This paper attempts to cover the history of the whole pre-1800 Duma Confederacy. (1) I say attempts because it is written on the strength of oral traditions collected by the writer in only one district, Bikita; (2) yet the Duma are found in several other districts: Chiredzi, Gutu, Fort Victoria, Zaka formerly Ndanga, and Mr H.E. Summer includes Chibi as well. (3) Furthermore, there is the great problem of the inavailability of documentary evidence relevant to the history of the Duma. However, as far as Duma history is concerned, the Bikita district is the most important for the following reasons:

(1) this is where the proto-Duma lived and the name Duma came into being;
(2) this is where the headquarters of the Duma Confederacy were established on the small Mandara hill; and
(3) this is where the Big Four Duma chiefs with dynastic titles of Mukanganwi, Mazungunye, Ziki and Mabika were and are still resident.

The Duma are a Shona-speaking people who live in the Victoria Province. They are today the ruling aristocracy of the study area except the Rufura vaera-gumbo (totem-leg) and the Mbire vaera-shoko (monkey) under chiefs Ndanga and Nyakunuhwa respectively in Zaka district, and the Ndau vaera-moyo (heart) under chief Gudo in Chiredzi district. Before 1890 the Duma ruled the whole of the study area as paramounts of one kingdom with its capital at Mandara. The true Duma are vaera-moyo (heart of any animal) and their praise name is Chirandu Sahayi. Sahayi was their great aunt, the daughter of Chimanya in Uteve, and Chirandu is merely emphasis (dupo) on the totem heart. Sahayi Chirandu is used by the Duma chiefs and their families, Mukanganwi, Mazungunye, Budzi and Mabika. With expansion, however, to the west, south-west and north-west, the Duma ruling families in these parts adopted new zvidao, but retained their totem. Maevura Mavi (dirty water) was adopted by Chiefs Chivara and Makore in Gutu and Marozva in Bikita; Pfuwayi by the rulers of the

1700: The traditional method of making a generation represent 30 years of rule for every individual chief in a royal dynasty and then working backwards from a given date has been adopted. The earliest date of death of a chief obtainable from available records in the whole Duma country is c. 1896 when chief Mazungunye Whema died. He had been installed by Mukanganwi Svose who died in 1939. Fortunately, this date comes from one of the two most important Duma houses. From the genealogy, it can be seen that by c.1700 the Duma state was already in existence at least in Bikita as will be shown.

(1) Confederacy: means a union of states for mutual support and joint action, but in this particular case, less in extent than the Mutapa and Rozvi empires.

(2) 63 oral traditions were collected by the writer in the period: Mid-September to Mid-December, 1972. Both the histories of the inarticulate, that is, common people, and the official histories from spokesmen of spirit mediums, chiefs, headmen and kraalheads were recorded. Some of the interviews which were very short were not tape-recorded.

(3) Interview in his office, Fort Victoria, 14—IX—1972
(4) See map (1): 'The Duma Confederacy'.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Traditions: 10, 12 - 13.
(7) Almost all informants agree on this meaning of chirandu.
now dead chieftainship of Chikwanda; Gonyohori by Chiefs Murinye, Shumba Chekayi and Mugabe in Fort Victoria district; Murambwi (the rejected) by Chiefs Nyajena and Bota in Chiredzi and Zaka districts respectively; and Sapile by Chief Nkuna, a recent creation when the Mazungunye chieftainship was split between Matsika and Mswange in 1913.(1) Chief Ziki and headman Masuka changed their totems and adopted that of the true Duma, but retained their praise names, for instance, Ziki is Moyo Mupeturi.(2)

I could not ascertain how C.M. Doke arrived at the figure when he put out the Duma population as 27,000, but he was right in saying that they formed the largest and most compact of all the Shona groups. As a subdialect of Karanga, Doke wrote that Duma was 'its typical dialect — and most of the publication works put out by the Morgenster Mission have used that or Jena which differs very little from it'.(3) There was no mass emigration of the Duma from their country. About the above population figure, one thing is certain. It included many non-Duma who had come to speak it. I established that the true Duma are a ruling minority over a large non-Duma majority. (vatorwa — aliens or vatonga — subjects)(4).

The Duma have not received much attention from any quarter — historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, missioneries, travellers and worse still by the Administration. The historians of African states in Southern Zambia have concentrated on the Mwenemutapa and Rozvi empires and the Matabele state and their bibliographies are long. The early missioneries working among the Duma, for example, of the Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches have not left us anything published in English about the Duma. Travellers visited the Great Zimbabwe on the periphery of the Duma state and the bulk of the Duma country was by-passed. The country was out of the way of such great hunters and travellers like F.C. Selous who cared to write some history of the people with whom he came into contact although he did so for his own ends. The blame can also be extended to the geology of the country. It had nothing except ivory tusks in the way of wealth to offer to fortune seekers as did the Mazoe Valley and the Gold Belt. The Moodie Trek followed roughly the modern tarmac road from Fort Victoria to the Birchenough Bridge, but the trekkers were concerned with reaching Gazaland.(5)

(2) One of the top secrets among the Ziki informants, but outside that circle, all informants divulged it to me. When I was interviewing Ziki Nunganyika in the presence of other royal houses, Nyika, a young svikiro, very nearly divulged the secret and the people flared up in anger. From this I could confirm that Ziki indeed changed his totem shoko (monkey) and adopted that of the Duma.
(4) Vatonga in Duma does not refer to an ethnic group but simply means subjects, the ruled. The Duma call any non-Duma their subject. Therefore, in this context mutonga and mutorwa are synonymous. To find out whether or not the Duma were a ruling majority, I made the Mazungunye chieftainship, the biggest in Bikita, a case study. By studying the totems of all the headmen and kraalheads and clan histories of all his headmen and some selected kraalheads, I discovered that the true Duma were a ruling minority. Chief Mazungunye has ten headmen and a gadzingo under him. Gadzingo is the area immediately surrounding the chief's village (muzinda) and is directly ruled by the chief. Every chief must have his muzinda inside the gadzingo. This is the area in which a chief is installed (kugadzwa.)
(5) National Archives of Rhodesia (N/A/R) typed MS, MO 11/4/1, Moodie, G.O.D., The Undoubted: The Story of the Moodie Trek and the Early days of the Melsatter Settlement.
Indulgence in beer drinking and included, for the most part, meagre and uncomprehensive genealogical trees of some chiefs and headmen. (1) Perhaps the Duma might have been noticed in academic circles and the Administration if they had also risen against the whites in 1896/7, especially as a Confederacy up in arms against the European penetration.

Yet the Duma are very proud of their history. Their pride is enshrined in songs such as Harina Mugano (Duma is so large that it is boundless), Baya wabaya, mukono unobaya dzose (The Duma general is the bull which kills all other bulls) and several others. When they sing these songs, with trumpets blowing and women shouting, their heroic past is clearly revealed. (2) To them they had a golden age in the past, for they accomplished a lot more than other people who have received historians' attention. The over-concern of historians of African states in Southern Zambezia on the Mwenemutapa and Rozvi empires and the Ndebele state has created a wrong impression that there were no other African states deserving their attention. This is based on the incorrect assumption that the Rozvi empire, especially, extended over most of Southern Zambezia and, therefore, states controlled by the Mambo could not have been important. The bibliography at present on the Duma history is too appallingly short and inadequate to be of any use in the writing of the Duma past. (3)

Therefore, oral tradition, with all its merits and limitations, will have to be the cornerstone source of the Duma history. Mr. H.E. Summer has read other sources not at my disposal, but says of the official files in his office in Fort Victoria, 'For the most part the files contain very little information' and of the Delimitation Reports, they 'vary from comprehensive to meagre, from reliable to doubtful'. (4) Mr. Summer, realising that a comprehensive study of these people has long been overdue and that they are a very important people in his own Province and ultimately Rhodesia, has compiled a set of very useful notes to be handed as a basis for research on the people. (5)

Writing to the Secretary of Internal Affairs he said, 'You may care to consider sending a copy to the Archives, where it will be available to research workers or even to the University where it may stimulate in someone an urge to do a thesis on the Duma people and so extend our knowledge'. (6)

The purpose of this paper, inter alia, is therefore to make historians of African states in Southern Zambezia realise that there was an important state of the Duma whose creation, development and existence marked great measures of success on the part of its architects and rulers. The popular

(2) Every informant, whether Duma or non-Duma, ended the interview by singing these heroic songs.

NADA is the Native Affairs Department Annual which began in 1923. The most important and useful sources are the last two.

(4) Summer, Notes, p. 107.
(5) Ibid.
(6) H.E. Summer to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 28 IV 1972. Work on the Duma had in fact been commenced by the writer from 1971.
Idea about the extent of the Rozvi can now be questioned, that is, with the expulsion of the Portuguese from the highveld and the shrinking of the Mwenemutapa empire in 1693 - 5 as the result of the campaigns of Changamire, the rest of Southern Zambesia fell under the rule of the Mambo. 'The Rozvi leader, Changamire, destroyed the Monomotapa's position shortly before 1700, from then until their own destruction in 1834 the Rozvi under their rulers, the Mambo, were the most powerful group south of the Zambezi and dominated much of the present Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

In 1693 the then Changamire, 'a veritable Shaka of his day', expelled the Portuguese from their trading posts. 'The offensive against the highlands mounted, the Invasion of Mashonaland followed, and by 1700, the Shona chiefdoms were at the end.'(2) As a result of the 1693 - 5 war, 'the Monomotapa was left with a sorry remnant of his empire but effective power remained with the Changamire and Portuguese inland trade dwindled to very small proportions.(3) H. von Sicard suggested that in the seventeenth century at the time of Bayao's expedition into Butua in 1644, Butus occupied an area much further to the east and was centred on Great Zimbabwe.(4)

The Portuguese records are primarily responsible for most of this misconception about the extent of the Rozvi. The 1693 - 5 war is looked upon by historians as the military completion of where the first Changamire left off in his revolt against Mutapa Nyahuma in 1490. This can be deduced from the maps in Tindal(5) and Wills(6). This assumption is also based on oral tradition. D.P. Abraham, the great collector of oral tradition for his yet - to - come history of the MweneMutapa Empire said about the outcome of the 1490 war that Changamire proclaimed himself king of the southern and central provinces styling his new state Virozvi to accentuate its separation from the MweneMutapa. The Mwenemutapa rulers for their part failed to reestablish their old authority in the south.(7)

