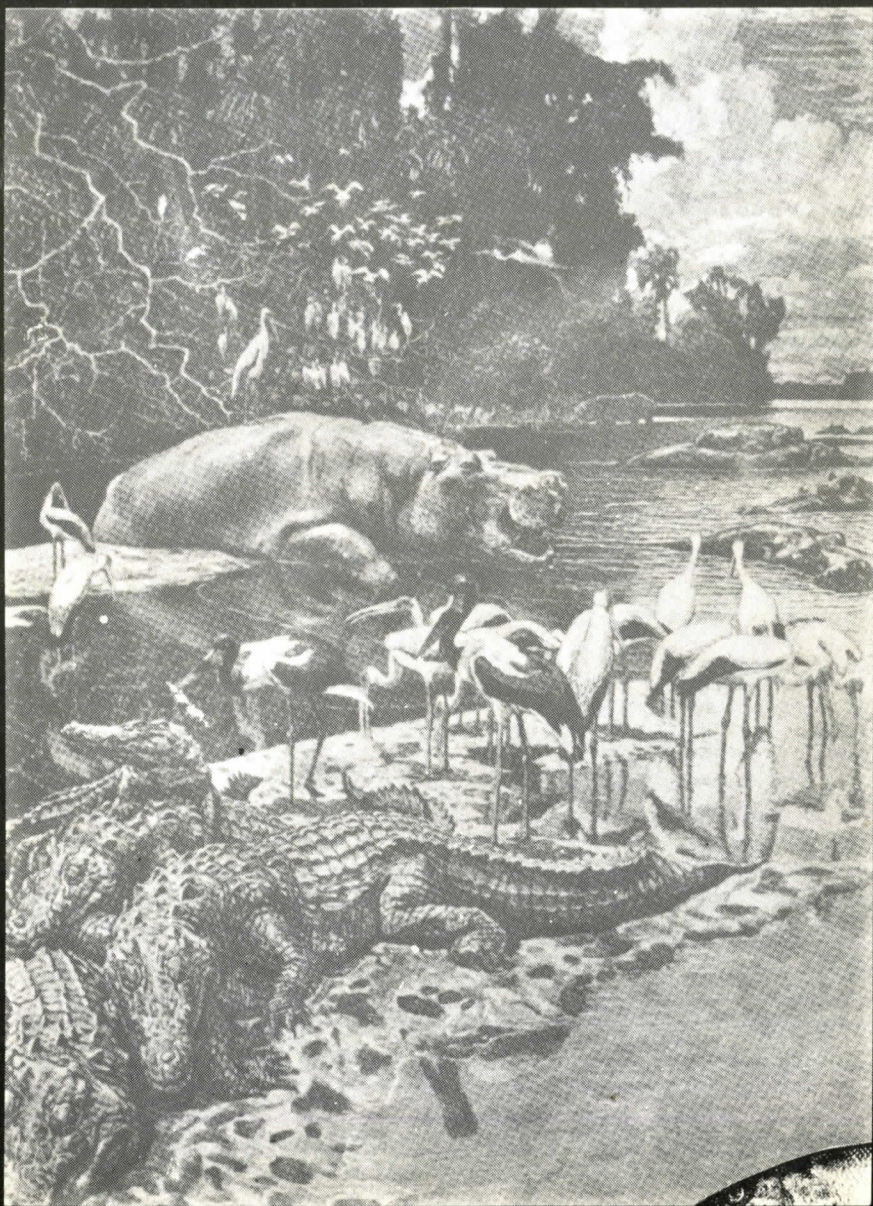


The Karanga Empire

Aeneas Chigwedere



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By the same Author

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- (2) Birth of Bantu Africa : Books For Africa
- (3) The Pros and Cons of Lobola : Books For Africa

To come out shortly

- (4) The Mutapa and Rozvi Empires

INTRODUCTION

Soon after independence in 1980, there were calls from both high and low places for the rewriting of Zimbabwean history. This was an indication that the Zimbabwean African did not accept what the settler regime and its historians brandished to us as our history. Alternatively, it was a call for the reinterpretation of that history.

In June 1980, my first book, "From Mutapa to Rhodes" was published by Macmillan only two months after independence. In some circles, it caused consternation. In others, it caused gnashing of teeth. This was so partly because the thesis I propounded was so contrary to what we had been forced to imbibed during the heyday of colonialism and that we had grown to accept as our history, and partly because that thesis went against the regional grain of some influential places. All that I propounded was that at least 85% of the Zimbabwean Africans had a common ancestry and were members of one united political complex up to about 1500 and that tribal segmentation and fragmentation set in especially after 1700 to result in the multiplicity of the clans, wrongly called tribes in this country, that are a familiar feature of us today. In some circles, this was publicly described as "preposterous". In others, it won me the appellation "tribal historian".

In December 1982, my second history book, "The Birth of Bantu Africa" was published by Books for Africa. It pushed "From Mutapa to Rhodes" further back in time and argued that the Bantu have a common ancestry; that their original homeland was in north-east Africa in the Nile Valley; that the original African tribe segmented into three tribes each with its own identity marks; that the vast majority of the existing African tribes can be traced back to one or the other of the original three Bantu Tribes even today.

Some sort of debate started in the country on our history. It fascinated some but it frightened others. The debate was terminated abruptly. Flimsy arguments that it was dividing the nation were posed. So, those who were saying the Bantu throughout Africa had a common ancestry and were one family were "tribal divisionist historians"!! Likewise, those who were attempting to prove that at least 85% of the Shona have a common ancestry and were one family were also "tribal divisionist historians"!! But those argu-

ing that there were two thousand tribes in Africa and two hundred in Zimbabwe were the patriotic continental and national historians uniting the Africans!! All attempts to reopen the debate in the papers were frustrated. The public needed evidence to prove our case. But the opponents were convinced we had something up our sleeves and we could prove our case. The answer was therefore to deny us every opportunity to prove that case. The debate on our history is looked upon as closed but:-

- (a) With the new thesis frozen and unwelcome in some circles
- (b) With the colonial history rejected but unreplaced
- (c) With new historians of the "acceptable" brand nowhere to be seen on the horizon.

This sum up the situation as it stands at the end of 1985, five years after our independence.

So far up to this point, it has never been my intention to give the Zimbabweans or Bantu, details of their histories. My objective has been strictly limited: to give the Zimbabweans a continuous and coherent thread of their history from before settlement in the regions south of the Zambezi up to 1890. This was my starting point and it remains my starting point. The bigger part of my work is ahead and not behind. Whilst those who wished if I had never opened my mouth look upon the debate as closed, I look upon it as hardly begun. What is needed now is a piecemeal approach to prove my case. Impartial members of the public want evidence from me to prove my case and will welcome it. This book has been written in an effort to settle an important aspect of the history of this country: who were the KARANGA? Where did they come from? What role did they play in the history of this country? Who are their descendants today and where are they?

We have important names bandied about in this country. One of them is certainly KARANGA. The Portuguese make constant references to it in their documents after 1500; one of the names debated by the settler regime for possible assignment to the whole of Mashonaland just before 1930, was KARANGA: we have a whole region today that claims to speak a dialect called CHI-KARANGA; we have yet another region or district that indeed speaks KALANGA today. We can therefore in no way pretend that there have been no important people in this country called KARANGA. But what they were (and who they were) is very different from what they are today. This, inevitably is a source of great confusion. Furthermore, the great majority of the KARANGA descendants are hundreds of miles away from the original Karangaland south of the Zambezi River. This is another great source of confusion as we are going to see.

The people called KARANGA by the Portuguese were Karanga by residence and not by ethnic origin. Likewise, the people still referred to in this country today as Karanga are only so by residence and not by ethnic origin. In other words, the name KARANGA as applied by both the Portuguese and the colonial regime had completely lost its original ethnic connotations.

May I point out that in the text, I make no distinction between KARANGA and KALANGA for indeed, there is no difference between them. The original name was KALANGA. But the Shona language, like every other language, has been evolving and continues to do so. One result of this has been that the letter "L" has been dropped and substituted for "R". The original name KALANGA inevitably changed to KARANGA. The letter "L" has however been retained in the Plumtree area where the language spoken there is still very close to the original KALANGA language. For reasons to be explained in the text, large numbers of descendants of the original KALANGA people are still in that area to this day. But I must add that the majority of the people in that area who are called Kalanga are only so by virtue of their residence in an originally Kalanga region; they are not ethnically Kalanga as we shall see in due course.

Zimbabwean history is never as complicated as it has been made to appear. Certainly, we have problems in looking for the details of that history. But we have no serious problems in identifying its major landmarks. We have no serious problems either in discerning the main thread of that history from the time of the arrival of the Bantu in the region south of the Zambezi River. When I cast my eyes across Bantu Africa, I see a certain uniqueness about Zimbabwean (and Mozambiquan: the two were not really separable) history. The only other like it may be the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu to the north-east of Lake Chad. Zimbabwe has been occupied and dominated politically and culturally by one family for a thousand years. Power has changed hands from one House to another as a result of internal upheavals, from time to time. But no invading foreign dynasty has been able to defeat the region and influence events in any significant way before the Nguni invasions of the 19th century. Thus the political, economic, social and cultural development of the ancestors of the Shona has taken a normal evolutionary course for a thousand years. It is a lot easier for a people who have stuck together for a long time in the same territory to remember their history than those who have been buffeted this way or that way by invaders and have changed their territory after every century or two. By virtue of this development, our common thread has not been lost and early research students did not find it impossible to discover it as revealed by their works. If only those discoveries had been pursued, co-ordinated and updated as new material came to hand, the current confused and confusing state of affairs would have been easily averted.

Secondly, the establishment of a powerful and reasonably centralized state up to about 1500 enabled the founding ancestors to establish a national political and religious control over the whole country. Apart from keeping their descendants politically united, these ancestors have continued to remind us of their common parentage to us. The names of Murenga, Chaminuka and Nehanda come up to mind immediately and rightly so. That they were a powerful national force and a powerful uniting force, was easily demonstrated by the events associated with Chimurenga I and organized nine

centuries after settling in this country. These forces do in many ways help us to sort out their and our history if we know how to use them for that purpose. I see no other country in Africa that has a centralized religious hierarchy such as Zimbabwe has and influencing a region as big as from the Zambezi to the Transvaal across the Limpopo, and from Mozambique to Botswana.

Thirdly, from soon after 1500, the Portuguese established important connections with this region. They were literate and they made important hints on some aspects of Zimbabwean history. It is true that they had, up to about 1700, direct contacts with the east and north-east only. But it is also true that they had indirect connections with the interior. Their documents do not present one coherent story; they are also conflicting. Yet, used in alliance with other sources, they are quite useful.

Fourthly, before the advent of the Portuguese, the Moor traders had established trading links with our ancestors along the east coast of Mozambique. Unfortunately however, they did not write much about our area. Yet in spite of this, one or two Arab travellers were able to make hints and useful hints, about aspects of our history. These hints, used in alliance with other sources, are also helpful as I will demonstrate in this book.

Fifthly, Zimbabwe is one of the few lucky African countries to receive the early attention of archaeologists starting off with Maciver in 1905 and to be followed by Caton — Thomson in 1929. From the 1950s, archaeological activity increase, possibly inspired by the establishment of the local University. Today, there is no doubt that Zimbabwe has one of the best archaeological records in Africa outside the Nile Valley. This record combined with the other sources should have helped us to sort out our history much more easily. Yet alas! Up to this point, this has not been the case.

Sixthly, Zimbabwe was lucky to be traversed by early 19th century hunters, fortune seekers, explorers and missionaries. These include Livingstone, Hartley, Selous and German missionaries from the Transvaal such as Knote, Swellnus and Stayt and fortune-seekers such as Carl Mouch and even Carl Peters. They all wrote bits and pieces about us and those bits are full of meaning if put together and are weighed against the other sources. Here again, this has not really been done to any great extent. The result up to this point is that our history has remained as fragmented and confused as ever before. Potentially great discoveries such as those by researchers like Von Sicard, Posselt, Marshall Hole, van der Merwe and D.P. Abraham have been reversed and thrown into complete disarray. The result is even greater confusion than before.

After these preliminary remarks, the question that immediately arises is: why has there been this setback in Zimbabwean history? Why has the modern scholar failed to capitalize on this rather unique situation prevailing in Zimbabwe? Why is he throwing the country into greater confusion than before? (1) The reader should note that all those who made significant discoveries

of our history did their work in the twenties, thirties and forties among our ancestors who actually witnessed the occupation of 1890 and who remembered threads of our common history as presented to them before the occupation. Even D.P. Abraham was able to obtain so much information only because he worked on the Korekore area in the 1950s, an area which was a back-water, an area neglected by the settler regime and was thus able to maintain its social and cultural unity up to the 1950s, and early sixties. But as education expanded in the thirties and forties, colonial divisionism set in and we were sundered and fragmented and set against each other. On the one hand, the missionaries carved out their own territories and spread their venom in the regions under their control — venom garbed as history and which we were not slow to imbibe and in turn spread to the unfortunate “students” under our control. The American Methodists took control of Manicaland, produced their literature at Old Umtali Mission and propagated the doctrine that the Manyika people were distinct from all the other Shona people; that they were a tribe on their own; that they originally ruled all the other Shona “tribes”. They even went to the extent of calling the Africans in all Manicaland “the Karanga people” and only dropped the name after discovering that the Dutch Reformed Church, that colonized the Masvingo Province, had also decided to call their own “subjects”, the Karanga tribe. By the late 1940s, the Makoni clan which had never known itself as Manyika but as Vaungwe, had grown to accept that it was part of “the Manyika tribe”. The Jindwi clan of Zimunya which too had never known itself to be Manyika, was preaching the gospel of its Manyikahood; the Bocha clan of Marange had started to do the same and so did every other clan in the territory of the American Methodists.

The region south of the Nyazvidzi River down to the Limpopo was “colonized” largely by the Dutch Reformed Church. These were even more devastating colonial divisionists than the American Methodists. They published their literature at Morgenster for their province. They chose to call the dialect for that province “Chikaranga” after the Karanga gleaned from Portuguese documents. The Africans of their colony were likewise also called Makaranga and so was the new province. They propounded the doctrine that because Great Zimbabwe was in the heart of the “Karanga tribe”, that “Karanga tribe” was the progenitor of all the other Shona tribes between the Zambezi and Limpopo that they alone are the direct descendant’s of the Mutapas and Mambos; that by virtue of this, they are the most royal; that it was their ancestors alone who built Great Zimbabwe. In this way, a new Karanga tribe and new Karanga Province and championing the interests of the Karanga people, was brought into existence after the 1920s. By the 1940s, the products of Dutch Reformed Schools and Dutch literature propounded nothing but the ancient primacy of the “Karanga tribe” whose territory had always been south of the Nyazvidzi River to the Limpopo.

Central Mashonaland, the region we today call the Zezuru area, was colonized partly by British Methodists and partly by Roman Catholics centred at Chishawasha. The Catholics established a printing press at Chishawasha and through their literature proved to be much more powerful than the Methodists. They propagated the doctrine of Zezuru supremacy, "Zezuru tribe" and Zezuru language. The Chishawasha Shona Readers then covering the whole primary school range from Sub-standard A to standard six are a familiar sight to all those who attended school even in the 1950s. Through their propaganda, they created a district and a language called Zezuru. By the late 1940s, the so called educated Africans in this district preached nothing but the gospel of the Zezuru supremacy, Zezuru language and Zezuru tribe.

The northern province, the Korekore Province and the western province, the Shangwe Province were the least polluted. This is so because they were hot and dry and were deemed unhealthy. The result was that they were almost completely neglected right up to the 1950s. Even in those 1950s schools were far between, wherever they existed and did not have any sort of impact on the populace. Not surprisingly, we can not even today accuse those two provinces of regionalism and divisionism. Not surprisingly too, this is why even today, you can still obtain a coherent and satisfactory account of the histories of those provinces.

What all this boils down to is that we were colonized mentally by the settler regime largely through the missionaries. They made languages and histories for us through their literature; they created new "tribes" out of us; they lit and fanned a new regional nationalism that never existed here before. By the mid 1940s, the new regional spirits had caught on and were propagated by the new generation of "educated" Africans. That generation knew nothing but what it had been taught in the new schools. Whenever agents of the settler regime wanted articulate Africans, they found them from this generation and they included teachers, evangelists, agricultural demonstrators, carpenters and messengers of the District Offices.

Information on "tribal" histories was sought from them. Many of them too dared to employ their newly acquired power-literacy — on paper. Among them also emerged what became known as experts on tribal history. This is how the poisonous material on some dynasties came to be written in the NADAs the first one of which appeared in 1923.

This new "history" of the educated generation is in serious conflict with the early history collected before colonial pollution. The modern scholar has lost the early history but is very much in touch with the new history. Without knowing it, he has been thrown completely off balance. His history completely lacks cohesion and is totally fragmented. He moves in circles and can not tell which is the beginning and which is the end. Single dynasties claim to have come alone from north of the Zambezi River to plant themselves as chieftainships right in the heart of "foreign" elements in Central Mashonaland or Masvingo. The impossibility of such a possibility are not

suspected. Yet at the same time, this modern scholar sees lots of common elements and common threads amongst the Shona. But he finds it difficult to explain them. As will be proved in a later work, our history, like us, is a casualty of colonial divisionism. Of course, it is not easy for us to realize the extent to which we have been mentally colonized since we are also victims of that colonialism. (2) The dominance of the foreign "scholar" in our history campus has done a lot of harm to our history. Those who up to 1980 determined the course of our history research were not necessarily scholars but were white and were welcome. The most important of them were District Commissioners and their white assistants. They were required to learn the language of the Africans under them; they were required to master some of the important customs, for instance, succession to chieftainship, in order to be able to sort out quarrels over chieftainships.

The majority of them were not necessarily scholars nor were they trained research students. But those of them who wanted to climb the ladder up the Internal Affairs hierarchy, had to be "vociferous" on African customs and tradition. They had to "prove" that they were experts on the African. Inevitably, they did some sort of work, mainly by proxy, on the history and traditions of the community under them. They wrote articles to the news media as they thought fit. But their main forum after 1923 was the Internal Affairs Journal, NADA. There was no censorship of any sort for as long as the article was written by somebody white. In this way, half-digested and highly biased material was recorded as representing our history. It was then drummed down the throats of the unfortunate African pupil. Today, he is the champion of that history and refuses to see other possibilities. This has been a great source of confusion in our history circles.

It is interesting to note that the Zimbabwean African historian has up to this point almost failed completely to peg an independent path from that of the colonial historians. He is doing nothing but to regurgitate colonial history in a different garb.

The local University opened in 1957. Inevitably, it became a centre of research. Competent scholars were recruited into the History Department. In 1959, D.P. Abraham produced his first challenge to the Zimbabwean historian through his work on the Mutapa Dynasty. T.O. Ranger produced his first work on Chimurenga I, a subject that had remained an enigma until then. Eric Stokes, Richard Brown and their associates all worked on something and Zimbabwean history started to make real progress. But a bombshell fell towards the end of 1962. Ranger was deported and so was Reed of the English Department. The others were warned and scuttled out of the country before they were deported or imprisoned. The department plunged to mediocrity and was dominated by manpower from south of the Limpopo, no doubt for political reasons.

The new masters of the department tried to prove that they were real scholars by attempting to reverse all the work of the founding fathers of the

department. Their work was slaughtered and new theories in direct conflict with the earlier discoveries, were brandished before the public. Thus by 1975, the work of Ranger and company had not only been halted but an attempt to reverse it had been made. But the new "discoveries" completely lacked direction. The result was greater confusion right up to independence in 1980.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the "foreign" scholar has been that he has interpreted the African of this country as a very simple specimen of a human being. He thinks he does not need to master his language; he does not need to master his traditions and customs; he does not need to live with him. He thinks he can get all he wants about the African through a messenger — by proxy. He thinks he can peer into African history and way of life from a distance. In this way, many whites are described as experts on the African after doing some sort of work on the African from a distance for six to twelve months. If indeed they are experts, the African they work on can only be the simplest of human beings — a being whose whole being can be mastered in six months.

May I here make a statement that sounds absurd: the bigger part of African history is not in the statements solicited by the investigator; it is in the customs and traditions of that African. To extract that history, you have to interpret the traditions and customs. But this is the area of greatest difficulty for even the African practitioner himself may not be able to interpret what he practises. He knows what he is supposed to do and he does it in accordance with tradition but he may not be able to tell you how it started and precisely what it means. But he knows it works to his satisfaction.

A white scholar capable of making the right interpretation of tradition and custom can not do his research by proxy nor can he be adequate as an observer. Needless to say a period of six months of study of an African community is worth nothing. What is clearly needed is a white scholar reared with Africans in an African setting. This means a white African i.e. white in complexion but African in culture. It means a participant in African traditions and custom; it means a white man who has mastered the intricacies of the African language in the way the Africans themselves have done.

Admittedly, in Rhodesia where the whites could not possibly live with Africans, it was impossible to rear such a white scholar. The result inevitably, is not surprising. We do not have white Africans and we do not have white scholars adequate to interpret African traditions and custom. They observe and record what they see. But they go completely off the tangent the moment they enter the realm of interpretation. Let me illustrate this by an example of a missionary who in 1935 had discovered something vital about African religion. But by merely misinterpreting one word but vital word, he completely went wild and gave the most misleading and meaningless interpretation to an otherwise great discovery.

The Rev. Father Burbridge watched the Barwe people supplicating for rain. The officiant recounted a number of ancestral names in each case asking

the junior to pass the message to the next senior in line. What was no doubt of greatest interest to the missionary was whether or not the chain of ancestors was going to be linked with God. This was going to enable him to determine whether Africans worshipped ancestors or God through ancestors.

The officiant then got to the last remembered ancestor and asked him to pass the message to "those above you we no longer remember". Next, those who are no longer remembered were asked to pass the message to WOKUMATENGA who is God (He of the Heavens). The missionary knew the verb KUTENGA which means to buy. He proceeded to interpret WOKUMATENGA as WAMAKATENGA which means HE WHOM YOU BOUGHT. He then linked the idea of "purchasing" with Jesus and the spilling of his blood for the goodness of humanity. He went completely off the tangent and philosophised on completely what was never implied by the supplicating Africans. One word and only one, completely misled him.

The result was that he went on to conclude that the Barwe worshipped ancestors and had no idea of God inspite of the fact that the supplicants treated God (WOKUMATENGA) as the ultimate destination of their whole prayer for rain. The other white scholars have been reading Burbridge's article for years and have not detected anything amiss with it. Such misinterpretations of African practices are ubiquitous in the works of white scholars. This demonstrates the absolute need of these scholars first mastering the languages of the communities among whom they work but as a prelude to a thorough study of their customs and traditions. This is precisely what has been lacking in Rhodesia and it is an enormous hurdle in the way of the white scholars although, unfortunately, many of them do not seem to be aware of it. (3) The statement I have made above that the history of the African is in the customs and traditions of that African highlights the need for what I shall here call sociological or anthropological historians. This means historians who are also anthropologists, trained or self-made. It can also mean historians who work closely with anthropologists. The absolute need of this is apparently not appreciated by the Zimbabwean historians, both black and white. However, the great history lecturers of our local University up to about 1965 certainly appreciated this and it is not surprising that they made the progress they did.

T.O. Ranger, in his Book "Revolt and War in Rhodesia", has categorically stated that Chimurenga I can only be adequately explained by Africans. This is so because that war was a typically African war organized after the traditional fashion by traditional leaders. It has all the ramifications of African tradition and custom. But Ranger's statement assumes that all or the majority of African historians have the necessary sociological or anthropological background. As things stand at present, most African historians have to study the ramifications alluded to above in the way the foreign scholar has to do the same. The majority of the African historians have become foreign to the traditions and customs of their ancestors. Not surprisingly they dread

the thought of tackling Chimurenga I which has remained a mystery to this day.

But Ranger's statement remains important. It expresses full awareness on his part that certain aspects of African history are not easy for a foreign scholar to tackle and treat adequately. It expresses an awareness of the need to master certain important aspects of African tradition and custom. Phrased differently, it underscores the need for anthropological historians, as I put it earlier. It underscores the need for white scholars to be white Africans if they are to cope with certain aspects of African history.

But it is not only Chimurenga I that needs the resources of anthropological historians. It is almost all Shona history before 1890. Any venture, for instance, into the purposes for which Great Zimbabwe was constructed is futile without an adequate background in African religion and custom. Great Zimbabwe is not a symbol of African political power. It represents African politics, religion, culture and economy in a particular age. Until this is appreciated and done something about, Great Zimbabwe will remain a mystery. The absence of anthropological historians black and white, is, though many may not be aware of it, a big barrier against the discovery of our pre 1890 history.

(4) One of the greatest stumbling blocks to the discovery of Shona history is certainly the African historian himself. The white historian has played his part. He has obvious problems as indicated above. But there is no doubt that he has exerted himself and has discovered what he could under the circumstances. But the African historian and anthropologist have not played their parts and have let down the white scholar and white anthropologist.

Indeed the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe is peculiar and fascinating. Before independence, the African historian behaved as if he was foreign to Zimbabwe. He showed no interest in Zimbabwean history. Examine those who have written theses and dissertations for senior degrees. You will find that at least three quarters of them wrote on foreign themes — many of them not on Africa at all. Those of them who picked African themes wrote on countries such as Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria and the like. They would like to argue that they avoided Zimbabwe because they were out of the country and they had no access to Zimbabwean historical material. This argument is a face-saving one however for there seems to be more material on Zimbabwean history after 1890 in London than in Harare. There is literally no limit to what a historian can write on, covering both the period before and after 1890. A few but only a few, have tried something. One has done commendable work on Portuguese relations with the Shona in the east; one has worked on the Rozvi dynasty and nearly discovered vital material; one worked in Ndebele-Shona relations; one worked on the land problem in Zimbabwe before 1980. But the vast majority have avoided Zimbabwe altogether. In addition, very few if any, have tried to work on the whole country to establish a coherent national history. The dearth of material on the book market by

Zimbabwean African historians five years after independence speaks for itself. Furthermore, whoever has attempted to produce something for our expanding education system has regurgitated the same old colonial history but in a new garb. He has nothing of his own to offer.

After independence in 1980, it started to dawn to the African historian that Zimbabwean history was important. There were calls for a new history. He felt he was being called upon to make his positive contribution. He had none to make. He started to work feverishly on something. But he can not unearth enough new material fast enough to make his contribution. Events are moving too fast for him. He can not condone the new material discovered by those who have been working on Zimbabwean history because he does not know. He is somewhat embarrassed and walks giddily on a tight rope. He cannot take part in any open debate because he has discovered nothing concrete of his own. The more he works on the history of Zimbabwe, the more he discovers that those he has been opposing might be right.

This sums up the predicament of the majority of the African historians of this country. This is why you find the debate being dominated by people without any legitimate claim to history. Those with the necessary paper qualifications are inadequate, feel inadequate and do not want to embarrass themselves before the public. But this is so because initially, they lacked the necessary patriotism to work on Zimbabwean history. They were more fascinated by aspects of American or Irish or Kenyan history. As a result, today, they are forced to be spectators in a game involving their own history. In that way, they have become a stumbling block to the reconstruction of Zimbabwean history. But maybe, rather than adopt negative tactics to thwart those who have discovered something, their best course for the time being is to keep quiet, work quietly and only speak up when they feel they have discovered something worth offering to the country.

(5) Another great weakness in Zimbabwe history is lack of correlation of historical material. A lot of work has been done on Zimbabwean history; this is not in doubt. But the approach is fragmentary and the discoveries are fragmented. This is a question of methodology. Of course, it is largely a result of limited ends on the part of the investigators. One gets fascinated by one dynasty and works on the history and traditions of that dynasty alone. Once his work on that dynasty has been completed, he looks upon his work as finished. In the mean-time a second investigator is working on another dynasty hundreds of kilometres away. Either he shows no interest in the work of the other investigator or is not even aware of his existence in the field. You then end up with scores of research students each working furiously on his limited ends. The scholars are doing their work independently and the aim may be no more than to qualify for a senior degree. Either they should, in the end, come together and correlate their material or some independent body should do it.

The absence of correlation has created a fascinating and false picture of our history. Because one dynasty claims to have come from Tanganyika to settle in this country, the investigator imagines that its founders trekked in isolation to plant themselves as chiefs in the heart of the indigenous Shona elements. The impossibility of this happening is never imagined. How on earth is it possible for a small foreign family to march from Tanganyika or Zambia across the Zambezi, trek safely through foreign territory and establish a chieftainship in the precincts of Harare or Chivhu, entirely in foreign territory, unmolested? Why has it not been wiped out on the way? On close examination, it emerges clearly that when this particular family makes claims of trekking from across the Zambezi, it is infact referring to its original ancestors who were only part of a much bigger original Shona group that trekked into this country. But without correlating the discoveries of the various research students, this very important fact is not realized. Because it is not realized, the necessary follow-up studies do not take place and the history of the region remains as fragmented as it is at present. The realization that this one dynasty was speaking on behalf of many others would immediately necessitate a further investigation to discover the cousins of this particular dynasty. In the end, it would emerge that the Shona are originally members of one dynasty and this would be a fact of cardinal importance. Either we start with the whole (nation) and descend to the individual unit (dynasty) or start off with the unit and build up to the whole. Whatever happens, the target of all the researchers must in the end be the whole. Whoever does not have an overall picture of Zimbabwe is not qualified to engage in a public debate on the history of this country. The specialists on particular dynasties are only qualified to express their opinions on their special dynasties.

Just go round and ask casual questions regarding the origins of the dynasties in this country and you will be fascinated. Every dynasty traces its ultimate origins to Tanganyika. It makes no references to other dynasties in its company on the way from Tanganyika. It gives the impression that only its own founding fathers came from Tanganyika. Shall a genuine investigator accept and record this as a historical fact? Yet without correlating the material, investigators are accepting this and recording it thereby seriously distorting our history and conspiring in fragmenting us further.

(6) The Zimbabwean historians have made yet another serious blunder. They have treated the Zimbabwean African as if he dropped from the sky or emerged from the earth straight into the region between the Zambezi and Limpopo and between the sea and Botswana. Only such a being would have emerged uninfluenced by events to the north, south, east and west of him. But the Zimbabwean African did not drop from the sky nor did he emerge from the earth.

He came from the north and was influenced by events in that north. He was a product of the north and had the identity of that north. But when he trekked to the region south of the Zambezi, he did not find that region empty. When he settled in that region, he had his own repercussions on his

predecessors. These predecessors had their own repercussions on the regions to the south and west. In short, the early history of the Zimbabwean African can not be studied in isolation. Zimbabwe is only part of Africa; it is part of the South African sub-continent. That Africa impinged on her as it still does today. The sub-continent impinged on her as it still does today. But that Zimbabwe also impinged on Africa and still more, on the sub-continent as it still does today. Therefore, her history can not properly be studied abstracted from Africa and more still, from the sub-continent.

The great mistake the Zimbabwean historian has made is in trying to sort out early Zimbabwean history in isolation. As you will discover later in this book, the Azanian (South African) tribes can not sort out the history of their ancestors back to the Zambezi without assistance from Zimbabwe; the Tswana tribes can not trace the history of their ancestors to the Mozambique coast without assistance from Zimbabwe. Likewise, the Zambezi frontier is of great importance to us in sorting out our early history; the South African frontier is of vital importance and so is the Botswana frontier. I have suggested that the study of the Seke or Zvimba or Mangwende dynasty is of significance to Zimbabwe only if it is treated as a starting point of the study of Zimbabwean history. Likewise, the study of Zimbabwean or Namibian or Azanian history is of importance to Africa only if it is treated as the starting point of the study of general Africa history. The existing international boundaries are totally artificial and very recent. Our ancestors "flowed" as they wished from Mozambique to Zimbabwe and back; from Zimbabwe to Azania and back; from Zambia to Zimbabwe and back; and from Zimbabwe to Botswana and back. The rise of a dynamic and ambitious general could have repercussions on the whole sub-continent as demonstrated by the Chaka revolution of the early 19th century.

In view of this situation, we can not treat the early history of Zimbabwe in isolation. The inter-relationships between tribes and the repercussions of raids and major wars on neighbouring tribes in all directions make the regional study of early histories imperative. Infact, it is unavoidable. In this little book, I hope to demonstrate the validity of this fact. By treating the early history of Zimbabwe as if there was an impenetrable "Berlin Wall" around the present borders of Zimbabwe, the historian has attempted to create "artificial" history which, inevitably, has not made much sense, is fragmented and moves in circles. Zimbabwe is part of and has always been part of a much wider complex and has to be treated as such. Therefore, regional correlation of historical material is an absolute necessity.

With this background, we can now proceed to the Karanga Empire. But before tackling that empire, there is need for the reader to know something about both the normal and abnormal evolution of an African family. This is what in this book I have called segmentation and fragmentation. The main theme of this book is the birth, growth, segmentation and fragmentation of the Karanga dynasty. It is therefore vital for the reader to know in advance what these processes entail.

Before we touch the Karanga family proper, it is necessary to discuss the normal process of tribal segmentation in order to enable the reader to understand how the Shona or any African tribe for that matter, developed into the multiplicity of dynasties that are familiar to us today. I will push this further to include "tribal fragmentation" which is an aspect of the process of segmentation.

To enable the reader to understand what I here mean by segmentation, let us examine the growth of a simple family consisting of father, mother and children. In old Africa, land was plentiful. If this simple family moved away from its relatives to establish itself a fair distance away from those relatives, the father, apart from being the natural head of this family, also became for all practical purposes, the automatic sub-chief of his locality. He is not a chief partly because the family over which he has authority is too small (has not developed into a tribe), partly because he has not severed his relationships with his parent family and partly because he has not trekked far enough to be completely independant of his parent-family, the family from which he has broken away. In due course, his sons will marry and he starts to have grandchildren. Our system was polygamous and if this man had, let us say ten wives, the generation of grandchildren could be quite big in terms of numbers. The grandchildren then start marrying and have their own children. The family still has one head and it still occupies the same geographical locality. By then, it could be consisting of as many as thirty or fourty family units.

There is no doubt that at this stage, it has constituted itself into a true sub-tribe. The head of the family is the automatic sub-chief of the small complex. The original founding father of this family dies. His most senior living son takes over the headship. By the time the family covers, let us say, six generations, it has constituted itself into a dynasty. The head of the whole group becomes its chief. By then, it already has several segments. Chances are that each of the major lineages of the founding father is allocated a district of its own. The head of that district becomes a sub-chief. The head of the whole family together becomes the chief, the heir to the founding father. If the chiefdom consists of six districts, it means that the family has a chief

and six sub-chiefs. It is a complete dynasty — a complete clan. It is not a tribe but is a complete segment of the original tribe from which it broke away originally. Our application of the word tribe in this country is most questionable and the term needs redefining.

The reader should note that a complete clan with a chief and six sub-chiefs has developed from the original simple family consisting of father, mother and children. But in turn, this complete clan has divided into six new segments each with its own sub-chief. Each sub-chiefdom continues to grow into a separate clan (dynasty) with its own sub-chiefs and the process goes on. As long as there is more fresh land to occupy, the process will go on to perpetuity until one original family has created a hundred or thousand clans and tribes. All this growth represents the normal evolution of the one original family. If these clans have all maintained the original mutupo and chidao of the original founding father, the normal process of segmentation has taken place. In terms of traditional religion, let us examine briefly the implication of this tribal evolution. The tribe now consisting of innumerable dynasties and sub-dynasties has occupied a huge geographical area. The founding ancestors of each dynasty or clan becomes the head or chief of that clan. This is the ancestral spirit that we today call the "tribal mhondoro" in this country e.g. Seke Mutema for the Seke Harava dynasty, Benhura for the Chikwaka dynasty, Nyahuye for the Svosve dynasty, Negondo for the Zvimba dynasty, Mabwazhe for the Gutu dynasty, Nyakuvimba for the Musikavanhu dynasty, Tavengerwei for the Chibi dynasty, Mhepo for the Chirimanzi dynasty, Chivazwe for the Chihota dynasty or Derere Godzonga for the Chinamora dynasty, and Ganyire for the Tsunga Nyandoro dynasty. Every clan has a founding ancestor and that ancestor functions as the clan or dynastic or district mhondoro. What is important to note here is that each clan mhondoro has authority over its clan only. He can not hold any authority over other districts because he was never chief over those districts. He founded one clan and one chiefdom and that is the clan and chiefdom he continues to minister to as a mhondoro. This is different from saying that the neighbouring clans can not seek advice from him if their own mhondoros are dormant. But this is advise such as a clan can seek from another clan or a chief can seek from another chief but without surrendering shreds of his autonomy. In the end the one family can end up in occupation of a whole province such as the Korekore Province or Manicaland. It can end up occupying a whole country such as Namibia or Zimbabwe. In the case of the Korekore Province, the living representative of the original founding father becomes the Paramount Regional Chief. The representatives of the district chiefdoms become the district chiefs.

The representatives of the founding fathers of the sub-districts become the sub-chiefs. When it comes to religion, the position is exactly the same. The founding father of the province becomes the Regional mhondoro; the founding fathers of the district chiefdoms become the district mhondoros

with authority over the districts only. The founding fathers of the sub-districts (founding sub-chiefs) become the sub-district mhondoros. It is very clear from this that the religious hierarchy is no more than a reflection of the political and historical hierarchy.

Let us extend this to the whole country such as Zimbabwe. The above one small family occupies part of Zimbabwe. It has one head and that head becomes the founding father of the new clan. The one clan grows as indicated above and ends up occupying all Manicaland. Segments of it trek into Mashonaland to create a new and second province. In due course, more segments trek into the north to create the Korekore Province; into the west to create the Shangwe Province and into the south-west to create the Matebeleland Province. The representative of the founding father of the whole family that has now grown into a nation becomes the national Paramount chief; the representative of the founding father of Manicaland becomes the Manicaland Regional chief; the representative of the Korekore founding father is the Korekore Regional chief. Shangweland and Matebeleland each have a Regional Paramount. But each Regional Paramount has numerous district chiefs under him. Each district chief in turn has numerous sub-chiefs under him. Each sub-chief has numerous Kraalheads under him. But all of them together are under the general suzerainty of the National Paramount chief who represents the original founding ancestor of the whole of this tribe developing into a nation.

When it comes to religion, the picture does not change. The religious hierarchy reflects the political hierarchy. The national founding father of this whole tribal complex becomes the Paramount National mhondoro with authority over all the Provinces and districts in the way the National Paramount chief holds authority over the whole tribal complex. The Regional founding father becomes, after death, the Paramount Regional mhondoro with authority over his region (Province) only in the way the Regional Chief has authority over his region only. The founding fathers of the district chiefdoms become the district mhondoros with authority over their districts only, and so it goes on. In other words, it is very clear from this that the status of a mhondoro is determined by the historical position of the man or woman from whom the particular spirit emanated.

A district chief can not choose to be a regional mhondoro after death. Likewise a Regional Paramount chief can not choose to be a national mhondoro after death. History determines what he is to be as a mhondoro. We are going to examine the relevance of all this in due course.

The picture given above represents the normal evolution of a family under ideal conditions; plentiful land and the absence in the neighbourhood of competing clans of different ethnic origins. The result is that the one expanding clan occupies more and more continuous land mass. The numerous clans and sub-clans that are segmenting from the original one clan are all likely to maintain their original mutupo and possibly chidao as well. All are cou-

sins and all are aware of their original relationships or are reminded of those relationships by their common mutupo.

If they are exogamous, all these clans will not marry into each other. The evolution of a clan such as the one represented here is what I call tribal segmentation. There is no doubt that the whole tribal complex above constitutes one tribe or one nation with numerous segments which are the dynasties or clans. Side by side with segmentation, is what I call "fragmentation". To complete the story of tribal evolution, let us therefore switch over to "tribal Fragmentation".

Tribal Fragmentation

Tribal fragmentation is a form of tribal segmentation except that it goes a degree or two beyond the normal segmentation that we have witnessed above.

- (a) The new segment severs its blood relationships with its parent-dynasty by changing both its mutupo and chidao.
- (b) The new segment partially severs its blood relationships with its parent-dynasty by adopting a new chidao but without changing its mutupo.
- (c) The new segment departs from the precincts of the parent-dynasty to establish itself in a new area outside the reach of the parent-dynasty. In most cases, it adopts a new chidao in its new environment. In other cases, it adopts both a new mutupo and a new chidao.

It is misleading to suggest that these developments take place within new segments only. A segment can declare war on the parent-dynasty and defeat it. The leaders of the parent-dynasty run away to a new geographical locality and reestablish themselves as a new dynasty. It is they who may sever their blood relationships with their rising and conquering segment by adopting a new chidao or both new mutupo and chidao. The result all the same is the geographical and ethnic fragmentation of a once united and contiguous tribe consisting of numerous segments.

In history, you will not find a reasonably old dynasty (three hundred or more years old) that has experienced normal segmentation only. Likewise there is no such dynasty that has experienced fragmentation only. Every major dynasty has experienced both segmentation and fragmentation. Examine the situation in Zimbabwe and you will find this true of practically every major dynasty. The Karanga family will be our test case in this book.

Briefly, we need to examine some of the major causes of tribal fragmentation in general. The causes of segmentation are simple and straight-forward. Segmentation is a result of simple growth in numbers resulting in the occupation of more territory by the developing clan. Difficulties in communication make it difficult for the clan head to administer his remote regions directly. This forces him to parcel out his land to his sub-chiefs. In turn, the numbers under each sub-chief grow and occupy more territory. The sub-chief constitutes himself into a fully-fledged chief and proceeds to parcel out his land to his chief subordinates who in turn become his sub-chiefs and the pro-

cess goes on. This is normal controlled tribal growth or evolution. But most of the causes of fragmentation are beyond the control of the growing dynasty. Maybe, it is not altogether wrong to say that fragmentation is a result of uncontrolled or uncontrollable growth. We however have few examples of controlled fragmentation in our history.

(1) Our society is and has always been exogamous. That is, members marry from outside their clans. Individuals with the same mutupo and chidao are cousins and can not intermarry. The Dzivas lived in this country for several centuries before 1,000 A.D. without significant numbers of foreign elements amongst them. They were and are still exogamous. Yet they had to marry and multiply for their survival. The result was organized severance of blood relationships between their major houses. One major such severance of blood relationship appears to have taken place between the descendants of Muguni who became known as the Ngona or the Nguni and who tabooed the fish on one side and the descendants of Kuwena who became known as the Kuena or Ngwenya (Garwe-crocodile) and among whose descendants are the Sotho and Tswana of today. We have numerous examples of this in Zimbabwe such as between the descendants of Mutota and the descendants of Chingoo in the Korekore area in the fifteenth century.

These are examples of controlled fragmentation but whose results in the long run are not different from those of uncontrolled fragmentation.

(2) A man quarrels with his relatives and decides to migrate with his family to a foreign territory. The royal members of the foreign dynasty marry into his family. Ultimately, he or his descendant is given a ward to rule by the chief of the area and becomes his sub-chief. Because he has won a special status for himself and his family, he adopts a new chidao which becomes a badge of honour, a mark by which he distinguishes his new rising dynasty from his parent-dynasty from which he ran away. By merely acquiring a new chidao, he has semi-severed his blood relationships with his parent-dynasty and some intermarriage (though not popular) between his descendants and those of his parent-dynasty can start to take place. Although his new family is a segment of the parent-dynasty and because it has partially severed its blood relationships with the parent-dynasty by adopting a new chidao, it has also become a fragment of the parent-dynasty and therefore, partial fragmentation has taken place in this case.

(3) Our society has a strong belief in witchcraft and magic. Some individuals were believed to have magic that enabled them to steal the domestic animals of others. Examples of these are Mukanganise, the father of Svosve I, and Chikanga of the Chibi dynasty. These were believed to have magic that changed the colours of the other people's cattle. In this way, they were able to steal their neighbours' cattle. But in due course, these neighbours reacted to this and drove the culprits away. Chikanga was actually killed in Wedza for this and his descendants ran away to the south, changed both their mutupo and chidao and ended up in the present Chibi area. Here is an example of

fragmentation caused by belief in magic. This sort of thing has affected many dynasties in this country.

Many women were also accused of witchcraft. On the death of an important person or descendant of an important person, a renowned traditional doctor was hired from another district to do some witch-hunting. The woman or family smelt out could be exterminated. Very often however, the head of the family concerned ran away with his wife and children and reestablished himself in a new area far away from his agnatic relatives. In most cases, he changed his name, mutupo and chidao on the way to his new place, partly to prevent his enemies from tracking him successfully and partly as an expression of his disappointment with the behaviour of his relatives. In due course, this family may win a sub-chieftainship or chieftainship in its new area and end up as a separate and foreign dynasty. This again is an example of tribal fragmentation caused by belief in witchcraft.

(4) Quarrels over women have caused havoc to our traditional society. These could be women captured during the inter-tribal war or when one dynasty raided another dynasty. Quarrels could start over the distribution of the captured women and the contesting parties conflict over the issue. The defeated party may be driven away to end up establishing itself as a separate dynasty in a new area and far away from the victors. Because of disappointment and anger against the victorious cousins, this defeated party may decide to sever its blood relationships with its victorious cousins by adopting a new mutupo and a new chidao.

