampaio (1614)," In *DPMAC,* IX, 339; Curva is the Portuguese rendering of the Shona *kuruva* (to make an obligatory contribution), Mudenge, *Political History,* xii.

this ruler controlled the trade routes in the immediate Sofala hinterland.[23] After the Mutapa ruler Mavhura signed a treaty of vassalage to the Portuguese crown in 1629, the Portuguese secured a steady supply of gold from the mines of the Mutapa state and enjoyed a somewhat stable trading relationship with the lands of the interior.[24]

Throughout the eighteenth century, Sofala was a mere foothold for the Portuguese rather than a major center of trading operations in the Indian Ocean region. In the middle of the eighteenth century there were only four "rich" Portuguese settlers living at Sofala.[25] The fortress was in decline and the waves of the encroaching sea pounded against this symbol of Portugal's presence among the Ndau.[26] But in the hinterland both Portuguese and African leaders were actively vying for power over people and natural resources. Around Sofala and near the mouth of the Save river at Mambone to the south, as well as further north along the Zambezi river, the Portuguese had established *prazos,* or crown estates, in the early seventeenth century.[27] These *prazos,* grants of land made by the Portuguese crown, became Africanized institutions as land was acquired from African chiefs and the Portuguese interacted and intermarried, with the local population. *Prazeros,* or estate holders, and other Afro-Portuguese backwoodsmen, *sertanejos,* along

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[23] Friar Luis Cacegas, "Extracts from History of the Order of Saint Dominic in the Kingdom and Conquests of Portugal," Extracts in Theal, *RSEA,* I, 380- 406, p. 396; João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente,* 1609, (Lisboa, 1999), 175; Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, 1995), 94.

[24] Mudenge dates the period of Portuguese ascendancy from 1632 to 1684 in *A Political History of Munhumutapa,* 263 and 258; "Report: Contract of the Mines of Monomotapa with D. Estêvão de Ataíde (1610?)," In *DPMAC,* IX, 211.

[25] Ignácio Caetano Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" (1758) in A. A. Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* (Lisboa, 1955) 142.

[26] Ibid., 155. See Gerhard Liesegang, "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala," *Azania,* 7 (1972) : 147-159.

[27] For works on the *prazo* system, see Allen Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution* (Madison, 1972) and M. D. D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa* (New York, 1973) and *A History of Mozambique,* Chapter

with their private armies, tended to act independently of the Portuguese crown and refuse to recognize royal authority. *Prazeros* and *sertanejos* negotiated a coexistence with Shona populations and took advantage of local conflicts to strengthen their positions. Thus, Portugal's overall 'colonial' presence was limited in practice to control over most of the trade routes leading to the interior.[28] African activities, rather than Portuguese policies or maneuvers, shaped most of this region's history, since the Portuguese failed to settle inland in large numbers or assert much control over the Ndau 'heartland' of the interior.

Sofala was linked to other lands inhabited by the Shona in the *sertão,* or hinterland. The system of rivers south of the Zambezi allowed people in Sofala to communicate with those in Manica via the waterways, but little direct contact was possible with the town of Sena on the Zambezi river since, as Barreto noted, there were no rivers connecting the two towns.[29] Assumpção commented, "there is plenty of ivory in Sofalla and some amber and also gold with which people come from Quiteve and Manica to buy merchandise."[30] The abundance of ivory in Quiteve led to an expansion of the ivory trade up to the end of the seventeenth century.[31] In his 1667 report, Manuel Barreto described the region of Quiteve as "very rich, fertile, and healthy" with an abundant supply of ivory and ambergris.[32] However, he claimed, "not a grain" of gold was to be

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10. The holder was referred to as a *prazero.* Most married locally, and after the first generation *prazeros* tended to be of mixed descent. The origins of the *prazos* stem from the sixteenth century.

[28] Ibid., 201.

[29] Barreto, "Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 479.

[30] Fr. Felippe da Assumpção, "Brief Account of the Rivers of Cuama c. 1698" In Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," 270.

[31] Conceição, *O Chronista de Tissuary,* 45.

[32] Barreto In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 487.

found.[33] Dos Santos noted the importance of cattle over gold for the people of Abutua, located in the interior on the southern part of the Zimbabwe plateau.[34] South of Sofala pearls and seed-pearls were discovered in the Bazaruto archipelago and along the coast to the port of Inhambane, where ivory was also traded.[35] The Portuguese interest in economic exploitation led them to record details about African economies and polities in the Sofala hinterland.

Many Ndau and their other Shona-speaking neighbors were interested in acquiring the main imports of cloth and beads, but it simply was not feasible for most Africans to gather and exchange gold and ivory directly on the plateau or in the Sofala hinterland.[36] For example, killing elephants for meat and ivory required skilled hunters or the use of large pits. Even though attacking an elephant was very dangerous, approximately 4,000-5,000 elephants were killed each year in the sixteenth century.[37] Yet Beach estimates that under 2,000 people hunted elephants.[38] He also calculates that only one in every five Shona "lived within a reasonable distance of gold reefs or alluvial deposits."[39] Many people were killed in accidents when they worked inside gold mines; gold washing was much safer. Other trade commodities, including copper, iron, leopard skins, beeswax, rubber, grain and cattle were traded for cloth, beads, iron implements and

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[33] Ibid., 489.
[34] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 205.
[35] Conceição, *O Chronista de Tissuary,* 63; Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, In Theal, *RSEA,* I, 15.
[36] "Relação (Cópia) Feita pelo Padre Francisco de Monclaro, da Companhia de Jesus, da Expedição ao Monomotapa, Comandada por Francisco Barreto" (post 1573), *DPMAC,* VIII, 390.
[37] João de Barros, "Da Asia" (1522-1613) Theal, *RSEA,* VI, 266; Mudenge, *Political History,* 176-78; Richard M. G. Mtetwa, "The 'Political' and Economic History of the Duma People of South-Eastern Rhodesia from the Early Eighteenth Century to 1945," Ph.D. diss. (University of Rhodesia, 1976), 272; and Beach, *Neighbours,* 73.
[38] David Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors* (Oxford, 1994), 73.
[39] Ibid.

porcelain.[40] A 1512 document notes that cloth, either imported or made locally, was "traded throughout the land."[41] Gold, imported beads, cloth, guns, cattle, hoes and ivory were all used as currencies in the precolonial period.[42]

The major trade routes from the coast in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century ran up the Zambezi river or through the northern part of the Sofala hinterland into Teve and Manica. There were other routes to the east coast via the Búzi and Save rivers further south, but Rennie argues that this trade, although continuing until the nineteenth century, was "limited."[43] Boats did navigate up the Búzi, Pungwe and Save rivers for at least 50 miles from the coast.[44] Communication links were good in this central region, and it is unclear why more long-distance trade did not occur during the reign of the Mutapa state.[45] Perhaps the shift in power from Great Zimbabwe to the Mutapa state, as well as the lengthy distance to the Mutapa capital in the north, discouraged external trade. Since the Ndau region had few gold deposits, the Portuguese were not very interested in trade there.[46] However, even though the documents fail to mention trading activities, commerce may have been substantial since mining tends to support the trading of commodities in surrounding communities. Other flourishing long-distance trade routes

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[40] Ibid., 73; John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism, and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935," Ph.D. diss. (Northwestern University, 1973), 52.
[41] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 185, 187.
[42] Richard M. G. Mtetwa, "The 'Political' and Economic History of the Duma People of South-Eastern Rhodesia," 273.
[43] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism,"52.
[44] The Búzi was navigable for about the first hundred miles, the Pungwe for fifty to one hundred miles and the Save was passable to the present-day border with Zimbabwe, according to Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 52. Liesegang notes that João Julião da Silva wrote in 1846 that boats could go up the first 150 km of the Save to Maringa, and after that bark canoes were used. Liesegang, "Archaeological sites on the Bay of Sofala," 152.
[45] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 37.
[46] Ibid., 40-41, 52.

ran even further south through the Tsonga region to Venda in the interior.[47] After Sofala turned into a backwater under Portuguese control in the 1530s, trade shifted to the route along the Zambezi, which was closer to many *prazos*.[48]

The *prazos* disrupted trade in the Mutapa state and the eastern Shona region, inhabited in part by the Ndau, even though the Portuguese presence in the area was relatively small. For example, after Sisnando Dias Bayão won a large region of Teve territory on the Búzi river, the king of Teve was forced to keep "a good understanding" with the Portuguese, apparently out of fear.[49] The *prazos* became Africanized institutions as land was acquired from African chiefs and the Portuguese interacted with the local population. Many *prazo* holders, who were often of a mixed Afro-Portuguese background, considered themselves to be quite African. *Prazo* rulers relied on an army of slave soldiers known as the *chikunda* and demanded tribute from local Africans under their control. The *prazos* exerted political power in the area through marriage allainces, mercenary activities, and concessions from African chiefs.[50] Some *prazos* were "essentially chieftaincies", and they demanded tribute, mined gold and traded ivory within the regional economic network.[51] The "parasitic nature of the *prazo* system" led to violence and disruption in the region.[52]

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[47] Ibid., 51.
[48] Innocent Pikirayi, *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State: Towards an Historical Archaeology of Northern Zimbabwe* (Uppsala, 6, 1993), 109.
[49] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667), Theal, *RSEA*, vol. III, 487; Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 167. See Isaacman and Newitt's work on the *prazos* for detailed studies of the relationship between the eastern Shona and *prazo*-holders such as Sisnando Dias Bayão and António Loba da Silva.
[50] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 217-218.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Pikirayi, *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State*, 119.

Trade and State Formation

External trade was only one factor in the complex process of state formation among Shona-speaking groups, and thus we should not assume, as some of the literature does, that a direct, causal relationship existed between commerce and political consolidation.[53] The wider Shona area has a shared history of large states, confederations and smaller political chiefdoms, but as Beach contends in his last book, a straightforward relationship between trade and state formation among the Shona did not exist.[54] In an early work from 1970, Nicola Sutherland Harris argues that the Rozvi king controlled and confined the large volume of internal and external trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to benefit a small, oligarchical group of rulers and priests.[55] Stan I. G. Mudenge challenges this conclusion that the king had exclusive control over trade and dismisses the validity of the "trade-stimulus hypothesis" as applied to the Rozvi case.[56] Mudenge also finds fault with David Chanaiwa's 1972 study of long-distance trade in the Mutapa state.[57] Chanaiwa argues that external trade played an important role in Mutapa politics. He discusses how shrewd Mutapa leaders during the sixteenth century controlled internal and international trade within their sphere of influence. Mudenge, somewhat unsuccessfully, criticizes this view that external trade played an important role

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[53] For arguments about gold mining trade, see I.R. Phimister, "Pre-colonial Gold Mining in Southern Zambezia: A Reassesment," *African Social Research* 21, June 1976 : 1-30. Phimister criticizes H. H. K. Bhila's work for overemphasizing the importance of mining in Manyika. However, Bhila makes a strong case in *Trade and Politics* and "Trade and the Survival of an African Polity." For a summary of several works on trade and state formation, see also Gerald Bender and Allen Isaacman, "The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique," in Christopher Fyfe, ed. *African Studies Since 1945: A Tribute to Basil Davidson* (London, 1976).

[54] Beach, *Neighbours,* chapter 3.

[55] Nicola Sutherland Harris, "Trade and the Rozvi Mambo" in Richard Gray and David Birmingham, eds. *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (New York, 1970).

[56] S. I. G. Mudenge, "Role of Trade in the Rozvi Empire: A Re-appraisal," *Journal of African History*, 15, 1974 : 373-91 and *A Political History of Munhumutapa*, 27.

in internal Mutapa politics. For the case of Teve, Andrew Mtetwa argues that the kingdom, originally a small district, "grew out of that small province in spite of, and not because of, designs of central power."[58] It is important to consider both the recent focus on internal activities and state power as well as earlier scholarship which emphasizes external factors.

Even though Great Zimbabwe, and subsequently the Mutapa state, were involved in trade to the coast, there is simply not enough evidence to support the assumption that trade was the primary cause of state formation at Great Zimbabwe.[59] Archaeological evidence has helped historians to understand more about Great Zimbabwe, but we still do not know all of the reasons behind the formation of this powerful state. Beach cites the importance of local wealth such as cattle, and he argues that the historical connections between local and external capital among the early states of the Shona still remain hazy.[60] Archaeological data has shown that the Shona responded quickly to meet the demands of Swahili traders for gold and ivory.

At this point, further archaeological research is needed to shed light on the importance of both local resources and external capital, as well as the actual dates of state formation. Additional information on early trade at Great Zimbabwe, Torwa, Changamire or Mutapa may lead to new theories about trade and state formation among the Shona. They may follow Beach's contention that trading in iron and salt did not lead to any regional political importance for some early trading communities, for even though

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[57] Chanaiwa, "Politics and Long-Distance Trade."
[58] Andrew H. Mtetwa, A History of Uteve under the Mwene Mutapa Rulers, 1480-1834: A Re-evaluation." Ph. D. diss. (Northwestern University, 1984), 18.
[59] Martin Hall provides an excellent archaeological summary in *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860* (Capetown, 1987).

these items were highly valued in Shona society, Beach argues that the trade was not on a scale to support specialization or scheduled markets.[61] Unfortunately we do not have the answers to some crucial questions about the relationship between trade and state formation with the early Shona states.

On the other hand, evidence from the Mutapa state clearly demonstrates that political power was intricately linked to external trade. Leaders relied on imported goods to secure the political loyalty of their subjects.[62] Steady trading patterns strengthened the position of rulers, but scholars debate the actual relationship between external trade and Mutapa political power. Beach and Chanaiwa both argue that external trade was essential for Mutapa rulers, but Mudenge challenges this view. Instead, Mudenge claims that while commerce was important to the Mutapa state, trade played a lesser role than historians have suggested.[63] Mudenge concludes that internal production fueled the Mutapa state, and leaders did not benefit greatly from or exert much control over external trade. He attempts to show that external trade with the Portuguese did not have a prominent influence on Mutapa politics, but evidence of extensive trading relations and benefits between the Mutapa leaders and the Portuguese contradicts this contention. Mudenge overlooks the inherent economic and political power of this new trading relationship. The need to protect trade from disruption is often described as a major reason for state building in other cases. As Beach and Chanaiwa have noted, the documents for this situation suggest that when trade was erratic or trade routes were threatened, political power became precarious.

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[60] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors,* 70, 74, 77.
[61] Ibid., 61-62.
[62] Ibid., 72. This evidence is mainly from Portuguese documents.

Rulers of the Mutapa state asserted their dominance over a large area, and they demanded tax and tribute from subject peoples within this sphere. Their power, however, was often threatened by outsiders, such as the Maravi north of the Zambezi river and conniving Portuguese who interfered with earlier trade patterns established between the Shona and the Swahili of the East African coast.[64] Although smaller chiefdoms in the interior were incorporated into the Mutapa state, the larger eastern territories maintained their own independence, in part by exerting control over the trade routes which passed through their land. The Mutapa state was unable to dominate the coastal rulers who traded out of Sofala.[65]

The Mutapa State

The Mutapa state, based in Dande on the northern edge of the high veld, exerted varying degrees of control over the thriving trade that passed through the smaller territories to the east. Documentary evidence from the Portuguese reveals economic and political connections between the Mutapa state and its eastern offshoots. The Mutapa state emerged on the northern Zimbabwe plateau by about 1490 and grew to exert erratic, but considerable control over a large area. Smaller political units to the east remained on the periphery of Mutapa's influence. The oral traditions published by Abraham in the 1950s and early 1960s suggest that the origins of the Mutapa state stem from Great

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[63] Mudenge, *Political History.*

[64] The leader of the Maravi peoples across the Zambezi in the 1590s is referred to as Chunzo. "Extractos da Decada Composta por António Bocarro" (1569), Theal, *RSEA*, III, 361.

[65] "Carta de João Vaz de Almada, Capitão de Sofala, Para El-Rei" (1516), *DPMAC*, IV, 291; James Bannerman, "The Extent and Independence of the Mutapa, Torwa, Manyika, Barwe and Teve and States," University of Zimbabwe Seminar Series, (20 July 1981).

Zimbabwe, but this still remains a hypothesis.[66] Pikirayi discusses how archaeological sites on the northern plateau follow the Great Zimbabwe tradition. Thus, a link exists between Great Zimbabwe and subsequent *zimbabwe* stone structures related to the Mutapa further north, but the exact connections are not known.

Many of the ruling elite from Great Zimbabwe settled in other *zimbabwe* sites on the northern part of the plateau, and the Mutapa dynasty grew to dominate the other ruling aristocracy in the area.[67] The Mutapa state maintained its power by controlling trade, threatening or declaring warfare and demanding the allegiance of political leaders. Even though the good grazing and gold-bearing areas were centered on the plateau, the Zambezi lowlands were important as well.[68] The Mutapa state's influence extended to the coastal areas south of the Zambezi by the middle of the sixteenth century, yet rulers never controlled all of the Sofala hinterland. The Ndau and other Shona dynasties in the east declared themselves independent at various times in the sixteenth century to develop their own smaller political units and benefit from trade to the coast. Other Shona-speaking groups closer to the plateau remained subordinate to the Mutapa state. These subjects supplied an annual tribute to avoid the threat of military intervention. Thus many villagers preserved a sense of relative independence, and perhaps protection, with this system of tribute.

The Mutapa state controlled trade routes and trade goods through a state-sponsored system of tax and tribute. The ruling aristocracy demanded one tusk of each

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[66] As mentioned in chapter two, Beach questions the evidence underlying this interpretation by Abraham. See Beach, *A Zimbabwe Past,* chapter 6.

[67] Beach, *Neighbours,* 101; James Bannerman, "Notes and Questions Regarding the Archaeology, Language and Ethno-History of Central Moçambique between the Zambezi and Save Rivers," Paper

elephant killed, controlled the mining of gold on the plateau and taxed the trading posts of both Swahili and Portuguese traders on the Zambezi river at Sena, Tete and later Zumbo. About half of all gold extracted from a newly opened mine was supposed to go to the Mutapa ruler, but the Portuguese sources describe rampant disregard of this decree.[69] After an initial period of taxation, a mine could then be worked without further tax due. Some of the Mutapa's subjects worked for seven of every twenty three days in royal fields to provide a surplus of grain for the ruler's use. Beach points out that it is still not clear how this agricultural system functioned in outlying areas and smaller territories, but this crop surplus certainly helped in times of drought.[70] All kings as far away as Sofala were said to have obeyed the Mutapa, "the greatest king of kings" in the early sixteenth century.[71] Widespread overrule by the Mutapa state did not last long, for in the seventeenth century the state was fractured by civil wars and outside aggression from both the Portuguese and the Maravi north of the Zambezi.[72]

Earlier wars also disrupted trading relationships, and around 1570 the Portuguese entered into a favored relationship with the Mutapa state, allowing a Portuguese trader to assume the title of *capitão-mor,* or captain of the gates, to oversee all trade with the Mutapa state from the *feira* (market) of Masapa.[73] The *capitão-mor* collected one cloth

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Prepared for Presentation to the Tenth Pan African Archaeological Congress, Harare, (June 1995), 16. Thus the origins of the Mutapa dynasty *most likely* stem from Great Zimbabwe.

[68] Beach, *Neighbours,* 102.

[69] "Relação (Cópia) Feita pelo Padre Francisco de Monclaro, da Companhia de Jesus, da Expedição ao Monomotapa, Comandada por Francisco Barreto" (post 1573), *DPMAC,* VIII, 390.

[70] Beach, *Neighbours,* 103. Drought was a reoccurring problem in this region.

[71] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512) *DPMAC,* Vol. III, 183.

[72] "Extractos da Decada Composta por Antonio Bocarro" (1569) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 361.

[73] João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609) in Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 270-273; Axelson, 175; Mudenge, *A Political History,* 90; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 218; Beach, *Neighbours,* 108.

out of every 20 pieces for the Mutapa ruler.[74] At times, however, Mutapa rulers deemed it necessary to declare war in order to maintain control over trade or another chiefdom. Mutapa rulers relied on their 'potential' standing army, which was a reserve system consisting of peasants who were called up to fight for the ruler.[75]

When the Mutapa state was at war with other kings, such as during a conflict in 1512 with a king named "Ynhoqua," the Portuguese used both political persuasion and military force to secure a firm hold on trade in the region.[76] In the mid-seventeenth century, Francisco Barreto's envoy offered to help the Mutapa ruler fight his enemy, chief Mongasi from north of the Zambezi river, in exchange for permission to survey the gold mines controlled by the Mutapa state.[77] The Mutapa rulers tended to comply with Portuguese requests, for they wanted to control and appease the Portuguese trading community rather than expel foreigners and risk losing a steady supply of trade goods.[78] Over time the Mutapa rulers were forced to compromise with the demanding Portuguese, and they lost economic power by granting the Portuguese concessions to goldfields in order to maintain some semblance of political control over the Portuguese.[79] Mutapa rulers relied on trade to ensure political power, and they found themselves in uncertain situations. At the end of the seventeenth century "the great era of state formation" in the Shona region ended.[80] Even though the last renowned Shona state, Rozvi (Rozwi), was ruled by Changamire as a large military power from its base on the southern part of the

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[74] Eric Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600* (Johannesburg, 1973), 175.
[75] Mudenge, *A Political History*, 20, 90.
[76] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512) *DPMAC*, Vol. III, 185.
[77] "Abstract of Documents," Theal, *RSEA*, VIII, 374.
[78] This is discussed further in Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, 109.
[79] In 1607, the Mutapa leader Gatsi Rusere formally granted all of the mines to the leader of the Portuguese traders, Diogo Simoes Madeira, in return for his military assistance. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 83.
[80] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, 111.

Zimbabwe plateau, both it and the Mutapa state declined in the eighteenth century after succumbing to internal problems and outside pressures. The gold and ivory resources that helped to support these great political systems were dwindling during this time as well.[81]

The wider Shona region thus came to be characterized by the often unstable "great society" of paramount chiefs as well as the more durable "little society" of smaller villages.[82] The era of great state formation among the Shona ended with the Changamire state of the Rozvi in the west.[83] At the end of the seventeenth century, *mwoyo* totem clans from the Rozvi state migrated eastward and occupied the Ndau area in the western reaches of the Sofala hinterland. In 1698, Portuguese residents described this movement as an 'invasion' by the 'rebel' Changamira, ruler of Abutua, who attacked in 1684 and again in 1694.[84] These comments reflect both the state building efforts of the Rozvi and the determination of the Butua rulers to keep the Portuguese out of the interior.[85] By the early eighteenth century, this Rozvi confederation asserted some control over both the Ndau in the Save valley as well as parts of the Mutapa state centered on the northern edge of the plateau.[86] A summary of African power and leadership from 1758 by one Portuguese official, Ignácio Caetano Xavier, describes the earlier Rozvi invasion led by the leader Changamira:

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[81] Ibid., 110-112. The Shona worked out the upper gold reefs in the north and exhausted the southwestern goldfields.
[82] This argument, made by David Beach, is developed in his extensive work on the Shona.
[83] The Duma subsequently established a confederacy to the west of the Save. See Richard M. G. Mtetwa, "The 'Political' and Economic History of the Duma People of South-Eastern Rhodesia."
[84] Manoel Rebello, "Proposal Submitted by the Residents of the Rios de Cuama to the Viceroy" (1698) in Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese, 1575-1800," vol. I.
[85] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 201.
[86] A. Rita-Ferreira, *Povos de Moçambique: História e Cultura* (Porto, 1975), 120-126.

> At the time when Francisco Barreto and other captains tried to conquer the great Empire of the Senna Rivers, the Manamotapa [Mutapa] was obeyed by all the tenants and the land of Butua that now belongs to the Changamira was his, but one of his shepherds ripped it away from his empire and proclaimed himself its owner, taking the name of Changamira and gradually increased his power in the native style to the point it has reached now; all the Régulos [rulers]used to unite forces to fight as if for a common cause.[87]

The actions of the 'rebel' Changamire were similar to other attempts (some less successful) by the Ndau and their Shona neighbors to declare independence from the Mutapa. The Ndau were on the fringes of the 'empire' and less likely to unite "for a common cause" under the Mutapa as Xavier noted above. On the other hand, the Mutapa's power probably did not even reach the eastern region inhabited by the Ndau. From other documents we know more about the smaller polities of Quiteve, Manica and Barwe since the Portuguese maintained a stronger position in the eastern region and remained on fairly good terms with these leaders, or *régulos.*[88]

The early documentary evidence for this region pertains much more to trade than state formation. However, since trade went hand in hand with politics, evidence about trade also pertains to politics. For example, Africans who paid tribute to the Mutapa 'identified' on one level with the state 'above' them. But at the local level, people were loyal to their village chief and paid tribute to this leader. On an even lower level, the individual economies of some families were independent of and parallel to that of a chief, as Richard Mtetwa demonstrated in his work on the Duma.[89] Even when rulers such as the Rozvi kings demanded regular payments from subjects, there is evidence from the

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[87] Xavier in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,*185. English translation from Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese, 1575-1800," Vol. II, 58.
[88] Xavier in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* 186.
[89] R Mtetwa, "The 'Political' and Economic History of the Duma," 271.

southern plateau that chiefdoms of the interior traded independently with the coast.[90] Further to the north, villagers and chiefs who recognized overrule by the Mutapa dynasty also resisted this domination at times. For instance, people found ways to circumvent tax and tribute and benefit more from their own labor. They hid gold, failed to report new discoveries of mines, offered less grain to chiefs or never surrendered elephant tusks to their rulers.[91]

When the Portuguese settled at Sofala in the early sixteenth century, their main goal was to exploit the famed gold of the Mutapa state. Early Portuguese observers estimated that the Swahili were making a profit "of one hundred to one" in the exchange of cloth for gold at Sofala.[92] The Portuguese originally planned to disrupt the Swahili trade out of Angoche to the north and take control of the trade routes from the plateau to Sofala.[93] However, the "monopolistic tendencies of the coastal rulers" led to a decline in the trade which passed through Sofala and a shift to activity further north along the Zambezi river at Sena and Tete in the 1530s.[94] By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese decided to move into the hinterland of Sofala and gain control of the source of all gold and ivory.[95] Gold exports were very important in the early sixteenth century, with 5,737.5 kilograms exported in 1506.[96] Yet the actual amount of gold extracted never fulfilled the expectations of the Portuguese, who continued to hope that

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[90] Ibid., 271-272.
[91] Ibid., 271; "Relação (Cópia) Feito Pelo Padre Francisco de Monclaro da Companhia de Jesus, da Expedição ao Monomotapa, Comandada por Francisco Barreto" (Post 1573), *DPMAC*, VIII, 390.
[92] Of course, this was not in terms of local values. "Descrição da Situação, Costumes e Produtos de Alguns Lugares de África" (c. 1518), *DPMAC*, V, 357.
[93] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso, Escrivão de Moçambique, Enviados a El-Rei" (1512) *DPMAC*, III, 187.
[94] Pikirayi, *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State*, 109; Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado*, Chapter 4.
[95] Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600.*

good political relations with the Mutapa state would improve their own economic situation.

For the first two hundred years of Shona-Portuguese contact, the Mutapa state was the largest polity within 1,000 kilometers of the coast south of the equator.[97] Absolute power was never in the hands of the Portuguese, but they were able to exert political, economic and religious influence over the Mutapa state. Some Shona rulers converted to Christianity and Portuguese interference in Mutapa politics led to violence and unrest in the region.[98] For example, a new Mutapa king accepted nominal overrule by the Portuguese in a treaty signed in 1629 after a period of warfare and aggressive activities by Dominican missionaries in the region.[99] The Portuguese began to view the Mutapa king as a client after the signing of this treaty.[100] By the middle of the seventeenth century, civil wars within the Mutapa state had weakened the Mutapa's political, economic and military strength.[101]

A popular Shona tradition about the history of the grand Mutapa state appears often in the literature, including the eighteenth-century report of Reis e Gama.[102] This

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[96] Mudenge, *A Political History,* 382-383.

[97] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors,* 68-70. Viewing the Mutapa state as an obstacle, the Portuguese drew up plans to conquer it in 1569 after the murder of the missionary Dom Gonçalo da Silveira at the Mutapa's court provided Lisbon with an excuse. Franciso Barreto led the expedition up the Zambezi in 1571 to demand that the Mutapa "receive and protect Christian missionaries, expel the Moors, cease tyrannical conduct towards his subjects, carry on commerce in a friendly manner, and make sufficient compensation for all damage done and expenses incurred; and upon failing to do so war might justly be made on him." But the expedition was a tragic failure for the Portuguese. "Determinação dos Letrados: Com q. Condiçoens se Podia Fazer Guerra aos Reys da Conquists de Portugal, Fala em Especial do Monomotapa" (1569), Theal, *RSEA,* III, 150-156.

[98] Pikirayi, *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State,* 116.

[99] "Treslado das Capitulações que Fizeram os Portuguezes com El Rey de Monomotapa" (1629), Theal, *RSEA,* V, 287-93; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 89-90.

[100] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 88-90.

[101] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* Chapter 4.

