

UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA : DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

HENDERSON SEMINAR NO. 23

THE RISE OF THE DUMA CONFEDERACY, *1700 - 1800:

A STUDY OF AN AFRICAN STATE IN SOUTHERN ZAMBEZIA.

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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. Sumner 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(4) except the Rufura vaera - gumbo (totem - leg) and the Mbire vaera - shoko (monkey) under chiefs Ndanga and Nyakunhwa 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(5). 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(6) in Uteve, and Chirandu is merely emphasis (dupo) on the totem heart(7) Sahayi Chirandu is used by the Duma chiefs and their families, Mukanganwi, Muzungunye, 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. Mamvura Mavi (dirty water) was adopted by Chiefs Chiwara 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 Svasve who died in 1938. 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 Murinyo, Shumba Chekayi and Mugabe in Fort Victoria district; Murambwi (the rejected) by Chiefs Nyajena and Bota in Chiredzi and Zaka districts respectively; and Sapiye by Chief Nhema, a recent creation when the Mazungunye chieftainship was split between Matsika and Matswange 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 Zambezia have concentrated on the Mwenemutapa and Rozvi empires and the Ndebele 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) As for the Administration, even when the Assistant Native Commissioner, Ndanga, was called upon to record the history of the people in his district, A.T. Holland only blamed the Karanga for their laziness, their unwillingness to go to work for Europeans and their over -

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- (1) Sumner, H.E., Notes on the Duma People of the Victoria Province, Fort Victoria, 1972, p. 14.
 - (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 Munyanyiwa 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.
 - (3) Doke, C.M., Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects (Presented to the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, Government of Southern Rhodesia), 1931, p. 32.
 - (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.B.D., The Undoubted: The Story of the Moodie Trek and the Early days of the Melssetter 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. Sumner 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 Delineation Reports, they 'vary from comprehensive to meagre, from reliable to doubtful'(4). Mr Sumner, realising that a comprehensible 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

- (1) Holland, A.T., A/N/C, 'History of Ndanga District' in N/A/R, N3/33/8, History of the Mashona Tribes (1903 - 4)
- (2) Every informant, whether Duma or non-Duma, ended the interview by singing these heroic songs.
- (3) The following have a bearing on Duma history: Possett, F.W.T., Fact and Fiction, Bulawayo, Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co, Ltd., 1935, pp 30 - 32. 'The story of Nyakuvimba and the Princess Mepo' in Fact and Fiction, pp. 194 - 97; also in NADA, 1929. Bundu, 'Waduma ceremonies', in NADA, 1938. Sicard, van H., 'Tentative chronological tables', in NADA, 1946. Sandes, 'Zvenyika remembers', in NADA, 1955. Gumphrich, D., 'Ziki, chief of the Duma, the succession ceremony', NADA, 1959. Bogomas, E.V.M., 'New light on the mystery of Zimbabwe', in NADA, 1962. Murombo, 'Old Bikita', in NADA, 1963. Sr. Aquina, Mary, O.P. 'The tribes in the Victoria reserve', in NADA, 1965. Sumner, H.E., Notes on the Duma People of the Victoria Province, Fort Victoria, 1972. NADA is the Native Affairs Department Annual which began in 1923. The most important and useful sources are the last two.
- (4) Sumner, Notes, p. 107.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) H.E. Sumner to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 28 --- IV --- 1972. Work on the Duma had in fact been commenced by the writer from 1 ---- IX ---- 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 Zambezia fell under the rule of the Mambo. 'The Rozvi leader, Changamira, 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.(1) 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 Bayão's expedition into Butua in 1644, Butua 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 Tindall(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 Mutapa Empire said about the outcome of the 1490 war that Changamire proclaimed himself king of the southern and central provinces styling his new state vUrozvi 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 formed 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)

