

CHIMANIMANI MANAGEMENT PLAN

APPENDIX 1

THE HUMAN POPULATION: HISTORY, CULTURE, LAND USE AND TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES

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1. Introduction

This appendix is based on the original Appendix 3 of the management plan compiled by the late Richard Bell and his work is acknowledged. It has been considerably revised and several the appendix parts have been considerably modified, mainly because the present writer had access to information that was not available to Richard Bell when he wrote the original management plan. Much of Richard Bell's information came from informants in the Mahate area, which may not always apply the whole of the ChNR, for example he stressed the links between the population of the ChNR with Mutema and the Sanga state in Zimbabwe, while this might be true in the case of Mahate, it is not with the remainder of the ChNR. In addition, much of what Bell wrote about the hierarchy of traditional rulers is not always correct in Chimanimani and has been amended.

The reasons for including this appendix on the history and status of the human population are as follows:

- a) The problems confronting the natural resources of the project area are primarily of human origin. Therefore, the sustainable management of natural resources is essentially an issue of human governance. The term governance here is used in the sense that it involves the relationship of people to their use, benefit and management of the resources.
- b) Any modification of these aspects of governance must be based on the existing distribution of population, its patterns of land use and its cultural and political practices.
- c) To plan for the future governance of the people of the area, then, we must be thoroughly familiar with the present system of governance and with its historical origins and trends.
- d) In addition, the culture, history and traditions of the people of Chimanimani are, in themselves, assets of great value. They play a part in shaping the lives of each generation and in regulating their relationships with their environment, the government and with other communities. They also hold significant economic potential as a tourism asset, if made use of in sensitive ways.

The present consultancy, and that of Richard Bell, did not allow for an in-depth analysis of past and present governance patterns in the Chimanimani project area. The present account is, therefore, a summary of existing information supplemented by interviews with, or statements by, community leaders other stakeholders and officials carried out during the present consultancy and that of Richard Bell. Any

conclusions presented here should be treated as preliminary and subject to correction and/or expansion.

We believe that it will be of great importance to build into the management plan a component for on-going research into the past and present governance of the people of the area, their history and culture. Recognizing that this analysis must include the roles of all stakeholders, including

- “Communities”;
- government and reserve staff at all levels especially the project and the fiscais;
- The private sector
- NGOs and donors;

Following on from this social research is required and should form the basis for negotiation with the communities and other stakeholders in Chimanimani during the process of developing properly constituted committees — *Comités de Gestão* — through which to regulate resource use. Of particular importance will be the details of local patterns of leadership, decision making, tenure over land and resources and distribution of rights of access to and benefits from the land and resources. These details should be reflected in any constitution developed.

2. Towards a History of the People of Chimanimani

2.1 *Late Stone Ages and pre history*

Khoisan, or Busman, hunter-gatherer people inhabited the Chimanimani area for several thousand years up until the first millennium. They have left excellent examples of their rock art in caves in the ChNR, as well as on the Zimbabwe National Park Chimanimani. More research is required in the locations and the cataloguing of these sites. Khoisan people remained the dominant population of the ChNR and the buffer zone until the arrival of Bantu-speaking peoples about the beginning of the first millennium.

There are many of these sites within the project area. For example, caves and rock shelters with rock paintings are known from the high Chimanimani plateaux, the Chikukwa Ferreira and from rock outcrops between Mavita and Rotanda. Information on these sites should be collated as part of the historical analysis and their potential as tourism assets assessed.

2.2 *Chifumbazi Tradition (or Early Iron Age)*

At about the beginning of the first millennium there was migration of people into the area. They were farmers, who manufactured iron and copper utensils and cultivated sorghum, millet, peas, and groundnuts. They also kept some cattle, sheep and goats. Archaeologists refer to the culture of these peoples as the Chifumbazi tradition (also known as Early Iron Age.) This pottery tradition, or *facies* of it, has been found all over South East and Central Africa. They appear to have absorbed and replaced the early Khoisan people and may have lived alongside them as pottery linked to them has been found associated with rock art in caves and rock overhangs just to the north of the ChNR, at Chinhambudzi, near the Zonue River in Manica District. . There probably also entered into a client relationship with the Bantu-speakers.