[102] Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres (1796),* Introduction and notes by Gerhard Liesegang (Lisboa, 1966).

account, probably part myth and part reality, 'explains' the founding of three tributary states that were offshoots of the Mutapa kingdom. The tradition states that three princes, sons of the Mutapa king, were given distant lands that became the smaller states of Manica, Quiteve and Madanda. A fourth son was the designated heir to the Mutapa's central lands on the northern Zimbabwe plateau. According to tradition, after the death of their father these three princes declared their independence from the new king of the Mutapa state, who was their brother, and forged their own smaller political identities in their territorires. Other chiefs followed suit so that, according to Reis e Gama, there were one hundred chiefs wielding power in the hinterland of Sofala by the end of the eighteenth century. These chiefs did not "recognize the superiority of one over the other," a situation that remains fairly similar to this day, where many local chiefs claim autonomous rule over relatively small territories.[103]

The Eastern Territories

The eastern territories of Manica, Barwe, Teve, Danda, Sanga and Dondo developed political and economic relationships with the Mutapa state, but they also benefited from other long-distance trade between the coast and the goldfields in the southwestern interior. In the sixteenth century the powerful state of Torwa controlled these sources of gold as a close successor to Great Zimbabwe before Changamire's Rozvi conquered the Torwa rulers in 1680s. Danda, for example, probably acted as a mediator in the trade between Torwa (and later Rozvi) on the southern plateau and Muslim

[103] Ibid., 20.

communities remaining in coastal areas such as Buweni and Chiluane.[104] Further north, the Mutapa state continued its attempts to monopolize trade routes, but at times some of the smaller territories may have charged a tax of up to fifteen per cent on trade goods.[105] The Portuguese also attempted to exert continuous control over the *feiras* of the Mutapa state and its tributaries, but the eastern territories supported themselves by relying on a tax on the trade originating in the Torwa state.[106] Powerful states in the interior either escaped the grasp of the Portuguese or negotiated colaborative agreements that helped to support the economies of the Ndau and their neighbors in the east.

According to tradition, Manica was one of the original three offshoots of the Mutapa kingdom that were established by sons of the Mutapa king. The hereditary title of Manica's ruler was Chicanga until 1822 when the name changed to Mutasa.[107] The title Mutasa remains in use to this day. By about 1512 documentary evidence reveals that the territories of Barwe and Manica were already formed. Oral traditions collected by Allen Isaacman claim that the Barwe people broke away from the Mutapa between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century to migrate from Chedima in Tavara across the Mazoe rive to Missongue further southeast.[108] Beach notes that documentary and oral evidence suggests that Mureche, the daughter of Mutapa Matope Nebedza, may have founded Barwe with her husband, who was possibly a son of

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[104] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation", 168. Chiluane was also an important trading center for the Portuguese.
[105] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* 104.
[106] Newitt argues that Portuguese commercial infiltration led to a shift in the region's balance of power as African chiefs became involved in and dependent upon commercial activities. *A History of Mozambique,* 97.
[107] Gerhard Liesegang, in Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, n. 39 and Gama, 20.
[108] Isaacman, "Madzi-Manga," 396.

Teve's ruler.[109] Even though the details of Barwe's origins are not clear, the Makombe dynasty of Barwe stemmed from the Mutapa state.[110] This Shona-speaking dynasty also incorporated some Sena-speaking lower Zambezi Tonga groups that lived in the Barwe region.[111]

Isaacman has described Barwe as "the most important offshoot" of the Mutapa state.[112] Barwe controlled the trade route from Manica to Sena which ran through its territory, but Manica's importance should not be overlooked. Although much gold was exported from Manica, the presence and power of the Barwe state discouraged the Portuguese from leaving Sena to attempt to take over either Barwe or Manica.[113] Manoel Barretto described the Portuguese relationship with Barwe in 1667 as "a good understanding," but he thought that "it would be better if they lived in good subjection."[114] Portuguese merchants traded at the *feira* of Manica and the *feira* at Arangua in Barwe on the Pungwe river.[115] There is no evidence of gold mining in Barwe, but alluvial gold was found in the rivers of Macossa and Gorongoza.[116] While Barwe imported "a great amount of gold" from other areas, it did have ivory, cattle, iron and the revenue from taxes on the transport of Manica's gold.[117]

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[109] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 158 and 164.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Isaacman, "Madzi-Manga," 395.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 488.
[115] Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 8.
[116] Ibid.
[117] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 183; Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667), Theal, *RSEA,* vol. III, 488.

Portuguese documents from the early sixteenth century describe Manica as a land with much gold, and in 1667 one writer simply called it "one continuous gold mine."[118] Gold was extracted throughout the year, and this led the Portuguese to maintain a continued presence in Manica.[119] Manica had a standing army which was occasionally used outside of its territory.[120] In the mid-seventeenth century, Portuguese traders were settled in Manica at Chupangura and Matuca.[121] Fearing Portuguese encroachment after a rumor of a discovery of silver in the Chikova area, the Mutapa sought an alliance with the ruler of Manyika in 1673.[122] This appeal was described by the Captain of Manica as "unexpected" since the leaders of Manyika "have not supported the Emperor for a long time."[123] This alliance between the 'Karanga' of the northern plateau and the Manyika to the east signaled a change in relations with the Portuguese, but the Portuguese involvement in trade was not impeded until the end of the century. In 1695, the Changamire state drove the Portuguese from their *feira* at Manica, but Portuguese traders returned in 1719 and remained there until the 1830s.[124]

Manica's neighbors also traded in gold. For instance, at a four-day distance from Manica the territory of Amçoce had large nuggets and finger-length bars of gold.[125] In Amçoce the ruler received half of all the gold from his mines and relied on external trade, just as Gaspar Veloso noted, "he who mines it pays the king one half, and all their

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[118] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667), Theal, *RSEA,* Vol. III, 486; See also "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 183.
[119] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 489.
[120] "Autos do Inquérito Mandado Fazer pelo Governador Francisco Barreto" (post 1573) *DPMAC,* VIII, 235, 241, 245. This description claims that the ruler of Manica had an army of 3,000-5,000 men.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 133-134.
[123] Ibid., 134. The emperor is the Mutapa ruler.
[124] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors,* 119.

supplies come from abroad."[126] In Mazofe, the king's tax on gold was also half of all that was mined, for this appears to be the common tax on gold.[127] Butua was another territory beyond Manica known for its rich gold deposits.[128] Yet we know much more about Manica since the Portuguese traders were based there.

In addition to Manica, much of the rest of our information about the eastern states centers around Teve, thanks to the writings of João dos Santos. Teve was quite a powerful state even before dos Santos wrote his lengthy account, *Ethiopia Oriental,* at the end of the sixteenth century.[129] Dos Santos recorded that Teve and other lands in the east were "all free and independent, and some of them make war with Monomotapa."[130] In 1512, Gaspar Veloso described the king of "Ynhacouce" as the *capitão-mor* of the Mutapa.[131] Noting the precariousness of the documents, Gerhard Liesegang and David Beach suggest that Ynhacouce was a part of Teve known as High Teve.[132] Given these major commercial connections, Andrew Mtetwa argues in his study of Teve that the state developed "intimate and profound" relations with the rest of the Shona region during its early history.[133]

By about 1550 Teve ceased to have political relations with the Mutapa state, and Mtetwa points out that Teve, despite Portuguese influence, maintained a separate identity

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[125] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 183.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 487.
[129] Ibid.
[130] João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609) Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 287. "Monomotapa" is one of many versions of Mutapa.
[131] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 183.
[132] Gerhard Liesegang, "Sofala, Beira e a sua Zona." *Arquivo.* 6, (October 1989), 24-25; Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 168. The location of High Teve (*Alto* Teve), a ten-day journey from Sofala, was near the city of Chimoio today. Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 13.
[133] Andrew Mtetwa, "A History of Uteve," v.

until the nineteenth century. After the Portuguese attacked Teve in 1575, Teve leaders appear to have maintained a fairly good relationship with them. The 1575 Portuguese military expedition led by Vasco Fernandes Homem resulted in a peace treaty that required the Portuguese captain of Sofala to make an annual *curva* of 200 pieces of cloth to the ruler of Teve each year.[134] This *curva* ensured the safe passage of Portuguese merchants travelling through Teve. The rulers of Teve demanded both taxes and gifts from all foreign traders. Teve had fairs on Mondays where traders sold their merchandise. Many Africans brought goods to trade, and the only currency was "gold by weight."[135] Manoel Barretto, writing in 1667, commented on the absence of gold in Teve, but he observed that Teve was rich in ivory.[136] A later document notes the presence of gold in Teve, and Beach says that the area of Teve between the Búzi and Pungwe rivers contained small goldfields.[137] Barretto advised against invading Teve, calling the enterprise "more difficult and less lucrative" than the proposed conquest of Manica, Barwe or Butua.[138] The Portuguese traders relied on the ruler of Teve to ensure peace in the region and protect markets and trade routes from outside attacks. The ruler of Teve was known as Sachiteve, yet Reis e Gama's eighteenth-century report claims that the name of the king of Quiteve is not hereditary.[139] Dos Santos noted that the ruler had a

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[134] "Capitulos XX a XXV da Década IX da Ásia de Diogo do Couto" (post 1573), *DPMAC,* VIII, 319; João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal *RSEA,* VII, 220. For a detailed description of the Portuguese in early Teve, see Andrew Mtetwa, "A History of Uteve," chp. 4.

[135] "Apontamentos de Gaspar Veloso" (1512), *DPMAC,* III, 183.

[136] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 487, 489; Bannerman notes that part of Teve near the serra Xiluva was a gold bearing region with evidence of gold mining and washing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 13.

[137] Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena" (1810?) Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 378-379; Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 169.

[138] Manoel Barretto, "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama" (1667) Theal, *RSEA,* III, 492-493.

[139] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 20.

regular force of about two to three hundred armed men.[140] At the end of the seventeenth century when Teve came under the control of a *prazo,* the Portuguese traders were forced to abandon their lucrative business at the *feira.*[141]

As Bannerman has noted, further archaeological excavations and accurate dating for the construction and occupation of Teve's stone sites would place historians in a better position to piece together the existing evidence on Teve.[142] These sites are closely related to Great Zimbabwe, and they may be offshoots of that earlier state.[143] Bannerman suggests that migrants from Great Zimbabwe may have founded the "proto Teve State."[144] Teve and other territories along the trade routes following the Búzi and Revué rivers may have broken away from Great Zimbabwe when it was still powerful, or these smaller states may have originated after the decline of Great Zimbabwe. Beach argues that the *mazimbabwe* of Teve and Barwe were probably "established a little later than the main period of *zimbabwe* construction."[145] Drawing from dos Santos's evidence on Teve in the late sixteenth century, Bannerman suggests that there may have been a 'Karanga' migration into Teve from the Mutapa state at a later date.[146] Hopefully, further archaeological research will offer some clues about the links between Great Zimbabwe and eastern Shona states such as Teve.

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[140] João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609) Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 201.
[141] Bhila, *Trade and Politics,* 75.
[142] Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 16.
[143] H. A. Wieschhoff, *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in Southeast Africa* (Menasha, WI, 1941); Octávio Roza de Oliveira, "Amuralhados da Cultura Zimbáuè-Monomotapa de Manica e Sofala." *Monumenta: Boletim da Commissao dos Monumentos Nacionais de Moçambique.* (Lourenço Marques, 1963); and Bannerman, "Notes and Questions."
[144] Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 16.
[145] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors,* 99.
[146] Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 16; Dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" in Theal, *RSEA,* VII.

Nyamunda was an early sixteenth-century ruler who controlled the southern portion of Teve's territory between the Búzi and Save rivers at the time of the Portuguese arrival in the region.[147] After Nyamunda succeeded his father to become the king of Teve, he installed his son (the first Sedanda) to rule over the southern area. This region became known as Danda (or Madanda). In the early sixteenth century Nyamunda capitalized on his gold mines and trading relations with some of the Portuguese to break away from the influence of the Mutapa state, according to the Portuguese records.[148] Nyamunda began to frustrate the Portuguese at Sofala in 1516 by blocking trade routes to the coast.[149] In 1518, D. António da Silveira described the drastic change in the relationship with Nyamunda:

> Whilst he could and it seemed to him that we might be of some use, he was a good neighbour and allowed a lot of gold to come to the factory; now that he has no need and knows what, in truth, the captain of Sofala can do, he bursts with laughter at the thought of him and blocks all the routes and then writes to the captain to send ambassadors to him, accepts the gift they take him, detains them with words every three years and finally kills him [sic].[150]

Clearly, Nyamunda held the upper hand at this point in Danda's trading relations with the Portuguese. His actions forced the Portuguese at Sofala to seek out an alternate route through Teve to reach the gold of the Mutapa state.[151] Nyamunda was able to manipulate the balance of power in the region successfully and thwart the control of the Mutapa state further inland.

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147 Bannerman, "Notes and Questions," 16; Dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" in Theal, *RSEA,* VII.
148 "Traslado da Carta de D. António da Silveira para El-Rei" (post 1518) *DPMAC,* V, 569.
149 Ibid., 567-569; "Carta de João Vaz de Almada, Capitão de Sofala, para El-Rei" (1516) *DPMAC,* IV, 291.
150 "Traslado da Carta de D. António da Silveira para El-Rei" (post 1518) *DPMAC,* V, 569.
151 Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 67.

Unfortunately, for eastern territories such as Danda this balance proved to be tenuous. Wars with the Mutapa must have exhausted their resources and reduced their revenue from trade.[152] Salt was traded with Manica, but the economic power of these smaller states was often eclipsed by changing political relationships among Shona-speaking rulers and the growth of the Portuguese *prazos* in the seventeenth century.[153] As Danda declined in the eighteenth century, chiefs were reported to be in open warfare by 1822.[154] Despite this political fragmentation, the ruling dynasties of the eastern territories proved to be quite enduring. For example, Danda's ruling dynasty, an apparent offshoot of the Teve dynasty, can be traced back to at least the beginning of the sixteenth century.[155] Even the term 'Danda' has survived as an ethnic classification. J. K. Rennie notes that it was "originally used in clear distinction to Ndau, which referred to people of the highlands."[156] Thus, despite political changes, people continued to maintain ethnic boundaries through the use of labels such as 'Danda' in contradistinction to the term 'Ndau'.

Other political units in the southeastern region, although much smaller than Manica, Teve or Danda, played an important role in the development of an 'Ndau' identity. The Portuguese were not interested in this region since it lacked gold mines, and unfortunately, most documents do not tell us much about these smaller dynasties. Often, it is difficult to match a name mentioned in the documents with any particular area. References refer to rulers of smaller political units, but scholars only know some

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[152] Ibid.; "Carta de João Vaz de Almada, Capitão de Sofala, para El-Rei" (1516) *DPMAC,* IV, 291.
[153] Bhila, *Trade and Politics,* 2.
[154] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 168.
[155] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 66-67; Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 163, 169.

scattered details about territories such as Sanga and its Mutema dynasty or the Musikavanhu territory of Dondo.[157] One of the best accounts is attributed to the captain of Sena, Senhor Ferão, in the early nineteenth century.[158] Rennie's work on the Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu dynasty shows that traditions link this dynasty with the area of Great Zimbabwe.[159] Earlier fieldwork by Rennie in the Zimbabwe highlands and recent research from David Hughes on both sides of the border (in Vhimba and Gogoi) makes it possible to compare archival evidence with local histories from these areas.

Sanga's Mutema chieftaincy was founded probably in the mid to late seventeenth century, according to the Mutema genealogy studied by Rennie.[160] Sanga was a client state of Changamire, but Mutema clashed with Changamire and consolidated his power to create the independent state of Sanga.[161] Under the ruler Mutema, Sanga gained its independence by the early eighteenth century.[162] In areas under Mutema's control, terms "such as 'Sanga' or 'Rove' (Rozvi) were either suppressed or fell into disuse."[163] Mutema's state "allied itself more closely with the Musikavanhu territorial cult-chieftaincy," according to Rennie.[164] The court was at Ngaone (Gaonhé), which was in

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[156] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation", 168; My field experiences revealed that some people in the highlands of Zimbabwe refer to *all* Ndau-speakers in Moçambique as "Danda."
[157] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 161.
[158] This document was probably written by João Julião da Silva, according to Gerhard Liesegang. Noted in Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 116, n. 29; 'Senhor' Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena" (1810) Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 371-383.
[159] J. K. Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial Cult in Rhodesia," in *Guardians of the Land.*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers (Gweru, 1978).
[160] Evidence for Sanga's Mutema dynasty does not go back farther than the late seventeenth century, according to J. Keith Rennie. See "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftancy," 264 and "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism"; 'Senhor' Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena" (1810) Theal, *RSEA* VII, 374, 377-378.
[161] Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftancy," 258.
[162] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 168; Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena"(1810) Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 378.
[163] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169.
[164] Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftancy," 266.

the highlands east of the Save and a journey of fifteen days from Sofala.[165] Copper mines were located in the southern portion of Sanga near the border with Dondo, but unfortunately, the details of trading relations are quite sketchy.[166] Beach speculates that Sanga was the richest of the lands ruled by the *moyo* chiefly lineage in the southeast because of these copper mines.[167] More importantly, Rennie argues that Sanga became the basis for an Ndau ethnic identity.[168] Extensive trade links existed in the eighteenth century when traders from Sanga brought gold to Inhambane from a goldbearing region farther afield than Sanga.[169] While wider economic links may have been a reality, missionaries were involved in the artificial shifting of ethnic identities in the late nineteenth century. In the case of Sanga, missionaries eager to classify their audience as one linguistic and cultural group applied the term 'Ndau' to a larger group--all southern Shona-speakers living east of the Save river.[170] This assigned identity remains as an ethnic legacy today.

At the mouth of the Save, Shanga (or Mashanga, Machanga) was the last polity formed in the eastern Shona region in the early nineteenth century.[171] Machanga, like Danda, may have been part of Quiteve, but by the end of the eighteenth century it was already independent.[172] With its low-lying location, Machanga had a distinct 'coastal'

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[165] Ferão, "Account of the Portuguese Possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena"(1810) Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 378. This journey was by Ferão's standards in 1810. Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 168.
[166] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 171.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 168-169.
[169] Ibid. Sanga is not a goldbearing region.
[170] Ibid. For more on how missionary linguistic politics 'fixed' the ethnolinguistic map in the Shona-speaking region, see Herbert Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the 'Invention of Tribalism' in Zimbabwe," *Journal of African History,* 33 (1992): 87-109.
[171] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169.
[172] Liesegang in Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 34, n. 43

identity that set it apart from the Sanga highlands. Portuguese and Swahili traders used Mambone at the mouth of the Save river, as well as Chibuene and Chiluane to the north as a trading settlements. In addition to the emergence of Machanga, Beach refers to the "shadowy beginnings" of other smaller polities known as Budya, Maungwe, Buhera and Dondo.[173] Unfortunately, there is scant historical information from these inland polities.

By drawing on more solid evidence of Sanga, Rennie relates changes in ideology to the economic and political structures of precolonial societies in the Ndau region. He explores how ideology is shaped not only by changing economies and polities, but also "from an internal dynamic at the level of ideology itself."[174] Ideology is viewed as having three dimensions: identities, cosmology and values. His most interesting and detailed discussions focus on identities. Although ruling groups are obvious agents of ideological construction and reconstruction, oppressed groups also form their own ideologies.[175] Yet ideology usually helps to legitimate the position of those in power. Rennie notes that outside observers, the main sources in the documents for the time period, often cite evidence about what they were told rather than what they observed. Thus, we learn more about ideology than practice through these 'prepared' answers to inquiries.[176]

Rennie also argues that the creation of secondary states in the Sofala hinterland and the hostilities between these new states and the Portuguese led to "the loss of an overall 'Karanga' identity and the emergence of new political identities derived from

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[173] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbors,* 111.
[174] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 162-63.
[175] Ibid., 164.
[176] Ibid.

individual states."[177] Although he does not explain *how* different or separate these sixteenth and seventeenth-century political identities were from an earlier 'Karanga' identity, he claims that new ethnic identities were formed. Even though Rennie may give too much credit to the Portuguese for stimulating rivalries which led to the formation of these secondary states, his arguments about political and communal ideologies are intriguing. I argue, however, that the presence of an often hostile 'outsider' tended to reinforce a shared identity that came to be defined as "Ndau".

Assessing a History of Trade and Politics

After 1700, large state-building in the Shona-speaking region ceased as gold and ivory resources dwindled.[178] Despite exhausted goldfields in the south-west and a reduced elephant population, trade continued between the interior and the coast into the nineteenth century.[179] In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese shifted their attention to mining copper and other less precious metals to substitute for shrinking gold resources.[180] The Mutapa, Torwa and Changamire states all lasted into the eighteenth century, but no new Shona states were formed. As the era of intense trade and state formation ended, Shona dynasties managed to hold onto their political power. Although this political strength was often on a much smaller scale, many dynasties lasted for centuries.

The Shona were more divided after 1700, whereas during the previous two centuries there were several strong states and numerous united territories throughout the

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[177] Ibid., 167.
[178] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, 111-112.
[179] Ibid., 103.
[180] Ibid., 114.

Shona-speaking region.[181] Both the Mutapa state and the eastern territories of Barwe, Manica, Teve and Danda successfully controlled trade through their lands and collected both a tax on trade goods and a *curva* from outside merchants. The Ndau and their neighbors depended on the international trade in gold and ivory to secure imported cloth and beads. At times, coastal rulers demanded too much in taxes or gifts, and this led to a stifling of the established trading system.[182] Rulers also disrupted commerce when they were at war. For example, when Teve and Manyika were hostile to each other in the 1570s, the ruler of Teve did not allow the Portuguese to pass through Teve territory to reach the gold mines of Manyika.[183] The Portuguese faced problems such as this since they were unable to exert absolute political or economic control over the entire Shona region. Even though the Portuguese conquered Teve in 1575, they agreed to pay a *curva* to the ruler of Teve to maintain an open trade route.[184] With all of these interruptions in trade, outside merchants turned to alternate routes while the Mutapa state attempted either to intervene with force or to negotiate agreements.[185] The Mutapa leaders probably sent armies to newly formed Shona territories to collect tribute in the sixteenth century, but the documents show that the Mutapa state did not exert any regular rule over the east.[186] From its location in the northwest, the Mutapa state always faced the problem of distance and never monopolized trade or politics in the eastern region.

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[181] Ibid., chapter 4.
[182] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 172.
[183] Dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 217; "Carta (Cópia) de Vasco Fernandes Homem para Luís da Silva" (1576) *DPMAC,* VIII, 457-458.
[184] Dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 219-222; "Carta (Cópia) de Vasco Fernandes Homem para Luís da Silva" (1576) *DPMAC,* VIII, 457-458.
[185] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 172-174.
[186] Ibid., 174.

Although Shona rulers relied on trade to enhance their political power, their dependence on this commerce proved to be precarious. It was difficult for leaders to control the various aspects of trading relationships. The Shona had to secure relationships with outsiders and provide a constant supply of commodities for export. Scholars still want to know more about the mediating relationships which were formed as a result of trading activities among the Ndau, neighboring Africans and the Portuguese. How were identity boundaries formed, maintained and crossed during this intense period of commerce and state building? Further evidence from future archaeological work will provide us with a clearer understanding of early Shona politics and constructions of identities. Research which incorporates both archaeological, linguistic and historical data, following Jan Vansina's model, as well as more recent evidence of material culture, will help to fill gaps in historians' knowledge of the precolonial period.[187]

In their struggle to control commerce in the Sofala hinterland, both large states and smaller territories depended on the extensive trading networks developed over centuries of contact with outsiders. Political solidarity in the east was fragile as rulers formed alliances to suit their own economic and political needs. These states used diplomatic maneuvering and military force to guarantee a continued hold over trade. Both the Mutapa state and the eastern territories vied for control over trade in this manner during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite the political fragmentation that occurred after the decline of the Mutapa state, ethnic identities in the southeast drew on a

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[187] Jan Vansina, "Historians, Are Archeologists Your Siblings?" *History in Africa,* 22 (1995): 369-408. Vansina uses this methodology in *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990). Colleen Kriger demonstrates how evidence of material culture can be used to examine changes in social, political, economic and cultural relations over a wide region suffering from a paucity of other forms of historical evidence. "Iron Working in Nineteenth Century Central Africa,"

shared Ndau culture. Economic ties and political alliances helped the Ndau to maintain a sense of 'being' Ndau and maintain links to a wider 'Karanga' or 'Shona' identity. Yet as polities changed and those in the east were no longer united under a far-reaching Mutapa state controlled by a powerful king, cultural identities shifted from 'Karanga' to less inclusive labels such as Ndau, Danda and Teve. These identities still exist today alongside a resilient "Ndauness" retained over centuries.

Leaders maintained their economic and political power by fostering a sound economic base and asserting an ideological legitimacy over others. Below the aristocracy a second tier of territorial chiefs held power, and elders, headmen and household heads governed below them. Although rulers increased their economic power base by taxing traders, they also relied on their role as administrators of justice to strengthen their economic position.[188] For example, in Teve "nobody could see the king of Teve without bringing clothes or a cow, and if he could not afford that the supplicant brought a sack of earth to signify his obedience to a territorial ruler, or a bundle of grass for thatching."[189] In addition to this income a ruler could order a seizure of goods, according to dos Santos, "to avenge some injury he has received, or pretended to have received, from the Portuguese . . . this is what they call an *empata,* and in this way he liberally pays himself what is due and takes satisfaction for the affront he has received."[190] Dos Santos also reported that merchants "with their bags of gold" could travel "much more securely than

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Ph.D. diss. (York University, 1992) and *Pride of Men: Ironworking in 19th Century West Central Africa* (Portsmouth, 1999).

[188] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation", 170.

[189] Ibid., 167; João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 199.

[190] João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 272.

if they were in Portugal" save for the occasional *empata*.[191] Thus African rulers used the proceeds of trade to sustain their power, while also relying on internal production to increase their economic base.

Below kings and their courts, chiefs in the 'intermediary aristocracy' were called *nyamasangos,* or rulers of the woodland.[192] These chiefs came from various origins. They were members of royal lineages, older leaders recently incorporated into the state, or recent immigrants invited into the community.[193] For example, Rennie examines "a string of Soko chieftaincies" along the Búzi river "which suggests a possible early creation of interlinked political authorities controlling the eastern half of the trade route between Sofala and the Great Zimbabwe area."[194] Rennie argues that *nyamasangos,* rather than kings, took the ground tusks of elephants killed on their land.[195] *Nyamasangos* received cloth for burials and some collected tribute, announced court decisions and conveyed messages for their rulers.[196] Ideology, according to Rennie, was "a critical factor" in perpetuating this economic arrangement in which "the aristocracy as a whole enjoyed considerable control over the accumulation and redistribution of wealth."[197]

Ideology alone did not win followers for a leader. As Rennie points out, leaders used "elaborate symbolism", apparent in descriptions from many Portuguese documents,

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[191] Ibid. Rennie notes that *empata* comes from the Shona verb *kubata* – to seize. "Ideology and State Formation," 170.
[192] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169-170.
[193] Ibid., 169. For contrasting attitudes towards immigrants in recent times, see David Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border." Ph.D. diss. (University of Califronia, Berkeley, 1999).
[194] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 169-170.
[195] Ibid., 170.
[196] Ibid., 170-171.
[197] Ibid., 170.

to create consensus and support the cohesive nature of states.[198] Political authority and social inequality were legitimated both symbolically and historically in a number of ways. For example, leaders could claim to control aspects of the environment, such as rain, or maintain a royal grave cult with annual offerings.[199] Symbolic ties to an external political authority--the Mutapa state in the sixteenth century--were maintained through the annual relighting of local fires from a main fire at the Mutapa ruler's court. When Changamire's Rozvi state further south eclipsed the power of the Mutapa, Rennie's research reveals that the "fire ritual was re-enacted from that quarter, and the legitimating charter was adjusted."[200] Traditional connections were also established between the Mutapa state and the smaller secondary states, such as the claim that the Mutapa's sons founded Teve, Danda and Sanga.[201] As the Mutapa state declined, the legitimating factors among the regional rulers shifted to remain 'valid.' The following chapters discuss the formation of identities in the context of changing sociopolitical structures in the Ndau region.

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[198] Ibid., 171.
[199] Ibid., 171-172; João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental" (1609), Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 199-200.
[200] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 172.
[201] Ibid., 171-173.

CHAPTER FOUR
Ties that Bind:
Social Structures and Cultural Practices

Bridewealth into the family![1]
- Midwife's announcement
after the birth of a girl

Kuwanikwa igwara, vasikana vose vanofamba naro.
Marriage is like a path which all girls have to use.[2]
-Shona proverb

If you give a hoe you would get yourself a wife.[3]
- John Kunjenjema

This chapter is the first of three chapters to look at how 'Ndauness' was shaped within Ndau society. Several long-standing, interdependent social structures and cultural practices bound Ndau communities together over successive generations and across a vast region. The ties that bind through time and space are the focus of chapter four. Modes of social and political organization such as households, lineages, clans, villages and chieftaincies were crucial elements of the Ndau socio-cultural milieu. The Ndau regulated life cycle events such as birth, marriage and death through practices that reinforced the social order. A hierarchical system ensured, in most cases, that power flowed from paramount chiefs to lesser chiefs and their village headmen. A council of male elders assisted leaders in making decisions at the village level, and patriarchy was

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[1] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[2] Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 215.
[3] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

reinforced in daily household life where male authority was evident.[4] The Ndau responded to stresses in their social world by relying on the judgement of their leaders and established "safety nets" designed to deal with problems such as troubled marriages and food shortages. People turned to their own granaries or the more abundant food reserves of chiefs, for instance, in times of drought or locust plagues.[5] Over time the Ndau consciously initiated changes in their social structures and cultural practices in response to shifts in the political and economic landscape. Although these threats could have been divisive to Ndau communities, the continuities and adaptations that emerge from this examination of socio-cultural patterns and practices over the longue durée reinforced a sense of shared 'Ndauness' across the region.