(1) Tindall, P.E.N., A History of Central Africa, Longmans, 1968, p. 52.
 (2) Wills, A.J., An Introduction to the History of Central Africa, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. 27.
 (3) Gann, L.H., A History of Southern Rhodesia, Early Days to 1934, Chatto & Windus, London, 1965, p. 25.
 (4) Sicard, van H., 'A proposito de Siswando Dias Bayao', in Studia 16, quoted by Newitt, M.D.D., The Zambesi Praios in the Eighteenth Century, Ph. D. Thesis (unpublished), London, 1967, p. 159.
 (5) See map: 'The Kingdom of the Mwenemutapa and its neighbours c.1500', in Tindall, A History, p.30
 (6) See map: 'The interior at the time of Fernando's journeys, 1512 - 14', in Wills, An Introduction, p. 20.
 (7) Abraham, D.P., 'The early political history of the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa, (850 - 1589)', in Historians in Tropical Africa, Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-Collegiate History Conference, September, 1960, ed., E. Stokes. (Salisbury: University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962), 81 - 91.
 (8) Interviews of the Rozvi informants - not tape-recorded.
 (9) Sutherland - Harris, N., 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo', in Gray, R., and Birmingham, D., ed., Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa Before 1900, *London*

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 Chipinga 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 oldmen 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.

University Press, London, 1970, 243 - 64.

- (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.
- (2) Jenkinson, J.N., 'Maranke installation', in NADA, 1959. Gelfand, M., 'The great muzukuru: his role in the Shona clan', in NADA, 1966.
- (3) Daneel, M.L., The God of the Matopo Hills; An Essay On the Mwari Cult of Rhodesia, Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1970, p. 24.
- (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 Mabota 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.
- (6) Ranger, T.O., Revolt in Southern Rhodesia - A Study in African Resistance, Heinemann, London, 1967, preface, IX.
- (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', (1)

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 Khami 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.' (2)

The study of Duma history might help in showing that Zimbabwe was already abandoned as a seat of the Rozvi Mambo by c.1650 (3). 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 Khami ruins. (4) They were occupied by the Rozvi at least earlier than that. P.S. Garlake pointed out that the Khami culture was not a local variant of the Zimbabwe culture, as Robinson had suggested (5), but was in fact a succession in dating and in tradition to the earlier culture (6). Subsequently, Huffman supported what Garlake had said by showing that the Khami 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 Khami. He then said that Zimbabwe was virtually abandoned by c.1500 and the centre of the Ruins Tradition shifted to Matebeleland. (7) 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. (8) 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!" (9)

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- (1) Summers, Roger, Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery, Nelson, 1965, p. 105.
 - (2) Conceicao, da Antonio, 'Tratado do Rios de Cuanva', in Chronista de Tisuary, ed., J.H. da Rivara, 14(1867), 39 - 45, 63 - 9, 84 - 92, 105 - 11, quoted by Beach, 'Historians and the Shona empires: 6
 - (3) Evidence from traditions to be given later in the paper.
 - (4) Robinson, K.R., Khami Ruins. Cambridge; Cambridge, 1959 p. 121.
 - (5) Robinson, K.R., 'The archaeology of the Rozvi' in The Zambesian Past, ed., Stokes, E., and Brown, R, Manchester: Manchester, 1966, 20 - 21.
 - (6) Garlake, P.S., 'Rhodesian ruins - a preliminary assessment of their types and chronology', Journal of African History (J.A.H.) 12,4 (1970), 505.
 - (7) Huffman, T.N., 'The rise and fall of Zimbabwe', J.A.H. 13,3 (1972) 353 - 66.
 - (8) Newitt, M.D.D., Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in the East Coast, Longmans, 1973, pp. 53 - 4.
 - (9) ~~Newitt~~, M.D.D., The Zambezi 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 1674 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 - 1683 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.(1) 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.(2)

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.(3) It has been ably challenged by I.N. Kimambo through his study of the Pare state in Tanzania.(4) 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 divine kingship 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.(5)

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.'(6)

(1) Traditions: 10, 12 - 13, 23, 26.

(2) Traditions: 8, 10 - 14, 17 - 23, 27.

(3) Oliver, R., and Fage, J.D., A Short History of Africa, Penguin, 1962, pp 44 - 52; Seligman, C.G., Races of Africa, 3rd ed., London, p. 85; Murdock, G.P. Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History, New York, 1959, pp. 36 - 37, 39; Wescott, R.M. 'Ancient Egypt and modern Africa', J.A.H. 2,2 (1961), 311 - 21; and Lucas, J.O., The Religion of the Yoruba, 1948, quoted by Kimambo, I.N., A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania c.1500 - 1900, EAPH, Nairobi, 1969, pp. 1 - 10.

(4) Kimambo, A Political History, pp. 1 - 10

(5) Ibid. p. 2.