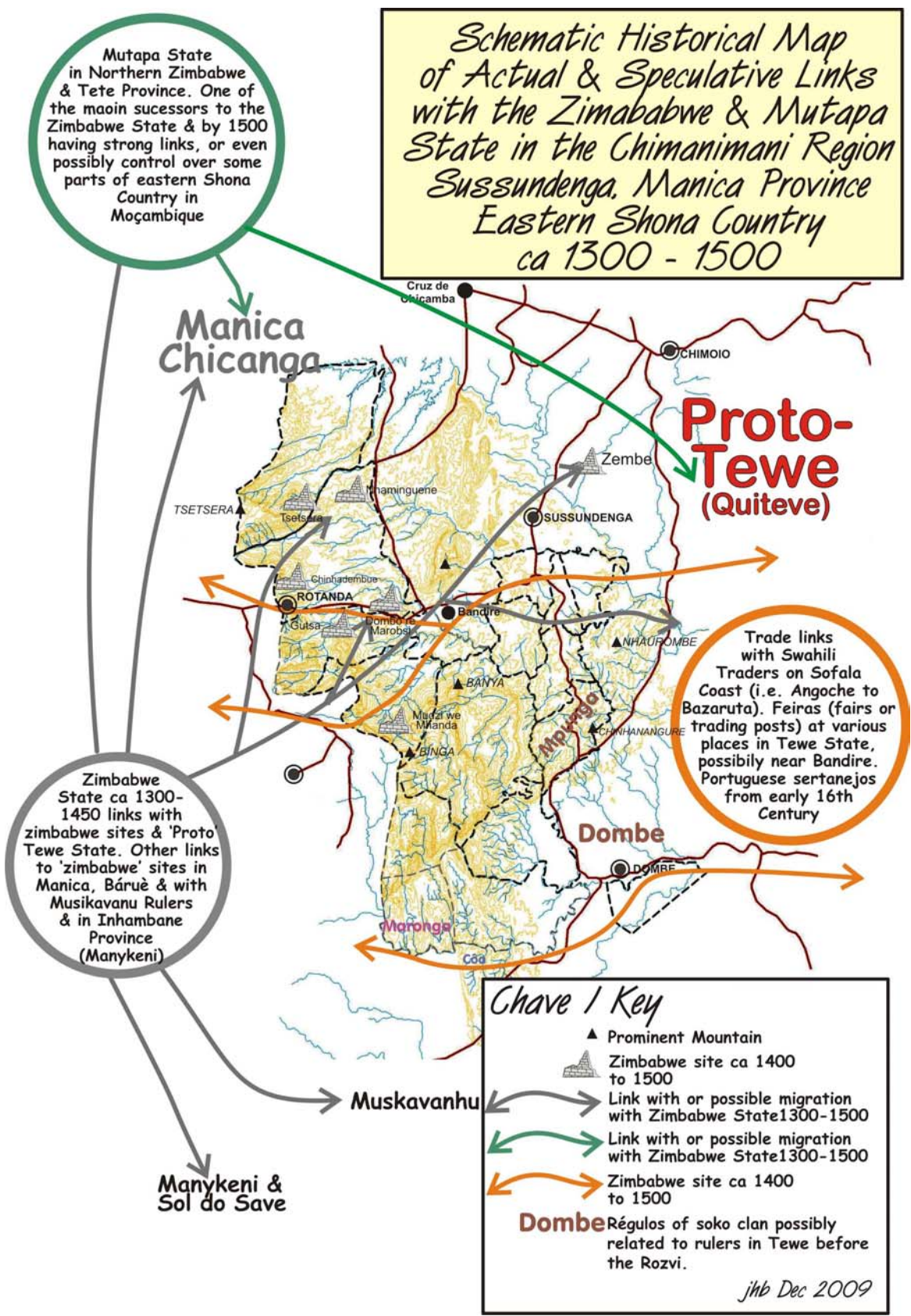
The exact ethnic identity of the Chifumbazi people is not entirely clear. There is a definite link between them the spread of the Bantu Languages across east and southern Africa. The exact details of this are still the subject of considerable discussion and speculation amongst and between historians and archaeologists; nonetheless they must have been in part ancestral to the present people of the area and adjoining parts of south east and Central Africa.