Even today the Rozvi informants, when asked about the extent of the Mambo's empire and his power the same sort of impression is given.(8)

The misconception is not confined to political power alone but to the economic and spiritual fields as well. The Rozvi Mambo controlled all trade at least in the most important trade items such as gold, iron, copper and ivory. The territorial chiefs gave tribute to the Mambo sometimes in finished articles like hoes. The effectiveness of this trade control by the Mambo is illustrated among other writers, by Nicola Sutherland - Harris. "In fact, although it is true that the value of both external and internal trade was great, trading operations were strictly controlled and confined by the Mambo or Changamire, who had a monopoly of gold, the main export and whose tribute network forced the major lines along which exchange took place. This was the 'state control' designed for the benefit not of the whole community but a small oligarchical group."(9)

(6) See map: 'The interior at the time of Fernando's journey', 1512 - 14, in Wills, An Introduction, p. 20.
(8) Interviews of the Rozvi Informants - not tape-recorded.
In the spiritual sphere, the Mambo controlled the southern Shona. The country was organised into a number of territorial fiefs under the control of great dignitaries whose rule was supported in the spiritual realm by the priesthood of Mwari, the high God of the Karanga. At the death of a local chief, the aspirant went to Changamire and if Mwari duly sent his rain in blessing was treated with medicine and sent back with Changamire's men to proclaim him.(1) However, the paramount never had more than this veto over the appointment and the actual choice lay with the family and the people and perhaps the ancestors of the chiefdom.(2) The Mambo also manipulated the Mwari cult at Matopo hills. "By reserving this office (of the Eyes in the hierarchically structured cult organisation) for one of his kinsmen, the Rozvi rulers could use the valuable 'secret intelligence service' to serve their own ends."(3) M.L. Daneel claims that the influence and operations of the Mwari cult extended over all the southern Shona as far east as Chipepa and Melsetter districts while R. Mwanza restricted it to the Karanga country part of which is Duma.(4) As shall be shown later, the Rozvi Mambo's political, economic, and spiritual powers did not extend over the Duma. The Duma state was parallel and not tributary to the Rozvi empire. It was not even an Imperium inter imperio. The Duma had their own religion centred on the supernatural rainmaking power from God approached not through the priesthood of the Mwari cult at Matonjeni but through the spirits of Pfupajena's and Mhepo's ancestors. In this they were connected to Musikavanhu, the great rainmaker in Rhodesia.(5)

The whole misconception reached its zenith among historians with T.O. Ranger making 'sense of an important but obscure episode, the attempt at the end of 1896 to revive the Rozvi empire'.(6) He believed that the Rozvi Mambo succeeded in building a very highly centralised state. 'Even the idea of the power of the Mutapa was not then a completely dead concept in the 1890s. But much more vital and important was the memory of the second of the great Shona centralising experiments - the empire of the Rozvi Mambos'.(7) Where as it is not disputed that the legacy of the Rozvi empire played an important part in some areas where the Rozvi supremacy had been effective, the memory of the old men in 1890s might have included parts of Rhodesia which were outside the Rozvi empire and the Mwari cult's sphere of influence. Incidentally, the two Rozvi groups under Gumunyu and Jiri in exile in Duma did not rise. All citations above about the Rozvi empire were outside the Duma realm.


(1) Botelho, quoted by Sutherland-Harris in 'Tade and the Rozvi Mambo', described the confirmation system in the kingdom of Chisanga under Mutema in the mid-eighteenth century. In fact Mutema is Rozvi.


(4) Ibid. pp. 31, 53 - 54. Also see maps on pp 56 - 7. 'Spheres of the influence of the Mwari Cult'. Daneel thought that the cult became closely identified with the Rozvi rulers' and its sphere of influence spread with the expanding boundaries of the Rozvi empire. Mwanza, R., 'Mwari : the God of the Karanga', a paper discussed at the Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems, Lusaka, 31 August - 8 September, 1972. He also copied Daneel's map.

(5) Traditions collected by the writer in Musikavanhu country in December, 1969. Meredith, L.C., 'The spirit of Habota Murangadzwa', in NADA, 1925. Howman, E.G., 'A superstitious race', in NADA, 1966. This article was prepared by him towards the end of 1913 and the beginning of 1914 but was not published. Young, John, 'The legendary history of the Modi and Ngorima chiefs', in NADA, 1970. These citations indicate that Musikavanhu was very famous and influential as a rainmaker.


(7) Ibid. p. 9
Even the archaeologists have a share in the story. Roger Summers, for instance, says, 'The Rozvi, who as we have shown, were most probably responsible for the Phase IV buildings (1450 - 1830), managed to organise a general war against Monomotapa and his allies the Portuguese about 1700, taking over all of the present Southern Rhodesia and a good deal of the western part of Manhiqua and Sofala. Zimbabwe was ideally situated as a capital for this realm'.

Dr D.N. Beach trying to correlate the confusing archaeological data with the Portuguese records and oral tradition to form a more straightforward, understandable and coherent account, said, 'Since the Changamire rulers, next referred to in 1696 by Conceição as the conquerors who drove the Mutapa dynasty and the Portuguese from the Rhodesian highveld in 1693 - 5, subsequently ruled much of Rhodesia from the Matebeleland and stone capitals of Khani and Dhlodhlo, if it was inferred that they ruled the south from c.1494 onwards, although it was never made clear what part Zimbabwe played during this period.'

The study of Duma history might help in showing that Zimbabwe was already abandoned as a seat of the Rozvi Mambo by c.1650. The Duma arrived in then present country when the power of the Rozvi had moved west to Matebeleland. Archaeology in the name of K.R. Robinson suggested a date of c.1700 for the beginning of the Rozvi occupation of Khani runis. They were occupied by the Rozvi at least earlier than that. P.S. Garlake pointed out that the Khani culture was not a local variant of the Zimbabwe culture, as Robinson had suggested, but was in fact a succession in dating and in tradition to the earlier culture. Subsequently, Huffman supported what Garlake had said by showing that the Khani culture was a natural outgrowth of Zimbabwe's society and his examination of the Nyamabvefva ruins near Shabani showed not only pottery but also stonework that was transitional between Zimbabwe and Khani. He then said that Zimbabwe was virtually abandoned by c.1500 and the centre of the Ruins Tradition shifted to Matebeleland.

Bayao's 1644 expedition into Butua might be a pointer. Newitt, hesitating to attack Sicard in his thesis in 1967, came out with a stronger view in his recent book. Bayao, from Manica, undertook his most famous exploit - the march into Butua in the far south-west to restore a desposed Changamire on his throne who had appealed to him for military help. In his thesis, though he was hesitant, he believed that Changamire's empire before 1650, extended over modern Matebeleland and Midlands provinces of Rhodesia, but he then went on to make the same error that as a result of the 1693 - 5 war, 'Changamire alone flourished and the 'Zimbabwe' culture enjoyed the Indian summer before it was extinguished by Zwangendaba's Ngoni in the nineteenth century'.


(8) Newitt, M.D.D., 'Zambesi Prazos in the Eighteenth Century'. Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), London, 1967, p. 163. For his hesitation to attack Sicard, see his thesis p. 159. In fact Changamire was not referred to in 1654 by a Portuguese document relating to the Maungwe battle. The only earlier references to Changamire are in 1506 and 1547. The documents Newitt and H. von Sicard used do not mention Changamire in 1644 but Togwa. There are regular references to Togwa from 1506 - 1693 as the ruler of Butua - personal communication from Dr Beach.
It seems that there is no doubt that the Rozvi at some time moved from the Zimbabwe to Matebeleland, but the problem is to determine the date of this movement. Within the scope of this paper, the Rozvi power was no longer based on Zimbabwe when the proto-Duma under Zimutswi settled on Duma hill in the 1660s though building in stone continued on the ruins. This fact helps to establish the Duma independence from the Rozvi Mambo. The architects of the Duma state, Mutindini and Pfupajena, appealed to the Mambo in the far west in Matebeleland for military aid in the succession war that followed the death of Zimutswi in c.1681. The succession war ended before 1690 at least and soon after that the Mambo embarked on his military drive to the north against the Portuguese in 1693-5. It seems clear that after this war the Mambo did not go back to his one-time allies in Duma. After all the Rozvi knew that there was nothing attractive in the way of wealth and trade in Duma compared with Matebeleland and the newly acquired northern and eastern Mashonaland. The next time the Rozvi came to Duma was in the late 1850s and late 1860s when the Gumunyu and Jiri Rozvi groups respectively were fleeing from the Nguni.

This paper also attempts to contribute to the controversy over two theories explaining the foundation and development of African states, that is, divine- kingship diffusion vis-a-vis political evolution. The example of the Duma state shifts the controversy from states north of the Zambezi to Southern Zambezia. The divine-kingship diffusion theory explains the common origins of African kingdoms put forward by Oliver and Fage, Seligman, Murdock and Lucas. It has been ably challenged by I.N. Kimambo through his study of the Pare state in Tanzania. The theory is based on the generalisations that all African Kingdoms were essentially similar and that they can be commonly labelled Sudan states. These Sudan states were linked together by similar institutions connected with divinokingship or African despotism which developed in Egypt or Western Sudan then diffused through the rest of Africa. The evolutionist theory is a very plausible one, for it recognises that all peoples are capable of developing civilisation out of their own material and psychological environment. As Kimambo says, 'The main weakness of the diffusionist theory as applied to African states is that it is totally one-sided', because it fails to recognise the possibility of independent evolution (and, I add, innovation) in different parts of the continent.