A man could be accused of making love to wives (or a wife) of his brothers or cousins. Such a man was in danger of being killed by those accusing him. He could run away with his family before he was attacked and settle in a new area far away from his agnates. Alternatively, he could have his own supporters who could end up at war with the supporters of his accusers. The defeated party ran away to a safe area outside its original chiefdom. In the new area, it established a new dynasty and possibly with a new chidao or both new mutupo and new chidao. These are a few examples of conflicts over women causing dynastic fragmentation.

(5) Inter-tribal wars were a powerful instrument of tribal fragmentation. The causes of the inter-tribal wars were innumerable. It could be desire on the part of one dynasty to capture the women or cattle of another dynasty. It could be desire on the part of one dynasty to bring the iron ore deposits or other resources in the control of another dynasty under its own control. It could be a fight over a disputed area. It could be a result of a personality conflict between two neighbouring chiefs. It could be that a dynasty sandwiched between other dynasties has grown in numbers that its own area could not accommodate and feed the rising numbers in which case it started to storm its neighbours for more land. Whatever the causes might be, some bitter inter-dynastic wars did take place and one or more dynasties were shattered completely. The shattered fragments ran away in various directions of

weakest pressure and each fragment ended up establishing a separate dynasty far away from the victors. Some of these new dynasties changed their zvidao; some changed both their mitupo and zvidao. The important point is that one bitter war could culminate in the formation of several unrelated dynasties out of one clan. This is a good example of dynastic fragmentation. (6) By far the most important cause of dynastic fragmentation was disagreement over succession to chieftainship. Among the Shona, a man who founded a new dynasty was not often succeeded by his son after his death but by one of his brothers.

When the generation of the fathers died out, the chieftainship was then inherited by the generation of the children. Each brother of the founding father looked upon himself as establishing a separate "House" that had a claim to the chieftainship. In addition, the founding father might have been having six wives each establishing a "House" that had claims to the chieftainship. As generations rolled by, the situation became so confusing that the heir to the ruling chief was never apparent. This was far more so in our collateral system than in the Nguni vertical system whereby son succeeds father. The result of it all was disagreement over succession to the Chieftainship culminating in numerous faction fights. The defeated parties often ran away with their lives and reestablished themselves in other localities and as separate dynasties. Some of them changed their zvidao. Some changed both their mitupo and zvidao. Others maintained both their original mitupo and zvidao. In this way, disagreements over succession to chieftainship were powerful catalysts for dynastic fragmentation.

This list is by no means exhaustive. For instance, a man could choose to leave his agnatic relatives and establish himself in his mother's home district away from his father's home. In due course, his descendants may win a chieftainship in their new district and in that way create a separate dynasty from that of their agnatic relatives. A man could choose to migrate to his father-in-law's home which could be districts away from his dynasty. Again in due course, his descendants could end up winning a chieftainship of their own through their own exploits. They could choose to adopt a new chidao or both new mutupo and new chidao. They could choose to maintain their old relationship with their parent-dynasty by maintaining both their original mutupo and chidao. Much depended on them, on their relationships with their parent-dynasty and on the circumstances that facilitated their acquisition of their new chieftainship.

What this does mean is that causes of tribal or dynastic fragmentation were numerous. Some new dynasties acquired new zvidao merely as a badge of honour. The founding ancestor wanted a distinguishing mark by which his own dynasty could distinguish itself from the other dynasties of his mutupo. Possibly the new chidao had special references to one or two of the special traits of the founding father such as military prowess or hunting. By adopting a new mutupo or chidao or both, these special traits were commemorated

by his descendants for as long as the dynasty remained in existence. In the same way, the members of the dynasty deified their founding father and also reminded themselves of their common ancestry with the founding father as their greatest common ancestor.

These causes of tribal and dynastic fragmentation are very important and relevant to the study of our history in this country. Many people are of the very mistaken view that the multiplicity of dynasties in this country have always been there. They have also accepted these dynasties as tribes rather than as clans-segments or fragments of older existing or extinct dynasties. May I point out that there is not one dynasty in this country that is not a segment or fragment of another dynasty, existing or extinct. Generalizations are often dangerous in history but this is one of the few that hold water.

What is most odd is that people who argue that the present dynasties have always been in existence at the same acknowledge that some dynasties are segments of other dynasties. For instance, the Masembura dynasty in Chiweshe acknowledges that it broke away from the Nyamweda Moyo Ziruvi dynasty. The Nyamweda dynasty acknowledges that it broke away from the Mangwende Moyo Muturikwa (Nhowe) dynasty. Today, this dynasty is making an effort to abandon its chidao, Ziruvi, and go back to Muturikwa which is the chidao of its parent-dynasty. But what it fails to see and acknowledge is that the Mangwende dynasty, its parent-dynasty, may in turn be a segment or fragment of another older existing or extinct dynasty. The Ndanga dynasty, Gumbo Mhizha Sambire, acknowledges that it is a segment of the Gutu Gumbo Mazhirapazhe dynasty. In turn, the Gutu dynasty acknowledges that it is a segment of the Musana Mukuvapasi dynasty. But again, they fail to see the possibility of the Musana dynasty being a segment or fragment of an older existing or extinct dynasty. Is this realistic of them? Does the history of their ancestry in this country start with Musana? The people of Chiweshe and Hwata, Shava Mufakose and Shava Mutenhesanwa, acknowledge that they broke away from Nyashanu. Right now, many of them are making an effort to abandon their present zvidao, Mufakose and Mutenhesanwa and are beginning to identify themselves with Nyashanu again by using the chidao Museyamwa, which is the chidao of their parent-dynasty. But if they go to Nyashanu, they will find that he acknowledges that he broke away from Marange of Bocha whose mutupo is Shava Mwendamberi. But again, why do they not foresee the possibility of Marange being a segment of another older dynasty, existing or extinct? Take any mutupo and you will find this true of every dynasty. Dandawa of Hurungwe knows that he broke away from Chihota, Tembo Mazvimbakupa, of the Marondera District. But Chihota knows that he broke away from Mutasa, Shumba Tembo or Tembo Samaita. Yet again, these people fail to see the possibility of Mutasa being a segment or fragment of an older dynasty. But indeed, is this realistic of us? Was there a Mutasa dynasty in 1500 or 1,000 A.D. in this country?

Before the advent of colonialism, segmentation and fragmentation were normal on-going evolutionary processes. From the above brief analysis of the major factors that brought them about, I hope you can imagine how the one original Bantu family grew, segmented, fragmented and migrated to end up occupying all Bantu Africa. This should also enable you to picture what has happened within the Shona complex alone over the last thousand years.

Segmentation and fragmentation have always been a feature of Africa before the advent of colonialism. It has been the normal thing and has affected every tribe worth the name. For a good example before we come to Zimbabwe, let us turn to Zaire for a minute.

When the Portuguese reached the Congo River in 1482, they found the area ruled by a paramount chief with the title Mani Congo. He ruled a huge area which was under the control of provincial governors all of whom were related to him and descending from the founding father whom he represented at the centre. We get a glimpse of this from the following:-

"Subsequently, although retaining a connection with the centre where provincial power was established, the clans broke up, dispersed, welcomed newcomers. Slowly they built and expanded the territory, which was subject to the authority of Mpangu and his descendants by royal delegation."¹

Clearly, one family has grown into numerous clans and has occupied a huge territory. The Paramount Chief is the source of unity. Two hundred years later in 1701, the Portuguese make the following report on the state of affairs in the Congo:-

"The news coming from the Congo is always worse and the enmities between the royal houses are tearing the kingdom further and further apart. At present, there are four kings of the Congo. There are also two great dukes of Bamba; three great dukes in Ovambo; two great dukes in Batta and four marquises of Enchus. The authority of each is declining and they are destroying each other by making war amongst themselves. Each claims to be chief. They make raids on one another in order to steal and sell their prisoners like animals".²

You can be sure that this has been the norm for all Africa and we will see a lot of it among the Karanga. It gives you an insight into how families — single families — grow, segment and fragment.

It gives you an insight into how new tribes come into existence and how they end up foreign to their one time cousins. I hope you can also see how our multiplicity of dynasties has come into existence in Zimbabwe! But do you also see the possibility of their blood relationships in 1700, 1500, 1,000? Do you see the possibility of these dynasties being a lot fewer in 1500 and still fewer in 1,000?

With this background, we shall now proceed to examine the advent of the Karanga dynasty in the region south of the Zambezi River, its growth, segmentation, fragmentation, migration and vicissitudes in that whole region. Not surprisingly, vast numbers of its members are today not called Karanga and do not even know that their ancestors have been Karanga.

The Karanga people were not the first Africans to settle in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. They were preceded by the San people (the Bushmen) and there is not any doubt on this. If the Khoikhoi people (Hottentots) have also been a feature of Zimbabwe (the evidence is not conclusive), they too preceded the Karanga. The third group of Africans to settle in the country consisted of members of the Tonga Family. The San and the Khoikhoi are members of the Bushmanoid stock; the Tonga are members of the Bantu stock. The San and Khoikhoi have never posed problems to the history of Zimbabwe. It is the Bantu who have. At any rate, when generally we talk of the pre-1890 history of Zimbabwe, we refer largely to Bantu history. It is therefore the history of Bantu groups that I concern myself with here. As far as the Bantu go therefore, the Tonga are the predecessors of the Karanga.

What the Zimbabwean needs is a continuous thread of his history. It is out of order to talk of the details of ancient Zimbabwean history before this continuous thread is established. So much has been written about Bantu migrations from the north. But the identities of the migrants are most nebulous. The result of it all has been that the picture of the migrations presented to the students is well nigh meaningless. The Bantu did not surge to the south in one mass and all in one decade or one century. In addition, the migrants were not all members of the same ethnic group. The Bantu were divided into families and each of the major families had a distinct identity of its own. It is the failure of the historian to realize this that has kept the Bantu migrations to the south meaningless. It is these identities that enable us to say who migrated to the south first, who migrated next and who migrated last and when.

The Bantu were divided into three distinct groups and this is not in doubt. I have no problem in discerning them even today. Archaeology has discovered three distinct Bantu groups. African traditions and customs point at three distinct groups all over Bantu Africa. Fortunately too, the Zambezi Mission Record also discovered the three distinct groups. As stated by the Rev. Francis Marconnes,

"In a recent article, BANTU SOUTH OF THE ZAMBEZI, published in the ZAMBEZI MISSION RECORD, January 1932, it was shown that three

the ZAMBEZI MISSION RECORD, January 1932, it was shown that three — and only three — Bantu races came down from the north into the present Southern Rhodesia — The Tonga, the Nyais and the Karangas.”³

The Zambezi Mission Record calls them the three Bantu races. I call them three distinct segments of one Bantu race. Of these three, the Tonga were the first to migrate into Zimbabwe from Zambia and this will be demonstrated in this chapter. The next were the Karanga who are the subject of this book. The third were the Nyais (as the Zambezi Mission Record puts them) who are the Mutapas and their descendants and followers. I will not worry much about them here for they are the subject of a separate work. Rev. Marconnes places a special emphasis on “three” and indeed that figure deserves maximum attention.

Because the Tonga were the first Bantu family to migrate into Zimbabwe, they hold the starting point of our history thread in this country. Because the Mutapas (the Nyais) were the last to come into the country, they hold the other end of our history thread. The Karangas are holding the central portions of the thread.

A question immediately arises: if the Karanga were preceded by the Tonga, why have I chosen to devote this book to the Karanga? Why do I look upon the Karanga as establishing the first foundations of Zimbabwe? Is it indeed not the Tonga who established the first layers of those foundations? The Tonga infiltrated into the country in very small numbers; after settling in Zimbabwe, they spread across the breadth of the country in small family units and were not able to establish what may be called a Tonga kingdom or Tonga Empire — if that was ever their aim; they were overwhelmed numerically, militarily and politically by their successors the Karanga and were completely submerged and integrated into the system of the newcomers. In this way, traces of Tonga history and culture were wiped out by the Karanga. It does not appear proper then to look upon the Tonga as laying the first layers of the foundations of Zimbabwe when in fact what they stood for was wiped out by their successors. This is not true of the Karanga. Although they were overwhelmed by the Mutapas, their culture was never wiped out and as I will show in this book, traces of that culture are evident even today. The Mutapas completed the foundations laid by the Karanga.

Tonga Identity Marks

No doubt, one question that will wrangle in the minds of some readers is: how can one distinguish members of the Tonga Family from the Karanga and, the Karanga from the Mutapas? I have stated that each of the three groups had (and up to a point, still has) its own distinguishing marks — its own identity card. Before we trace Tonga migrations into Zimbabwe therefore, it is necessary to pinpoint the Tonga identity marks first so that the reader gets to know the people I am here talking about.

The most prominent Tonga distinguishing mark is MATRILINY. This means that the family units are dominated by women and not by men. When

means that the family units are dominated by women and not by men. When a Tonga man marries, he migrates to the home of his bride. The children he breeds with his bride are not his but belong to the bride's family. His children adopt the totem of their mother. They also inherit the property and positions from their maternal uncles. If a Tonga man happens to be a chief, his chieftainship is not inherited by his brothers or sons after his death, but by the son of his elder sister. The sons of his sisters are looked upon as his real sons. For evidence of this, let us for a moment cast our eyes across Africa.

The Congo which is today called Zaire, was and is still dominated by tribes and clans of Tonga origin. Very shortly, we are going to trace Tonga migrations into Zimbabwe. But we will discover that those Tonga groups had originally come from the Congo. About that ancient Congolese kingdom, one authority states,

“The system was therefore strongly matrilineal: the mother and son were of the same clan; but the father remained a stranger in the clanic sense, even if he did provide access to paternal kinship . . . The children do not inherit from their fathers, but only from their mothers and their maternal relatives. The father's property passes to the children of his uterine sisters.”⁴

This indeed should not be news to us. We have numerous Tonga communities in the Zambezi Valley which still live almost as they did before the advent of colonialism. The Zambian region between Livingstone and the Kafue River up to about Lusaka is almost totally Tonga and has always been so. What has been described by Balandier above is still their way of life of this day. Cross over to Malawi and you will find the Tonga communities there practising the same system. Go down to the southern tip of Mozambique and you will still find the Tonga communities there practising matriliney.

What the scholars are not generally aware of is that the large numbers of communities all over Africa and that practice matriliney but are not called Tonga, are originally Tonga. Over the past centuries, the original Tonga dynasty grew, segmented and fragmented the same way the other two grew. Each segment picked on a new clan name and made its own history. Its segments in turn grew, segmented and fragmented, the different fragments picking on new clan names. But they all maintained their major distinguishing mark which is matriliney. The other two Bantu Families are strictly patrilineal and are therefore the opposite of the Tonga. The dividing line between them is unmistakable. I am aware that there are a few communities all over Africa who lived in the midst of the Tonga, were acculturated and converted to matriliney from patriliney in the way a few matrilineal communities were also acculturated to patriliney. But these are small minorities and can easily be traced back to their original Bantu Family. Generally therefore, wherever you come across a matrilineal community, whether still called Tonga or not, you can be almost certain that you have come across a group whose ancestry is Tonga. Let us, for a brief moment cast our eyes across Africa for examples. Pringle makes the following report on Malawi in 1883:-

“It is a fact which at first sounds very extraordinary, that among the Ajawa (Chewa), the heir is usually a sister’s son; and if a man has no sister — a rare event — he sometimes chooses even a more distant relative.”⁵

If you cross over to East Africa, you will find a region referred to as “the matrilineal belt”. Come down to Angola and you will find that the dominant communities are matrilineal. If you go into the history of their origins, you will find that they migrated from the Congo area, the very area from which the Zambian and Zimbabwean Tonga migrated. That they are all matrilineal is not an accident nor is it of recent origins. It was determined by history and at the very start of the Bantu race.

But matriliney is not the only Tonga identity mark. The following is a second one:-

“The Batoka (Tonga) have a pleasant and mild expression of countenance, and are easily distinguished from the other Africans by the singular fashion of wearing no upper front teeth, all persons of both sexes having them knocked out in early life.”⁶

The unpolluted (unacculturated) Tonga on the Tonga plateau in Zambia and south of the Zambezi River near Lake Kariba still knock out their top front teeth to this day. But generally, ever since the advent of colonialism, the Tonga communities elsewhere have been increasingly abandoning the practice. It is a painful one; it does not enhance their beauty, to put it mildly. The important point however is that there is no other Bantu group that practises this custom and therefore it is one of the Tonga distinguishing marks.

There is yet a third Tonga identity mark. Let us start off from Malawi.

“Nearly every woman here (Malawi around Katunga’s village in 1882) wears the perele or pelele. When she is a little girl, a small hole is pierced through the middle of her upper lip, and into this is pressed a small wooden pin to prevent the puncture from closing up.”⁷

David Livingstone, exploring the area between Barotseland and the Victoria Falls (typical Tonga area), saw the following:-

“The women here are in the habit of piercing the upper lip, and gradually enlarging the orifice until they can insert a shell. The tip then appears drawn out beyond the perpendicular of the nose and gives them a most ungainly aspect. Rings are sometimes inserted in these orifices; the commonest are made of bamboo, but others are of ivory or metal.”⁸

Far to the north, we get the following report about the Shillok people of the Sudan:-

“The women perforate the upper lip and wear an ornament about four inches long, of beads upon an iron wire, which projects like the horn of a rhinoceros.”⁹

Illustrations 1, 2 and 3: see next page

There is yet a fourth identity mark for the Tonga. For this, let us start from Zimbabwe and climb up north.



Figure No. 1: Tonga girls with nose-plugs



Figure No. 2: Head-ring of shells worn by girls of the Zambezi Valley Tonga

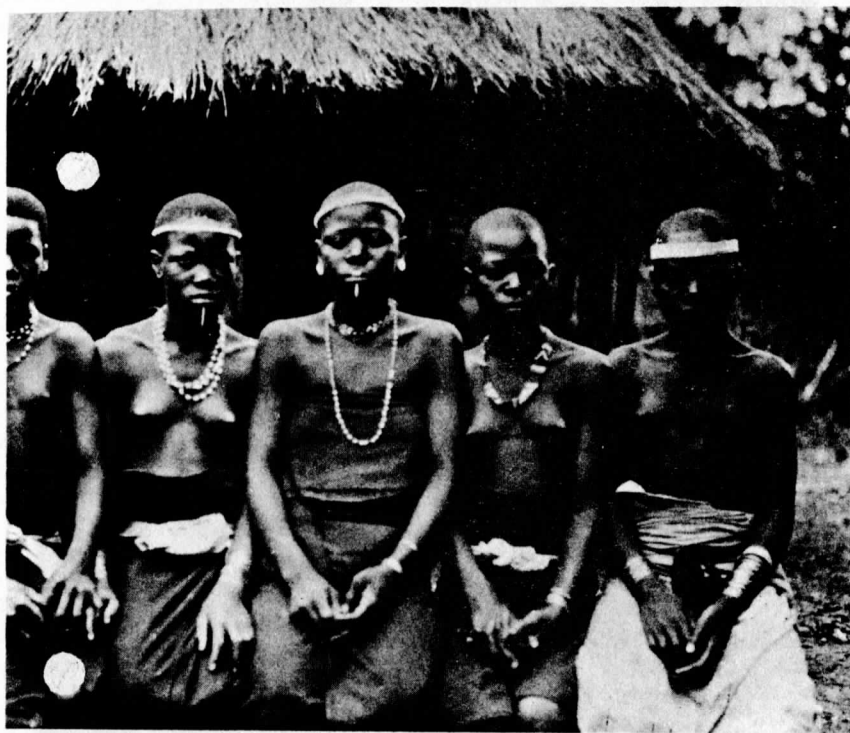


Figure No. 3: Tonga girls with the pelele

"Some tribes expect their women to be much more marked by cuttings on the face and chest than others. The tribes in the Darwin district have a hole in their upper lip as well as a great number of regular lines of grouped scar patterns. In the hole in the lip, it is the playful habit to put a straw for everyday wear."¹⁰

What are here referred to as "cuttings" are what are normally known as "tattoos".

I have picked on the Mount Darwin community first to indicate to you that the Bantu Family associated with the pelele is also the same one associated with the tattoos. The particular pattern of the tattoos distinguishes one Tonga family from another Tonga family. This is echoed by Livingstone from Malawi and about Malawi:-

"They are not handsome, the women especially and very plain and universally wear the pelele or lip-ornament. All the natives are tattooed from head to foot, the figures being characteristic of the tribes and varying with them."¹¹

If we cross over the Zaire, the picture becomes even clearer:

"Tattooing (Nsamba) had more complex functions. It took the place of identity cards, each region, each village even, had a type of tattooing peculiar to itself which was recognized by its location (forehead, cheek, shoulders, back, chest) and by the arrangement of its motifs."¹²

Tattooing had always taken the place of identity cards. The styles were increasing and becoming complicated just because the communities were increasing. Each particular community wanted to distinguish itself from its member-communities; it wanted to distinguish its particular chieftainship from the chieftainships of its other Tonga cousins.

Far to the north, in the Gondokoro area of the Sudan, we hear the following from Samuel Baker:-

"They are tattooed upon the stomach, sides and back so closely that it has the appearance of a broad belt of fish-scales, more especially if they are rubbed with red ochre, which is a prevailing fashion."¹³

I stated earlier that there was a need for "anthropological" historians. I went further to state that African history was in the traditions and customs of the African themselves. Already, before we go very far, I hope that the reader can start seeing the validity of those assertions. What I have given you is not even all that distinguished the Tonga from the other two Bantu Families. For instance, Livingstone, examining the Bashinje of Angola discovered that they inserted "bits of sticks or reeds in the septum" and this refers to the pelele. He adds, "Their teeth are deformed by being filed to points". He goes on, "The young men twine their hair in the form of a single horn, projecting over their forehead in front. They frequently tattoo their bodies producing a variety of figures in the form of stars".¹⁴

Illustrations 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9: see next pages

We have had enough of the Tonga identity marks. What the reader must be aware of is that it is not everybody in Africa who files teeth or tattoos his body or wears a pelele or knocks off his upper front teeth. This is confined to members of a particular African family. That you should find these identity marks in every region of Africa is evidence of the degree of segmentation and fragmentation that have taken place in that family. It is also evidence of the long distances covered by members of that particular family during the process of migrating. It is these "identity cards" plus oral history and the little written that together help us to trace these communities to their original Bantu Family. There is clearly an absolute need of studying the African customs and traditions carefully and in detail for, they are full of meaning.

Before we proceed to the migrations of the Tonga into Zimbabwe, one more question must be answered. Why was this large Bantu Family called TONGA? The answer to this is not far-fetched. The name was derived from the verb KUTONGA which means to rule or to govern. When discipline runs down in a village and each member does pretty well what he or she pleases,



Figure no. 4: Tonga tattoos on the face, chest and arms

t e Shona elders say “Musha wangu wave weVatonga” and this literally means “My home or village has become a Tonga village”. When there is disorder in a Shona village and authority is ignored, the Shona elders say “Musha wangu wave neDonga watonga” meaning authority has been dissipated and every one governs himself. Thus the name Tonga in Shona circles stands for dissipated authority, fragmentation, personal or family autonomy. It stands for absence of central control be it at family, village or clan level.

There is no doubt that the Tonga were generally fragmented and lacked central control. Why this should have been their common feature is not difficult to discover. It is largely their matriliney that accounted for it. There is evidence that early in their history Tonga families, villages and clans were actually ruled by women. By virtue of their physical weakness vis-a-vis men, it was not easy for these Tonga women to keep the men married into the



Figure no. 5: Makua woman tattooed on the face



Figure No. 6: Hair-style: Very likely to be associated with the rhino



Figure no. 7: Hair-style: Very likely to be associated with the buffalo

home under control. Even sons of these women could easily rebel against domination by the physically weaker but politically and socially superior women. In fact, it looks as if this is the way in which most Tonga chieftainships changed hands from women to men.

What then generally happened was that because of absence of central control, Tonga family units just drifted off as they felt fit to establish their literally independent homes where they chose to. The migration of these units into Zambia and Zimbabwe before 800 A.D. confirms this. Archaeology has discovered scattered family units. There is no evidence of centralized polities anywhere. This must be why the Karanga found it easy to overwhelm and even submerge the Tonga who preceded them in Zimbabwe. We cannot legitimately argue that they submerged them because they were numerically superior. But they were certainly politically superior because they had central authority as we are going to discover in the next chapter. So then, it appears evident that the Tonga were given this name because of their political weakness which in turn entailed military weakness. The name implies autonomy at every level which brought military weakness in its train.

Tonga Migrations

For the migrations of the Tonga, as for the other two, archaeology becomes particularly important. Because we are dealing with the earliest Iron Age period, oral traditions are almost silent. To make the story of the migrations reasonably complete, we have to take it from Zambia and take it down

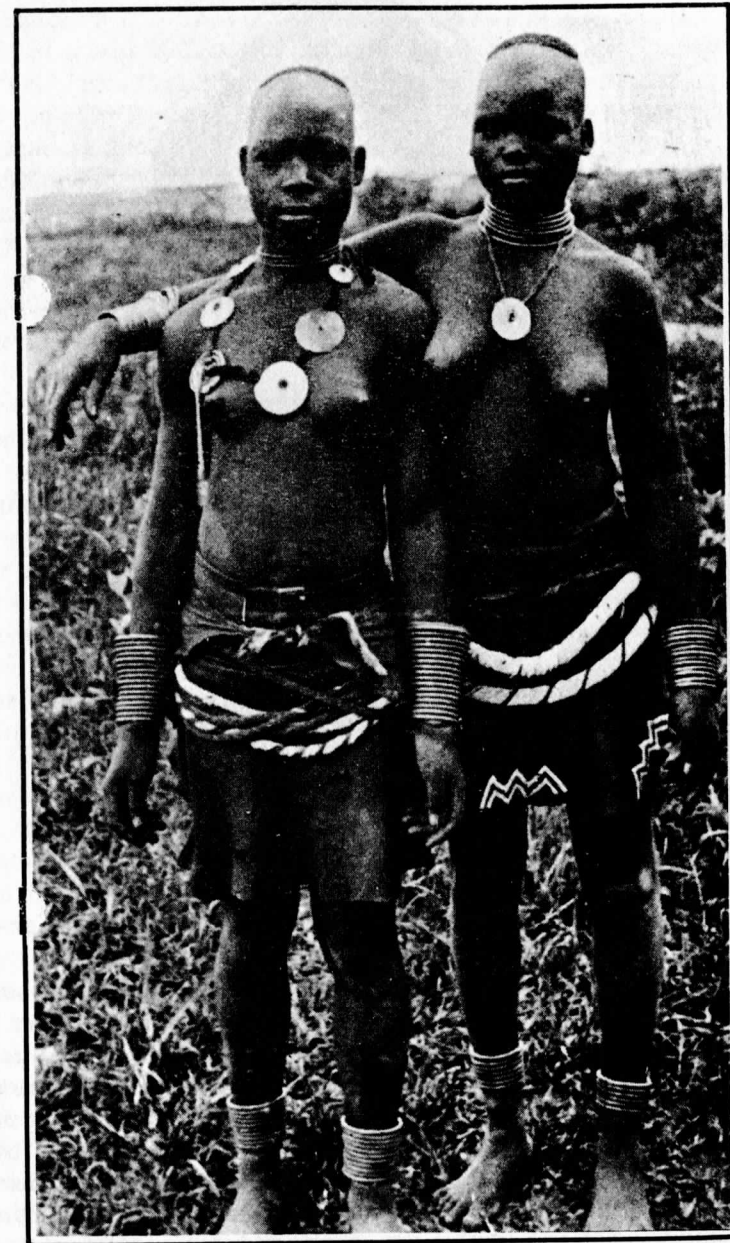


Figure no. 8: Tonga girls wearing the ndoro.

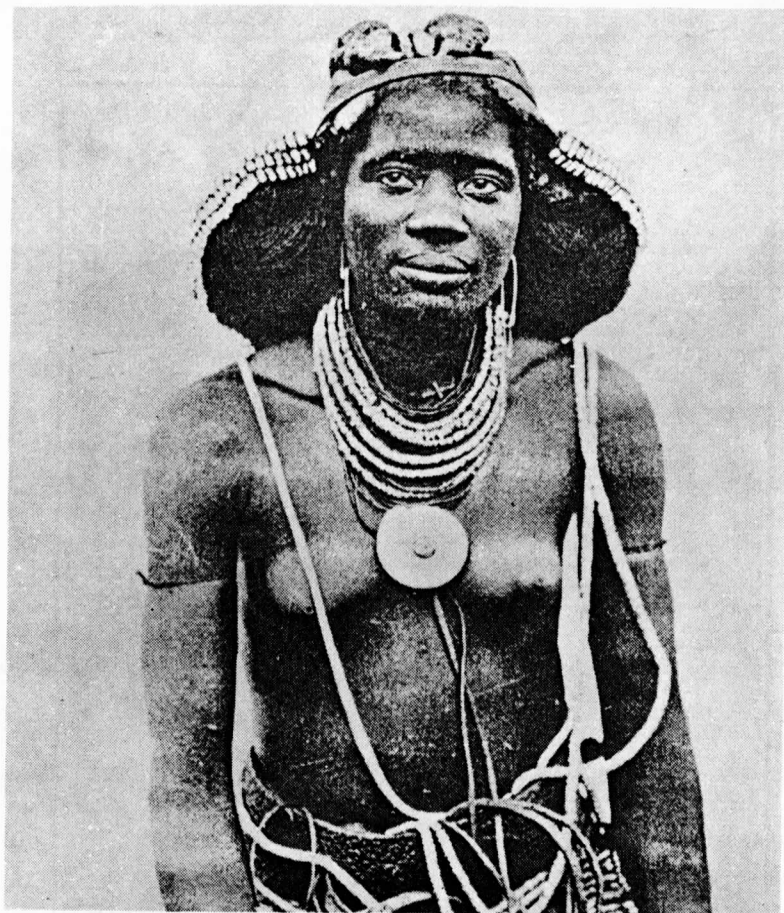


Figure No. 9: Ambo woman, Namibia, wearing the ndoro

across the Limpopo into South Africa. I repeat what I said earlier that you cannot study Zimbabwe in isolation as if a Berlin Wall shielded her from her whole neighbourhood.

The Tonga who were the first Bantu people to settle in Zimbabwe came from Zambia and appear to have crossed into the country through the north-west i.e. through the area of the Victoria Falls (called Chongwe by the Africans before the Kololo and Ndebele). As we are going to see, their successors came in through the north-east and were not coming from Zambia. There can thus be no confusion between them.

The best thing to do would have been to trace Tonga migrations from the Congo to make our story as complete as possible. But the archaeological

record of the Congo area is not very clear and not much work appears to have been done in that area. However, there is tentative evidence to suggest that Iron Age Bantu people were already in the area by the year 100 B.C. What has come to be called Dimple-based pottery which is very much a feature of the Lakes area of East Africa, has been found in Zaire at a centre called Tshikapa. There is also tentative evidence to suggest that the Congo area was occupied by Bantu people before East Africa. Even the linguistic theories of Greenburg and Guthrie suggest the same.

Therefore we shall take it for granted that the Bantu who migrated into Zambia at the beginning of the last millenium were coming from the Congo area. At least, there is no doubt that they were coming from the northern direction and north of Zambia is Zaire.

The first Iron Age settlement discovered in Zambia was Machili which registered a radiocarbon date of A.D. 96 plus or minus 212. The second was Lusu which registered a radiocarbon date of B.C. 186 plus or minus 180. These dates are not looked upon as very reliable since the radiocarbon dating system invented by Libby was in its infancy. We can therefore adjust the dates to a round figure of between 100 and 200 A.D. for Machili and Lusu. This then means that the first Bantu to arrive in Zambia did so somewhere between 100 and 200 A.D.

The Batoka Plateau (Tonga plateau) running from Livingstone to the Kafue River has been excavated extensively. The centre of these excavations was Kalundu which registered the earliest date of between 300 and 400 A.D. If we cross over to north-east Zambia, we come across Kalambo Falls on the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika. The earliest occupation here registers the date of between 300 and 400 A.D. Moreover, as our Iron Age archaeologists put it, "The pottery from Kalambo included, on the one hand, vessels identical to that from Machili (in the far south-western corner), and on the other hand, a wealth of grooved and incised sherds which bore an obvious resemblance to the Dimple-based pottery which the Leakeys had recently found at Urewe and other sites in western Kenya".¹⁵

There can thus be no doubt that the earliest Bantu people to occupy north-eastern Zambia were closely related to those represented by Machili, Lusu, Kalundu and associated sites in the south-western corner of Zambia. At the same time, there can be no doubt that this whole culture represents Tonga families. To begin with, our Iron Age specialists quoted above state, "... in contrast with western Zambia, where the Longwebungu pottery descending from the Early Iron Age traditions is invariably made by men, the work of the Luangwa tradition is all the work of women".¹⁶ In all Bantu circles, the only men who have been known to make pottery are Tonga men. All the others look upon this occupation as strictly for women. Therefore, the western traditions alluded to above, can only be Tonga traditions.

Even more significant than this, the Tonga Plateau between Livingstone and Lusaka which is the centre of all these western traditions have been oc-

cupied by Tonga people from the earliest days (about 100 A.D. as I suggested) to the very present.

The cultures excavated in the area can thus only be Tonga cultures. Our Iron Age archaeologists sum up the findings of David Phillipson in the following words: Recently, David Phillipson, following a careful review of the Early and the Late Iron Age pottery traditions throughout Zambia, has reached the conclusion that none of the developments which occurred during the first millennium A.D. need be regarded as a radical break with earlier traditions. Indeed, he believes that in the western half of the country the traditions established by the Early Iron Age potters persisted, with only local evolutionary changes, until the Kololo invasion of Barotseland in the early 19th century."¹⁷

We know what people occupied the area between Livingstone and Lusaka at the time of the Kololo invasions and these were Tonga people. They have not shifted from that area to this day and are on both sides of the Zambezi. We have no reason therefore to doubt that these earliest occupants of Zambia, at least in the west, were ancestors of the present Tonga people.

It is exactly from the direction of the Tonga Plateau that the earliest Bantu migrants into Zimbabwe infiltrated the country. You can easily follow this from the archaeological map whose main centres I shall here indicate.

The area of densest settlement in Zambia is between Lusu and the Kafue River. Closest to Livingstone is the Dambwa site. South of the Zambezi River in the Hwange Game Reserve is the Kapula Vleis site. South-east of that is Leopard's Kopje very close to Bulawayo. Directly to the east is Gokomere. To the south of Gokomere is Great Zimbabwe. To the south-west of Great Zimbabwe is Mabveni and to the south of Mabveni is Malapati.

We have put down the date for the settlement at Lusu and Machili at about 100 A.D. The rest of the western Zambian settlements register earliest dates of between 200 and 400 A.D. The earliest Bantu settlements in Zimbabwe are classified as Zimbabwe Period I and this starts between 300 and 400 A.D. The earliest settlement at Gokomere produced a radiocarbon date of between 300 and 400 A.D.; the Mabveni site produced a date of between 200 and 300 A.D.; Gokomere-type ware has been found at both Malapati in the Limpopo Valley and at Kapula Vleis in the Hwange Game Reserve.

From this alone, there can be no doubt that the earliest Bantu people to settle in Zimbabwe did so somewhere between 200 and 400 A.D. That they settled in the west first should not be surprising. They were coming from western Zambia through the area of the Victoria Falls (Chongwe). Not surprisingly, the archaeologists who worked on this evidence "recognized that the stamped and grooved pottery displayed the basic features of the earliest wares found north of the Zambezi and in East Africa".¹⁸ All these settlements must inevitably represent Tonga infiltration into Zimbabwe.

At the beginning of this chapter, we found the Zambezi Mission Record stating that there were "only three Bantu races" that settled in Zimbabwe

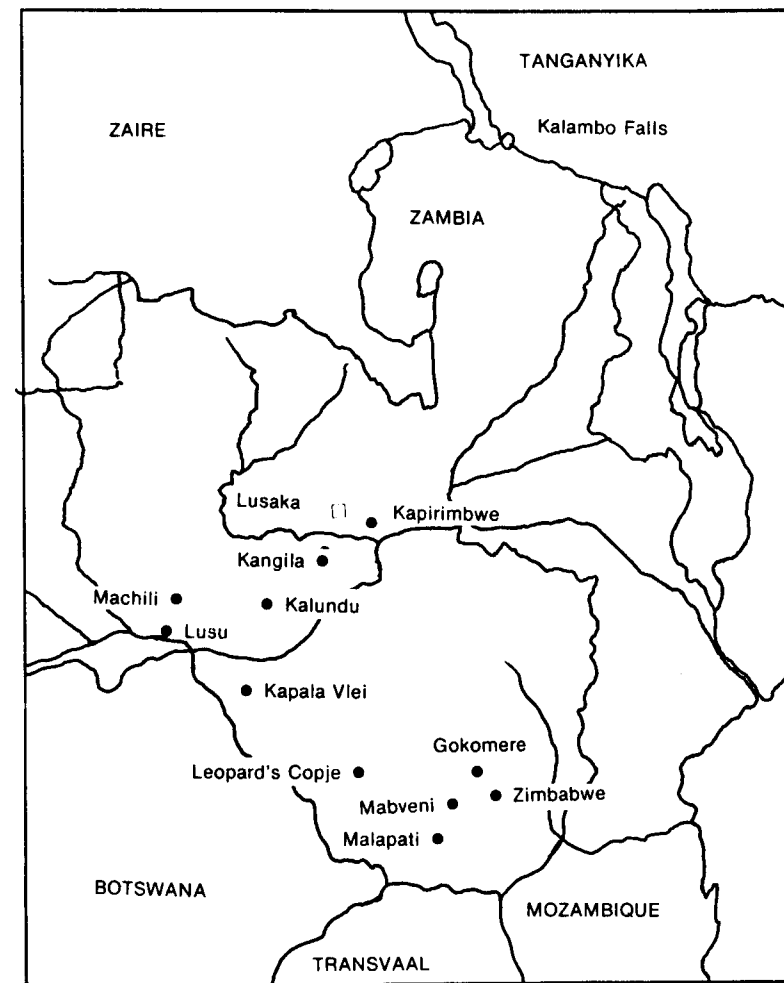


Figure No. 10: Tonga Migration into Zimbabwe

from the north. The first of them are these Tonga people. Archaeologically, they are represented by Zimbabwe Period I. The next are the Karanga who, archaeologically, are represented by Zimbabwe Period II. The third and last are the Mutapas (called the Nyais by the Zambezi Mission Record) who are archaeologically represented by Zimbabwe Period III. Thus the trio hinted by oral evidence is supported by archaeological evidence:

To complete the Tonga migrations to the south, let us push the story to the region south of the Limpopo (Vembe) River. The earliest evidence of Bantu settlement south of the Limpopo was found at Castle Cavern in Swaziland. This has been radiocarbon dated to between 350 and 500 A.D. The next site was found at Happy Rest Farm near Louis Trichard in the Transvaal. The pottery found here is looked upon as closely resembling that

found at Gokomere and Malapati. We thus have no reason to doubt that segments of the Tonga who settled in Zimbabwe infiltrated the regions south of the Limpopo very quickly. There was no barrier to their movements since the only other Africans in their midst were Bushmen and Hottentots whom they do not even seem to have been at war with. It should also be borne in mind that the fragmented nature of Tonga institutions, as hinted earlier, for which they won the name they bear, lends itself to rapid movements but in small pockets. The Tonga migrations into Zimbabwe were in no way an invasion of the area. The San and Khoikhoi predecessors appear to have been by far in the majority. No doubt, because they were a pastoral people, cattle raids between them and their shorter colleagues must have taken place. But it looks out of order to talk of wars between them. I would go so far as to say that if a more powerful and highly structured Bantu group had not arrived in the country around 800 A.D. it is possible that the Tonga were going to be submerged by their San and Khoikhoi neighbours. It is for these reasons that I am reluctant to make any references to a Tonga Kingdom or empire in Zimbabwe between 300 and 800 A.D. for there was indeed no empire or Kingdom to talk about. Mere infiltration and settlement do not necessarily constitute a kingdom. It is control of an area and the nature of the political and social institutions that determine whether or not occupation qualifies for a kingdom or an empire.

Do we have concrete evidence to prove that these Zimbabwe Period I people were indeed Tonga? Indeed we do and we are going to discover the supreme importance of our identity marks in this exercise here. An archaeologist T.N. Huffman writes,

"Few human skeletons have survived from any phase of the Early Iron Age but the half-dozen adult skeletons which have been found have all recently been identified as Negro. Some other Early Iron Age skeletons which were too fragmentary for racial analysis exhibited several types of dental mutilation. Some specimens had upper and lower central incisors, removed and others had them filed to points. This practice is not recorded for Bushmen or Hottentot communities, but it is a well known Negro trait and helps confirm the Negro racial identification."¹⁹

Here is a vitally important discovery by our archaeologists. But its vital significance has not been appreciated just because we have no "anthropological" historians as I stressed earlier. If the African historian knew his culture, he would not have taken a minute to point out the significance of this great discovery. The knocking off of the central incisors and the filing of front teeth are not just a "negro racial identification"; they are specifically Tonga identification marks.

In 1979, van der Merwe and Huffman had this to report about the Naba site near Karoi,

"The burial . . . was that of an elderly woman buried on her back. The upper and lower central incisors had been removed during the woman's lifetime . . . Copper and iron bangles were around her ankles, a few shell

beads near her right hip and an iron bracelet close to the right humerus, although the latter may have slipped off the left wrist."²⁰

As we are going to discover in the next chapter, one of the identity marks of the Kalanga people is aversion against fish and shells. The people described above can in no way be confused with the Kalanga but are typically Tonga. If we proceed to the Lanroy site near Karoi, we find the following:-

"Naba and Lanroy were in typical Iron Age village locations . . . The human skeletons from both sites demonstrate that it was common practice to bury the dead within the confines of the community and it is interesting to note that dental mutilation was common among these people 1000 years ago.

Similar dental mutilation has been recorded on Negro skeletons at Mt. Ziwa (de Villiers 1970), Broederstream (Van Reenen 1975), Ingombe Ilede (Chaplin 1962; Fagan, Phillipson and Daniel, 1969; Rightmire, 1970); Monk's Cop (Crowford 1967) and Graniteside (Trevor Jones 1972; Rightmire 1970). Dental mutilations has also been recorded for several Bantu-speaking people in South Africa; for instance, the Ambo (Stefanisyn 1964); Plateau and Valley Tonga (Reynolds 1968 . . .)."²¹

The Ambo of Namibia are matrilineal and that they should practise dental mutilation like the Tonga should not surprise us.

"The Naba and Lanroy ceramics are the same as those from several other sites in the Urungwe District and these include Charara, Nyakasanga, Muyove, Nyaodza, Toronanga, Rydings, Dixie, Halstead, Siso and Chinhoyi Caves."²²

The connection with Zambia here is important, "Sinoia pottery is more closely related to Kalundu and Kapwirimbwe north of the Zambezi . . . The similarities include concave jar rims and a predominant use of triangles, heringbone, alternating lines and alternating punctates — the same features which distinguish Sinoia from Ziwa. . .

Kalundu and Kapwirimbwe are earlier than Sinoia and in human terms therefore, Sinoia represents a southward movement of Iron Age people across the Zambezi from the Kalundu/Kapirimbwe area"²³

All this confirms my earlier argument that the first Bantu people to migrate into Zimbabwe were Tonga people from Zambia. If we cross over to Namibia, we find exactly the same. Here, there are two important sites called Kapako and Vungu Vungu which record dates of 800-900 A.D. About Vungu Vungu, our archaeologists state,

"Dr. Oliver identified the remains of hippopotami, fish, birds, various types of bovids and shell. Most of the bones were those of mammals, although fish and birds were also represented."²⁴

This culture represents the opposite of that of the Kalanga who tabooed the hippo, fish, birds and shells as we are going to see in the next chapter. The Mbire-Nyai have never been a feature of that area. "These people are part of the matrilineal belt that extends across Central Africa; they differ from other Bantu people in that the men are potters although Kwangali women also

make pots."²⁵ Thus from every angle, all these Early Iron Age people who dominated the interior of Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe were unequivocally Tonga. We are no longer guessing but we know beyond any doubt from their identity marks, that they were Tonga and thanks to the archaeologists! But if the Tonga were the first to migrate into Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe, they must also be the first to migrate into Botswana and Azania.

Our next question is: What happened to these Tonga people after the arrival of the Kalanga? Were they wiped out, absorbed or driven to Azania and Botswana?

In Zimbabwe, we have come across nebulous Kalanga memories of Bantu people who preceded them. I stated that these people were few and scattered and were completely submerged by their Kalanga newcomers. In the Nguni area of Azania, fish middens have been found in areas associated with fish-avoiding communities and this has proved to be a puzzle. About the Nguni area, our archaeologists state, "given the geographical location of Swaziland, there can be little doubt that the miners of Castle Cavern were in a sense, ancestors of the NGUNI people, who from the earliest historical times have been the south-eastern most of all the Bantu people, inhabiting the only well-watered region of South Africa, between the Drakensberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean. The leading ethnographic studies are in agreement that the Nguni are an amalgam of a formerly matrilineal stock of cultivators and fisherfolk, of a type represented today by the Tsonga of Southern Mozambique, and a patrilineal and pastoral stock, with a strong aversion to fish-eating, which entered the south eastern coastal plain from the interior plateau at a later date. The Swaziland miners could well be seen as the pioneers of the first of these two elements."²⁵ Shall we broaden this and say "the Mbedzi are an amalgam of a formerly matrilineal stock of cultivators and fisher-folk, of a type represented today by the Tsonga and a patrilineal and pastoral stock with a strong aversion to fish-eating".