Totems and Clans

Clans and totems were two underlying principles of the Ndau social structure, and the totemic group is one of the most enduring identity markers with relevance for the Ndau today. Each person belonged to a clan that claimed descent from a common ancestor and had its own distinctive totem, *mutupo* (pl. *mitupo).* Over time totems have

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[4] This does not mean that women were always "passive actors and victims of patriarchal structures," as Carin Vijfhuizen notes in her study of a contemporary Ndau village in the 1990s, "'The People You Live With': Gender Identities and Social Practices, Beliefs and Power in the Livelihoods of Ndau Women and Men in a Village with an Irrigation Scheme in Zimbabwe," Ph. D. diss. (Wageningen Agricultural University, Netherlands, 1998), 1. She discusses how "both women and men shape, change and reproduce rules, beliefs and normative value frames in practice and thereby shape those practices." She argues that "both women and men, but especially women emerge as important negotiators, arbitrators and mediators in social relations." 14.

[5] This assistance was reserved for times of dire need when the granaries of a homestead were empty. A Shona proverb cautions that the chief's place is for spending the day, but not the night. *(Dzimbabwe muswero, harina uraro.)* Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 306-307.

maintained their significance much more than clan groups, given the growth of clan populations, subdivisions and dispersals. Totems such as Sithole, Dhiliwayo and Dhlakama serve as family names for the Ndau, and since overrule by the Gaza Nguni in the nineteenth century, the Ndau now use the Nguni versions of the older Shona equivalent.[6] These Nguni translations adopted by the Ndau have now become very much 'Ndau' and serve to set the Ndau apart from other Shona speakers. In Ndau society intermarriage was strongly discouraged among people of the same totem, thus promoting the maintenance of exogamy. However, over time large clans were divided into sub-clans with their own totems and lineages so that endogamous marriages could take place between members of different sub-clans with their own *mitupo.*

This occurred in Zamchiya for instance among the large Sithole totemic group. One elder explained that the creation of "Makuyana, Gwenzi and Komo are all Sitholes, they made these distinctions so that they can marry one another."[7] In the Mutema chieftaincy further north, a fine of a white cow was imposed in the past for any marriages within the same clan.[8] Given the scarcity of white cows, this fine served to discourage intra-clan marriages.[9] Today people of the same totem who wish to marry must pay a

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[6] Some confusion arose among several women when they were asked about their surnames during interviews. Many used the name of their own totem, while others followed western custom and provided their husband's surname. The Nguni presence resulted in nineteenth-century changes such as *mwoyo* (or *moyo)* becoming *nkomo* or *sithole* and *muyambo* (or *mulambo/mlambo*) replacing *dziva*. Most of the elders interviewed have names with Nguni origins.

[7] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999. See also Henri Philippe Junod, "A Contribution to the Study of Ndau Demography, Totemism, and History," *Bantu Studies,* 8, 1 (March 1934): 17-37, 28.

[8] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With'," 18.

[9] Ibid.

cash fine.[10] Another elder from Chikore commented that Sitholes often marry each other, and "they are like a chieftaincy lineage" that "reigns supreme because wherever you go you will come across a Sithole."[11] John Woka of the Dhiliwayo totem withheld information about his true totem so that he could marry a woman from the same totem. His wife, Grace Chirawo, is also a Dhliwayo, but she is not related to Woka.[12] As these examples illustrate, there are some elements of flexibility within the totem system.[13] Classifications shifted over time and restrictions could be somewhat ambiguous.

Most totems are associated with an animal that is sacred, and members of a totem are not allowed to eat that animal or a particular part of it. Some totems revere an insect or a geographical feature such as a river or the pool of a hippopotamus. It is said that people who eat the meat or restricted animal part associated with their totem will loose their teeth.[14] However, it is also possible to treat the meat with traditional medicine to prevent any loss of teeth, and some elders joked that they still had teeth after eating their totem.[15] People of the Sithole (*mwoyo*) totem, prohibited from eating beef several generations ago, now consume beef except for the heart.[16] And although Sarai Nyabanga Sithole of Zamchiya said that her sacred animal is cattle, *mombe,* she eats beef.[17] The totem offers some protection from danger and is not to be sacrificed. People shared a

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[10] Ibid.
[11] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[12] John Woka and Grace Chirawo, Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
[13] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935," Ph.D. diss., (Northwestern University, 1973), 91.
[14] Ibid., 90. Members of the pool totem must not drink water from certain areas such as the Save river.
[15] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[16] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[17] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

sense of spirit, or *mweya,* with their totem.[18] A member of the zebra totem (*mbizi*) remarked in 1933, "The zebra has got our manners, we have the same way of living."[19] A person always inherited the totem of the father and not the mother.[20] The food avoidance custom extended to a fetus, for a pregnant woman had to abstain from both her own totem and her husband's.[21] After she gave birth she could eat the totem of her husband once again, but not her own.

Totems served to protect clan groups and make a spiritual connection with clan members.[22] Each totem has a special way of giving thanks, that involves praising the totem in the form of a short praise poem. For example, a Sithole who was called Mazoje was thanked in this manner:

Mwaita Mazoje-ee	*(You did it, Mazoje-ee)*
Mutupo uri mudanga-a	*(The totem is in the kraal, i.e. cattle)*
Sithole-ee	
Ganyamaope[23]	

These praises reinforced the distinct identity of the members in a particular totem. People had strong feelings of affection for their totem, and did not like to see any harm come to it. A sense of protection was witnessed by the anthropologist H. P. Junod in 1933 when he allowed his European friend to kill a zebra in the presence of Office Muhlanga, a member of the zebra *(mbizi)* totem. According to Junod, Mhlanga was

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[18] H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 28.
[19] Quoted in H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 28.
[20] Ibid.
[21] H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 29.
[22] Ibid., 28.
[23] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

visibly upset over the death and "began a whole funeral oration" for the animal.[24] Junod concluded that a person's relationship with his or her totem "implies very deep feelings of affection, something like a sense of community of substance."[25]

Each clan had its own particular greeting that involved a customary clapping of hands, and these salutations have changed little over time.[26] When men clap they place their palms together so that their fingers are in front. Women, on the other hand, cross their palms as they clap. This manner of greeting is not specific to the Ndau, for it is practiced throughout the wider Shona area, including the region north of the Pungwe river.[27] In 1609 João dos Santos described this custom as part of the elaborate ritual surrounding all communication with the king. According to dos Santos, subjects were required to crawl on the floor from the entrance to approach the king and then lie on their sides without looking at the king as they addressed him. While speaking to the king they clapped their hands, in the customary manner of greeting, and when they finished their business they exited by crawling on the floor just as they had entered.[28] Crawling on the floor as a sign of reverence is no longer practiced, but there are other displays of respect. Rather than clapping, in some areas women perform a courteous bow when they encounter men. This practice still occurs in some rural areas, particularly in the Mozambican districts of Machanga and Chibabava and north of the Pungwe river as

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[24] H. P. Junod, "A Contribution,", 26-27.
[25] Ibid., 27.
[26] Fieldwork observations, 1998 –1999. H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 18.
[27] H. P. Junod, "Notes on the Ethnological Situation in Portuguese East Africa on the South of the Zambezi," *Bantu Studies,* 10 (1936): 293-311, 295-296.
[28] João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa (RSEA)*, (9 vols., Cape Town, 1964) VII.

well.[29] Totemic praise greetings bound ordinary people together across the Ndau region just as marriages brought members from two families, and two different totems, together.

Totems were a significant cultural practice for the Ndau and their Shona-speaking neighbors. Many totems found in the Ndau area were also common to other Shona speakers such as the Manyika. This shared identity acted as a tie that not only bound the Ndau together, but also linked them to the wider cultural sphere of all Shona. Despite the remarkable homogeneity of the Shona-speaking region over time, the Shona do not have a myth surrounding the creation of humanity.[30] Of course, they "have managed perfectly well without one," as David Beach has noted.[31] The clan identities of the Ndau, however, imply a common origin from one ancestor. According to highland 'tradition' cited by Rennie, there were twelve original clans among the Ndau created by Chiphaphami Shiriyedenga.[32] The *mitupo* are listed here.[33]

Mwoyo	heart
Dziva	pool
Mbizi	zebra
Bumphi	wild dog
Shoko	monkey
Gwerekwete	ant-bear
Nzou	elephant
Gwai	sheep
Shiri	bird
Ishwa	termite
Nungu	porcupine
Nhuka	eland

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[29] H. P. Junod, "Notes on the Ethnological Situation," 295-296.
[30] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 200; Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* (Oxford, 1994) 4, 28.
[31] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* 4.
[32]Shiriyedenga was the first Mutema, according to Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 90-91; H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 21-25.
[33] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 90-91; H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 21-25.

Over time, branches emerged with their respective totems and lineages.[34]

Both the subdivisions of clans and the assumption of a common origin from Shiriyedenga blurred clan identities, according to Rennie.[35] One history of Musikavantu alleges that the founders of the Mutema, Musikavantu and Mapungwana chieftaincies were all brothers who were later given different clans to allow intermariage among their descendants.[36] Yet this story is similar to the myth surrounding the founding of Danda, Manica and Teve by the three sons of the Mutapa discussed in chapter three. Both 'myths' serve to unite groups by claiming a common ancestry. At the end of the seventeenth century, clans of the *moyo* totem migrated eastward from the Rozvi state in Mbire to the Save valley. They conquered *dziva* clans located in both the Save valley and settlements further east. From the end of the eighteenth century, chief Mutema dominated over the *moyo* dynasties in the southeastern highlands, but Beach points out that "important elements" remained from earlier polities reconfigured after the *moyo* migration from Mbire.[37] Many Ndau chiefs in the highlands in 1900 claimed descent from Shiriyedenga and a common migration with the Rozvi from Mbire.[38] Interlinked chiefly lineages drew on this connection with the Rozvi to legitimate their political identity.[39] Rennie notes that "we do not know to what extent the Rozvi identity was

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[34] H. P. Junod, "A Contribution," 21-25; Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 90.
[35] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 91.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe,* 170-171.
[38] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 89.
[39] Ibid., 66, 89.

shared by non-chiefly lineages."[40] Chieftaincies in the twentieth century have more than one totem due to expanding households, migration, marriage and other factors.[41] Immigration, migration, incorporation, succession, and other factors such as marriage affected Ndau clans over time to create diverse, complicated and shifting identities.

Marriage

Ndau chieftaincies relied on marriages to create ties among them.[42] An examination of marriage among the Ndau since the sixteenth century reveals many continuities in practice. Marriage was an important tie, for the practice brought two families together in an alliance. Bridewealth, in the form of goods or services before the use of British pounds, sealed a relationship between two families and served as evidence of an established bond "for both family and ancestors."[43] At times a goat, provided by the husband's family, acted as a symbol that tied the two families together.[44] Bridewealth also brought reciprocity to the marriage arrangement by compensating the woman's family for the loss of their daughter and her labor.[45] The groom's family benefited from the labor of the new wife and held the rights to all offspring. In this way marriage helped to secure increased security for the groom's family. Bridewealth ensured that the woman

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[40] Ibid., 89.
[41] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With,'" 18.
[42] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 76.
[43] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With'", 27-28, 30. She refers to stages of bridewealth that include a first, *mabvunziro*, and second, *pfuma*, payment
[44] Ibid., 28.
[45] Ibid., 27-28.

would be treated properly among her husband's family.[46] In an early customary act, some men would bring two mice or cattle to their potential father-in-law as a symbolic token of assurance that the bride would be cared for by the suitor.[47] Although the practice (payments and negotiations) of bridewealth has shifted during the colonial and postcolonial period, it continues to be a central aspect of Ndau culture today.[48]

An account from the middle of the sixteenth century describes what was probably the most common type of marriage involving bridewealth. According to Father Monclaro in 1569, "The method of marriage is to agree with the wife's father and give him a certain quantity of goods, for the wives bring nothing to their husband, but the latter buys them from their fathers in the manner aforesaid."[49] If marriages did not work out, the women at times returned to their families and the goods were given back. In this instance cloth was cited by Monclaro as the bridewealth.[50] Hoes, chains of beads and livestock were also used as bridewealth before the introduction of British pounds as currency at the end of the nineteenth century.

Other Portuguese observers often misinterpreted African marriages as solely sales transactions. At the end of the eighteenth century Reis e Gama claims that marriage is the act of "purchasing a woman" from her father with a payment of cattle.[51] Reis e Gama describes the new wife as a "captive", and he makes it clear that bridewealth seals the

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[46] Ibid., 28. Vijfhuizen cites the general belief among the Ndau of Manesa of "something that is paid a high price for will be better taken care of than something obtained for nothing.", 28-29.
[47] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[48] Field experiences 1998, 1999 and Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With'", 27-28.
[49] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da viagem (1569)," In Theal, *RSEA*, III, 230.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres (1796)*, Introduction and notes by Gerhard Liesegang (Lisboa, 1966), 18.

marriage contract.[52] However, if the woman wishes to leave her husband and return to the homestead of her parents, she may do so as long as her father either offers one of his other daughters as a substitute or returns the bridewealth to his son-in-law.[53] In either case, the son-in-law is assured of securing a wife. Although Ndau marriages bore a resemblance to the arranged marriages of the time in Europe, Portuguese observers such as Reis e Gama viewed African unions in a very different light.

In Ndau society a father hoped that a wealthy man would be the husband of his daughter so that he could recoup a sizeable bridewealth for himself and guarantee a secure future for the young woman.[54] A woman's father knew that he could demand cattle as payment and then go on to buy sheep, goats and poultry.[55] A father might "look at a home and say, 'I want my daughter to be married at that home,' where there was enough food."[56] This often led to arrangements where older men married younger women. Women also sought men who would be good husbands and providers of much bridewealth that would benefit their families.[57] Skilled hunters or dancers were popular men who received the attention of women.[58] Men who were not as talented or wealthy relied on their sister's bridewealth to assist them in securing a wife. Problems arose when one family had many more sons than daughters, for the bridewealth received after

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[52] Ibid., 18, 28.
[53] Ibid., 18.
[54] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[55] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[56] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[57] See David McDermott Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border." Ph.D. diss. (University of Califronia, Berkeley, 1999), 94-95.
[58] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

the daughters married would not be sufficient for all of the sons.[59] However, in a *ugariri* arrangement, a potential son-in-law could work for a prospective father-in-law for some time until he was given a wife in exchange for his service.[60] This provided a young man without sufficient bridewealth the opportunity either to marry a woman he loved or simply marry at all.

Marriages often involved lengthy periods of courtship and intensive negotiations over bridewealth. If a man wanted to marry a young woman he was expected to contact the young woman's paternal aunt or grandmother to initiate a relationship. The paternal aunt, known as *Vatete,* was a powerful figure in marriage negotiations and relations. Courtship between two adolescents, called *uchinde,* was accepted among the Ndau.[61] Premarital intercourse was also allowed as long as the hymen remained intact.[62] In some cases *uchinde* led to marriage after a process called *kufava* took place. This was when the young woman's parents accepted work from the groom in lieu of bridewealth.[63] *Kufava* allowed parents to fulfill a daughter's wishe to marry her sweetheart.[64] Both the Ndau and their neighbors to the north, the Zambezi Tonga, practiced *kufava,* similar to *uchinde,* earlier this century.[65] If a couple in the twentieth century wished to elope or a man fell in love with a married woman, the man's father would attempt to provide money or the means for the couple to marry. The father may "borrow money from any person,

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[61] Timóteo Mabessa Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[62] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Michael Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona: Survival Values of an African Culture,* (Gweru, 1973), 167-170;
H. P. Junod, "Notes on the Ethnological Situation," 305.
[63] Timóteo Mabessa Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[64] Ibid.

even the chief."[66] The son would then pay back the loan, most likely by working in Johannesburg as a migrant laborer. Or, the father may use bridewealth from the marriage of one of his daughters to assist his son.[67]

Xavier noted in the middle of the eighteenth century that all of the efforts of the Ndau "aim at finding ways of acquiring more women and they do have as many as possible; Kings generally manage to have 1500 and more."[68] Men who had many wives were considered to be wealthy. A large number of cattle also represented wealth, particularly in the southeastern Ndau area around the mouth of the Save river where large herds grazed at the end of the eighteenth century.[69] In Machanga and Mambone, for instance, rich men had 300 or more cattle, at this time.[70] A large number of children also signified a wealthy and prosperous head of household. Reis e Gama noted in 1796 that the number of children of one man was proportionate to the number of his wives.[71] In the twentieth century, Freddy Sithole--with four wives and 25 children--boasts that "no one can fight me here."[72] He feels a sense of security with his 'wealth in people.' He knows that his large labor force will bring plentiful harvests that will fill the granaries and carry

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[65] H. P. Junod, "Notes on the Ethnological Situation," 298.
[66] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ignácio Caetano Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" (1758) in A. A. Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* (Lisboa, 1955), 146. English translation from D. N. Beach and H. deNoronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," (2 vols. Harare, 1980, mimeo.), II, 31.
[69] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 22.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 28.
[72] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

him through times of famine. Reflecting on his situation, he commented that others would single him out to say "that one is really wealthy."[73]

The pursuit of food security among the Ndau was clearly played out in their marriage arrangements.[74] The custom of *mutengatore* or exchange reflects the desire to strengthen social bonds and promote prosperous relationships. If two families did not have enough money or means to offer bridewealth they would practice *mutengatore,* the exchange of daughters or sisters. Each man would respect the other as a father-in-law, even though in reality each was a son-in-law as well.[75] If one wife initiated a divorce, her husband would go to her father and demand that the other exchanged wife be returned to his family.[76] Marriages were also arranged to benefit the brothers of young women. One elder recalled that if the brother of a young girl wanted to marry, "the family would sell the girl child to any willing so that the brother will get the proceeds from that trade in order to go and pay bridewealth for his would-be wife."[77] Some girls, often those reaching puberty, were betrothed to compensate or pay off a debt. Marriages also involved loans, with a father borrowing what he needed and promising to give his daughter in return. In this instance a young woman was betrothed to a family and the members of the family then decided on who would receive her as a wife.[78]

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[73] Ibid. Reflecting on the situation today, Freddy Sithole said, "But now businessmen are the wealthy people."
[74] Ellen Gapara and Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[75] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[76] This could be the daughter of the soon-to-be divorced-man. Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[77] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999. The verb "to sell" is used here since later in the interview Mbuya Manyuni states that the exchange of daughters was "not trading."
[78] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

After missionaries and British Native Commissioners arrived in the highlands of Southern Rhodesia, they prohibited marriages that involved male or female clientage.[79] With the Native Marriages Ordinance of 1901, only cattle and cash could be used as bridewealth in Southern Rhodesia. This placed a burden on young men to work for cash wages in the colonial economy. Most of the elders interviewed spoke of 25 pounds as the average brideprice. "That money was not found here, but in Johannesburg, Joni," remarked one elder who echoed a common sentiment.[80] As the use of cash for bridewealth increased, chiefs had more difficulty securing clients and accumulating wealth in people.[81] Exchange marriages, *mutengatore,* continued despite the new law.[82]

Those who did not exchange daughters or sisters in a *mutengatore* arrangement could produce goods or livestock as bridewealth for a marriage. Before the introduction of money at the end of the nineteenth century, people married at times by using a thick chain of beads called *gapa reusanga* or *magoroza eusanga*.[83] This chain of beads was supposed to be as long as the future bride's height.[84] Some left the Ndau area and went south to the region of Bilene and Delagoa Bay to acquire beads known as *chuma*.[85] In the area of Zamchiya, chains of beads were often used in marriage exchanges until they were

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[79] Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 75.
[80] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[81] Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 75.
[82] During many interviews elders recalled *mutengatore* arrangements, but it is not clear when (or if--and where) the practice ceased. In her recent study of an Ndau village, Manesa, in the 1990s, Carin Vijfhuizen does not mention the practice of *mutengatore.*
[83] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[84] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Siyazini Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[85] Siyazini Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.

replaced by goats and an increased practice of *mutengatore*.[86] About six goats were given for a marriage, and people would weave baskets in exchange for goats.[87] "Only those with goats and sisters were able to marry," observed one elder.[88] Yet hoes were another common form of bridewealth, according to many elders. A man who wanted to marry would secure a hoe from a blacksmith and give it to his future father-in-law.[89] Some hoes were merely blunt stones.[90] Hoes without holes were used according to one elder from Mutema.[91] A less fortunate man would offer a wooden hoe, called *mutika* to his potential father-in-law.[92] People in the Chikore region would exchange hoes from Bwanyi for a wife.[93] "You give out a hoe, you get a wife," explained Idah Manyuni.[94]

Upon marriage, a woman was married into a family (and not only to a husband) to strengthen her husband's family group.[95] In a negotiation over bridewealth in the 1990s, a new wife was told, "Love the family of your husband, like the way you love your own family."[96] The bride kept her totem and could be referred to as a *mutorwa,* or outsider.[97] But if a man died his wife usually remained with his family and received care from them in a leviratic arrangement. Normally, a widow is 'inherited' and married to another

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[86] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[87] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[88] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[89] Ibid.; Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[90] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[91] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[92] Ibid.; Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[93] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[94] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[95] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Michael Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona,* 166.
[96] Carin Vijfhuizen, "The People You Live With," 39.
[97] Vijfhuizen notes that this term has also come to mean "daughter in law" among the Ndau of Manesa in the 1990s, Ibid., 250.

person such as the deceased's brother or son.[98] This 'inheritance' practice was a point of contention at times for widows. Women were expected to produce as many children as they could, with ten or twelve considered satisfactory.[99] If a woman was infertile, a 'replacement' wife, often one of her sisters, was given to her husband, or her family returned the bridewealth. After a woman passed her childbearing years, her husband might marry a younger woman to produce even more progeny. This new wife was often the daughter of the first wife's brother (her niece).[100] The relationship between the two wives could be characterized by either jealousy or a working partnership. Regardless, an additional wife increased the size of the husband's extended family and promised more security for the group.

Much of a marriage ceremony revolved around the negotiation and payment of bridewealth, but elders recall marriage ceremonies where the bride was ceremoniously escorted to the family of the bridegroom by a group of girls and women who prepared sadza and beer to take with them.[101] As they approached the bridegroom's home they began singing, *"Tauya nayee. Makoti. Tauya nayee,"* to announce their arrival with the bride.[102] They would then be invited to the homestead and given some tokens. They would perform any chores that needed to be done and leave on the second day.[103] As the proverb at the beginning of this chapter states, the Ndau expected all young women to

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[98] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.

marry so that two families could forge a bond.[104] Hoes were the most common item given to the bride's family as bridewealth, but some used chains of beads, *usanga*, or made an exchange of a female relative, known as *mutengatore*. Marriage placed obligations on both husband and wife, as well as the family of the husband. Through marriage alliances women "reproduced" the regional political order and played an integral part in maintaining and transforming a common language and culture over a wide geographic region.[105] Through time bridewealth, in a multitude of forms, has remained a constant factor in Ndau marriages, except in cases of destitution, pawning or warfare. In these times of extreme social stress the Ndau did not always follow the standard custom of negotiating a marriage contract based on bridewealth. They sought other ways to acquire a wife, for "there is nothing that cannot bring about a marriage."[106]

Life Cycle Events

Family and clan alliances were also reaffirmed by other rituals that marked the life cycle. The Ndau performed ceremonies governed by certain practices to celebrate events such as the birth of a new child. After a birth, people would come to give congratulatory messages, clap their hands and say "wahuruka. She has been honored."[107] The baby was expected to remain in the house until the umbilical cord fell off, and when

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[104] Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 215.
[105] For an account of the role of gender in the shaping of ethnic identity in nineteenth-century Lesotho, see Elizabeth Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho* (Cambridge, 1993).
[106] According to Shona wisdom: *Hapana chisingawanisi.* Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 214.
[107] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

this happened the family of the newborn held a small party.[108] They would slaughter a chicken or a goat and invite close neighbors to celebrate.[109] This party, known as *musere,* thanked God and the ancestors for the baby.[110] The baby was shown to the father, and if the infant was a boy the father would declare a resemblance in appearance.[111] One elder claims that people ululated only for the birth of a girl, perhaps in anticipation of the prosperity a young woman will bring her father in the form of bridewealth.[112] During a ceremony called *chinyuchila* the paternal grandparents "introduced" the baby to the maternal grandparents.[113]

Phrases accompanying the birth announcement in Zamchiya demonstrate how the infant's sex could affect a family's future. Midwives, usually elderly women (*mbuya)* delivered babies, and if the child was a boy the midwife would announce "Your bow has been snatched."[114] If a girl was born the midwife would say "bridewealth into the family."[115] The midwife's role was an important one, and most of the gifts went to the midwife.[116] These included cloth, blankets and grain.[117] The mother of the child inscribed a star-like mark on the face of the midwife and the baby.[118]

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[108] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999; Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[109] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[110] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[111] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[112] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[113] Timóteo Mabessa Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[114] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Chinungu Mtetwa (a midwife), Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[117] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[118] Ibid.

The birth of twins was considered to be a bad sign for many Ndau and Reis e Gama argued at the end of the eighteenth century that one of the newborns was put into a pot and cast off into a torrential river.[119] Although infanticide occurred, the Ndau coveted wealth in people, cattle and abundant crops. But unexplained phenomena such as the birth of twins led the Ndau to cite witchcraft as the motivating factor.

When a young woman began to menstruate she told her parents that she was "mature" and a celebration followed.[120] The Ndau acknowledge the first menstruation of a young woman with food, drinking and dancing.[121] The young woman dressed in the finest cloth and adornments of the household.[122] When they reach adulthood, men are circumcised and a celebration of food, drink, dancing and drums is arranged.[123] In these celebrations, as well as during ancestral offerings, the Ndau use the same drums and play in a similar manner.[124]

Many of the funeral practices described by Reis e Gama in the late 1700s remained in place during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Soon after the death of an important leader such as a king, prince or major chief, the Ndau beat drums to assemble relatives and "captives" who shave their heads and beards. Those in mourning grieved in their hands and on straw called *mulala*[125] Reis e Gama notes that in Quiteve, the body of a king or queen is shrouded in a white cloth, called *samater*, that was

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[119] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres.* This attitude stems from the belief that it is not possible or "natural" to create two people together. If both twins and their mother were to die during childbirth, they would all be cast off into a large river.
[120] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[121] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 20.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 16.
[124] Ibid.

imported to Sofala from northern Asia.[126] Elders describes a similar method that the Ndau followed in the twentieth century.[127] The corpse is placed on a bed and left to decompose.[128] Several receptacles are placed underneath the bed to collect decaying matter from the body. Various important men and highly esteemed women encircle the cadaver until it is severely decomposed. The material that falls into the vessels is saved and eventually the bones are wrapped in the white *samater* cloth. Later the bundle of bones is put in the bloodstained skin of a black cow, and, amidst a gathering of all relatives, the remains are deposited in the cemetery of kings that lies on a hill called Maôe.[129] This process often lasts two or three years, and when the remains are buried, Reis e Gama claims that some influential men or women are sacrificed for the deceased king so that he has others to care for him and keep him company.[130] After a death, some people abstain from working as part of their mourning. The number of days depends on the status of the deceased. A minor Inhamaçango would merit six days, while princes require six months and a king is honored with one year, according to the *Reposta*.[131] It appears that ceremonies and burial practices have remained consistent since at least the eighteenth century, except for the human sacrifices, which are allegations by Reis e Gama with no supporting evidence.

Dos Santos recounts a similar practice rumored to occur at the Mutapa's court.

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid. and n. 32, c.f. Sebastião Xavier Botelho, *Memoria Estatistica Sobre os Dominios Portuguezes na África Oriental,* (Lisboa, 1835), 150.
[127] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[128] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 18.
[129] Ibid., 19.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid., 17.