However, Kimambo's endeavour to deny the conquest theory in toto is questionable. The second weakness of the diffusionist theory is that it tends to emphasise the "conquest theory", because in order to explain how political ideas could spread so evenly from Egypt to the rest of Africa, it is easy to imagine a "superior" group of people fanning out in "waves of conquest" rather than simple contact diffusion. (1)

(1) Traditions: 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26.
(2) Traditions: 8, 10 - 14, 27 - 23, 27.
(5) Ibid. p. 7.
(6) Ibid. p. 3. Kimambo does not claim to have demolished the divine-kingship diffusion theory, but competently challenged it through Pare history. What is being questioned here is his idea that the divine-kingship diffusion theory implies conquest and his attempt to deny the conquest theory in the rise of African states. Moreover, the two elements - divine kingship and conquest - are not necessarily united.
This is a gross oversimplification of the matter. Oliver and Fage were definitely wrong if they actually reflected such an idea as Kimambo claims when they said, "In many cases such states are known to have had their origins in conquest; in almost all other cases conquest must be suspected".\(^1\) For one thing there is no evidence of a group of people coming all the way from Egypt or Western Sudan reaching as far south as the Cape of Good Hope conquering and implanting the divine - kingship institutions. Reasons for the rise of conquest states must be seen in local political, social, economic, climatic and demographical factors, for example the rise of the Mwenemutapa,\(^2\) Rozvi,\(^3\) and Zulu\(^4\) empires and the Duma Confederacy.\(^5\) Although Kimambo says that diffusion cannot be refuted in a limited area, most of his conclusions are based on the study of a very small state of the Pare. Moreover, his utter denial of the conquest theory fails to recognise the remarkable qualities of military and political leaders of such military state architects as Mutota, Changa, Shaka and Pfupajena. The creators of the Pare state fell far below the military calibre of the above - mentioned conquerors and rulers. Furthermore, conditions in Pare country might not have necessitated conquest. Kimambo prefers conquest in the sense of assimilation. 'Conquest against the mythical "Wagalla" are mentioned, but the role of the leaders lies in the supernatural realm, and belief in their rituals is what boosted the exploits of the groups they were organising.'\(^6\) However, he had nothing to say about the role of Shaka in the diffusion vis - a - vis evolution controversy. 'In other African societies individuals who were good military leaders did also become political leaders. Shaka, the Zulu leader, is an outstanding example.'\(^7\)

The Duma Confederacy was both a divine - kingship and conquest state. However, the divine kingship institutions did not come from Egypt or Western Sudan, but were rather a result of contact diffusion. The Duma originated from the Mwenemutapa empire and the Teve Kingdom. They migrated through the Rozvi empire and ultimately received military assistance from the Mambo himself. All these predecessors of the Duma state were divine kingships. The illness and death of the Duma paramount

\(^1\) Oliver and Fage, A Short History quoted by Kimambo in A Political History, p. 3
\(^2\) Abraham, D.P., 'The Monomotapa dynasty', in NADA, 1959, 60. Maramucu: an exercise in the combined use of Portuguese records and traditions', in J.A.H., 1961, 212, thinks that the Mutapa empire rose out of the shortage of salt and/or the Arab traders encouraged Mutota to move to protect their trade routes.
\(^3\) Alpers, E., 'The Mutapi and Malawi political systems to the time of the Ngoni Invasions' in Aspects of Central African History, ed., T.O. Ranger, London, Heinemann, 1968, 9 - 10, suggested personal ambition as a more probable cause. Garlake, P.S. abandoned his earlier suggestion that the Portuguese severed the trade routes on which Zimbabwe's wealth depended - 'The value of imported ceramics in the dating and interpretation of the Rhodesian Iron Age' in J.A.H. 9, (1968), 30. He then suggested that the large state population of Zimbabwe so strained the natural resources of the region in terms of timber, grazing, game and soil that minor crop or climatic failure could lead to an ecological collapse that forced people to abandon the site - 'Rhodesia ruins', 507 - 8.
\(^4\) Abraham, 'The early political history', Changa was a despised inferior son who was later raised in the administrative machinery. He revolted against his brother Nyahuma in c.1490. On the later stage Changamire was invited by the Mutapa for help against the Portuguese and consequently Changanire's empire extended to the north and east after 1695 - Conceição quoted by Beach, 'Historians and the Shona empires', 29. The call for help was prompted by the Mutapa - Portuguese relations over a local situation.
\(^5\) Omer - Cooper, J.D., The Zulu Aftermath, Longmans, 1966, pp. 3, 30 - 42. Shaka was born in an age of expansion in Zululand, and population and livestock vis - a - vis available land were the leading reasons for the rise of Shaka to power.
\(^6\) The Conquest Duma state was born out of the succession struggle and war which put Mutindini and Pfupajena on the path of conquest.
\(^7\) Kimambo, A Political History, p. 7.
and their territorial chiefs were tightly and strictly kept secret from the public. The paramount also swallowed a round pebble (wvusha) to ensure long life and he had sexual relations with his sister or half sister to fortify him in his office. He never went out to fight in battle. His corpse was sunuTifled. These security measures are not peculiar to the Duma.

As a conquest state, it was established through the power of the sword arising from the succession struggle, but as for its consolidation, development and existence, political evolution and innovation proved more important than the sword. The marriage of Pfupajena to Nsusikavanhu's daughter, Mhapa, helped to keep the Confederacy united and thus solved the problem of geography. It also made easier the process of absorbing or assimilating foreigners, earlier and later arrivals in Duma country. They also evolved a very elaborate and more stable succession system, that is, father-to-son and separated the temporal from spiritual powers. This was a much more stable arrangement than the one operating in Uteve and reduced the chances of potential usurpers like Rukweza. Conquest is abhorred because of its connotation of forced or military occupation of a country, but Vausina has another meaning of the word, that is, the successful assimilation of one community by another. (1) The Duma conquered as well as peacefully incorporated groups of people. Innovation and evolution were results of the power of physical factors over the history of a given people. This does not seem to be at variance with Vausina's conclusion: 'A hypothesis involving multiple inventions, stimulated by contact diffusions and internal evolutions, seems to be the most appropriate one.' (2)

As has been endeavoured to be shown above and will be developed later in the paper, Duma history combine the conquest and evolutionist theories together. For it does not follow that conquest states are devoid of political innovations and evolutions. It also recognises the qualities of political and military leadership of Huliri ni and Pfupajena. It gives place to physical factors in shaping the history of a given people. It is the ability of military leaders to use the material and environment available to their advantage that makes them competent and successful political rulers.

Generalisations are dangerous, but migrations of African peoples are associated with Adamic figures and the Duma migration began with Zinyakawambé (the beginner) or Dumbukunyuka (automatically emerged from nowhere.) It was declared at a meeting that whoever managed to cross a sea (gungwa) with a burning stick in his hand would become a ruler (ishe) (3) It is not remembered exactly where, when and why this meeting was held, but several informants mention vaguely the country around Tete. (4)

The Duma claim, which is widespread, to be the descendants of Hwenemutapa cannot be verified. (5) According to the genealogy, the time of this event was well before c.1500 if we assume c.1531, the year of Zinyakawambé's death, to be about correct. This was also within the expansionist era of Mutapa Matopo, 1450 - 80, when he transformed Mutots kingdom into a veritable empire with its

(1) Vausina, Jan, The Kingdoms of the Savanna, Wisconsin, 1968, p. 18
(2) Ibid. p. 36
(3) Traditions: 3, 9 - 10, 12 - 16, 19. Traditions of sea-crossing might stress remote origins. It does not follow that sea - or river - crossing as feats of endurance are factual. A. Isaacman's comment is interesting that, given a limited number of possible victories by supernatural means over natural environments, such as Nyamhita Nehanda's division of the Zambezi waters by magic need not have had a missionary origin in traditions.
(4) Traditions: 3, 8, 10, 14.
(5) Traditions: 10, 32 - 33, 40. Hwenemutapa's references in Duma might come from school text books.

Maungara confessed that he had read the information from a book.
eastern boundary as the Indian Ocean. (1)

We are a bit on surer ground when Zinyakavambe and his descendants were in Uteve, though it is not known whether they were the ruling family within the Teve dynasty or which part of Uteve they ruled perhaps as territorial rulers. One thing is clear, that is, they were rulers of some sort in Uteve. (2) Judging from João dos Santos' description of the succession system and the fact that the Sachiteve could marry as many as a hundred wives, it was possible that they participated in succession struggles that occurred in the country. (3) Whatever was the case, the Portuguese took part in succession struggles that were so common in Teve politics as shall be seen below.

The leader of the future Duma from Uteve was Chikosha (4) who left Uteve some time between the death of his father in about 1621 and 1645. We should look at this period in Uteve and find out whether or not political, social and economic conditions were conducive to emigration by potential breakaway groups. The Teve rulers had split from their Mutapa overlords in the sixteenth century and the Mutapa-Portuguese treaty of 24 May, 1629, which marked the highest water-mark of Portuguese pressure, penetration and influence in the Mutapa empire, did not actually apply in Uteve. However, though the Sachiteve was initially able to maintain his precarious independence from the Portuguese, some time in the 1630s, he was forced to call on Sisucando Dias Bayão for military aid in a succession war. (5) H. von Sicard gave c.1635 as the date for the Teve wars in Enqitas. (6) Another royal struggle flared up around 1640 when dissident members of the royal family of the Sachiteve forced 'King Berenha to abdicate his throne'. (7) In desperation Berenha rewarded Bayão with Cheringoma, formerly Gobira. In 1644 the Portuguese intervened again on the side of the Sachiteve against a certain chief Sakandema. The result of the war was the baptism of the Sachiteve with the Christian name, Sebastiao, and his promise to regard himself thereafter as a vassal of Portugal. (8) Oral tradition has it that when Sachiteve Goredema died, his sons Muriyani and Chikosha were embroiled in a succession war. (9) Chief Nkanganwi told me that Chikosha remained in Uteve after the death of Chimanya, but after some time bitter hatred developed between him and Mariya, the ruler of Uteve, which led to war after which Chikosha left and settled at Mbire. (10)

(1) Abraham, 'The early political history', 61 - 91.
(2) Traditions: 3, 5 - 6, 8, 10 - 16, 23, 26, 29 - 30.
(4) Informants are unanimous on this point except some Rukweza descendants who champion the leadership of their ancestor. Summer, Notes, p. 69, uses Chikosha as the starting point in drawing his genealogical trees. See also pages 2 - 3, 10 - Notes. Sn. Aquino, 'The tribes'.
(6) Sicard, 'Tentative chronological tables,' in NADA, 1946.
(8) Theal, RSEA, vol 8, p. 490 - A section dealing with 'Abstract of Documents' relating to South East Africa from 1569 - 1700.
(9) Tradition : 26.
(10) Tradition : 8.
Perhaps the Sachiteve's younger brother disapproved of his elder brother's 1644 policy towards the Portuguese and fled to Chikanga's country. (1) Sr. Mary Aquina was convinced that this fleeing younger brother was Chikosha. "From there (Chikanga's country) the Duma migrated to Domboshawa near Salisbury and then to Marandellas where Changamire then had his headquarters, and from then finally to Chipinga and Nelsetter." (2)

We might explore the situation in Uteve a little further. The ceded parts of Uteve - Chiringoma and Chupanga - were converted into huge prazos. Isaacman, writing about prazo formation, said that the fissiparous tendencies within the surrounding states also offered an excellent opportunity for prazeros and other inland Portuguese to ally with the disenchanted local chiefs who sought independence from their respective sovereigns. This was particularly common when a minor chief felt oppressed or when a conflict with his superior jeopardised his position. In such circumstances he offered his land and his people to an aspiring prazero and gave away his allegiance in return for land. (3) In the case of Chikosha, he did none of Isaacman's alternatives but drifted away from the Sachiteve and the Portuguese into the interior.