The matrilineal people were of Tonga stock and this, we do not doubt. The patrilineal people with a strong aversion to fish-eating were the Dziva Kalanga people, both Kwena and Nguni. On the surface, we see nothing but the Nguni and the Kwena in all Azania except for small clear pockets of Tonga people in the east. This means that although both the Nguni and Kwena are an amalgam, the Kalanga were the stronger party and they "drowned" the Tonga elements and not vice versa. The question is, were they submerged as to make it completely impossible for us to disentangle some of them?

This is now where a thorough knowledge of the identity marks of the original three Great Bantu Families becomes vital. Without that knowledge, we find ourselves completely helpless in sorting out this jig-saw puzzle. There are large numbers of former Tonga communities on both sides of the Limpopo. Today, they are all classified as Mbedzi and Dziva and indeed they

have acquired most of the identity marks of the Dziva people including the mutupo Dziva. This is what makes it very difficult for us to suspect that below the surface, there may be something different from what we see on the surface.

Oral traditions on both sides of the Limpopo, though confused, give us clues as to who are the true Mbedzi and who might not be. So far, we have two clear communities whose identities we do not doubt. These are the Mbedzi descending from Saruvimbi and associated with Marungudzi and the Venda of Soko Mbire origins. We have taken it that the Mbedzi are the predecessors and the Venda are newcomers who defeated their predecessors. This, so far appears to be correct and oral traditions are almost unanimous that this is so. But on close examination, you find that the Mbedzi people suggest or infer that they too were preceded by a few communities. Those communities are today treated as Mbedzi. The Mbedzi are not quite able to tell us whether or not the communities were an integral part of them at the beginning. Yet at the same time, they tend to single them out as something apart originally. Foremost among such communities are the Ngona, the Tavatsindi the Kwindi and the Rembetu. Interestingly, all these communities have segments on both sides of the Limpopo. The whole group known by the name GOVA or GOVHA deserves very close scrutiny. Everywhere however, the community known as NGONA is mentioned as definitely the first to settle on both sides of the Limpopo. On the 16th of May, 1969, Gray and Ralushai quoted an informant as saying, "When we came here, we found that the land belonged to the Ngona".²⁶ They add, "But perhaps the most suggestive point, and one with fairly wide implications, was Kutame's statement that before Mufanadzo's instalment by Ligeise the area of Mianzwi had been occupied by the Ngona".^{26a}

Let us then for a moment concentrate on the Ngona. What does the name Ngona mean, to begin with? For the answer to this question, let us cross over to Malawi. "Yearly, numbers of women, children and deer are carried off by these treacherous creatures (crocodiles). The women are generally attacked while they are getting water. In a number of villages we saw them using a calabash fastened to the end of a long pole with which they drew the water up the banks for fear of the ngona (crocodile)".²⁷

The NGONA is a crocodile. The KWENA is a crocodile. This then only stresses that the people called Ngona are only another segment of the Kwena. The question is: were they known as Ngona in the year 900 A.D., for instance, or they adopted this name after assimilation by the Kwena? If we keep on scrutinizing them we discover that the same Ngona are also referred to as the DAU or NDAU people. This means I ION and it serves as their mutupo. This associates them with land and not water. If we look abroad along our southern frontier, we also find that the Twamamba people such as Chief Kwalu's segment are also DAU and TAU by mutupo and this again means I ION. The Twamamba of chief Mhike are also DAU or TAU and

this again means LION. But the Tavatsinde are also DAU or TAU and so are the Kwindi. Chief Bangwe has the tribal name VADAU and this means the LION people. His mutupo is actually Shumba. The REYA people in both Gwanda and Mberengwa are called DAWU people and this again means LION although at the same time they call themselves Mbedzi and Ngwenya. The Rembetu people cited among the earliest to settle in the Transvaal also have the totem DAU and this again means LION. The Jahunda of Gwanda are also called Vadau and they too are associated with the lion.

The picture starting to emerge is very interesting. About half the communities in our southern frontier all claiming to be Mbedzi and Kwenya are emerging to be a tribe on their own but within a tribe. I am afraid even the Lovedu who are claimed to be part of the Venda may well emerge to be part of this submerged family complex. The Rembetu are certainly sighted to be among the earliest with the Ngoni to settle in the Transvaal and are said to be Mbedzi and Dziva. Yet, in addition to their being DAU, this is what we hear about their ancestors: "People possessed by the Rembetu spirits wear the ndoro, and the Rembetu are one of the ancient Govha clans on the Lower Vhubwe and the Limpopo."²⁸

The Rembetu spirits are the ancestors of the Rembetu community. They reflect the original identity of the Rembetu people far better than their living descendants who can be acculturated and be persuaded or even forced to abandon their identity marks. In the north-east, we will see Karuva and Chikara completely shunning the ndoro because their ancestry has a Dziva identity. For the Rembetu spirits to associate themselves with the ndoro is very good evidence to prove that the Rembetu ancestry is not Dziva and Kwenya. If you go further to analyse the practices of all the above communities that are DAU or TAU, you will discover that none of them taboo the ndoro. You will also find that all of them eat fish. Underneath, they are indeed a separate community from the Kalanga Dziva Family.

The Lovedu of the famous queen Mujaji must be brought into this camp. They taboo the dove and this suggests association with the Kalanga people. But they use the ndoro and eat fish. In addition, they are matrilineal and the dominance of the female spirit, Mujaji, is further evidence of the dominance of women in their society in their ancient history. They are bracketed together with the Venda. This may only be correct in the sense that they migrated from Venda territory. Migrating from Venda territory does not necessarily mean original common ancestry with the Venda of Mbire origins.

This analysis of our southern frontier forces us to arrive at the conclusions reached by Von Sicard, "It can be safely stated that the Ngoni were Tonga, keeping many features of the ancient pre-Bantu culture, as for instance the absence of tribal chiefs . . ."²⁹ He supports Stayt's findings and adds, "As Stayt rightly remarks, many Dau have been Tonga."³⁰ It is not

only the Ngoni who have been Tonga. It is the whole chain of communities on both sides of the Limpopo who are DAU or TAU or NDAU or DAWU. It is clear that these people are segments of one community called DAU but with all the identity marks of the Tonga and therefore must have been originally Tonga. They were overwhelmed and submerged by the Kalanga people. Superficially, they are Dziva and Mbedzi but deep down, they have maintained their cultural substratum. These are the people whose ancestors are represented by Zimbabwe Period 1. These ancestors were the first Bantu people to settle south of the Zambezi River. The Kalanga were next. The Mutapas were the third and last. These are the Bantu tribes that together constitute the whole Bantu Family.

Let us look around for a moment and find out if there are still a people in the region south of the Zambezi who are called DAU or TAU. "The history and origins of the tribes thus subjugated by the Pedi (who are Suthu), largely TAU and KONI, has only just been touched upon but not yet adequately investigated. Of the Tau it is said that they were originally Swazi (which may only suggest the geographical area from which the group in question is known to have migrated to the present area) while the very name of the Koni indicates that they are of Ngoni origin, but beyond that we know little or nothing."³¹ What is important to observe here is that the Pedi who are Suthu and therefore Kalanga in origin admit the precedence in their present area of a community called TAU whom they subjugated.

If we switch over to Lesotho, we again find the TAU people. "The Bakoni and Basuto division contains in the south all those tribes which acknowledge Moshesh as their Paramount chief; among them we find the Batau, the Baputi, Makolokue, etc."³² Turn to Botswana and you find the following: "We find traces of many ancient tribes in the country (Botswana) in individual members of those now extinct, as the Batau, 'they of the lion; the Banoga, 'they of the serpent; though no such tribe now exists."³³

Here again, they are correctly depicted as "ancient" suggesting that they preceded the tribes we know as Tswana. Furthermore, he describes them as "extinct" and this means no more than that they were submerged. Venda traditions make interesting reading. The Venda are in no doubt that the dominant element in the Transvaal on their arrival was DAU. About the subjects of Tshakhuma, they state, "As for the Ngoma, their mutupo was Ndau (lion) and they called themselves Vhadau. They were the lords of the Venda country . . ."³⁴ They go on, "The Dau had their seat of power in the centre and in the west but all the country of the Lembethu and Mbedzi was subject to the Dau who were known as the Ngoni of Raphulu . . . What we know for certain is that the Dau of Raphulu and those Dau known as Vhadamani (people of Damani) who live at Tshakhuma were Ngoni royalty." The Transvaal was thus dominated by the Dau people before the arrival there of the Mbedzi and Venda.

Finally, let us cross over to Mozambique and concentrate on the area south of the Save River. The position here will confirm our archaeological and

oral findings beyond any doubt. In this area is a compact Tonga group down to the southern tip of Mozambique. Of the whole early Dau group, this is the only one that maintained its independence and constiguity. But, like the Kalanga and Mbire — Nyai, it has segmented and fragmented into a multiplicity of clans many of which intermarry. Among them are those still called Tonga, Thonga, Tsonga and Ronga. To these add the Bila, Chopi, Hlengwe, Tembe, Nkuna, Maluleke, Makwakwa, Chauke, Magwamba, Mwanantis, Mpumo, Matjolo, Maputu, Sono, Mabota, Matutwen, Mazwaya, Shiridoja, Mwalingu, Rikotjo, Khosa, Bhahlabi, Baloyi, Mbenzane, Magwinyane and Batswa.

First, let us examine the direction from which they came. Although they finally settled along the east coast, they did not come straight from the north but from the interior to the west. Their traditions reveal this. "The Kaffirs, as a rule, bury their dead facing in such a direction as to look back, they suppose, towards the region of their origin."³⁵ This is the general practice of the Bantu. But since colonialism, much of this is changing and it is no longer everybody who even knows that this was the practice.

Let us now come specifically to these Tonga in the south-eastern part of Mozambique. "These people still turn the face of their dead to the west because the clan came from the Lebombo hills, and this rite proves that the tradition is well founded. The Nkuna, Khosa and Hlabi, clans also claim the same western or south-western origin."³⁶

North of the Pungwe River, there is a Tonga community by the clan name Rgwe. "... the Rgwe of Portuguese East Africa north of the Pungwe, also dig a second hole for the corpse and lay it there with both arms folded ... The eyes are turned towards the west, towards the country whence their ancestors came."³⁷

He goes on, "The Tonga of Southern Zambezi do not dig a second hole. They only dig a rectangular hole and the corpse is put in it on its side, facing the north-west ..."³⁸

The interesting thing is that the dominant element among these Mozambique Tonga is Dau and these are generally called "the riser from the west"³⁹ again emphasising that the Dau are Tonga and came from the interior. The Musina people drifted into the area of the Transvaal from the Tonga area of Mozambique. About them, one authority states, "The Musina people had brought with them the Dau whose totem is the lion, the Tshumbe (Tshopi or Chopi) clan".⁴⁰ The Chopi are still Tonga to this day. Among the Birwa of the Transvaal, the dominant element is again Tau⁴¹ and therefore Tonga.

Lastly let us look at their identity marks to establish their identity beyond any doubt. "The Bahlengwe are the northern of the six main clans of the Tonga group which occupies Portuguese East Africa from the Sabi river down to St. Lucia Bay. In the south, this group is known to Zulus as Amatonga (hence formerly Amatongaland) or the people of Tembe (a ba kwa Tembe).

The Bahlengwe are closely related to the Magwampa or Amahunte, known also as 'Knob-noses' who occupy a portion of the north-eastern Transvaal though formerly spread over a much larger area. They were noted by the fact that they lived mainly on fishing and hunting, cultivating but little land. The name Knob-noses was bestowed on them from their custom of tattooing and cutting the skin from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose and forming artificial warts, the women marking their cheeks and chests by scars as well."⁴²

Elsewhere, the same author states,

"All the females above the age of puberty are tattooed on the face, neck, arms, back and abdomen, such form of ornamentation being known as 'nem-bo'. It is effected by lancing the skin and then rubbing ashes into the wound. These Batonga do not disfigure themselves like their name-sakes of the middle Zambezi, by knocking out the upper incisors. But the females pierce both upper and lower lip, a button-like ornament (katoto) being inserted in the former, and a spike-like one (kasongo-songo) in the latter; even a nail may serve such purpose. The katoto may be a variation of the hideous 'pelele' of the Magwanja people."⁴³

There is no doubt that these people are Tonga or originally so in the case of those who have acquired other names. There is no doubt too that they migrated to this area from the interior and not from the north along the coast. But in that interior, we found Tonga people as identified by archaeologists, dominating the Early Iron Age in Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Right through these territories, they are known as Dau or Tau or Ndau but all meaning LION. Thus although the early Tongas were submerged by the Kalanga, they are still amongst us, are identifiable and a group of them is still intact in Southern Mozambique. These are the earliest migrants into Southern Africa and are the ones represented by Zimbabwe Period I. They represent the western stream and the Kalanga represent the eastern stream of the Bantu migrants to the south. For their cousins, north of the Zambezi River, go to Malawi where they are called BANDA which also means LION. If we Shonarize their name, they are SHUMBA. If we Ndebelize it, they are SIBANDA. We are clearly not short of evidence! Now look at the way they are tatooed!

Illustration 11: next page

This book is on the growth segmentation and fragmentation of the Kalanga Family. Before we proceed to that Kalanga Family, I would like you to pay attention to the segmentation and fragmentation of the Tonga Family south of the Zambezi River. The fragments in the interior have picked up a multiplicity of dynastic names, intermarry and do not even know that they were originally related. Those in Southern Mozambique have vague memories of their former relationships but they too have fragmented into a multiplicity of dynasties with different clan names and they intermarry. What is true

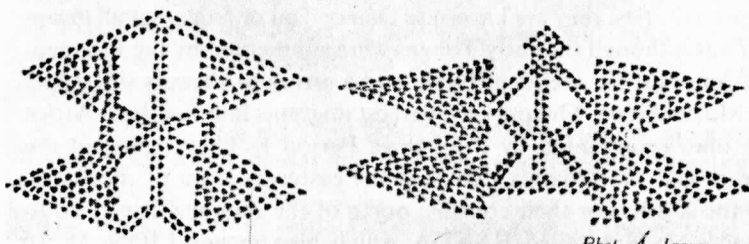
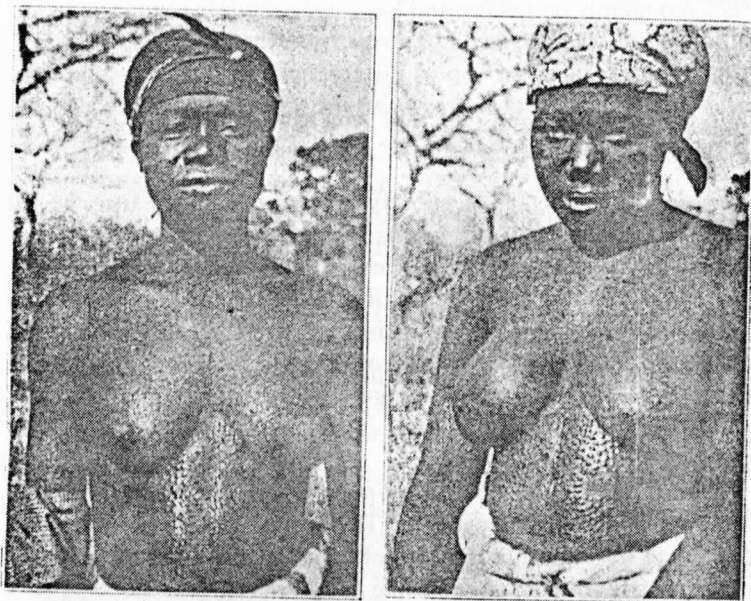


Figure No. 11: Tembe women

Phot. A. Jaques.

of these is true of the Kalanga and the Mbire-Nyai and it is precisely this that is causing confusion in our ranks.

What then do we mean when we say that the Tonga (VADAU), were submerged by the Kalanga in Zimbabwe? Physical Tonga men remain and continue to multiply but their culture was submerged. The submerged Tonga lost their matriliney and matrilocal; they abandoned the practise of tatooing their bodies; they abandoned the practice of piercing their lips (the pelele disappearance); the practice of knocking off the front teeth was also abandoned; they adopted the Kalanga practice of boring ear-lobes; they adopted Kalanga music, drums and folklore; they lost their language and adopted the Kalanga language; although they maintained their mutupo, Shumba (lion), they Kalangalized it to Dau, Tau and its variants. In short, they lost their



Figure No. 12a: Nkuna women

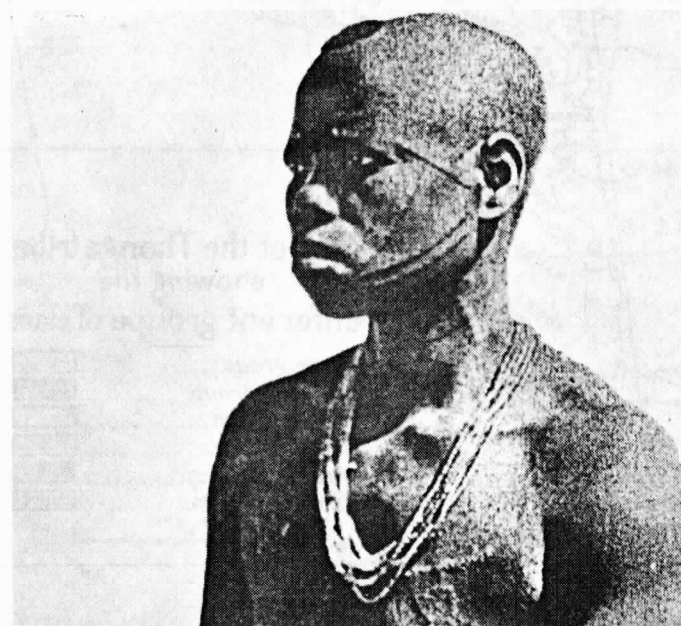


Figure No. 12b: The Tonga in Southern Mozambique

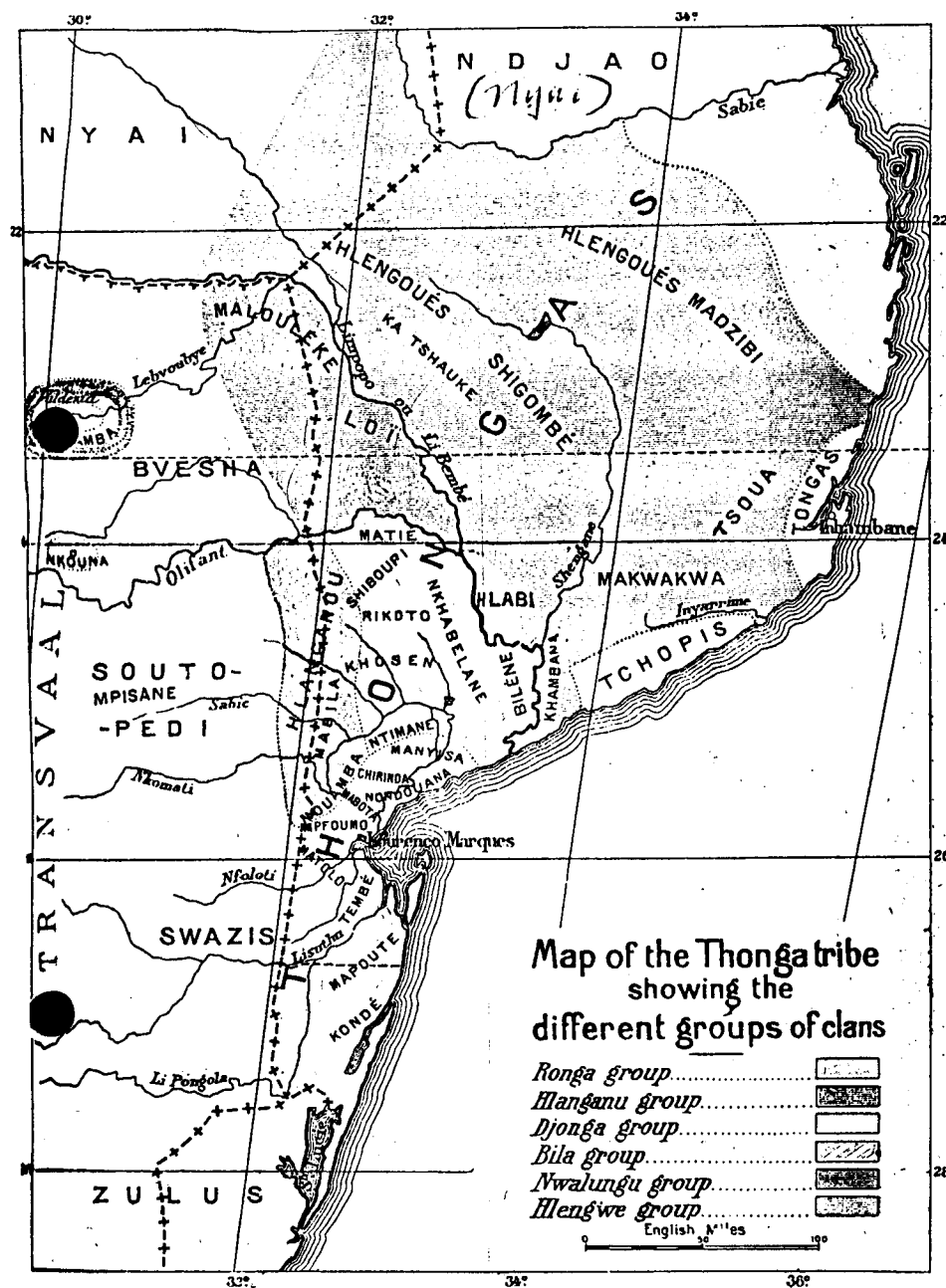


Figure No. 13: Tonga Area in South Mozambique, from H.A. Junod; *The life of a South African Tribe*

culture and their identity and were classified as Kalanga. But underneath, they maintained a veneer of their old identity i.e. they maintained aspects of their original culture such as the use of the conus shell. But this is not apparent on the surface.

For a good parallel, look at the Ndebelized or Shanganized Shona people. These are good examples of a submerged people. Many of them have lost their original language altogether; they have picked up Ndebele or Shangaan music, traditional dances and folklore; they have acquired Ndebele or Shangaan marriage customs, they build their houses after the Ndebele or Shangaan fashion; they have maintained their mitupo but have Ndebelized or Shanganized them to Sithole, Ncube, Simango, Mpofu, Sibanda, Dube, Ndlovu and the like. No doubt, they have lost their original culture but with it, they also lost their original identity. But none of them are called Khumalo or Nxumalo; none have an aversion against the fish or the conus shell.

In other words, although they have been Ndebelized or Shanganized, essential inner differences remain between them and the original Ndebele or Shangaan. But on the surface, these differences are not visible. Such a people are essentially a submerged people. They have never been wiped out nor has their culture, but they have been "drowned". What is true of these Shona people is very true of the earliest Tonga segments to settle south of the Zambezi River.

The greatest confusion reigns in Zimbabwe over the name and the people called Karanga. The early colonial writers have given us the impression that the Africans in this country were called Makaranga before 1890. There are large numbers of black Zimbabweans who take this seriously and are convinced we were all Karanga and even today, we should be called Karanga and possibly the country should be called Makaranga or Karangaland. As hinted earlier, the missionaries in the Manica Province had chosen to call the whole province Makaranga and the language, Chikaranga, and dropped the name only after discovering that the Dutch Reformed Church had also given the same name to our southern province. Certainly, the Portuguese made references to Karanga people and a Karanga area. Today, we have the western belt of Matebeleland still called Kalangaland and the people, Kalanga and their language, Kalanga.

From all this, there can be no doubt that some early Africans called Karanga have had some associations with this country or parts of the country. But the picture is so confused today as to mean nothing. The Portuguese have helped to bring about this confusion. The post 1890 colonial writers increased the confusion. The early African products of the mission schools had no option but to sing their masters' tune and increased the confusion further by regurgitating the venom administered to them. The parochial modern African scholars are no more than vomiting the same venom for they too are products of the same schools. Indeed, it is rather surprising that the Language Committee appointed by the settler regime in 1928 to choose a common name for all Africans outside Matebeleland picked on MASHONA and CHISHONA rather than Karanga and Chikaranga which at least had been associated with some parts of this country. The word Shona had never had pre-nineteenth century associations with us in spite of the claims of some to the contrary.

The name Karanga was applied to the occupied parts of this country by the year 1,000 A.D. as I am going to show later. By 1500 when the Portuguese arrived, it was still being applied to those parts still occupied and dominated by the descendants of the Karanga. But the bigger part of the country was no longer occupied by them and was never called Karanga. If

you examine the Portuguese documents closely, you will be left in no doubt that the Portuguese writers, as a body, never called the whole of this country Karanga nor did they ever call all the Africans of this country Karanga. They always made references to a Karanga region and referred to the people of that region as Karanga. That region had absolutely nothing to do with our southern Masvingo Province or the Kalanga district of the Plumtree area. Here and there, you come across a careless writer who tended to generalize but the fact remains that the Portuguese writers, as a body, never called all of us Karanga nor did they give this name to the whole country.

By the time the Portuguese arrived around 1500, the vast majority of the Karanga people had long been driven to the south and west by the Mutapas. Only a few pockets of them remained between the Zambezi and Limpopo. Some of them were still called Karanga; others were not. The reader ought to be reminded that the Portuguese, right up to about 1700, were never in touch with the bigger part of this country. In fact, they were hardly in touch with the modern territory of Zimbabwe. They had infiltrated parts of the east, which is entirely Mozambiquan territory today. Even more important, they had gone up the Zambezi Valley where in the 1530s, they established the settlements of Sena and Tete. This is the area they really influenced and this is the area in which they met the Korekore Mutapa. This is also the area in which they met a community specifically called Karanga. The Portuguese generally referred to our ancestors either as Kaffirs or simply as Natives. But because they were in close touch with a Karanga community in the north-east and that made an impression on them, some of them were careless enough to refer to any African in that area as Karanga in the way the Zimbabwean African today refers to every Mozambiquan as MASENA as if they are all members of the Sena tribe, or to all people from Malawi as MABURANDAYA as if they all come from the town of Blantyre, which at any rate, was established only "yesterday" in term of the length of time the Malawians have been in their area. When we treat the segmentation and fragmentation of the Karanga dynasty, we will pay our first attention to that north-eastern corner and will come across the Karanga community that so much influenced the records of the Portuguese chroniclers.

The first Portuguese document touching on important aspects of our history was written by Diogo De Alcacova on the 20th of November, 1506. It was written from hearsay, it exaggerates a few things and puts the history of the country on a wrong foot from the start. Part of the document states,

"The Kingdom, Sire, whence the gold comes to Sofala is called Ucalanga and it is a very great Kingdom in which there are many very large towns and many other villages besides, and Sofala itself belongs to this kingdom as does all the land along the shore . . ."

The impression one gets is that possibly, the whole country between the Zambezi and the Limpopo was called Ukaranga. By 1540, the Portuguese

had explored part of the interior up to the present city of Mutare. They had gone up the Zambezi Valley and had built the settlements of Sena and Tete. The question is, what "many very large towns" did they find to verify Alcacova's statement? This is clear evidence of the extent to which these Portuguese chroniclers misled posterity. Was Ukaranga indeed that big? The same above document continues; "... and the Kings of the interior do not make much or little of it if the Moors take possession of it and journeying along the seashore and into the interior some 4 leagues they dare go no further, for the Kaffirs rob and kill them, having no belief in anything".

The Africans are described as having no "belief in anything" which is a very presumptuous statement for somebody who has not established contacts with them for any length of time. That the Moors are described as unable to go into the interior for more than four leagues is an indication of clear ignorance of what went on in the interior. The most interesting thing however is Alcacova's reference to "the Kings of the interior". This clearly means that the Kingdom of Ukaranga was only one of the several kingdoms south of the Zambezi River. We are however still interested in the identity of this kingdom of UKARANGA. The very same document by Alcacova gives us its identity:

"And this King, Sire, who now reigns in Ukalanga is the son of Macomba (Makombe) who was king in this kingdom and he is called Quesarymgo Menomotapa (Monomotapa) which is like saying king so-and-so, since the word for king is Menomotapam and the kingdom Ucalanga."⁴⁴

This leaves us in no doubt then that what is being called by Alcacova "The Kingdom of Ucalanga" is no more than Makombe's kingdom. Later, the Portuguese are going to discover that Makombe's kingdom was Barwe and that it was only one of the provinces of a big empire. They are going to discover too that Barwe was not the kingdom the Africans called Ukaranga. The gold they so much coveted did not even come from Barwe. In due course, we are going to discover that even Makombe himself was not Karanga. Indeed the Portuguese chroniclers caused the greatest of confusion but there is one thing that they certainly did not say: that all the Shona between the Zambezi and the Limpopo were Karanga. This is a figment of imagination of the colonial period.

However, we need to develop this argument step by step. In Vol. VII, Records of South-Eastern Africa,⁴⁵ Theal quotes the following from Dos Santos,

"From Tendanculo (Pungwe River) to Sofala (about where Beira is today) is the Kingdom of Quiteve (Uteve) . . .; from Sofala to the south is the Kingdom of Sabia, of which Sedanda is king, who is also king of a great part of the Lands called Botonga (Tonga), which extend to the river Inhambane. Beyond these kingdoms of Quiteve and Sedanda towards the interior is the kingdom of Manica of which Tschikanga (Chikanga) is king.

On the other side of Manica to the north is the kingdom of Abatua, of which Monomotapa lies on the north-east, and to the south is another king called Biri (Mbire)."

Let us have a sketch map to depict what Dos Santos is saying.

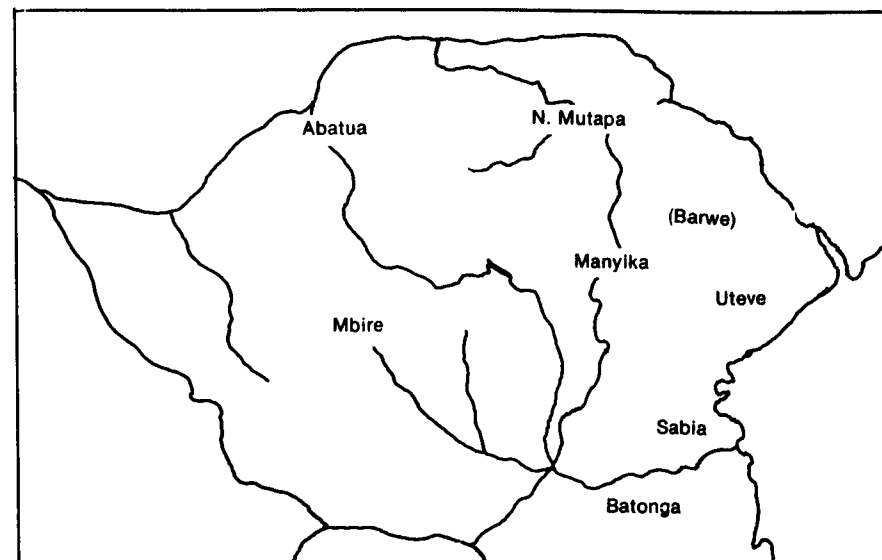


Figure no. 14.

The southernmost province along the coast is the kingdom of Sabia (which means Sabi kingdom) ruled by Sedanda. But it is clear from the document that this kingdom was dominated by Tonga people who were not Karanga by any definition and the Portuguese never called them Karanga. To the north of Uteve must be the kingdom of Barwe ruled by Makombe. Although not mentioned in the above passage, it is ubiquitous in Portuguese documents as we will see later. The Kingdom of the Korekore Mutapa must be to the immediate west of Makombe. Further to the west is Abatua (Abatwa). Then to the south of these northern kingdoms is Mbire and we will see this when we treat the Great Mutapa Empire.

The first important point to note is that the Portuguese have no idea of what lies to the west of Mbire which is the Shangwe Province. They have no idea either of what lies to the south of the Shangwe Province which is the Guruuswa Province. They did not even know the nature of Mbire and had no names for the Africans in these three provinces. By 1600, the centre of Shona power was in Guruuswa (Matebeleland). It was only in 1693 when they were driven out of Tete and Sena by Changamire Dombo that the Portuguese got the feeling that the centre of Shona power may not be in the north. Therefore, it is clear that the name Karanga as applied by the Portuguese, referred to a particular community in the north-east, the area the Portuguese were in closest touch with.

All this emerges clearly from another of Theal's report:

"Massapa was situated near Mt. Fura (Mt. Darwin) from the top of which we had an exceedingly good view over the Karanga Land, but no Portuguese was allowed to climb it, because the Monomotapa (so the Portuguese call the chief of the Makalanga) did not wish them to know too much of his country."⁴⁶

From this, the Makaranga country emerges to be a district, and only a district, somewhere in the north-east and incorporating the area of present Mt. Darwin settlement. That district is said to be ruled by Monomotapa who was undoubtedly the Korekore Mutapa.

And yet another report that clarifies the position and at the same time conflicts with the one immediately above, states:

"The centre of the Karanga country is the Muira; its chief is Makombe, whose residence Misongwe, lies on the bank of this river Manzovo"⁴⁷ (or Manzowu or Mazowe).

Here again, the Karanga country is a specific district in the north-east. But surprisingly, Makombe is now described as the ruler of that district but after we have been told that it was ruled by the Monomotapa. The documents go on: "The Portuguese then concluded a treaty with the Makalanga in order to subjugate the Mongasi (also spelt Omigos, Mongas and Monge) a clan which dwelt north of the Kalanga people on the right bank of the Zambezi, between Tete and Sena."⁴⁸

Carl. Peters makes a legitimate criticism of Theal:

"He (Theal) speaks continually about the Kalanga districts, Makalanga etc., he describes negotiations and events which took place in their country, without stating where this clan lived."⁴⁹

By this time however, there can be no doubt that the Karanga of the Portuguese were a community somewhere in the Zambezi Valley between a line that runs roughly between the present Mt. Darwin settlement to the south and the Zambezi River to the north and lying somewhere in that broad belt to the east down to Barwe of Makombe. But not surprisingly, this is the belt best infiltrated by the Portuguese. That they were in touch with a Karanga community is not at all in doubt. But that the rest of the Shona even in that area were not Karanga is equally not in doubt. That the Portuguese chroniclers, as a body, called the African people of this country MAKARANGA is a figment of imagination — a fallacy much encouraged by the colonial writers of the period after 1890.

The second interesting point to emerge from the above sketch map is a district or province called ABATUA, right in the north of this country. The Abatwa are the San people (Bushmen) throughout Africa. I draw the attention of the reader to the existence of a district in the north and bearing this name to demonstrate the tenacity of names. By 1500, when the Portuguese arrived on the scene, the Abatwa had long been cleared out of the northern regions of the country. Yet, it is clear that the district had managed to retain their name. By 1700, it was the Mberengwa region that was called Butwa or Abutwa and it retained that name into the colonial era. What it must mean

is that the Abatwa were cleared out of their northern main district and driven to the south. That southern region was again named after them. But by 1890, they had again long been cleared out; yet the district retained the name. What is true of the Abatwa in this case is true of the Shona. The name Karanga lived on long after the main body of the Karanga people had been cleared out of this country. But it has historical origins all the same and it is one of the objectives of this book to trace them.

Origins of the name KARANGA

Before we attempt to trace the migrations of the Karanga, let us first sort out the meaning of the name. This in turn will help us to point a finger at who the true Karangas in Africa are. If you ask any Shona person what a "MUKARANGA" is, he will unmistakably tell you that it is "the junior wife of a polygamous man". He will of course be right. But unfortunately, this has persuaded some scholars to imagine that the people called Karanga are therefore descendants of the junior wives of our ancient paramount chiefs, possibly the early Mutapas. D.P. Abraham is certainly a disciple of this school and in turn has made several converts. But he may have got this from Posselt who states, "According to Native interpretation of the word, MUKARANGA means a junior wife, consequently the off-spring of the junior wives of the paramount rulers may have been called generally VAKARANGA."⁵⁰ This is not history but reasoning, philosophising, speculation. Even to say the junior wives were called vakaranga and this is why we have a people by that name is to place the cart before the horses. Do we have a people called Karanga because junior wives were called vakaranga or the junior wives were called vakaranga because initially the majority of them were recruited from a people called Karanga at a particular point in our history? These are the questions we have to answer in the general unfolding of our history.

The above reasoning by Posselt shows the danger of treating Zimbabwean history in isolation i.e. abstracted from its African continental context that I warned against earlier. You will find Karanga or Kalanga communities in widely separated parts of Africa where the junior wives are never called Karanga; why? To quote a few examples, in 1858, Burton and Speke, on their way to Lake Tanganyika from the east, "found a WA-KARANGA tribe south of the Wajuji". In 1871, Stanley, looking for Livingstone in Tanganyika, states "Three long marches through Ubha brought me to the beautiful country of U-KARANGA and U-jiji."⁵¹ If we switch over to the Congo area four hundred years earlier, we find Kimambo reporting, "Around 1500 the area between Lake Tanganyika and upper Kasai was organized into a multitude of small chiefdoms. In the western part these were ruled by the Bungo, the ancestors of the Lunda. In the central part lived the ancestors of the Luba Katanga and there also existed bigger Kingdoms: the Kaniok and the Bena Kalundwe. Further east, the chiefdoms were small and the inhabitants were called the Kalanga".⁵²

If we go up north to Uganda, we find the following: "The proto-Acholi groups around Mount Ouke and in west-central Labwor migrated toward the confluence of the Acwa (Moroto) and Agago rivers. Several proto-Lango Omiro groups moved with them or on their heels to the Puranga-Pujule region, but then migrated south into Lango. Another mixed group of Atek, Otengoro, Apwro-Kalanga, and Pala from north-western Labwor joined some groups from Jie in the Kalong-Iapono region . . . "53

All this should not leave us in any doubt that the people called Karanga belong to much more than Zimbabwe. Because the migrations are from the north to the south, it further means that the name Karanga was coined further north before migrations to Zimbabwe had been effected. It is there somewhere in the north where we have to look for the origins of this name.

This said, the reason why the junior Shona wives were called Karanga becomes reasonably easy to explain. The conquerors of the Karanga south of the Zambezi were exogamous. At the same time, they were proud of themselves as particularly valiant and looked upon their Karanga victims as too inferior to them. Oral tradition states that the valiant Mutapas decreed that whoever married his senior wife from the inferior Karangas forfeited his children's rights to chieftainships and other royal privileges. The result was that some of the royal Mutapa houses severed relationships between them to facilitate inter-marriage. These houses picked their senior wives from each other and married as many junior Karanga wives as they could. Many Karanga women were in fact captured and taken to wife but never as senior wives. The position that developed over the years was therefore that the junior wives were generally members of the Karanga community. For this reason, the name caught on as the designation for all the junior wives and this is still the position to the present day. Clearly, the Karanga community comes first and the name Karanga for the junior wife comes next.

For a parallel, just have a look at the Ndebele community even after 1890. The Ndebele overwhelmed the Shona militarily and looked upon themselves as far superior to the Shona for, superiority and inferiority were always measured in military terms. The result was that even after 1890, the Ndebele elders never allowed their young men to marry Shona women. Yet at the same time, they captured and "married" as many Shona women as they could for as long as they were treated as concubines and their children, not a threat to the royal privileges of the children of the "legitimate" wives. A time was possibly coming when junior Ndebele wives were going to be called Masvina. This is exactly what happened between the Mutapas and the Karanga community in this country. We thus have to look up much further north for the origins of this name.

Posselt quoted above adds, "It has been asserted by several writers that MAKARANGA means THE PEOPLE OF THE SUN, derived from LANGA the sun. It may be definitely stated that this is a wholly erroneous interpreta-

tion, LANGA is not the Thikaranga name of sun, MAKALANGA being the Zululized form of the name of the people".⁵⁴

I am certain what Posselt means by "Langa is not the Chikaranga name for sun" is that it is not the Shona name for it. This is correct for, the ancestors of the present Shona Communities have ethnically nothing to do with the Karanga people. Furthermore, MAKARANGA is not only a Zululized form of the name: it is a Zulu name plus more. The Zulus are only a segment of the original Kalanga and this is part of the main theme of this book. LANGA is not only a Zulu name for the sun: it is a Xhosa name; it is a Suthu name; it is also a Tswana name for "sun". Not surprisingly, all these are segments of the original Kalanga Family. KALANGA definitely implies a people associated with the sun. We will come to the nature of the association very shortly. At the moment, let us concentrate on proving that it means association with the sun.

The German explorer and imperialist, Carl Peters once quoted before, managed to stay in the northern Karanga community for six months. Here are his observations: "I have observed the Makalanga during the six months I spent amongst them with great interest, and I have studied their manners and customs. MAKALANGA means SONS OF THE GREAT SUN. Ma is a plural prefix; ka = great and LANGA or ILANGA = sun."⁵⁵ This is a perfect analysis of the name in question and there is no way we can quarrel with the author over it.

However a small but significant correction is here necessary. KA does not mean GREAT but simply OF. The father of Mzilikazi is MATSHOBANA. The result is that Mzilikazi himself was addressed as KA- MATSHOBANA simply meaning SON OF MATSHOBANA. The father of ZWIDE, the famous Ndwandwe chief is LANGA. Here again, Zwide was addressed as ZWIDE KA- LANGA simply meaning SON OF LANGA. From this alone, you should be able to guess that the tribal name KALANGA means no more than SONS OF LANGA OR CHILDREN OF LANGA OR DESCENDANTS OF LANGA.

I have already hinted that the Nguni, the Suthu and the Tswana plus the Ndebele, the Shangaans and the Angoni are the descendants of the original KALANGA people who settled in Zimbabwe somewhere between 800 and 900 A.D. To them, add the segments that remained north of the Limpopo River and these include the Hoves, Ngwenyas, Shiris, Hungwes, Nyonis, Nyeres, Mhetas, Dzivas, Mlambos and Sizibas. Any examination of the early history of the Azanian Bantu communities will convince you that they all claim a common ancestry. I am here talking about all the Azanian Bantu tribes minus the Tonga, and Venda. In addition, they all claim LANGA to be their greatest common ancestor.

A lot of research has been done on the history of the Nguni and the start of their genealogy is as follows:-

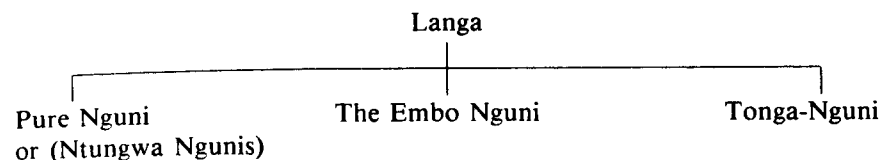


Figure No. 15:

It may be necessary here to point out that the Nguni referred to as the Tonga-Nguni are those Ngunis who drifted to the east and settled within the precincts of Delagoa Bay. Here, they intermingled with groups of Tonga communities migrating to the south along the east coast. The other Ngunis look upon them as adulterated by Tonga blood and it is for this reason that they call them the Tonga-Nguni.

Traditions go further to suggest that as the Nguni migrated to the south from Zimbabwe, some of them remained behind and this enabled the Venda, who are a segment of the Mutapas, to catch up with them. The two groups intermingled and the language, customs, traditions of the Nguni involved were adulterated by the new comers. In due course, these Nguni people became known as SUTHU and from them, segmented the Tswana. This emerges clearly from the following:-

"One of these parties elected to remain behind (North of Limpopo) . . . Their descendants, though of much diluted blood are the local Bakon (AbaNguni in Zulu) clans, the baHurutse, baKwena, ba-ma-Ngwato, baNgwaketsi and others of these present days."⁵⁶

All the tribes quoted above are Tswana. In fact, they are the main Tswana tribes. But, as we are going to see later, the Tswana are Kwena; they were originally Suthu. To this day, the Suthu are Kwena. Around 1800, there was really no distinction between the Suthu and the Tswana. At the same time, those two groups have a common ancestry, with the Nguni. What is of greatest interest to us at the moment is that they all claim to have descended from LANGA. For this reason, the Tswana are Tswana KA-LANGA; the Suthu are Suthu KA-LANGA; the Nguni are Nguni KA-LANGA. In short, they are all originally KALANGA and this explains not only the origins of the name but the people to whom that name was originally applied.

Quite apart from Langa, the ancestor of all the Kalanga people together, the name Langa pervades the separate ancestries of surprisingly many Nguni, Suthu and Tswana tribes and clans. This again is not an accident. Just to prove this to you, I have already pointed out that the father of the Ndwandwe chief, Zwile, was Langa. But his fifth ancestor is also called Langa and his other name was Mkatshwa. But Langa (Mkatshwa) was also the father of Manukuza from whom the Nxumalo including those of Soshangana descended. If you switch over to Swaziland, you will find that the ruling Dlamini dynasty descended from this same Langa. The Embo, (Mkize) tribe also descended from this same Langa. The Ema-Langeni or Gumede tribe

call this Langa Mhlangeni and they also look upon him as their founding ancestor. The tribe called ama-Baca has Langa as one of its great ancestors. The Mabaso have an ancestor called Langa who is looked upon as the founding father of the Ndlovu clan; one of the founding fathers of the Ngcolosi is called HLANGA-Beza; one of the founding fathers of the Nene clan is called LANGE; one of the founding fathers of the Kungwini clan is LANGA; the Bombo also have an ancestor called LANGA. There is literally no end to the numbers of ancestors bearing the name Langa in the Zululand-Natal area.