2.2.1 *The beginnings of long distance Trade*

There are several known sites of ancient ports along the coast between Angoche, north of the Zambezi to the Bazaruta Archipelago. This coast was collectively known as the Sofala Coast. Several ports were visited by Arab and Swahili Merchants who traded in gold, ivory, slaves. The ports that would have had contact with the Tewe (Quiteve) State were Zambezi Delta ports, Sofala itself just south of the present day Beira, Chiloane between the later and the Save mouth and Mambone on the mouth of the Save.

Gold mining, in one form or another has been carried out there from sometime in the second half the 1st millennium and exported to the Indian Ocean. Al'Masudi wrote in the tenth century that gold was being exported from the Sofala Coast, which lies some hundred and fifty kilometres to the south east of Bandire, which was the principal gold mining centre near Chimanimani in the pre colonial era. There are several other references to the Sofala region in the following centuries when the East African Swahili state of Kilwa gained control over the Sofala coast and the gold trade between the Moçambican and Zimbabwean interiors.

The gold from Zimbabwe would have carried through the various passes along the chains of mountains that now separate Zimbabwe and Moçambique. It would then be taken down the Revue Lucite and Búzi River to Sofala and other centres along the Sofala Coast by carriers. This would take about a week to ten days journey by foot. From an early time the gold was exchanged from glass beads and Indian cloth. Much of the gold went to India and some to the Middle East; this continued in the early Portuguese period as they required gold to pay the Indian and Swahili merchants for the Indian pepper that they wanted to ship to Portugal and other European centres.



Map 1. Chimanimani ca 1300 - 1500

Table 1 Timeline History of the ChNR Region 1000 BC to 2000

Date / Period	Event
1000 – 0 BC	Late Stone Age Culture rock paintings from this time.
0 – 300 AD	Start of agriculture, Chifumbazi Culture or EIA arrival of Bantu-speaking people.
± 300 AD	Coexistence between LSA and Chifumbazi People or client patron relationship
± 600 AD	Persian Sassanid trade with the east coast and India
±800-900 AD	Start of Arab/Swahili trade on the coast
±950 AD	Al-Mas'udi mentions the land of Sofala from which gold and ivory are exported.
±1273-1331	Abu Al-Fida mentions Sofala and some unidentified places inland
±1200 - 1400	Rise of The Zimbabwe State
±1200 - 1400	Expansion of Zimbabwe Culture into Central and Southern Moçambique
±1300 - 1500	Pro Tewe State Zembe and other Zimbabwe sites constructed
1500	First visit to Sofala by Portuguese — Sancho de Toar
1506	Arrival of Portuguese at Sofala
1573	Invasion of Tewe by Portuguese and possible sighting of Chimanimani Mountains.
1640	Submission of Tewe (Quiteve) to Portuguese
1695	The rise of the Changamire Rozvi sack of Portuguese feira at Manica
Ca 1700	Rozvi conquest of Tewe (ancestors of Muriane) and Sanga (Shiridenga)
Ca 1750	Portuguese involvement in civil wars in Tewe and Zamve (Chimanimani)
1806-31	Portuguese attempts to establish control over Bandire
1827 - 1836	Arrival of Nxaba and conflict between him and the Portuguese and Tewe
Ca 1837	Arrival of Soshangane or Manicusse and defeat of Nxaba by him. Founding of Gaza State.
Ca 1840	Soshangane returns to Bilene on Limpopo from 'Mussapa'
1856	Death of Soshangane

Date / Period	Event
Ca 1863	Muzila gains control over Gaza State after civil war with Mawewe and returns to north to Ndau Country.
1884	Death of Mzila and Ngungunhane becomes King of Gaza after death of Muzila
1886	Portuguese resident appointed to Gaza State.
1889	Ngungunhane moves from Mossurize Chimanimani area to Bilene on the Limpopo
1894 1895	Establishment of Circunscrição Moribane by Sr Campos Santos de established 1896
1895	Defeat of Ngungunhane in Gaza Province by Portuguese exiled to Azores
1896	Re-establishment of Circunscrição Moribane & submission of Muriane to Portuguese
1899	Moribane becomes a sub circunscrição of Manica sede Chaia initially at Mavita
1899 - 1907	Construction of the Road from Manica to Mavita Chimanimani and Melsetter
Ca 1900	Establishment of HQ of Moribane at 'Ferreira' named after then administrator
Ca 1900	Start of Forced labour mainly collection of wild rubber, and work on opening road
Ca 1907	Moribane Company Establishes estate in Zomba and Paul Bindé in Maronga
1916	Ferreira's report to Geographical Society, Lisbon with details of history régulos. etc
1940	Demise of Moçambique Company its area taken over by Portuguese State
1942	Administrative posts established in Dombe and Mavita under Manica District
1940 - 50s	Sawmills established at Moribane Mavita area
1949	Chimanimani National Park established on Zimbabwe Side
1950	Cotton and wheat production 'encouraged' in Mavita and Dombe Area
1953	<i>Chefe de Posto</i> Mavita reported on the necessity of protection the Chimanimani Mountains on the Moçambican side.
1953	Moribane (Mpunga), Zomba and Maronga gazetted as Forest Reserves, Portaria 8469 of the 22 July 1953
1950s	Carvalho establishes farm on Tsetsera
1960s	Expansion of system of cantinheiros in the Dombe and Mavita area