Only one informant told me of slave trade as the cause of Chikosha's emigration from Uteve. (4) However, it is interesting to note that slave trade between Brazil and Mozambique started in 1644. The prazeros along the Zambezi had now a new source of wealth. The Batonga and Makalanga who were made captives were considered as worth so many maticals of gold a head. (5) Slave trade could not have been so deeprooted and wide-spread as to frighten potential emigrants away by 1645.

There is another side of the coin to the story. Above, reasons have been sought in war, but Portuguese trade activities had something to do with Chikosha's decision to leave Uteve. Several informants, especially the older ones, say that they left Uteve because of the Hutevera hune makoko mumakumbo (white people with boots who went from village to village) importunately asking people to sell to them gold and ivory. They were such a nuisance that Chikosha decided to leave to avoid trouble. (6) Therefore, the above analysis shows that 1630 - 45 was not an altogether peaceful period and Chikosha, probably among other emigrants, left the country.

The route of migration is not precisely known but it seems that they remained for some time in a country they call Tsvanzvira around Rusape. From there they came to Mbirè which seems to have been a meeting place for many migrants for example they met Gutu, Ziki and Nyashanu there. After the death of Chikosha about c. 1651, Zimutswi, his eldest son, assumed the leadership, and he, together with his brothers Rukweza, Neondonwe and Rineshanga and their children left Mbirè. According to the Duma claim, they were joined by Gutu, Ziki and Nyashanu. (7) They travelled through the present Hera country and crossed the Dewilli river just below the Dewilli - Chiwaka junction. (8) It should be remembered that migrations were in stages. The migrants lived in a place for some time before leaving

(1) Sr. Aquina, 'The tribes'. The text can be questioned because it is definitely wrong that a Chikanga of 1645 was the son of Mutapa II. Furthermore, the Mutasa title was not adopted until the nineteenth century.
(2) Ibid.
(4) Tradition: 5
(6) Traditions: 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26. Informants confuse Uteve and Hutevera; the latter is treated as a country.
(7) Traditions: 3, 5 - 6, 8, 10, 12 - 14, 23, 26, 32 - 33, 40.
(8) Traditions: 8, 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26, 32 - 33, 40; Also see map (3):
for another area. Sr. Mary Aquina's route taking the Duma across the Sabi is mainly championed by Rukweza's descendants seeking an independent route because they suffer from a guilty conscience on what happened later when Rukweza caused the succession war. (1) The part played by Gutu and Nyashanu cannot be discussed with confidence since evidence came from the Duma only.

All along this time, the migrants called themselves Karanga and thought that they were travelling through the Karanga kingdom. Their clan name changed when they reached the future Duma hill. In those days no person afforded not to live on a hill for fear of surprise attacks and wild animals. This hill had a very big cave called Madaitizwe in which they sheltered themselves. They said to themselves - 'We are being covered' (l'dumaidzwa) by the cave and from then on they called the hill Duma which also became the clan's and the country's name. (2) Incidentally, the name of a hill in Duma also becomes the name of the person living near it. For instance, the headman living at the foot of the Chirorwe hill is called Nchirorwe and other examples are Nepurwe, Neppungudzi, Nerumedzo, Nemerai, Nzungayi, Nchipinda, Nendanga, Nerugoti etc. He is possessive, that is, he owns the hill. So the owners of Duma hill became the Duma people, and their country Duma. (3) Sumner has other explanations (which are not worth mentioning) of the origins and meaning of the word Duma, but there is no doubt that its meaning and origins lie in the above explanation. Technically, all those who sheltered in Madaitizwe cave in Duma hill are Duma, but the name has come to be identified with the descendants of Chikosha who were the leaders. The date of their arrival at Duma hill in the Nyarungwe range was the 1660s.

There were three phases of dispersion before the wave of migration died down and the Duma state was established. The first phase came when Rineshanga drank water from a pool in which a human corpse was floating. (4) Zimutswi, Ziki and Rukweza refused to have anything to do with Rineshanga who was all in all a cannibal and they left Duma hill. Nedondonwe did not want to leave his brother alone, but went to live nearby Chirorwe hill. Rineshanga remained at Duma with his children: Zibzvii, Qukaru, Chikokwe, Maharwa (Mupfumbu) and two daughters; Ndirerwa and Sirambi. (5) Chamagande (Ziki) settled on Ubvume hill near Chibvunani ruins; Zimutswi, Rukweza and their sons: Mutindini, Pupajena, Mambawu, Masunzi, Mangazva found another hill with an automatic cave but much smaller than Duma hill and Madaitizwe cave and they called this Chidumana (small Duma) (6) and near it was a large bare rock which they called Dombo re Mutava where they dried their meat and which they used as their court. Ziki and Nedondonwe but not Rineshanga were allowed to meet there for discussions.

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(1) Sr. Aquina's informants were all descendants of Rukweza-Marunye, Shumba Chekaiy and Mugabe.
(2) Traditions: 3, 5 - 6, 8, 10, 12 - 16, 23, 26, 29 - 30, 32 - 33, 37, 40, 51.
(3) The writer's observations in the field confirm this point.
(4) Traditions: 8, 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26, 32 - 33, 40: Mupfumbu's area around Duma hill is called Madyavanhu (Cannibals' country.) Pfumayi does not hide this episode. His importance in Duma history today is to keep alive the story of Rineshanga's drinking from the pool in which a human corpse was floating. He reminds all the Duma that their first home was Duma hill and not Chidumana which is remembered by most informants today. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the drinking - from - the - pool incident, but its effect as the trigger to the first phase of Duma dispersion.
(5) Traditions: 37. This shows that the migrating group was much larger than informants remember.
(6) Duma is very much larger than Chidumana. I saw both of them and was able to confirm the point.
The second phase came as a result of the death of Zimutswi in about 1681 at Chidumana and the succession struggle that followed between Rukweza on the one hand and Mutindini and Pfupajena on the other. Rukweza should have acted before Zimutswi's eldest son Mutindini took over, but he usurped the leadership completely. Mutindini and Pfupajena naturally accused him of bewitching their father in order to assume the leadership. Rukweza had many sons and Mutindini, Pfupajena and Mamawu could not hope to win without external military aid even with the help of Ziki. Mutindini remained hiding in the present Charanba's country while Pfupajena and Chamagande travelled far and wide looking for an ally. Rukweza shifted from Chidumana and settled at Musunganyemba hill very close to Mandadzaka school. Pfupajena finally reached a great mambo's country with many people far west in modern Matebeleland. He won the alliance by lifting a three-year old drought when a lot of rain fell. The Mambo ordered one of his generals Chapungu to command his detachment. Rukweza was captured on Chirorwe hill and the tiny valley where Chapungu camped below the Chirorwe hill is still called Chapungu to this day. This was before 1685 and according to what was said above, the Rozvi Mambo had abandoned the Zimbabwe. After the capture and death of Rukweza, Chapungu did not wait to see through the settlement of the succession crisis. Mutindini then assumed the leadership.

The third phase of dispersion came about as a result of the death of Rukweza. His sons fled to different parts of Duma, Masunzi to Banbanima hill in Matsai; Mangazva to Gutu; and Nyajena to Chiredzi. Mutindini left Charanba's country and settled on Ushava hill, and Pfupajena on Mhuvanga and Gandauta hills in Zaka. The importance of the succession crisis is that it put Mutindini and Pfupajena on the path of conquest and in the process bringing back under their control their runaway brothers, Masunzi, Mangazva and Nyajena and aliens who were already in the country. The ideas for conquest did not come from Egypt or Western Sudan, but from the succession crisis, a local factor. Ziki shifted from Ubvumbe to Bedza hill. At this stage however, the leaders had not yet established their state.

It is time we turn to the earlier occupants of Duma before the Duma arrived. Very few Duma informants confess that there were Bantu people in the country when they occupied it. They mention the Bushmen variously called Masiri, Mandjonoepi, Zigaramapako whom they chased away to areas further south. The human corpse floating in the pool from which Rineshanga drank water is said to be that of a Bushman. It is doubtful that the Bushmen were still in the country at the end of the seventeenth century. There is evidence of Bushman occupation of the country. Bushman paintings were discovered in 1926 by Williams in Iram Farm in Zaka district, and I saw some near...

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(1) Traditions: 8, 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26.
(2) Traditions: 12 - 13, 26. More informants recall that there was a succession struggle but only the oldest men remember in detail Pfupajena's expedition to the Mambo to seek military help and the war that followed.
(3) It cannot be said that Mutindini assumed the throne at this stage because they had not yet established a state. Moreover, the migratory wave had not died down.
(4) Duma informants see no danger in saying that they were preceded in the occupation of the country by Bushmen because their predecessors cannot come back and claim their country from them. The fear is based on the Rozvi's recent removal from Bikita to Gokwe.
(5) The Bushmen generally equate with Stone Age cultures radiocarbon-dated to the first part of the first millennium or earlier. There are also no Portuguese records on the Bushmen.
Negovano school in Bikita district. The first raised an argument between those authorities who thought that the paintings were the work of Egyptians and Miss D.F. Bleek who said that they were the work of the Bushmen for they did not differ from similar Bushman paintings in South Africa. (1) Even if few Bushmen still lingered in Duma, the old idea that the superior Bantu race drove away the inferior Bushmen when the two races came into contact has long lost ground in preference to co-existence between them whilst the bulk of the Bushmen moved on.