This is not even the end of the story. Examine Lesotho and you will find that Mosheshe's father was Magidigidi; his grandfather was Magaye; his great grandfather was Vico and Vico's father was LANGA. Cross over to Matebeleland, and you also find that Mzilikazi's fourth ancestor is LANGA. The Ndebele in the Transvaal are known as the Ndebele of LANGA and in Nguni parlance, they are Ndebele KA-LANGA.

If we turn to the Xhosa of the Transkei the position is not any different. One of their founding fathers was called LANGA as depicted by the following:-

"At the time when Ngqika (Gaika) was to assume the chieftainship of the Ama-Rarabe or Gaikas, two important chiefs were appointed to perform the ceremony of investiture. These were LANGA, the chief of the Ama-Mbalu, one of the older royal clans of the tribe, and Kawuta, great chief of the royal house of the Xhosa, the Gcalekas."⁵⁷

More than this, the most "unpopular" Xhosa chief who conflicted with both the British and the Boers just before the Great Trek was called LANGA-LIBALELE. Turn to Cape Town and you come across the following:-

"At the end of 1962, a new organization called Poqo which claimed to work for the underground P.A.C. made its appearance in the Western Cape. It claimed responsibility for the murder of three policemen in Langa . . ."⁵⁸

No doubt, I have laboured the name Langa. I have done this to emphasize the ubiquity of this name in Azania. At the same time, I must stress that it is a totally foreign word to the Shona. It does not exist in their vocabulary and it has no meaning to them. The Shona word for SUN is Zuva or ZUWA. Furthermore, the Shona in no way worship the sun and this emphasizes their different ethnic origins from those of the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana. That these communities revered the sun is not in doubt. About the Tswana, Robert Moffat writes that they "looked on the sun, as Mr. Campbell very graphically said, with the eyes of an ox".⁵⁹

By the beginning of the 19th century, Langa, to the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana, was more than an ancestor. They deified him. What is however important is that they all acknowledged him as their common ancestor — or even as their common god. This emerges very clearly from those who lived among them at the beginning of the 19th century:-

"To the above description given by Dr. V. (Vanderkemp), I may add that

I am aware Uhlanga is also used by the Kaffirs to denote a Supreme Being, from what I know of the interior tribes, I perfectly agree with the Rev. S. Kay, in his account of the Amakosa (Xhosa) genealogy, that Uhlanga or Thlanga is the name of the oldest of their Kings by whom they swore in former times; a custom which obtains universally in the interior."⁶⁰

There can be no doubt whatever that the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana are the sons or descendants of LANGA i.e. are KA-LANGA. But then, this is contradicted by the position that we are used to. The Azanian and Tswana communities are used to calling the Zimbabwean the Karanga or Kalanga; how was the position reversed?

The very ancestors of the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana occupied Zimbabwe and converted it into their empire. They were called Kalanga; their empire became known as Ukalanga or Makalanga. When they migrated or were driven to the south and west by the Mutapas, the country did not lose the name Ukalanga overnight. At any rate, some segments of their communities remained north of the Limpopo River. They continued to be called Makalanga. The result then was that the name Makaranga continued to be associated with the region between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. When the Mutapas took over the country, they gave it their own tribal name as we are going to see later. But the name Ukalanga did not die out altogether. The name of the conquerors was superimposed over that of their predecessors. By the time the Portuguese arrived on the scene soon after 1500, the situation was confused. Kalanga communities bearing the designation KALANGA, still existed in the country especially in the north-east. But the bigger part of the country was no longer in Kalanga hands and was no longer called Ukalanga. This explains the confusion portrayed by Portuguese chroniclers.

What worsened the situation was that the Portuguese were confined to the north-east. In that north-eastern corner was a Kalanga community which the Portuguese quickly got in touch with. Some of them were careless to generalize that because that north-eastern corner was called Ukalanga, the whole country was called Ukalanga and all the people were Makalanga. Alcacova, the very first one to write about us, was also the first culprit.

But even if the whole country had managed to retain the name Ukalanga by 1500, this would not have been surprising. This is so because the first Bantu people to establish real political control over it were Kalanga. The rest of the people would be Kalanga by residence. What is important is to realize that the original Kalanga people were one ethnic group with special associations with the sun and with several cultural traits associated with water; that their conquerors and successors were a different ethnic group without any associations with the sun and with their own cultural traits that distinguished them from the Kalanga. What we are here trying to do is to sort them out into their original groups; by so doing, we can then be able to determine what group came into this country around 400 A.D.; which

was the next to arrive around 800; and which one was responsible for the construction of Great Zimbabwe.

One other element that has helped to confuse the situation is the abandonment of the tribal name of KALANGA by the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana. This is accounted for by segmentation and fragmentation. The Azanian and Tswana tribes have the characteristic of naming their clans and tribes after their renowned ancestors. Examine them and you will find that the name Nguni itself was derived from Mguni, a great ancestor descending from Langa; Tswana was derived from TAU-WANA, (Lion son or Lion Child), one of the great ancestors of the Tswana tribes. Such tribal names as Ngwato, Hurutse, Ngwaketsi, Zulu, Ngwane, Hlubi, Mtetwa, Shangaan, Xhosa, Tshwawe, Dlamini, Langeni, Mkize, Gumede, Mbonambi, Mkwanzani, Ngcobo, Kumalo, Sibiya and Butelezi are all names of ancestors. But this is not new to them; it is strictly in accordance with their traditions. Before this segmentation and fragmentation, they called themselves KA-LANGA after their great ancestor, Langa.

What this means is that as each new segment or fragment acquired the tribal name of its immediate common ancestor, the original all-encompassing name, KALANGA, fell by the way side. Even the more recent name Nguni has fallen far into the background. Were it not of the colonial writers who recorded this at the beginning of the 19th century and reminded these people that their common name was Nguni, it is very doubtful if by 1900 this name would have been current amongst them at all. The Xhosa hardly apply it to themselves. This, I hope, enables you to appreciate how difficult it is today for the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana to believe that they are the descendants of the Kalanga people originally associated with that name between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. But their languages have not changed significantly and LANGA and KA-LANGA have remained in their vocabularies. Furthermore, they have maintained their association with the sun — Langa. They have also maintained most of their original cultural traits. Through all these, we are still able to identify them as the descendants of the original Kalanga people. To the most important of these traits, we shall now turn.

Kalanga Identity Marks

Most historians of ancient African history will be tempted to dismiss this early African history as permanently lost. This is so because the conventional sources of this history do not exist or are very inadequate to give them a clear picture or a picture at all. The most important of these conventional sources are written documents. Before 1500 A.D. there are very few documents touching on our history. The few that exist have not proved to be of much use in unravelling our history. The second source is archaeology. But so far, not enough archaeological work has been done. For instance, the archaeological map of Mozambique is almost blank. Our history can not

be complete without that gap being filled. Secondly, so far our archaeology has depended almost entirely on pottery i.e. it is trying to identify our ancestors before 1500 through no more than pottery styles. This immediately emphasizes the inadequacies of archaeology as a source of our history.

Firstly, pottery is one and only one fragment of the material culture of the ancestors of the Shona. The other fragments rotted away and can not be unearthed. These include most of the spearheads, arrow-heads, axes, adzes, hoes all wooden implements and tools, all items of clothing and anything else that rots. Secondly, the culture of the ancestors of the Shona was not only material but had many sides to it. These included religion, marriage customs, taboos, aesthetic practices including hairstyles, powders and oils used; such practices as tattooing, circumcision, clitoridectomy and other forms of body mutilation. These are all important aspects of the cultures of our ancestors. But here again, archaeology is totally silent on such practices. Even if the archaeologists unearth complete skeletons of some of our ancestors, they will not be able to tell whether those ancestors cut off their upper or lower lips, whether they cut off their right or left ears or even whether they clapped hands on greeting each other or not. In other words, the vast majority of the customs and traditions of our ancestors can not be discovered through archaeology. To push it further, the bigger part of the culture of our ancestors, material and non-material, can not be discovered through archaeology. In the absence of written records, this leaves the history student helpless and this explains the confusion that has reigned in attempts to unravel our history — it explains the confused state of our early history.

But the historian himself is largely to blame for this confusion. What the archaeologist is attempting to do is to identify our ancestors through their material culture. But was all their early material culture dead by 1500 when the Portuguese appeared on the scene to commit to paper what they personally saw of our ancestors? Was it all dead by 1800 when more whites appeared on the scene from the south? Was it all dead when we were colonized? Furthermore, had the non-material aspects of our cultures such as marriage customs, inheritance, taboos, tattooing, aesthetic practices and religion changed so radically by 1500 or 1800 as to bear no resemblance to those of our ancestors of 500 A.D. or 1,000 A.D.? If not, might their examination and study not prove revealing? I seem to see a rather interesting trend of thought in our historians. They seem to be of the impression that for culture to be important or relevant as a source of history, it must first be buried and then be unearthed next by archaeology. If this is not the case, one then wonders why the historian has not seen it fit to supplement the meagre archaeological discoveries with the actual material and non-material aspects of African culture as existed soon after 1500 or 1800. In fact, it is not even fair to talk of this vastly wealthier source as supplementing archaeology.

The reverse is very true. I think we generally agree that traditional societies are conservative. Without an impact from outside, they evolve rather too slowly. For instance, the Shona described by the Portuguese around 1500 are not really different from those of 1800 or 1890 in terms of material culture, customs and traditions. The picture of the Zanj painted by Masudi in 915 A.D. is not different either. What reason then do we have for believing that the Zimbabwean Africans of 500 A.D. were vastly different in material culture and customs and traditions from those of 1500 or 1800 or 1890? If not, might their material and non-material culture as seen by the whites after 1500 and as we see them today in traditional circles not be an even more important source of the history of their ancestors than the meagre discoveries of archaeology: because of the paucity or total absence of written records and because of the inadequacies of archaeology, the historian, both white and black, can not afford to leave a stone unturned. We can not afford to give up and declare our history to be beyond recovery. We can only come to that conclusion after exploiting every available source, conventional and non-conventional. It is for this reason that I now turn to aspects of African culture as a source of history.

The foreign scholar has done great damage to African history by means of meaningless generalizations but which have been accepted by the gullible public as fact. "The African practises circumcision." "The African tattoos his face and mutilates his body." "The African bores his ear-lobes." "The African wears a feather hat as an emblem of royalty." "The African buries his dead with the head facing north." Read the early books written about the African and see how many such generalizations have been made. It is not every African who tattoos his body or circumcizes, or bores his ear-lobes or taboos the fish or the conus-shell. All these plus many more are specific identity marks that distinguish one African family from the others. If this had been appreciated earlier, the muddles in African history would very much have been reduced. We would not have had, for instance, a difficulty in identifying the descendants of the Bantu pinpointed by archaeology as arriving in Zimbabwe between 300 and 400 A.D. and those arriving somewhere around the eleventh century and responsible for the construction of Great Zimbabwe. The Bantu in Zimbabwe belong to three major families each with its own clear identity marks. We have examined the most prominent of the Tonga identity marks; we shall now proceed to examine those of the Kalanga Family. Once you become aware of their identity marks, there is no way you can confuse the two for each one of them is distinct.

So far, we have identified the Kalanga Family as that segment of the Bantu Family that associated itself with the sun (Langa). I have not said that it is a family that worships the sun for that does not appear to be the case. It swears by the sun in the way almost every African swears by his ancestors or even by God. How this association with the sun ever started is the subject of the next section.

We have discovered that the Tonga who preceded the Karanga to the south were matrilineal. In contrast, the Karanga were and are still PATRILINEAL and this is the opposite of the Tonga system. This means that the head of the family unit, the village, the extended family, the clan and the tribe is the man and not the woman. The whole system subordinates women to men. The children adopt the totem of the father and not of the mother. They are the heirs to their fathers. Inheritance of property is through the father's line and so is chieftainship. Generally, the bridegroom pays lobola for his bride. After marriage, the bride migrates to her husband's home and becomes a permanent feature of the bridegroom's home and family.

The confusing element about patriliney as an identity mark is that in Bantu Africa, the Karanga are not the only patrilineal family. The third Bantu Family from which our Mutapas segmented, is also patrilineal. Generally however, the Karanga system of inheritance is vertical whereas that of the Mutapas is collateral. This means, for instance, that a Karanga chief is succeeded by his son. But this is not the case with the descendants of the Mutapas. The chief is succeeded by a brother or cousin in the category of brothers. The generation of children does not rule for as long as the generation of fathers is alive. This is true of kraalheadships and headships of extended families. This is the major difference between these two Bantu Families as far as patriliney goes.

The most prominent Karanga identity mark is association with water. This started at the very time association with the sun started, for the two characteristics were determined by geography as we are going to see in the next section. If you examine early African history, you will find groups throughout the continent who are called MASTERS OF THE WATER. These are segments of the one time one Karanga Family. Because they associated with water and were the masters of that water, they all acquired the totem DZIVA which simply means Pool of Water or of Sheet of Water.

This totem became the all-encompassing totem of the whole Karanga Family. The position at this early stage was that the tribal designation for the whole family was KALANGA; the totem for the whole family was DZIVA. As the family grew and segmented and the original common language evolved differently as determined by the geographical locality of the particular segment, variations of the name DZIVA increased and we end up with communities called DZIVANI, ZIWANI, KIZIBA, MVURA, MVULA, MFULA, MAN-DA and all meaning water and the pool. South of the Limpopo in the Transvaal, we will come across several communities whose totem is DZIVANI and this means POOL. On the south-western end of L. Victoria in Uganda, there is a district called KI-ZIBA and the "dziva" there is clear. In Tanganyika, some communities call the pool ZIWANI as evidenced by Stanley in 1871 when he was looking for Livingstone:

"The march lasted for five hours over sun-cracked plains, growing black jack, ebony and dwarf shrubs, above which numerous ant-hills of light

chalky-coloured earth, appeared like sand-dunes. On the 1st of October they arrived at a large pool known as the ZIWANI."⁶¹ This is not a special name for that particular pool; it simply means "pool". Thus segments of the Dziva Family who called the pool Ziwani became Ziwani by totem.

Normally, when you pick on something for your totem, you taboo that thing. You can immediately see the quandary in which the Kalanga found themselves for they could not taboo water and survive. They needed it for drinking and cooking; they needed it for their crops and animals; they needed it for washing. The result was that they chose to taboo an animal closely associated with water and that could not survive out of water. This was the fish. This is a very important characteristic which is going to enable us to trace Kalanga migrations from the north to the south. The whole Kalanga Family had a strong aversion to fish and to this day, large numbers of their communities all over Africa still taboo the fish. Examine the archaeology of scattered parts of Africa such as the Darfur area between Lake Chad and the Nile Valley and Imbahuru Hill in Mberengwa and you will find fish drawings or even fish carvings. You can be certain that the sites represent settlement by segments of the Dziva Family. Here is a good indication of this from the Malawi area:-

"A missionary who believes he has gained much information from the natives which they never confided to any other white man, declares that the portrait of a whale is always introduced at some of the ceremonies and even gives the native name for it."⁶² You can be certain that any community that practises a thing like this was originally Dziva regardless of what its present designation might be. It is unfortunate that the early white scholars did not see the value of all these practices the result being that they did not scrutinize them closely and put them on record for posterity. May I point out that the Tonga were big fish eaters and none of their segments are known to taboo the fish even today. The Sokos from whom the Mutapas descended are also big fish eaters. Again, none of their segments are known to taboo the fish even to this day. Fish aversion is thus a unique feature of segments of the Kalanga Family and we will see evidence of this in the next section.

Illustration No. 16: next page

The Kalanga Family tabooed yet another important water object and this is what the Shona call the Ndoro which is the conus shell disc, a sign of royalty. On the other hand, this is one of the most important, if not the most important royal emblem for both the Tonga and Soko Families. No chief or sub-chief could be chief without it. This of course was in addition to the ostrich feather hat. But the shell was taboo to the members of the Kalanga Family and to a large extent, it is still so at least south of the Zambezi River. We have examples of dynasties that crumbled because they found themselves confronted with soldiers that had tied onto some of their members conus shells. They fled precipitately without resistance just because they could not stand up to face their taboo, the conus shell. We are going to see instances of this in this book later.

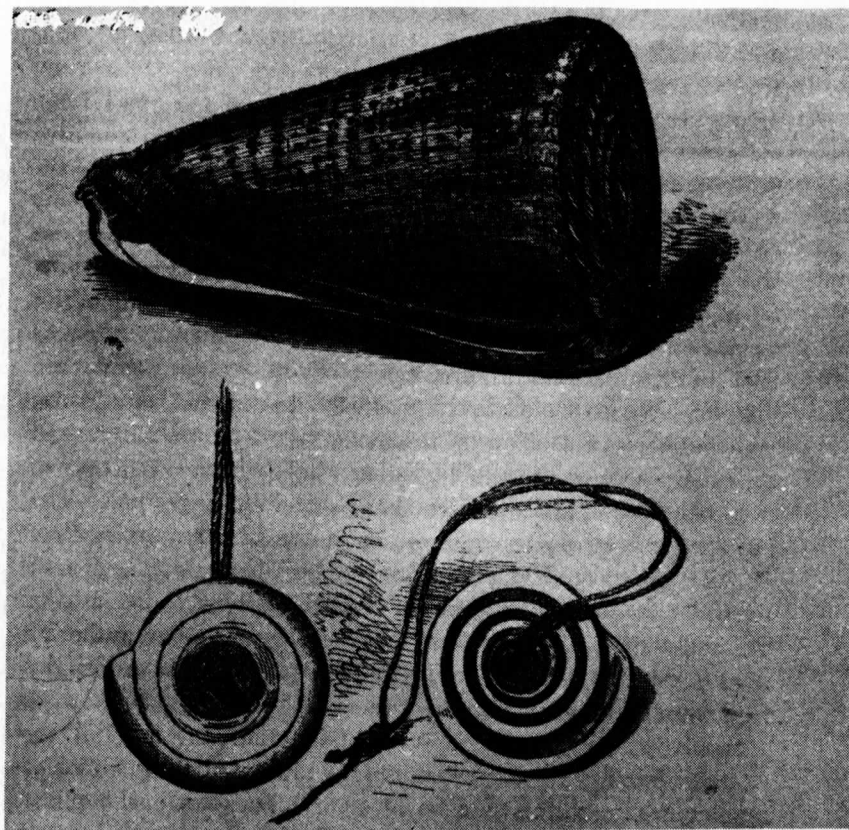


Figure No. 16: The conus shell: NDORO

The conus shell disc is royal emblem to more than the region south of the Zambezi River. In Tanganyika as in many other parts of Africa, the conus shell became an important item of trade among the Kimbu who are sub-divided into thirty-eight chieftainships. We get an inkling of it from the following:-

“... the Kimbu as a whole became, in their turn, the most active group engaged in spreading the conus-shell regalia and symbolism, and the evidence suggests that the distribution of conus-shells over the whole area of western Tanzania coincided with a similar change of emphasis in religious thought and symbolism.”⁶³ Identify members of the Kalanga Family through their identity marks and you will find that they still taboo the conus-shell disc to this day.

Examine the traditional dress of the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana chiefs and you will find that none of them wears a conus shell. Cross over to Zimbabwe

and examine the traditional dress of the descendants of the Kalanga including the Ndebele and the Shangaans and you will find that they have no association with the conus shell whatever. We have several photographs of Mzilikazi, Lobengula, Khama and Azanian chiefs; you will not find any of them wearing a conus shell. Here are examples of such photographs:-

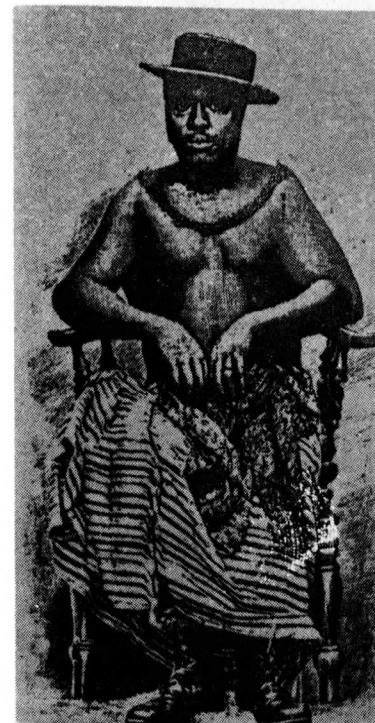


Figure No. 17
From an early photograph:
No Ndoro



Figure No. 18
Shaka, founder of the Zulu:
No Ndoro but observe the plume

Yet among the descendants of the Mutapas, a chief without a conus shell is no chief at all; a nobleman without a conus shell is no nobleman at all. The shell was the greatest mark of royalty. I also want you to observe the scarcity of any sea shells at all in the archaeological sites associated with ancestors of the Kalanga people. It is also interesting to note that Masudi's document which deals with the east coast trade around 915 A.D. is silent

on sea shells which feature so prominently in later east coast trade. This is so because the people engaged in this trade then were Kalanga and tabooed sea shells.

Foreign scholars see some Africans with large holes in their earlobes and never realize that they are an important identity mark. Go out into rural Matebeleland even today and you will not find an elderly Ndebele man or woman without these large holes in their earlobes. But the Ndebele are only a portion of the Zulus who practised it. In turn the Zulus are only a portion of the Nguni group. But the Nguni group is only a portion of the Kalanga Family that included the Suthu and the Tswana. These holes in earlobes are an important identity mark of the whole of this family. C.T. Binns throws light on this:-



Figure No. 19
Mzilikazi, founder of the Ndebele:
No Ndoro but observe the plumes



Figure No. 20
Dingane, Chief of Zulu, 1828-40:
No Ndoro but notice the plume

“Ear-boring, so largely practised in Egypt, is an established custom among the Africans, the Zulu going so far as to make a special ceremony of it which

every boy, in about his twelfth year, must undergo as it is regarded as one of the essential steps towards manhood.”⁶⁴



Figure No. 21
Moshesh, founder of the Basuto:
No Ndoro but notice the plume



Figure No. 22
Chief Krela:
Xhosa Chief: No Ndoro



Figure No. 23: Xhosa Court of Councillors: No Ndoro

Bryant describes the fate of a butclezi man who deserted to Zululand after a crisis with his royal brother, “. . . he was received with scant respect by the Zulu folk, being contemptuously referred to as a Sutu i.e. a mere barbarian, owing to his having failed to have his ears pierced according to the custom of all ‘gentle’ folk in Zululand.”⁶⁵

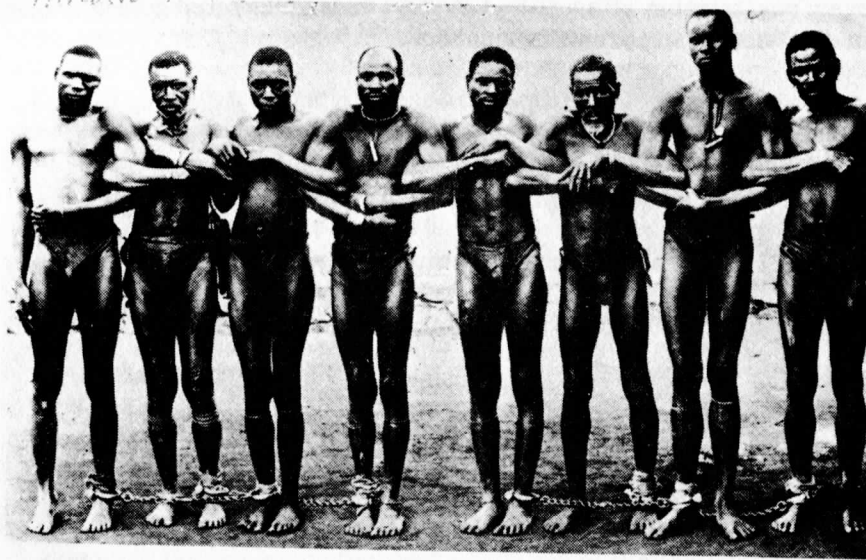


Figure No. 24: Ndebele warrior captives, 1896: Observe absence of the Ndoro



Figure No. 25: Shona warrior captives, 1896: Observe the Ndoro in contrast

Shona women have had the tradition of boring ear-lobes. But the holes are so small as to fit in no more than about the size of a pin. Furthermore, it has not been done ritually or ceremonially. Even more important, Shona men look upon this as strictly a practice for women. Only those of them subjected to Ndebele or Shangaan influences practise it. Yet as you can see from the above quotations, it was and still up to a point is a very important practice of the Nguni people. According to them, you were a "Gentile", what the Jews called "the uncircumcised" if you did not have holes in the earlobes. The sizes of the Nguni holes were significant. They were so large as to fit in a whole peg. The pictures below can help you to appreciate this.



Figure No. 26: Nguni head-ring is substitute for the Ndoro

This practice of large holes in the earlobes is a general one for all of them. But what was to be fitted into the holes varied from clan to clan or tribe to tribe and helped to distinguish one clan or tribe from the others of the same Kalanga family. The man represented in picture 1 above is likely to be a Ndhlovu (elephant) man. You can easily see that the rods in his earlobes represent elephant tusks. That ear-boring for men is an important identity mark for the Kalanga is not in doubt. Yet this is not even all. Examine the traditional outfit of the Ndebele, Zulu, Shangaans, Angoni of Eastern Zambia and Malawi and the Suthu of Azania and you will find that feathers are an important feature of that outfit. Here are photographs of some of them.

Many of them will never be able to explain the origin and meaning of the practice but it is an important feature of their customs all the same. To unders-

tand the origins of it, we have to go back to the Kalanga mutupo DZIVA. In addition to identifying themselves with the fish, the Kalanga people also identify themselves with a special water bird which is the fish eagle — the Hungwe. This is the reason for which in my "From Mutapa to Rhodes", I referred to them as the DZIVA-HUNGWE PEOPLE. In Zimbabwe, we have large numbers of them still called simply HUNGWE. Some of their cousins are simply called SHIRI or NYONI in Matebeleland and this simply means BIRD which is a reference to the Hungwe. Feathers are the symbols



Figure No. 27: Zulu Ear-boring

of the bird. Wearing plumes or tying feathers on the arms and legs represents identification with the Hungwe. In short, anybody who practices this custom is declaring that his ancestry is Hungwe. The Kalanga went further to taboo the chicken because it is a bird very close to the Hungwe. They tabooed even the eggs because they are infant birds. Some of them do not eat any bird at all. We get a glimpse of this from the following authorities:-

"Girls (Xhosa) do not eat kidneys, rectum of animals, birds and a few other things."⁶⁶

"Women will not eat eggs under any circumstances; at least this may be said of women still in a state of heathenism."⁶⁷ All that Soga means by "in

a state of heathenism" here is that they are still leaving a traditional way of life. He goes on, "Again, girls are not supposed to eat the meat of fowls . . ."⁶⁸ Elsewhere, another authority states; "Among the Cape Nguni, too, men will not normally eat poultry . . ."⁶⁹

There is no doubt that Chaka, by virtue of his power and the glory that surrounded him, represented the best Nguni royal dress on ceremonial occasions. A brief examination of that dress is very revealing. On the 25th of October of 1825, King and Fynn visited him and found him dressed as follows:-



Figure No. 28: Xhosa and Swazi Ear-boring

"Round his bare head he wore a circlet of staffed otter-skin (UmTini) bearing within its circumference twelve bunches of gorgeous red loury plumes (igwalagwala) and, erect in front, a high glossy black feather, 2 feet in length, of the blue crane (inDwa). Yellow smooth — surfaced disc-shaped ear-studs, manufactured of dried sugar-cane reed (uMoba) and with ornamented edges, filled the large hole in each ear-lobe."⁷⁰ He was not a "gentile" for he had large holes in his ear-lobes. But the dominant element consists of feathers. In fact, everything he wears is significant and is typically Kalanga. The long crane feather stuck right in front has special significance. The crane has associations with water and we have already come across Kalanga association with water. The otter-skin also has special significance for the otter itself is an aquatic animal and represents the pool. Later, we will discover that there is a whole community in the eastern districts of Zimbabwe whose totem is NYERE which is the otter. If you dig into its history, you will find that

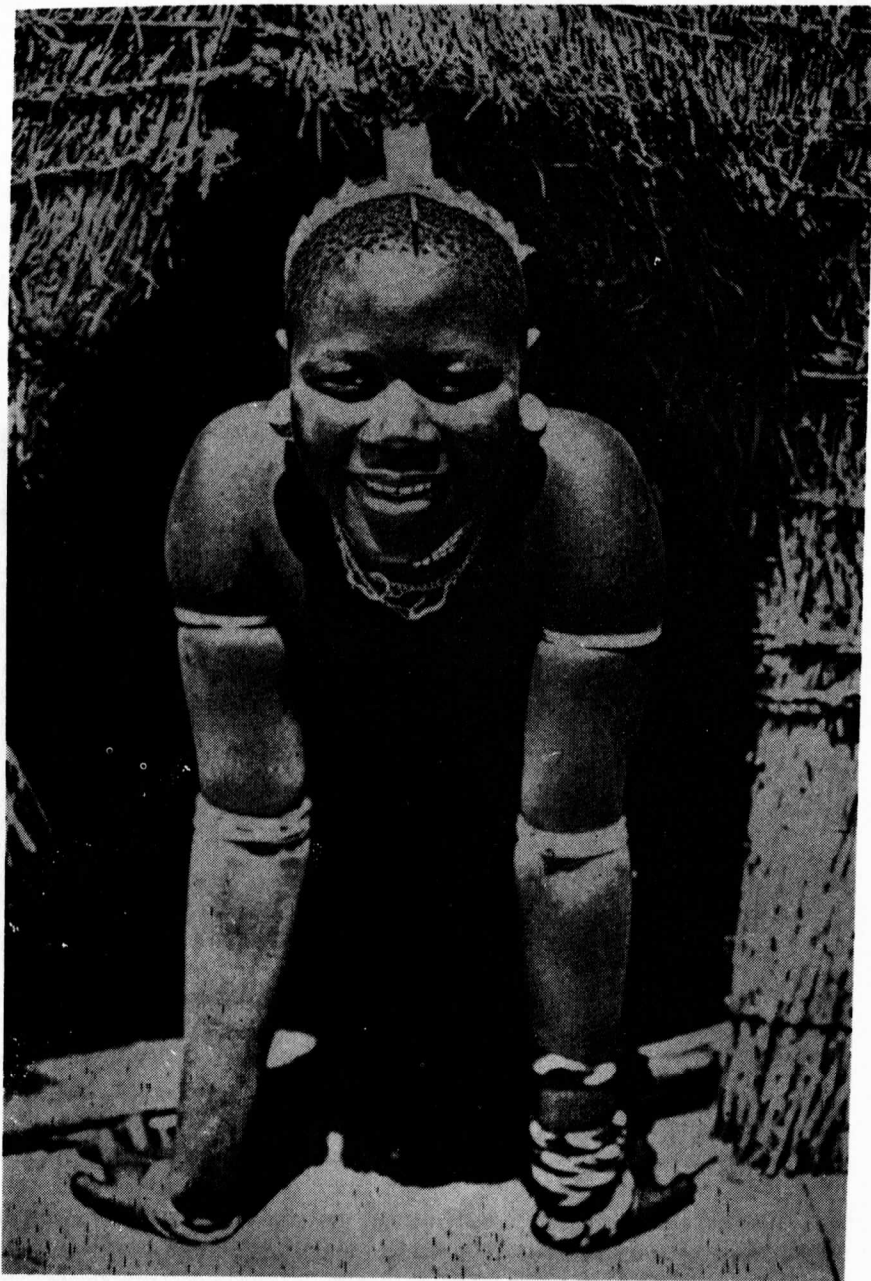


Figure No. 29:
Zulu women; observe the absence of the ndoro and tatoos in addition to the plugs fitted into the ear-lobes.
Her incisors has also not been knocked out

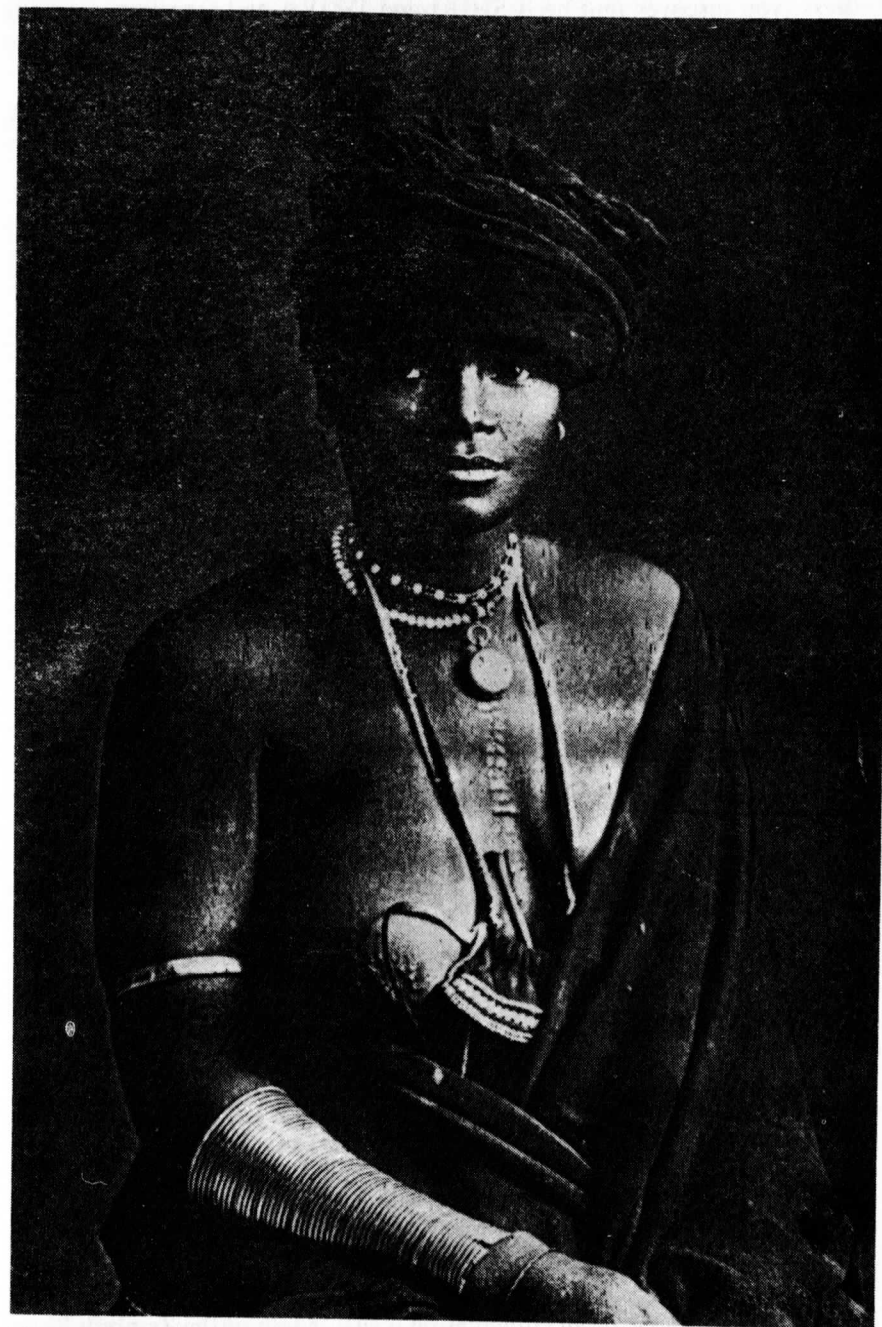


Figure No. 30:
Xhosa woman; in addition to what is fitted into the ear-lobes, not also the absence of the Ndoro and tatoos

the community is in fact Dziva by mutupo. By simply examining Chaka's dress, you discover that he is SHIRI and DZIVA and therefore originally HUNGWE and Kalanga. But he is only a representative of a much larger community than the Zulu tribe.

Let us now sum up the Chief Kalanga identity marks. These are association with the sun, association with water, aversion against fish, aversion



Figure No. 31: Ndebele Court Jester

against the conus shell and sea shells in general, aversion against birds, fowls and eggs, ear-boring and association with feathers. To these you can add circumcision which is definitely one of their very important practices. No man was deemed ready to marry and move into manhood without first undergoing circumcision. The women had their own equivalent practice. The only confusing thing about circumcision is that, south of the Zambezi River, it is not confined to segments of the Kalanga people. The Lemba/Mwenyi

communities also circumcize. But these are well known to be Mohammedan descendants and apart from this, all their other identity marks are different. Therefore, they do not really cause great confusion.

At this stage then, look back at the Tonga man and woman with all their identity marks and see how different they are from Kalanga men and women.



Figure No. 32: Ndebele Head-dress

You have no problem in sorting them out. The situation will not be any more confusing if we bring in the remaining Bantu Family, the Mbire-Nyai Soko Family, for, it has its own totally different identity marks. Already, you can see how misleading it is to say "The Africans mutilate their bodies, they do this and that" as if they all do it. Specific communities do specific practices and for specific reasons. Interestingly, note that all these very revealing practices are beyond the scope of archaeology. Can we legitimately claim that the discipline of archaeology is a more vital source of our history than these cultural traits?



Figure No. 33: Ndebele Warrior



Figure No. 34: Zulu Warrior

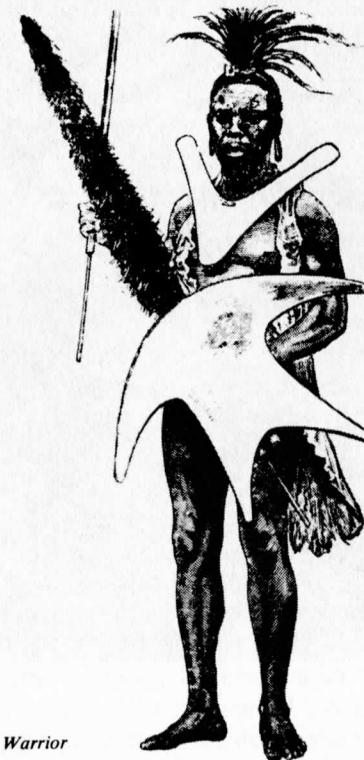


Figure No. 35 Suthu Warrior



Figure No. 36: Shangaan Warrior

Oral traditions trace the Kalanga origins to some area between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. It is not possible to pinpoint with precision the actual starting point but two things are clear from the traditions:-

- (a) The Kalanga occupied the eastern-most district.
- (b) Their district hugged the sea.

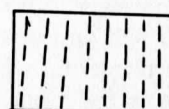
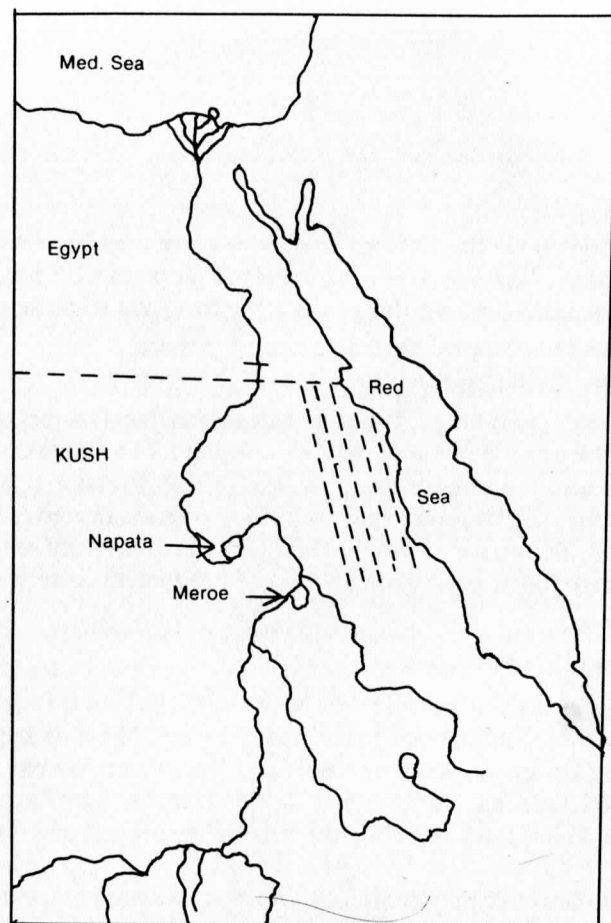
As far as these traditions go, it is these two geographical factors that determined both the tribal name KALANGA and the all-encompassing totem, DZIVA. It is also the same factors that determined aversion against both fish and the conus shell together with association with the Hungwe and hence, bird in general. Before we go any further, let us have a sketch map that attempts to locate the original Kalanga home in the north-eastern corner of Africa.

Illustration No. 37: next page

Negroland was the land beyond the 1st cataract. The land between the Nile Delta and the first cataract was traditionally Egypt. The land beyond that along the Nile Valley was Kush or Nubia and Negroland. We can therefore reasonably conclude that Karangaland was the land south of Egypt but between the Nile Valley (and excluding the Nile Valley proper) and the Red Sea to the east.

A glance at the sketch map combined with oral traditions makes the origins of the name Karanga, aversion to fish and conus-shell together with the acquisition of the totem Dziva, easily explicable.

(1) The land occupied by the Negroes who became known as Kalanga was directly to the east of the Negro belt and was the eastern-most district of that Negro belt. This is the direction from which the sun rises. Naturally, it was referred to as "The District on the Rising side of the Sun". Their name for the sun must have been LANGA as it still is today among the descendants of the southern Karanga people as we have already discovered. Such names as KWA-LANGA, KUA-LANGA and KA-LANGA and all meaning "OF THE SUN" appear to have been used. Earlier on, we have seen ZWIDE KA-LANGA meaning Zwide (son) of Langa. It is clear from this that KA-LANGA caught on partly as the designation of the Negro district to the "ris-



Likely Original Kalanga Homeland

Figure No. 37: Likely Original Kalanga Homeland

ing side of the sun" and partly as the tribal designation of the people of that district. In addition the name Langa itself appears to have also been given as the personal name and as the title of the first ruler of the district and founding father of the KALANGA tribe. You can deduce this from what we have already seen of the tribes south of the Limpopo and in Botswana and that

is swearing by U-Langa, Uh-Langa, Th-Langa and the like referring partly to a common founding ancestor and partly to somebody bordering on God. In African circles the greatest known founding father is deified and as centuries roll by, he becomes hardly distinguishable from God. This is true of Murenga of the Shona who, at cult centres such as Matojeni, is referred to as MWARI, a name normally restricted to God. Whatever the real truth of the matter might be, something along these lines must have happened in connection with the original ancestors of the Kalanga dynasty way back in north-east Africa. So then, a tribe called Kalanga living in a district called Kalanga and ruled by a paramount chief called U-Langa must have come into existence in north-east Africa somewhere between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea.

(2) The new Kalanga tribe hugged the sea. It was closely associated with water by virtue of its geographical position. This must be the origin of its traditional designation MASTERS OF THE WATER. From the same association with water, it derived its all-encompassing totem, DZIVA which, as we saw earlier, meant a sheet or pool of water. This must have been referring to the Red Sea which was their eastern border.

(3) But because these Masters of the Water could not taboo the water and survive, as already stated, they picked on the fish for their special taboo, hence their aversion to fish. They went further to taboo the conus-shell disc as an emblem of royalty again because it was an aquatic item.

From this alone, anybody who is acquainted with Shona or Zulu, Xhosa, Suthu or Tswana traditions must conclude that the above developments associated with the emerging Kalanga tribe meant immediate severance of blood relationships with their Negro cousins in their neighbourhood. They have constituted themselves into a distinct community with its own attributes different from those of its cousins. Because they must have been exogamous as they still are today, one objective for acquiring these different tribal attributes must have been to facilitate intermarriage between them and their non-Dziva cousins around them.

Our vital task now is to prove that a Negro people with Kalanga identity marks migrated along the east coast of Africa to Zimbabwe and beyond and fathered the communities that I claimed to have descended from these ancient Kalangas. If we can prove this, then we can pretty well be certain that the claims of oral tradition in respect of Karanga origins in north-east Africa are valid. Fortunately here, unlike with the Tonga and Sokos, we receive assistance from a few written documents.

If you look at the above sketch map again, you will guess that there was only one direction of migration for the Kalanga members and this was the southern direction. To the north was Egypt and to the west was Nubia or Kush. Therefore, the direction of weakest resistance must have been in the south. The only other Africans that could have been in that southern direction were the San and possibly the Khoikhoi. These were physically weaker.

In addition, the Negroes that migrated south were Iron Age people after 400 B.C. and were inevitably much stronger militarily than both the San and the Khoikhoi.

For the Kalanga, migrating to the south to a large extent meant trekking along the east coast for, they were already on the eastern seaboard. There is enough evidence to prove that along the eastern seaboard to the south, there were no other Negro migrants south of the Kalanga. Indeed, segments of them were the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south along the east coast and remained so right up to the time they conflicted with the Dutch in the Cape Province of South Africa in the 18th century. This must mean that the earliest Negroes to reach the Somali, Kenya and Tanganyika coasts must inevitably have been segments of the Kalanga people.