> It is related of this Monomotapa that he has a house where he commands bodies of men who have died at the hands of the law to be hung up, and where thus hanging all the humidity of their bodies falls into vases placed underneath, and when all has dropped from them and they shrink and dry up he commands them to be taken down and buried, and with the fat and moisture in the vases they say he make ointments with which he anoints himself in order to enjoy long life--which is his belief--and also to be proof against receiving harm from sorcerers. Others say that with this moisture he makes charms.[132]

The Mutapa symbolically gained 'life' from death of others and maintained power over his subjects through this alleged ritual. Elders today, however, note that chiefs were mummified earlier in the twentieth century, but ordinary people were not. The chief's *muzukuru* would set a fire in the grave to mummify the body.[133] Once the body was mummified, the ash was removed from the pit and the chief was buried there.[134] A special object swallowed by the chief was removed from his mouth after the mummification process and kept safely by his first wife.[135] It was later given to the chief's successor to swallow to repeat the practice.[136] The *muzukuru* spent about five months looking after the grave. People were not informed of the chief's death until a month, or longer, after he died.[137] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole explained, "If anyone spoke about the chief's death, they were asked if they were the ones who killed him. So people kept quiet. They would only ask about his condition. They were told that the chief was

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[132] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, vii, 289. See also João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente*, 1609, (Lisboa, 1999), 223.
[133] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

very sick."[138] The wives of the chief and women who had not yet reached menopause were not permitted to visit the grave.[139]

Children were sent away when a person died, and the body of the deceased was removed from an opening in the wall of the house rather than the door so that children would not observe the removal.[140] When children later asked where the deceased was they were told that the person was lost.[141] Mubayi Mhlanga explains, "Some children would go on and ask the elders to go and look for that person since when cattle are lost, people would go and look for them.[142] Yet later the male head of the household was buried in the center of the homestead, where children play.[143] The female head of the household was buried in the veranda of her house.[144] The graves of the household heads "were regarded as guardians of the homestead."[145]

Problems of succession were a major crippling factor for polities in the wider Shona region.[146] With the system of *yafa yabara*, the first born of the deceased chief became the new chief, regardless of the number of siblings.[147] The eldest son was given his father's "ruling devices", items such as walking sticks or knobkerries.[148] Unlike the recent practice of succession from father to son, Mubayi Mhlanga noted that "long back"

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[138] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[141] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[146] Malyn Newitt astutely argues this point in *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, 1995), 46.
[147] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[148] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

succession followed "brotherhood seniority, from the eldest to the youngest."[149] Dos Santos wrote that chiefs nominated their successors, and the custom of ritual suicide by an ill or incapacitated chief may have been an attempt to maintain an orderly transfer of power, as the historian Malyn Newitt has noted.[150] Yet, even declarations by the ruler did not stop other descendants from attempting to take power, for not only sons of a chief, but also his brothers and the male descendants of past rulers could make a claim for the throne.

Before his death, a chief chose young girls to be his wives. The appointed successor then sat with these women on an animal skin while people ululated and cheered in appreciation.[151] The death of a chief was not announced immediately to the community, but after several days a statement was made such as "the mountain has collapsed."[152] A bull was slaughtered and the chief was buried. After a grave was dug the body was covered with a black and white cloth. The cloth was covered with the fresh skin of the slaughtered bull. At the end of the burial the pit was covered.[153] To mourn the deceased chief, women would sing while pounding grain, *yowe, yowe, yowe-e! Chakadya mambo chinyiko,* 'Oh! Oh! What took our chief.'[154]

People brewed beer and slaughtered a beast to celebrate the installation of a new chief.[155] Other chiefs were invited to the celebration.[156] Women would sing, *Mambo*

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[149] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[150] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* 46.
[151] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[152] *Dunhu kana Gomo raondomoka.* Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[155] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[156] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

wedu wauya tofara. Mambo wedu wauya tofara. (Our chief has come, we are happy.)[157] The chief was installed while people danced, and "people would be overjoyed to have a new chief."[158] A new installation would not occur for another two years. Relatives and other chiefs were invited to witness the new installation. The new chief was hidden form the public and made to wait naked with a sister. Beer was poured over the new chief and a small piece of black cloth was wrapped around him. Later both brother and sister were later covered with a piece of cloth and people began to cheer, ululate, clap their hands, dance and celebrate. This sister of the chief was forbidden from marrying for the rest of her life. Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana of Zamchiya noted that the installation of a new chief differed with chiefdoms.[159] Some poured beer on the head of a naked chief as part of the ceremony. The chief was installed with a woman, possibly one inherited from his deceased father. This was especially the case "long back", "but nowadays that is no longer practiced."[160]

In Danda dos Santos described the power of the king's wives in the appointment of a new ruler.[161] One king of Danda, suffering from severe leprosy, named a prince to succeed him and then took poison to kill himself.[162] However, the king's wives successfully maneuvered to seat another prince, described as diligent and well-liked, on the throne.[163] This new king would most certainly accommodate the interests of these new 'inherited' wives. Dos Santos also observed a similar system of succession in

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[157] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 91-92.

Quiteve, but in this instance the king reached the throne without any disturbances from the royal wives.[164] Manuel de Faria e Sousa describes the Mutapa as having over one thousand wives (perhaps a *slight* exaggeration) in the early sixteenth century.[165] He claims that respect was shown for these women by the king's son who must give way to all and stop until they pass.[166] Later in the sixteenth century Monclaro also claimed that the Mutapa had more than 3,000 wives who cultivated in their gardens.[167] Sousa wrote that the king was a sovereign over many princes who tend to rebel, thus he "always keeps their heirs about him."[168]

The Portuguese did not often help matters, for their meddling in African politics created additional tensions. The Portuguese captain José da Fonseca Coutinho was ordered to kill the king of Quiteve, Sacacato, since this ruler entered into an alliance with "the enemy Changamira" and interfered with trade through his kingdom.[169] After this 'troublesome' leader was deposed, his brother, Inhaunda, replaced him. Sacacato, however, managed to escape an attack on his life and sought revenge for his expulsion by killing the brother who had replaced him.[170] Although Coutinho claims that the "grateful" Inhaunda was the "legitimate heir to the throne of Quiteve", this new ruler

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[162] Ibid., 92.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., 89.
[165] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1666 and 1674), extracts in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 16.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da viagem," in Theal, *RSEA*, III, 229.
[168] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1666 and 1674), extracts in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 15.
[169] Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho, "Report on the Present Situation of the Conquistas of the Rivers of Soffalla" (1699) in Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," I; "Letter from the King to the Viceroy of India" (1702) 15 March, Theal, *RSEA*, V, 7. See also a second letter from 1704 referring to the incident on p. 13.
[170] "Letter from the King to the Viceroy of India" (1704) 19 January, Theal, *RSEA*, V, 13.

turned out to be full of false promises and a propensity to start new wars.[171] After news of the incident and its repercussions reached the king of Portugal, Coutinho was fired from his post.[172] Despite this fiasco, the following instructions from a 1795 document clearly echo the Portuguese desire to gain control over African leaders and trade routes.

> You must always be careful to put in charge a *regulo* that will respect the old conditions and to stop anyone from taking it without your consent as used to be the custom, and to open trade routes between Sofalla, and Manica; if that asks for any expense from the Royal Treasury, you will make it with the sense and economy required and will give the traders all the help they may need and be of use to them and the State.[173]

At times the Portuguese were intricately involved in African royal procedures. For instance, João Julião da Silva brought a *cabaia,* or a red tunic with wide sleeves, a cap and red cloth to the king at Bandire.[174] He also presented 12 rosaries of fake coral, 12 packets of beads, 24 bottles of *aguardente,* or firewater, and one kerchief to the king.[175] Although most African chiefs managed to maintain control over their own polities, they had to deal with the 'Portuguese factor' in their external political and economic relations.

Social Stresses

The Ndau relied on socio-political structures such as the family and the chiefdom to deal with disasters and stress, but sometimes natural forces such as drought and locust

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[171] Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho, "Report on the Present Situation of the Conquistas of the Rivers of Soffalla" (1699) in Beach and de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890," I.
[172] "Letter from the King to the Viceroy of India" (1704) 19 January, Theal, *RSEA*, V, 13.
[173] "Copy of His Excellency's Communication" (1795) 14 May, Dom Diogo de Souza to Carlos Joze dos Reys e Gama, from Moçambique, in Beach and de Noronha, Vol. II.
[174] João Julião da Silva, "List of the Cloths and Effects that Lieutenant-Colonel João Julião da Silva Will Carry with Him for the Ceremonies and Expenses at Bandire" (1831) 28 February in Beach and de Noronha, Vol. II.
[175] Ibid.

plagues led to famine. One great famine in 1912 came to be known as the year of *mutendeni*. Numerous elders referred to the hardship caused by this famine, which was named after a tuber that is peeled and pounded before being dried and mixed with chaff from pounded maize grain to neutralize the poison in the *mutendeni* grain.[176] Ndau suffering from famine would prepare a dark-brown meal out of the ground *mutendeni,* which is poisonous if eaten on its own or not prepared properly.[177] Famine victims would ask their chiefs for permission to dig out *mutendeni* or *diya*, a tuber that looks like cassava, to eat.[178] Some from Zimbabwe would go into Mozambique to find *diya*.

Master farmers, *mukurudza*, had a better chance of surviving a famine with their abundant store of grain.[179] During the famine of *mudiwa*, Sarai Nyabanga Sithole recalls "people from deep into Mozambique" coming to Nyabanga because of the famine.[180] The Chikajara family perished except for "five men, two wives and one child" who managed to survive.[181] Sarai and her mother were refused assistance by her father's sister in Nyabanga, but the chief provided them with food and grain to take home with them.[182] After receiving this assistance from the chief, whose granaries were full, they

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[176] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[177] Ibid.; John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[178] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[179] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[180] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999. Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana of Zamchiya, says that the *mwadiwa* famine was the same *mutendeni* famine of 1912. Interview in Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[181] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[182] Ibid.

did not have to dig for *diya* and *mutendeni.*[183] Meanwhile, her father survived by eating pumpkins with his other wives.[184]

During other famines the Ndau also relied on *mutendeni* or wild fruits such as *masosote, maembe* and *madzudzuonde* to survive.[185] Locusts would eat all of the maize plants in the fields,[186] but farmers also ate locusts and their eggs to survive.[187] After a locust plague, Chinungu Mtetwa remembers her mother grounding grain from grass into mealie-meal.[188] Mubayi Mhlanga recalls a famine known as *ndambi* and another one called *tsunu* that were caused by insects.[189] During the *mutendeni* famine he survived by eating food called *gusha* prepared by his mother.[190] Famine victims would also travel long distances to trade goods such as spears and arrows for grain.[191] The Ndau traded grain with their non Ndau-speaking neighbors such as the Duma during times of drought.[192]

The Ndau experienced their share of warfare, but fighting was not an everyday occurrence. A late eighteenth-century comment in the *Reposta* about the frequent warfare in the region dryly notes that the Ndau almost always have weapons in their hands.[193] Xavier also describes the indigenous population of Sofala as "barbarously

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[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Simon Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[186] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[187] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[190] Ibid.
[191] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[192] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[193] Ibid., 22.

warlike", and he claims that these Ndau speakers are equaled in ferocity by the home guards of the Mutapa.[194] This characterization is not repeated by most other observers, and the people around Sofala do not have a bellicose reputation, for the most part. But occasional fighting did break out between the Ndau and their rival neighbors or with the Portuguese. The Ndau fought among themselves mostly over territory.[195]

Warfare occurred within Danda, the Ndau area located southwest of Sofala, and the Ndau in this region also faced hostile neighbors to the south, the "Landins," who wished to take control of Madanda.[196] The 'production' of war was reserved solely for the "Landins," according to the *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres.*[197] Typically, winning parties would rob all whom they encountered after a victory.[198] Reis e Gama claims that the Ndau considered killing and stealing between kings to be valiant acts.[199] In addition to women, children and male clients were also exchanged to cement alliances between kings.[200] Alliances were made through common accords and sealed by a ritual drinking of beer, often made from maize or millet. One party drank half of the beer in a calabash and gave the remainder to the other side to drink. Once the calabash was emptied the other side refilled it, drank half and then passed it to the new partner to empty. This sharing of beer was followed by dancing and drumming to celebrate the new

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[194] Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* 145. Xavier also provides details on fighting techniques.
[195] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[196] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 22.
[197] Ibid., 24.
[198] Ibid., 22.
[199] Ibid., 17.
[200] Ibid., 22.

forging of friendship.[201] The wider significance of beer is discussed further in chapter six.

The Ndau shared common social and cultural traits over several centuries that contributed to the emergence of a sense of Ndauness. Social structures and cultural practices related to totems, marriages, births and deaths served to bind the Ndau together across the region. Many of the conventions in place in the twentieth century, such as the burial and succession of chiefs, are similar to those practiced centuries earlier. While some of these 'traditions' have certainly changed with time, they have retained a coherent relevance for the Ndau today. The next chapter explores how the Ndau used body art and adornment to strengthen social bonds and shape an ethnic identity.

[201] Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE
Keeping Up Appearances: Houses, Pots and Tattoos

At bathing places by the river, if you did not have pika and nyora you were laughed at and stalked by other girls and labelled as barbel, fish without scales.[1]
-Chinungu Mtetwa

Meso haana muganho.
Eyes have no boundary.[2]
- Shona proverb

The Ndau proclaimed an identity through appearances that was visible to others. They adorned their bodies and homes in a manner that defined social and ethnic boundaries and accentuated gender and status distinctions. Body art was one important way to link people together as 'insiders' and set them apart from others outside the social group. Tattoos, called *pika,* and scarification, known as *nyora,* were two observable expressions of female beauty and attractiveness.[3] Over several centuries, Ndau women shaped connections by sharing a 'body language' of decorative markings, chains of beads and metal jewelry such as anklets, bracelets and earings.[4] Recognizable aspects of Ndau culture such as body art and ear piercing, as well as details of Ndau taste in dress, jewelry, pottery and houses, caught the attention of Europeans who recorded various

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[1] A barbel is a species of catfish. Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[2] Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 424.
[3] Many young Ndau women no longer practice some of the beauty techniques discussed here, such as *pika* and *nyora* (also called cicatrization), although they are still prevalent in the district of Machaze, Mozambique. (Field notes, Manica: Machaze, 14 - 24 July 1998.)
[4] "Body Art: Marks of Identity," Exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York, 20 November 1999- 29 May 2000.

intricacies of Ndau culture to leave a rich written record of how the Ndau maintained standards of beauty.

Clothing

Ornamentation and dress were popular topics in the longer Portuguese documents, and we can take many observations at face value. Dos Santos noted in 1609 that weavers made cotton cloth, called *machira,* from thread spun by women.[5] Manuel de Faria e Sousa reported that Africans south of the Zambezi in the sixteenth century wore cotton clothing, including some finer clothes with gold threads.[6] There is evidence of cotton production in the Shona region since the era of Great Zimbabwe (1250-1450).[7] At the end of the eighteenth century, the main cotton manufacturing regions in the Sofala hinterland were Madanda and the areas of Macaia and Miràmbue in Quiteve.[8] Cotton production was rare in other Ndau-speaking areas, according to Gama.[9] Almost one hundred years later, in 1872, Erskine witnessed the Ndau making cotton in the Danda region near the Save.[10] He described the cloth as "strong and course, but clean and white."[11]

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[5] João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente*, 1609, (Lisboa, 1999), 112, and English translation in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa (RSEA)*, (9 vols., Cape Town, 1964) VII, 207. Dos Santos notes that women performed this task when they were not out working in their fields.
[6] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, "Asia Portuguesa" (1666-1674) in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 15. Sousa was writing in the seventeenth century about the previous century.
[7] S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c. 1400-1902* (Harare, 1988), 37 and 70, n.4.
[8] Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres (1796),* Introduction and notes by Gerhard Liesegang (Lisboa, 1966), 24-25.
[9] Ibid.
[10] St. Vincent W. Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.* 45 (1875), 95.
[11] Ibid.

Some Africans who lived south of the Zambezi in the sixteenth century, including possibly the Ndau, wore cotton cloth woven on "low looms, very slowly" from the northern side of the river.[12] Monclaro mentions in 1569 that this cloth, also referred to as *machira*, is worn by men around the body and crossed over the breast.[13] Both Monclaro and Barreto, writing almost 100 years later, noted that the trade in cloth (often in exchange for beads) was flourishing.[14] The king of Quiteve and his lords dressed in either fine cotton or imported silk that hung from the waist to the ankle. Dos Santos describes how a larger cloth (again called *machira*) was thrown "over the shoulders like a cape, with which they cover and muffle themselves, always leaving the end of the cloth on the left side so long that it drags upon the ground, and the more it drags the greater their majesty and dignity."[15] Near the Zambezi Monclaro wrote that a black cloth known as "Bertangil" was unraveled and beaded in different patterns, as well as twisted into a cord that was worn around the neck.[16] Unfortunately many documents, such as this one by Monclaro, do not specify if both men and women wore this cloth. According to dos Santos, writing in the 1580s, only women spun cotton.[17] This practice may have spread further south to the Ndau area where cloth continued to be produced locally despite a large and fairly steady volume of imports.

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[12] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 229.
[13] Ibid. *Machira* is the Ndau word for pieces of cloth *(jira*, sing.).
[14] Ibid., 234; Manuel Barreto, "Informação do estado e conquista dos rios de Cuama," Theal, *RSEA,* III, 481.
[15] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 111 and English translation in Theal, *RSEA,* VI, 207.
[16] This was a cotton cloth made in Cambay that was usually blue, red or black, according to S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c. 1400-1902* (Harare, 1988), xi; Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 234-235.
[17] Dos Santos *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA,* VI, 207.

The Ndau harvested cotton, spun and dyed wide pieces of cloth and used spun sheep's wool as thread.[18] They added color with dyes made from crushed substances, boiled leaves, bark or roots, or mud from fresh water rivers.[19] Some cloth panels were dyed orange with saffron, brown or gray with dark clay and red with blood.[20] Indigo and a plant referred to as "ambono" were common dyes in the Ndau region, according to Gama.[21] People apparently first brought pieces of cloth to the Chikore area from the Portuguese trading base at Bwanyi on the coast.[22] The first cloth in Zamchiya purchased from Pakatai, was only red, black and white.[23]

The Ndau also dressed in animal skins and bark from trees that differed little from cloth, according to an account from 1758.[24] A century later Erskine described the use of baobab bark as large cloth coverings.[25] He described the coverings as "immensely heavy, but apparently of everlasting wear."[26] He was referring to *magudza*, coverings made out of woven strips or strings from baobab, msasa and fig trees.[27] One *gudza* was

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[18] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 26; Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872," 95.
[19] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 26; An account from the early sixteenth century claimed that the Muslim residents of Sofala did not used dyes. "Description of the Situation, Customs and Produce of Various Places of Africa" (c. 1518) In *Documentos Sobre Os Portugueses Em Moçambique e Na África Central, 1497-1840, DPMAC,* (9 vols., Lisboa, 1962-1972) V, 375.
[20] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 23.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Bwanyi (Bwanye or Buene) is an island at the mouth of the Gorongoza river near Chiluane (south of Sofala). It was "the main Portuguese base in the Sofala region for much of the nineteenth century," according to David Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past* (Gweru, 1994), 247.
[23] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[24] Ignácio Caetano Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" (1758) in A. A. Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* (Lisboa, 1955), 146.
[25] Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872," 97.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.

big enough to cover four or five children, who would sleep under it.[28] People wore *magudza* and also wove 'strings' from trees into *maswa* to use as clothing.[29]

One account mentions Africans south of the Zambezi in the sixteenth century wearing sheepskins "because of the cold south winds."[30] The second 'skin', or membrane, of elephants was dried and used as a sheet, and leopard skins were particularly valued as clothing. Noting the prominent status of some women, Xavier commented, "Only the most important among them wear cloth, according to their means, giving preference in this and other aspects to the women who are always highly respected and without whose opinion nothing is decided."[31] This reference most likely concerns royal women, such as those of Quiteve, for the status of common women was below that of men.

Although cloth was manufactured and acquired through trade in the Ndau region, many elders recall the prevalence of skins as well.[32] In the hinterland of Sofala Africans used a combination of cloth and skins and covered themselves from the waist down, according to an early sixteenth-century account.[33] One elder described the use of two small pieces of cloth called *foya* wrapped over the upper body as a covering.[34] Animal skins were made into shoes to provide protection from thorns.[35] Two straps of animal

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[28] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[29] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[30] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, "Asia Portuguesa" (1666-1674) in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 15.
[31] Xavier, "Noticias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" in Andrade, 146; English translation from D. N. Beach and H. de Noronha, "The Shona and the Portuguese 1575-1890" (2 vols., Harare, 1980), Vol. II, 31.
[32] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[33] "Description of the Situation, Customs and Produce of Various Places of Africa" (c. 1518) *DPMAC*, v, 375.
[34] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[35] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

skin, one in front and one in the back, were worn by men. The tanned skins, known as *njobo*, were from the *jangwa*, an animal in the mongoose family.[36] An inner skin was used as underwear.[37] Or, at times a man covered only his penis with a *munyoto*.[38] Women also wore skins in the front and back. Cowhide, called *dembe,* was mainly meant for women.[39] Skins wrapped around the waist were called *mukore*. Many women wore a short skirt called a *chikisa*, which is still used today for special occasions and certain ceremonies. On the upper body, a woman would sometimes wear two straps of cloth over each shoulder and tuck the straps into her *chikisa*.[40] Women did not cover their upper bodies at times, but an early account from 1518 notes that they cover their breasts once married.[41] Some elders preferred the tanned skins over clothes because the *njobo* was very durable.[42] An elder from Chikore explained, "Some would marry using those skins if they were nicely and expertly done."[43] However, those that were not tanned properly were described as "laughing stocks."[44] So skins were both admired and ridiculed, depending on the quality of the tanning.

Jewelry

Women, and some men, wore beads and very fine bracelets of copper and gold (*makosa*) on their arms and similar metal anklets on their legs, a practice that

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[36] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[37] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[38] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[39] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[40] Ibid.
[41] "Description of the Situation, Customs and Produce of Various Places of Africa" (c. 1518) *DPMAC*, v, 375; John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[42] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[43] Ibid.

continued into the twentieth century.[45] Monclaro notes that the Monomotapa sent eight of these metal bracelets to Franciso Barreto in the sixteenth century to honor him as one of his "wives."[46] Xavier describes "beads of various colors and kinds, the most appreciated being the ones that are mixed with small pieces of coral, and they also wear some made of tin."[47] On a journey from Inhambane to Sofala, André Fernandes admired women wearing "many strings of different colored beads twisted together in front, and arranged to fall one below the other at the back."[48] He also wrote that Africans wore copper bracelets (rather than iron) that were "much esteemed among them."[49] Women also wore headbands, *makheyo,* and ornaments woven with beads.[50] Fernandes observed women with "all sorts of finery, such as crowns and circlets, on their heads, which are half shaved."[51] Elders in the twentieth century reported that Ndau women were said to beautiful when they wore metal bracelets and chains of beads around their necks.[52]

The Ndau wore jewelry made from gold, copper and ivory as well as imported glass beads. Men brought anklets from Bwanyi as gifts to their wives and

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[44] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[45] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 229; Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours,* (Oxford, 1994), 158.
[46] Barreto and other Portuguese officials were called the chief's 'wives' as a sign of honor and affection. Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 229, 252.
[47] Xavier in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* 146. English translation from Beach and Noronha, Vol. II, 31-32.
[48] André Fernandes, "Letter from the Father André Fernandes to the Brother Luiz Froes at the College of Goa" (1560) 25 June, Theal, *RSEA*, II, 76.
[49] Ibid.
[50] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[51] André Fernandes, "Letter from the Father André Fernandes to the Brother Luiz Froes at the College of Goa" (1560) 25 June, Theal, *RSEA*, II, 76.
[52] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

girlfriends.[53] Ivory was cut into small pieces that were soaked in cold water or buried in humid earth for some time.[54] The pieces were fashioned into combs, knife handles and sheaths.[55] Other items were manufactured out of iron, copper, gold, cotton and skins.[56] The coast near Sofala yielded amber and seed pearls, and in 1696 a shipment of pearls and seed pearls were sent to Goa.[57] Iron also came from the cotton-producing regions of Madanda, and Quiteve. Iron ore, described as "dust like earth", was an abundant mineral that Ndau artisans smelted and worked into various implements such as knives, axes, arrows and wire that was twisted around their legs and arms.[58] Blacksmiths made hoes from pieces of iron bars worked to perfection with hammers and files.[59] This technique may have been a recent development, since Gama noted that earlier peoples did not understand this method. Copper was worked in a similar manner to iron and fashioned into rings worn on the neck, legs and arms.[60] Despite the presence of blacksmiths, Gama claimed that the Ndau did not know how to work gold or stone at the end of the eighteenth century.[61] Ivory and gold, acquired in the hinterland regions of Quiteve, Manica and Barue, were traded at Sofala.[62]

Monclaro could not explain the reluctance of African men and women to mine for gold in the sixteenth century, especially since he argued that "they have a great love of gold, and make different things of it which they wear round their necks like beads, and

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[53] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[54] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 23.
[55] Ibid., 23-24.
[56] Ibid., 23.
[57] Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" in Andrade, 154-55.
[58] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 23. Although the text reads "hands and feet", Gama is most likely referring to the common practice of wearing wire on the arms and legs.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 23-24.

also use it in trading for cloth.[63] He concluded that Africans dug for gold at certain times when they wanted to buy cloth.[64] Monclaro argued that Shona speakers valued gold even more than the Portuguese, using it for trade and to make jewels and ornaments.[65] The Ndau and neighboring Shona also worked iron, copper and pewter into ornaments and "other little things" according to Monclaro.[66] Blacksmiths made arrows, assegais, hoes, hatchets, and a kind of half sword that they called "lupangas."[67] Given the importance of jewelry and metalworking, mining was most likely carried out to meet the demand for metals, despite its inherent risks.

Dos Santos noted that the Mutapa and his vassals each wore a white shell on their foreheads that hangs from their hair. The Mutapa himself wore another white shell on his breast. Yet these shells, referred to as *andoros (ndoro)* by dos Santos, were despised by the king of Quiteve, "as they are insignia of his enemy Monomotapa," according to dos Santos.[68] The Teve leader was determined to set himself apart from his rival on the plateau. Soon after, Diogo Simões also gave the Mutapa a gold *andoro* set with false stones "such as the Mokaranga kaffirs wear on their heads," according to the chronicler Antonio Bocarro.[69] The *andoro* retained a religious significance in the twentieth century among the Ndau and their neighbors to

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[62] Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" in Andrade, 154, 174.
[63] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," In Theal, *RSEA,* III, 234.
[64] Ibid., 253.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., 235.
[67] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 112 and in Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 207. A lupanga, also known as a 'panga', is from the Shona word for knife: *banga* (sing.), *mapanga* (pl.).
[68] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 289. *Andoro* is *ndoro,* a "shell-like white ornament (or real shell) gen[erally] worn on chest (of great antiquity, now associated with chieftainships and with those having magical powers)." M. Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary* (Gweru, 1984), 443.
[69] "Extracts from the *Decade* Written by Antonio Bocarro" (1631-49) in Theal, *RSEA*, III, 405.

the south, but it is worn "only by a person who is a medium for an Ndau spirit of very high rank," according to the missionary E. Dora Earthy.[70]

Ndau women have pierced their ears and worn earrings to decorate their bodies, but men only began to pierce their ears in the nineteenth century after the Gaza Nguni invasion.[71] Although ear piercing began as a sign of subjection under the Gaza-Nguni, Ndau men gave this practice a different cultural meaning after Gaza-Nguni overrule ended in 1889. For the next 30-40 years, a man's pierced ears, often with a large hole, were a sign of being 'Ndau'. Men pierced their ears as a rite of passage, and this 'mark' distinguished them from other migrant laborers in *Joni.* The piercing of men's ears will be discussed further in chapter seven in the context of Gaza Nguni overrule; However, it is important to note here that Ndau men 'incorporated' ear piercing as their own coming of age ritual and mark of identity to the public. Even after Gaza Nguni overrule ended, a man needed to pierce his ears to successfully court a woman, win her heart, and avoid being regarded as worthless.[72] Thus, during the nineteenth and twentieth century, ear piercing held shifting meanings for men and women in Ndau society.