There were vaera shoko (monkey), vaera shiri (bird) and vaera shumba (lion) scattered in very small groups on the hills when the Duma came. (2) In my witch-hunt for pockets of these original occupants, I failed completely to locate even one. The Duma assimilated these original settlers politically where possible but they retained their totems as the in-laws of the Duma. For example, Ziki Chamagande absorbed the vaera shumba (mhari) on the Mhari hill behind Chitasa Township and regarded their leader Mutumuri as a brother but was killed by Chamagande when he tampered with the latter's wives during his visits back to his relatives at Mbire. Nangazva (founder of the Chiwara dynasty) absorbed the vaera shiri; Munguwi managed to do the same to the vaera shiri and vaera shoko in Harawe; Murinye and Chibwe assimilated the same groups of people in Boroma and Jiri areas respectively. Intermarriage and promise of protection against invaders were very useful weapons used by the stronger incomers. But the Duma were resisted for a time by such people as the Nyarungwe now under Hove vaera moyo in Zaka and Njube by the Ngaemwevaera shumba in Zimbabwe country. (3)

Later arrivals who were absorbed by intermarriage with the Duma and the operations of their rain-making connections with Musikavanhu were Ndanga (muera gumbo), Mutsimba (muera n. enga), Mubungare (muera shoko), About Nyakunuhwa (muera shoko) Mbire, it cannot yet be established whether he was a later or earlier arrival. Later arrivals who were completely assimilated were Masuka (7) and Norumedzo (8) who changed their totems and praise names and adopted those of their rulers. Ziki did the same but he had taken part in the actual creation of the Duma Confederacy and was then taken to be one of the Big Four Duma chiefs, in fact, holding a position higher than that of their blood relative Mabika on the Mandara hill. Ziki was third in command.

Another pointer to the fact that Duma was occupied by a Bantu population is the presence of stone ruins at Chibvumani and Ruvizhe hills in Bikita, Runya ni ruins in Zaka, Bovoro and Birizhou ruins near Chief Shumba Chekayi's court and the Valley of Ruins in Chief Murinye's country, the latter possibly in greater number and significance than those in the Valley of Ruins at Zimbabwe. These

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(1) Miss Bleek, D.F., 'The Ndanga rock paintings', in NADA, 1927. She was an honorary lecturer on Bushman language to the University of Cape Town.

(2) Traditions: 32 - 33, 40 on vaera shumba in Ziki's area; 34 on vaera shiri and vaera shoko in Matsai; 35 on vaera shoko and vaera shiri in Chiwara, Chikwanda, Murinye and Chibwe countries; 39 on vaera moyo in Matsai.

(3) Sr. Aquina, 'The tribes'.

(4) Tradition: 44

(5) Tradition: 1

(6) Untape - recorded interview of Dondi, a relative of Mubungane. They were absorbed politically and retained their totems.

(7) Tradition: 45

(8) Traditions: 17 - 20, 24.
have been called matare (courts) which Shumba Chekayi wrongly claimed that they were built by the
Duma. The Great Zimbabwe was on the periphery of the study area till Mugabe wrestled it from
Nemanwa in the early part of the last century. These ruins were not built by the Duma no matter
how some of them claim the responsibility. Sr. Aquina, researching in the area where Bogomas had
been assured in 1962 that the Duma built these ruins, learned in October 1963 from the old men that
'when the ancestors of the present inhabitants (Duma) arrived, they found the stone structures
already built, but they used them for their own purposes'.(2) Most of my informants attribute
the feat to the Bushmen and not their ancestors.

Therefore, it is not correct to drag the Duma into the controversy over the builders of the
Great Zimbabwe or any other ruins.(3) About the Zaka ruin with walls similar to those of Period IV
(1450 - 1830) 40 miles east of the Zimbabwe, dates 1495 + 50 and 1695 ± 55 were established. But
Garlake, writing about the limitations of the Radiocarbon 14 dating technique, radiocarbon 14 dates
of the sixteenth or seventeenth century may be nearly two centuries more recent than the Calendar
dates while radiocarbon 14 dates of the twelfth century may be well over a century older than
their calendar counterparts. Thus the Zimbabwe radiocarbon date of 1075 ± 50 may correspond to a
Calendar date of about 1210 ± 150 and the radiocarbon date from the Zaka ruin may correspond to a
Calendar date of about 1520 ± 55 (4) Oral tradition dates become increasingly accurate as
Radiocarbon dates become unreliable. However, the Zaka ruin was already built well before the
Duma occupied the Duma country. Pfupajena, the great traveller and fighter, is said to have
reached Zimbabwe but had no use for it. If the Duma had a tradition of stone building, their most
obvious place to have constructed such a building was on Mandara hill which was their capital and
shrine. But they simply erected a pole - and - daga (mud) hut - zami - with two entrances, one
for the spirit mediums and the other for ordinary people.(5) Even the territorial chiefs' capitals
were not built in stone, Bedza for Ziki, Bambaninga for Mgbika, and Dezaurwi for Budzi. Ziki and
Budzi did not even use Ruviizhe and Chibvumani ruins respectively in their countries.

The Lemba have also been drawn into the picture as the builders of the stone buildings at
Zimbabwe and other ruin sites. 'Since they are so closely connected with the Venda, a Rozvi offshoot,
It may be that the Lemba provided the technical skill while the Rozvi provided the administrative
drive.(6) Within the study area there are several Lemba groups: Tadzembwa under Chief Shumba Chekayi;
Chekure under Chief Chiwara in Gutu; Majiri under Chiefs Murinye and Nyajena. It seems from D.C.
Chigiga that these Lemba groups arrived in their present areas when the Duma chiefs had already

(2) Sr. Aquina, 'The tribes'.
(3) The racially stereotyped so - called Zimbabwe - Mystery controversy is for the most part dead
and buried with no hope for its resurrection. Bogomas tried to drag the Duma 'into the controversy
with the hope of contributing to it' by studying the graves and matare (ruins) in areas
inhabited by the Duma near Zimbabwe.
(5) Traditions: 8, 10, 14 - 15, 32 - 33, 40.
established themselves and they won favoured positions at the Duma royal courts through marriage or ability to forge metal tools. Perhaps, other Lemba groups built ruins within the study area, but not the above groups.

Through my attempt to locate a pre-Duma pocket of people, I stumbled over the Mudzami story which does nothing else but indicate that the Duma occupied a country that had been settled by a Bantu populace. When the Mutsimba group settled in Mudzami area on the permission of Mazungunye Nheva after 1866, a great terrific wind periodically visited the area uprooting trees upside down and causing havoc. Mutsimba inquired from the Muga who advised him to order his son Chimuswe and his daughter Ndaniwa to have sexual relations and then rule that area which was to be called Mudzami, the name of the original occupants who did not want their country to be occupied. This, having been done, the terrific wind never came again up to this day.(2) Yet the founders of the Duma state never saw these Mudzami people whose country was very near the headquarters at Mandara.

The above analysis about the earlier occupants of Duma shows that there had been an Early Iron Age Bantu layer of people before the arrival of the Shona speaking Later Iron Age people - the Duma.

Within the scope of this paper, it is to be regretted that the history of the Early Iron Age Bantu people in Duma is still at large. However, we can only speculate that they built in stone and were mixed agriculturists. As for their culture as a whole, they belonged to the Zimbabwe culture that existed in c.1200 - c.1500 (3) They most likely declined with the decline of the Zimbabwe itself.

We can write something about the pre-Duma settlers who were actually found inhabiting the land by the Duma. Politically, they recognised some kind of organisation which emphasised kinship ties with a political and ritual leader whose position was hereditary. He connected his followers to the ancestors who founded their group. They had achieved political development to such an extent that some of them, for instance, Nyarungwe and Nemanwa, resisted for some time the incoming invaders. Even the groups which were easily absorbed by the Duma had recognised a leader, for instance, the vaera shumba, vaera shiri, vaera moyo and vaera shoko who were scattered and much smaller groups. This means that when the Duma arrived they did not impose their rule on a politically inert and disorganised populace. Some of them were militarily advanced to match the Duma. Religious needs were at the heart of political development of these people.

After the succession war, Pfupajena and Mutindini for the next decade (1685 - 1695) embarked on the conquest of the scattered people. Pfupajena travelled far and wide. In one of the forays to the south he reached the Indian Ocean and brought back sea-water and saw the white men for the first time. He was the general on the field while his elder brother was the leader who remained at home. The conqueror people are not identified and the country was sparsely populated. The Duma informants

(1) Chigiga, D.C., 'A preliminary study of the Lemba in Rhodesia', presented for discussion at the History Conference at the University of Rhodesia, September, 1972.
(2) Tradition 47.
(3) Garlake and Huffman are agreed that the old Zimbabwe Periods III and IV should be regarded as one phase, dated c.1200 - c. 1500.
(4) All informants are agreed that Pfupajena was a great fighter and traveller.
claim that the Duma state reached as far north as Mount Darwin and as far south as Natal. Very popular heroic songs among the Duma showing their historic pride are Harina Mugano; Baya sabaya, mukono unobaya dzose (The Duma general is the bull which kills all others); Gwindingi Ishumba inoruma (He is a lion) and several others. For our purposes, the first one is of more paramount interest.

Harina Mugano - The country is boundless
Ngara Pfupajena - It belongs to Pfupajena
Nyika Dzose Dzose - All countries
Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena
Mugano ndi Nyazvidzi - The boundary is Nyazvidzi river
Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena
Mugano ndi Save - The boundary is the Sabi river
Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena
Mugano ndi Tokwe - The boundary is the Tokwe river
Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena
Mugano ndi Miti - The boundary is the Limpopo river
Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena

The Duma informants do not mention any other border except the Sabi for obvious reasons, but the non-Duma informants, especially the vazukuru mention all the boundaries. However, Mutindini and Pfupajena had effective control over the area shown on the map bound by the Sabi, Devuli, Tokwe and the Lundi and the northern reaches of the Lowveld. In the songs Pfupajena is praised more than Mutindini. The reason was that it was Pfupajena who fought while the leader Mutindini remained at home carrying out day-to-day administrative and court work and protecting the country. Pfupajena was also the one who delineated the country and stationed his relatives at strategic places as border posts (kuvakica), making them territorial rulers for example, Nyajena, Chiwara, Makore, Mabika, Ziki, Budzi and during the time of Gochedza and Gundiro, 1711-41, they stationed Chipenda, Bota and Makaure (Chipinda); during the period of Zimunga and Chivizhe (1741-71), Murinye and Chibwe were placed in Boroma and Jiri areas respectively. This is probably the time when Nuroyi, Mushaya, Dzoro, Dezeza; Chipenzi all in Zaka district were placed in their respective area.

During the time of Fundiro and Chisowa (1771-1801), Shumba Chekayi and Mugabe were allocated areas near the Zimbabwe. Lugabe later invaded the Nemanwa on the Zimbabwe for the occupation of the ruins in about 1820. The story that Gundiro and Mugabe left the lower Sabi Valley on hearing that the Rozvi had been driven out of the Zimbabwe by the Nemanwa assisted by Charumbira is untrue and intended to boost and legitimize his claim to the possession of the Zimbabwe.