I am in no way contradicting myself. The reader may wonder at how this can be when I have already argued from archaeological evidence that the Tonga people were the first to migrate south and settle in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Azania. As we have seen in chapter 3, the Tonga migrated to the south through the interior. The Kalanga did so along the east coast. Along the coast therefore, the Kalanga were the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south. But in the interior, it was the Tonga and the two do not appear to have met until the Kalanga reached the region south of the Zambezi River. What we need now is to scrutinize the characteristics of the vanguards of the Negro migrants to the south along the eastern seaboard and assess their identity.

First, we need to establish whether or not there were Negroes near what the Kalanga claim to be their original home by the Red Sea. An Egyptian relief about the expedition organized by Queen Hatshepsut to the land of Punt which is believed to be the coast of Somalia, gives us an immediate answer. This expedition was organized by sea (Red Sea) soon after 1500 B.C. Here is what one authority says about the expedition as depicted on Egyptian reliefs:

"These reliefs are vivid and immediate in their effect. The opening scene shows five vessels making ready to depart on their journey down the Red Sea. Three of them are already under sail, and one of them carries over its stern the inscription of a pilot's order 'steer to port'. Then they are sailing in the sea, journeying in peace to the land of Punt, where they safely arrive and are greeted by a chief of the Puntites, Perehu, followed by his wife, who is remarkable for dark-skinned generosity of girth and limb."⁷¹

We are here interested in the earliest evidence of the presence of Negro people on the east African seaboard. Whether the above Puntites were on the Red Sea or Indian ocean coast of Somalia is not very important. The important point is that they provide us with evidence of the existence of black people north of the Kenyan coast as far back as between 1500 and 1,000 B.C. We expect these people to continue trekking south, and some of them, consistently along the coast.

Next, we have the Greek commercial handbook known as THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA which talks about the East African coast

and was written somewhere between 100 and 200 A.D. It makes references to East African men of great stature who were pirates and who used small boats made of planks sewn together but does not help us to identify the people in question.

The next document called the GEOGRAPHY and written by Claudius Ptolemy is relevant to our study. Ptolemy makes references to "Man-eating Ethiopians" (black people) on the east coast of Africa. He adds that to the west of them are "Mountains of the Moon" from which "the Lake of the Nile receives snow water." One can only imagine that this is a reference to either Mt. Kenya or better still, Mt. Kilimanjaro which is snow-capped. If so, the black people referred to as "man-eating" must by then have been along the Kenya-Tanganyika coast.

The document makes no reference to other Bantu people south of the man-eating Ethiopians. Evidence is almost unanimous that the Bantu south of the Zambezi River migrated from the north. Those along the east coast must have continued to migrate along that coast to the south. If they were among the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south, then their descendants must be among the Bantu who are today around the southern tip of the continent. What we need now is to search the area south of the Zambezi and see if there are communities that have ever been referred to as "man eaters".

In 1868, Mzilikazi died and was succeeded by Lobengula in 1870. Montagu Kerr, observed him among his people. Among his praise-names were

Black King!

Calf of a Black cow!

Man eater!

Star that shot through the firmament in the day of Zuangendaba!"⁷²

We are tempted to ask a question immediately here: is Lobengula being addressed as Man Eater in his own right or this is so because he is a descendant of an ancestry called man eaters? For an answer to this, I shall turn to Rev. Mackenzie. In 1863, he observed the following:-

"A fire had been placed in the middle of a pen, and near to it, seated in an old fashioned arm chair, the gift of Mr. Moffat, sat Mzilikazi. As we advanced, we got each a warm and rather lengthy shake of the hand, the attendants shouting lustily, great King! Man-eater etc."⁷³

This increases my suspicions and persuades me to search more. Elton, the British representative in Mozambique, records that in 1872, he visited an Angoni Chief in the Malawi area whose title was GWAZABANTU and this means 'finisher of men or man-eater.'⁷⁴ I wish to remind you that the Angoni are descendants and followers of Zwangendaba who ran away from Zululand. They are thus of Nguni origin.

If we turn to the far south, the area of Lesotho, we find David Livingstone reporting the following:-

"Among Mosheshi's people are some mountaineers — believed to be guilty of cannibalism. This has been doubted but their songs admit the fact to this day. They are called Marimo or Maya-bantu, man eaters by the rest of the Basutho."⁷⁵

If we turn to Zululand, we find a community called Ntuli whose ancestors were notorious for cannibalism. In due course, the community was incorporated into the Zulu nation by Chaka and was forced to give up this practice.

"The cannibal stronghold at Elenge hill near the lower Waschbank river rapidly became the most shunned and perilous spot for any solitary traveller to approach. When in after times Senzangakona's old boggy, Macingwane, chief of the emaCunw-ini, was so ill — starved as to pass that way on his forlorn return from the Mzimkulu — he little knew that he was walking straight into the cooking-pots of these ema Baleni."⁷⁶

If you turn to the Pedi of the Transvaal, you find exactly the same. The Pedi are Kwena and Suthu and therefore originally part of the Kalanga Family complex. One group of Bantu people that mixed with them early is the Venda group. These Venda people were newcomers in the Transvaal area but no doubt, came to know something of the characteristics of the Pedi. The following Venda song about the Pedi is revealing:-

"Iwe nkuku wee!

Bird of nkuku.

The cattle are going off!

Bird of nkuku.

They go off with whom?

They go with the Pedi.

The Pedi *who eat men*.

Bird of the nkuku."⁷⁷

Here again, the Pedi are described as MAN-EATERS like their cousins in Southern Africa. It is also possible that it is they who are being referred to as "bird" and "nkuku" for indeed they are originally members of the Hungwe community which associated with the bird. Interestingly, you will not find one Tonga or Soko Mbire group that is referred to as "man-eater" in this whole region. Is this an accident?

From this alone, we can not doubt that even as recently as the beginning of the 19th century, there were several communities south of the Limpopo that were known as man-eaters. Whether they were so called because they engaged in cannibalism or because they were good warriors and therefore destroyers of man, we many never know. But that they were called man-eaters is never in doubt.

The interesting fact so far is that all the communities south of the Zambezi River which are referred to as "man-eaters" are at the southern Bantu extremity. The Angoni and the Ndebele are recent migrants into the interior from that southern extremity i.e. the communities associated with cannibalism are also the ones associated with LANGA. Naturally, I begin to feel more

strongly that the "man-eaters" sighted by Ptolemy way up north along the coast in the second century of the Christian Era had its offshoots among the earliest Bantu migrants to the South. However, I do not want to give you the impression that all the descendants of the "man-eaters" migrated to the regions south of the Zambezi River. Such a development would be abnormal. My purpose for citing for you Kalanga communities north of the Zambezi River was to demonstrate that the ancient Kalanga Family was much more than a feature of the regions south of the Zambezi River. Likewise, the "man-eaters" are more than a feature of Azania. Just to give you a few examples, cannibalistic communities are known to have been associated with the Congo-Nile divide and they spread westwards from that area. They were known as the FANG and their descendants are the dominant element in Gabon today. About them, one authority writes:-

"They have attained considerable celebrity as cannibals, and it was them — no doubt with some exaggeration — that Mary Kingsley wrote: 'He does it (cannibalism) in his common — sense way. He will eat his next door neighbour's relations and sell his own deceased to his next-door neighbour in return; but he does not buy slaves and fatten them up . . . as some of the Middle Congo tribes do . . . He has no slaves, no prisoners of war, no cemeteries.'"⁷⁸

In West Africa, Henry Hamilton Johnston reported in February 1888 that he was meanly thrown into a cooking-pot:

"They are inveterate cannibals, and are continually fighting among themselves. They accorded me a boisterous reception at first. In some cases, they began firing at my canoe . . . then they would wade out through the shallows armed with all kinds of weapons and compel me to stop. . . . In one instance I was dragged out of the canoe by a score of cannibals, mounted on the shoulders of the biggest, and carried off at a run to the town, where I was put in a hut with the door open and had to submit to being stared at for an hour by hundreds of entranced savages. Almost over my head, hanging from the smoke-blackened rafters of the house, was a smoked human ham, and about a hundred skulls were ranged round the upper part of the clay walls in a ghastly frieze."⁷⁹

This may well be exaggerated. But at the moment, that is beside the point. All that I am after is to show you that segments of communities referred to as "man-eaters" are widespread in Africa. Let us now pursue Ptolemy's document further. I would like to interpret it also as meaning that the "man-eaters" were not fish-eaters. This is so because he divides the East African coast into two specific communities, fish-eaters in the north and man-eaters in the south. If the man-eaters were also fish-eaters, he would not have used fish-eating as a distinguishing mark. He would simply have distinguished these communities as "man-eaters" and "non-man-eaters". Do not forget that our attention is on the Kalanga south of the Zambezi River. What we need to do now is to examine the communities south of the Limpopo that are mingled with "man-eaters" and see if they have communities amongst them that

have an aversion against eating fish. It is interesting to note right away that the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana all have a strong aversion against fish-eating. About this, one authority states:

"The Shangana-Tonga (the Shangaan in the Tonga area) eat fish, but most other tribes, even though living along the coast, refuse to do so . . ." ⁸⁰ The Zulu Family complex has a strong aversion against fish-eating and it is among the groups described in the above terms by Schapera. The Khumalo people among the Ndebele still do not eat fish to this day. If we turn over to the interior, we find David Livingstone stating, "The Bayeye live much on fish, which are quite an abomination to the Bechuana in the south". ⁸¹

The Tswana are largely Kwena; the Suthu are Kwena. We now find that both the Nguni and the Kwena have a strong aversion against fish. This points to a Dziva identity for the whole lot of them. In addition to this, they strongly taboo the crocodile — also associated with water. This includes even those in the far interior. Here is the report of one authority who actually lived among them:-

" . . . In the Bamangwato and Bakwain tribes, if a man is either bitten or even has had water splashed over him by the reptile's tail (crocodile's), he is expelled from his tribe." ⁸² That these people have a Dziva identity can not be in doubt. But I would like you to observe that these are also the people associated with the sun; they are the ones who claim LANGA as their common ancestor; they all taboo the conus shell; they taboo the bird, fowl and eggs. That Ptolemy's document points a finger at the ancestry of these people can not be in doubt. Therefore, we can safely conclude that the Africans occupying the Kenya-Tanganyika coast (opposite the Mountain of the Moon) at the time Ptolemy wrote his GEOGRAPHY, where members of the Kalanga Family, whose totem was Dziva and who tabooed the fish.

With this conclusion, which is somewhat tentative, we proceed to a later document which to me is vital. This is the document written by the Arab geographer and traveller, El Masudi around 947 A.D. after personally visiting the East African coast around 915-916. I shall proceed to quote the relevant part of the document:

"The Zanj are the only Abyssinian people to have crossed the branch which flows out of the upper stream of the Nile. They settled in that area which stretches as far as Sofala, which is the furthest limit of the land and the end of the voyages made from Oman and Siraf on the sea of Zanj. In the same way that the sea of China ends with the land of Japan, the sea of Zanj ends with the land of Sofala and the Waqwaq, which produces gold and many other wonderful things . . . The Zanj capital is there and they have a king called Mfalme. This is the ancient name of their kings, and all the other Zanj kings are subject to him. He has 300,000 riders. The Zanj use the ox as a beast of burden, for they have no horses, mules or camels in their land . . . There are many wild elephants, but no tame ones . . . The Zanj rush upon them armed with very long spears, and kill them for their ivory. It is from

this country that come tusks weighing fifty pounds or more . . . To go back to the Zanj and their kings, these are known as Wafalme, which means the son of the Great Lord, since he is chosen to govern them justly. They call God Mkulu Njulu, which means Great Lord." ⁸³

Comments on this passage are necessary.

(1) The word Zanj or Zenj or Zhand is an Arab word for black. By "the Zanj" the Arabs meant "the black people" along the East African coast. They make references to the Nubians, Beja and Zanj and all being "Ethiopians" i.e. Africans or Negroes. Therefore, the Zanj are a particular segment of the black race.

If our location of the original Kalanga home between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, is right, the Africans referred to by the Arabs as Zanj can only be segments of the Kalanga people. This must be so partly because they were the closest Africans to Arabia and must have established the earliest possible contacts with the Arabs by virtue of their geographical position. In addition, between 600 and 700 A.D. pockets of Arabs are known to have actually settled on the East African coast. It was they who referred to the African territory along that coast as The Zanj Empire meaning the Black Empire. It was they who started to trade with the Africans along that coast. It was these Africans distinguished by Ptolemy as "Fish-eaters" to the north and "Man-eaters" i.e. non fish-eaters to the south. They must have definitely included segments of the Kalanga people. Therefore we can almost be certain that what the Arabs called the Zenj Empire was a Kalanga Empire.

(2) El Masudi categorically states that "The Zanj are the only Abyssinian people to have crossed the branch which flows out of the upper stream of the Nile". If we look at our sketch map showing the original Kalanga home hugging the Red Sea, there was no way segments of the Kalanga could migrate to the south without crossing some upper stream of the Nile. Masudi thus tends to confirm that our location of the original Kalanga home is about right and therefore that there is substance in our oral traditions relating to the origins of the Kalanga people.

(3) References to gold and ivory in the land of Sofala are important for these are definite references to the area of Zimbabwe, the only source of ancient gold for the East African trade. As we are going to see in the next chapter, the Tonga who settled south of the Zambezi River around 300 A.D. did not engage in gold mining nor did they take part in the east coast trade which in fact did not exist yet. This trade was started by the Kalangas after 800 A.D. and it was they who initiated gold mining for that trade. The Archaeology of Zimbabwe is going to confirm this and we can legitimately state that trade between the coastal Moors and the Zanj was indeed trade with the Kalanga people.

(4) The king of the Zanj was called Mfalme, so Masudi tells us, and "all the other Zanj kings were subject to him". "Mfalme" can only be a distortion or variation of MFUMU which is the word used for chief or respected

ones by the Malawians and even communities in the Congo area today. However, what is important is that Masudi is pointing a finger at a definite polity with junior chiefs (district chiefs) and a paramount chief. Unlike what we saw of the Tonga, the Zenj polity is definitely a kingdom or an empire and is engaged in foreign trade by the year 900 A.D. The first such kingdom south of the Zambezi River was definitely started by the Kalanga. We can therefore be certain that the polity Masudi is describing was indeed a Kalanga polity.

(5) "The Mfalme and his subjects use the ox as a beast of burden", so Masudi tells us. The Khoikhoi were known to ride the ox and used it as a beast of burden. But Masudi is talking about a Bantu people. The Suthu also rode oxen and used them as beasts of burden but so did the Tswana who, together with the Suthu are Kwena. Here is a photograph showing them doing it.



Figure No. 38a: Xhosa herdboys riding oxen

In addition to this, one authority says about them, "The Natives (of Botswana) generally travel with pack bullocks, which are capable of travelling a great deal further without water than a waggon ox".⁸⁴ If we switch over to the Transkei, we find the following: "Horses not being available until Europeans came into the country, cattle were used for racing and are still so used but are being superceded now by horses."⁸⁵

Thus here again, Masudi's document is pointing at the Kalanga group as the people dominating the Sofala area and engaged in gold-mining, ivory-hunting and trading with the Moors. Here again, this does not only confirm



Figure No. 38b: Tswana herdboys riding bullocks

Ptolemy but every other source I have employed up to this point. Furthermore, it confirms the actual situation that prevails on the ground in the region south of the Limpopo.

(6) The very last sentence in the passage quoted above says, "They call God Mkulu Njulu". There is no doubt that this is the Mkulunkulu of the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana. Not surprisingly, these are still the only groups south of the Zambezi River that call God Mkulunkulu to this day. But these are also the communities with all the Kalanga identity marks. This means that at least the southern extremity of what was known as the Zanj Empire around 900 A.D. was part of the Kalanga Empire. But it also means that the majority of the descendants of these Zenj people are today south of the Limpopo River and west of Zimbabwe. Let us now turn to the archaeological record.

Archaeological Evidence

So far, we have discovered that the earliest settlements by Tonga Communities south of Zambezi River took place between 300 and 400 A.D. There is no evidence for a new culture between 300 and 700 A.D. The whole of that period covers what is called Zimbabwe Period 1. The culture unearthed at Gokomere (1), Great Zimbabwe, Mabveni, Malapati and Kaputa Vleis and all covering the archaeological span 300-700 A.D. fall under Zimbabwe Period 1 and all represent Tonga culture.

The question now is: is there archaeological evidence for the arrival of a new group with different cultural traits on the Zimbabwean scene after or from about 700 A.D.? For the answer to this question, let us first turn to eastern Zimbabwe:

"The eastern highlands of Rhodesia contain a group of sites belonging to a distinctive cultural group known as Ziwa . . . in the Inyanga district. Ziwa pottery differs from Gokomere ware in the slightly better standard of its manufacture and in the slightly wider range of its decorative motifs. Only four radiocarbon dates have been obtained, of which one is in the fourth century, while the other three belong to the ninth and tenth centuries."⁸⁶

From this alone, you can not doubt that a new power has arrived on the Zimbabwean scene. I take it that the fourth century date represents the eastern-most Tonga settlements and belongs to Zimbabwe Period 1. It is the other three dates that are of interest to us and they register the period 800 — 1,000 A.D. Significantly they represent what the archaeologists call ZIWA culture which undoubtedly is DZIVA culture and therefore Kalanga culture.

If we move down to Great Zimbabwe, we are confronted with evidence of a new culture starting from about 800 and going on up to about 1,000 or 1100 A.D. This culture represents what archaeologists call Zimbabwe Period 11. Far to the west is evidence of settlement represented by Leopard's Copje 11. "Although there has been one much earlier dating the likely period for Leopard's Copje 11 is the tenth and eleventh centuries."⁸⁷

The earliest evidence of gold mining is associated with Zimbabwe Period 11 ranging between 800 and 1100 A.D. The earliest evidence of imports from the east coast are also associated with this same period. In other words, eastern trade must have been initiated by the people represented by Zimbabwe Period 11. The existence of this trade was witnessed by El Masudi around 915 - 916 A.D. as quoted from him above. It was in the hands of the Zanj. But we have discovered that these Zanj people were segments of the Kalanga people. There is no doubt that Zimbabwe Period 11 represents these same people.

From the time Zimbabwe was taken over by the Kalanga people, oral traditions become much less confusing. The picture that emerges from them is that the first segment of the Kalanga people arrived under the control of a chief called DZIVA-GURU which means "the great pool" and settled near the mouth of the Zambezi River. In due course a segment led by Dzivaguru's son called SARUVIMBI, headed for the south. The group under Dzivaguru

headed for the interior generally up the Zambezi Valley. The southern group split into two separate segments. One group headed for the interior and was under the control of one of Saruvimbi's sons called Kuwena or Kuena. The coastal group continued to migrate to the south along the coast under the control of another of Saruvimbi's sons called Muguni. At this stage, we may need the assistance of a map to see what was actually happening.



Figure No. 39: Karanga Migrations into Zimbabwe

The northern group was in due course to develop into the TAVARA tribe; the interior group ultimately split up into the Suthu and Tswana tribes; the coastal group developed into the Nguni tribe that split up into the Swazi, the Mtetwa, the Ndwandwe, the Zulu, the Xhosa and their associated segments. What we need now is to treat these major segments one by one and prove that indeed they were originally Kalanga and Dziva.

By the heading "Northern Frontier" I am referring specifically to the Zambezi Valley frontier but with greatest interest and attention on the eastern half of that frontier. This is so mainly because that was the area best known by the Portuguese but also because it was an area of the greatest intermingling of the three Bantu families causing the greatest possible confusion among the Portuguese concerning the name Karanga. It is therefore vital to sort out this frontier, before we proceed to any other. At any rate, it was also the first region to be occupied by the Karanga and should chronologically be the first to receive treatment.

The first section of chapter 4 concentrated on proving that by "Makaranga", the Portuguese were referring to a district in the north-east and not to the whole country. Before we identify the northern segment of the Karanga Dynasty and discuss its history in that corner, we need to examine briefly the identities of the major Bantu families in that corner.

Under chapter 3, Karanga Predecessors, we discovered that a Tonga community was in the Mt. Darwin area and it was easy to identify it through its lip-ornament (pelele) and tattoos. Chapter 4 pinpointed the existence of a Karanga district and a Karanga community in the same north-eastern corner but without producing evidence to prove their identity. This evidence was reserved for this chapter. Before we prove the existence of the Karanga in this corner, let us examine who else is there in addition to the Tonga and Karanga.

I shall start this off by a quotation from the Portuguese Dominican Friar, Dos Santos who has been quoted more than once before. It may be of interest to the reader to know that Dos Santos actually lived in the north-east for eleven years from 1586. He writes, "Monomotapa and all his vassals are Karanga, a name given to them as inhabitants of the land of Mocaranga, and they speak a language called Mocaranga . . ."

This shows the same old confusion that we have come across before. Yet the statement has something important in it i.e. the Mutapa and his vassals are called Karanga by virtue of their residence in a Karanga country. This is important for it is indeed a statement of the historical truth. But it does still not give us the identity of Mutapa's people. All that we have are Tonga, the Karanga and Mutapa's people whose identity we do not yet know.

If we turn to Nicholas de Graaf in 1719, we get to the crux of the matter. He wrote, "In the vast empire of MUNYAI, ruled by the Monomotapa, the country more inland is called MOCARANGA, and the districts nearer to the Zambezi and the coast, BOTONGA".⁸⁸

If we cast our eyes back to the Zambezi Mission Record, we find it stressing that only "three Bantu races" settled in Zimbabwe from the north and it specifies them as Tonga, Karanga and Nyai. Now from a very different corner, we are told something no less than that the Shona Empire was a Nyai Empire with Tonga and Karanga districts in the north-east. Indeed, it was a Nyai Empire but the evidence needed to prove this is beyond the scope of this book. In this one, we are interested in the Karanga. The two dominant Nyai dynasties in the north-east are the Korekore and Barwe dynasties, both of which have been confused with the Karanga dynasty by the Portuguese. What I am after proving at the moment is that the Korekore Mutapa Dynasty and the Makombe Barwe Dynasty are not Karanga. That they are not Tonga has never been queried. I shall conclude this section by a meaningful quotation from our ubiquitous Carl Peters:

"When Quarra Quate, the priestess (of the Makombe Barwe dynasty) shows herself to the people, no red colour must be seen anywhere: the sacred colour is black. Makombe's family does not belong to the Makalanga, but is of different origin."⁸⁹

Indeed Makombe's Barwe Dynasty is not Karanga for it is Nyai together with the Korekore group. So then, we end up in our important north-eastern corner, with segments of our original three Great Bantu Families only, the Tonga, the Kalanga-Dziva and the Mutapa family so far referred to as Nyai. We should now divert our attention to a detailed analysis of the Karanga community in the north-eastern corner. I may however need to point out that the segments of the three Great Bantu Families in the north-east were in due course joined by a fourth tribe, the CHIKUNDA descending from Portuguese prazeros in the Zambezi Valley. But they have not caused any confusion in our ranks and we do not need to worry about them as yet.

Brief Background History

When the Portuguese arrived on the north-eastern scene after 1500, they definitely came across a district called Makaranga and a community called Karanga in the area. The documents quoted so far did not leave us in any doubt of this fact. We found Nicholas de Graaf in 1719, two hundred years after Portuguese arrival, talking about "the country more inland is called Mocaranga".

But by the time Livingstone arrived on the scene in 1858 (second expedition) there was not even a district called Makaranga in the Zambezi Valley. There was no community either by this name. This is an important development and similar developments had always been taking place. You visit the north-east today and you will discover that there is no trace of a community

and district once called Karanga. This is different from saying that there is no trace of a community and district once called Karanga. Descendants of the ancient Karanga people are still there but have acquired different tribal designations. There are two major communities descending from the Karanga in the north-east. The bigger of the two communities is the TAVARA group. The smaller of them is the DEMA group. Before we treat them separately, we need a brief history of their settlement in the area.

We have discovered that from oral history, the Karanga settled in the region south of the Zambezi under a paramount chief called DZIVA-GURU. The tribal name for the whole group was Kalanga and the totem was DZIVA. The whole group also had an aversion to fish and the conus-shell disc.

The arrival of this family in the regions south of the Zambezi can not be called an invasion for indeed it was not, for there was literally no one to invade. One or two pockets of Tonga people existed in the north-east as evidenced by the radio-carbon date of 4th century at the site now called ZIWA and this represents Zimbabwe Period I in the north-east. Furthermore, when the Mutapas arrived on the scene and drove the coastal Karanga to the south, pockets of Tongas were among them and were also driven to the south. These are the Tongas we heard Dos Santos talking about in the Sabi District ruled by SEDANDA. As the coastal Karangas were pushed further to the south into Natal, the Tongas were also pushed south with them. At the beginning of the 19th century, they had established several communities in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay where we have already come across them.

These Tonga people appear to have been too few, too scattered and too weak to resist the incoming Kalangas. No war appears to have taken place between them whatever. The Kalangas simply infiltrated into the region but in reasonably large numbers and under a central control sufficiently powerful to establish a dominion over the new region. In Kalanga oral traditions, there is constant reference to the ABATWA, MANDIONEREPI (how far was I when you saw me) and MATADYATADYA (literally meaning "people who eat only when they find the food") which are clear references to the San people. One gets the impression that before the arrival of the Kalanga, the San and not the Tonga, were the dominant element in the region between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. It looks clear too that these Tonga predecessors of the Kalanga had done little to drive the San out of the country if ever that had been their intention. The San appear to have drifted to the south and west in increasingly large numbers only after the arrival of the Kalanga. But they kept in touch with them at the constantly changing southern and western frontiers and constantly inter-mingling with them.

All the Kalanga south of the Zambezi River identified themselves with one aquatic bird called in Shona, HUNGWE. Whether this association with the Hungwe started before crossing the Zambezi or after, is not clear from the traditions. But south of the river, they all identified themselves with the Hungwe bird and this won them their second tribal designation and this was

HUNGWE. It was for this reason that I called them in my "From Mutapa to Rhodes" THE DZIVA - HUNGWE PEOPLE. In the early stages of settlement in Zimbabwe therefore, the whole family was KALANGA by tribe; it was also HUNGWE; its all-encompassing totem was DZIVA; it was averse to fish and the conus-shell disc.

The whole family was exogamous as it still is today i.e. intermarriage between relatives was prohibited. But foreigners (Tonga) were very few and thinly scattered across the breadth of the country. Yet at the same time, they were polygamous and this was necessary for rapid expansion, for, survival depended on military strength which in turn was not independent of numbers. The members of the Kalanga Family found themselves in a quandary created by this situation. This necessitated formal severance of blood relationships between their major Houses. It looks certain that at one time in these early stages, they were divided into three major Houses. I have already indicated that the group came into the country under the rule of a man called DZIVA-GURU (great pool). Whether it was a proper name or it was a name of honour meaning "the great representative of the Dziva people", is not clear from the traditions. However, be it as it may, Dzivaguru took control of the region immediately to the south of the Zambezi River. After his death, he was succeeded by Karuva, possibly his elder living son.

The district immediately to the south of Karuva was occupied by Saruvimbi, another of Dzivaguru's sons. Saruvimbi was succeeded in turn by his son known as Kuwena or Kwena. Further expansion to the south took place and a third district was established under the second one of Saruvimbi's son and called Muguni.

Severance of blood relationships appears to have taken place after the death of Dzivaguru. The northern district ruled by Karuva after the death of Dzivaguru drifted into the interior up the Zambezi Valley. It maintained the all encompassing mutupo, DZIVA. It maintained its aversion to fish and to the conus-shell disc. This is the group whose descendants were found by the Portuguese in the north-east and some of whose segments were still called Kalanga.

The central group under Saruvimbi also maintained its all-encompassing mutupo, Dziva, and aversion to both the fish and the conus-shell disc. But after the death of Saruvimbi it started to identify itself with a new aquatic animal and this was the crocodile called Kuwena, Kuena, Kwena or Ngwenya. It looks certain that the first chief of this middle group to identify himself with the crocodile was himself given the name "crocodile" i.e. Kuwena or Kuena or Kwena or Ngwenya, for this is the "name" of the man claimed by all the Kwena (Ngwenya) people to be their founding father. This group in due course, headed for the interior of Zimbabwe and we are later going to find it segmenting in turn and giving birth to two new nations, the Suthu and the Tswana the majority of whom are still Kwena (Ngwenya) to this day. They maintained aversion to fish and conus-shell disc but were now a distinct group by virtue of their identification with the crocodile.

The southern-most group under Muguni constituted themselves into a separate tribe called Nguni after the name of their founding father, Muguni or Mguni. They maintained the strongest aversion to fish, some of them such as the Zulus, up to this day. These continued to migrate along the coast and in turn segmented and fragmented into a multiplicity of separate tribes but all bracketed under the original common name, Nguni.

This first development taking place within the Kalanga family south of the Zambezi is an example of what I called in Chapter 2, "controlled normal segmentation". It was necessitated by the situation prevailing south of the Zambezi then, in particular, shortage of foreigners to marry into. But as the three new Kalanga tribes grew and occupied more and more territory, each was vexed by its own problems as it made its separate history. Each embarked on more normal segmentation but at the same time, quarrels and disagreements over succession rent some of their segments apart to end up foreign to each other. We are going to examine aspects of all this in due course. For the moment, we should switch back to the Zambezi Valley.

The Tavana Group

Anybody who attempted anthropological work in the Mt. Darwin area could not have failed to come across two dominant groups in that area — the Korekore and the Tavana. In practically every case, the Tavana are unfailingly presented as the original Bantu occupants of the whole north-east. In every case, the Korekore are presented as the invaders and conquerors from the south. The ancestries of the two are completely separate and there has been no danger of mixing them up. The Korekore unmistakably tell you that their founding fathers who conquered the Tavana were Mutota and Chingoo. Mutota was Moyo by mutupo but changed to Nzou under circumstances to be explained shortly. Chingoo was Soko and his descendants such as Chipuriro of Guruve and Musambakaruma of Omay acquired the chidao Wafawanaka. The details of their histories are beyond the scope of this book for, here, we are concerned with the Kalanga people largely. The others come in just because they interacted with the Kalanga.

The history of the Tavana starts with Dzivaguru. The Tavana unfailingly tell you that their greatest known ancestor is Dzivaguru. They tell you too that he migrated from the north but are not able to give you the precise locality he came from. Occasionally, Tanganyika is mentioned as the original home. But whether it was eastern Tanganyika or the west, again this is never made clear. They stress that the first district they occupied in the north-east was Chidima, which we will hear more about later in the next section. What is not clear again is whether Dzivaguru died before or after crossing the Zambezi River. The successor to Dzivaguru was Karuva. They remember more about this one than about Dzivaguru. Karuva was the son of Dzivaguru. He is the man who led them from the coast to Chidima. By virtue of this, he established himself as the first Karanga Paramount chief in the interior up the Zambezi

Valley i.e. in Chidima. Not surprisingly, he, after death, established himself as the greatest Tavana mhondoro. Dzivaguru, his father, hovers above Karuva almost as a semi-god.

This situation in itself confirms the Tavana tradition that Dzivaguru and Karuva are their founding fathers. What the reader needs to realize is that the status of a mhondoro is determined by the historical position of the man or woman from whom the mhondoro spirit emanated. The founding father of a dynasty automatically becomes the tribal mhondoro of that dynasty. Any spirit that claims superiority to the founding father can only be the father, grandfather or some other ancestor of the founding father if he chooses to be operational in that particular dynasty.

Gradually, the Karanga Tavana group occupied more and more territory up the Zambezi River and started to spread southwards into the present Mt. Darwin area. By about 1450, they had reached the precincts of Mt. Darwin settlement. From about that point, we can pick the story from their Korekore conquerors.

The first Korekore Mutapa was Mutota who established himself after death as the founding father of the new Korekore Province in the North. The Korekore are in no doubt that they found the area occupied by the Tavana people whose mutupo was Dziva NZOU. Here, we come across a totally new and rare development in Karanga circles: combining the mutupo Dziva with a land animal — "Nzou" is an elephant. On defeating the Tavana, Mutota is said to have said something like, "The elephant is the master of the jungle. By defeating you, I have proved that I am the master of the jungle. Therefore, from this point on, I and my people are the elephants and you are the pigs." From that point on, Mutota and his descendants became Nzou by mutupo and acquired the chidao SAMANYANGA (the possessor of horns) which was a reference to the elephant tusks and thus became NZOU SAMANYANGA by mutupo. But to appease the Tavana spirits and persuade them to acquiesce in his acquisition of their mutupo, it is claimed that Mutota gave the Tavana people a hoe in exchange for their mutupo. Nguruve (pig) became the new mutupo of the Tavana people and this is still so to this day. But in addition to this, they know they are Dziva and so they are both Dziva and Nguruve in the way they were Dziva and Nzou.

Mutota was succeeded as Korekore Paramount Chief by Matope, his son. Matope is the man who is said to have brought the bigger part of Tavana territory in the east, under Korekore control. In that east resided the Tavana guardian spirit, Karuva. The defeat of Karuva symbolized the final defeat of the Tavana. Attempts were made to overwhelm Karuva at his stronghold, Nehenhe but in vain. In the end, Matope and his soldiers captured one son of Karuva. They persuaded him to release to them the secrets of his father's magical powers but without success. He only agreed to release the secrets on the promise of a district over which he was going to be chief. We get an inkling of this from the following authority:

"Then he (son of Karuva) advised them (the Korekore) to put on bark bandeaus, to get red cloth, a NDORO... a dog and gun, and with these articles approach Nenhenhe (Karuva's headquarters) for all these objects were strictly taboo in the village of Karuva, being inimical to his magical powers."⁹⁰

The article goes on to specify that Karuva put on black/white materials only. Although this article is important for what it reveals of the conflict between the Korekore and the Tavara, it has a misleading element that needs straightening. To begin with, this war took place between 1450 and 1500. One wonders where the Korekore were going to obtain a gun from. Guns were introduced by the Portuguese after 1500. There have never been suggestions that our ancestors obtained anything like guns from the Moor traders. Secondly, the Korekore narrators represented by the above article give you the impression that the Karuva defeated by Matope was historical Karuva which is seriously misleading. Historical Karuva must have ruled between 800 and 900 A.D. for he was the second Tavara chief after Dzivaguru. The attributes accorded to the Karuva conquered by Matope are clearly not human attributes but those of a mhondoro. The investigator has to guard against careless narrators such as those who say Chaminuka was killed by the Ndebele or Nehanda and Kaguvi were killed by the B.S.A.C. when in actual fact, what they mean is that the mediums of these spirits were killed. The clash we are witnessing here is obviously the clash between the invading Korekore and the mhondoro Karuva who symbolized Tavara power.

However, the first point of interest to us is that the Tavara traitor advised Matope and his men to take with them a number of things including NDORO (conus-shell disc) to Karuva's stronghold because he tabooed them. The story goes further to say that the Korekore warriors were advised by the traitor to tie these ndoros onto the foreheads of several of their soldiers. They then marched towards Nenhenhe. On Karuva and his people seeing this, they ran away precipitately and lost their country to the Korekore without resistance. The important message to us is that the victims tabooed the ndoro. But they could only taboo the ndoro if they were Dziva because, as we know already, this is one of the identity marks of the Kalanga Dziva family.

Next, Posselt, in the same above article, states that Karuva did not put on red cloth but black/white cloth. This is true but what does this mean to the reader? Black/white materials are undoubtedly the most ubiquitous ancestral materials in Zimbabwe. They have a special name and this is HUNGWE i.e. Fish Eagle. Black/white beads are equally ubiquitous and these too are called HUNGWE beads in this country. But as we know already, Hungwe was the second totem of the whole Kalanga Family in this country after Dziva. As already stated, the Kalanga family identified itself with the Hungwe bird. The bird is black and white in colour. By wrapping themselves with or decking themselves in black/white materials and beads, the Kalanga were only imitating the colour of the bird they identified themselves with

and this was the Hungwe. In contrast, we have come across a priestess called Quarra Quate, representing the Makombe House: we were told that "the sacred colour is black". This is the "sacred colour" for the descendants of the Mutapas, Makombe included. But the "sacred colour" for the Kalangas was and still is black and white and representing the Hungwe bird. The mere employment by Karuva of black/white materials was in itself evidence that he was a member of the Kalanga Family. The fact that the combination of black and white is called HUNGWE confirms it. But as we saw earlier, these same colours were also dominant in Azania.

The defeat of Karuva was not the end of the Korekore conflict with the Tavara. There was still a female power to be overwhelmed and this was the priestess Chikara and what was employed against her is most revealing.

"Most elucidating, however, is the story about Matope's victory, victory over the Tavara princess Chikara. At first, she seemed to be invincible, but later Matope was told that she could be vanquished, if he covered the heads of his Nyai (warriors) with necklace of buzios and cowrie Shells . . . and buzios are nothing else than the Portuguese word for ndoro: Matope immediately decorated his warriors with the shells and Chikara fled at once and disappeared in Lake Choma."⁶²

From this, you can not doubt that a number of aquatic items were taboo to the Tavara people. But this was only so because these people were themselves Dziva and Kalanga. You may think that this was a feature of the Tavara community only but this is far from being so. Around 1600, Dos Santos reported the following:

"Monomotapa and the Mocarangas, his vassals wear a white shell on the forehead, hanging from the hair as an ornament, and Monomotapa wears another large shell on his breast. These shells they call andoros (ndoro) and they are looked upon with hatred by Kiteve (King of Uteve, called Quiteve by the Portuguese), . . . and therefore neither Kiteve nor his vassals wear andoros, although they are all of them Mocarangas."

This is exactly how Dos Santos and the other European chroniclers confused posterity. Santos observes a unique difference between Mutapa and his vassals on one hand and Uteve and his vassals on the other but does nothing to dig into the sources of that difference. He does not even learn something from the fact that far away in the Zambezi Valley, the Tavara community taboos ndoros and cowrie shells exactly the way Uteve and his people do. Uteve and his vassals shun the ndoro and cowrie shells because they are Dziva and Karanga; Mutapa and his people use them because they are Nyai and Mbire and are associated with land animals, plants and items; the two are the opposite of each other. The matter is as simple as that.

He even talks about the ndoros as ornaments which they are far from. They are an emblem of royalty and it was not everybody who wore them. The size of the ndoro was itself an indication of his rank. The paramount chief, the district chief and the sub-chief all wore different sizes. This is the

significance of the large shell on Mutapa's breast. Clearly, Santos wrote what he thought and never bothered to ask the Africans concerned why they practised what they did. Uteve and his people are called Karangas. But he also goes on to describe Mutapa and his people as also Karangas although he detects a difference between them! Portuguese documents have useful hints on us but at the same time, they are awfully misleading and have to be read very carefully.

I appear to be unnecessarily labouring the issue of ndoros and other sea shells. This is not so. When we come to the interior of Zimbabwe where tribal intermixture is no less than a tangled skein, you will appreciate how important this issue is. Of the three Great Bantu Families, only two of them patronized the ndoro and other sea shells. These are the Tonga and Sokos from whom the Mutapas descended. Along the southern frontier which is the subject of the next chapter, we will discover that communities from the three Great Bantu Families got almost inseparably enmeshed with each other and half-acculturated each other. It will indeed be our knowledge of the significance of these little details that will enable us to disentangle them from each other and then discover what they were before they became what they are today. If you cast your eyes across all Africa, you will discover that members of the Dziva Family taboo the ndoro and other sea shells right across the whole board. On the other hand, the Tonga and all segments of the Soko Family value them highly.

"The use of the ndoro is, however, not restricted to Southern Rhodesia. In the Northern Transvaal it is known among the Venda as NDALAMA. . . It is worn by their queens on the nape of their neck."⁹¹ This is so because the Venda are a foreign group living among a Dziva majority in that area. This is why their use of the ndoro is so conspicuous: it is not the normal thing in the region. As we will discover shortly, the Venda are part of the Mutapa group that does not taboo aquatic items.

If we cross over to the region north of the Zambezi River, we find some communities placing a very high value on these sea shells including the ndoro. Livingstone, in his "Travels", page 300, mentions that he was given a MPANDE by the Lunda Chief, Shinte, "as a special token of his friendship". In my "Birth of Bantu Africa", I classified the rulers of the Luba-Lunda Empire as segments of the Soko Masters of the land. The value placed by Shinte on the ndoro is therefore not surprising. In Zambia, "The Bisa are a case in point. The ndoro is highly valued among them and worn around the waist".⁹²

Here again if you trace the Bisa backwards, you will discover that they are originally a segment of the Tonga people that came from the Congo region. Not surprisingly, they are matrilineal to this day. The following covers the broad belt of matrilineal communities.

"North of the Zambezi the ndoro is known as MHANDE, MPANDE or PANDE. It is worn either on the forehead or on the breast as a characteristic

ornament of nobility from Amboland in the west down to the Lower Zambezi and as far to the north as Tanganyika."⁹³ The Ambo both in Angola and Namibia are known to have migrated from the Congo region. They are matrilineal to this day and have close affinities with the Zambian Tonga. The Zambezi Valley from about Livingstone to the Kafue River is almost entirely a Tonga belt. We have come across some of these Tonga people even in the Darwin area of Zimbabwe lower down the valley. Segments of matrilineal communities are found not only in Tanganyika but in all East Africa.

We should therefore expect the ndoro to be used widely in all those areas. Yet this is never the case from about the Limpopo southwards. The reader must therefore look upon the use of the ndoro and other sea shells or aversion to them as an important identity mark of the Bantu. The Bantu do not choose to use them or not to. What they do is an important and indicative part of their long established traditions and is full of meaning.

If we look back at the Tavara family complex, we find that they all claim to have descended from DZIVA-GURU and this immediately links them up with the other Kalanga people. Next, their totem became Dziva Nzou up to the advent of the Korekore on the scene. This confirms that they are Kalanga. Although they dropped Nzou and picked up Nguruve after defeat by Mutota, they maintained the all-encompassing mutupo, Dziva. We then find them between 1450 and 1500 unable to stand up to the sight of ndoros. We also find that their sacred material was black/white which is called HUNGWE. The conclusion we arrive at from these various angles is that the Tavara are emphatically Dziva and Hungwe and therefore originally Kalanga.

The Dema Group

The home area of the Dema people is the district of Chidima. We may remember that this was the first interior district to be occupied by the Tavara under Karuva after migrating from the coast. The Dema community has been in the news on many occasions since independence in 1980. To begin with, some of their members have only two toes on each foot. Secondly, they are living very much as they used to do before 1890 and run away to the hills on the sight of agents of civilization. Many of them do not even know that Zimbabwe is now African-ruled. This is so largely because the settler regime did not touch them and therefore they are not aware of what has been happening in the rest of the country between 1890 and 1980.

The Dema are a segment of the Tavara group. I have decided to treat them separately partly because they look upon themselves as a separate community and partly because after segmentation from the rest of the Tavara, they acquired a different mutupo though closely related to Dziva. They too look upon Dzivaguru as their greatest ancestor and remember nothing beyond him. They also look upon Karuva as their first chief in the Chidima district. This alone establishes them beyond any doubt as members of the Kalanga Family complex.

More than this, their mutupo today is MVURA which is simply "water". This slight difference that their mutupo is Mvura (water) and that of the Tavara is Dziva (pool) is enough to facilitate inter-marriage between them. The different tribal names Tavara and Dema also facilitate intermarriage between them. They too taboo the NDORO and wear the black/white material representing the Hungwe bird.

It is interesting to note that as recently as the middle of the 19th century, their district was still known as DZIVA. In 1860, Livingstone went up the Zambezi River to explore the Kabora Bassa Rapids. On the 15th of May, he slept at a village called "Sindabwe" which, as he put it, was "beside the fine flowing stream which runs through the charming valley of Zibah" (Dziva). He goes on, "The inhabitants of Ziba are Badema, and a wealthier class than we have recently passed with more cloth, ornaments, food and luxuries".⁹³

Thus the very first Kalanga district in the north-east was called Dziba and maintained that name into the 19th century. The mutupo of its present inhabitants is MVURA, emphasizing the Dziva identity. Indeed, the district would never have been called Dziva if it had never associated with people of Kalanga origins.

An interesting feature of the northern Kalanga group is that it was not able to expand beyond the bounds of the north-east. They were severed by the invading Mutapas from their interior Kwena cousins and lost touch with them completely. Makombe bottled them up in the south from Barwe. Around 1450, those of them who had trekked into the interior to about Mt. Darwin were invaded by the Korekore and were pushed back to the Zambezi Valley. To the west of the Mt. Darwin District, you do not find a single Kalanga dynasty right up to Hwange which is dominated by the Vanambia who are segments of Mutapa's people. This situation that prevails to this day along the whole Zambezi frontier proves beyond any doubt that the Kalanga came into this country through the north-east. If they had come in through the Victoria Falls area, some of their dynasties would have been established near that zone but there is absolutely nothing. The Tonga who came in through that corner are represented by chief Mola in the Omay area.

To complete our study of the Kalanga Tavara group, I must make references to two important segments that severed their relations with their cousins altogether.

The Mutoko Shumba Nyamuziwa dynasty is originally Tavara and therefore Kalanga and Dziva. But it dropped all its associations with water and picked on land totems thereby identifying itself with THE MASTERS OF THE LAND who, south of the Zambezi River, are descendants of the Mutapas.