(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 Mumbo himself. All these predecessors of the Duma state were divine kingships. The illness and death of the Duma paramounts

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- (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. Maramba: 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. E. Alpers, '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, 1(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.
 - (3) 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 Changamire'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.
 - (4) 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.
 - (5) The Conquest Duma state was born out of the succession struggle and war which put Mutindini and Pfupajena on the path of conquest.
 - (6) Kimambo, *A Political History*, p. 7.
 - (7) *Ibid.* p. 7

and their territorial chiefs were tightly and strictly kept secret from the public. The paramount also swallowed a round pebble (mbwe youshe) 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 mummified. 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 Musikavanhu's daughter, Mhepo, helped to keep the Confederacy united and this 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 Mutindini 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 Zinyakavambe (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 Mwenemutapa 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 Zinyakavambe's death, to be about correct. This was also within the expansionist era of Mutapa Matope, 1450 - 80, when he transformed Mutot's kingdom into a veritable empire with its

(1) Vausina, Jan, The Kingdoms of the Savanna, Wisconsin, 1966, 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 Nyamhika 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: 'Mwenemutapa's references in Duma might come from school text books. Maregere 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 Zinyakvambe 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 Sisundo Dias Bayão for military aid in a succession war.(5) H. von Sicard gave c.1635 as the date for the Teve wars in Enquitas.(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 Sakandemo. 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 Muriyami and Chikosha were embroiled in a succession war.(9) Chief Mukanganwi 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.

Summer, Notes, p. 2, says that this is supported by statements in both the files and delineation reports and the Duma formed a breakaway group.

(3) Fria Santos, dos João, 'Eastern Ethiopia', in Records of South-Eastern Africa (RSEA), vol. 7, ed. Theal, G.M., Cape Town: Cape Government, 9 vols., 1878 - 1903, 191 - 194.

The succession system in Uteve was neither father - to - son nor collateral, but a combination of both depending on the wish of the ruling Sachiteve. His choice could be vetoed by his many principal wives, each one of whom wanted her son to succeed.

(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. Aquina, 'The tribes'.

(5) Newitt, The Zambesi Prazos, p. 241.

(6) Sicard, 'Tentative chronological tables,' in NADA, 1946.

(7) Issacman, F. Allen, The Africanisation of a European Institution, The Zambesi Prazos, 1750 - 1902. Wisconsin, London, 1972, p. 20.

(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 Chikasha. '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 Melsetter.'(2)

We might explore the situation in Uteve a little further. The ceded parts of Uteve - Cherin-goma 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 disenchanting 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 Chikasha, 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 Chikasha'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 Chikasha'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 Chikasha decided to leave to avoid trouble.(6) Therefore, the above analysis shows that 1630 - 45 was not an altogether peaceful period and Chikasha, 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 Mbire which seems to have been a meeting place for many migrants for example they met Gutu, Ziki and Nyashanu there. After the death of Chikasha about c. 1651, Zimutswi, his eldest son, assumed the leadership, and he, together with his brothers Rukweza, Nedondonwe and Rineshanga and their children left Mbire. According to the Duma claim, they were joined by Gutu, Ziki and Nyashanu.(7) They travelled through the present Hera country and crossed the Devuli river just below the Devuli - 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.

(3) Isaacman, The Africanisation, pp. 20 - 21.

(4) Traditions: 5

(5) Theal, RESA, vol 8, pp. 489 - 90.

(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' (Iadumaidzwa) 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 Nechirorwe and other examples are Nebarwe, Nepungudzi, Nerumedzo, Nemari, Nezungayi, Nechipinda, Nondanga, Nerugoti etc. Ne 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 Chikocha 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 ^{at} nearby Chirorwe hill. Rineshanga remained at Duma with his children: Zibzvii, Garukaru, Chikokwe, Maharwa (Mupfumbu) and two daughters; Ndirerwa and Sirambi.(5) Chamagande (Ziki) settled on Ubvume hill near Chibvumani ruins; Zimutswi, Rukweza and their sons: Mutindini, Pfupajena, 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.