Just before 1700 an interval invention occurred to unite all the people within the young state more firmly. This was a step essential for political consolidation after initial expansion for the

(1) Sumner, Notes, p. 4.
(2) Tradition: All Duma informants mention a much larger country than the writer conservatively thinks they had effective control over. Non-Duma informants mention boundaries which have been thought more likely. Also see map (1): 'The Duma Confederacy'.
(3) People like Chipenzi now living in Zaka district were moved from European farms.
(5) Ibid.
past decade. Potential centrifugal tendencies were not unlikely. The young state was sprawling in extent and according to the physiography of the country and the settlement pattern, it was difficult to travel through the hills. Communications were over extended. Another method of welding or cementing the scattered people together was mooted and this proved more powerful and effective than the power of the sword alone. However, it should be understood that Mapinduzi and Pfupajena did not know that the latter's marriage would be a unifying factor in Duma Confederal politics. Pfupajena would grow old and die and as it happened, his successors did not match him in resourcefulness and military leadership.

The physiography of the study area(1) very well suited the settlement pattern and requirement of the Duma; that is, protection from potential invaders and wild animals was paramount over the soil types and water supply. Fortunately, water supply was not a problem. They had few livestock and cultivated very little. Meat of hunted animals was consumed more than cereal food. The study area is the eastern part of the great Sabi - Limpopo basin, west of the Sabi. It is drained by the Sabi - Lundi river system comprising the Lundi and its tributaries - Tokwe, Mitikwe and Chiredzi and the Sabi with the Turuli, Mukwasini and Devuli rivers. The fall from the divide to the Sabi and Lundi river valleys is very gentle, and the granite country which constitute the major portion of this area is gently rolling with kopjes. Very broken peaks have been left as in Fort Victoria, Lundi and Bikita hills. In the low veld the area is extremely flat, the basalt, paragnesis and other formation all conforming to the pattern with only a few broken areas widely spaced.(2) The soils are mostly the infertile derivations from granite except a few small areas(3).

Therefore, in such a broken country, the marriage of Pfupajena to Mhepo, daughter of the greatest and most famous rainmaker in Rhodesia can only have importance if interpreted in the sense that rainmaking became the most unifying element in the Duma Confederacy. It served too to absorb the later arrivals like Norumedzo and Masuka completely(4) and those who resisted complete assimilation like Ndanga, Nyakunuhwa, and Nyarungwe could not do without the rainmaking blessings of the

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(1) See map (2): 'The Physiography of the Duma Confederacy'.


(4) Norumedzo informants claim that Nemeso was in fact the first born of Pfupajena and Mhepo and therefore, had it not been for Nemeso's deformation (four eyes), he would have succeeded Pfupajena as Mazungunye and not Gundiro. Nemeso was given the delicious beetles (harurwa) by his maternal uncle, Musikavanhu - Traditions: 17 - 18, 20, 24. Ndanga claimed to be the Duma's hosi, that is, he received all gifts from non-Duma chiefs, for instance, Gutu and Chibi, and carried them to Mandara, Tradition: 44.

Masuka claimed that those messengers sent to ask for rain from Musikavanhu passed through him because Pfupajena and Mhepo slept at Masuka's village when coming from Musikavanhu - Tradition 45. Mabika said that Zanguwad had married Ndwiwani, Mhepo's elder sister, and Pfupajena knew about Mhepo's silence through Zangure - Traditions: 41 - 42.

Ziki claimed that he was the messenger and this is supported by many informants - Traditions: 8, 10, 12 - 16, 32 - 33, 40. This shows that many people aspired to be important in the religious hierarchy, thus enhancing political unity.
Duma and therefore had to exist within their political framework. Pfupajena, before marrying Mhepo, could make rain in his own right, but Nyamusetwa, son of Nyakuvimba, in addition to bestowing his daughter upon the Duma general, gave her rainmaking powers which proved more powerful than her husband’s.

Mhepo demanded from her husband permission to settle on a hill from where she could see her father’s village and the sand on the Sabi. The only hill that fulfilled her wish was a small hill which was then onwards called Mandara. Pfupajena built a zaki with a spring of water inside so that she did not travel to fetch water. Incidentally, geographically, Mandara hill is more or less centrally situated in relation to the nucleus of the Duma state.(1) It became the headquarters of the state and four stone seats were placed on Mandara for the most senior chiefs: Mukanganwi, Mazungunye, Ziki and Mudunguri (Habika). The size of these seats indicated the order of seniority, for instance, Mutindiri sat on the highest while Mudunguri sat on the smallest. Mutindini also led the acent on Mandara followed by the other three in that order and then followed by the minor Duma and alien chiefs, servants and commoners. Makaure was the messenger and Pfupajena, being the war general and younger brother of the paramount, was the spokesman of Mutindini. Everything had to pass to and from Mutindini through Pfupajena (murandu). This is where they assembled and carried out sacrificial ceremonies for rain.(2) This is the ushe hwezvibwe (kingship of stones.)

After this marriage, Pfupajena became known as Mazungunye, that is, whoever heard his name shivered because he shook the heavens for rain and the world with his sword. Mutindini also rewarded him for all his heroic services by allocating to him a specific country to rule directly to enjoy the fruits of his labour. This also served to take the wind out of the soil of an over mighty brother who was easily a political danger. Another result of his career was the separation of temporal from spiritual powers. Mutindini became the overall temporal authority of the Duma Confederacy and his descendants (Mukanganwi house) inherited this role. Pfupajena became the overall spiritual svikiro of the state and this role became hereditary in the Mazungunye house. It was another political device because it helped to curb chances for succession struggles between these powerful houses. However, this set-up was later confused by the Administration and gave rise to the serious struggle for seniority between them which is still raging today.(3) When Mutindini died, Pfupajena installed Mutindini’s eldest son, Gochedza, as the confederal ruler and when Pfupajena died, Gochedza enthroned Pfupajena’s son, Gundiro, as Mazungunye. This system has continued to this day, and succession struggles developed within these houses and not between them. The succession system was from father - to - son and the Mukanganwi house, maintained it until Gopoza’s death in 1956.(4) From c. 1700 therefore, we can speak of the Duma state centred on Mandara hill which was its capital and shrine where even non-Duma chiefs on the periphery of the Duma state came

(2) Traditions: 8, 10, 12 - 16, 23, 26, 29 - 33, 35, 40 - 42, 44, 59, 61.
(3) The struggle for seniority is outlined by Sumner, Notes, p. 99. This has directly or indirectly led to Mazungunye Padzisayi’s secession from the Bikita Council, believed to be dominated by Mukanganwi; and formation of his own. 4----X----1972.
(4) See genealogy and notes on it.
to ask for rain, for instance, Nyashanu, Gutu and Chibi.

After the deaths of Mutindini, Pfupajena and Mhepo, it was the duty of Mazungunye to ascertain when necessary sacrifices were to be made on Mandara. The chiefs Nyashanu, Chibi and Gutu who had learnt of the rainmaking powers of the spirits of Pfupajena and Mhepo came to Mandara. Two huts for the two spirits were built, the sacrificial beer being placed in that of the latter. Nine cattle were sacrificed, eight of which were slaughtered by Chipinda. He wounded the ninth called Mapene which was driven off, chased, killed and eaten by the poor people and servants. After rites had been performed, gifts were offered to and received by Mukanganwi who gave directions on the management of public affairs and admonished the territorial chiefs on the discharge of their duties.

The decision to declare war on the Dumbuseya on the western bank of the Sabi was made on Mandara hill as recently as about the late 1820s. Mukanganwi was not present to preside over the emergence meeting because that was the time of the woman regency of Munamba (1801 - 31) during Chingweru's minority and exile in Boharara.

On the remaining topics - Duma religion, trade and agriculture - which buttressed and boosted Duma politics, brief notes will be written as bases for future longer and more comprehensive papers on each of them. The Duma religion was centred on the supernatural rainmaking powers of Pfupajena and Mhepo and ultimately Musikavanhu. Musikavanhu's rainmaking power had a lot of influence which extended over a wide area including Duma. Its influence and power can be evaluated against that of the Mwari cult at Matonjeni. Nyakuvimba, the father of the first Musikavanhu, Chedoo Nyamusetwa, was a Rozvi who stole the rainmaking charm (gona remvura) from the Mambo at Mbire. He was tracked down and killed by the Rozvi but his sister Chape escaped with the charm which she later handed to Nyamusetwa. From the very beginning, therefore, the Musikavanhu dynasty was an out - and - out enemy of the Rozvi. It changed its totem moyo to dziya (pool or hippopotamus) and Musikavanhu rulers do not drink water of the Sabi river, or cross it on foot because they believe that Nyakuvimba's head dropped into it from a spear where it was stuck.

So when the Duma became the sons-in-law of Musikavanhu, the spirit of Mhepo was also an enemy of the Rozvi. Because the spirit of Mhepo was more powerful and effective than Pfupajena's in making rain, the Duma rulers took a black and white pieces of cloth joined together (gungwe) to Musikavanhu to propitiate her spirit and ultimately of Musikavanhu, that is, if and when Pfupajena's spirit had failed to make it after the necessary sacrificial ceremonies had been carried out on Mandara. The Duma never appealed to the Mwari at Matonjeni for rain as exponents of the extent of the Mwari cult's influence among the southern Shona seem to imply. Nor did Zvenyika remember correctly that Makore in Gutu collected cattle as gifts to Mwari and drove them across the Sabi to Musikavanhu who in turn took them to Matonjeni and would ask for rain on behalf of the whole country.

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(1) Posselt, Fact and Fiction, p. 31.
(2) Traditions: 28, 31 - 33, 40, 59 The Dumbuseya invaded the eastern part of Duma before the Nguni era.
(3) Traditions: 10, 14 - 15. Mazungunye mentioned the woman regency as an indication of weakness within the Mukanganwi dynasty. Yet, it was a mark of strength and courage of a woman to maintain the traditional father-to-son succession system.
(4) Traditions collected by the writer, December, 1969. Posselt, 'The story of Nyakuvimba'.
(5) Ibid. The problem now is to evaluate Musikavanhu's influence vis - a - vis the Mwari cult among the southern Shona.
The Mwari cult was brought into Duma by the Rozvi groups fleeing from the Ndebele some time during the third quarter of the last century. The Mwari messengers operated in Duma but were not taken seriously by the Duma especially by Mazungunye. The new Mwari cult did not displace the Duma religion, but it operated mainly among the Rozvi themselves. They continued to and still appeal to Musikavanhu. Although conditions had changed, the following quotation shows the attitude of Mazungunye and some Duma chiefs and headmen towards the Mwari cult. 'I fortunately arrested the man (Mwari messenger) before he had done much harm as he had only interviewed one chief Mazungunye who refused to have anything to do with him and would not even kill a goat when requested. He interviewed several headmen whom I subpoenaed, and they corroborated one another's statements as to the man's mission.'