Under the leadership of a man called Nehoreka, a group left a place called Mungari in the Zambezi Valley and invaded Makate then paramount chief of the present Mutoko area. The details of the conflict do not concern us

here. Ultimately, Makate was overpowered and his country was taken over by Nehoreka who established himself as the new paramount chief. The new dynasty assumed a new tribal name, Budya and acquired a new mutupo, Shumba Nyamuziwa. Both the tribal name Tavara, and the mutupo, Dziva, were abandoned altogether and so was aversion to the NDORO. In this way, Nehoreka and his descendants completely severed their blood relationships with their Tavara cousins in the Zambezi Valley.

After death, Nehoreka established himself as the tribal mhondoro of the new Dynasty. He discovered that he had problems he could not deal with — problems above his scope. He was compelled to refer such problems to his own superior and this was Dzivaguru operating in the Zambezi Valley. From time to time therefore, Nehoreka sends envoys to Dzivaguru to have his dynastic problems sorted out by his ancestor. This is the only connecting link nowadays that reminds the Budya people of chief Mutoko of their Tavara, hence Kalanga ancestry.⁹⁴

In due course, a big-game hunter called Savara or Savaravara or Gunguwo left the Mutoko area and trekked to the Marondera area for elephant hunting. He took his family with him and the two elder sons were Chipunza and Muswere. He died in the Marondera area and his sons buried him there. But they continued his big-game hunting and trekked to the Rusape area which was then ruled by a man called Mutwiri and whose mutupo was Dziva and his tribal name, Hungwe. In the end, Muswere, the younger of the two sons of Gunguwo (Savara) took over Mutwiri's country and established himself as the new paramount chief with the title Makoni. He changed his mutupo from Shumba Nyamuziwa (Mutoko's mutupo) to Nyati Shonga. Because the district he took over was formerly a Hungwe district, Makoni and his descendants became Hungwe by residence and are known as Va-(H)Ungwe to this day and their district is Maungwe. Thus the new Makoni dynasty segmenting from Mutoko maintained its association with land initiated by its parent-dynasty, the Mutoko Budya Shumba Nyamuziwa dynasty.

Ironically however, it ended up conquering a Hungwe district and acquiring the tribal name Hungwe which was the name of its parent-dynasty way back in the Zambezi Valley.

Another small segment of the Mutoko Budya in the due course also established itself in the Marondera district. This is the Nenguwo dynasty whose mutupo is still Shumba Nyamuziwa like that of Mutoko. It is still counted as a Budya dynasty. Segments of the Budya dynasty also hived off and settled in the Korekore area. They maintained the mutupo Shumba but acquired the chidao Nechinanga. The most important of them is the Nematombo dynasty in Hurungwe. Like the Makoni and Nenguwo dynasties, they can all be traced back to the Mutoko Budya dynasty and therefore still further back to the Tavara and Dzivaguru and in that way establish that they were originally Dziva and Kalanga.

I have treated the Budya dynasty and its segments to show you that although generally all the segments of the Kalanga dynasty have maintained their association with water as we are going to see in all the remaining cases, there are exceptions who abandoned that association altogether. The important thing however is that every dynasty remembers its origins and therefore even those exceptions can still be traced back to their original parent-dynasties. Furthermore, the way the Mutoko and Makoni dynasties came into existence make it clear that it is not only quarrels that caused fragmentation. The causes of segmentation and fragmentation are innumerable.

We have discovered that south of the Zambezi River and along the east coast of Mozambique, the original Kalanga Family segmented into three separate dynasties. We have examined developments within the ranks of the Tavara dynasty that trekked up the Zambezi Valley. We should now trace the development of the coastal group that descended from Muguni. Its members were indeed the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south along the coast. We will then turn to the middle group, the Kwena group that trekked into the interior of Zimbabwe to end up dividing into the Suthu and Tswana. This is the most entangled of the original three Kalanga groups. The archaeological record of Zimbabwe registered the arrival of a new cultural group between 800 and 1,000 A.D. This is represented archaeologically by Zimbabwe Period II. We have already discovered that this period coincided with the arrival of the Kalanga Hungwe people whose mutupo was Dziva. What we need now is to cross the Limpopo and find out if these people are represented there archaeologically. I have claimed over and over that the Kalanga people were driven to the south and west from Zimbabwe by the Mutapas. If this is correct, then their traces in both the southern and western regions — beyond Zimbabwe — should be found on the archaeological map. Furthermore, if these Kalanga people infiltrated into Zimbabwe from the east then we expect the interior groups to infiltrate into Azania through the north i.e. to settle into the Transvaal first. But because there was a second Kalanga group that trekked to the south along the coast, we also expect this particular group to infiltrate into Azania from about the direction of Delagoa Bay into Natal. In this chapter, it is only the Natal group we are interested in.

However, for our archaeological record of the area east of the Drakensbergs to be very meaningful, we need the archaeological record of Mozambique first. This is so because the majority of the Bantu infiltration into the Natal area could only have been coming from Mozambique. This must be particularly true of the descendants of Muguni who trekked to the south along the coast of Mozambique. Unfortunately however, the archaeological map of Mozambique is very thin — if it exists at all. This is so not because of lack of settlements but because of lack of archaeological work. If any work has been done at all, its results do not appear to be easily accessible to the

scholars. Unfortunately too, this is also nearly true of the Natal coast itself. Not much archaeological work has been done to cover that area. In addition, the results of some of the findings have not been published and are therefore not yet of use to the scholars.

In spite of this, a bit has been discovered to act as an eye opener. In our examination of Tonga migrations from Zimbabwe to the region south of the Limpopo we discovered that Castle Cavern in Swaziland was occupied somewhere between 400 and 500 A.D. We also came across the Happy Rest site whose pottery belongs to the Gokomere group. These findings, we treated as representing evidence of Tonga infiltration into the region south of the Limpopo before the advent of the Kalanga people.

After these dates, in Natal proper, we are restricted to a single collection of pottery found by John Schofield. Four different types of pottery have been identified and they have been classified as Natal Coast 1, Natal Coast 2, Natal Coast 3, and Natal Coast 4, abbreviated to NC 1, NC 2, NC 3, and NC 4. NC 1 is associated with the Khoikhoi; NC 3 and NC 4 are modern. NC 2 is what is of interest to us for it coincides with the period of the arrival of the Nguni. Our archaeologists quoted before state that "NC 2 has some evident connection with both Buispoort and Uitkomst wares".⁹⁵ Uitkomst culture was discovered and classified by Revil Mason in the south-west of the Transvaal and dates from about 800 A.D. to the advent of the whites in the 19th century. It is known to represent Suthu culture. NC 2 therefore suggests the advent of a new cultural group in the Natal area and associated with the Suthu or with close connections with them. So far, what we have discovered between the Zambezi and the Limpopo has not left us in any doubt that the Suthu and the Nguni originally had very close connections — they were one family.

Maybe, the Phalaborwa site in the north-east of the Transvaal is also sufficiently east to be discussed in association with the east coast. This is situated almost at the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants Rivers. "Here there are abundant traces of ancient mining of both iron ore and copper, and a series of radiocarbon dates has been obtained by N.J. van der Merwe from occupation sites, mining shafts and furnaces, which range from the eighth century A.D. to the nineteenth."⁹⁶

Here again, this culture is known to represent groups of Suthu people. But in view of the ethnic links between the Suthu and the Nguni north of the Limpopo, we can not brush aside this evidence in connection with the Nguni. What all this definitely stresses is that a new cultural group had arrived south of the Limpopo River by the year 800 A.D. or thereabouts. On the plateau, the culture is unmistakably that of the Suthu as we are going to see in the next chapter. But it is inconceivable that these people could leave the best-watered and fertile coastal plains alone when they were agriculturalists. The absence of enough archaeological work along the Natal coast is therefore highly regrettable. We have to turn to other sources for more evidence.

Examination of the demographic situation in Azania from about 1500 to 1800 leaves us in no doubt that the Nguni were the first Bantu people to settle along the east coast of Azania. I am not suggesting that the pockets of Tonga people detected archaeologically at Castle Cavern and Happy Rest did not infiltrate to the east coast before the Nguni. But as in Zimbabwe, they appear again to have been very thinly scattered and without any form of government worth the name. As in Zimbabwe, they were completely submerged by the new comers. The result was that by 1500, apart from the Delagoa Bay area, they could not be distinguished from the Nguni. Therefore, their precedence has no cultural or political impact on the Natal coast or on Azania at large. For this reason we can afford to ignore them.

When Vasco da Gama arrived on the Azanian scene in 1497, he met with members of the Khoikhoi family along the western and southern coasts of the present Cape Province. By the time he got to Natal at Christmas of the same year, he was in Bantu territory. In 1652, when Jan Van Riebeeck settled at Cape Town, the demographic situation in terms of composition, had not changed along the western and southern coasts of the Cape Province. Those coasts together with the whole interior were populated by members of the Khoisan family. The change that had taken place between 1500 and 1652 concerned the sizes of the areas occupied by the different ethnic groups in the sub-region. The Bantu, by virtue of their greater physical and military power, had occupied more territory. In turn, the Khoisan family was being squeezed into the south-western and western portions of Azania. The Bantu were pressing on along the east coast from the Natal area. By 1800, the position had still not changed much. The records of missionaries such as Dr. Vanderkamp who came onto the scene and established themselves among the Khoisan people leave us in no doubt that the whole interior of the Cape Province was populated entirely by people of Bush stock.

By then however, the area of expansion for the Bantu had been limited by Boer expansion from the area of Cape Town towards the east. The two communities met along the Kei River and that became a hot frontier along which the so-called Kaffir wars raged. The point is that the Bantu were dammed back and expansion could only take place in the direction of the interior.

Before that expansion into the interior and before the turmoil of the Chaka Revolution, an examination of what Bantu groups were in Azania and where, is most revealing and full of meaning. The whole coastal region from northern Natal to the Kei River in the Cape Province was populated by segments of the Nguni Family. The whole interior covering the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (which did not exist yet as Boer political units) was occupied by segments of the Suthu people with the Tswana in the western portions of the Transvaal. Both the Suthu and the Tswana are Kwena and descended from Kuenta whom we came across on the Mozambique coast. The Nguni descended from Muguni whom we also came across on the Mozambique coast. Oral traditions claim that Muguni and Kuenta are brothers descending

from Saruvimbi who in turn had descended from Dzivaguru. If this is right, and we have no reason to doubt it in view of the other evidence available, (Muguni and Kuena can be at least cousins) then the demographic distribution extant in Azania from before 1500 right up to the Chaka Revolution of the early 19th century is emphatically conclusive that the Kalanga were the coastal vanguards of the Bantu migrants from the north to the south. The descendants of whoever migrated to the south first must be found there somewhere in the south. If they can not be identified such as is the case with the Tonga of Zimbabwe Period I, there must be a good explanation as to what happened to them. The Tonga were "swallowed up" by the Kalanga. But those Kalanga people are not only the dominant Bantu element south of the Limpopo up to 1800; they are nearly hundred per cent the only ones in that area. What greater evidence is there to prove their precedence in the Bantu migrations to the south along the coast, than this?

If we now look back at the documents we examined earlier, we find that the conclusions we drew from them were correct. Ptolemy gave us two African groups along the East African coast. He described the northern group as "fish-eaters" and the southern group as "man-eaters". I concluded that Ptolemy meant that the southern group had an aversion to fish and that it must be a Kalanga group. Next, we examined a document by El Masudi that made references to an African people at the southern end of the Zanj Empire who called their God "Mkulu Njulu" and who used the ox as a beast of burden and who are the only branch of the "Abyssinians" to cross a tributary of the Nile on their way to the south. From that document, I drew the conclusion that the Africans described by Masudi must have been a segment of the Kalanga and that they were the vanguards of the Bantu migrants along the coast to the south.

From the situation we find prevailing south of the Limpopo right up to the Chaka explosion, there is not the slightest doubt that those earlier conclusions were right.

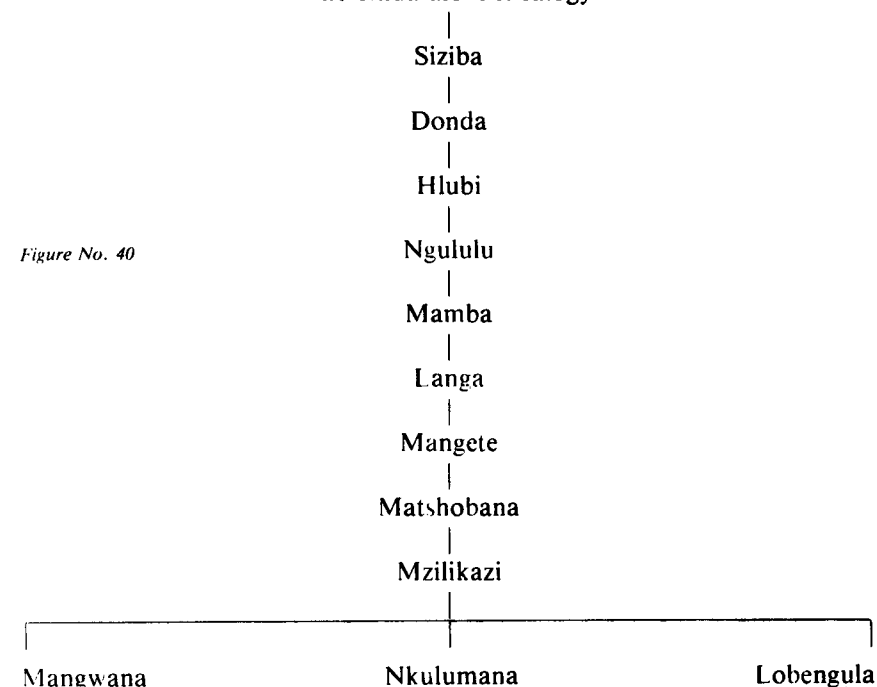
We still have more evidence to go by. In discussing the origins of the name KA-LANGA we discovered that the Azanian Bantu tribes are even to this day very closely associated with the sun — LANGA. This, among the Bantu, is a characteristic of the Kalanga only.

Even more revealing is the Nguni aversion to fish. Far to the north of the Zambezi River, Ptolemy made references to a people averse to fish. In Zimbabwe, there are numerous segments of these people and they have still maintained their aversion to fish. But we know all of them to be either purely Dziva by totem or HOVE (fish) which in actual fact is the same thing. We know too that all of them are remnants of the Kalanga Family driven out of this country by the Mutapas. Now, we go down south and we discover that the Nguni Family was strongly averse to fish. To this day, segments of it such as the Zulus are still averse to fish. Among the Ndebele, the Khumalos who left Zululand in the early 1820s have maintained their aversion to fish

to this day in Zimbabwe. But aversion to fish is an identity mark of one group among the Bantu and this is the Kalanga Dziva group. We can not doubt that the Nguni, by virtue of this practice, have close associations with the early Kalanga as claimed by oral traditions.

If we tackle the problem from yet another angle, Mzilikazi's genealogy, we arrive at the same conclusion that the Ndebele and related Nguni segments are Dziva and therefore originally Kalanga. The genealogy is as follows:-

The Khumalo Genealogy



So far as the debate has progressed to this point, the first thing to catch the attention of the foreign scholar is the presence of an ancestor by the name of Langa. We have already discovered that this name pervades the whole Kalanga Family complex. The Ndebele are no exception.

But by far the more significant name is the one at the very top of the genealogy, SI-ZIBA and the Dziva there stands out. Any African acquainted with Ndebele traditions immediately gets to know that the name does not represent a name in the ordinary sense of the word, but a totem. Look around and see how many Ndebele or Ndebelized Shona people bear this name. Like Hove or Kwena or Hungwe, it stands for the totem of the person so called. Thus the greatest known ancestor of the Khumalo family was Dziva by mutupo and therefore Kalanga. Aversion to fish immediately becomes explicable. The name LANGA in the genealogy also becomes easily explicable.

The first question is: knowing that polygamy was the order of the day among the Kalanga as among all the other Bantu people, to how many women was this Siziba married and how many sons did he give issue to? Next, what Nguni segments were in turn created by those sons? In addition, every one in the above genealogy had brothers and sons who in turn created their own segments: by what dynastic names were they known by the year 1800? From Nkulumana to Siziba represents ten generations and this covers a period of about 300 years. It therefore means that Siziba was alive and known by the mutupo Dziva around 1500. I hope that the reader can see the possibility of the whole Nguni group being Dziva then.

Finally, let us now turn to the oral traditions of the Nguni themselves and see what they have in store for us. The oral traditions I have used up to this point came partly from Kalanga segments that remained north of the Limpopo River and partly from the Mutapas. What we need now is to combine these traditions with Nguni traditions and see the extent to which they agree and conflict. In these traditions, the reader is also advised to pay special attention to the causes of segmentation and fragmentation for, here, we see the factors in actual operation. A Xhosa man writes the following about the Xhosa who are a segment of the Nguni:

“... the earliest known name of the Xhosa tribe was Abe-Nguni. The name was derived from a progenitor in the royal line called Muguni. We know nothing about Muguni beyond his name, but through the operation of circumstances ... the name, though still in use, has been largely overshadowed by that of a successor, “Xhosa”. What the tribal name was before Muguni’s day no one can tell. Tradition fails us here as it does so often in matters concerning the distant past.”⁹⁷

From this, it is clear that Zimbabwe and Azania are agreed that the greatest common ancestor of the Nguni people is Muguni. But it is interesting to note that the Nguni themselves admit that they know nothing beyond the name of Muguni. They do not even remember what their tribal name was before they became Nguni. This demonstrates the folly of studying early Zimbabwean or Azanian or Zambian history as I warned in chapter 1, in isolation. In Zimbabwe, the ancestry of Muguni can be traced to Dzivaguru. It is possible that if Kalanga groups that remained north of the Zambezi were to be interrogated, his ancestry can be traced back to Tanzania. It is however important that memories of the East African origins, though vague, are still alive among the Nguni.

“The Abe-Nguni, coming south from, I believe, the north-east of Central Africa, moved into Northern Natal ... and settled close under the Drakensberg Mountain range, at a point now difficult to determine, but supposed to be the sources of the u-Mzimvubu (St. Johns River). Later it moved southward towards what is now the Cape Province of the Union, leaving behind it in Natal several of its offshoots.”⁹⁸

Thus the whole group called Nguni and occupying the coastal region from north of Natal to the Kei River was originally one family and all descending from Muguni. Just count how many tribes they included around 1800. Go further to examine how many fragments had come into existence by the time Chaka died in 1828. Also note that by 1800, many of them had acquired their own different identity marks and intermarried comfortably as if they had never been related before. Needless to add that this had always been the pattern as we saw in Zimbabwe, for centuries before they even crossed the Zambezi River. This, I hope, gives you some insight into how the one time one Bantu Family grew, segmented and fragmented to end up occupying the bigger part of Africa.

Ambitious personalities are a feature of humanity the world over. Disagreements, quarrels, crisis and civil wars are also a feature of every community, big and small. Where land is plentiful, groups hive off freely. But where it is scarce, conflicts increase and it is from these that segmentation, fragmentation and migrations stem from. The Nguni family was not free from all of them:

“Shortly after his (Muguni’s) time, various upheavals took place within the tribe, ... which created within it several large divisions. The first of these took place ... when a younger brother, Tshawe, of the reigning chief, Cira, in a great battle overthrew the latter and reigned in his stead. This circumstance created within the tribe the important section called the Ama-Tshawe. Later again ... through internecine war, the right-hand house, the Ama-Rarabe or Gaikas, became independent of the great house of the Gcalekas.”⁹⁹

The Xhosa centred around the Transkei alone number no less than thirty five so-called tribes. Put together all the Nguni communities in the whole coastal region up to northern Natal and including the Swazi and you will end up with about 200 so-called Nguni tribes and all descending from Muguni. If we apply what we see happening here to the whole of Africa, can you picture what the position might have been on the continent in the year 1,000 A.D.? Push this back another thousand years and imagine how many genuine tribes might have been in existence on the continent in the year 1 A.D.!! Yet some find it preposterous to say that the Shona in Zimbabwe were one family descending from one man and ruled by one chief in the year 1,000 A.D.! What we are analysing here is meant to enable such people to visualize this possibility. Indeed, all the factors at work among the Nguni operated in like manner and to the same extent in every Bantu dynasty, the Shona very much included as we will see later.

The frontier here referred to is the straight belt along the Limpopo (Vembe) River to the west up to Botswana and on both sides of the Limpopo. References to the areas further south are inevitable for the reason that, in human terms, those southern areas are products of this frontier. For other reasons, a separate chapter will be devoted to Botswana although again, in human terms, she is a product of the same frontier.

I attach greatest significance to this frontier for what it reveals of ancient Africa in terms of its human composition and order of migration from the north. Indeed it is my strong view that the African sub-region starting from this southern frontier to the south has something no other part of Africa can give to the student of African history in as clear terms. The reasons for this must be assigned strictly to geography. The distance from the north-east of the continent to the southern tip is much longer than that from the same corner to West Africa. It therefore took the Bantu migrants to the south much longer to reach the southern-most sub-region than it took their cousins to migrate from the same corner to the western Atlantic coast of Africa. In addition, strong Arab currents impinged on north-east and north Africa in a manner no similar forces impinged on any other part of Africa between 600 and 1500 A.D. The result was that segments of Bantu communities were shunted from the north-east to the west and from the north to the south. On top of all this, we have Toureg forces migrating from the western Atlantic coast into the interior and shunting to the east Bantu groups in their way. After 1500, the European slavers affected the whole coast of West Africa and the slave raids they precipitated must have shunted more African groups into the interior. By 1491, we witness Arab forces shattering the mighty Songhai Empire right in the heart of West Africa. What all this means is that by 1500, West Africa had become a cauldron of Bantu and non-Bantu tribes moving to the west or east, south or north and back depending on the direction of the forces propelling or checking them. In a situation like this, it is very difficult for a community to retrace its steps to its very original home. Furthermore, it is not easy for the student of history or anthropology to discern the original characteristics which serve as original "tribal" identity marks, for literally, communities of different origins have been thrown

into one melting pot. None will come out of this basket untarnished by the traits of all the others. Nor is East Africa much better. It was the first area to be affected by the east coast trade and was subjected to Arab influence. New groups continued to migrate from the Nile Valley and the Ethiopian Highlands into the region. New groups migrated from the Congo area. Furthermore the earliest groups to settle in East Africa may have been pushed hundreds of miles further south by later migrants from the north. It is not easy to get hold of what may be the original thread of the migrants. Although the historian may not know it, he is not likely to be dealing today, with descendants of the earliest migrants to this region.

But this is not so in the south. There were no non-Bantu forces South of the East African Lakes to propel the Bantu to the south. The migrations were inevitably slow and leisurely. In addition, most of them were infiltrations and not invasions. In a situation like this a community could keep together for a long time and maintain its slow progress to the south in a constant direction. This is what we have seen of the ancestors of the Nguni up to at least 1800. This is true of the Namibians from the Congo area to the south. This is true of the Tonga from the Congo area and whom we came across arriving in Zimbabwe between 300 and 400 A.D.

It is true of the Kwena segment of the Kalanga that we are now going to see migrating from the Mozambique coast across Zimbabwe to Botswana and across the Limpopo to Azania. It is also true of the family of the Mutapas who invaded the Kalanga and some of whose segments pierced across the Limpopo to settle in the Northern Transvaal. By virtue of all this, the Bantu migrants to the south were able to maintain their identity marks. By the same virtue, they are a lot easier to disentangle from each other than elsewhere in Africa. If therefore we attempt to look for the racial composition of ancient Africa and the ethnic structure of the ancient Bantu, I do not doubt that the southern sub-continent is the best area for it. The southern frontier is a strategic belt in that zone. I believe that the historian has been baffled by the origins of the Bantu because he has tackled the problem from the wrong end. He has attempted to locate the original Bantu nuclear area and then trace the lines of migration outwards. If he had started from the other end of the migration lines, the exercise would not have been so onerous and he would have found the lines converging on a definite area. In such an exercise, the lines from the south are crucial. This is the significance of the southern frontier we are now about to examine.

If we go back to the Mozambique coast around 800 A.D., we find three Kalanga segments along the coast south of the Zambezi River as already pointed out. These are:-

- (a) The northern-most segment under Dzivaguru who was succeeded by Karuva.
- (b) The central segment under Saruvimbi who was succeeded by Kuwena.
- (c) The southern most group under Muguni and that migrated along the coast.

I treated the third group before the second group for a reason. To begin with, it did not pass through the area of modern Zimbabwe. Secondly, on settling in Northern Natal, it lost all contacts with its Bantu cousins to the west of the Drakensbergs right up to the 19th century. It went deeper and deeper into Khoisan territory curving to the west in the direction of Cape Town as if it wanted to encircle the Khoisan communities in the region. If the Boers had not arrived on the scene, maybe it could ultimately have done so, although maybe, the Namibia Desert would possibly have forced it to stop migrating along the west coast to link up with the Namibians migrating to the south. Clearly, between this stream and the Bantu in the interior of the region were innumerable Khoisan communities. This is not true of the second group descending from Kuwena. The interior of Zimbabwe was Kwena territory; the Transvaal and Orange Free State were Kwena territories; Botswana was Kwena territory. The southern frontier that is in question in this chapter was therefore also Kwena territory. It is my desire to demonstrate this ethnic continuity that persuaded me to postpone treatment of Kuwena's descendants. In the next chapter, we are going to examine Botswana. The smooth flow of migrations becomes apparent if Botswana is treated soon after the Zimbabwe-Transvaal region. Indeed, treatment of Tswana or Transvaal history abstracted from Zimbabwean history is artificial and makes little sense. The scholars tend to be influenced by the present international boundaries as if they existed in 1500 or 1700 when our early history was being made.

The Tavara never became Kwena for they did not descend from Kuwena. Likewise, the Nguni never became Kwena for they too did not descend from Kuwena. This is important to remember. But all were Dziva and Hungwe for these designations predated their segmentation. This in itself points a finger at the geographical point of this segmentation and this must be south of the Zambezi along the coast of Mozambique as suggested by our oral traditions. Examination of the belt occupied by the Kwena confirms this. A people who, between 800 and 1,000 A.D. occupied the eastern, central and southern portions of Zimbabwe together with the north-eastern portions of the Transvaal could only have been migrating from the Mozambique coast opposite that belt as again suggested by oral traditions. It is from that coast that we must trace their migrations into the interior and then to the southern frontier.

Archaeological Evidence

North of the Limpopo River, we have come across definite archaeological evidence of the arrival of a new power on the scene dating from about 800 A.D. This is classified as Zimbabwe Period 11. This includes ZIWA (Dziva) culture and Leopard's Copje 1. South of the Limpopo, in our search for evidence of Nguni arrival, we came across two sites, NC 2 and Phalaborwa which also date from about 800 A.D. What we need now is to examine the evidence of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

An important archaeological find was made by Revil Mason on a hill in the heart of Johannesburg and this is called Melville Koppies. The lowest stratum of the culture represented here has been radiocarbon dated to between 1,000 and 1100.

"The Melville Koppies pottery is identical to other wares found widely in the Transvaal both in stone-built villages and in caves and rock shelters."¹⁰⁰ This is evidence that the culture represented by Melville Koppies is part of a complex and is not an isolated settlement. Uitkomst is one important site also in the Johannesburg area. Here, "Forty inches of Iron Age occupation overlie a Late Stone Age horizon. Two small circular iron-smelting furnaces with dome-like chambers were found, stratified one above the other. The upper furnace, which was radiocarbon dated to around the seventeenth century A.D. was stratified in the middle levels of the Iron Age deposit".¹⁰¹ The Lower Iron Age levels are believed to date back to somewhere between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Klipriviersberg to the east of Johannesburg is another well known site. Here, "long boundary walls surround groups of inner enclosures, many of which were obviously cattle pens. Similar sites occur widely in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and some had been recently in use when the pioneer missionary Robert Moffat first visited the Transvaal in 1829."¹⁰²

Bombandyanalo just south of the Limpopo is yet another important site. At this site, "Seventy four human skeletons were recovered from the accumulated layers of cattle dung, one of which was radiocarbon dated . . . to around the eleventh century A.D."¹⁰³

From all this, there is no doubt whatsoever that a new Bantu power had succeeded those responsible for the Castle Cavern culture of between 400 and 600 A.D.

What is interesting is that this new culture has a continuity into the 19th century. Because we know who was in the Transvaal and Orange Free State at the beginning of the 19th Century, we know without any doubt whose culture all this represents. ". . . to the west of the Drakensberg, on most of the great interior plateau of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the dominant Bantu population, prior to the northward migrations of the Nguni during the last century, were the Sotho-Tswana . . . certainly, the Iron Age record of most of the central plateau seems to be the record of the Sotho."¹⁰⁴

These people did not come from the south or west. Their early occupation of the Northern Transvaal also suggests that they did not migrate onto the plateau across the Drakensbergs. All indications are that they were coming from Zimbabwe and part of Mozambique in the north-east of the Transvaal. For confirmation of this, we have to turn to other sources.

Zimbabwean Oral Traditions

It has been claimed by some scholars that oral traditions are useful for a period up to ten or twelve generations only. This may be true of communities

that, for various reasons, have been forced to abandon their territory from time to time. Indeed, we have fragments that have been shunted this way and that way who can hardly relate a coherent history of themselves covering more than 100 to 150 years. But communities that managed to stick to their territory for 500 or even a thousand years, remember the details of how they established themselves in their territories including who their predecessors and leaders were. In fact, among the Shona if not all Bantu communities, the founding father of the dynasty is never forgotten or lost sight of, for, he is the source and centre of the very existence of the dynasty itself. This is assisted by the fact that after death, the founding father inevitably becomes the tribal mhondoro. He is the spiritual guardian of the tribe and at the same time he is the link between the new dynasty and its parent-dynasty i.e. the dynasty from which it segmented. This is true of all Shona communities with centralized hierarchies. But it does not appear to be true of the Tonga, at least in Zimbabwe, by virtue of their fragmented institutions. Inevitably, the Tonga communities in Zimbabwe easily lose track of their history. But we have Tonga communities that have managed to establish centralized institutions elsewhere. I imagine that they should manage to relate their history for several generations from the inception of their dynasties. But even here, their matrilineal system may be a hurdle.

If you go to the Korekore region, you easily pick up the names of Mutota, Chingoo, Matope and Nyamhita who are associated with the establishment of the Regional Mutapaship in that area. You also pick up easily the names of their southern enemies in particular, Changa. They tell you equally easily who their predecessors in the area were and how they conquered them. But their dynasty came into existence around 1450 and this oral history thus covers a period of more than 500 years.

If you switch over to the Choma area in the north-east, the Tavana have no problem in relating to you how they established themselves in the area. The names of Dzivaguru Karuva and Chikara that we have already come across, crop up so easily.

Some of their relations with the Portuguese are well remembered. The coming of the Korekore and how they defeated them are also easily remembered. But on close examination, you will discover that these Tavana people have been in the area for more than a thousand years as already indicated. But I am certain that if they had been tossed out of the area to, let us say, the Hwange area and from there to Masvingo and back to the Harare area, they would even be telling us that they came from Azania. Thus in making generalizations about the validity or otherwise of oral traditions, the length of time the particular group has been in its area is very important.

The Kalanga communities from whom we collect oral history have been in Zimbabwe for over a thousand years from about 800 A.D. Their conquerors, the Mbire-Nyais, have been in this country for about a thousand years. Power changed hands from one Mbire House to another but it re-

mained in Mbire-Nyai hands all the same up to the advent of colonialism. The Kalangas were defeated and lost their national paramountcy. But their royal dynasty remained in existence in the country reduced to regional paramountcy as we are going to see. Thus we have two sources of our oral history, Kalanga and Mbire-Nyai, both of which have been in the same territory for at least a thousand years. This gives us an advantage in oral history over countries whose ruling dynasties have not been so lucky.

Mbire oral traditions make no reference whatever to the situation in the country before the arrival of the Kalanga. But they tell you about the people they found in this country and whom they conquered. They also tell you important aspects of their own history. On the other hand, Kalanga traditions make constant references to people of Bush stock. Indeed, they leave you in no doubt that it was they who drove these people to the south. Yet the same Kalangas make references to some Bantu people who preceded them. They mention in particular two groups they call NGONA and TAVATSINDI. On examination, they give you the impression that these other people might have only been earlier pockets of the same Kalanga Family. On closer examination, you discover that this is in fact a reference to the predecessors they submerged. But you never get this from their invaders who found them already submerged. Thus it pays to be aware that two separate families do exist in Zimbabwe so that when you collect your material, you know what it relates to.

If we put together the substance of Kalanga-Dziva and Mbire-Nyai oral traditions, the thread that emerges appears simple and straight forward and this is what I shall summarize here. The Kalanga between the Zambezi and the Limpopo were divided into the Tavana community and the southern Kwena group. Although the Zambezi Valley group was the older and remained associated with the greatest known Kalanga ancestor, Dzivaguru, the southern Kwena group in due course became larger and more powerful.

In fact, if we can legitimately talk of Kalanga control of Zimbabwe before 1100, we mean Kwena control of the country. When the Mbire talk of their defeat of the Kalanga Hungwe people, they really mean their defeat of the Kwena people in the interior. This highlights the dominance of the Kwena on the Zimbabwean plateau.

But why this situation developed when the Kwena were junior to the Zambezi Valley group has proved impossible to glean from oral traditions. One can only hazard some guesses. The main reason is most likely to be that the Zambezi Valley group settled in a less healthy area. The Zambezi Valley is ridden with malaria and many Kalangas must have been dying from this disease. It is a dry area and malnutrition must have killed many more as it still does today. It is a tsetsefly-ridden area where cattle could not be reared. Milk and cattle-blood on which the Kwena are known to have been subsisting were not a feature of the north-east. This again must have caused malnutri-

tion resulting in a higher mortality rate in the Zambezi Valley. The rate of population expansion must therefore have been significantly slow.

On the other hand, the Kwena settled in the healthiest part of the country. All the advantages of this must have resulted in a lower mortality rate and therefore greater population expansion. That Kwena population expanded much faster than Tavara population can only be appreciated from the fact that Zimbabwe, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Botswana were populated by Bantu people of Kwena origin as we are going to discover very shortly. The reader is reminded that the mere adoption of the mutupo Kwena by the southern group facilitated intermarriage between that group and the northern Tavara cousins. Although therefore both groups were Kalanga, they had become semi-foreign to each other by half-severing their blood relationships. We now need to go back to the coast and then trace the Kwena migrations to Zimbabwe and the south.

All migrations tend to take the direction of least resistance. The descendants of Kuwena were wedged between the Tavara to the north and the descendants of Muguni to the south. The direction of least resistance was in the west towards Zimbabwe. In that direction, Kwena migrations to Zimbabwe and beyond started. The only people that appear to have been in the interior immediately to the west of the Mozambique coast were people of Bush stock and they appear to have been specifically San. We can deduce this from the names Abatwa, Matadyatadya and Mandionerepi that keep on cropping up in oral traditions. No reference is made to the Tonga people what-soever.

The first chief to lead these people into the interior appears to have been somebody called DZAWANDA who is very likely to have been a son of Saruvimbi. In oral traditions, he is very difficult to identify, for each time he crops up, he does so as the guardian spirit of the new tribe. At the same time, the Kwena keep on telling you that their founding father was Kuwena. When we get to Botswana, we are going to find the Tswana people there making exactly the same claim. What appears to have happened is that the first chief to sever his blood relationships with his northern and southern cousins by adopting the mutupo Kwena (crocodile) is the one who became known as Kuwena, Kuena and Kwena all of which mean one and the same crocodile. But according to our traditions, that man, by virtue of his position, must establish himself as the tribal mhondoro after death. We however find that the Kwena tribal mhondoro is called Dzawanda. At the same time, there is no Kalanga high spirit called Kwena. The name Kwena comes up as the mutupo of this particular Kalanga segment. This is true of the Kwena in Azania; it is true of those in Botswana. What this appears to suggest is that the mutupo Kwena was first adopted by Dzawanda and this explains his position as the spiritual guardian of the whole group. At the same time, references to an ancestor called Kuwena must be references to the same Dzawanda.

A high spirit called Saruvimbi comes up to confuse the situation more. Along our southern frontier today, references to Dzawanda are few. Instead, you are confronted by a deified spirit, almost a god, called Luvimbi who undoubtedly is the same Saruvimbi. He is the highest Kalanga spirit. He is even acclaimed at the Matojeni cult centre together with the Mbire ancestors, Sororenzou (Murenga) and Tovera. But we have already come across Saruvimbi at the Mozambique coast. He is known to be the father of Kuwena and Muguni. This places him above the status of an ordinary mhondoro in the way Dzivaguru is to the Tavara or Murenga Sororenzou is to the descendants of the Mutapas. In the last case, Chaminuka, Murenga's son is the greatest mhondoro whilst Murenga hovers a degree higher. This appears to be the position with the Kwena. Dzawanda was recognized by all as the tribal guardian; Saruvimbi hovered a degree higher. This in itself tends to confirm that Dzawanda is the first Kwena chief descending from Saruvimbi. It confirms further that he was the first chief to adopt the mutupo Kwena and hence it is not out of order to refer to him as Kuwena. From this point onwards, I shall refer to this middle group as the KWENA KALANGA GROUP to distinguish it from the Tavara and Nguni Kalangas.

Earlier on in this book, we came across the Kingdom of Uteve called by the Portuguese "Quiteve", and ruled by a paramount chief called Kiteve. Around 1600, the Pungwe River was about the northern boundary of this Kingdom. We discovered Dos Santos contrasting Mutapa's avid use of the ndoro against Kiteve's aversion to this item. I pointed out that Kiteve and his people did not use the ndoro because they were Dziva and Kalanga. It is from this coastal area that we must trace the Kwena Kalanga migrations into the interior.

Around 1460, the area directly to the west of Uteve was conquered and occupied by Chikanga who was a segment of the Makombe Barwe dynasty. In 1506, we find Alcacova making references to a war between Makombe and Chikanga, his cousin and ruler of Manyika. The Chikanga dynasty was destroyed by Nyamubvambire around 1690. Here again, it is necessary to be aware that there are descendants of two separate dynasties in Manyika — those of Chikanga and those of Nyamubvambire. The ruling Mutasa dynasty descended from Nyamubvambire. Its traditions make it clear that it conquered the region from Chikanga whose mutupo was Nguruve like that of Makombe. This corroborates Alcacova's document. But descendants of the Chikanga dynasty tell you in no uncertain terms that they conquered the region from two communities. One of these was the NYERE community. Nyere is the otter which is called MBITI or NZVIDZI in Mashonaland. The second community was a Dziva group whose chief was Mponda. In other words then, Chikanga's predecessors in the Manyika Province were communities of the Kalanga Family.

West of the Manyika Province was the district of Maungwe. Here, oral traditions are unanimous too that its earliest known inhabitants were Dziva

people with the tribal name Hungwe. In due course, the district was taken over by Makoni who, as we saw earlier, changed his mutupo from Shumba Nyamuziwa to Nyati Shonga. Makoni's original name was Muswere and he was brother to Chipunza. Both were sons of Savara or Gunguwo. As pointed out earlier, these Budya men migrated from the Marondera area on a hunting expedition to the east and ended up in Maungwe. They took over the district from a paramount chief called Mutwiri and who was Dziva and Kalanga. Furthermore, the people of Mutwiri were known by the tribal name HUNGWE and this is why the region was called MA-HUNGWE. I have already pointed out that Makoni's people are Hungwe only by virtue of their conquest of and residence in a Hungwe country.

The region to the west of Maungwe was definitely a Kalanga country up to the arrival of the Mutapas. Mbire traditions are in no doubt that the chief Kalanga region in the interior ran from the Nyanga-Mutoko area and covered the whole belt to the west up to about Harare and to the south up to the Sabe River and including the Marondera-Wedza area. They go further to claim that the headquarters of the Kalanga Paramount Chief were then in the Marondera-Wedza area where the centre of attraction was MHANGURA (iron ore) for which Wedza was most famous throughout the precolonial era. They stress that the whole region from Nyanga-Mutoko including Makoni's province to the west up to the periphery of Harare and to the south including the Wedza-Marondera District was all called MAUNGWE meaning "the Hungwe Region". This is the area from which they cleared the Kalangas to the south. Maybe, it is symbolic that the headquarters of the invading Mutapas were established in the Marondera-Wedza area at Mutiusinazita, the centre of Kalanga power in the interior. From this alone, one can not avoid the conclusion that before the advent of the Mutapas, the whole belt from Uteve along the coast to the periphery of Harare in the West, was occupied by the Kalangas.

It may be illuminating to find out the present identity of Mutwiri's descendants. The direct heir to Mutwiri is chief Madziva still in the Makoni area. When Makoni took over the district of Maungwe, he did not drive out Mutwiri's people. He did not even kill Mutwiri himself. He simply made him one of his sub-chiefs and gave him a district to rule but under his paramountcy. That sub-chieftainship developed into the Madziva chieftainship which is still in the area to this day. Madziva's present mutupo is CHIBWA or CHIHWI (Chidziwa) which is the same Dziva. But he acquired a chidao foreign to the Dziva Family and this is Bonga (wild cat) which is a land animal. If however we examine the Mutambara dynasty which is south-east of the city of Mutare, we find something interesting about it. It is a segment of the Madziva dynasty. Like Madziva, Mutambara is CHIWA by Mutupo. But unlike Madziva, he has also acquired the mutupo Shumba. Interestingly however, this particular Shumba is called SHUMBA YE-VA-GARWE (Lion of the Crocodile Group). But the crocodile is also the Kwena. Thus by giv-

ing themselves the tribal name VA-GARWE, Mutambara's people are saying that they and their parent-dynasty, the Madziva dynasty, are Kwena and therefore originally Kalanga. Because they have been up to a point Shanganized, they also call themselves SIGAUKE which is the same crocodile. This is all important for the reason that the group whose migrations we are tracing from Uteve was a Kwena Kalanga group.

When we get to the Marondera-Wedza area, we for the first time, get the vital information that the Paramount Chief of the Kwena Kalanga people was MATIBI. The Mutapas did not destroy the Matibi dynasty; it ran away to the south and the Mutapas took over its country in the way they had taken over the regions to the north-east earlier. As the Mutapas extended their sway to the south, the Royal Kwena Kalanga dynasty continued to run away to the south. Even after the Mutapas had taken over control of the whole Zimbabwe down to the Limpopo, the Matibi dynasty still remained in existence and was still the centre of Kwena Kalanga inspiration. To this day, the dynasty is still in existence and it is still the centre of Kwena inspiration as we are going to discover shortly. This is of great importance to us.

What appears to have happened is that at some stage during the course of the territorial and political expansion of the descendants of the Mutapas, the Royal Kwena Kalanga dynasty was checkmated and subjugated somewhere in the southern regions of Zimbabwe. It was still not destroyed nor did it lose its chieftainship altogether. What it lost was its national paramountcy. It looks certain that it was allowed to maintain its sway over all the Kalanga chiefs in the southern region of the country even beyond the Limpopo but paid tribute to the new power. In other words, the Royal Kalanga dynasty became a regional dynasty of the new Mutapa Empire and controlled for a long time, the southern most region of the new empire. Inevitably, the rest of the country ceased to be called MAKARANGA but not surprisingly, the southern portions down to the Limpopo continued to retain this name.

That southern belt was the region populated and dominated by people of Kalanga origins and logically continued to be called MAKARANGA. The people in the Northern Transvaal certainly referred to the region north of the Limpopo as MAKARANGA. But at the same time, a time came when they also started to refer to it as BANYAI. When the whites came, they referred to it as BANYILAND. The Banyai were Mutapa's people. As the new power took effective physical control of the region, it asserted its authority and name. But the old name lingered on as in the rest of the country and we end up with both names being applied to the same region as in the rest of the country.

In the end, Matibi established himself at Marungudze Hill just north of the Limpopo River. He had been pushed to the southern extremity where, in various ways, he continued to cater for the needs of his Kalanga cousins and subjects. That he was and is still the centre of the southern Kalanga Fami-

ly complex is never in doubt. To begin with there is not one Dziva dynasty outside the Tavara family complex that claims superiority (seniority) to the Matibi dynasty. Everywhere in the south, traditions are unanimous that Matibi is the direct representative of the ancient Royal Kwena Kalanga dynasty. In addition, the Dziva people on both sides of the Limpopo recognize Marungudze Hill as their headquarters in this southern frontier. But that hill is most closely associated with the Matibi dynasty which, by virtue of this alone, must always have been the centre of Dziva operation. But it could not be that centre if it was not the most royal family. Furthermore, the highest dynastic spirit (the tribal guardian) works closest with the dynastic ruling House. The highest national spirit (national Guardian) works closest with the national ruling House. By 1200 A.D., the Kwena Kalanga people had established a nation between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. By 1600, their national ruling dynasty had been reduced to the status of a regional dynasty. By 1890, it had been reduced almost to the status of a district dynasty. But through all these vicissitudes, the highest Kwena Kalanga spirit associated closely with the Matibi dynasty. That spirit is Saruvimbi known in the southern frontier as Luvimbi. For a parallel, look at how Dzivaguru still associates with the Tavara family complex to this day. This is not an accident but was determined by History. This is the case with the Matibi dynasty.