Pika and *Nyora*

Just as ear piercing became a right of passage for young men before they went to work in South Africa's mines, tattoos, known as *pika*, marked the passage of young women into adulthood. Philemon Khosa said that *pika* "was done as a symbol of

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[70] E. Dora Earthy, *Valenge Women: The Social and Economic Life of Valenge Women of Portuguese East Africa, an Ethnographic Study* (London, 1933), 212. Earthy lived among the Valengwe north of the Limpopo river where Ndau spirits are prevalent. See chapter six.
[71] Valengwe women to the south did not pierce their ears, Earthy, *Valenge Women,* 105.
[72] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

identity, just like the piercing of ears so that people will be able to identify under whose chiefdom people belong."[73] If someone looked at a woman wearing *pika*, "you would know that this is a Ndau," said Allen Mundeta.[74] The beauty marks of *pika*, often placed on the cheeks, forehead and stomach, were applied during puberty[75] "so that one would be attractive to boys."[76] But *pika* also demonstrated to the community that young women were now adults. "Without *pika* you were not considered a lady," said one elder.[77] *Pika* was a sign of both beauty and womanhood in Ndau culture.[78]

Although *pika* was a matter of choice[79], in the eyes of many *pika* added beauty and made people look extraordinary among other people.[80] It was common for *pika* to consist of three marks on each cheek, forehead and stomach, but designs varied from this practice.[81] Some women, including many in Machaze, Mozambique, also had *pika* on their legs. In recent times, Ndau women used pins to make *pika* marks[82] to beautify their faces.[83] Although there was much laughter from female elders surrounding questions of *pika* and *nyora*,[84] most of those interviewed echoed Mucherechete Dhlakama's comment that both practices were "done for our men" and "done to attract our men,"[85]

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[73] Philemon Khosa, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
[74] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[75] Amélia Mutume, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[76] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[77] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[78] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[79] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[80] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[81] Amélia Mutume, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[82] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999, just one of many examples.
[85] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

Nyora, scarification, also added beauty to women's bodies and pleased men.[86] The skin was cut, usually with a knife,[87] and keloids developed after a substance such as ash or clay was placed in the wound.[88] Women decorated their bodies with scarification patterns on their face, stomach, upper chest and thighs. The European traveler Erskine noted in 1872 that the Danda who lived in the low lying region just north of the Save river, "mark themselves with a V-shaped series of bumps" on their forehead, between the eyes, as well as sometimes on their cheeks.[89] On another journey in the same region the following year, he wrote that the Danda had "rows of skin-lumps between their eyes and at each corner of the mouth."[90] He proceeded to the Ndau highlands to visit Mzila and did not remark on the practice of *nyora* in that region.[91] Yet elders interviewed throughout the Ndau region commented on the prevalence of *nyora* and *pika.*

The patterned scar tissue of *nyora* served not only to beautify a woman, but also to enhance sexual relations. This sexual aspect created added pressure for a woman to have *nyora.* "Those without *nyora* are not that interesting," remarked one

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[86] Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[87] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[88] The substance added to the wound may have been 'medicine' since Desmond Dale defines *nyora* as a "tattoo mark, cicatrix, in which medicine has been added." Desmond Dale, *Duramazwi: A Shona-English Dictionary,* (Gweru, 1981), 163.
[89] Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa in 1871-1872," 95; See also John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935," Ph.D. diss., (Northwestern University, 1973), 88.
[90] St. Vincent W. Erskine, "Third and Fourth Journeys in Gaza, or Southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874 and 1874 to 1875, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 48: 25-56, 30.
[91] Yet we cannot be sure that Erskine did not see women with keloids as he headed north towards the Chimanimani mountains from the lower Save. He may have been looking only for scar tissue on women's faces, or perhaps he did not have the opportunity to view *nyora* and *pika* on other parts of the body such as the stomach or thighs. In addition, Erskine was forced to rely on his memory when he wrote his account of the journey, since all of his notebooks were lost in a flooded river. Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa in 1871-1872,", 45.

elder, since "it was done so that when caressing a woman you would feel the kind of 'bumpy' and rough surface, it is so pleasing." [92] *Nyora* was considered to be so important that a new bride would be inspected by her husbands's aunts to make sure that she had *nyora*.[93] If the bride did not have *nyora*, she was ordered to have it done before she was accepted as a wife, according to an elder in Chikore.[94] *Nyora* decorated the body[95] and entertained the husband[96] as well. Even though many elders noted that *nyora* was pleasing to men, one male elder said that *nyora* was also "meant to arouse the woman when she was being caressed, just like fondling."[97]

Nyora, like *pika,* was a rite of passage for young women. "Without *nyora* one was not considered a full woman," explained Celani Mutigwe of Chikore.[98] Another elder recalled the atmosphere surrounding *nyora*: "It was meant to compete with other girls in having those designs. At bathing places by the river, if you did not have *pika* and *nyora* you were laughed and stalked by other girls and labelled as barbell, fish without scales."[99] Thus, a woman without *nyora* was both ridiculed and frowned upon by others.[100]

Less information is available on the practice of teeth filing among the Ndau. One elder recalled her grandmothers sharpening their two upper teeth (incisors) to add to their

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[92] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[93] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[96] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[97] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[98] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[99] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[100] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

beauty.[101] In 1872 and 1873, Erskine also observed Ndau in the Danda region near the lower Save who "file their upper teeth to a point."[102] The European traveler H. P. Junod noticed in 1935 that the Ndau's neighbors just to the north of the Pungwe river, the Barwe and Manyika "file the inner side of their two upper incisive teeth in triangular shape."[103] And many Chopi women south of the Save filed their upper teeth in the first half of the twentieth century as well.[104]

Hairstyles

One of the earliest Portuguese accounts, from around 1518, noted that Africans in the hinterland of Sofala "adorn the head slightly."[105] This was most likely an understatement, for details of intricate hairstyles and ornamentation appear in other documents from the sixteenth century. Women wore bands of beads on their heads and used reddish rocks called *mukura,* probably ochre, to die their hair red.[106] The rocks were crushed into a powder and mixed with oil from *mupfuta* and then rubbed into hair.[107] Elders recall that people near the border, in the area of Zamchiya, traded *mukura* with others to the west in the valley where it was in demand.[108] Erskine observed women

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[101] Amélia Mutume, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998. "os dois dentes incisivos do maxilar superior."
[102] Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa in 1871-1872," 95; Erskine, "Third and Fourth Journeys in Gaza, or Southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874 and 1874 to 1875," 30.
[103] H. P. Junod, "Notes on the Ethnological Situation in Portuguese East Africa on the South of the Zambezi," *Bantu Studies,* 10 (1936): 293-311, 296.
[104] E. Dora Earthy, *Valenge Women*, 105.
[105] "Description of the Situation, Customs and Produce of Various Places of Africa" (c. 1518) *DPMAC*, v, 375.
[106] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

further east near the lower Save "loaded with beads and red clay."[109] Women, including the wives of chiefs, were considered to be "very smart" with reddish dye from *mukura*, according to Sarai Nyabanga Sithole[110]

Men were known for their creative hairstyles of which Monclaro provided a detailed account at the end of the sixteenth century.

> They wear horn-like headgear as an adornment, being made of their own hair turned back in a strange manner; these horns are in general use in Kaffraria, and provide a good shade. In the middle of the head they make one which draws the hair in most orderly and well-arranged fashion, first making the hair long by means of small pieces of copper or tin which they tie at the end of a few hairs brought together, so that the weight gradually makes them long and crisp, and thus they go about with their heads covered with these small pieces.[111]

Dos Santos describes a very similar procedure for making "horns" in hair, and notes that man cannot wear their horns in the same fashion as the king of Quiteve, who wears four horns in the following manner: "One a palm in length above his forehead like a unicorn, and three half a palm in length, one at the back of the head, and one over each ear; each horn standing very straight up in its place."[112] A man who did not wear horns faced ridicule and the insult "that he is like a woman."[113] He continued by noting that they do not use hats because of these horns. Dos Santos also argued that Africans did not cut their hair or beards.[114]

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[109] Erskine, "Third and Fourth Journeys in Gaza, or Southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874 and 1874 to 1875," 30.
[110] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[111] Franciso Monclaro, "Narrative (Copy) by Father Francisco de Monclaro, of the Society of Jesus, of the Expedition to Monomotapa, Led by Francisco Barreto (post 1573)" *DPMAC,* viii, 325-429, 381. Compare with another version of Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da Viagem," in Theal, *RSEA,* III, 229.
[112] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 111; English translation in Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 207.
[113] Ibid.

Houses and Granaries

The Ndau did not adorn their homes in the same decorative manner that they used for their bodies. Round houses were made out of wooden poles and covered with thatch. They were often plastered with *dagga,* a clay mixture, placed on either the inside or both sides of the dwelling.[115] Men were the predominant builders of a house frame and roof thatchers.[116] Women plastered the walls and treated the earth floors to prevent cracking and crumbling.[117] Ndau women decorate the outside walls of some houses today with painted designs, but this appears to be a recent trend.[118]

The size of a house varied, but we know that there were very large houses at Great Zimbabwe in the sixteenth century and large houses appeared again in Manica in the 1890s for the purpose of avoiding the Portuguese hut tax.[119] The entrances to houses in Zamchiya were small, and people had to bend down to enter.[120] One elder in Zamchiya noted that some big houses were divided "into two compartments for two wives."[121] The Ndau in this region also built double story dwellings called *dandara* where people would escape from lions.[122] Very small double story houses called *zvitumba, zvitarahwi* and *zvikurumbana* also existed further north in chief Mutema's region.[123] Possessions, such as a pot for cooking, two hoes for digging and a bow with arrows for hunting, were stored

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[114] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1609) In Theal, *RSEA,* vii, 289.
[115] Manuel de Faria e Sousa claimed that Africans south of the Zambezi river in the sixteenth century lived in wood houses.
[116] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[117] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[118] Further south, the walls of Valenge houses bore many designs earlier this century. Earthy, *Valenge Women,* 238, Plate XVII.
[119] Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, 48.
[120] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[123] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

upstairs in some of these houses, while people slept on the ground floor on woven mats.[124] Today the southeastern region of Machanga boasts the largest houses in the Ndau-speaking area. Both the sizes of Ndau houses and their arrangement in a compound vary over time and space.

Grain was also stored in some of the houses with a second floor,[125] but the Ndau tended to make separate granaries out of various materials to store their food. Common materials were the same as those used in houses--pole and dagga with straw roofs--and these granaries are similar to those still in use today.[126] Grain was also stored in pots underground, and elders recall this practice during the famine of *mwadiwa*.[127] When harvests were good, grain reserves lasted for two years.[128]

Granaries differed by region and personal preference. For instance, granaries in Mhakwe were not like those in Chikore. In Mhawke there were different granaries for each type of crop. The granary, *dura/matura,* was built like a *chitumba* (double-story hut), but the entrance at the top was smaller. A person needed a ladder to enter.[129] Yet in Chikore only double-story huts, *zvitumba,* were used as granaries. The Ndau wove bundles of grass or small poles and grass together to make granaries with small openings called *nyumbu*.[130] The grass weave permitted ventilation and

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[124] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[125] Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[126] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 24. Numerous elders, when asked to describe houses long ago, pointed to a 'traditional' round house or granary in their compound and noted that the construction methods and building materials had not changed over time. The houses that resembled those used by earlier generations often sat next to 'modern' square houses made with cement blocks and corrugated iron roofs.
[127] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[128] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[129] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[130] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

discouraged weevils from damaging the grain.[131] A beer party would be an occasion to weave *nyumbu*.[132] Rapoko was stored in a *nyumbu* or a *chitumba*, where it was forced down using a pestle.[133] Some Ndau would also build granaries plastered with dagga, at times in trees.[134] Ndau from Zamchiya recall using *magombana*, or thick musasa tree bark to store gain as well.[135] Granaries in Zamchiya were made with only dagga or a combination of both dagga and small poles.[136] Despite the type of granary, maize was stored with the husks.[137]

Pots

Nyumbu are still very impressive baskets used by some Ndau, but female potters also made various kinds of clay pots, *hari,* for cooking and storage. Women would dig clay soil from valleys and the sides of rivers to mix it with sandy soil from a crushed piece of clay pot called a *mushapa.*[138] After sprinkling water over the clay soil they would mix it the following day and add the sandy mixture before making their clay pots.[139] Once made, a pot would dry for five days inside a house before being burned in a fire until it was red-hot.[140]

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[131] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[132] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[133] Ibid.; Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[134] Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[135] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[136] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[137] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[138] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Ndagumirwa Sigauke, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[139] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[140] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

Very large pots were surrounded by woven baskets to aid during carrying.[141] Each type of pot had a specific name. A large pot called *mabiya* was used for cooking a sauce of leaves or meat used as a relish.[142] Other very large pots were used to brew beer.[143] In the area around Mhakwe, a medium-sized *nhamba* was used for cooking the maize-meal staple of *sadza.* Women and girls carried water in *nhuvi,* and the larger *mabiya* was for brewing and storing beer. A *chipfuko* was used for storing water and a clay plate known as *mukheyo* was for serving relish.[144] *Zvikarairo* were used as water mugs during meals.[145] When asked about the kinds of pots that women made, Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana said, "They did not make those decorative ones that are made today for selling to whites. They made ordinary *hari* for cooking or *mukheyo* for drinking."[146]

Adorning the Body and the Home

The Ndau kept up appearances over time in ways that were both distinctive and similar to some of the cultural practices of their neighbors. In the sixteenth century the Ndau shared a penchant for making horns in their hair with their neighbors to the south in the hinterland of Inhambane. Father André Fernandes observed Africans in this area wearing "two horns on their heads" that they "stick in two pieces of wood" or decorate the points "with a little gold."[147] Even further south around Delagoa Bay in the

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[141] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[142] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[143] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[144] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[145] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[146] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[147] André Fernandes, "Letter from the Father André Fernandes to the Brother Luiz Froes at the College of Goa" (1560) 25 June, Theal, *RSEA*, II, 76.

eighteenth century, Africans wore brass rings on their arms "from their wrists to above their elbows,"[148] similar to those used by the Ndau and their Shona neighbors. Yet despite the fact that other Africans such as the Tsonga and Valenge marked their bodies in a similar manner to *pika* and *nyora* of Ndau women, elders in the Ndau region today consider tattoos and scarification to be specific to the Ndau.[149] This sense of 'being Ndau' through shared body markings is also gendered--women mark their bodies while men (and women) enjoy the beauty of it. Although evidence about how Ndau-speakers adorned themselves is often rich, it is difficult to discern which cultural practices were adopted as a result of internal dynamics or contact with 'outsiders' through trade, incorporation or resistance. Regardless of this gap in scholars' knowledge, the hairstyles, ornamentation and body art of the Ndau were all examples of vehicles for expressing both individual and group identity. With *pika* and *nyora,* for instance, 'Ndauness' was inscribed on women's bodies. Through the use of *pika* and *nyora,* the Ndau made a statement about standards of female beauty and attractiveness and signaled an ethnic boundary. Hairstyles and jewelry most likely served as both a status symbol and an aesthetic medium. By expressing their own distinct concept of the body and its adornment, the Ndau shaped a very public identity with a long historical continuity.

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[148] Fynn "Delagoa Bay," Theal, *RSEA,* II, 481

[149] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999. See, for instance, the discussion of tattoos in nineteenth-century southern Mozambique in Heidi Gengenbach, "Where Women Make History: Pots, Stories, Tattoos, and Other Gendered Accounts of Community and Change in Magude District, Mozambique, c. 1800 to the Present," Ph. D. diss. (University of Minnesota, 1999), chapter five.

CHAPTER SIX
Brewing Beer, Making Rain and Holding Court

The chief would tell people to go and instruct them that they would see a whirlwind. These people would not even reach their intended destination before rains fell.[1]
-Sarai Nyabanga Sithole

Ushe hahuzvitongi.
Chieftainship cannot rule itself.[2]
-Shona proverb

Mhosva haizvitongi.
A case cannot try itself.[3]
-Shona proverb

The Ndau have shared a mélange of beliefs reflected in the activities of brewing beer, making rain and holding court. As important ingredients in the 'mixed pot' of Ndauness, both the practical and symbolic aspects of these rituals were central to the development of a cultural identity among the Ndau. Beer drinking has a deep social significance, for as one proverb notes, "Where there is beer there is noise."[4] The noise may stem from a work party, a ceremony of thanksgiving, or a casual afternoon gathering of elders.[5] Beer drinks, both in the present and in the past, validate the position of each headman "as social dean and land manager."[6] Similarly, a chief whose ancestors

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[1] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole describing Mbonyeya's rain-making power of the Musikavanhu chieftaincy. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[2] Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 304.
[3] Ibid., 320.
[4] Ibid., 412. *Panonwiwa doro, panonzikwa nemhere.* Another proverb notes, "(Snuff) tobacco creates no grudge like beer" *(Fodya haina shura sedoro),* implying the rudeness of refusing to offer beer to visitors. p. 434.
[5] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999; Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Field notes, Zimbabwe: Zamchiya, July 1999.
[6] David McDermott Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border." Ph.D. diss. (University of Califronia, Berkeley, 1999), 142.

continue to bring rain is viewed as "the rightful authority."[7] Legitimacy is also central to holding court, for chiefs relied on their communities to abide by decisions made at the *dare*, or court.[8] Leaders knew that "chieftainship cannot rule itself," but sufficient rain and ample beer made the affairs of the court run much smoother.[9]

Beer, Rain and the Spiritual World

Life was not possible without ample rain and fertile soil. Therefore, chiefs and headmen took charge of rainmaking ceremonies, which gave thanks to both the chief and his ancestors for the crops harvested in the past.[10] Rainmaking ceremonies, called *makoto*, were "part and parcel of people's livelihood" in the chiefdom.[11] *Makoto* were held annually under the guidance of the chief in July and August, or at other times after a period of drought. Elders recalled people celebrating at the residence of the chief when he asked them to prepare *makoto*.[12] Women would ululate into the night at the chief's residence. "Even when the chief went to sleep, we would still dance and sing around his house," remarked Mucherechete Dhlakama of Zamchiya, Zimbabwe.[13] Meanwhile, men sat together and drank beer, but each family also reserved beer for the chief.[14]

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[7] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With': Gender Identities and Social Practices, Beliefs and Power in the Livelihoods of Ndau Women and Men in a Village with an Irrigation Scheme in Zimbabwe," Ph. D. diss. (Wageningen Agricultural University, Netherlands, 1998), 265.

[8] The *dare* is not only the 'court,' but also the village meeting place for men and the body that has judicial or executive authority. M. Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary* (Gweru, 1984), 111.

[9] Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 304.

[10] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[11] They are still performed today. Philemon Khosa, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999; Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[12] Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.; Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Philemon Khosa, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.

Chiefs performed ceremonies at gravesites or other shrines to ensure rainfall and fertility, and people drank beer and sang praise songs to the ancestors.[15] One song repeated the phrase *Iri mubako mwemvura woye-e,* or "Going to the cave of water."[16] The Ndau also placed beer, sadza and meat under a tree as an offering to the ancestors.[17] People passing by were permitted to help themselves to the food and beer under the tree,[18] and after eating they thanked the ancestors and asked for a plentiful season.[19] The Ndau viewed rainmaking ceremonies as successful, and even if *makoto* failed to bring rain, people did not stop performing the ritual.[20]

An early description of rainmaking from the Portuguese record appears in dos Santos's discussion of the 'working' relationship between Ndau chiefs and their subjects in the 1580s.

> When they suffer necessity or scarcity they have recourse to the king, firmly believing that he can give them all that they desire or have need of, and can obtain anything from his dead predecessors, with whom they believe that he holds converse. For this reason they ask the king to give them rain when it is required, and other favourable weather for their harvest, and in coming to ask for any of these things they bring him valuable presents, which the king accepts, bidding them return to their homes and he will be careful to grant their petitions.[21]

Dos Santos went on to argue that the Teve king deceives his subjects and "does not give them what they ask for" until they make greater offerings.[22] He lamented the many days

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[15] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[16] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[17] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[21] João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente*, 1609, (Lisboa, 1999) and English translation in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa (RSEA)*, (9 vols., Cape Town, 1964) VII,199.
[22] Ibid.

spent "in these comings and goings" surrounding requests to the king, yet he noted the general satisfaction within the kingdom when it began to rain.[23] More than 300 years later, when the rainy season approached in Nyabanga, Sarai Nyabanga Sithole recalled how her uncle, Magavhu, would "negotiate with the chief to plead on behalf of the people."[24] She explained that the chief, Mbonyeya, would then

> tell people to go and instruct them that they would see a whirlwind. These people would not even reach their intended destination before rains fell. Women would then ululate for the people who would have gone to the chief's sacred place to bring rain.[25]

It was also common for the Ndau to believe that a type of traditional medicine, *divisi,* caused crop failure by invisibly transferring one person's healthy crops into the field of another.[26] If one farmer questioned his poor harvest compared to the abundant crop of a neighboring farmer, the chief usually intervened and ordered the beneficiary to stop relying on the charm of *divisi* at the expense of the harmed neighbor.[27] When insects such as caterpillars or worms posed problems for crops, people would collect the insects and bring them to the chief "pleading to have such creatures disappear to other places."[28] Mubayi Mhlanga notes, "Normally after that things would become stable."[29] These requests for rain and crop protection stressed the central role of chiefs as powerful 'stabilizers' in Ndau society.

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[25] Ibid. Mbonyeya displayed rainmaking powers around 1895 until his death in 1947, according to J. K. Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial Cult in Rhodesia," in *Guardians of the Land.*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers (Gweru, 1978), 257, 278.
[26] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[29] Ibid.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Shona speakers to the west--the Changamire dynasty of the Rozvi--influenced the rainmaking of those further east, including the Ndau and their Manyika neighbors.[30] Traditions claim that "Dombo", the founder of the Rozvi, was expelled from the Mutapa state when he refused to drink a poison ordeal to confirm an oath.[31] Once the Changamire ruler established his chiefdom in the southwestern Khami area of the Torwa kingdom in the late seventeenth century, he adopted the local reliance on the Mwari rainmaking spirit.[32] The influence of this guardian spirit spread eastward as the Rozvi kingdom expanded, and both the Ndau and the Manyika arranged for delegates to visit the Mwari shrines in the Matopo Hills of southwestern Zimbabwe.[33] From Bhila's work on the Manyika north of the Ndau region, we know that the Manyika sent tribute to the Rozvi kings for about 100 years, and then maintained important links after this tributary relationship ceased in the eighteenth century.[34] Thus, the power of Mwari extended over a large area and served to link people across political boundaries.[35]

But in the Sanga (Chisanga) highland region east of the Save river, the *dziva* (pool totem) dynasties established in the seventeenth century had their own territorial cults that

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[30] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe* (Harare, 1980); Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 257-285; Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa" in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa,* Steven Feierman and John M. Janzen, eds., (Berkeley, 1992), 221.
[31] Waite notes that this substance was probably *mteyo*. Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa" in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa,* 221.
[32] Ibid.; Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 260, 264.
[33] Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa" in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*, 222; Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 260.
[34] H. H. K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom,* (Salisbury, 1982); Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa" in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*, 222.
[35] Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa" in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*, 222.

brought rain.[36] Despite conquest by *moyo* (heart) dynasties, these rain-bringing cults survived, and by the nineteenth century the power of the leading chief, Musikavanhu, was eventually recognized by members of other lineages who brought presents for rain from as far away as the coast.[37] Even the Gaza Nguni leaders who ruled over much of the Ndau region in the nineteenth century sent payments to rain-making chiefs such as Mafussi, according to the European traveller St. Vincent Erskine.[38] Rennie argues, however, that Musikavanhu's charismatic leaders impeded integration into the Sanga chieftaincy of Mutema.[39] The transformation of Musikavanhu into a secular chieftaincy would not take place until Rhodesian colonial authorities intervened in the twentieth century.[40]

As the case of the Rozvi demonstrates, Ndau chiefs were not the only figures who could bring rain. Even the European Erskine alleged, "I acquired quite a high reputation as a rain-maker, because it frequently happened that it rained upon my arrival at kraals [homesteads]."[41] On one journey through the Save lowlands in the 1870s Erskine claimed that an elderly chief named Sondaba asked him to make rain.[42] Sondaba offered Erskine "some corn and three fowls," but Erskine demanded a goat instead. Even though

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[36] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism, and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935," Ph.D. diss. (Northwestern University, 1973), 68-69 and "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy"; David Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 38.
[37] Coastal delegations brought presents for rain into the 1920s, according to Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 257 and 262.
[38] St. Vincent W. Erskine noted this in the 1870s in "Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 45: 45-128, 121. The Gaza Nguni presence led to many changes, including a disregard for territorial shrines, as discussed ahead in chapter seven. John Keith Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-Eastern Shona, 1500-1890," in Ahmed Idho Salim, ed. *State Formation in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi, 1984), 184.
[39] Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 270.
[40] Ibid., 272-280.
[41] St. Vincent W. Erskine, "Third and Fourth Journeys in Gaza, or Southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874 and 1874 to 1875, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 48: 25-56, 34.
[42] Ibid.

Sondaba did not fulfill Erskine's requirement, rain fell for three days soon after the request, according to Erskine.

Beer drinks, like rainmaking ceremonies, were important religious functions as well as popular social gatherings. A major annual feast involving beer and dancing was *bira,* a ceremony of thanksgiving for the care of the ancestors.[43] After a harvest people presented a share of their crops to the local chief and offered a portion to their ancestors.[44] Relatives, friends and neighbors brought beer and food to a ceremony that praised and appeased their ancestors.[45] On the day of a special beer drink such as *bira* nephews and nieces would lay by the door with tree branches and sing.[46] Beer was also brewed for a *bira* to celebrate the homecoming of migrant laborers from South Africa.[47] People would drink, sing, dance and enjoy themselves. A traditional dance of the Ndau highland region known as *muchongoyo* was performed when these men returned from *Joni,* or Johannesburg.[48] Women possessed by spirits performed another dance, the *chinyambera* in the wider Ndau region.[49] Those possessed by spirits, known as *Mhongos,* had their own praise songs.[50] During a summer's full moon children from the community gathered at homesteads to play and dance *chinyambera.*[51] People would sing and beat

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[43] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[44] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[45] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000; Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999; Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[46] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[47] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[48] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999. Sekuru Makuyana argues that "when *muchongoyo* is performed, even white people would nod their heads in appreciation following the sequence of the dance."
[49] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999. She commented that ceremonies such as this one have been replaced by 'modern' ceremonies.
[50] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000.
[51] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.

drums, but not make any offerings.[52] *Doro rengoma* was a special beer brewed for occasions with drumming that led people to dance and play.[53] These ceremonies brought people together to celebrate and drink beer.