(1) Sr. Aquina's informants were all descendants of Rukweza-Marunye, Shumba Chekayi 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.(1) Rukweza had many sons and Mutindini, Pfupajena and Mambawu could not hope to win without external military aid even with the help of Ziki. Mutindini remained hiding in the present Charamba'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 Matabeleland'(2) 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.(3)

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 Bambaninga hill in Matsai; Mangazva to Gutu; and Nyajena to Chiredzi. Mutindini left Charamba's country and settled on Ushava hill, and Pfupajena on Mahuvanga 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 Ubvume 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.(4) They mention the Bushmen variously called Masiri, Mandlonerepi, Zvigaramapako 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.(5) 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

(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 millenium 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 vaero 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 Mutumburi 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. Mangazva (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 Mugabe by the Nemanwa vaera 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(4) (muera gumbo), Mutsimba(5) (muera n. enga), Mubungane(6) (muera shoko). About Nyakunhwa (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, Runyami ruins in Zaka, Bovororo 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.(1) 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 1485 ± 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 Mabika, and Dezaurwi for Budzi. Ziki and Budzi did not even use Ruvizhe 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

(1) Bogomas, E.V.M., 'New light on the mystery of Zimbabwe', in NADA, 1962.

(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.

(4) Garlake, 'The Zimbabwe ruins re-examined', in Rhodesian History, vol 1, 1970, 17 - 29.

(5) Traditions: 8, 10, 14 - 15, 32 - 33, 40.

(6) Summers, Roger, Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery, Nelson, 1965 p. 95.

established themselves and they won favoured positions at the Duma royal courts through marriage or ability to forge metal tools.(1) 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 Nhema after 1866, a great terrific wind periodically visited the area uprooting trees upside down and causing havoc. Mutsimba inquired from the Uganga 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(4) He was the general on the field while his elder brother was the leader who remained at home. The conquered 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.(1) Very popular heroic songs among the Duma showing their historic pride are Harina Mugano; Baya wabaya, mukono unobaya dzose (The Duma general is the bull which kills all others); Gwindingwi 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

Ngera Pfupajena - It belongs to Pfupajena

Nyika Dzose Dzose - All countries

Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena

Mugano ndiNyazvidzi - 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 ndiTokwe - The boundary is the Tokwe river

Ngedza Pfupajena - They belong to Pfupajena

Mugano ndiMiti - 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(2). However, Mutindini and Pfupajena had effective control over the area shown on the map bounded 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 Chikwanda, 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 Muroyi, Mushaya, Dzoro, Dekeza, Chipenzi all in Zaka district were placed in their respective area.(3) During the time of Fundiro and Chisowa (1771 - 1801), Shumba Chekayi and Mugabe were allocated areas near the Zimbabwe. Mugabe later invaded the Nemanwa on the Zimbabwe for the occupation of the ruins in about 1820.(4) 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(5) 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) Summer, Notes, p. 4.

(2) Tradition: 9: 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.

(4) Robinson, 'The archaeology of the Rozvi', 3 - 26.

(5) Ibid.

past decade. Potential centrifugal tendencies were not unlikely. The young state was a jarring 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 Mutindini 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, Mtilikwe and Chiredzi and the Sabi with the Turwi, 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, paragneiss 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, Nyakunhwa, and Nyarungwe could not do without the rainmaking blessings of the

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

(2) Vincent, V., and Thomas, R.G., An Agricultural Survey of Southern Rhodesia: Part 1: Anglo-Ecological Survey, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, 1961, pp. 7 - 10. They give outlines of the physiography of the whole country. Soil types are discussed briefly.

(3) For a more detailed and thorough analysis of Rhodesian soils, consult Thompson, J.D., 'The Soils of Rhodesia and their classification', Ph. D. Thesis, Natal University, Pietermaritzburg, July, 1965, published by The Rhodesian Agricultural Journal as Technical Bulletin No. 6. Both these publications have very useful maps.

(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 Gundiwo. 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 Zangure had married Ndiwani, Mhepo's elder sister, and Pfupajena knew about Mhepo's silence through Zangure - Traditions: 41 - 42. Ziki claims 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 zazi 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 (Mabika). The size of these seats indicated the order of seniority, for instance, Mutindini sat on the highest while Mudunguri sat on the smallest. Mutindini also led the ascent 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 sail 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 politic 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

(1) Possatt, 'The story of Nyakuvimba and the Princess Mepo', in Fact and Fiction, pp. 194 - 197; and in NADA, 1929. See map (1): 'The Duma Confederacy'.