What is the identity of the Matibi dynasty today? Do its identity marks still suggest it is Dziva and Hungwe and therefore originally Kalanga? The tribal name of the Matibi dynasty today is Mbedzi (Dziva) or PFUMBI whose origin is not very clear. Its totem is Ngwenya or Kwena (crocodile). Among its praise-names are Luvimbi, Mvu (hippo) and Tshiva (njiva = dove). It taboos the fish and the ndoro. That this dynasty is emphatically Dziva and Kalanga needs no comment. Furthermore, it is Kwena and this is significant to us. The praise-name Luvimbi establishes that vital connection between the dynasty and the greatest founding ancestor. Mvu emphasizes the Dziva identity and at the same time establishes the link between the Matibi dynasty and the Musikavanhu Mlambo dynasty in the Chipinge region. TSHIVA emphasizes the Hungwe identity for all the Hungwes are also known as SHIRI (bird) which is a reference to the Hungwe Bird. Gradually, a few segments of the family decided to associate themselves with other birds, the most popular of which is the dove. Aversion to fish and the ndoro again emphasizes the Dziva identity. From every angle therefore, the Matibi dynasty is emphatically Dziva and Kalanga.

Before we scrutinize the southern frontier more closely, we need to go back for a moment to the Harare-Marondera region. Tradition states that the Kwena Kalanga people spread from the east to the periphery of the Harare region up to the time the Mutapas arrived. This suggests that the Kalangas had not yet occupied what we today call Western Mashonaland including the whole Shangwe Province right up to the Botswana border. It could also mean that only a few pockets of them had infiltrated that whole area but

it could not be legitimately said that they had effective control of the region. What this stresses however is their effective occupation of the eastern regions of the country. There is indirect evidence to support this situation.

The Mbire Shangwe dynasty of Mafunga, Soko Deva, that colonized the Shangwe Province (Gokwe) makes no mention of the Kalanga people in that sector. If the Kwena Kalanga had occupied the regions to the west of Harare by the time the Mutapas arrived, those Kalangas would certainly have been driven into the Shangwe Province. The Mafunga dynasty would not have failed to find them there. But instead, it is the one dynasty that established direct contacts with the Abatwa, the Matadyatadya or Mandionerepi people. This must mean that the dominant element in that area was of Bush stock. The dynasty drove these people further to the west, no doubt, into Botswana.

Yet when the Torwa dynasty (descending from the Mutapas) migrated from great Zimbabwe to establish the Guruuswa Province in present-day Matebeleland, it certainly had Kalanga people to the west of it. It drove these people out of Guruuswa into the regions further to the west. It also drove them to the southern regions, West Nicholson and Gwanda. Many of them ended up in Botswana. But some of them remained in the western and southern periphery of the new Mutapa Guruuswa Province. Not surprisingly, we still have a whole community in the Plumtree area that is still called Kalanga to this day. This is not an accident but was determined by history. These are remnants of the ancient Kalanga tribe displaced by the Mutapas. Because they were not at any one time surrounded and acculturated by Mutapa's descendants, they managed to retain their old language with letter "L" which was dropped by most of the Shona. Today, they are still KALANGA by tribe and their language is also KALANGA and their territory can indeed be called KALANGALAND. If you turn to the southern regions of Bulawayo, you come to the Bulalima-Mangwe area. Here, you will find a people called the Lima or Lilima. They are part of the existing Kalanga family complex. This group and the name link them up immediately with Chidima district in the Zambezi Valley. This suggests an ancient movement of Kalanga people from the lower Zambezi region to the south-western corner of Zimbabwe and possibly beyond.

However, a word of caution here is necessary. There are large numbers of people in this sector called Kalanga but who are originally not Kalanga at all. Today, if they are indeed Kalanga, they are so by residence in a formerly Kalanga region and through acculturation by remnants of Kalanga people in the area. We know at this stage that the whole Kalanga family in question was originally Kwena. Therefore anybody in this Kalanga region who is still Kwena or Ngwenya is still truly Kalanga. But we know too that the original Kwena Kalanga Family in due course segmented and fragmented into a number of communities but all of which adopted a new mutupo associated with water. These are Dziva or Siziba in Matebeleland; Hungwe, Shiri or

Nyoni in Matebeleland; Mvuu or Mlambo (the latter is not a Ndebele but Shangaan name); and Hove (fish). Anyone in the Kalanga region and who still bears any of these totems is indeed Kalanga and was originally so.

But in addition to these Kalangas, we have large numbers called Kalanga who do not bear a single Kalanga identity mark. These people are Kalanga by residence. They include all the Moyos in the area for, the Moyos are descendants of the Mutapas as we will discover in the next book. They include the Nkomos who are in fact also Moyo. They include the Tshumas who are also originally Moyo. Indeed, these three groups descended from the royal Moyo Rozvi dynasty which is a segment of the Mutapa Family complex. The Ncubes in the area are not originally Kalanga. Most of them descended from Torwa and Chihunduro. The latter was the Shona National Paramount toppled by Dombo around 1690 to establish Moyo Rozvi paramountcy. The Mpoofus are Shava and were an integral part of the Mutapa Family complex. The Sibandas are Shumba and descended from Chibi, Chirimuhanzu (Chilimanzi) or Mutasa and all are segments of Mutapa's people. The Msipas are Gumbo and descended from Gutu; the Maphosas are Ngara and descended from Zimuto. These too are part of the Mutapa Family complex. When therefore we talk of the Kalanga people in western and southern Matebeleland, we ought to be sure of what we mean. Do we mean people of truly Kalanga origin or we mean everybody who lives in the Kalanga region?

This seeming digression has been necessitated by the need to demonstrate the major line of Kwena Kalanga migration from the Zimbabwe interior plateau to the south and west. This line of migration also serves as an indicator of what portions of Zimbabwe had been occupied by the Kalanga people by the time the Mutapas arrived. The mutapas invaded the country from the direction of Nyanga-Mutoko. Before they got to the Harare longitude, they turned south to establish themselves in the Marondera-Wedza district. If the Kalangas had also occupied the region to the west of this invasion line, some of them would certainly have been pushed to the west to end up in Shangwe and beyond. In due course, we would have ended up with a Kalanga region in northern Matebeleland as we do in the Plumtree area. But this is never the case. Instead, the Kalangas are concentrated to the west and south of Bulawayo. In addition, the majority of those still in Zimbabwe are concentrated in our southern frontier belt where their royal dynasty is still to be found today.

The message to the historian from this is clear. The Kwena Kalanga occupied the eastern districts of Zimbabwe up to the arrival of the Mutapas. The invaders came in from the northern sectors of those eastern districts and herded the Kalangas in the southern direction. Somewhere in Southern Zimbabwe, segments of the Kalangas forked off to the west into present-day Matebeleland. When Torwa trekked from the area of Great Zimbabwe somewhere between 1450 and 1500 to establish the Guruuswa Province in Matebeleland, he drove them out of that area further to the west and south.

Remnants of these Kalangas are the ones we find today in the Plumtree area and in Gwanda and West Nicholson. The majority headed straight for the south and some of them ended up in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. It is from both south-western Zimbabwe, Transvaal and Orange Free State that Botswana was colonized by these same Kwena Kalangas as we are going to see later.

I have not said that all the Kwena who settled in the Transvaal and Orange Free State came from the area of present-day Zimbabwe and all as a result of the Mutapa invasion. The boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique did not exist. These people could not occupy Eastern Zimbabwe without first occupying Western Mozambique. There is no reason therefore why segments of the Kalangas could not occupy the Eastern Transvaal from Western Mozambique. I am almost certain that those of them we saw occupying Phalaborwa near the confluence of the Limpopo and the Olifants Rivers were migrating from Western Mozambique and not from Zimbabwe. This means that the Kwena Kalanga occupied the Transvaal from both the north and north-east and not necessarily in the same century. What we need now is to spend a bit of time on the Limpopo frontier and see what it has in store for us.

Possibly the most important discovery we have so far made is the presence of the Matibi dynasty on the Limpopo frontier and just to the north of the river at Marungudzi Hill. The next most important Mbedzi dynasty appears to be that of Chingoma in Mberengwa and that traditionally operated from Imbahuru Hill in the area. I was lucky to be able to establish good contacts with articulate members of this family. The tribal name of chief Chingoma and his people is Romwe. Their mutupo is Dziva but they also use Kwena. They do not eat fish and do not use the Ndoro. That they are emphatically Dziva can not be doubted. Examination of Imbahuru Hill, their ritual centre, confirms this.

In November 1948, Roger Summers visited the hill and the following is part of his report: "The SHELTER appears to be the focal point of the whole structure and contains some remarkable paintings in brick red:

- (a) A group of seven fish round a line.
- (b) Two schematic birds with exceptionally long legs and sinuous necks.
- (c) Various undecipherable blobs of colour.

After some comments, he remarked, "Finally the rock painting with its remarkable paintings of fish and water birds makes it almost impossible to doubt the correctness of Sicard's interpretation to the effect that it is a symbol of the mutupo Dziva (pool)".¹⁰⁵

In Malawi, we have come across a missionary claiming that the portrait of a whale was introduced at some rituals. I remarked that each community that so did was definitely a Dziva community. Now in Zimbabwe and far to the south, we find the ritual centre of a Dziva clan decorated with fish and water birds. The fish represent both the all-encompassing mutupo Dziva

and the mutupo Hove for the two are inseparable. The water bird represents both the mutupo Dziva and the Hungwe. The conclusions arrived at by both Sicard and Summers are perfectly correct.

There are lots of other communities along our southern frontier some of whom are truly Mbedzi and Dziva but the others are originally not. We need to spend a bit of time on those that were originally not but claim to be so today for they indeed provide a missing link in our investigations. But before we do so, let us turn south of the Limpopo and see if oral traditions from that corner do not conflict with northern traditions.

Transvaal Oral Traditions

I have stated that the Kwená Kalanga people were pushed across the Limpopo into the Transvaal by the descendants of the Mutapas. If this is correct, then the Dziva people south of the Limpopo must remember some of their early connections with their cousins who remained north of the Limpopo. Furthermore, do they have any associations with Marungudzi Hill which was their national cult centre? Is Matibi of any significance to them? Do they know anything about Saruvimbi?

Very useful work was done by various German Missionaries from before the turn of the last century up to the 1940s. Those missionaries include Van Warmelo, Van Sicard, Knothe, Frobenius, Stayt and Swellnus. Unfortunately, most of the work is in German and is not easily accessible to us. Equally unfortunately, their work has not been pursued by modern scholars either because they are not aware of it or they failed to appreciate its value. Indeed, in the writings of these missionaries are the most important clues to our early history.

In my view, their documents have greater historical value than the confused and confusing Portuguese documents. If scholars on both sides of the Limpopo had maintained the research impetus of the pioneering work of these missionaries, the controversies taking place now about our history would never have taken place. Instead, we would be quarrelling over the details and not over the essential continuous historical thread. On the Rhodesian side, characters like William Posselt and Marshall Hole have done commendable work which corroborates the discoveries of the German missionaries operating from south of the Limpopo River. But again, this work has not been followed up by modern scholars. I however hope that one day, the documents of the German missionaries will all be recovered and be translated to both English and vernacular languages and be made available to any interested Zimbabwean scholars for they carry a million-dollar value on them.

More recently however, starting in 1969, some scholars operating from south of the Limpopo, have started to follow up the above work. They include Gray, Rennie and Ralushai. It is largely from their work that I now proceed to quote.

A word of caution is necessary before I begin. The greatest interest of these scholars is in the Venda of the Transvaal. As in every other case such as that

of the Kalanga in western and southern Matebeleland, we need to clarify what we mean by "the Venda". Do we mean the original Vendas or anybody living in the Venda area and known as Venda today? I am here interested in sorting out the Bantu into their original tribal components. Therefore I am here interested in the original Venda as in the original Kalanga. I shall therefore define these original Venda on both sides of the Limpopo as simply the southern Vanguard of the Mutapa migrants to southern Zimbabwe and the Transvaal. They did not include Dziva or Tonga or Lemba people. Many of them are still Ncube (soko) by mutupo and have been an important component of the personnel assisting at the Matopo cult centres even after the advent of colonialism. Many are NDOU by mutupo and this means NZOU which is the elephant. But this has been derived from Sorore-nzou (elephant head) which is the second name for Murenga, the greatest Shona ancestor operating from Njelele at the Matopos in 1890. Many more are SINGO by mutupo and there are indications that this was derived from SVINGO meaning "stone fertification". If so, this would immediately tie them up with RU-SVINGO, the first Mutapa to lay the foundations of Great Zimbabwe and therefore, with Great Zimbabwe itself whose culture they were definitely part of.

To me, and for our purposes here, these are the people on both sides of the Limpopo who answer to the Venda identity.

About the Venda, Gray and Ralushai state, "Research into their history has tended to concentrate on what have been termed 'the Venda tribes proper' in contrast to 'the aboriginal Mbedzi, Lembethu and Ngona of the mountains', conquered by them and now largely assimilated".¹⁰⁶

It is interesting to know that there are Mbedzi people south of the Limpopo. Their identity is of course what is of greatest interest to us here. It is also interesting to note that the Venda who migrated into this country as part of the Mutapa Family complex, are the conquerors of the Kalanga as in the rest of Zimbabwe. We have already discovered the identity of the Lembethu and Ngona and their relationship to the Mbedzi.

"Our search for the Mbedzi proved relatively easy and rather more fruitful. It started at Mianzwi where Dzivhani had already reported that some of the descendants of Luvhimbi, the first chief of the Mbedzi and a famous rain-maker, were still living."¹⁰⁷

Dzivhani simply means "dziva" and you may remember that in Tanganyika, we came across ZIWANI and again meaning "dziva". Indications at this stage are that the Mbedzi in the Transvaal are also Dziva. We now also get the vital information that the Mbedzi south of the Limpopo are descendants of Luvhimbi who is our Shona Saruvimbi. The statement that Luvhimbi was "the first chief of the Mbedzi and a famous rain-maker needs clarification however. At what point did Luvhimbi become the first Mbedzi chief? Was this Mbedzi chief rain-maker in his own right or he was rain-maker because he was a medium of Luvhimbi?"

Next, Gray and Ralushai make references to a woman who told "us little more than that her ancestors, including Luvhimbi, came from Malungudzi, a hill just north of the Limpopo and visible from the northern escarpment of the Zoutpansberg, and that these ancestors were now 'assembled' at Tshilavulu, Tswingoni and Manaedzi, a pool in the river Mutale".¹⁰⁸ According to another informant, "Luvhimbi left Malungudzi because of a dispute over rain-making. Together with a small following, he crossed the Limpopo and settled in Tshilavulu, finding the Vhathavhatsindi already living in the area of Chief NeThengwe."¹⁰⁹

From this, the origins of the Mbedzi from Marungudzi Hill north of the Limpopo are established beyond any doubt. But the central figure at Marungudzi was chief Matibi, the heir to the ancient royal Kwena Kalanga dynasty. There is thus no doubt that the Transvaal Mbedzi are only a segment of Matibi's Kwena Kalanga Family. The disturbing suggestion however is that historical Luvhimbi actually migrated from Marungudzi to the Transvaal. The Zimbabwe tradition is that Luvhimbi ruled this particular Kalanga family when it was still at the Mozambique coast. Is the Zimbabwe tradition therefore faulty? The clue to the answer to this question is in the statement that Luvhimbi was "the first Mbedzi chief and famous rain-maker". In our traditions, there is no human being who makes rain. Not even a chief or an individual with the strongest charms can make rain. Rain-making is the prerogative of special tribal or national spirits. When therefore a human being is described as a rain-maker, you can be sure that he is the medium of a rain-making spirit. In the above case, you can almost be certain that Luvhimbi was the rain-making spirit possessing the Mbedzi chief who migrated to the Transvaal area from Marungudzi. That chief could only have been called Luvhimbi because he inherited the great spirit.

However, in 1969, Gray and Ralushai were not able to solve this problem. But they suspected something was amiss somewhere. "No informant in 1969 suggested, or even agreed to the idea, that Luvhimbi might be a dynastic title rather than the name of an individual." Further on, they add, "Again, although informants referred to Luvhimbi as a single individual, there is considerable evidence in their statements that the term was also used as a dynastic title".¹¹⁰ Beyond this, the investigators could not take this matter in 1969. However, from 1971 to 1976, Ralushai pursued the matter alone and came up with more information on the Mbedzi. He quotes an informant who argued "that the Mbedzi did not migrate from Malungudzi to Vhumbedzi in South Africa, as the whole country between Malungudzi in Rhodesia and Vhumbedzi in South Africa before the arrival of the Singo, Ndalamo and others was Mbedzi country. She also stated that when her people moved from one Mbedzi area to another Mbedzi area, they did not associate such movements with migration as they were moving and settling in the region which they regarded geographically and politically inseparable. But although Mrs. Matangwa Nalombe maintains that Malungudzi in Rhodesia and

Vhumbedzi in South Africa should be seen as one geographical unit, there is no doubt from the evidence given by other informants that Malungudzi is seen as the original headquarters of the Mbedzi."¹¹¹

On Luvhimbi, Ralushai found informants who were more up to the point. "It (the name Luvhimbi) is a name from father to son just as my child is also called Masikhwa." In the end, the investigator sums up his investigations in the following terms, "From all that has been said, there is no doubt that Luvhimbi is a dynastic title and that Luvhimbi himself had nothing to do with Nwali (Mwari) in South Africa. What is not very clear is the Mbedzi's view of their early movements. Was there a time when Matibi's authority extended as far as the Mbedzi area in South Africa? Are the different South African Mbedzi branches also found in Rhodesia? Do the Mbedzi of Rhodesia situationally or generally call their area Vhumbedzi?"¹¹²

Luvhimbi now emerges as an ancestor but of the greatest significance to the Mbedzi on either side of the Limpopo. His name is bandied about everywhere demonstrating the extent to which he pervaded the whole Mbedzi family complex. In fact, the South African Mbedzi can not think of an ancestor older than Luvhimbi. But this is also the position north of the Limpopo as given to us by the Shona. We have no reason whatever to doubt that the Azanian Luvhimbi is the Shona Saruvimbi. The other questions posed by Ralushai above demonstrate the absolute necessity of correlating historical material across the international boundaries, as I stressed earlier. This is after all why I decided to spend so much time and space on this frontier region.

The position that emerges is clear and simple. The Dziva family descending from Saruvimbi migrates from the interior regions of Zimbabwe to the south. They establish their headquarters at Malungudzi Hill north of the Limpopo under Paramount Chief Matibi and with Saruvimbi as their greatest guardian spirit and rain-making ancestor. Segments of the family cross the Limpopo for the Transvaal. They segment into clans and occupy more and more territory. But they maintain some links with their cousins north of the Limpopo River.

We have discovered that these people acknowledge defeat by the Venda people. Who were the Venda originally? Were they not only a segment of a mightier power? Do the Mbedzi remember anything about that power? Indeed they do. Somewhere in the southern frontier, the MBEDZI admit that they divided into two major segments. The division came about as a result of the impact of defeat. One group accepted defeat and subordinated itself to the new power. The second group refused to subordinate itself to the new power and trekked beyond the reach of the new power. We get a glimpse of this from the following:

"When the Shoko Mbire occupied the Northern Transvaal, some of the Mbedzi living there at Luvhimbi Hill subjected themselves to them. Others refused and called the former 'the small Mbedzi or the small crocodile', TSHIGWENA MATOPE, and themselves, 'the great Mbedzi or the big Crocodile', NGWENA KHULU."¹¹³

So far up to this point, the Mbedzi south of the Limpopo had not indicated to us whether they were also Kwena or not. Their association with Matibi and Malungudzi Hill suggested they were likely to be. But superficially, they indicate they are Dziva (Dzivani) but make no references to their also being Kwena. But now, they make it clear that they are Kwena and they were sundered into two groups by the impact of defeat. This defeat is very significant for, as we are going to see, it marked the beginning of the Tswana nation. Fragments of those that refused to submit to the new power ended up in Botswana and became the foundation stones of the future Tswana nation.

Equally important is the acknowledgement of defeat by a power specifically called Shoko Mbire. These are the invaders earlier referred to as Nyai and whom I have continued to call "Mutapa's people". These are the people represented by Zimbabwe Period III that is beyond the scope of this book. What I doubt however is the suggestion by these Mbedzi people that the defeat resulting in their division into two major segments took place south of the Limpopo River. Indications are that it took place much further north. The fact that Matibi their paramount chief remained north of the river suggests that he was overwhelmed north and became tributary to the new power in the northern region. It is also important to point out that the Venda defeated the Mbedzi not as Venda but as Mbire. They represent the vanguards of the Mbire migrants to the Limpopo and beyond. As they settled down in their new region on either side of the Limpopo, they crystalized into an independent community and, like most other new communities, acquired a new clan name.

Let me draw your attention to what we came across in Zululand earlier. The Nguni in Zululand stated that the Suthu were their cousins who remained behind north of the Limpopo. Here, they intermingled with the Venda and their blood and language got adulterated and it was for this reason that they were called Suthu. Thus all groups, Azanian and Zimbabwean, are agreed that the Suthu and Nguni were originally one family. They are further agreed that new-comers unrelated to them and called Venda or Mbire Soko invaded them and intermingled with them. These sources are far apart and are very independent of each other. That they should at all so closely corroborate each other is most significant.

The Tswana are Kwena and Suthu. The Suthu are Dziva and Kalanga. Therefore, it is difficult if not impossible for them to sort out their early history without establishing that very necessary link with Zimbabwe and Azania. Part of them migrated from south-western Zimbabwe where they were part and parcel of the Kalanga group that we came across in the Plum-tree area. Part migrated from the western Transvaal and western Orange Free State. But we have examined both these areas and it should be relatively easy to link up their early history with these eastern areas — eastern to the Tswana themselves.

The archaeological record of Botswana is very poor and we do not have much to go on. This is not because settlements are lacking but because not much archaeological work has been done in the area. However, we have the advantage of written records and these give us an unmistakable picture of the composition of the Tswana tribes around 1800. The London Missionary Society that established itself in the northern Cape Province was not slow to establish contacts with the Tswana tribes. They were also not slow to attempt to dig into early Tswana history and their records are of enormous benefit to us today.

First, let us examine the identity marks of the Tswana tribes and establish whether they are Dziva and Kalanga or not. Very early on, we came across the Cape-based missionaries describing their association with the sun. It was they that they described as looking "on the sun with the eyes of an ox". We came across them being described as swearing by U-LANGA "the name of the oldest of their kings" together with the Nguni group. There can be no doubt then that they have close associations with the sun and are Kalanga.

Next, they are Kwena and therefore Dziva. The majority of them are Kwena to this day and those of them who changed to other mitupos (isibongo) can easily be traced back to their Kwena ancestry. By this time we should be fully aware that we have one Kwena tribe in all southern Africa and that is the tribe that descended from Saruvimbi along the Mozambique coast and whose paramount chief in the interior of Zimbabwe was Matibi. The multiplicity of the so-called Kwena Tribes in Zimbabwe, Azania and Botswana are only segments of this one Kwena tribe descending from Saruvimbi. The mere

fact therefore, that the Tswana "tribes" are Kwena immediately establishes their relationship with Zimbabwe and Azania and means that they are originally inevitably Kalanga and Dziva.

The Tswana "tribes" do not eat fish or at least did not eat fish around 1800. This emphasizes their Dziva identity for we know by now that aversion to fish-eating was and still is a characteristic of the Dziva people. We get an inkling of their aversion to fish-eating from Moffat who lived among them. "Though the natives of South Africa have an aversion to fish, the Bushmen in the neighbourhood of rivers make very ingenious baskets, which they place between stones, in the centre of a current, and thus they sometimes procure a fry of fish, which in their frequent necessity must be acceptable."¹¹⁴

In view of the fact that Botswana, the Transvaal and Orange Free State were populated almost entirely by the Bantu whose mutupo was Kwena, it is not surprising that Moffat generalizes fish aversion to the whole South African sub-continent.

The Tswana "tribes" do not use the ndoro. Those of them that do are not or have never been Kwena. They can be traced either to a Tonga or Mbire ancestry. Those of Kwena origins have no association with the ndoro and other sea shells. This again emphasizes their Dziva identity. Throughout the sub-continent, it is only people of Dziva origins who taboo the ndoro and we dealt with this aspect earlier. There can thus be no doubt that the Kwena of Botswana are Dziva and originally Kalanga.

The Tswana tribes have associations with Matibi and inherited this name in the way Matibi's people inherited the name Luvimbi. This is made clear by the following report from Moffat: "They (Evan, Hamilton, Baker and their party) reached the metropolis of that part of the country on the 17th of February, 1816, and the whole party, with their waggons, were admitted into the public square, when Matibi, with many of his people, came up and shook hands with them."¹¹⁵

We are going to come across this Tswana Matibi once more later in this chapter. I can not convince myself that this is a mere coincidence of names, more so when both groups associated with this name are Kwena. We know too of the popularity of the practice in Bantu circles, of handing great names associated with one's ancestry, from one generation to the next. The existence of this name among the Tswana almost certainly means that the Tswana Kwena are a segment of Matibi's Kwena Kalanga people.

In due course, we are going to find the Tswana Kwena claiming that they descended from somebody called MALOPE. They are not able to trace their history beyond the father of this man. But Matope is the Tswana equivalent to the Shona MATOPE which is MUD. How this originated we have already come across in the Northern Transvaal. The Kwena on both sides of the Lim-

popo state that when they were invaded by the Soko Mbire people, some of them submitted to the new power but others refused. Those that refused to submit derided the other group by calling them CHIKWENA MATOPE meaning the poor and small CROCODILES that play and tend to live in shallow muddy waters. They referred to themselves as the KWENA KHULU meaning the big CROCODILES that live and play in deep and big pools with clear water. From that point on, the leader of the SMALL CROCODILES became known as MALOPE. Some of his descendants must have ended up in Botswana and inevitably we find the Tswana people claiming to be descendants of Malope. But is it clear that they no longer remember how this name originated. However, as already indicated, this is well remembered in our southern frontier. This again stresses the same one point that the Kwena of Botswana are only a segment of Matibi's Kwena Kalanga people.

All these considerations put together leave us in no doubt whatever that the Tswana did not migrate into their country from the south, west or north but from the east and north-east. They are an integral part of the ancient Kwena Kalanga and are Dziva in every way. Although we are naturally interested in Tswana association with the Zimbabwean and Azanian Kwena, I am also going to pay special attention to disagreements, crisis and conflicts within Tswana ranks. Let us not forget that this whole study on segmentation and fragmentation resulted in territorial growth which is a concomitant of migration. The Tswana are a good case study of how all this has been happening all over Africa from the time Bantu migrations started, whenever that may be.

Association with the Suthu

I hope that by now, I have established beyond any doubt Tswana association with the Kwena in Azania and Zimbabwe. What we need now is to seek confirmation from the chroniclers who actually worked among them at the beginning of the 19th century. From the ubiquitous Marshall Hole, we get the following: "Up to 1820 however, the tribes on the inland side of the Drakensberg had not felt the full force of the westward rush. In the country between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, with branches extending along the edges of the Kalahari there was a large collection of inter-related tribes with ba-Suto affinities, who, for conveniences' sake, may be described as the Bachuana."¹¹⁶

The Tswana are Suthu, the message is very clear. They can only be called Tswana for convenience. What else could they be when they are Kwena? The difference in names between the Suthu and Tswana was determined by geography. The southern Kwena gradually won for themselves the name Suthu; the western Kwena won for themselves the name Tswana. But is it also not geography that separated the Suthu from the Mbedzi? The Suthu are the southern segment of the Mbedzi and it is not out of order to call them Mbedzi for, originally they are so.

The one man who had longest and closest associations with the Tswana was Robert Moffat. Fortunately too, he was a prolific writer. To him, we shall turn for a moment and hear what he says about these people. "The Kaffirs form one tribe of the Great Bechuana family, and probably emigrated from the direction of Delagoa Bay, till they came into contact with the Hotentots along the coast. Their origin must be traced to the same sources as that of the numerous tribes of the Bachuanas, from the affinity of languages spoken throughout the eastern part of the continent of Africa. . . . North of Kaffir-Land, between the Winterberg mountains and the higher branches of the Yellow River (Orange River), lies the country inhabited by the Basutos, a tribe of Bechuanas".¹¹⁷

It has been one of my major points of contention to prove the eastern coastal origins of the whole Kalanga Family. I went further to postulate that the Kwena origins must be traced from somewhere between the Pungwe River and the coast directly to the east of the Transvaal. This is also the coastal region Moffat thinks the Tswana tribes should be traced from. He then goes on to describe the Suthu as "a tribe of the Bechuanas". I am not interested in whether the Suthu came into existence first and gave birth to the Tswana or vice versa. I am interested in the simple fact that they are originally one tribe. Moffat, like Hole, leaves us in no doubt of this fact.

The same Moffat goes on, "Beyond the Basutos, to the north of the Orange River, lies the other Bachuana tribes, whose numbers and extent we have not yet been able to learn".¹¹⁸ All these northern tribes are the ones described by Marshall Hole as Basuto. To this, Stow adds, "The term Basutu was applied exclusively to those clans which represent the Southern Bakuena".

So far then, the names Suthu and Tswana are easily interchangeable. They came later to crystallize as Suthu and Tswana and applicable to specific areas partly as a result of chroniclers and partly of colonialism that set definite boundaries between them. The important point however to take note of is that the early history of the Tswana is not independent of that of the Suthu for the two are originally one and the same tribe. This again stresses the absolute need of riding across the present international boundaries when treating early Africa history.

It is indeed fascinating to find Moffat in Botswana nearer the west coast than the east coast coming to the belief that the Tswana tribes have early associations with north-east Africa. "Among the tribes, and especially those nearer the coast, some customs remain which are thought to have a reference to sacrifices, offerings and purifications such as might be expected to be found among people descending from the East, as all the Bachuana tribes appear to have done."¹¹⁹

He goes on, "We can readily perceive from these circumstances, how easy it was for a people during such a lapse of time, descending from Mizraim and Phut and migrating through Egypt or descending from Cush and passing . . . to the eastern and southern parts of the African continent . . . to forget every vestige of the creeds of their progenitors".¹²⁰

All that we need to do is to look at El Masudi's document again and see the extent to which Moffat is in line with it. What he has clearly said is that the Suthu/Tswana tribes came from northern-east Africa, travelled along the coast and settled in the region of Delagoa Bay. From there, they migrated into the interior to end up in their present territories. If you look back this is the whole argument I am postulating in this book and this is why I regretted earlier that the discoveries of the pioneer missionaries were not pursued by modern historians. On no occasion has he suggested that at the East African coast, these people were called Suthu and Tswana. It is of course very apparent that each segment that constitutes itself into a separate dynasty, adopts a new dynastic name, generally derived from its founding father. This is the great lesson that the Tswana are to teach us in the next session.

Crisis and Segmentation

I have stated at least once before that this work is a study of segmentation, fragmentation, migration and territorial growth that goes with that migration. The aim is of course to give the reader the insight into the growth, segmentation, fragmentation and migration of members of the original one Bantu Family. This, I hope, will enable him to see the feasibility of the Shona being originally one dynasty; the feasibility of all the Bantu being only three tribes; the feasibility of all the Bantu being one dynasty originating from one ancestor. What I am now proceeding to describe of the Tswana must have been going on among the Bantu from the time the family was one dynasty and it must explain how that one dynasty ended up occupying all Bantu Africa.

The Tswana say that they descended from a man called Kuena. On this, they are in agreement with the Shona Kwena. But Shona traditions point to the east coast as the original home of this man. On the other hand Tswana traditions tend to suggest that Kuena was much more recent. This can only be a result of the fact that the name has been inherited from century to century and the identity of the first Kuena has been completely lost. Memories of their real origins seem to start with two men, Masilo and Malope who could have been brothers. It also looks as if these were the ruling men when the tribe divided as a result of defeat by the Soko Mbire people somewhere in Zimbabwe.

This, we can guess from the fact that one group of the Tswana is addressed as A MALOPE and the second group as A MASILO which mean descendants "of Malope" and Masilo respectively. But further north, we found the Mbedzi saying that the Kwena who accepted the new Soko Mbire paramountcy became the "Little Crocodiles" — CHIKWENA MATOPE, called MALOPE in Botswana. It is therefore very likely that those addressed as A MALOPE are the followers and descendants of those derided as the "Little Crocodiles". If so, then those addressed as "A MASILO" can only be the followers and descendants of the party that rejected subjugation to

the Mbire invaders. This division appears to be the starting point of separate Tswana history. Of course it represents a land mark in Kwenya history.

"The old men of the Bechuana when questioned as to the past were ready to recite the names and deeds of a long succession of mighty ancestors many of whom were probably mythical. The earliest of whom they could give a clear account was one Masilo, the paramount chief of a tribe whose off-shoots were destined to play leading parts in the affairs of the Transvaal and adjacent territories. They called themselves ba-Kwenya, after their siboko or tribal emblem, which was the crocodile."¹²¹

What we are interested in now is the descension that took place within this one family descending from Masilo. "Masilo's elder son, Malope . . . had many sons among whom were Hurutsi, Ngwaketsi and Ngwato (who) following the family traditions, became leaders of disruption. This portion of the crocodile people — was in consequence split into three factions which went their several ways and settled at a distance from each other. The people of the first called themselves, after their chiefs, ba-Hurutsi."¹²²

The one family descending from one man, Masilo, has already started to fragment into separate dynasties which will vie with each other and tear each other asunder. From Hurutsi, we end up with a dynasty called Bahurutsi; from Ngwaketsi, we end up with a dynasty called Bangwaketsi; from Ngwato, we end up with a dynasty called Bamangwato. The following article gives an indication of this:

"It is with the fortunes of those that followed the third of Malope's sons, Ngwato, that we are chiefly concerned . . . During the lifetime of their founder, the tribe seems to have remained intact, but in the reign of his successor, Matibi, the usual family split occurred. This man had two sons, Khama, the first of that name and Tauwana, (young lion) who was his favourite. The brothers quarrelled and Tauwana, with a portion of the tribe, either of his own accord or under compulsion, forsook his ancestral home and formed a new settlement near Lake Ngami."¹²³

Even the descendants of Ngwato are fragmenting into separate clans to develop into independent dynasties. The normal life of a family appears to have been one of disagreements, quarrels, fights and migration. This should never be looked upon as unique to the Tswana tribes. Earlier, we saw it happening in the Congo region. Once separation takes place, the segments treat themselves as foreign to each other. They raid each other to capture cattle, goats and women as if they have never been related to each other. In that way, the defeated party must try to go out of the reach of the victorious party. The following incident, again concerning the same Tswana clans, makes this very clear:

"Matibi mastered a large expedition against the Bakuenas, nearly 200 miles to the north-east. Their object was to capture cattle. The supposed invincible commando was repulsed, driven and scattered. Many were dashed to pieces over precipices; and Matibi, wounded in the foot, narrowly escaped

with the loss of many of his warriors. The women had just been wailing over the loss of many cattle taken by Bauangketsi (the Bangaketsi); and now their husbands were gone to inflict the same distress on others . . . Soon after this calamitous event, Matibi and the majority of the town, were influenced to remove to the Kuruman River, which was in June, 1817."¹²⁴

All this is happening among descendants of one man. They have been one clan; they quarrel and groups move further afield; they raid each other. One comes to the conclusion that one is a bit too near and move further afield and this goes on to eternity. For as long as land is available, they will occupy more and more until there is no more of it to occupy. Then the weaker dynasties will be demolished and swallowed up by the stronger or they will be shunted into directions of weakest resistance where they will bulldoze those in their way shattering them and sending off shattering splinters further afield as happened during the days of the Chaka Revolution. This was the normal life of an African tribe and it was this situation that forced segments and fragments of segments of Bantu dynasties to encroach on more and more territory until they occupied all Bantu Africa. Imagine what the situation would have been around the Tswana territory by 1980 if colonialism had not stabilized these conflicts and migrations. Some of these people would have conflicted with the Xhosa in the area of Cape Town and with the Nami-bians on the west coast. Reflex movements would have taken place along lines of least resistance. Many more new tribes would have come into existence but equally many more would have disappeared from the scene. The reader is advised to telescope this to the year, 1500, 1,000, 500 A.D. and 500 B.C. and imagine what the Bantu tribe might have been and where it might have been in Africa.

The history of the Karanga people between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers starts around 800 A.D. and ends around 1100 with the arrival of the Mutapas. But for reasons, I have up to this point avoided specifying that the Karanga Empire runs from 800 to 1100 A.D., a period of three hundred years. To begin with, the Karangas did not occupy this country in one fell-swoop; they trickled in through the east coast. It is even possible that by the year 700 A.D. their harbingers were already in regions south of the Zambezi River. But they took time to increase through birth and more migrations from the north to establish real control over the country and to spread to the interior plateau. It would therefore not be proper to state dogmatically that they occupied Zimbabwe in 800 as if they were blown by the wind from the north, and were dumped in Zimbabwe all in one month or one year. Furthermore, it is necessary to realize all the time that ancient Zimbabwe was inseparable from ancient Mozambique. A people infiltrating Mozambique and without a powerful driving force behind them can take a whole century to reach the Zimbabwean plateau from the Mozambique coast. The Karangas did not invade this country and they do not appear to have been under any form of external pressure behind them. They migrated to the south as necessitated by the forces from within and this means largely natural growth and ecological exhaustion in their neighbourhood. This points to a leisurely migration to the south and again, indications are that they took no less than a century to reach the Zimbabwean plateau from the Mozambique coast.

Next, it is important to remember that they were not conquered by their Mbire successors in one decade or even one century. The Mbire invaders were one small but highly centralized family geared towards war as all migrant groups on the march tend to be. The Ngoni groups from the south in the early 19th century are a good example of this. Therefore, the invaders did not have the necessary manpower to invade all Mozambique south of the Zambezi River and Zimbabwe at the same time and clear the Karangas out in one decade or even one century. When therefore we say that the country was taken over by the Mbire around 1100, what we really mean is that central Karanga power had been demolished and a new power had established itself as the lord of the country. But as has already been made clear, the Matibi

dynasty which was the central Karanga dynasty, was still in existence in the country. More than this, the Karanga continued to dominate the Zambezi Valley unmolested for another four hundred years.

Those of them cleared out of the interior gravitated to the south under Matibi and continued to dominate that region for several centuries more. The ones diverted to the west towards Matebeleland were only pushed out of Zimbabwean territory by Torwa from about 1450. Remnants of them are the Kalangas we saw in the Plumtree area. The Zambezi Valley Kalangas were overwhelmed by the descendants of the Mutapas again from about 1450 when Mutota and Chingoo invaded that sector. Earlier, we came across Matope defeating Karuva and Chikara after the death of Mutota and Chingoo. The numbers of the invaders and their political structure did not permit them to overwhelm the country in one decade or even one century. Such a venture would have extended their numbers to breaking point and certainly they would have made themselves vulnerable to their Karanga victims who appear to have been numerically superior to them. But central authority changed hands very quickly and the new power was not slow to give its own name to the new country. The Karanga dynasties within reach were forced to pay tribute to the new lord of the country. Those out of reach gravitated further away and some of them escaped Mbire control and overlordship altogether. Examples of them are the Suthu and Tswana we came across south of the Limpopo and in Botswana. It is necessary to make this picture clear for we tend to talk as if the Mbire invaders encompassed a million men moving so rapidly as if they had military vehicles to overwhelm both Mozambique and Zimbabwe in one decade.

Thirdly, though apparent, it is necessary to stress that the Mbire invaders did not wipe out the Karanga in the sense of destroying them. They did not even reduce the territory under Karanga control. Indeed, Karanga territory expanded as a result of the Mbire invasion. This sounds rather paradoxical but this is what happened. Those of them in Northern Mozambique (we are confining ourselves to the region south of the Zambezi River) were shattered into fragments by the impact of the invasion. The invaders headed for the Zimbabwean plateau and again shattered the Karangas in that sector. But the fragments only pushed further afield and occupied new territory and as new dynasties. The overall result was that the Karanga ended up occupying more territory than even before—more territory than that occupied by the Mbire invaders even at the height of their power. For evidence of this, put together southern Mozambique, the whole Natal region, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Eastern Botswana around 1500 or 1600 and you will find them bigger than the Mbire Empire then. All that territory became Karanga territory as the bigger part of it still is today. The difference however is that it was not under one central government and in political terms, it is out of order to describe it as the Karanga Empire after the arrival of the Mbire.

The Nguni east of the Drakensbergs were an autonomous community and had little, if any intercourse with the Suthu on the western side of the mountains; the Mbedzi in our southern frontier looked upon themselves as an entity and still looked upon Matibi as representing their central authority; the Suthu further south in the Transvaal and Orange Free State do not appear to have managed to establish a centralized government with authority over everybody in that sector; the Kwena in Botswana were a separate entity; the Kalanga in Western Matebeleland were also a separate entity. Although therefore, the Karanga occupied vastly more territory as a result of the impact of Mbire invasion, their centralized political unity had been shattered for ever. Clearly, war, regardless of its origins, is the biggest catalyst of tribal segmentation and fragmentation. It is also the greatest catalyst to migration and territorial expansion. And wars had always been going on in Africa from the time the Bantu race had crystallized on the continent as a major force. From those wars stemmed the migrations which brought fragments of the race to Southern Africa.

The foregoing, I hope, has suggested to you why I do not look upon the Tonga as in any way laying the foundations of Zimbabwe. I am even suggesting that modern Zimbabwe has inherited nothing from them. They are as good as having not settled in this country. It is completely out of order to refer to any part of the history of this country as constituting The Tonga Empire, for, there has never been such a thing. The first empire to be established in Zimbabwe was the Karanga Empire starting from around 800 A.D. and ending around 1100. The second Empire was the Mbire Mutapa Empire that toppled the Karanga Empire and at the same time, succeeded it. The Changamire and Rozvi Empires were not new empires. They were phases of the same Mutapa Empire brought about by internal revolutions that toppled one Mbire House and replaced it with another Mbire House. This is the substance of my next work.

I have produced evidence to prove that the Tonga were the first Bantu people to settle in Zimbabwe between 300 and 400 A.D. They remained in this country alone as Bantu people up to about 800 A.D. Why should we not refer to this period 300 - 800 A.D. (Zimbabwe Period I) as constituting the Tonga Empire? Mere settlement does not constitute an empire or a kingdom. The Tonga were not even the first Africans to settle in Zimbabwe. The first are unquestionably the San. If the Khoikhoi have been a feature of this country, they are the second African group to settle in Zimbabwe and the Tonga are only third.

But you agree with me that it would be out of order to refer to any part of the history of this country as constituting "The Bushman Empire" or "The Hottentot Empire". But why should this be out of order when there is enough evidence to prove that the San occupied this country in much larger numbers and for a much longer period than the Tonga? Shall I answer this question by stating that lions and elephants have been known to exist in Zimbabwe

in vastly larger numbers and for a much longer period than both the San and Tonga but that period of the history of Zimbabwe has never been called "The Lion Empire", or "Elephant Empire". I hope that this highlights the difference between existence and occupation, the difference between mere presence and political occupation. The elephants existed in Zimbabwe and were easily physically the most powerful animals but they never established a political kingdom. Likewise, the San existed in Zimbabwe but never established a political kingdom.

It is for the same reasons that we can not refer to the period 300 - 800 as "The Tonga Empire" for the Tonga never established a kingdom over Zimbabwe. Archaeologists find them scattered in small pockets. The Karanga found them thinly spread across the whole breadth of the country. We have quoted them existing in family units without chiefs. Indeed, they were only different from the San in that they were an Iron Age people, were agriculturalists and pastoralists. But politically they were not any different from them. "Empire" or "Kingdom" implies central political control; it implied central control and exploitation of resources. These were not features of the Tonga and therefore the period of their "existence", their "presence" in Zimbabwe in no way qualifies for an empire or kingdom. The Karanga were totally different.

It is exactly for the same reasons that I find it out of order to accredit the Tonga with any heritage for future Zimbabwe. Their language was completely drowned by that of the Kalanga; their matriliney changed to patriliney; the pelele and the tattoos disappeared; the knocking off of upper front teeth disappeared; many of them even became Kwena and Dziva. Only a thin veneer of some of their cultural traits remained but underneath the surface. They did not teach agriculture to the Karanga because the latter were agriculturalists as well. They did not teach them iron technology because they were an Iron Age people too. Scrutinize the cultural practices of the Shona both of Karanga and Mbire origins and you will find that the Tonga bequeathed nothing to posterity.

I hope that the reader will not confuse the early submerged Tonga with the Tonga in the Zambezi Valley on the southern side of the river. These are not part of Zimbabwe Period 1 that was submerged by the Karanga. Either these migrated across the river much later or if they did so early enough, they remained in that sector and never mingled with the Karanga or their invaders until much later. They remained in virtual isolation and have never had an impact on the history and culture of this country. The position therefore remains the same.

The Karanga Polity

That the Karanga were different from the Tonga and that they established the first polity in Zimbabwe is unquestionable. For the first hints of this, we need to look at El Masudi's document again. He refers to Sofala as part

of the Zanj Empire ruled by a Paramount Chief called Waqlimi. He makes it clear that all the other chiefs of that empire were subordinate to him. He was a Divine King and his fortunes were tied up with those of his state. He had a powerful army with 300,000 riders. This was undoubtedly exaggerated but that a polity existed and constituting an empire is unquestionable. But this was an empire of people with an aversion to fish and who called their God Mkulu Mkulu. That this was an empire of Dziva people who gave birth to all the Karangas we have come across south of the Zambezi River is beyond doubt.