For the Ndau, the power of the spiritual world is central to rainmaking and beer brewing ceremonies. The Ndau have maintained beliefs in the power of ancestor spirits, healers and spirit mediums over several centuries, as evidence from dos Santos and other documents confirms. In 1758, for instance, Xavier described the religious beliefs of the Ndau in this manner:

> They worship only one true God whom they call Mulungo[54] and consider the prime cause of everything, and do not recognize any false gods, they worship almost to idolatry their dead and call them muzimos and at their festivals, which are carried out when they feel like it, without any established order, they make them offerings of food and drink and place them by a tree especially dedicated to their purpose and which they respect as sacred in the same way as they respect the graves.[55]

Despite the inherent bias in this description, it is fairly accurate. Reis e Gama noted in 1796 that the Ndau believe in a God called Murungo and they have no word or concept for the "devil."[56] Yet dos Santos interpreted spirit possession in the 1580s as the presence of a "devil" in Ndau society.[57] The Ndau, meanwhile, offered ancestors beer or food at their gravesites to appease them and prevent any malady from striking those still

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000.
[54] Dos Santos also noted that Africans in the Sofala hinterland recognized "a great God, whom they call Moungo. He argued, however, that "they have a confused knowledge . . . but they do not pray or command themselves to him." *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 199.
[55] Ignácio Caetano Xavier, "Noticias dos Dominios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" (1758) in A. A. Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, (Lisboa, 1955), 147. English translation from Beach and Noronha, Vol. II, 32.
[56] Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres (1796)*, Introduction and notes by Gerhard Liesegang (Lisboa, 1966), 15-16.
[57] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 197.

living.[58] On some occasions clothing is left on a grave for two or three days before it is removed.[59] Burial places remain venerated sites of supplication, particularly the sacred sites of chiefs. At the end of the seventeenth century Manuel de Faria e Sousa argued that Africans believe that their kings go to heaven and are called "muzimos."[60] This is a reference to the spirit elder of a family or the soul of a dead relative, called *mudzimu (pl. vadzimu)* in Ndau. Faria e Sousa compared the belief in "muzimos" *(vadzimu),* called upon in times of need, to the Catholic reliance on saints.[61] At the end of the sixteenth century, Dos Santos thought that people in Teve observed days called '*musimos*', to honor the "souls of dead saints" *(vadzimu).*[62] Ancestral spirits continue to occupy an important place among the living in the Ndau region today. For example, ancestors from both families are informed of a pending marriage, and it is hoped that they will unite "and communicate well with both families."[63]

Many Ndau interpreted various incidents, such as their dreams or the songs of birds, as either good fortune or ominous signs.[64] Witchcraft was often an explanation for unfortunate events, and this preoccupation with fate gave witchcraft a prominent place in Ndau society. Even though the Ndau viewed the sun, moon, stars, wind and rain as natural creations, they considered thunder and lighting to be the result of witchcraft.[65] When the Ndau attributed deaths and misfortune to witchcraft they would consult

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[58] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 15.
[59] Ibid., 17.
[60] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1666; 1674), extracts in Theal, *RSEA,* I, 24-25.
[61] Although Sousa's description is not entirely accurate, it is understandable that his confusion arises from his own Catholic perspective. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1666; 1674), extracts in Theal, *RSEA,* I, 24-25.
[62] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental,* in Theal, RSEA, 200.
[63] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With'", 36.
[64] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 17.
[65] Ibid., 17-18.

diviners to determine who brought about these calamities.[66] Negative associations with witchcraft led some Ndau to fear those associated with any magical powers.[67] Oracles, called *inhamuçoros* or *pondos*, were both men and women. These figures applied household medicines and profited as "deceivers", according to Reis e Gama in the *Reposta*.[68] Diviners known as *cuchocucho* threw cowrie shells on the floor and made their predictions based upon how each shell landed.[69] Chiefs were responsible for resolving acusations of witchcraft that often involved domestic disputes. They consulted *n'angas* and spirit mediums and ordered those held responsible for misdeeds to hand over cattle or goats.[70]

After the death of a chief or other important person, the surviving heir consulted a diviner called a *ganga* to seek out the guilty party. Following a ceremony with dancing and drumming, the diviner reviewed the history of the deceased's grudges with his enemies and then used his brush or feathers to select one or more people as the 'murder' suspects. Some suspects were killed with knives while other 'lucky' ones were forced to undergo a well-documented poison ritual to determine their guilt or innocence. Dos Santos referred to this poison ritual, which he called *lucasse,* as one of the "most terrible and wonderful oaths" of three common practices used by the Ndau when someone's innocence is called into question.[71] The accused drank a cup of poison that was reported

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[66] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 19; Xavier, "Notícias dos Domínios Portuguese na Costa da África Oriental" in Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,*, 147.
[67] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[68] The word used is *enganadoras.* Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 16.
[69] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 16.
[70] Later, money was a form of payment as well, but this occurred rarely. Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[71] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1609), in Theal, *RSEA,* VII, 204.

to kill the guilty but leave the innocent "safe and sound."[72] Once an accused man proved his innocence, the accuser was then punished for his "false testimony." According to dos Santos, the accuser "becomes the slave of him whom he falsely accused, and forfeits all his property and his wife and children, half going to the king and the other half to him who was accused."[73] Reis e Gama, writing 200 years later, described a similar poison ordeal with a substance called *moavi* that contained a mixture of bark, tree roots and crocodile bile.[74] Those who vomited *moavi* were considered to be falsely accused, but those who did not expel the potion were forced to make a payment. A second 'oath' cited by dos Santos was called *xoca* and entailed licking a red hot iron. Those who were 'innocent' were not harmed on their tongues. A third sixteenth-century method used *calão,* a mixture of water, bitter herbs and almude. A suspect proved his innocence by swallowing the liquid without vomiting afterwards, but a guilty person was unable to swallow even "a single drop," according to dos Santos.[75] The Shona proverb "The one who pretends to be innocent is the evil-doer" reflected the desire of the Ndau and their Shona neighbors to test the claims of suspects.[76]

Chiefs acted as important intermediaries between their constituencies and the spirit world. At the end of the sixteenth century, for example, the ruler of Teve ascended a mountain to perform a ceremony at the graves of his ancestors each September. Dos Santos described the excessive eating and drinking of the king and his entourage that

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 19. He reviled the Ndau for using *moavi.*
[75] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1609) in Theal, *RSEA,* viii, 204-205.
[76] *Jenga mhosva / ndiye muiti wezvakaipa.* Hamutyinei and. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom,* 200.

characterized the first eight days.[77] After this prolonged feast, all mourned for the dead over several more days until an ancestral spirit, in this case the king's dead father, possessed a person present at the ceremony.[78] The spirit, according to dos Santos, "begins to cough and speak like the dead king whom he represents, in such a manner that it seems to be his very self, both in voice and movements."[79] All present "prostrate themselves before him" to demonstrate honor and recognition of the spirit. Then the people withdrew so that the living king could have a 'private' conversation with the spirit about the outlook for the future. Topics of discussion included war and forecasts of famine or misfortune, but dos Santos claimed that "these blind men" continued to believe the false answers of the spirit medium each year.[80]

A more recent and similar religious ceremony called *mandhlozi* centers around a *ndhlozi* spirit that belongs to a deceased warrior, who was usually a wandering Nguni warrior. These spirits can also inhabit the Ndaus, but not other Shona speakers, because the Ndau and the "Zulu" "feel that they belonged to the same clan once upon a time," according to one Chikore resident.[81] During a *mandhlozi* ceremony, a possessed participant becomes a "Zulu-speaking warrior" who may be angry or violent.[82] In addition to *mandhlozi*, spirits called *mazinda*, *madanda* and *zvipunha* also possessed people, and still do during ceremonies today.[83]

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[77] Dos Santos noted that the king's drunken state during the ceremony was "a very usual thing." *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, viii, 196.
[78] Ibid., 197.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] "Zulu" refers to the Gaza Nguni. Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999. Allen Mundeta also notes that the Manyka and Zezuru have "other spirit mediums that tell them what to do, but not in this area."
[82] Simon Mundeta and Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[83] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

Steven Feierman's argument that mediumship "constituted an entirely separate sphere of public authority", albeit an unstable one, helps to explain why the history of healers has been invisible, for the most part.[84] Spirit mediums exerted a moral and religious authority on a plane separate from the expansive socio-political realm of chiefs. Religious figures concerned with the spirituality, health, security and well-being of the community helped to foster an intangible sense of a shared identity. The rule of chiefs, on the other hand, lends itself to visibility and stability--except for opportunistic succession struggles. An overall lack of firm religious backing weakened Ndau polities and added to their vulnerability. During both Zimbabwe's struggle against colonial rule, as well as the protracted anti-colonial resistance in Mozambique, female spirit mediums, such as Nehanda, emerged as powerful actors to bridge the gap between the spirit world and the threatening situation at hand. In a similar postcolonial adaptation, Ndau chiefs rely on female spirit mediums "who act as power brokers between the different but overlapping worlds of chiefs & government."[85]

Holding Court

Chiefs were both feared and respected, but their power was held in check by the *dare,* a council of village men who ruled over major court cases and served as advisors to affairs of state.[86] The decisions of the *dare* were firm; Even people of authority involved in a case abided by the judgement of the court. In each village a chief or headman

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[84] Steven Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds. (Berkeley, 1999), 210, n. 12 and 187.
[85] Carin Vijfhuizen, "The People You Live With", 265.
[86] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

presided over small cases and attempted to reconcile parties involved in minor disputes.[87] Serious offenses, however, were reserved for the court of paramount chiefs, where leaders made decisions related to cases of witchcraft accusation and advised consultations with a *n'anga*, or healer at times.[88] "If found guilty a person would be humiliated. They were then made to pay by a human being," noted an elder from Zamchiya.[89] In the seventeenth century, Faria e Sousa also wrote about severe punishments for witchcraft, theft and adultery.[90] Leaders used fratricide and banishment to settle frequent succesion disputes.[91] These practices remained fairly constant since information about holding court was recorded by dos Santos at the end of the sixteenth century.

Respected men from the community assisted with proceedings at each chief's court, the *dare* proper.[92] Plaintiffs would relate their accusations, and then defendants would respond to the allegations. The chief and his council of elders would deliberate and decide the guilt or innocence of those accused. Common crimes were adultery, murder and theft.[93] Depending on the nature of the offense, guilty parties were made to pay for their crimes by providing compensation such as hoes, chains of beads, livestock, money or even a human being.[94] Mr. Tarangwa of Chikore noted that in some cases, guilty parties "were made to pay with their own child, pledging out a son, daughter or

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[87] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 208; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[88] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 208; Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[89] Sarai Nyabanga Sithole, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[90] Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (1666; 1674), extracts in Theal, *RSEA*, I, 24-25.
[91] David Hughes discusses colonial interventions and the suppression of these methods in "Frontier Dynamics," 143.
[92] VaTarangwa, Chikore, 28 June 1999.
[93] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*,20.
[94] These valued items were also used to secure marriage arrangements. Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 2000; Siyanzi Raphius and Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999;

sister as a form of payment.[95] But if a man courted another's wife, for instance, the adulterer could be forced to give cattle to the husband.[96] If a woman was unable to make a payment, she could pledge herself in lieu of a fine.[97] Or if a guilty party was unable to provide goods towards restitution for a death, "they would give a little girl to the deceased and say, 'this is your wife,' and that would be the end of the topic."[98] This practice of giving a daughter to the spirit of the deceased (and to his family, indirectly) occurred both before and during the nineteenth-century Gaza Nguni occupation.[99]

Chiefs also relied on court messengers to act as a liaisons with the community.[100] People would report offenses to a messenger who would then relate the complaint to the chief. The chief would then instruct his messengers to summon the offender to the *dare* where the chief and his councilors would preside over the case. These agents who acted as 'policemen' were well respected for the most part,[101] but the ruler of Teve had a bodyguard of 200-300 men called *inficis* who also acted as executioners.[102] The *inficis* encircled the king's enclosure shouting "Inhama, Inhama" (signifying "flesh") to call upon the king to issue a death sentence, according to dos Santos, so "that they may exercise their office of executioner."[103] Another group, known as *marombes*, acted as

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Mucherechete Dhlakama, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; VaTarangwa, Chikore, 28 June 1999.

[95] VaTarangwa, Chikore, 28 June 1999.

[96] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[97] A proverb reflects this desperate act: *Mhosvakadzi muripo mwene.* A woman's fine is her very self. Hamutyinei and Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo*: *Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom*, 314.

[98] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

[101] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[102] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII 201.

[103] Ibid., 201-202. "Inhama" or *nyama* also means 'meat'.

court "jesters."[104] *Marombes* recited the chiefs praises and performed with a group of dancers and musicians who played many-keyed instruments known as *ambira* made with iron, wood and gourds.[105] Members from these three groups of attendants accompanied ambassadors on their missions.[106] The threatening nature of the *inficis* must have helped to make each mission a success for the chief.

Although plaintiffs normally sought justice from a chief, Reis e Gama claimed that laws once enforced in an exact manner by the leaders of Quisssanga, Madanda and Butonga were altered in his time so that "any" African judged crimes and meted out punishments.[107] This late eighteenth-century 'vigilante' justice included the killing of a suspect, or the removal of eyes, hands or ears. Thus, a large population of blind and maimed Africans stationed themselves at the doors of their "kings and princes", according to Reis e Gama, where they sang, danced and played instruments in exchange for sustenance from a gracious king.[108] Some of these casualties were even elevated in status and permitted to join royal entourages.[109] This lack of deference to rulers indicates faults in the political authority of Ndau leaders. Most chiefs certainly ruled with an iron fist however, and documentary evidence describes how they failed to exhibit graciousness in matters related to their own families. For instance, Reis e Gama reported that any man who was caught looking at one of the king's wives lost his eyes as a

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[104] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 202.
[105] Ibid. Dos Santos describes two instruments called *ambira*. One resembles the finger piano (also called a *mbira* today) made out of flat rods of iron on wood and played inside a gourd. The other was a type of xylophone. Henrik Ellert argues that dos Santos was describing the *matepe mbira*, also known as *sansa* or *sansi* in Mozambique. Henrik Ellert, *The Material Culture of Zimbabwe*, (Harare, 1984), 62.
[106] Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* in Theal, *RSEA*, VII, 203.
[107] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 21.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

punishment.[110] The ogler was then forced to rely on alms for sustenance along with other blind subjects. Custom and tradition were central to Ndau societies, but chiefs adapted to changes and created new rules of conduct as demanded by the situation at hand. Overall, peace was maintained by the decisions of leaders, who acted as judges.[111]

Consultations with any local Ndau chief were ceremonial in their own right. Outsiders who wished to speak with a chief had to make their requests through others so that "the word is passed through three or four before it reaches the *fumo* [chief], even though he understands it."[112] The chief sat on a small stool while those in attendance were on mats. Monclaro, dos Santos and others refer to the traditional clapping used to open and close each meeting which was a formality similar to the greetings discussed in chapter four.[113] This practice remains firmly entrenched in Ndau society today and occurs before and after each meeting with local variations in pattern and rhythm. Commenting on the authority of the chief, Monclaro observed, "They have great ceremonies among themselves, and no council is held without the fumo, who is often kept rather for ceremony than for any substantial obedience shown to him."[114] Today the custom of ululating for a chief also continues. Chinungu Mtetwa explains, "Long back such ululation and dancing for the chief was done as a token of thanking him for taking care of their welfare in the jungle infested by lions."[115] Socio-political structures at the village level revolved around the authority of local chiefs. In a description that holds true throughout the Ndau region, Monclaro explained, "The greater part of this Kaffraria is

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da viagem," Theal, *RSEA*, III, 227.
[113] Ibid.; Dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental* (1999), 89-90.
[114] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da viagem," Theal, *RSEA*, III, 227.

governed by fumos [chiefs] and petty rulers, and though it has powerful kings whom it obeys, it has nevertheless these fumos and headmen by whom people are governed."[116] Despite official Portuguese attention to paramount chiefs, "kings" and the Mutapa 'emperor', Monclaro recognized the 'hidden' authority of local chiefs and their ancestors.

The practices and ideas surrounding beer brewing, rainmaking and affairs of the court were major contributors to what it means to 'be Ndau.' People followed the customs of their ancestors and sought justice from their chiefs for any redress.[117] There was an important connection between the authority of ruling chiefs and the power of ancestors. Chiefs and headmen made offerings to ancestral spirits, usually at graves in sacred forests, as a legitimating part of their duties.[118] Traditional religious ceremonies, *mabira,* were important gatherings that emphasized shared beliefs and demonstrated an investment in the power of both political leaders and ancestor spirits. Aspects of both religion and society revolved around brewing beer and making rain. While beer drew people together for religious ceremonies, it could also attract a husband's love or satiate a work party.[119] The three activities of brewing beer, making rain and holding court are common strands of a web of shared beliefs maintained by the Ndau over centuries. The arrival of the Gaza Nguni in the nineteenth century threatened the sociopolitical fabric of Ndau life.

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[115] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[116] Monclaro, "Relaçaõ da viagem," Theal, *RSEA,* III, 227.
[117] Gama, *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres,* 21.
[118] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[119] Carin Vijfhuizen, "'The People You Live With,'" 26.

CHAPTER SEVEN
A Turbulent Time: The Gaza Nguni Presence

Ngungunyana was a problem . . .
We are called Ngungunyana's people yet we are Ndau.
We were changed into Changana (Shangani). [1]
- Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana

People who were staying here were called Machangana (Shangani),
but they were Ndau. Their leader was Ngungunyana . . .
We are called Ndau, but we are Shangani.[2]
- John Kunjenjema

In the nineteenth century many of the Ndau of Mozambique and Zimbabwe re-created a sense of 'Ndauness' amidst a shifting political and cultural terrain of invasion and domination. This turbulent time was marked by the migrations of several northern Nguni peoples, including the Gaza Nguni, who settled in the Ndau heartland of the middle Save highlands in the 1830s and again at the headwaters of the Búzi river from 1862 to 1889. Most of the people who came to be called Ndau submitted to Gaza Nguni overrule and 'became Ndau' in response to the presence of these outsiders. The Gaza Nguni conquest acted as a foil for the Ndau to assume an ethnic identity with a powerful salience that reverberated into the twentieth century. The collective identity shared by Ndau speakers was reinforced during the colonial and postcolonial periods through a common history of suffering at the hands of Europeans and other Africans. This chapter examines the nineteenth-century ethnic identifications and cultural practices of both the rulers and the ruled in the Ndau region.

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[1] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[2] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

Nguni migrants fleeing the disturbances in Natal associated with the rise of the Zulu state first reached the area inhabited by the Ndau in the 1820s. Raids, battles and retreats occurred along the routes of these migrations--the result of a complex interaction of environmental, political and economic factors.[3] Africans who found themselves in weaker positions sought security through incorporation into stronger societies ruled by powerful leaders. Turbulent times led vulnerable groups to submit both voluntarily and involuntarily to 'great men' such as Shaka, Moshoeshoe and Soshangane, founder of the Gaza Nguni state. Several Nguni-speaking groups remained in the Shona-speaking area for a few years before moving northward into the lakes region of East Africa. Before the Gaza leader Soshangane drove Nxaba and his followers north of the Zambezi river, Nxaba remained in the eastern highlands (on the modern Zimbabwe/Mozambique border) and around the Ndau states of Sanga and Danda from about 1827 to 1836.[4] Nguni groups raided heavily populated areas such as Teve and Sofala for food until 1836 when these

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[3] For more on the causes and consequences of the dramatic changes that took place during this time, see the works such as Carolyn Hamilton, ed., *The Mfecane Aftermath* (Johannesburg, 1996); Elizabeth Eldredge, "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered," *Journal of African History,* 33, 1 (1992): 1-35 and "Migration, Conflict and Leadership in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa: The Case of Matiwane," in Robert W. Harms, Joseph C. Miller, David S. Newbury and Michele D. Wagner, eds., *Paths Toward the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta, 1994 : 39- 75); Carolyn Hamilton, "'The Character and Objects of Chaka': A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as 'Mfecane' Motor," *Journal of African History,* 33 (1992): 37-63; J. D. Omer-Cooper, "Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique," *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 19, 2 (June 1993): 273-294 and *The Zulu Aftermath* (London, 1966); Jeff Peires, "Paradigm Deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane" *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 19, 2 (June 1993): 295-313; J. B. Wright, "Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane," *The Canadian Journal of African Studies,* 23, 2 (1989): 272-291 and Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo," *Journal of African History,* 29 (1988): 487-519.

[4] According to David Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850* (Harare, 1980), the leader Nxaba entered the Save valley in 1827 and conquered Mutema's territory of Sanga, 177. Gerhard Liesegang, "Nguni Migrations Between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839," *African Historical Studies* 3, 2 (1970): 325, 337.

newcomers came to dominate the area.[5] Zwangendaba was the chief of one group that crossed the Zambezi near Zumbo in 1835.[6] Another group under Maseko crossed the Zambezi around 1839.[7] These Nguni-speaking groups disturbed the balance of power in the wider Shona-speaking region through raids, conquest and the imposition of overrule.

Soshangane, however, remained south of the Zambezi river and established the Gaza state in the lower Limpopo valley where the inhabitants were southeastern Bantu speakers who came to be known as the Tsonga. Following the pattern of strong leaders of the time, Soshangane incorporated both refugees and local populations to gain strength in numbers. Like Mzilikazi, Soshangane established a military state with age regiments based on the Zulu model. Several centuries earlier, Karanga chieftaincies had dominated over some of the same Tsonga-speaking groups in the region between Inhambane and the Save river. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Tsonga chieftaincies had established themselves as culturally distinct neighbors of the Ndau.

In about 1836 Soshangane moved his capital northward to the Ndau heartland in the highlands near the middle Save river. He remained in this area of Quissanga until 1839 when he returned to his previous southern location by the Limpopo river.[8] After Soshangane died in the late 1850s, his son Mzila moved the capital back among the Ndau in the highlands near the headwaters of the Búzi river. Under Soshangane's grandson, Ngungunyana, the court eventually returned to the south near the Limpopo river in 1889.

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[5] Both Nxaba and Soshangane are credited with an attack on Sofala in 1836, but Liesegang argues that the Gaza Nguni under Soshangane were not involved in the Sofala attack. Liesegang, "Aspects of Gaza Nguni History, 1821-1897" *Rhodesian History,* 6 (1975), 3, n.9 and "Nguni Migrations," 317, 325-327.

[6] Zwangendaba eventually settled in Tanzania, 1200 miles from his birthplace, where his followers came to be known as the Ngoni. Ibid. and J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath* (London, 1966).

[7] Liesegang, "Nguni Migrations," 321, 335, 337.

[8] Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath,* 58. Liesegang notes that the kingdom was named after Soshangane's grandfather, "Nguni Migrations," 328.

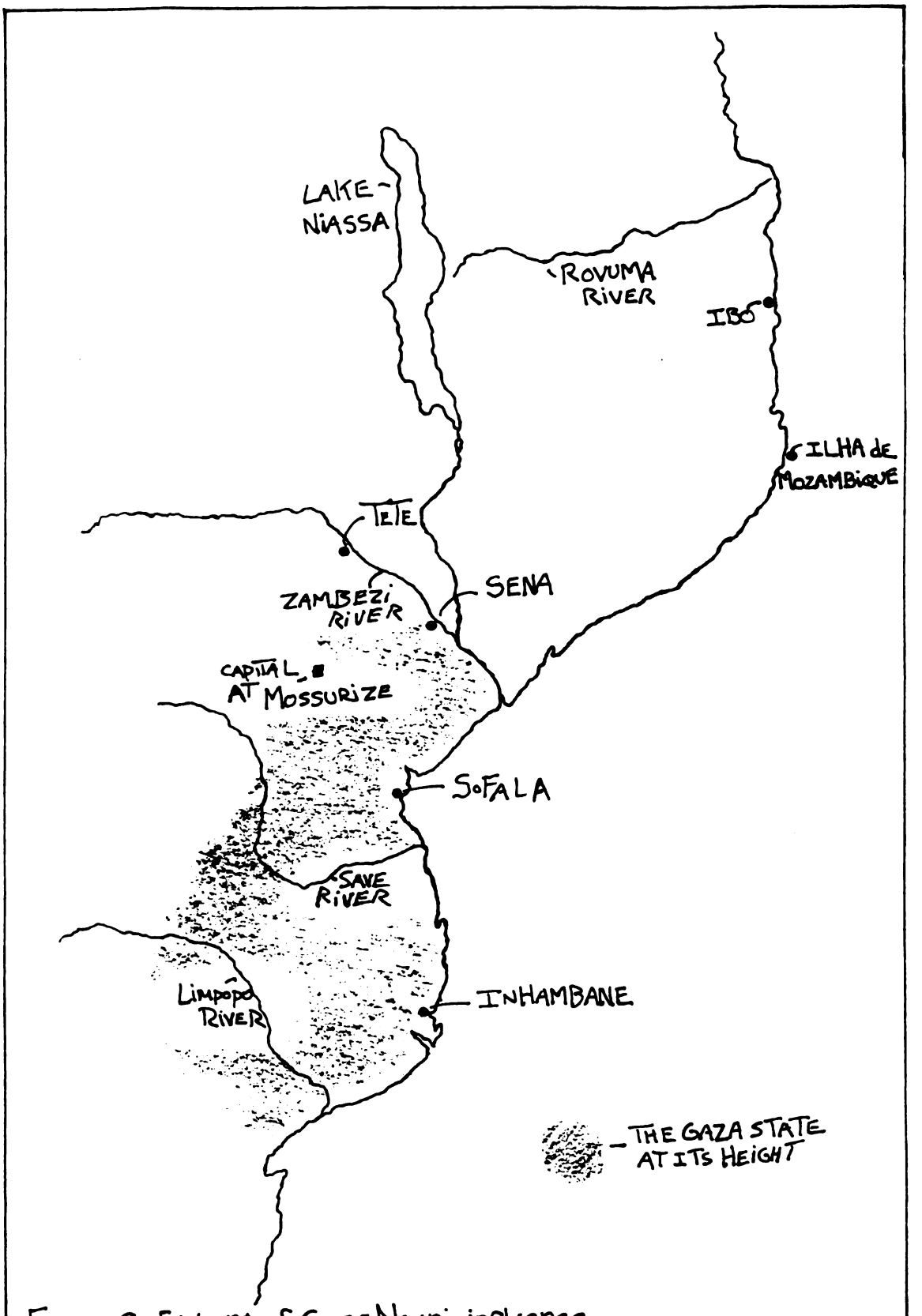

Figure 9 Extent of Gaza Nguni influence

The capital, called Mandhlakazi regardless of its location, remained in the south at Bilene until the state was conquered by the Portuguese in 1895 (Figure 9).

Mzila's presence at the headwaters of the Búzi and Mossurize Rivers, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, affected Ndau polities in different ways. Some Ndau leaders submitted while others refused to accept Gaza rule and were killed. Mzila's conquest of many of the Ndau people, particularly those inland, and the subsequent rule of his son Ngungunyana appear to have been especially harsh. While elders in the twentieth century attribute much of the terror that people faced at the hands of the Gaza Nguni to the more renowned Ngungunyana, repression also occurred during the earlier rule of Mzila from 1861 until 1884. Ngungunyana's relocation of the capital to Bilene was accompanied by an exodus of many Ndau forced to demonstrate their loyalty to the paramount chief. After the Portuguese defeated the Gaza Nguni in the 'scramble' for Mozambique, many Ndau left Bilene to return to their homeland north of the Save River.

The term 'Ndau' may derive from the phrase that Ndau-speakers used in their act of supplication to greet the invading Nguni.[9] Even if this is not the case, scholars tend to view the term as a derogatory nickname used by the Gaza Nguni.[10] In interviews, however, most elders trace the origin of 'Ndau' back to the greeting *Ndau-we, Ndau-we* with no apparent embarrassment or shame.[11] The Ndau, in fact, referred to the language of the Gaza Nguni with their own pejorative term, *Xibitzi*.[12]

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[9] As mentioned in chapter one, those who came to be called 'Ndau' would say *Ndau-we, Ndau-we* (We salute you! We salute you!) to exclaim deference. Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[10] Gerhard Liesegang, for instance, argues that the word came into use after the conquests of Nqaba to designate local assimilated men who wore Nguni dress and used Nguni armaments. Liesegang, "Sofala, Beira e a sua Zona," *Arquivo*, 6 (October 1989), 32.
[11] Field interviews in Mozambique (1998) and Zimbabwe (1999).
[12] Martinho Manhacha Jackson Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 5 September 1998. The term *xibitzi*, or *chibitzi*, is probably derived from *dzviti*, meaning "invader" (or "warrior" in common usage), i.e.

Gaza Nguni Overrule

The Gaza Nguni successfully defined political identity in terms of culture to secure loyalty from subject populations.[13] People were drawn into the Gaza state through a combination of incorporation, conquest and a desperation to survive. Ndau warriors who lived with Ngungunyana, for instance, were called *mabziti*.[14] However, members of non-Nguni groups such as the Ndau, Manyika and Tsonga managed to influence the language and culture of the Gaza Nguni while submitting to overrule by their conquerors. One elder, drawing comparisons between the Gaza Nguni and the Ndau, insisted that the mother of Ngungunyana was an Ndau woman.[15] Cultural exchanges occurred throughout this period, such as the Gaza Nguni usage of an indigenous Tsonga-based language. By the end of the nineteenth century the Gaza Nguni were using Ndau drums and pots, as well as Ndau methods of healing and the Ndau word for healer, *nhamussoro*.[16] Perhaps in the interest of efficiency, Soshangane based his government structures in south-central Mozambique on Tsonga and Ndau chiefly lineages. A single Gaza Nguni culture never emerged among the diverse groups living in south-central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe under the Gaza Nguni.[17] Instead, the small Nguni nucleus, originally only

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the Nguni. *Dzviti* is also an abusive term for a Ndebele person, according to Desmond Dale in *Duramazwi: A Shona English Dictionary* (Gweru, 1981), 54.

[13] John Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973).

[14] Mulenje Macama William Simango, Búzi, Sofala, Mozambique, 23 September 1998.

[15] Luís Mangate Bill Mapossa (interviewed with Agostinho Manduze Jorge Chiteve Simango, Regulo ChiTeve), Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 11 September 1998.

[16] Liesegang, "Sofala, Beira e a sua Zona", 32.

[17] Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 147 and Walter Rodney, "The Year 1895 in Southern Mozambique: African Resistance to the Imposition of European Colonial Rule," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5 (1971), 517.

about 100 people, was heavily influenced by conquered populations.[18] In the large and mobile Gaza state, both the rulers and the ruled inevitably shaped identities that blended characteristics from the small Nguni elite and their incorporated followers. Meanwhile, populations far from the capital, which shifted over time, maintained their own sense of identity since they faced little pressure to assimilate.

Most Ndau view the arrival of the Gaza Nguni from the south as the beginning of a turbulent time in their history. Before these outsiders invaded one elder noted, "Our fathers told us that people here were living harmoniously."[19] Some regions practiced politics by consensus.[20] Frequently, Ndau speakers today refer to the Gaza Nguni as 'the Zulu', even though nineteenth-century conceptions about what it meant to be 'Zulu' were changing and often in flux. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, for instance, the Zulu chiefdom was quite small in relation to larger Nguni states such as the Ndwandwe, Mthethwa and Ngwane. After the death of Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa, the Zulu kingdom grew under Shaka's leadership. As Shaka conquered surrounding chiefdoms the 'Zulu' gained fame and emerged as a powerful state in southeast Africa. Yet Ndau elders in the twentieth century transferred the powerful image of the fierce Zulu warrior--reputed to be prone to violent and ruthless action--to a similar oppressor, the Gaza Nguni. According to one Ndau elder living in Chikore, the Ndau say "Shangani, Zulu and Ndebele are one and the same thing."[21] Soon after the Gaza Nguni conquest Ndau clan

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[18] This figure, cited in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa to 1870* (Boulder, 1983), 100 comes from Alfred T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, Concerning Earlier Political History of the Eastern-Nguni Clans* (London, 1929).
[19] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[20] José Paulo Maduca Simnago, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[21] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999. Historically the Nguni ancestors of the Shangaan, the Zulu and the Ndebele did share a common language and culture, so these connections are not inaccurate.

names in the region were transformed into their Nguni equivalents.[22] When the 'Zulu' arrived, "everything changed because the Zulus would marry the most beautiful Ndau women."[23] Thus, the Gaza Nguni presence disrupted Ndau social structures and significantly altered the names of clans.

Both Mzila and Ngungunyana appointed deputies known as *ndunas* to control the far reaches of their state. These *ndunas* acted as governors and supervised Ndau chiefs who pledged allegiance to the Gaza Nguni rulers. Yet some elders described the despotic nature of Gaza Nguni rule and claimed that the conquerors were reluctant to 'trust' Ndau chiefs. "The likes of Musikavanhu were not allowed to rule because Ngungunyana was the only chief without subordinate or co-chiefs. Wherever Ngungunyana conquered, he would not respect any of his subordinates," recalled one Ndau elder.[24] Time and again elders relayed perceptions of Ngungunyana's rule as harsh. The majority of Ndau chiefs, such as Mafussi, for example, submitted to the system of overrule.[25] Many had little choice, for the military might of the Gaza Nguni was formidable. The Gaza Nguni used tactics of intimidation to assert 'control' over Ndau populations. For instance, when Chief Ngorima resisted incorporation by the Gaza Nguni he faced repeated raids from their army. His subjects fled into the Chimanimani Mountains, and he sought safety further west in Gutu.[26] The *ndunas* served as the link between the Ndau and the state apparatus when Ngungunyana did not take matters into his own hands.