(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 Pedzisayi'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'(1) 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(2) 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 Bohera.(3)

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.(4) 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.(5)

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(6.)

(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.

(6) Sandes, 'Zvenyika remembers', in NADA, 1955

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.(1) 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.'(2) 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.(3) This external trade benefitted 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 Mutema, Musikavanhu and Mapungwana who had fled to and settled in Duma owed more allegiance to their fathers than to their Duma rulers.(4) 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 pieces of cloth, or hoes.(5)

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.T., 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 Musikavanhu. The trade with the east coast began as soon as the Duma had been established because Pfupajena sent his son Nhumwa 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 Maravi 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 Malilanga along the Chimedzi 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 Tsovani 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 muera 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

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- (1) Tradition 15(a): The story of Nhumwa going to Bwanye and bringing back pieces of cloth is remembered as a song Wauya nemachira (He has come with pieces of cloth,) normally sung by old women. When Nhumwa returned home, Pfupajena summoned all people to Mandara to see the wonderful things Nhumwa 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 Praios 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 Summer, Notes, p. 7.

very serious importers, a very ready market for metal goods, but they have been made 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.

Mudzziwo 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 Mutambara(10) He was also given the Jota country west of Mashoko Mission and made rings

(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 Devuti Ranch. Seeing them would entail seeking permission from the owner of that property. The last of the Mukondo kraalhead lives at Chibuwe in Chipinga district and has five generations behind him.

(6) Senhor Ferão, Captain of Sena, giving an account of the Portuguese possession within the the Captancy in Theal, RSEA, vol. 7, p. 377.

(7) N.M. Bhebe 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 Ferão, in Theal, RSEA, vol. 7, p. 377 said that King Mutema'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 Mabika Muwuyandiani 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 Hera 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

(1) Untape - recorded interview of an old woman at Chimbewa Farm, Nyahunda Purchase Area. She is the aunt of the present Chibi in Chibi district. The Mhari 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 Ferão, 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 the citemene 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. The 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 adapted 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)

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- (1) Dunbar Moodie 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 - Moodie, 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, R.H., The Making And Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890 - 1936, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), London, 1968, 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.
 - (3) Allan, William, The African Husbandman, Edinburgh, London, Oliver and Boyd, 1965. pp. 3 - 9 ...

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 1
- (2) Yudelman, Montague, Africans on the Land - Economic Problems of African Agricultural Development in Southern, Central and East Africa with special Reference to Southern Rhodesia, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, p. 13. 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'.

APPENDIX:

Description of informants.