But these people did not leave their political institutions at the coast. They took them with them into the interior. As more and more territory was occupied, more and new regional chiefs cropped up. But the institutions remained the same. A paramount chief with remote control over the outlying provinces remained in existence. His alliance with the founding fathers now operating as the national ancestral guardians helped him to maintain control over the outlying provinces. Around September, an appeal to him was made by the provincial governors for rain. It was he or his representative who alone could appeal to the National spiritual guardians for rain. About the end of February or the beginning of March, the First Fruits Ritual was organized at district, provincial and national levels to thank the ancestral guardians at all levels for the crops that had ripened and to give them first to them before humanity started to devour them. The greatest of these rituals was organized at the headquarters of the paramount chief by the paramount chief himself but was attended by regional paramounts or their representatives. In the event of national droughts or other calamities that vexed the nation, the regions again made an appeal to him to make representations to the national ancestral guardians on their behalf.

When trouble brewed between two or more neighbouring districts or regional chiefs, the wronged party made an appeal to the paramount chief for assistance. In addition, the regional paramounts paid tribute to the national paramount and this is how he ended up with more gold or elephant tusks than any other chief in his domain. This was nothing but a feudal polity that survived up to the advent of colonialism. I am not suggesting that the Mbire invaders copied this system from the Karanga. But they did not destroy the system. On the other hand, the Tonga and the San had nothing along these lines. We can not doubt that the Karanga established the first empire on Zimbabwean territory. Look further south and west at their descendants and you will find them practising similar institutions. This does not mean mere existence like lions or elephants. It means political control of the area.

How long the Karanga maintained one central polity over Zimbabwean territory is not clear. It however looks as if they ended up with two separate polities between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. The Tavora were left alone in the Zambezi Valley in due course and established their own separate poli-

ty with Karuva and Dzivaguru as their spiritual guardians. They too were feudal. The rest of the occupied country fell under the control of the Kwena with Matibi as their national paramount. Everywhere, Matibi is depicted as the first chief ever to rule in Zimbabwe. Even the report of the District Commissioner, Mberengwa, of December 6th of 1948, states him as the first. No doubt, the D.O. was getting this from oral historians. But there is no one who refutes it at all. If we examine his position in the Mbedzi family complex and his close association with Saruvimbi, there is no doubt that he represents the Karanga central political and religious core in this country. It must be his direct ancestors who established the feudal state which constituted the Karanga Empire on the Zimbabwean plateau. It must be him and his predecessors who controlled the regional chiefs and to whom they made appeals for any assistance. When therefore we talk of the Karanga Empire, we must look upon Matibi as the centre of that empire and not the Zambezi Valley. The whole Karanga expansion to the south and west came from Matibi's Kwena segments and not from the Zambezi Valley. This could not have happened if he did not have prior control of the bigger part of the country.

One area certainly pioneered by the Karanga people was the east coast trade with the Moor traders. With the unfolding of more and more of our ancient history that we are witnessing, it does not sound any longer correct to say that the Moor traders came to the Mozambique coast and established trading contacts with our ancestors.

The truth appears to be that the Moor traders were in touch with these ancestors north of the Zambezi River and they drifted to the south together. They did not start a new trade but merely expanded the territory covered by their old trade. I do not see how we can now avoid this conclusion.

The Kalanga settled along the East African coast. The Arabs settled along the same coast soon after 600 A.D. The Moor traders had contacts with that coast even earlier. So far, there is no way we can avoid the conclusion that the Kalanga were the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south along the East African coast. This must mean that the Kalanga southern extremity at any one time determined the southern extremity of Moor trade with the African coast. As the Karangas drifted further and further to the south, the Moor traders also drifted with them to the south. There would have been no point for the Moor traders to sail further south beyond the point reached by the Karanga. The San and possibly Khoikhoi were certainly already in those sectors. But they did not engage in this trade. It could even be that it was contacts with the Moor traders that prevented the Karanga from migrating into the interior earlier than the time they crossed the Zambezi River. Migrating into the interior would have meant covering longer distances to the coast. For as long as the coast was unoccupied, the logical thing for the Karanga to do was to keep within easy reach of that coast and this meant confining themselves to the coastal regions of the East African coast.

A question may immediately arise; why did the Kwena eventually go into the interior of Zimbabwe? It is possible that they no longer had an option. The Nguni to their south along the coast appear to have grown into a separate and mighty power. Inevitably, they blocked the Kwena path to the south along the coast. Furthermore, the Moor traders were very interested in elephant tusks. The coastal region to the south of the Kwena was no longer the best area for this. The elephant population in that sector must have been depleted by the Nguni who were ahead of them. The only direction open to them was in the west and this meant migrating in the direction of Zimbabwe. As the elephant population nearer the coast got more and more depleted, it became necessary to encroach more and more into the interior regions until they reached the Zimbabwean plateau. We must realize that the elephants themselves must also have been retreating into the interior as more and more of them were slaughtered along the coast. It would not be misleading to equate this situation to what happened in East Africa after 1840 when both slaves and elephants retreated into the interior drawing Arab slavers further and further into that interior until by 1860, they had reached the Great East African Lakes.

The Karanga, by virtue of their origins along the East African coast, were bound to pioneer and did pioneer the east coast trade. The initial interest was in ivory. Sea shells were out of order because they tabooed them. But as they went deeper into the interior, they discovered gold and iron ore deposits. Both these had a great appeal to the Moor traders. That interior was also the habitat of the leopards referred to by Masudi as tigers. The Moor traders were also highly interested in their skins. Thus the greater resources of the region between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers resulted in the expansion of the coastal trade. The wealth of the interior drew the Karanga people further into the interior and possibly in larger numbers than before. By the time Masudi reaches the East African coast around 915 /916 A.D., the trade is well under way and gold, ivory and iron ore from the Zimbabwean plateau are a common sight along the East African coast as indicated in Masudi's document. The reader should take note that this is before the arrival of the Mutapas. Quite apart from Arab documents, the archaeological record of Zimbabwe Period 11 which represents the Karanga people, has evidence of coastal items such as beads. But none have been found associated with Period 1, the Tonga period. There thus can be no doubt that the east coast trade was pioneered by the Karanga people.

There were two chief Karanga imports and these were beads and materials. But the names and patterns of these beads and materials are highly significant. We have observed that Karuva in the Zambezi Valley put on black/white materials only. I pointed out that this represented the colour of the HUNGWE bird which symbolized the Karanga Family. Side by side with these materials, the Karanga widely used black/white beads again to represent the Hungwe bird. They did not only represent the Hungwe bird: they were also called

Hungwe materials and Hungwe beads. When the Mutapas arrived somewhere between 1,000 and 1100, they found these beads and materials in wide use in the country. They were used by the Karanga people. They represented the Hungwe bird; they themselves were called Hungwe; the Karanga were called the Hungwe people. The Mutapas adopted them and used them for their own purposes. But they did not change their pattern nor did they change their name. To this day, the black/white beads and materials are still called Hungwe. They are still the most widely used beads and materials in the country for ancestral purposes. Here is Karanga culture living on a thousand years after the collapse of Karanga hegemony in the country.

It is easy to imagine that the black/white combination of beads and materials remained confined to the region between the Limpopo and the Zambezi only. This is not so. They continued to hold sway in all the regions both south and west that were populated by the descendants of the Kalangas. The following is revealing:-

"The Zulus as a race are remarkably tasty in their choice of colour-schemes. The beadwork of Chaka's fancy was a combination of white (imasa) and black (Isisimbula) which mixture, indeed, continued until quite recently to be the pet Zulu colours."¹²⁵

The writer is clearly unaware that this is much more than a Zulu colour. This is the danger of the absence of regional correlation of research that I alluded to much earlier in this book. Look at the photograph below:

Illustrations: next pages

In every case, the colour combination is black/white. This is nothing but the same Hungwe material. More than this, the shields of the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana are black and white. It is not that black cattle with white patches predominated in their regions. To all of them, this is a symbolic colour representing the colour of the Hungwe bird which is their national symbol.

Here again, Chaka's outfit when he was visited by King and Fynn in October 1925, is very revealing:-

"Carrying in his left hand a large oval ox-hide shield, 4 feet long and snow-white of colour, tempered by a single deep-black spot, and in his left (this should be in his right) a polished assegai, Chaka proudly advanced to meet his visitors,"¹²⁶ (King and Fynn).

Here again the colour of the shield is black and white. Here again, Chaka is only representative of a much wider community. In other words, the black/white Hungwe combination is as dominant in Azania and Botswana as it is in Zimbabwe. This is a legacy of the Kalanga.

The Karanga have bequeathed to Zimbabwe far more than we can see and recognize. One of them is certainly Khoisan blood and there is far more of it in our veins than we appreciate. I have already pointed out that the first Bantu people to settle in the interior of Zimbabwe were the Tonga people who were known by the tribal name VADAU; I added that these people were



Figure No. 41: Xhosa Intonjane Dance

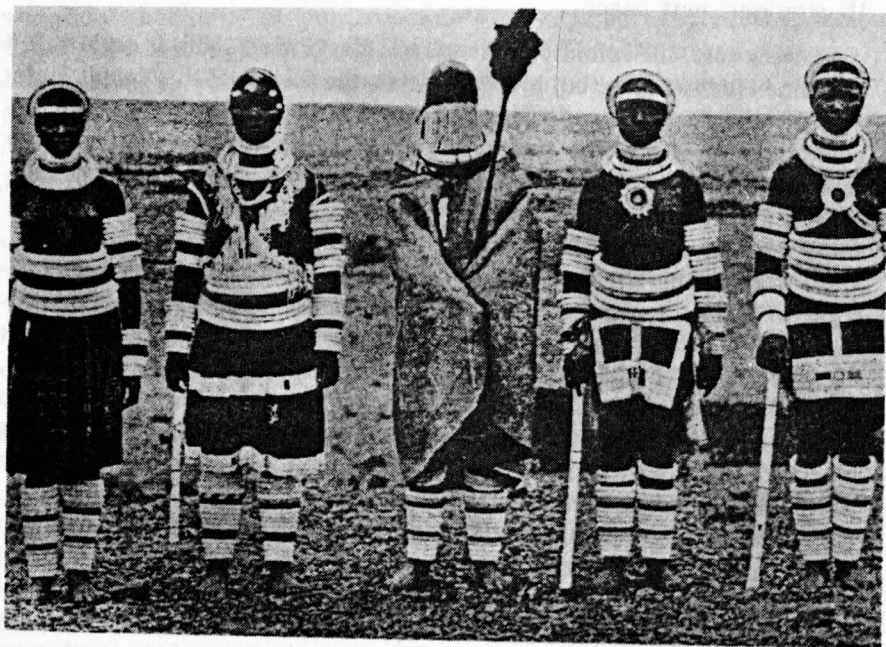


Figure No. 42: Xhosa girls



Figure No. 43: Elangeni girls



Figure No. 44:
Hlubi Warrior

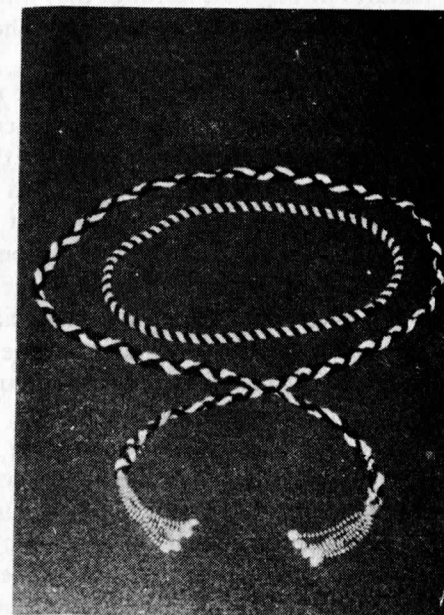


Figure No. 45
Simple Hungwe beads

scattered in small families and were a minority. The result must be that they acquired Khoisan women and through them, their descendants acquired Khoisan features. Through the same channels they also acquired Khoisan linguistic traits such as the clicks. When the Karanga arrived some-where around the ninth century, they intermingled not only with the Tonga hybrids but also with the remnants of the Khoisan people proper. No doubt some of these people drifted to the south and west to run away from the Karanga newcomers. Possibly some were exterminated. But the general belief that the Khoisan people were driven out of this country en masse does not hold water. Examination of the physical features of the Tswana, Xhosa, Suthu and Zulus leaves us in no doubt that there is a high density of Khoisan blood in them. But it is wrong to imagine that the absorption of the Khoisan by the Karanga started south of the Limpopo and west of Zimbabwe. Their contacts with the Khoisan people started way up in the north and continued right to the south for they were the vanguards of the Bantu migrants to the south. What we can say is that continuous links with the Khoisan communities continued to replenish Khoisan blood in the Karanga people.

As we are going to see in a later work, the vast majority of the present Shona people are not descendants of the Karanga but of the Mutapas who arrived somewhere in the eleventh century. These more recent newcomers found the Khoisan communities either already absorbed by the Karanga or driven to the south and west. They themselves acquired Khoisan blood and features through the Karanga they intermarried with. It is indeed significant that to this day, junior wives in a Shona polygamous marriage are known as VAKARANGA i.e. the karanga. This means that the vast majority of the junior wives of the Mutapas were recruited from the Karanga community. In fact, we have already come across a Mbire-Nyai a decree that none of their descendants were to marry their senior wives from their Karanga predecessors. But they could have as many junior Karanga women as they pleased. The result was that the vast majority of their junior women were of Karanga stalk and for this reason, the junior wives became known as VAKARANGA, the very name of the tribe from which they were recruited.

But these very Karanga women had acquired a lot of Khoisan blood. Through them, the descendants of the Mutapas acquired Khoisan blood and features. Through them, they also acquired Khoisan words. Look across the breadth of Mashonaland and see the variety of faces, shapes, complexions and heights the province has in store for you. You will come across typical Khoisan features and near-Khoisan complexions. This is not an accident but was determined by history. But, as already pointed out, the majority of the ancestors of the present Shona people had no direct links with Khoisan communities. These traits were bequeathed to them by the Karanga people who had direct links with the Khoisan people. What Bryant says of the Nguni south of the Limpopo is very true of the Karanga north of that river:-

"With these homeless and lawless Bushman hunters our pre-Nguni remnant now came into contact to an extent and intensity never experienced before. ... the Nguni speech, through the now greater number of captured Bushman slave-girls, became adulterated with Bushman sounds and words to a degree unknown on the Limpopo."¹²⁷

Throughout the contacts from the beginning to the end, the adulteration was not confined to the language but extended to the physical features i.e. to the blood itself. Thus the Karanga, through their earlier contacts with the Khoisan people, have determined much of our physical appearances today and this has become a permanent feature of us. This is an important aspect of our Karanga heritage.

Furthermore, the Mutapas did not destroy the east coast trade. Instead, they expanded it and built their own culture on it. Gold mining and iron ore mining expanded. Elephant hunting also grew. New items such as the ndoro and other sea shells of value to the Mutapas became important items of the trade. Although Vasco da Gama did havoc to the Moor trade from 1498, the Portuguese took very long to destroy the trade. Even when they did, they replaced it with their own and foreign trade of some sort continued up to the advent of colonialism. This was pioneered by the Karanga and had an important impact on this country. It may well have been the pillar upon which the Mutapa Empire centred around Great Zimbabwe grew and expanded. It may be that civilization would not have been able to reach the zenith it did without that trade.

The Karanga heritage is manifested in more than the Hungwe beads and materials. Today, part of the national emblem of the Republic of Zimbabwe is the Hungwe Bird commonly known as the Zimbabwe Bird. This bird has remained a mystery to both scholars and politicians alike until we started to reveal its significance after independence. It remained a mystery because the foreign scholars tried to sort out Zimbabwean history abstracted from Zimbabwean culture and traditions. No one tried to delve below the surface to discover the ethnic structure of the Zimbabwean Africans. If only some had done so, they would easily have discovered that there is a whole community in this country symbolized by a bird and whose second tribal name is the name of that bird. Examine the position of the birds as they were stationed at Great Zimbabwe and you will find that they faced east, the direction from which the Kwena Kalanga people came. Examine the column on which the birds perch and you will discover that a crocodile is carved on it. The people represented by the bird are Kwena (crocodile) by mutupo; they are Hungwe by nationality. Inevitably, we find the Hungwe Bird combined with the crocodile to emphasize the Dziva identity of the Kalanga people they represent.

Illustration No. 46: next page



Figure No. 46:

Combined Hungwe Bird and the crocodile emphasizing the Dziva identity. The discs between them could well symbolize the sun

That they should be stationed at Great Zimbabwe, the national capital of the new Mutapa masters of the country was strictly in accordance with African tradition. The Karanga ancestors "tamed" Zimbabwe. The new masters had to "live in peace with the ancestors of those who tamed the land". They had to "live in peace with the land". This they could only do by appeasing the ancestors of the Karanga people. The presence of the birds at Great Zimbabwe symbolized a compromise with those ancestors. Today, that bird has become part of our national emblem. Without knowing it, we are continuing to attempt to "live in peace with the Kalanga ancestors who tamed this land". Without knowing it, we are acknowledging the Kwena Karanga people as the Bantu pioneer settlers of this country. That bird is part of the important heritage of the Karanga people.

If you examine what happens at every national cult centre, you will find that the Dziva ancestors are acclaimed together with their Soko conquerors. Here is what Daneel personally witnessed at the Matojeni cult centre at the Matopos: "After we had greeted Mwari with the clapping of hands and loud exclamations of his praise names: Mbedzi! Dziva! Shoko!, Kondo opened the discussion in Chikaranga: 'I am well Shoko and I have come on behalf of Chief Gutu. But these days we have no real Gutu Shoko: the acting chief says where I rule I try my best but there is no true chieftainship at the moment (there is an acting Gutu). So what will I do in such a position? The chief said go to Shoko where you worship and give him these \$4,00.'"¹²⁸

The high spirit being appealed to at Matojeni is a Soko spirit and therefore an ancestor of the Mutapa invaders. Yet exclamations of Mbedzi! Dziva! are made together with Shoko! Mbedzi is Dziva and Kwena and this, we know about already. What they represent here at Matojeni is exactly what the birds represent at Great Zimbabwe. It does not represent religious syncretism in any way. It is all an attempt to appease the ancestors of both the conquerors and the conquered so that they live in peace for the good of all. But there is no reference to Tonga ancestry whatever and this is significant. The Tonga had not tamed the country by the time the Dziva people arrived.

The Karanga influenced the invaders in more ways than we can recognize. Their language influenced ours as much as ours influenced theirs. The Karanga were politically and militarily defeated but they were not culturally defeated in the way they themselves culturally overwhelmed the Tonga. Earlier on, we came across the word mukaranga as applied to junior wives for the reason that the majority of the junior wives of the Mutapas and their descendants were recruited from the defeated Karangas. By virtue of this, the name mukaranga has caught on permanently as the name for every junior wife in a polygamous marriage. Here indeed are the Karanga people influencing the language of their conquerors. Not surprisingly, this has been inherited and is in currency to this day.

It is for reasons such as these for which I look upon the Karanga as establishing the earliest foundations of Zimbabwe. There is absolutely nothing like this that can be traced from the Tonga. They left no permanent mark on the culture of Zimbabwe. They were completely swamped by the Karanga. This is not true of the Karanga. Politically and militarily, they were certainly overwhelmed by the Mutapas. But culturally, they maintained their identity and in some respects, actually influenced the culture of their conquerors. This is why on the archaeological record, there is no sudden break between Zimbabwe Period 2 and Zimbabwe Period 3.

Conclusion

This piece of work has far wider implications for African history than for Zimbabwean history. It completely cuts across Greenburg's and Guthrie's theory that the Bantu nuclear area is somewhere between the Cameroons and

Katanga. These Karanga people have no association with the Congo area whatever. They came straight to the south along the east coast and avoided even the East African Great Lakes. Later, we will discover that even their invaders, the Mutapas, have no association with the Congo area either. They however have associations with the lacustrine area of East Africa but only in as far as they passed through it from the north.

Greenburg and Guthrie saw a Bantu diaspora from between the Cameroons and Katanga. The mistake they made was that they looked upon it as the very original Bantu diaspora when in actual fact it was a secondary diaspora. Large segments of the Karanga people migrated to the south along the east coast rather rapidly. Large segments of the Sokos followed them to the south but through the lacustrine area. They proceeded to form powerful empires in the south and those empires blocked the passage of new groups from the north to the south. In the meantime the majority of the Tonga had migrated into the Congo area. It was segments of these that we saw arriving in Zambia around 100 A.D. and in Zimbabwe between 300 and 400 A.D. More of their segments migrated into Angola. As powerful kingdoms were formed south of the Congo area, it was not possible for the communities still in the Congo region to all migrate to the south. Earlier, we saw storms in the Congo in 1701 of former cousins tearing each other to pieces and fighting for supremacy. These fights, you can be sure, had reverberations in all lands bordering the Congo. Communities must have been shunted to the south, south-east, east and even north. Some of their splinters ended up in Malawi and others in East Africa. But this was not the first Bantu diaspora as Greenburg and Guthrie tend to believe. The fragments that, for instance, came to Malawi from the Congo area did so after the Karanga and the Soko Mbire were already south of the Zambezi River. This is something both Greenburg and Guthrie never seem to have suspected. Examine the Congo area and you will find that it was and is still heavily dominated by Bantu people of Tonga origin. The Karanga and the Sokos are a small minority and are later migrants to the region. Greenburg and Guthrie have to look elsewhere for the original Bantu nuclear area.

This work stresses the absolute need of attaching importance to the study of African traditions and customs. Most historians tend to look upon this as the task of the anthropologist and not theirs. This is fine for as long as such historians do not touch ancient African history.

For as long as they have interest in ancient African history, they have no way of avoiding African traditions and customs if they want to make a real headway. African history is enshrined in those traditions and customs which we do not normally pay attention to. There is no tradition that starts from nothing. Later generations may not know the origins of some of their practices but you can be sure that every tradition has historical origin. It is those origins that we must dig back to and in digging them up, we will inevitably unearth a lot of ancient African history.

The black historians must accept responsibility for our failure to unravel our ancient history. Most of them adopted the posture of white historians and frowned on the customs and traditions of their ancestors. They saw nothing significant in them and assigned them to the museum exactly in the way the foreign scholar did. In doing this, they assigned their ancient history to the museum as well. Attaching importance to African customs and traditions does not mean practising them. This is the essential difference the African historian does not seem to see. He may be sophisticated. I am not saying that you should value African traditions and customs. I am saying that you should appreciate that those customs and traditions were highly valued by old Africa and have historical significance. The white scholar is foreign to the system and must take longer to see the historical significance of these practices. This is not or this should not be the case with the black historian if he is also black in culture and mental attitudes. It should be his duty to point out to his white counterpart that there is something of historical value in this practice and that. If he does not, he is only letting down all Africa.

The need to go across international boundaries can not be overstressed. The existing international boundaries have done much to distort our history. What we have seen across the Limpopo and across the Transvaal-Botswana border makes it very clear that cross-border history is an absolute necessity. The Tswana can not remember their history beyond Masilo; the Transvaal Kwena can not remember their history beyond Marungudzi Hill just north of the Limpopo. Yet in Zimbabwe, Kwena history can be traced to the east coast. It should be realized that even if some communities were not related by blood, their exploits had repercussions on all the others in their region. Noone lived in a vacuum and whatever each community did, had reverberations on all its neighbours. The present colonial boundaries have created a high degree of ethnocentrism that tends to distort African history and it will need a lot of effort to persuade the African mind to see that history in a new light. People who were closely related hardly two hundred years ago have been presented as totally foreign to each other. Here and there, only marriage relationships have been highlighted. Junior segments have been presented as the parent-dynasties and this inverted history has been drummed down the throats of innocent students. To reverse it now calls for a lot of effort and headaches.

I want once more to stress the significance of Southern Africa in revealing the ancient ethnic structure of the continent. There is no other sector of the continent that is like it. Because noone can pinpoint the original Bantu nuclear area and trace the lines of migration outwards, our only alternative is to get hold of the threads at the other end and retrace them backwards. There is no region in Africa that gives us those ends as clearly as does Southern Africa. It is easy for some historians to describe what I have committed to paper here as radical. But the truth may only be that we were conditioned

to a picture that was upside down. We got so used to looking at it in that position and we became convinced it was normal. When you turn the picture the right way up, everybody sees it as abnormal. It sounds most absurd today to call a Xhosa man Kalanga; a Ndebele man may feel like slaughtering me if I call him Dziva. Yet I am right because their ancestries are Kalanga and Dziva in spite of the fact that it sounds absurd to the modern ear. If this is possible, what is not possible?

Maybe, the most significant development for our purposes here is that for over one thousand and two hundred years, 99 per cent of the Kalanga people have maintained their Dziva identity. In Zimbabwe, we can single out no more than the Mutoko Budya dynasty and its segment, the Makoni Nyati Shonga dynasty as the only ones that abandoned their Dziva identity and picked on land animals for their mutupo. All the others have segmented and segmented over again each time picking up a new dynastic mutupo but all the time associated with water. The Suthu and Tswana have stuck to their original Kwena mutupo. This is a remarkable development. The foreign scholar tends to think that the Africans are casual about their choice of mutupos. But this is far from being the case. They are flexible and in theory can change the mutupo almost at will but the new mutupo must be picked from a particular compartment. That flexibility is therefore limited and it is this feature of the system that enables us to trace back the existing African dynasties to their original three Great Bantu Families. It is indeed very significant that you can not find a single dynasty descending from the Mutapa Masters of the Land which has picked on a mutupo associated with water. The system is tightly compartmentalized whether this is by intuition or wilful decision. The original Masters of the Water have remained so to this day. Likewise, the original Master of the Land have also remained so to this day. Serious note of this should be taken.

From this piece of work, it is apparent that a man with ten wives in old Africa when land was still plentiful, had at least ten potential dynasties likely to emerge from his seed, assuming that every one of his wives gave him at least one son. In extreme cases, such as we saw of the Tswana, three or four sons of the same wife were the beginnings of three or four new dynasties. In other words every ambitious son could start off his own dynasty which, soon after crystallization, in turn started to segment.

All that he needed to do was to win the support of a sizeable number of men to follow him with their own families. He then hived off and settled a fair distance away from his nearest ruling brother or cousin and in that way established himself as chief or sub-chief. For as long as land was plentiful, every son of a chief could end up as a chief if he chose to become one. But a time came when the density of population was great and shortage of land became a reality. It then became dangerous to hive off in small pockets because you ran the risk of being swallowed up by a more powerful neighbour. Security lay in consolidating your dynasty and making it more and more

powerful vis-a-vis your neighbours. This is apparently the situation that had developed in the Natal area by 1800. But this stage had not been reached in Botswana where the Khoisan people to the south and west could still be pushed off at will as we saw in the period before 1820. This is important to enable the reader to visualize how rapidly the African families on their way to the "vacant" south rapidly segmented and fragmented each time occupying more and more territory. The reader should also note that the majority of the dynastic names were invariably derived from the names of the ancestors who established those dynasties. Therefore, the fact that dynasties have different names does not necessarily mean they were unrelated a hundred or two hundred years back. This has become a source of great confusion in our circles but it should not be, given all this background.

This book helps to answer a major question many Africans ask: why are the South African Freedom Fighters calling their country AZANIA? Surely, nationalists do not pick names from anywhere, for as long as those names sound sweet, and give them to their independent countries! Ancient Azania has been part of north-east Africa. Part of the East African coast has even been called the Azanian coast before it developed into what the Arabs called the Zanj Empire. From this discussion, the Kalanga were the first Bantu people to associate with the coast. Therefore, the Azanian coastal settlers must have been segments of the Kalanga people. But the coast was called the Azanian coast very likely because it had been settled, in the first place, by Bantu people from Azania further in the interior of north-east Africa. This suggests that those interior Azanians were themselves Kalanga. This means that whilst South Africa has traditionally never been called Azania, the ancestors of the South African Bantu have been Azanians way back in north-east Africa. That they have dared to call their country by this ancient name must be a result of lingering memories that their ancestors were the ancient Azanians. Now that we are aware of the region from which the ancestors of the Kalanga people came, we have no reason to doubt that they have been part and parcel of the old Azanian Empire.

In fact, the South Africans have a number of names to choose from for their future republic. Azania is one and they have no reason for changing it. They could call their future republic something like KALANGIA for they are indeed Kalanga; they could call it something like ZANJIA or ZENJIA, for their ancestors were indeed the founders of the Zanj Empire. I would say that the Azanian nationalists have been very clever to look for a name that brackets them together traditionally rather than one associated with the Nguni or Kwena alone and therefore, a name that has tribalistic connotations. They could even call their country HUNGWE and themselves Hungweans for they have indeed all been Hungwe. They could also call it ZIBA or DZIVA or SIZIBA for they have all been Dziva and are still so to this day. The idea is not necessarily to give the future African republic one of its traditional names but a name relevant to the majority of the present in-

habitants. Azania is of relevance to all the South African Bantu and they are the dominant element in the country. Let us examine this issue from the linguistic angle. The Bushman and Hottentot languages are Khoisan; the Kalanga language is Bantu. If indeed the Khoisan people were the first to settle in the area south of the Zambezi River and if the Kalanga were the first Bantu people to settle in the same area, then we expect the highest degree of intermingling between them. That intermingling must be reflected in the languages spoken by the present descendants of the ancient Kalanga people. If there is no trace of this, there could be something wrong with the hypothesis I am here postulating. Alternatively, it could be that the two communities did not intermingle — which is impossible — but that the Khoisan people just deserted to the south on the arrival of the Kalanga and avoided contacts with them.

The most prominent feature of the Khoisan language is the click and this is why it is sometimes called "the Clicking Language". Examine the Nguni, Suthu and Tswana languages and you will find that they are all unique in the region south of the Zambezi River. But what makes them unique is the click alone. In all other respects, they are Bantu. That the clicks were borrowed from the Khoisan people has never been doubted. But why in all Southern Africa should it only be these communities descending from a Kalanga ancestry that acquired the clicks? This is so because the majority of the Shona and the Mozambiquans arrived in the region south of the Zambezi River after the Khoisan people had either been absorbed or driven to the south and west by the Kalanga. They had no direct contacts with them and could not influence each other's language. The position between the Kalanga and the Khoisan people was very different. In fact, when the Boers appeared on the Azanian scene, the Tswana, Suthu and Nguni were still in touch with the Khoisan people and the intermingling was going on still. The Tswana are still very much in touch with them and the intermingling can not be said to have come to a halt. This too is not an accident but was determined by history. In short the Kalanga acquisition of Khoisan linguistic traits is in itself further evidence that the Kalanga people were the first Bantu people to settle in the region south of the Zambezi.

Let us take this intermingling a step further. The intermingling can not be linguistic without also being physical. The Khoisan people have prominent physical features; the bantu have features distinct from those of the Khoisan. To single out some of the prominent Khoisan physical features, they are copperish or orangish in complexion i.e. they are lighter-skinned than the Bantu. They have prominent and high cheekbones. They have the characteristic known as *steatopaegia* which is an enormous accumulation of fat around the buttocks and thighs and specially conspicuous in their women. They have teeth that stand out in singles (leaving gaps between each other) and are not closely packed together. Their hair stands out in separate tufts.

If you travel from the western border of Botswana to the east towards Mozambique, you will find that the African complexion gets darker and darker with distance to the east.

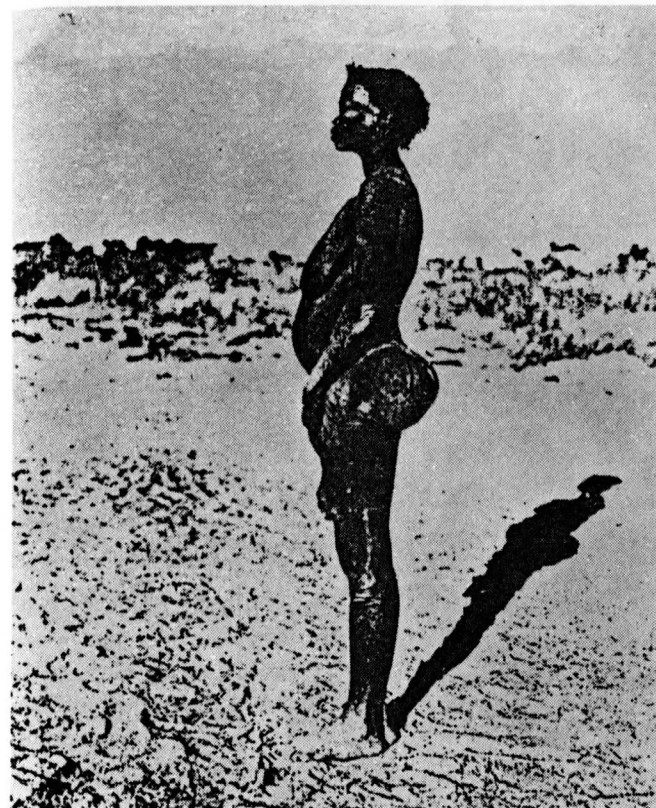


Figure No. 47: San Woman

Admittedly, Mozambique has odd cases but arising from intermingling with the Portuguese. Again, if you travel from the southern tip of Africa towards the Zambezi, you will find the African complexion getting darker with distance to the north. In other words, the Africans in the south and west are lighter and those to the east and north are darker. Many historians and anthropologists have tended to dismiss this as a result of latitude but this is far from it. There are Africans in the Transkei or Zululand who are as dark as any you can find in Zambia or Malawi. The complexion was determined by proximity or otherwise to the Khoisan communities and is an indication of a high degree of intermingling between the Kalanga in the south and west with Khoisan communities. If it were latitude alone in operation, the Africans in Botswana would not be generally lighter than those in Zimbabwe because the two are in the same latitude.

The Tswana, Suthu and Xhosa women are prominent by their big thighs which are typical of Khoisan thighs. Examine them closely and you will also find that they have triangular faces and high cheekbones. Their teeth also tend to stand out in singles. In other words, as you travel from Zimbabwe to the west, Khoisan physical features increasingly become more conspicuous.

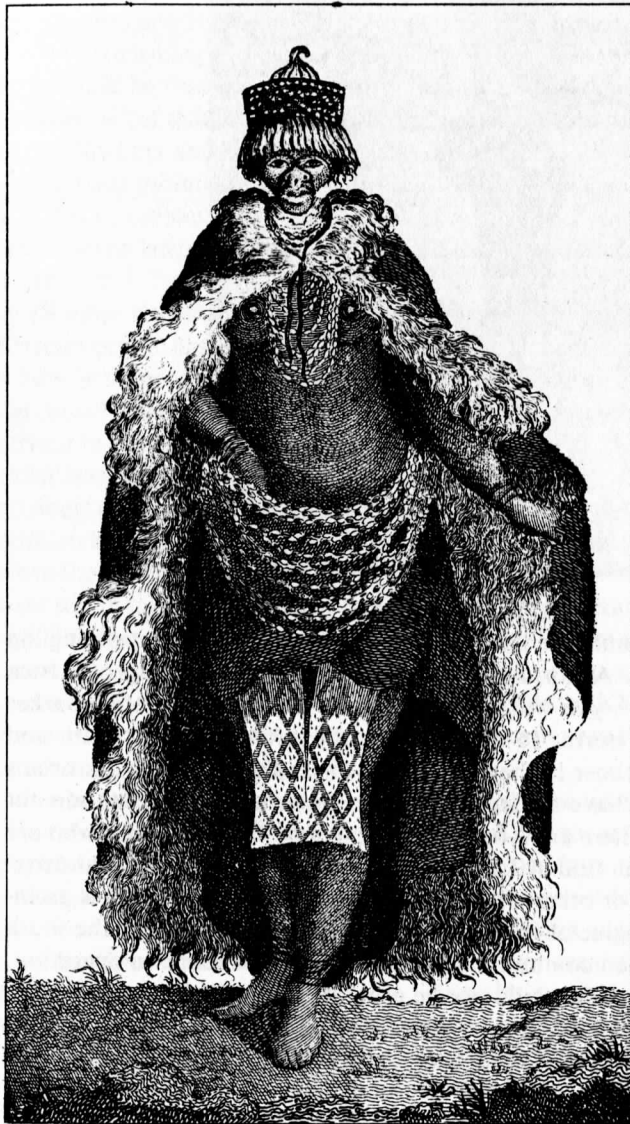


Figure No. 48: Khoikhoi Woman



Figure No. 49: San Men

But as you also travel from Zimbabwe towards the south, the same features also become conspicuous among the Bantu. This too is not an accident but was determined by history. It indicates who settled here first and who came in next.

Lastly, let us conclude this chapter by examining a map that sums up the archaeological record of Central and Southern Africa.

Mozambique is almost totally blank. This does not suggest absence of Bantu settlements. It is a result of lack of archaeological work. From Ptolemy's and Masudi's documents, there is no doubt that the whole coastal belt was occupied by Africans. The basis of the whole east coast Moor trade were the Africans along the coast. What is interesting is that the archaeological record of the whole eastern belt of Africa registers one culture called KWALE by archaeologists. No Bantu people have ever associated with Botswana but the Kwenas who are part of the Kalanga complex. No Bantu people have ever associated with the Transvaal and Orange Free State but the Suthus who are also Kwenas and are part of the Kalanga complex. But the culture reflected archaeologically in these Tswana and Suthu regions in the Early Iron Age is also the one reflected in Zimbabwe and the whole eastern belt of Africa right up to Kenya. In short, the ancestry of the Tswana and Suthu is also the ancestry of the Early Iron Age settlers in Zimbabwe and all Eastern Africa. But we now know that that ancestry is Kalanga and Dziva. Therefore, even archaeology proves beyond any doubt that the Kalanga people were the earliest Bantu people to settle in regions south of the Zambezi River.

Look at the map below again and you will easily see the validity of my argument that the Early Iron Age Bantu migrated to the south in two streams

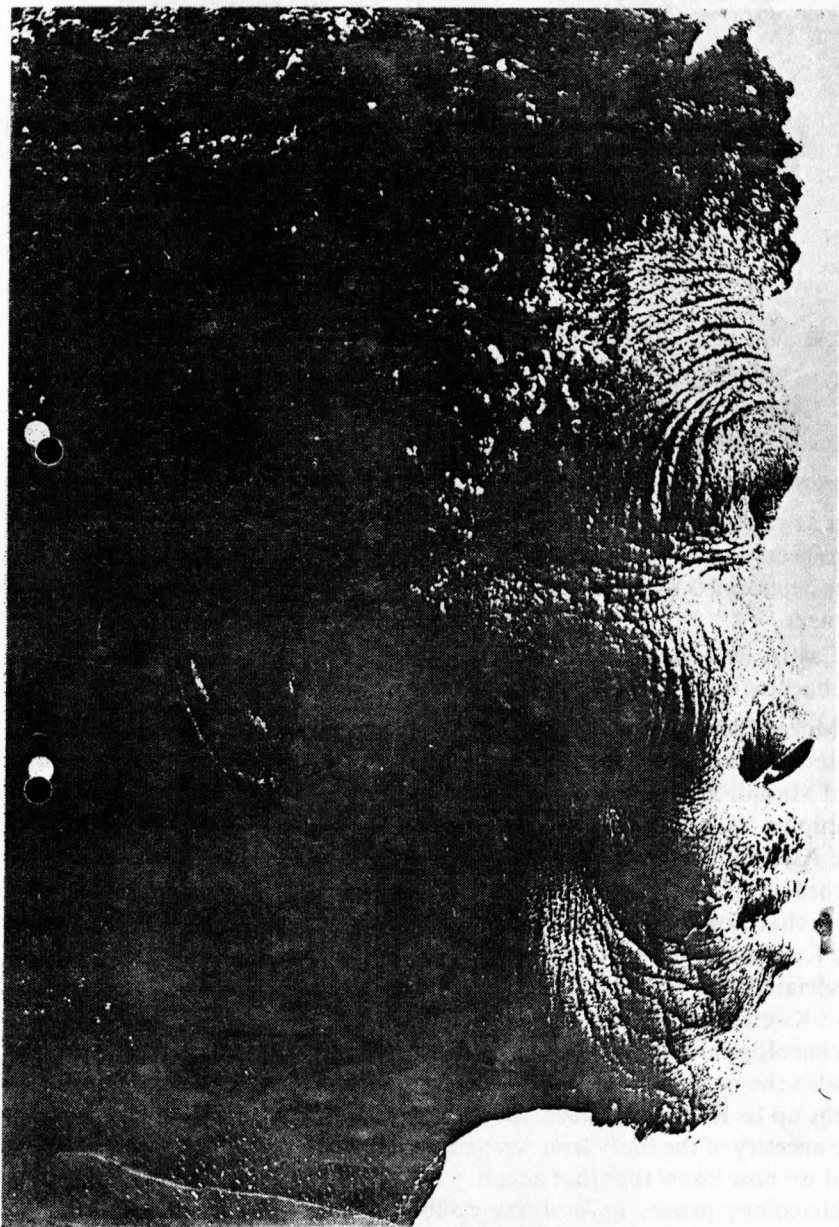


Figure No. 50: San Profile

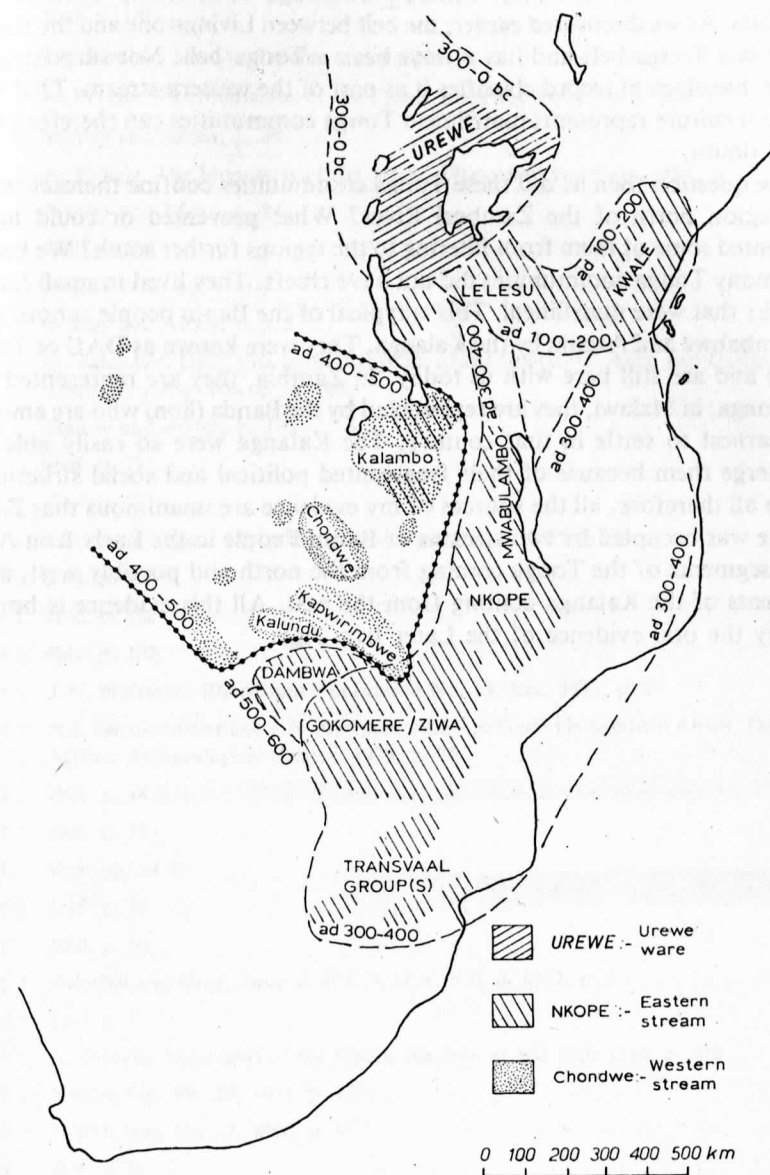


Figure 51: Early Iron Age Archaeological Map

— eastern and western. The culture represented by the western stream is different. The pottery of that western region is known to have been made by men and not women. Some of the men in Angola still make pottery to this day. But such men are only members of Tonga or formerly Tonga communities. As we discovered earlier, the belt between Livingstone and the Kafue River is a Tonga belt and has always been a Tonga belt. Not surprisingly, the archaeological record classifies it as part of the western stream. That this western culture represents matrilineal Tonga communities can therefore not be in doubt.

The question then is: did these Tonga communities confine themselves to the region north of the Zambezi River? What prevented or could have prevented some of them from filtering to the regions further south? We know that many Tonga communities did not have chiefs. They lived in small family units that were matrilineal. This is typical of the Bantu people submerged in Zimbabwe and Azania by the Kalanga. They were known as DAU or TAU (lion) and are still here with us today. In Zambia, they are represented by the Tonga; in Malawi, they are represented by the Banda (lion) who are among the earliest to settle in that country. The Kalanga were so easily able to submerge them because of their fragmented political and social structure. All in all therefore, all the sources of my evidence are unanimous that Zimbabwe was occupied by two streams of Bantu People in the Early Iron Age with segments of the Tonga coming from the north and possibly west, and segments of the Kalanga coming from the east. All this evidence is borne out by the oral evidence of the Later Iron Age.

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