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[22] For instance, *Moyo* became *Sithole* or *Nkomo,* as discussed in chapter four.
[23] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[24] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[25] See David Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 40.
[26] Ibid., 40-41.

The Gaza Nguni failed to develop a connection with Ndau ancestral spirits tied to the land.[27] As old territorial loyalties clashed with new political realities of conquest, ritual opposition to the Nguni grew. The Gaza Nguni harassed and exiled many Ndau chiefs in the highlands, but cults such as the Musikavanhu territorial cult survived and "remained a uniting factor in indigenous society," according to the historian J. Keith Rennie.[28] He argues that "the Nguni never managed to reach accommodation with the territorial cult leaders, the 'owners of the soil', and to create ideological consensus in the same way that the rulers of Sanga, Teve and Danda seem to have done."[29] Despite the power of the rain shrines of Ndau territorial cults, Mzila rejected their legitimacy and chose not to incorporate them into the Gaza Nguni political realm. This division between Ndau beliefs and Gaza Nguni overrule served to reinforce cultural and political differences between the Ndau and the Gaza Nguni.

One of the most dramatic shifts in Ndau society was the arrival of a Gaza Nguni military who came to serve as a "military aristocracy of non-producers."[30] These conquerors appropriated surplus food and cattle from surrounding populations.[31] They regulated hunting, collected animal skins as a form of tax, monopolized the export of ivory and controlled cattle movements.[32] The Gaza Nguni relied on personal subordination and clients to maintain control over their vast state. Local populations

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[27] John Keith Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-Eastern Shona, 1500-1890," in Ahmed Idho Salim, ed. *State Formation in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi, 1984), 184.
[28] J. K. Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial Cult in Rhodesia," in *Guardians of the Land*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers (Gweru, 1978), 258.
[29] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 184.
[30] Ibid., 182.
[31] Timóteo Mabessa Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.
[32] Fernando Vitorino Tuzine, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998; Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 137.

were forced to pay tribute to the empire and help support military raids of nearby communities. Some men and women pledged themselves to the *nduna*, and Patrick Harries argues that scholars have overlooked the existence of internal slavery within the Gaza-Nguni state.[33] Captives from raids, orphans and destitute people became clients. Various forms of subservience, known as *kukhonza*--either allegiance, capture, pawning or bride service--constrained many Ndau in both their daily labor and wider life.[34] Cattle, animal skins, cloth, food and brass beads were all items of tribute.[35] Women sought protection and support as wives of either Ngungunyana, the *ndunas* or loyal Ndau chiefs. Ngungunyana's children from these marriages were given to Nguni nobles as wives and laborers. Ndau speakers were forced to act as soldiers, porters, concubines and wives as the Gaza Nguni capitalized on their wealth in the Ndau people.[36]

Gender and Ethnicity

Both Ndau and Nguni women played an important role in the shaping of nineteenth-century culture and society in southeast Africa. Their contributions were most notable when marriage alliances or arrangements provided women with the opportunity to produce and reproduce the regional political order.[37] Women played an integral part in maintaining a common language and culture over a wide geographic area, yet their activities are often overlooked by scholars. In *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern*

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[33] See Patrick Harries "Slavery, Social Incorporation and Surplus Extraction: The Nature of Free and Unfree Labour in South-East Africa," *Journal of African History* 22 (1981): 309-30 for more on the 'ambulatory enslavement' derived from the Nguni system of *kukhonza*. He describes relationships "of extreme servility and exploitation" that he defines as slavery. p. 311.
[34] See Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics" for detailed examples of *kukhonza* in Gogoi and Vhimba.
[35] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 183.
[36] Ibid.

Africa, Leroy Vail repeats the Tswana proverb that "women have no tribe" and argues that the appeal of ethnicity "was strongest for men".[38] In the Ndau region, women consciously and explicitly supported and shifted ethnic boundaries within the lineages and clans of Ndau society, just as Sandra Greene has demonstrated for the Anlo-Ewe of southeastern Ghana.[39] Ndau women raised their children within a certain cultural and linguistic framework that shaped identity formation. Although men usually held positions of political power among the Ndau, female chiefs were appointed at times.[40] Women asserted their power more often in Ndau society as influential healers and spirit mediums.

Among the Nguni, some women of the ruling dynasty held both political and social power.[41] Ngungunyana's mother, Empiumbecasane, exerted control over her son's decisions and over the affairs of a village.[42] Empiumbecasane was also the head priestess at the shrine where Ngungunyana worshipped Soshangane's grave.[43] Some of the wives of the ruler lived in distant parts of the region and helped the Gaza Nguni king to maintain relations over a wide area.[44] Most Ndau women today, when asked in interviews, claim that they knew "nothing" about the time of Ngungunyana and the affairs of men in the political realm. But other studies have shown how marginalized

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[37] For the case of Lesotho, see Elizabeth Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho* (Cambridge, 1993).
[38] Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1989) 15.
[39] Sandra Greene, *Gender Ethnicity and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, NH, 1996).
[40] H.P Junod, "A Contribution to the Study of Ndau Demography, Totemism and History," *Bantu Studies* (8, 1934 : 17-37) 22; Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism," 77.
[41] Rodney, 516.
[42] Ibid. Parallels may exist with Shaka and his mother Nande.
[43] Ibid., 517.
[44] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 184. Rennie notes that members of the royal family were "dispersed in towns around the state."

Africans--men and women--were actively involved in transforming ethnic identities as they defined and redefined their own identities.[45] This was surely the case for the Ndau as well. Disadvantaged Ndau-speakers who challenged their social definitions as the 'other', as well as some who came from the fringes of society, were able to alter their identities to 'fit' in. In the Ndau region, ethnicity and gender are inextricably connected to each other over the *longue durée*.

A Gaza Nguni Identity

The Gaza Nguni conquest followed earlier migratory patterns that ushered in new inhabitants to the Zimbabwe plateau and central Mozambican coastal plain. Emerging leaders broke with patriarchs and migrated to new territories where they secured their own power over people. Even the breakup of the famous Mutapa state is explained by a myth that follows this pattern. The Nguni, however, invaded more territory over a shorter length of time than earlier migrants to the area. The Gaza Nguni widened their cultural identity to include some conquered subjects.[46] Non-Nguni could achieve social mobility by 'becoming Nguni' through acculturation. Outward signs of assimilation were more common among Ndau men than women. Many men learned the language of the rulers, pierced their ears in the Nguni fashion, served in the army and renamed their clan using the nearest Nguni equivalent to the Ndau term.[47] Some Ndau men even adopted the Nguni language and wore the Nguni head ring.[48] Ndau men forced into the army were

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[45] Both Greene and Eldredge make this point.
[46] Rennie, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy," 183-184.
[47] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[48] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 186.

assigned to Nguni age regiments that broke down existing group identities.[49] Regiments raided frontier areas and worked in the royal kraals of the king's wives.[50] Unmarried Ndau men were dispersed to other areas of the kingdom to sever their local ties and loyalties. Their military service was another form of labor tribute. The Nguni state system helped to foster a sense of 'national' identity when the ruler's position as head of the army and the agricultural cycle was reinforced during 'national' ceremonies.[51] Even though Ndau speakers, particularly large numbers of men, adopted Nguni traits and cultural practices, many elders considered Ngungunyana and his warriors to be the only true "Nguni".

The piercing of men's ears was a very obvious "mark" of identity that symbolized Gaza Nguni dominance over the Ndau. The Ndau say that men only started to pierce their ears after the Gaza Nguni invasion when Ngungunyana relied on ear piercing to identify those who had 'submitted' to his overrule.[52] A similar identifying body mark does not exist for women, unless we interpret Gaza Nguni control over women's bodies (particularly those deemed beautiful) as a significant mark of subjugation. Idah Manyuni of Chikore described the piercing of men's ears as "a form of identity" that was Ngungunyana's directive.[53] "He is the one who did this," she said, referring to Ngungunyana; "The piercing of ears was a sign of identity to show that we are warriors, Ndaus," she explained.[54] This act demonstrated that Ndau men "were warriors,

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 40.
[51] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 184.
[52] João Guerra Muchanga, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998; Luís Santana Machave, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998; Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[53] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[54] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

madzviti," according to Phillip Mutigwe.[55] The Ndau called Ngungunyana's order to pierce ears *chidzviti,* after *dzviti,* which means invader or warrior.[56] Mubayi Mhlanga of Zamchiya explained, "It was a mark of identity. My ears are pierced to show that I belong to Ngungunyana."[57] This sense of belonging was echoed by other elders. Phillip Mutigwe recalled that the Nguni "upheld their custom by claiming that those with unpierced ears did not belong to them."[58] Subjects without pierced ears who were "not part of them" were killed, "but those with pierced ears were spared because they shared a common identity," he explained.[59] Freddy Sithole concluded, "So we from Bilene, as followers of Ngungunyana, we had this distinct identity, of pierced ears."[60]

After the defeat of the Gaza Nguni, ear piercing became a rite of passage for all young Ndau men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century before they served their time in the mines of South Africa. Most young men pierced their ears when they reached puberty. This "form of tribal identity", as one former headman described it, was necessary for all of the men who went to *Joni,* or Johannesburg.[61] Men used a knife to pierce their ears and some created large holes that could hold a snuff container or a peeled maize stalk staff.[62] This practice was considered to add beauty to a man's appearance.[63] One woman from Chikore in Zimbabwe saw men from the east in

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[55] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999; Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[56] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999; Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[57] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Similar sentiments were expressed by Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999 and Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[58] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[61] VaTarangwa, Chikore, 28 June 1999.
[62] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[63] Catherine Dhlakama, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

Mozambique actually wearing earings, an uncommon site among most Ndau men.[64] Among male Shona speakers, only the Ndau pierced their ears, and this mark proclaimed an identity that was visible to all.[65]

Terror and Intimidation

Political and cultural conditions give rise to social identities in an assortment of ways. We know from studies such as Terence Ranger's work on Manyika identity that Africans were not duped into accepting any random 'tribal' affiliation during the colonial period.[66] Rather, people chose to embrace identities which suited them, and they played an instrumental role in what always remained a complicated process. However, the repression, intimidation and very real threat of violence from the Gaza Nguni constrained the Ndau and limited their opportunity to express and adopt cultural identities in the nineteenth century.

The Gaza Nguni controlled many facets of Ndau life and had the power to order the death of their subjects. Evidence from interviews with elders reveals a historical memory of incredible atrocities attributed to Ngungunyana.[67] The Ndau remember Ngungunyana as an oppressive leader who ordered harsh penalties for his subjects. One elder recalled Ngungunyana's distaste for the sight of animal bones and his threat to kill people who left their bones in full view.[68] Another noted that Ngungunyana tore out the

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[64] Sekai Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[65] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[66] Terence Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe," in Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism.*
[67] Rennie also refers to the "ample testimony" about the king's ability "to order mutilation, killing and expropriation of property as punishments for offences" In "Ideology and State Formation," 184.
[68] Most began to bury their bones to avoid punishment. Timóteo Mabessa Simango, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998.

eyes of anyone who looked at one of his wives.[69] Ngungunyana was infamous for killing men indiscriminately and seizing their daughters for distribution as offerings to his warriors. He ordered the massacre of an entire village when one person was suspected of witchcraft or excessive sympathy for a local leader, according to one account.[70] Men and women who committed adultery were assaulted--sometimes their eyes were removed and their hands cut off,[71] and murderers were executed.[72] People suspected of witchcraft or a crime such as the theft of a cow were impaled on wooden sticks and left on display at the junction of two paths.[73] These corpses were left to rot without a burial to serve as a deterrent to potential offenders.[74] A person found guilty of almost any crime was most likely killed during Ngungunyana's time, according to many elders.[75] As one man gravely noted, "He did what he wanted at will."[76]

Ngungunyana's mass exodus from the Mossurize area to Bilene is another example of the restraints placed on the Ndau. Elders recall this forced march in 1889 as a "death march" where many Ndau died from lack of food and water.[77] Anywhere from 60,000 to 100,000 Ndau migrated, with Gaza Nguni guards punishing deserters with

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[69] Isaias Veremo Dhlakama, Chibabava, Sofala, Mozambique, 15 September 1998. This echoed a similar eighteenth-century practice in the hinterland of Sofala that is described in Gerhard Liesegang, ed. *Reposta das Questoens sobre os Cafres*, 1796, (Lisboa, 1966).

[70] Pedro Bapiro Gafuro, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1998; João Guerra Muchanga, Machanga, Sofala, Mozambique, 4 September 1999; Filimon Dongonda Simango, Dongonda, Chibavava, Sofala, Mozambique, 15 September 1998.

[71] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

[72] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.

[73] Ibid. Ngungunyana would order the death of a person "by sinking a sharp wooden peg into their head through their back into the ground," according to Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

[74] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999; Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

[75] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.

[76] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

[77] Wilson Mhlanga, "The Story of Ngwaqazi: The History of the Amatshangana," *Nada* 25 (1948), 72.

death.[78] Some managed to escape during the journey and return to their communities, but many more Ndau had to wait until after Ngungunyana's defeat before they could return to their homeland. Others remained permanently in the south to form a "Ndau" element in the population around Bilene.[79] Despite the death and suffering associated with this involuntary migration, Ndau elders today credit Ngungunyana for bringing 'civilization' to their region. This is one of the interesting repercussions of Ngungunyana's presence that lingers alongside his legacy of despotism and terror.

After Ngungunyana's departure from the Ndau region, other Ndau chiefs resumed their rule with headmen as their aids and juniors.[80] Some of Ngungunyana's *madzviti,* or warriors, stayed behind in the Ndau region or even returned later.[81] Presumably, members of this group of *madzviti* were reluctant to leave their Ndau wives and start a new life in Bilene. The warriors who remained were considered to be outsiders, according to the recollections of one elder.[82] Yet the Ndau accepted their presence, and they assumed political roles. This same elder explained, "The likes of chief Mpungu are Ngungunyana's warriors who remained here. That is where you can find most of the returnees from Bilene."[83] The Ndau region bears the marks of Gaza Nguni overrule today in a manner quite different from the area of the Zimbabwe plateau settled by the Ndebele.

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[78] Rennie, "Ideology and State Formation," 187.
[79] Ibid. This presence, most likely quite substantial, is understudied. Rennie argues that "enough remained to form a substantial 'Ndau' element" in the south.
[80] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[81] Ibid.

Changes and Continuities

The history of Ndau subjugation at the hands of the Gaza Nguni demonstrates how ethnicity is shaped by cultural practices and often used to further political aims. Although ethnic identities may arise under a host of conditions, they are most famous for leading to violence when they are used to satisfy group aspirations at the expense of others. Edwin Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister argue that ethnicity holds the key to structures of inequality and is frequently the object of manipulation in the exercise of power.[84] The dominant use group identities to define the subordinate, yet the subordinate can "adopt the terms of their definition" to organize and assert their own collective identity.[85] This is what the Ndau managed to do as they faced Gaza Nguni overrule in the nineteenth century. Their experience illustrates how both the powerful and the weak reproduce an ethnically ordered world.[86]

The Ndau region on the eve of colonial conquest is also an inviting starting point for a study of ethnicity since it calls for an exploration of an earlier sense of Ndauness. There are continuities between the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as when the Portuguese perpetuated "many of the underlying forms of the Gaza Nguni kingdom" in the Ndau region during the colonial period.[87] Some Ndau men continued to pierce their ears "in the style of Ngungunyana" until the 1930s while others abandoned the practice as

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago, 1996).
[85] Ibid., viii.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 34.

soon as Ngungunyana left for Bilene.[88] And in the postcolonial period, scholars sych as David McDermott Hughes have discussed how "warring parties--especially Renamo--capitalized upon people's familiarity with colonial methods of recruiting forced labor."[89] From the eighteenth-century trade in ivory to nineteenth-century Nguni regiments, leaders relied upon people as porters and soldiers.[90] Later, Renamo's warfare in the bush forced people to repeat this work. Over time the Ndau have added ingredients to their own mixed pot of 'Ndauness' created centuries earlier, but their nineteenth-century experience is especially pertinent. There was a certain resilience to the cultural identities of both the Nguni and the Ndau as acculturation occurred between each group. The Gaza-Nguni influence is one aspect of the constant reworking of identities within the Ndau context.

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[88] José Mussalaulo, Muvi, Sofala, Mozambique, 7 September 1998; David Ngilazi, Chibavava, Sofala, Mozambique, 15 September 1998.
[89] Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics," 34. Hughes continues with a provocative discussion of how "war was merely a harsher form of peace." See also Christian Geffray, *A Causa das Armas: Antropologia da Guerra Contemporânea em Moçambique* (Porto, 1991).
[90] Ibid., 18.

CHAPTER EIGHT
"We Are Now a Mixed Pot": The Ndau Region in Retrospect

You also became Ndau because you speak the Ndau language, are born of Ndau parents, so you are Ndau.[1]
- Ellen Gapara

We are now a mixed pot, it is no longer Ndaus only.[2]
- Idah Manyuni

In central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe history and identity are both salient and inconspicuous features of the cultural landscape. This contradiction exists, in part, since the Ndau have created and recreated identities over the past five hundred years in this region. Amidst alterations in the political and cultural terrain, the Ndau have shaped a sense of identity that has come to resemble a mixed pot.[3] Today 'Ndauness' is present throughout the Ndau region, but it is neither prominent nor particularly striking to the casual observer. Yet a closer look reveals lingering historical legacies from the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial eras. The ambiguities and complexities inherent in the cultural remembering of the past demonstrate the fuzzy nature of histories and identities. Elders preserve historical memories and use them either to support or to suppress ethnic identification. The Ndau reconstruct memories and oral traditions to address contemporary realities, and the recent war in Mozambique has strongly influenced histories and relationships on both sides of the border. My investigation of Ndau history since c.1500 reveals that neither the pressures of colonialism nor the politics of nationalism created a sense of 'being' Ndau. Evidence shows that 'Ndauness', while not reflecting a deep primordial allegiance, was shaped as an ongoing practice.

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[1] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[2] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

Coming to 'Be Ndau'

An enduring sense of 'being' Ndau is the hallmark of a cultural identity that has persisted over the *longue durée* in this corner of southeastern Africa. Although it is not always easy to glean 'Ndauness' from the historical record, the presence of Ndau-speakers in the hinterland of Sofala since the era of dos Santos and other early Portuguese writers offers scholars the opportunity to piece together a picture of a lasting *and* changing identity. The history of Ndau speakers is rooted in common people who have endured various hegemonies while maintaining their own "little traditions." Despite facing exclusion and incorporation during periods of intense domination, the Ndau have demonstrated an ability to alter their identities, both temporarily and permanently, in creative ways during both the precolonial and colonial era.

Historical memories of Ndau elders, for instance, recollect a more recent turbulent time in the nineteenth century under the Gaza Nguni leader Ngungunyana and place the Ndau in opposition to this alleged tyrant. Rather than recall the glory days of Ngungunyana's rule, as was the case amidst anti-colonial sentiment of the early twentieth century, Ndau elders today portray the king as a despot. Elders relate detailed stories of torture at the hands of the Gaza Nguni.[4] Ngungunyana is described as an omnipotent ruler, although clearly his policies were carried out with assistance from his *ndunas* as well as local collaborators.[5] Although a sense of being Ndau was surely apparent much earlier--as this study demonstrates--some Ndau elders actually

[3] As Idah Manyuni mentioned through metaphor. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[4] See chapter seven for the grisly details.

give Ngungunyana credit for forging a sense of identity among the Ndau, particularly a sense of 'being 'Ndau' for men.

Ear piercing among Ndau men, first introduced by the Gaza Nguni, is one apt example of a gendered sense of 'Ndauness' manipulated by the Ndau following Gaza Nguni overrule. After the departure and eventual defeat of the Gaza Nguni, ear piercing became a rite of passage for all young Ndau men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century before they served their time as migrant workers in South Africa. Phillip Mutigwe, one elder from Chikore, explained that Ngungunyana's warriors first forced Ndau men to pierce their ears "because it was a Zulu custom that every adult should have pierced ears."[6] "It all started with Ngungunyana who distinguished people as Ndaus and Tongas," according to Chinungu Mtetwa of Zamchiya.[7] Ear piercing "was a sign of identity for people under Ngungunyana"[8] that "served to differentiate tribal identities."[9] Ndau men pierced their ears to show that they were subordinates of Ngungunyana, and Mateus Simango explained, "If you did not have pierced ears you were not on Ngungunyana's side."[10] Ngungunyana's order to pierce men's ears was one more lasting mark of the Gaza Nguni occupation. But in the highland Ndau region of Chikore and Zamchia, men also pierced their ears, according to one elder, "to show that we are not vaDuma,"[11] Ear piercing was used by Ndau men in the highlands to set them apart from *masvina,* others who did not pierce their ears, such as the Duma who live further west across the Save or Malawians

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[5] This cooperation from locals was gained possibly through coercion at times.
[6] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[7] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
[8] Siyanzi Raphius Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[9] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[10] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

known as *mabhurataya*.[12] Ndau men pierced their ears initially because of a Gaza Nguni directive, but later they continued the practice by choice to mark ethnic boundaries and demonstrate to others that they were Ndau.

Elders expressed various opinions about 'Ndauness,' reflecting the complexity and ambiguity surrounding how the Ndau as a group came to 'be Ndau.' For Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana being Ndau is "a tribal identity."[13] He explained,

> We were called VaShangani before Ngungunyana changed us into Ndaus. Mahohoma [a district administrator in the colonial government] is the one who destroyed Shangani, he said that we are Ndaus. This is because people used to say "Ndau" as a greeting and also when referring to places. So he called us VaNdau, 'AmaNdau.'[14]

Similarly, Mateus Simango claimed, "Long back we were not called Ndaus, we were called Shangani. It was Mahohoma who started it."[15] Mateus Simango also cites Mahohoma as "the one who divided us into Ndau and Shangani."[16] Other Ndau elders also linked an Ndau identity with an earlier Shangaan one. "We are called Ndau but we are Shangani, said John Kunjenjema."[17] The Ndau 'became' Shangani and the "original Shangani went to Bilene with Ngungunyana," he explained, referring to Ngungunyana's forced march in 1889 to Bilene in the south.[18] Speaking to his young son, Freddy Sithole said "The Ndaus are your generation, but those of our generation are Shangani, *madzviti*."[19] For the elder Sithole, the act of 'becoming' Ndau occurred

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[11] Chinungu Mtetwa, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999; Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[12] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[13] Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
[16] Ibid.
[17] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999. VaSithole was about eighty years old when he made this comment.

after the Gaza Nguni occupation. His use of a temporal marker to make a distinction about 'being' Ndau was common among male elders interviewed.

At first glance, this "fixing" of ethnicity supports theories about the "creation of tribalism" during the colonial period in Africa, as described by Leroy Vail and his colleagues in 1989.[20] Vail's model, highlighting the role of European and African culture brokers in the formation of ethnic identities, appears to be at play in the shaping of popular ethnic ideologies in the Ndau case.[21] Yet the arguments of Vail and others, indeed helpful in understanding the workings of 'tribalism' during colonial rule, should also be applied to both the precolonial period and to postcolonial realities. African rulers, both before and after colonial rule, have drawn on 'inventions' of ideology and 'tradition' to gain and maintain loyalty from their subjects.[22]

When women were asked what it meant to be Ndau they often referred to language, place of birth and 'tribe'. Idah Manyuni, for instance, replied, "I can say it is just a name which has been there since time immemorial."[23] Bertha Munedzi, responded, "It means I was born among the Ndau,"[24] and Mbuya Dhliwayo explained, "It means I speak Ndau."[25] For some elders 'being' Ndau has a 'tribal' connotation. "To say I am Ndau, Zezuru or Zulu, it means my tribe," commented Celani Mutigwe of Chikore.[26] 'Being' Ndau *is* a matter of identity for many Ndau elders. "I am Ndau because that is

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[20] Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1989).
[21] Ibid.
[22] Commenting on the *"invention* of tribalism" thesis, Masipula Sithole remarked, "But we all know that all inventions are real." "Ethnicity and Democratization in Zimbabwe: From Confrontation to Accommodation," in Harvey Glickman, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa* (Atlanta, 1995): 121-169. See also, for example, John Wright, "Notes on the Politics of Being 'Zulu,' 1820-1920," Conference on Ethnicity, Society and Conflict in Natal, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg (14-16 September 1992).
[23] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[24] Bertha Munedzi, Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
[25] Mbuya Dhliwayo, Mhakwe, 30 July 1999.
[26] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.

my tribal identity," remarked Phoebe Mukokota of Chikore.[27] Among men, Philemon Khosa echoed these sentiments with his explanation that "To be Ndau simply means your tribe or dialect."[28] Another female elder, Ellen Gapara, remarked matter-of-factly:

> You also became Ndau because you speak the Ndau language, are born of Ndau parents, so you are Ndau. Hlengwes are called Hlengwes because they speak their own language, so they are Hlengwe. The same applies to Zezuru and Ndebele people.[29]

The Ndau are also conscious of their totems, but they do not draw on their totems for "an actively operational ethnic identification."[30] The different answers of elders, men and women, reflect the confusing nature of explaining a sense of 'being' something that is often maintained in part by "little traditions."

Ndau-speakers altered identities in the nineteenth and twentieth century in especially powerful ways. During this time ethnicity was often manipulated away from home in sites such as the mines. As many Ndau men traveled to *Joni* (Johannesburg) in search of the best opportunities for migrant laborers, the journey became a "cultural necessity for African men" throughout much of the Ndau-speaking region.[31] As a rite of passage for young men, with earnings that enabled them to accumulate wives, "mining became associated with manhood itself."[32] Laborers who remained in Mozambique usually failed to earn enough wages to secure wives.[33] In South Africa Ndau speakers would adopt a 'Shangaan' identity to receive better pay as mineworkers. These laborers experienced a multicultural milieu that included other languages such as Shangaan, Zulu

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[27] Phoebe Mukokota, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[28] Philemon Khosa, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
[29] Ellen Gapara, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
[30] As is the case in Rogo, Nigeria, according to Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Identity Boundaries, Ethnicity and National Integration in Nigeria" in Okwudiba Nnoli, ed. *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa* (Dakar, 1998) : 30.
[31] David Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border," (Ph.D. diss., University of Califronia, Berkeley, 1999) 56.
[32] Ibid., 59.

and Sotho. Partly because both Africans and Europeans manipulated ethnic identities in various ways during this time, as the contributors to Vail's collection illustrate, it is difficult to tease out the fashioning of identity amidst the backdrop of migrant labor and hegemony.[34]

People call upon various identities in the midst of ethnopolitical conflicts. Elders remembering history can also reflect the views of a rural community that feels alienated by the central government in a distant capital. Ndau elders themselves have 'Zulu' (Nguni) surnames and pierced ears in the "Nguni style." Yet there was an element of reciprocity between Nguni ways and Ndau culture. Interestingly, the northern Nguni language of the Gaza elite scarcely remained in use, but loanwords infiltrated other languages such as Ndau.[35] By the end of the nineteenth century most Gaza Nguni also spoke Shangaan, a sub-group of the local Tsonga language in southern Mozambique. The Gaza Nguni assumed certain aspects of a Tsonga identity to the south and an Ndau identity to the north. Nguni clan names, songs, dances, and a certain pride in a glorious military past--emphasized alongside resistance to the coming of colonial rule--all survived. Two-way acculturation carried over into the colonial period as the Nguni came to 'be Shangaan'. Yet even though elderly Ndau men have pierced ears as a result of the Gaza Nguni presence, those in Mozambique feel isolated from the 'South' and the Mozambican capital in Maputo, where they consider the government to be dominated by 'Shangaan' interests. Similarly, in Zimbabwe the Ndau feel ignored by the government

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism.*

[35] The founders of the Gaza state are northern *Nguni,* while the term *Gaza* is used to refer to the population as well as the territory under the control of the ruling Nguni elite in south-central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe.

and passed over for powerful positions. To complicate matters, the Ndau in each country have a reputation as confused troublemakers.[36]

The Ndau also set themselves apart--from each other and other groups--when they speak, as demonstrated by the remarks of several elders from Chikore, Zimbabwe. John Kunjenjema, a Zimbabwean who was born in Mutema and then moved to Chikore when he was about forty years old, noted, "In Mozambique they speak Ndau although there is a small difference in that those in Mozambique have an accent or intonation that sounds like a child."[37] For Kunjenjema, "real Ndau" is found in Chimanimani, and "moderate Ndau" is spoken in Chikore.[38] "Real Ndau" was also distinguished from the Hlengwe language spoken further south by Celani Mutigwe.[39] Her husband, Phillip Mutigwe, insisted that "real Ndau speakers" who speak "pure Ndau" are found on the Zimbabwean side of the border in Chirinda and Chikore, near Espungabera. He argued, "If you go down into the valley the tone is different. Again beyond Espungabera we do not understand each other because of tonal differences."[40] Yet this area east of Espungabera is widely considered to be part of the Ndau region.

On the other hand, Idah Manyuni, living in Chikore but born in Mt Selinda, described the Ndau spoken near Espungabera as "no longer Ndau but a mixture of its bits and pieces."[41] She added, "Going further down across and along the border with Mozambique up to Zamchiya and Mahenye, people there do not speak like we do here.