<u>Tradition Number</u>	<u>Name of the Informant</u>	<u>Totem</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Chief</u>	<u>Date of Interview.</u>
1	Sara	Nhenga	Mutsimba	Mutsimba	Mazungunye	21.IX.1972
2	Elias	Beta	Chikukwa	Negovano	Mazungunye	21.IX.1972
3	Chimbidzikai	Moyo	Duma	Negovano	Mazungunye	22.IX.1972
4	Tinarwo	Moyana	Gumbi	Negovano	Mazungunye	22.IX.1972
5	Mangoyi	Moyo	Duma	Negovano	Mazungunye	22.IX.1972
6	Fasha	Moyo	Duma	Negovano	Mazungunye	22.IX.1972
7	Bvekwa	Moyo	Musanga	Negovano	Mazungunye	22.IX.1972
8	Mapanga	Moyo	Duma	Mukanganwi	Mukanganwi	25.IX.1972
9	Mutubuki	Ngara	Gwekwe	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	26.IX.1972
10	Gumokumo	Moyo	Duma	Mukanganwi	Mukanganwi	26.IX.1972
10(a)	Gumokumo	Moyo	Duma	Mukanganwi	Mukanganwi	27.IX.1972
10(b)	Gumokumo	Moyo	Duma	Mukanganwi	Mukanganwi	6.XII.1972
11	Romberayi	Moyo	Duma	Masasire	Mazungunye	15.X.1972
12	Chivasa	Moyo	Duma	Charamba	Mazungunye	16.X.1972
13	Zvidzayi	Moyo	Duma	Charamba	Mazungunye	16.X.1972
14	Pedzisayi	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	16.X.1972
14(a)	Pedzisayi	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	18.XI.1972
15	Chipengo	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	16.X.1972
15(a)	Chipengo	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	18.XI.1972
16	Mafarere	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	16.X.1972
16(a)	Mafurere	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	19.X.1972
17	Kufandikamwe	Moyo	Norumedzo	Norumedzo	Mazungunye	17.X.1972
18	Maredza	Moyo	Norumedzo	Norumedzo	Mazungunye	17.X.1972
19	Chinokuramba	Moyo	Duma	Mazungunye	Mazungunye	19.X.1972
20	Sharwayi	Moyo	Norumedzo	Negovano	Mazungunye	19.X.1972
21	Taona	Moyo	Musanga	Negovano	Mazungunye	19.X.1972
22	Jinjika	Gumbo	Rufura	Charamba	Mazungunye	21.X.1972
23	Pasipamire	Moyo	Duma	Nechirorwe	Mukanganwi	22.X.1972
24	Tambara	Moyo	Norumedzo	Norumedzo	Mazungunye	17.X.1972
25	Marinda	Moyo	Duma	Mazvimba	Mazungunye	26.XI.1972
26	Njanji	Moyo	Duma	Nechirorwe	Mukanganwi	23.X.1972
27	Musango	Moyo	Duma	Mazvimba	Mazungunye	23.X.1972
28	Fambisayi	Simango	Maera	Mukundi	Ziki	27.X.1972
29	Tafiremo	Moyo	Duma	Budzi	Budzi	14.XI.1972
30	Mutori	Moyo	Duma	Budzi	Budzi	14.XI.1972
31	Musayengana	Dube	Mukundi	Mukundi	Ziki	16.XI.1972
32	Zirabada	Moyo	Duma	Ziki	Ziki	16.XI.1972
32(a)	Zirabada	Moyo	Duma	Ziki	Ziki	3.XII.1972

<u>Tradition Number</u>	<u>Name of the Informant</u>	<u>Totem</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Chief</u>	<u>Date of Interview.</u>
33	Maregere	Moyo	Duma	Ziki	Ziki	17.XI.1972
34	Ndimu	Moyo	Duma	Mabika	Mabika	20.XI.1972
35	Gwatidzo	Moyo	Duma (Farm 29)	Nyahunda A/P/A	Mazungunye	20.XI.1972
36	Rangarirayi	Moyo	Nusanga	Ziki	Ziki	24.XI.1972
37	Pfumayi	Moyo	Duma	Budzi	Budzi	26.XI.1972
38	Wurayayi	Moyo	Duma	Mabika	Mabika	27.XI.1972
39	Chindidzo	Shumba	Masukuta	Masukuta	Mabika	28.XI.1972
40	Munyanyiwa	Moyo	Duma	Ziki	Ziki	3.XII.1972
41	Muwuyandiani	Moyo	Duma	Mabika	Mabika	5.XII.1972
42	Gova	Moyo	Duma	Gova	Mabika	5.XII.1972
43	Musiiwa	Moyo	Duma	Marozva	Marozva	7.XII.1972
44	Mumatsi	Gumbo	Rufura	Sosera	Marozva	7.XII.1972
45	Bishop Johani	Moyo	Duma	Masuka	Budzi	8.XII.1972
46	Hotera	Moyo	Duma	Norumedzo	Mazungunye	20.XI.1972
47	Elias	Beta	Chikukwa	Negovano	Mazungunye	20.XI.1972
48	Elias	Dube	Mutasa	Negovano	Mazungunye	22. X.1972
49	Notebook from Chief Ziki's Court Clerk Joel Nyamapene Ziki					17.XI.1972
50	Johnson	Dziya	Musikavanhu	Ziki	Ziki	19.XI.1972
51	Wurayayi	Moyo	Duma	Nyahunda	Mazungunye	20.XI.1972
52	Chisiiwa	Moyo	Duma	Chigumisirwa	Mazungunye	22. X.1972
53	Sangu	Shoko	Mbire	Nyahunda	Mazungunye	23.XI.1972
54	Tsvimba	Shumba	Ganyata	Nyahunda	Mazungunye	23.XI.1972
55	Mvumi	Shiri	Matande	Nyahunda	Mazungunye	23.XI.1972
56	Gondo	Zhou	Marundwi	Ziki	Ziki	24.XI.1972
57	Zikani	Moyana	Mutsinzwa	Mutsinzwa	Budzi	26.XI.1972
58	Mayipise	Shumba	Masukuta	Masukuta	Mabika	28.XI.1972
59	Nyika	Moyo	Duma	Ziki	Ziki	3.XII.1972
60	Tarugarira	Dube	Mapungwana	Ziki	Ziki	3.XII.1972
61	Chaitwa	Moyo	Duma	Budzi	Budzi	8.XII.1972
62	Chandaita	Moyo	Duma	Bikita	Budzi	8.XII.1972
63	Dominjc	Shumba	Chabata	Ziki	Ziki	13.XI.1972