According to the Duma they were the most important spiritual satellite of Musikavanhu. They looked to the east and not to the west. If the Rozvi Mambo dominated many Shona chiefdoms through his control of the Mwari cult, this kind of spiritual dominance did not extend over the Duma and the Ndau around Musikavanhu.

The economy of the Duma, as of any other Shona groups was subsistence based on mixed agriculture and some trade. As to trade there was both external and internal trade. The former was based on the most important Duma item, ivory, which was taken to Bwanye (Buene Island) and Chiloane Island near Old Sofala. This external trade benefited a minority of the people. Every elephant tusk belonged to the chief which he sent to Bwanye. A chief also used a tusk as his pillow or when his corpse was being embalmed. Territorial chiefs called Madumburanzou (cutters of elephants) were allowed to keep tusks for themselves. They sent their own messengers to Bwanye. All those who were not Madumburanzou reported the killed elephants to the central authority who took the tusks. However, the chief's control over the possession of tusks was limited due to communications, extent of the country and geography, and therefore, some hunters simply evaded the law and took the tusks to Bwanye. This was the case, especially along the Sabi river; later arrivals of the Nguni era from the end of the 1820s, descendants of such chiefs as Nutema, Musikavanhu and Mapungwana who had fled to and settled in Duma owed more allegiance to their fathers than to their Duma rulers.

Another way the civilians obtained tusks was when a chief paid lobola for a wife. Rhino horns were also accepted at Bwanye. The Duma exchanged their ivory for cloth (zvikukwe), beads (migoroza), a few hoes and few guns. Pieces of cloth, hoes and beads were used for lobola because they were scarce and hence valuable. Guns were used to fire shots in the air after the installation of a new chief and beads were put around his neck as a medal. Bwanye was also where the Duma first learnt to work for Europeans and not Giri (South Africa) and later the Rand and Rhodesia. They collected a rubber substance and exchanged it for cloth, or hoes.

The Duma knew about Bwanye because their ancestors had left Uteve when the Portuguese were...

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1. All informants are unaware of the existence and operations of the Mwari cult in Duma unless they are asked directly about the cult.
2. N/A/R, Acting Native Commissioner, Holland, A.I., to Chief Native Commissioner 2—111—1904. The messenger's mission was to inquire why people had not reported the Government's killing of dogs and why they were paying more attention to the Government than to Mwari. They would be killed by the Government as it did the dogs.
3. All informants confirm the existence of the Bwanye - Duma trade.
4. Tradition; 7
5. Traditions: 12 - 13, 23, 26. This story of rubber collection at Bwanye is recalled by the oldest of my informants.
trading along the coast. They also knew about it through their contact with the Dondo under Musika-vanhu. The trade with the east coast began as soon as the Duma had been established because Pfupajena sent his son Nhuma to Bwanye (1) and Mudunguri (Mabika) went there before the death of his father Zangure who died before his return.(2)

There is a problem over the significance of Buene and Chiloane Islands near Old Sofala. It seems these two islands inherited their trading activities from old Sofala. The history of the trade hinterland of these islands must be looked into, especially for their ivory - beads - cloth hoe trade. When Sofala's gold trade declined after 1505, Sofala remained a trading centre of some importance for some time, a role which was later assumed by Buene and Chiloane islands. The impression got from historians of Mozambique is the nicely calculated trade advance from Sofala northwards in response to the political and economic developments in the interior.(3) When the Sofala gold trade declined after 1505 as the Zimbabwe had already declined, the Portuguese abandoned Sofala and went to the Zambezi Valley and immediate Mutapa domains leaving a trade vacuum at Sofala. Here again, after the 1693 - 5 war they left Mutapa's country for the Narayla country with its port at Quelimane. This can be questioned as the trade hinterland of Buene and Chiloane islands was very large and this trade network existed right up to the end of the Nguni period and was displaced by the itinerant traders, establishment of stores, South African and Rhodesian mines and farms.

Whilst on external trade there is another problem about mining in Duma. Duma is poor in mineral wealth except for copper and tin at Umkondo Mine and Bikita Minerals respectively. The Mining Commissioner for the Victoria Province reported in 1902 that there were copper and coal deposits near the Western bank of the Sabi river.(4) All these copper claims had been worked by Africans. The southern deposits at Maillanga along the Chiedzi and at Rupangwani very close to the west bank of the Sabi might have been worked by the Hlengwe(5) before the arrival of the GaZa. The history of mining in this area cannot be known without research among the Hlengwe of Tsavani themselves. At present we may be concerned with the Mukondo copper mine within the area effectively controlled by the Duma. The true Duma never mined copper at Mukondo but Nebinduko mwe ra shava (eland) from the Nyashanu family who settled in the area and began to work the mine.(6) The Hera were more advanced in the mining as they were neighbours of the Njanja. The Duma carried out some mining at the Nyuni hills,(7) but on a much smaller scale than the Hera and the Njanja. The Duma were

(1) Tradition 15(a): The story of Nhuma going to Bwanye and bringing back pieces of cloth is remembered as a sohg Bwaya nenaschira (He has come with pieces of cloth,) normally sung by old women. When Nhuma returned home, Pfupajena summoned all people to lliandara to see the wonderful things Nhuma had brought from Bwanye.

(2) Traditions: 40 - 42: Whilst Mudunguri was away to Bwanye, his two eldest sons Nhema and Anjikayi tampered with his wives and they were barred from succeeding to the throne of Mabika.

(3) Newitt, The Zambezi Prazos in the Eighteenth Century pp 52 - 72. Newitt, Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi pp. 32 - 47. Isaacman, The Africanisation of a European Institution pp 11 - 13 Dr Beach said that this hinterland of Buene and Chiloane islands also included Gutu and Bohera countries.

(4) N/A/R, LO 4/1/11, A.A. Heyman's report for the year ending 31-11-1902. It included a map of the mineral claims. For minerals, see map 2: 'Physiography of Duma'.

(5) The Hlengwe are of Tsonga origin and were in their present areas before their conquest by the Shangaan - Nguni. Hlengwe and Shangaan have been wrongly used interchangeably by Europeans just as Ndau and Shangaan have been. Since the term Shangaan is so ambiguous, it should be ditched in preference to Ndau and Hlengwe.

(6) Traditions: 29 - 33, 40.

(7) Tradition 35 and Sumner, Notes, p. 7.
very serious importers, a very ready market for metal goods, but they have been male exporters of copper by Sutherland - Harris(1) and Dr. H. Bhila(2) producing a surplus along the Sabi river for the Manica fair. 'Copper also came to Manicaland by 1788 (presumably for local consumption) from the Duma, six days away. They were in the Sabi Valley probably until 1850 when they moved near Zimbabwe'.(3) The vaera shava produced rings, bangles and few hoes for local consumption around Mukondo itself.(4) It is not known by Masuka and Ziki, the territorial rulers of the Mukondo mine area. The latter chief about twenty miles away from Mukondo mine, knows very little of the mining and manufacturing activities there.(5)

The Duma could not have exported copper when there was such a ready and insatiable market for it and metal goods. It might be possible that the vaera shava exported to and through chiefs Mutema and Musikavanhu, but the question of surplus still remains unanswered. Mutema had his own copper mines. In Chisanga 'their arms are bows and arrows; they have blacksmiths who make their implements for agriculture, knives etc. They possess copper mines, out of the produce of which they work rings and bangles'(6) The Duma imported copper and iron ores and hoes from Njanja. They also made knives, axes and arrows from the no - longer - usable remnants of metal hoes (zvisarima). They used more wooden hoes (magumokumo) and wooden arrows (matuhwa) than their metal counterparts. The Duma rulers would have quickly and unhesitatingly taken control of Mukondo if and when they had learnt of its importance as the producer of the vital metal. There is no possibility of the mine being kept secret.(7) Even the copper or iron mine on the Nyuni hills did not produce enough even for the Chikwanda area, and they supplemented their produce with imports from the Njanja. Sutherland-Harris was misled by Mugabe's statement that the Duma were in the Sabi Valley till 1850 when they moved near the Zimbabwe. Even if the point of copper reaching the Manica fair from the Duma was mentioned in a Portuguese record, the information might have been received from African traders who used Duma as a means to conceal from the Portuguese where the copper actually came from. All informants tell me that the Portuguese never came into Duma and thereafter that record must have been based on second-hand information. The Duma-Bwanye trade route was overland and they 'followed the sun'(8) and the journey to and from Bwanye lasted for about one and half months and not twelve days(9).

Moreover, their most important trade item was ivory and not copper.

Mudziwo Mabika, because of the lack of the technical know - how, happily welcomed and bestowed his daughter for marriage to Ngungungu nicknamed Mapfurashanga (maker of rings) muera shumba from Nutamba(10) He was also given the Jota country west of Mashoko Mission and made rings.

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(1) Sutherland - Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo'.
(2) Personal Communication.
(3) See footnote (1)
(4) Traditions: 29 - 33, 36, 40, 56.
(5) Tradition: 40 I could not interview the direct descendants of Nebinduko because they live in the Devuli Ranch. Seeing them would entail seeking permission from the owner of that property.
(6) Senhor Ferao, Captain of Sena, giving an account of the Portuguese possession within the the Captaincy in Theal, RSEA, vol. 7, p. 377.
(7) N.M. Bhobe suggested that the situation might have been similar to the secrecy that veiled the mining operations at Messina copper mine - personal communication.
(8) Every Informant on the Duma - Bwanye trade route.
(9) Senhor Ferro, in Theal, RSEA, vol. 7, p. 377 said that King Mutemba's court Ngaone was fifteen days from Sofala. Therefore, we might say that the journey from Ngaone to Mandara might have taken 4-5 days and the whole journey from Mandara to Bwanye might have lasted for 20 - 25 days.
(10) Tradition: 39 Chief Nabika Nwuyandiani agreed with this evidence.
and bangles at Nyamunyu and Guse hills, but the ore was not strong enough to make hoes, axes, arrows, spears and knives. The sphere of the Njanja hoe was very large for it extended as far south-west as Chibi or even beyond(1) as well as the whole of the Duma state. The Njanja might have been more likely to supply the Manica fair with copper for pieces of cloth and beads than the Duma.