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[36] "Confusão" (confusion) was a common term used by other Mozambicans and Zimbabweans to describe Ndau speakers and the Ndau region. Some Ndau employed this term as a self-identifying characteristic.
[37] John Kunjenjema, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Celani Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[40] Phillip Mutigwe, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
[41] Idah Manyuni, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

For example, instead of labelling a clay pot as *hari* they call it *mbende.*"[42] Freddy Sithole, also from Chikore, noted that in Chimanimani just to the north the tone of spoken Ndau was different.[43] He observed, "If we cross into Mozambique there are fluent Ndaus, but further into Mozambique the tone changes into Danda."[44] Allen Mundeta, a resident of Chikore and member of a younger generation, observed that even though the Ndau dialect changes as one travels further east, "basically it is still the same."[45] He explained that Ndau-speakers further to the east "speak a different language," but "they are Ndaus."[46] They are often referred to as Danda, which some consider to be a derogatory term. According to Mundeta, "It means people who are not really smart, just like the British talk about the Irish as not being very smart."[47] The many divisions and differences among those who speak what has come to be called Ndau suggests a lengthy presence of Ndau speakers in the area as time allowed for the development of diversity.[48]

The Ndau region, straddling an international border, challenges the 'hard' boundary separating Mozambique and Zimbabwe.[49] Many Ndau elders in both countries do not cite any firm boundaries for the Ndau region, perhaps because they have an unbounded sense of Ndau 'territory.' Therefore elders often did not answer questions about the extent of the area inhabited by Ndau speakers in terms of borders or frontiers. Most people interviewed in Zimbabwe did note that the Ndau region extended across the

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Freddy Sithole, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999. Ndau is a tonal language. To the west, in the Save River Valley, the tone is different as well.
[44] Ibid. VaSithole is referring to the tone and accent of language speaker.
[45] Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Variety would not be a characteristic of recent arrivals. D. E. Needham, E. K. Mashingaidze and N. Bhebe, *From Iron Age to Independence: A History of Central Africa* (Harare, 1984) 39.
[49] Jeanne Penvenne discusses the "centrifugal forces which challenge the bounded political entity called Mozambique" in Jeanne Marie Penvenne, "Mozambique: A Tapestry of Conflict" in *History of Central*

border into Mozambique, although they differed over the extent of the Ndau region within Mozambique.[50] For one former headman in Chikore, the Ndau region spread into Mozambique and northward to Mutema's area of control.[51] But he noted that in Johannesburg, Ndau-speakers are easily identifiable, even though "those from Mozambique have their own accent."[52] Thus, national distinctions between Zimbabwe and Mozambique were apparent in a third country, South Africa.

In addition to accents there are other observable differences that make the Ndau distinct. The Ndau proclaim an identity visible to others through body art such as tattoos, *pika,* and scarification, *nyora,* on women's bodies.[53] This shared 'body language' of decorative markings and jewelry shaped connections among Ndau women over several centuries. Mubayi Mhlanga, a resident of Zamchiya near the border, argues that the Ndau have their own greetings that set them apart from their Hlengwe neighbors to the south and Manyika neighbors in the north.[54] Despite differences such as these that shape a public identity, there is also movement across ethnic boundaries. For instance, Mateus Simango of Zamchiya recalled that outsiders, referred to as "vaShangana," arrived from the Hlengwe region while Ndau speakers from Zamchiya also went to stay in the

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Africa: The Contemporary Years since 1960, edited by David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (New York, 1998) 233.

[50] There appeared to be some confusion over the exact meaning of the term "Ndau" in this instance. It was not always clear if elders were speaking about a language or a cultural identity.

[51] VaTarangwa, Chikore, 28 June 1999.

[52] Ibid.

[53] As described in chapter five.

[54] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999. The Save river forms a rough southern boundary of the Ndau region as it curves eastward to empty into the Indian Ocean. Hlengwe is spoken to the south. The northern limit of the Ndau area is around Rusitu, since people speak Manyika (another dialect of Shona) beyond Chimanimani, according to elders such as Jona Mwaoneni Makuyana, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.

Hlengwe region.[55] Yet the comments of elders such as Mubayi Mhlanga reinforce the western boundaries of the Ndau region. He said that when the Ndau headed west and crossed the Save, they were "noticed and taken as invaders."[56] He explained:

> Those without pierced ears were said to be from across the Save [further west], we call those people va Duma. But now such distinctions are no more. Long back on the way to Mutare [heading north] if you were stranded you could not put up for the night where people could see you because they would kill you.[57]

Thus 'being Ndau' meant being noticed by outsiders and perhaps facing danger outside the Ndau region on the grounds of your identity.

Even though many Ndau see themselves as a distinct group, it is misleading to envision an "archipelago of cultures" in this region of southeast Africa, for as Eric Wolf argues, seemingly discrete societies have always been partly maintained by virtue of their mutual contacts.[58] This is indeed the case with the Ndau. While groups emerged among the Ndau with separate genealogies considered to be culturally distinct, Ndau speakers shared a common cultural identity for the most part. These communities of Ndau speakers--families, clans, villages and chieftaincies--experienced contact and interconnectedness through sexual politics, regional links of trade, warfare against common enemies and migration together to the mines or fields of South Africa. In both the past and the present, 'being Ndau' does not correlate neatly with any single political system or process. The region has a dynamic political history influenced by local

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[55] Mateus Simango, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999. To the south, explained Allen Mundeta, the Hlengwe area and the Chiredzi area are no longer considered to be part of the Ndau region. Allen Mundeta, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.

[56] Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[57] The western limit of the Ndau region is the also the Save river as it flows southward up river. Mubayi Mhlanga, Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.

[58] Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1997).

political identities and traditions that stand out amidst an overarching 'Ndau' cultural identity.

Negotiating the Past and the Present

In the post-independence period, a sense of 'being Ndau' continues to transcend the arbitrary international border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. However, interesting distinctions exist between the Ndau living on each side of the border. For example, many Ndau-speakers in eastern Zimbabwe will cross into Mozambique to consult with a traditional healer, *n'anga,* since Ndau spirits in Mozambique are perceived as having more power than their Zimbabwean counterparts. Even the term "Ndau" carries different connotations in each country. For most Zimbabweans, an Ndau-speaker belongs to one of the six main subgroups of the Shona language. In Mozambique, however, "Ndau" can be a very separate and distinct label with tenuous connections to a sense of 'Shonaness' and the wider Shona language spoken in other parts of central Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Perhaps even more telling, the Ndau in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique remain marginalized in the political realm, and other Africans use the Ndau as convenient scapegoats for economic and security problems in the region. Some of these accusations stem from the heavy Ndau membership in Renamo, the rebel movement in Mozambique's war.[59] Ndau became the lingua franca of Renamo since many of Renamo's leaders were Ndau.[60] On the Zimbabwean side of the border, Ndau speakers in the Chipinge constituency have always voted in "their" candidate from the small, "Ndau"

[59] The initial support for Afonso Dhlakama, Renamo's president since 1980, "derived almost entirely from the N'dau speakers of central Mozambique," according to Alex Vines in *Renamo: Terrorism in Mozambique* (Bloomington, 1991), 16.

opposition party ZANU (Ndonga) led by Ndabaningi Sithole.[61] Even though "it is rare for politicians to campaign along ethnic lines" in Zimbabwe, the political scientist Masipula Sithole points out that "the electorate votes along ethnic lines."[62] The minor presence of ZANU (Ndonga) in the seat for Chipinge is most likely a mere thorn in the side of the ruling party, ZANU (PF). Another thorn, perhaps more dangerous, exists in the form of the *chimwenjes,* an armed group based in western Mozambique that operated on both sides of the border in the 1990s. Understanding more about the negotiations between past and present shifts in identity will help scholars analyze the motivations of violent groups such as the *chimwenjes* that take advantage of the relatively porous border that exists today.

As countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe struggle to reconcile cultural pluralism with a post-colonial national identity, cultural identities that cross borders present a challenge to nation states.[63] UNESCO's World Culture Report for 2000 notes that culture can be "threatened by globalization and exploited in situations of conflict."[64] The presence of the former rebel group Renamo, now the major official opposition in Mozambique, complicates the picture. Renamo's leader, Afonso Dhlakama, speaks Ndau and draws on his identity as an Ndau from the center of the country to increase his power base and fuel a long-standing rivalry with Frelimo, the ruling party. Thus, a new ethno-

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[60] Ibid., 63-64.
[61] Ndabaningi Sithole founded ZANU (Ndonga) in 1963 as a faction of ZANU (PF), the ruling party since independence in 1980 with Robert Mugabe as president. Masipula Sithole, "Ethnicity and Democratization in Zimbabwe: From Confrontation to Accommodation" in *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa,* 148-151.
[62] Ibid., 151.
[63] "Culture: UNESCO Wants World Heritage to Include Tradition," UN Wire, 21 November 2000, posted on the H-Net Discussion List on Research in African Primary Sources, (22 November 2000), <h-afresearch@h-net.msu.edu>.
[64] UNESCO, "World Culture Report 2000: Cultural Diversity, Conflict and Pluralism," n.d., <http://www.unesco. org/opi/WCR2000/>.

political situation has emerged in Mozambique in the 1990s alongside Dhlakama's rise as a very important political player since the end of the war.[65]

Ethnicity certainly has the potential to wreak havoc with nationalism. During fieldwork in Rogo, Nigeria, Abdul Raufu Mustapha found complex and multi-layered ethnic identifications that revealed "principles of inclusion and exclusion in the process of community formation."[66] He also noted "a preserved historical consciousness, rather than an actively operational ethnic identification."[67] This is similar to the awareness of Ndau totemism among most Ndau, or feelings of 'Ndauness' from Mozambicans in the east who consider themselves to 'be VaDanda.' In his work on Nigeria, Mustapha suggests that scholars examine the "possibilities and constraints offered by the actual historical dynamics of the sub-nation groups and formations whose integration lie at the heart of 'nation-building.'"[68] He cautions against following a "state-centered" approach to nation-building that ignores the relevance of "processes of identity formation in the pre-colonial period."[69] For Mustapha, an emphasis on "universalistic concepts of state and citizenship" has "little regard to pre-colonial cultures of exclusion which impede the access of castes, women and some linguistic and social groups to full citizenship in the 'nation-state.'" Yet even though processes of incorporation, rather than exclusion, emerge as the dominant historical pattern in the Ndau region, studies of Mozambique and

[65] Dhlakama, for instance, has suggested that his party may establish a new headquarters in the city of Beira, the capital of the province of Sofala. Many areas in this central province were Renamo strongholds during the war. "Could Zimbabwe Intervene Again," *Financial Gazette,* 10 February 2000.
[66] Mustapha, "Identity Boundaries, Ethnicity and National Integration in Nigeria" in *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa,* 30.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 27.
[69] Ibid.

Zimbabwe as nation states need to consider the underlying cultural history in each country.[70]

The implications of history and identity for national integration need further study. Whether it is "real or imagined," "ethno-regional domination" can have divisive and deadly consequences.[71] In addition, the scholar Michel Cahen has noted how "a fierce denial of the relevance, even of the existence of all the different communities" in a nation can lead to resentment.[72] When Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, proclaimed, "There are no more whites or blacks, only Mozambicans," he was hard at work constructing a socialist program that considered ethnic appeals to be reactionary and opposed to the nation building process.[73] As the sole party after independence, Frelimo "had the function of hindering any expression of different identities or regional social trajectories," according to Cahen.[74] In this instance, rejecting ethnicity rendered social hierarchies intricately tied to ethnicity invisible.

This examination of the historical processes of identity formation reveals patterns of integration and domination among political communities in the Ndau region. Shifts in identities at various periods in Ndau history occurred as a result of changes from within Ndau society as well as from outside influences. Both written and oral sources reveal common themes over the *longue durée*. Weaving strands of Ndau history together by melding these sources enhances an understanding of relationships within and between groups in the region. However, this study of history and identity between 1500-1900

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[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 47.
[72] Michel Cahen, "Nationalism and Ethnicities: Lessons from Mozambique," n.d., Contemporary Portuguese Politics and History Research Centre, University of Glasgow, <http://www.cphrc.org.uk/essays/cahen1.htm>.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

leaves more questions about recent processes of identity formation in the twentieth century unanswered. The written record allows future investigations to be informed by rich historical sources. By historicizing ethnic, colonial and national identities scholars can begin to revisit the prickly problems of tribalism and address contemporary definitions of what it means to 'be Ndau.' "The past will never remain the past," according to Shona wisdom, as history and identity are reinterpreted in the region.[75]

[75] *Kare haagari ari kare.* Mordikai A. Hamutyinei and Albert B. Plangger, *Tsumo-Shumo; Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gweru, 1987), 291.

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FIELD INTERVIEWS
1998-1999

Manica Province, Moçambique:

Agostinho, Amelia. Dombe, Sede, Distrito de Sussendenga, 7 July 1998.
Alvar, Balamiera. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
(Ambuya) Ana, (Ambuya) Selinda and (Ambuya) Lucia. Chitobe, Sede, Distrito de Machaze, 19 July 1998.
Basopo, Eliza. Espungabera, Sede, Distrito de Mossurize, 27 July 1998.
Cecilia, (Ambuya) and Goshwe Sitole. Espungabera, Sede, Distrito de Mossurize, 27 July 1998.
Chingera, (Ambuya). Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 17 July 1998.
Chiquerwa, Wilson. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Chisanati, Timo Ngesi. Dombe Sede, Distrito de Sussendenga, 9 July 1998.
Dubuya, Manuel. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Gama, Emilia. Bairro Sede, Rotanda, 4 July 1998.
Gangenjani, Semu. Sussundenga, Sede, 4 August 1998.
Group Interview with Nyanga Mbiri Mupunga, Mangiza Munzanga, James Dundo, Albino Joni, Fazenda Soni, Makinase Mupinde, et al. Mupunga, Distrito de Sussendenga, 10 July 1998.
Group interview with Regulo Mateus Faduku et al., Chipambuleque, Distrito de Machaze, 15 July 1998.
Gundana, Joshua. Dombe, Sede, Distrito de Sussendenga, 7 July 1998.
Gwanga, (Ambuya). Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 17 July 1998.
Inhasi, (Ambuya). Chimunkono, Distrito de Sussendenga, 8 July 1998.
João, Rosinda and Musota Fifteen. Sussundenga, Sede, 4 August 1998.
Kamba, Viola. Sussundenga, Sede, 4 August 1998.
Kaniera, Robert Musambudzi, Rotanda, 3 July 1998.
Kumbi, Josia Matavera. Tuca-Tuca, Distrito de Machaze, 20 July 1998.
Liesi, Seven and Timothy Mataca (guia). Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 16 July 1998.
Lovemore, Wanda. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Machawa, Mateus. Chitobe, sede, Distrito de Machaze, 19 July 1998.
Mafuia, Luis Nhica. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Mafuria, Timothy Moso Sitole. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Magude, Nelson Paulo Paweta. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Magumisse, Jossia and July Sofakai (guia). Dombe, Sede, Distrito de Sussendenga, 7 July 1998.
Mahamu, Murivana. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Makadui, Chako. Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 17 July 1998.
Maki, Mutasi. Sussundenga, Sede, 4 August 1998.
Makosi, Pedro. Tuca-Tuca, Distrito de Machaze, 20 July 1998.
Marokana, Mixon. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.

Mashanja, (Ambuya) and Phillipe Sunguro. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Mashawo, Mazete Mixon. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Mashiri, Peter. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Matakera, Jose. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Mbadzo, Manuel Antonio. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998
Mbajaninga, Champs. Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 16 July 1998.
Mberi, Kenneth. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Mlombo, Zuze Chingomana. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Moyana, Tafula. Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 17 July 1998.
Muchalenyi, Timu Nbweseni. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Muchlanga, Albert Laisse. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Muchanga, Henriques Musindo. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Muchanga, Kemsi Mambachange Mapungwana. Espungabera, Sede, Distrito de Mossurize, 27 July 1998.
Muchanga, Lucia. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Muchanga, Sofasoque Pande. Espungabera, Sede, Distrito de Mossurize, 27 July 1998.
Mudengo, Francisco Roki. Chitobe, sede, Distrito de Machaze, 19 July 1998.
Mukwawaya, Benjamini Mikiseni. Chimunkono, Distrito de Sussendenga, 8 July 1998.
Musinwa, Feniasi Mikiseni. Musambudzi, Rotanda, 3 July 1998.
Musororo, Vaina and Binda Domu Mosunza. Rotanda, Bairro Sede, Distrito de Sussundenga, 2 July 1998.
Mutanda, Mangiza. Chimunkono, Distrito de Sussendenga, 8 July 1998.
Mutimumkulo, Solomon and Ana Mutimumkulo. Tuca-Tuca, Distrito de Machaze, 20 July 1998.
Mutisi, Paulino. Chitobe, sede, Distrito de Machaze, 19 July 1998.
Muvanekwa, Brandy Matonga. Dacata, Distrito de Mossurize, 28 July 1998.
Nemhasi, (Ambuya). Espungabera, Sede, Distrito de Mossurize, 27 July 1998.
Ngini, Isaac. Chiurairue, Distrito de Mossurize, 29 July 1998.
Rice, Chimoio and Reina Mucheka. Musinwa, Feniasi Mikiseni. Musambudzi, Rotanda, 3 July 1998.
Sangatana, Round. Musambudzi, Rotanda, 4 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 1: James Matseva, Sargeni Nyamunda, Samuel Chisingi and Around Tivane, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 2: Selinda Nyambi Perisela, Tasi Bokuta, Tawasi Shaluk, Naisai Chishongue and Nyamani Chisatu Basoka, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 3: Ngozi Mateja, Chiruvani Sitolo Zuka and Manhasi Sitoye, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 4: Tawasi Sibanda, Zamuse Nyamunda, Nyokasi Mutani, Munyani Nyamunda and Anasi Sibanda, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 5: Makokali Chitandu, Paulina Changu, (?) Chilovane Tsonga, Moyasi Changu, Josi Miyambo, Moyasi Ngwenya, Yokasi Tivane and Mujai Tiwana, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.

Save Group Interview, Grupo 6: Mushawa Nyanzi, Totowani Machava, Mangeni Matesva, Musami Nyambani and Maria Azitangu, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 7: Nyasala Sibandi, Chikavana Mataweya, Manhasi Maliga, Pukwane Machisi Simango, Tawasi Simango and Salimina Tchislangu, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 8: Ndaina Sete, Moyasi Abasizi, Cecilia Secheni, Sara Sitoi and Tavasi Chipinini, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Save Group Interview, Grupo 9: Julieta Coana, Chibemva Sitole, Makokani Shauke and Julivani Ngwenya, Chidoco (Save), Distrito de Machaze, 23 July 1998.
Simpson, Tazwira and Zefenius Simpson. Musinwa, Feniasi Mikiseni. Musambudzi, Rotanda, 3 July 1998.
Sito, Filipe. Guezane, Distrito de Machaze, 17 July 1998.
Siyanda, Mario Joao, Feliz Mikiroso, Amelia Joao and Luisa Mukwiyo. Dombe Sede, Distrito de Sussendenga, 9 July 1998.
Sunguri, Zacariah. Musambudzi, Rotanda, 3 July 1998.
Valemo, Sebastiao. Chitobe Sede, Distrito de Machaze, 22 July 1998.
Vurandi, Lazaro. Chimunkono, Distrito de Sussendenga, 8 July 1998.
Watchi, Ndasi. Sussundenga, Sede, 4 August 1998.

Sofala Province, Moçambique:

Anônimo. Búzi, 24 September 1998.
Bonessa, Pedro Fernando. Machanga Sede, 11 September 1998.
Dhlakama, Isaias Veremo (2a. vez) Chibabava Sede, 15 September 1998.
Dongunda, Filimon (Chefe de Dongunda). Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Gofuro, Pedro Bapiro. Zona de Zivava, Distrito de Machanga, 4 September 1998.
Magona, Julia Kua João. Machanga Sede. 7 September 1998.
Group Interview with Chefe Agostinho Manduze Jorge Chiteve Simango (Regulo ChiTeve) e Luis Mangate Bili Mapossa, Distrito de Machanga, Regulo ChiTeve. 11 September 1998.
Mavijo, Mwari and Psipa Chauque. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga. 8 September 1998.
Machava, Luis Santana. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 4 September 1998; 8 September 1998.
Machava, Marachana Twende. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Mapare, Manuel (regulo de Guara-Guara) and others. Guara-Guara, Distrito de Búzi, 23 September 1998.
Maposa, Notissa Mabalana. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Mapossa, Mateus Mbangenene (Chefe tradicional de Moligue). Moligue, Distrito de Chibabava, 18 September 1998.

Matavata, Carlos Alberto with Mamundu Ismael e Arbino João Zebunanye. Búzi Sede, Distrito de Búzi, 21 September 1998.
Minyamba, Maibasi. Chibabava Sede, Distrito de Chibabava, 14 September 1998.
Moyana, Manuel. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Muchanga, Augusto Magodo Sangulo. Muvi, Distrito de Machanga, 6 September 1998.
Muchanga, Augusto Magodo Sangulo. Machanga Sede, 7 September 1998.
Muchanga, Chimwiasi. Chibabava Sede, Distrito de Chibabava, 14 September 1998.
Mugadue, Macotore José Mafusse (Regulo de Muzungue). Muxungue, Distrito de Chibabava, 16 September 1998.
Mugadoe, Matasi. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Mussalaulo, José. Muvi, Distrito de Machanga, 6 September 1998.
Mutume , Amélia. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 4 September 1998.
Ndazondwa, John. Mupini, Distrito de Machanga, 8 September 1998.
Ngilazi, David. Chibabava Sede, 15 September 1998.
Nguenha, Dajonganhi Ussene. Muvi, Distrito de Machanga, 6 September 1998.
Rafael, Amélia Chiriro. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 8 September 1998.
Saveca, Jossias Mamba Mulhoi (Regulo de Hode). Hode, Distrito de Chibabava, 18 September 1998.
Simango, José Guacha. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 7 September 1998.
Simango, José Paulo Maduca. Machanga Sede, 5 September 1998
Simango, Martinho Manhacha Jackson. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 5 September 1998.
Simango, Temótio Mabesa. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 4 September 1998.
Tuzino, Fernando Vitorino. Machanga Sede, Distrito de Machanga, 4 September 1998.
Simango, Zacarias. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
Sitole, Ana Nyamunda with Jorge Muchita Machava and Isaias Veremo Dhlakama. Chibabava Sede, Distrito de Chibabava, 14 September 1998.
Sitole, James. Moligue, Distrito de Chibabava, 17 September 1998.
Sitole, Marcos Siringuani. Búzi - Lado de Companhia do Buzi, 23 September 1998.
Tivane, Notissa with Dorica Pangananyi Moyani. Dongunda, Distrito de Chibabava, 15 September 1998.
William, Mulenje Macama, Búzi Sede, 23 September 1998.

Note: These two interviews were conducted in the Province of Inhambane, across the mouth of the Save River from Machanga Sede.
Group Interview with Germano Mauta Paulo Simango, António Mwando Chicunisse Simango e Cordeiro Miranda Mussequessa Simango, Mutinya, Distrito de Govuro, Provincia de Inhambane, 10 September 1998.
Rodrigues, João Bassopa. Mambone Sede, Distrito de Govuro, Provincia de Inhambane, 10 September 1998.

Zimbabwe:

Chibuwe, Peter. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 31 July 1999.
Dhlakama, Catherine. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
Dhlakama, Hlaibandhla. Mabhiza (Rimbi/Checheche), Zimbabwe, 11 July 1999.
Dhlakama, Mucherechete. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
Dhliwayo, Chendinofira. Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Dhliwayo, (Mbuya). Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Dhliwayo, Mwachitama. Rimbi, Zimbabwe, 11 July 1999.
Dhliwayo, Ndaiziyei. Jenya West, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 8 July 1999.
Dube, Daisy. Mundanda, Zimbabwe, 21 July 1999.
Dube, Maramwa. Checheche, Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.
Gapara, Siyanzi Raphius and Ellen Gapara. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
Gugu, Eva. Checheche, Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.
Gumbo, Notase. Majehwe, Zimbabwe, 3 July 1999.
Hlabiso, (Sekuru). Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Hlabiso, Sofi. Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Jenya, Joyce. Rimbi, Zimbabwe, 11 July 1999.
Jenya, Meltah. At Chief Musikavanhu, Zimbabwe, 6 July 1999.
Khosa, Philemon. Pfidza Township, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
Kumbula, Losi. Garahwa (Checheche), Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.
Kunjenjema, John. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
Mafuta, Mukanyi. Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 27 July 1999.
Mahaka, Chizii. Chinyaduma, Chirinda, Zimbabwe, 18 July 1999.
Makasha, Munyembezi. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Makowe, Neli. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.
Makuyana, Mwatanisa. Bangira, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 8 July 1999.
Mandivhana, Sarah. Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 27 July 1999.
Manyuni, Idah. Pfidza Township, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
Manzini, Nyadzani. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Maorere, Chamusi. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Maposa, Zisoyo. Jenya West, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 8 July 1999.
Marijeki, (Mbuya). Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Mashava, Luka and Eresi Machava. Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Matyukira, Watch. Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Mauwa, Chakai Oscar. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 31 July 1999.
Mhlanga, Munorwei Watch. Majehwe, Zimbabwe, 5 July 1999.
Mlambo, Albert. Gaza, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 23 July 1999.
Mlambo, Esther. At Chief Musikavanhu, Zimbabwe, 6 July 1999.
Mlambo, Farisa. Chinaa, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
Mlambo, Jackson. Garahwa (Checheche), Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.
Mlambo, Mannered and Dorothy Mlambo. Emerald, Zimbabwe, 20 July 1999.
Mlambo, Mary. Majehwe, Zimbabwe, 3 July 1999.
Mlambo, Moyasi. Emerald, Zimbabwe, 20 July 1999.
Mlambo, Mukapera. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 7 July 1999.

Mlambo, Nemasi. Majehwe, Zimbabwe, 5 July 1999.
Mlambo, Unganai. At Chief Musikavanhu, Zimbabwe, 6 July 1999.
Mlambo, Vanhuvaone. Tuzuka School, At Chief Musikavanhu, Zimbabwe, 6 July 1999.
Mtetwa, Chinungu. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
Muganga, Mary. Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, 9 July 1999.
Muhlaba, Mwatama. Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 27 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Annah. Chinyaduma, Chirinda, Zimbabwe, 18 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Magoti Edward. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Marimanjira. Chirinda (At Chief Mapungwana), Zimbabwe, 17 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Mubayi. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Muchemanenjira. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
Muhlanga, Mwaitireni. Mt. Selinda, Zimbabwe, 20 July 1999.
Muitire, Mwaoneni. Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Mukokota, Phoebe. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1999.
Mukombe, Siyani and Rhodah Moyocha. Chinyaduma, Chirinda, Zimbabwe, 18 July 1999.
Mulambo, Ndapota. Rimbi, Zimbabwe, 11 July 1999.
Mundeta, Allen. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
Mundeta, Simon and Mbuya Mundeta. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
Munedzi, Bertha. Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Munedzi, Ruben Gocha. Mhakwe, Zimbabwe, 30 July 1999.
Mureka, Ndodini. Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 27 July 1999.
Murombo, Fibiauwe. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Mushoma, Riyarwu. Chinaa, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
Mutigwe, Celani and Phillip Mutigwe. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
Mutisi, Mwatambudzeni. Chinyaduma, Chirinda, Zimbabwe, 20 July 1999.
Muyambo, Albert. Checheche, Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.
Muzodini, (Mbuya). Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Mwaoneni, Jona. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
Ndangana, Muhlanganiso. Bangira, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 8 July 1999.
Ngorima, Mwaamba. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Ngwenduna, Hlanganipai. Matyukira, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 25 July 1999.
Nkomo, Robert Open. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.
Nyananda, Mavisi. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.
Rwizi, Rushike. Rupise, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 31 July 1999.
Sibindi, Simon. Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
Sigauke, Ndagumirwa. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
Sithole, Eva. Chinaa, Zimbabwe, 1 July 1999.
Sithole, Freddy. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
Sithole, Gilbert. Shekwa, Zimbabwe, 2 July 1999.
Sithole, Nyau. Shekwa, Zimbabwe, 2 July 1999.
Sithole, Sarai Nyabanga. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 13 July 1999.
Sithole, Sekai. Chikore, Zimbabwe, 29 June 1999.
Sithole, Taingwa Inox. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Sithole, Wilson. Garahwa (Checheche), Zimbabwe, 10 July 1999.

Simango, Amundidi. Shekwa, Zimbabwe, 2 July 1999.
Simango, Mateus. Zamchiya, Zimbabwe, 14 July 1999.
Simango, Nyamadzawo. Shekwa, Zimbabwe, 2 July 1999.
Tarangwa, (Sekuru) and (Sekuru) Muvhamba. Pfidza Township, Chikore, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1999.
Woka, John. Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
Zauta, Zuwarimwe (with Garikai Chaendepi and Mary Chaendepi). Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, 29 July 1999.
Ziomo, Machona. Chikware, Vhimba, Zimbabwe, 26 July 1999.
Ziwandi, Marieni. Nyanyadzi, Hot Springs, Zimbabwe, 1 August 1999.