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. Mutindi 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 Zimunga'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. Zimunga'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, Ngonyore, 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 Kutevera (He who has been recalled.) He got his third name Risina 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, Matswanye, 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.

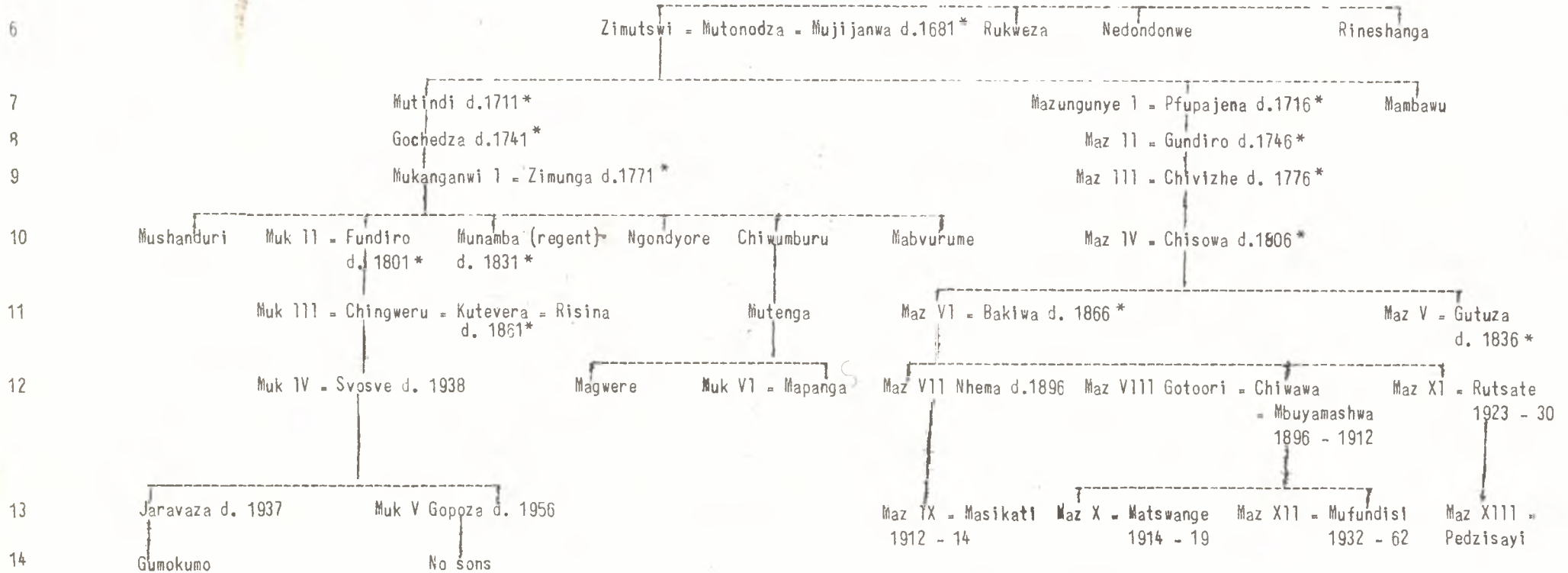
The Mazungunye house retained the father-to-son succession until Gutuza after which it became collateral - Gutuza usurped the throne from his elder brother Bakiwa who took over after the usurper's death. The father-to-son system was resumed when Nhema succeeded his father, but after Nhema it became collateral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