Internal village-to-village trade was more important as it benefitted and was carried out by the majority of the populace while external trade benefitted only the rich and ruling class and a few adventurers. There was a lot of economic interdependence from village to village, from natural area to natural area and from natural region to natural region. As for clothing, people used tanned skins of goats and small wild animals. There were women who specialised in making blankets (makudza) and bags (makumbu) from baobab and mupfuti bark. Some tanned skins and bartered them. Some made baskets, arrows, axes, spears, rings and bangles. There was a good deal of specialisation.

From the dry areas such as the west bank of the Sabi came a very vital commodity, salt, which was in great demand in the higher and wetter areas. My informants in the latter parts where inferior salt was made from musekesa, mupfuti, mushangidze and majekacheka said that the Gova(2) were their God because they supplied them with a superior kind of salt variously called munyu webare, fesa or gumbu. The Gova mostly bartered their salt and dried meat for grain since their country was often drought-stricken. Wild animals were more plentiful there than in the hilly and wetter country. The salt also reached the Njanja for hoes, and Chikwanda for grain. Specialisation necessitated economic interdependence. For instance, makers of rings and bangles exchanged their articles for blankets or bags; weavers of fishing nets or hunting nets might exchange their nets for arrows or axes.

Cattle became important in the Duma economy only after the European Administration had introduced its Game, African Marriage, Labour and Tax Laws and the advent of the ox-drawn plough and western education. Milk was consumed in both its forms and cream was used as oil for the people's bodies. Cattle were only useful for ancestral sacrifices and were slaughtered for meat only on rare occasions when the chief had died and a new chief was being installed or when a male household had died. They were not considered as a symbol of wealth or currency(3) because they were almost completely useless on a day-to-day lives of people. In Duma cattle were few even before the raids of the Nguni era.(4) Many informants say that the Gutu and Heras were richer in cattle than the Duma and this is where the Gaza Nguni got most of the cattle they took to Gazaland. The good cattle country of today west of the Sabi Valley and the south were sparsely populated before the

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(1) Untape - recorded interview of an old woman at Chimbeça Farm, Nyahunda Purchase Area. She is the aunt of the present Chibi in Chibi district. The Nhari bought Njanja hoes.

(2) Gova does not refer to an ethnic group, but it is the name given to people who live in the low-lying country on either side of the Sabi river. For the traditional economy along the Sabi Valley, see Roder, Wolf, The Sabi Valley Irrigation Projects, Chicago. University Press, Chicago, 1965, pp. 42 - 72.

(3) Senhor Ferao, in Theal, RSEA, vol. 7, p. 377 said that the people of Chisanga possessed many cattle which were their currency. This view has been taken up by Europeans because Africans are reluctant to part with their cattle. This is due to the fact that cattle have become very important in the African economy after and before the twentieth century.

(4) Every informant expresses this view.
Gaza Nguni period. The hilly country of Duma seems to have been free from the tsetsefly. (1)

As for arable farming, types of soil were unimportant. Protection was paramount in determining the settlement pattern. (2) The Duma were, however, one of the unfortunate people. They were supposed to have used the sandiest soils because the majority of them used wooden hoes. The cultivators of the red soil belts of Mazoe were better off because they used metal hoes. The Duma ancestors had used these hoes in Uteve and during their migration, but their descendants had to adopt the wooden hoe in a different environment. The wooden hoe was used until after European Occupation, that is, it was not displaced completely by the metal hoes from Bwanye and Njanja.

The system of cultivation was called Chibakera which was very similar to theciteisne system of the Bemba in Zambia. The chibakera system involved cutting of branches of trees, piling them on the ground and burning them for the ash and then cultivation by the hoe. The origin of the word chibakera (fist) is not precisely known and is a very widely used term. It is used too beyond the limits of Duma. However, its meaning and origin must revolve around the following; it epitomised the hard work involved, similar to fighting; it also implies how the farmer handled the axe and the hoe. The word became more meaningful when the chibakera system was compared in the twentieth century with the new, faster and easier ox-drawn plough technique. They system also involved making ridges (mhanje) down the slope to drain excess water; but the surprising thing is that these ridges were made throughout Duma even in flat and dry areas, for example the western bank of the Sabi and the south. However, the study of the Duma agriculture system shows that it was a gradual adaptation by the Duma'society to the differing environment and this is a success story.

Different environments necessitated local innovation and modification of the system they had known for a long time. Allan's ideas about the African systems of agriculture in general are important. "The traditional land use systems of Africa are adopted to the limitations of their environments, as any viable system of agriculture must be -- as communities of men changed -- to an increasing dependence on hoe cultivation - they acquired a working knowledge of the soils they used and a means of recognising and distinguishing them --. All the cultivating people did acquire -- a large body of unwritten knowledge -- The 'shifting' cultivator has an understanding of his environment suited to his needs. He can rate the fertility of a piece of land and its suitability for one or other of his crops by the vegetation which covers it, and the physical characteristics of the soil and he can assess the 'staying power' of a soil, the number of seasons for which it can be cropped with satisfactory results and the number of seasons for which it must be rested before such results can be obtained again. In many cases, his knowledge is precise and remarkably complete" (3)

(1) Dunbar Woodie wrote in his diary about the country between twelve and sixteen days' march from Fort Victoria that there were many people, looking well-off, and having many cattle, goats and sheep. The country was good. On 11.XI.1892 he was assured by Africans that the whole country between the Sabi, Fort Victoria and the Transvaal was free from tsetsefly. This was obviously untrue but his horses and donkeys had waxed fat from Fort Victoria - Woodie, G.B.D., The Undoubted, pp. 74, 78 - 9.

(2) This seemed to be the general criterion determining the Settlement pattern among the Shona. This has been studied in detail by Palmer, H.H., The Making And Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890 - 1936, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), London, 1966, pp. 18 - 32. An abridged version of the thesis was published in the Central African Historical Association Local Series No. 22 as 'Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy, 1890 - 1936', Salisbury, 1968.

Allan's ideas can be applied to the Duma. The prevailing system of shifting cultivation which was an element of the Chibakera system made agronomic and economic sense. Agronomically, it was a concession to the nature of the soil and the limited efficiency of the implement. As has been pointed out above, the soils in Duma were very poor on the west bank and the south and even soils on the hills do not appear well suited for intensive cultivation except a few small areas. (1) But at all times most Europeans believed that the system of shifting cultivation was 'destructive' and seriously depleted the soil. It now appears to be appreciated that 'in fact, under the system of shifting cultivation, a relatively sparse population was in ecological balance with its environment'. (2) It was rotation of land, and the Duma, among others, do seem to have moved their villages from time to time though within the same locality. The wetter and more fertile hilly areas of Duma produced a surplus to support their more unfortunate brothers in the dry and infertile Sabi and southern areas. The staple crop was finger millet (rukweza) on the wetter areas whilst the staple crop for the dry areas were the drought-resistant millet and sorghum cereals (mhunga and mapfunde). Some maize was planted in vleis which ripened sooner than the staples in the main fields. Cereal cultivation was supplemented with hunting, fishing, honey collection, roots and wild fruit. Fields were naturally small due to the employment of wooden hoes in particular and the operation of the Chibakera system in general.

In conclusion, the paper attempted to show that the Duma were an important people who achieved much by building a centralising experiment, independent politically, religiously and economically of the Rozvi Mambo. It was a primary state, that is, it was established out of local factors and not through some external stimuli such as trade. Though it was a conquest state it did not lack evolutions and inventions essential for its consolidation, unity, development and existence.

He was cited by Ranger as the most important people who has made a breakthrough in the study of agricultural systems of Zambia - Ranger, T.O., 'The agricultural history of Zambia', (The Historical Association of Zambia), 1971. This paper was the revised version of a lecture delivered to the History Teachers' Workshop at the University of Zambia, August, 1970. (1) For soils see Thompson, 'The soils of Rhodesia', for natural areas and regions and the types of agricultural activity most suitable to them, see Vincent and Thomas, Agro-Ecological Survey: Part I.


Lord Hailey, quoted by Allan, The African Husbandman, p. 3, said, 'Shifting cultivation is less a device of barbarism than a concession to the character of the soil'.

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**NOTES ON THE GENEALOGY**

It is very likely that Mutindini and Pfupajena were praise names rather than the first names which have been forgotten. Mutindini means I am the magic that protected Pfupajena in his travels and war. Mutindini is the shortened version of Mutindini. Pfupajena literally means, 'Let your bones lie bare if necessary in war.' The Mutindini house became known later as Mukanganwi as a result of Zjinga's famous forgetfulness of his vana - subjects (relatives and aliens) who had become very many as the Duma Confederacy was then farflung. The Mukanganwi dynasty retained the father-to-son succession system until 1956. Zjinga's
first born Mushanduri was barred from succeeding his father because he had tampered with his father's wife. So Fundiro, the next eldest son, assumed the throne after Zimunga. After Fundiro's death there was a very hot succession struggle engineered by Mushanduri, Napodyore, Chiwumburu and Musukutwa against the minor Chingweru, the eldest son of Fundiro. Chingweru fled to and was granted asylum in Bohera where he lived in exile for a very long time. Fundiro's sister Munamba challenged her brothers and became a regent until there was a very severe drought whereupon Chingweru was recalled to take over the throne. He earned his second name Kutevere (He who has been recalled.) He got his third name Rising when Gumunyu handed a tailless bull (Risina muswe) to Chingweru by which he asked for refuge from the Ndebele. It must be emphasised that Gumunyu did not buy land as there was no concept of buying and selling land. Svosve succeeded his father and he lived for a very long time during which he installed six Mazungunye rulers - Nhema, Gotoori, Masikati, Matswayne, Rutsate and Mufundisi. Gopoza did in 1956 without male issues and Magwere of the Chiwumburu house which had never supplied a Mukanganwi claimed the succession right. Magwere acted till his death in 1958 and his younger brother Mapanga became chief.

The Mazungunye house retained the father-to-son succession until Gutuza after which it became collateral - Gutuza usurped the throne from his elder brother Bakiwa who took over after the usurper's death. The father-to-son system was resumed when Nhema succeeded his father, but after Nhema it became collateral until today.