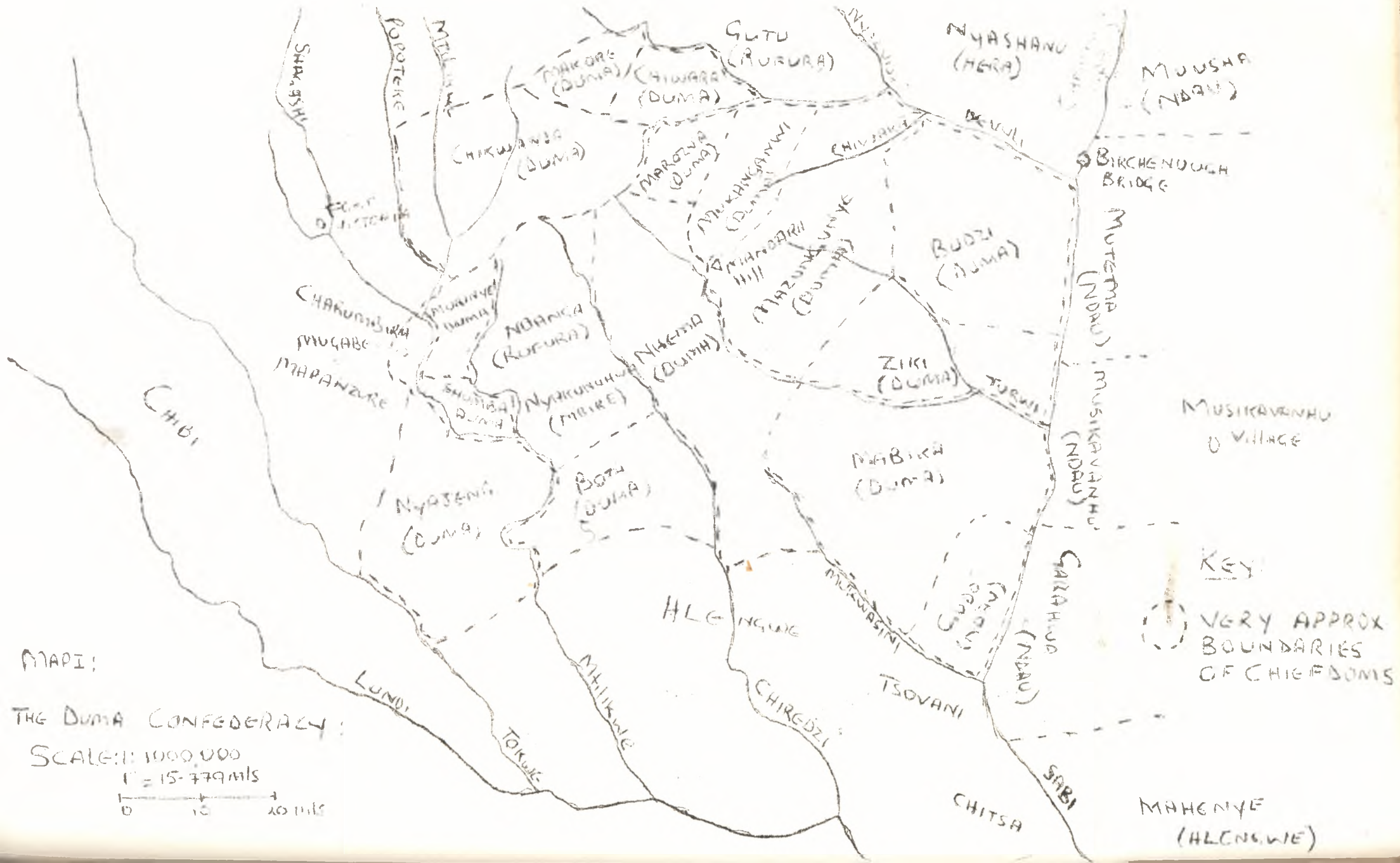
THE DUMA DYNASTY

KEY:

- d = died
- Maz = Mazungunye
- Muk = Mukanganwi
- 1 - 14 = Generations
- * = Dates are approximate just as radiocarbon ones are.

- 1 Zinyakavambe = Dumbukunyuka d.1531*
- 2 Chirimuguru d.1561*
- 3 Chiraramukwende d.1591*
- 4 Chimanya d.1621*
- 5 Chikosha d.1651*






MAPI:

THE DUMA CONFEDERACY:

SCALE: 1:1,000,000
1" = 15.779 miles



KEY:
 VERY APPROX BOUNDARIES OF CHIEFDOMS

MAHENYE (ALENGWE)