Date / Period	Event
1969	Cooperation between Moçambique and Rhodesia over wildfires. conservation and veterinary control in Chimanimani area established.
1974	Report by Dutton and Dutton recommend establishment of a ' <i>Zona de Vigelância</i> ' in the Chimanimani Highland and Serra Macute
1975	National Independence Establishment of Frelimo Government
1977 - 80	Zimbabwe Independence Struggle and Rhodesian Raids in Chimanimani Area. Bridges across the Lucite and Mussapa destroyed by Rhodesians.
1977 - 80	<i>Adeias Comunaís</i> established Rotanda and Dombe
1980	Zimbabwe Independence
Ca 1980s	Intensification of Renamo insurgency in the Chimanimani area and destruction of infrastructure and bridges by them. Large numbers of people become refugees in neighbouring countries or <i>deslocados</i> within Moçambique.
Ca 1991	Partial ceasefire in the main Beira Corridor but Dombe and Darue area fall to Renamo, Dombe briefly retaken but falls again.
A991	1 st GEF (Global Environmental Found of the World Bank) Preparatory Missions for a Transfrontier National Parks and Institutional Strengthening Project, in late 1991
1992	<i>Accorda de Roma</i> _ Rome Accors — ceasefire and demobilisation
1992 1993	Serious drought and famine much of Moribane Forest burnt.
1994 - 1997	<i>Chimwenje</i> armed bandits operating in the Zomba Mahate area with incursions into Darue and near Dombe.
1994	Feasibility study of TFCA was carried out by Dr John Hatton and Mr Aurelio Rocha
1995 1996	<i>Centro de Experimentação Florestal (CEF)</i> started work in Moribane Forest.
1999	Chimanimani TFCA enlarged to include Tsetsera Plateau and Moribane Forest.
	CEFE Moribane
2003	1 st Management Plan by the late Richard Bell — not implemented.

Table 1. Timeline Chimanimani 1

Not all those far from Chimanimani are the old workings of Bandire and others in the vicinity of Mavita (Muoha) which have been worked from ancient times. These together with Nhaoxo (Nhamatanda lower Muda Valley and southern Gorongosa) are amongst the nearest mines to the Sofala Coast and would have become involved with the trade. As this area are probably the nearest gold bearing areas to the coast and could have been the first to have become involved in the coastal gold trade in the region.

2.3 *The rise of the Shona states*

The Zimbabwe state, centred on Great Zimbabwe, reached its apogee in the 13th and 14th centuries. It appears that there were several migrations from the Zimbabwe state and resulting in the founding of several cadet states in both Moçambique and Zimbabwe. The best known of these is of course the Mutapa state in what is now northern Zimbabwe and the Tewe State (Quiteve) in Moçambique, partly within and just to the east of the Chimanimani National Reserve. These were all Shona-speaking states, though the term Shona did not then exist and early Portuguese records always refer to them as Karanga.

A number of these states were nearby, for example Sanga on the Southern Chimanimani Highlands (mainly in Zimbabwe), and the Chipinge Mossurize areas, Tewe an enormous state that, in its apogee covered most of the land between the Búzi and the Púnguè, and Manica in the north. While it is known that these basically Shona, the exact identity of their rulers is unclear, with the possible exception of Sanga, which may have been ruled by the Musikavanhu dynasty at an earlier stage. The reasons for this are that all the ruling lineages were replaced in the course of the late 17th and 18th centuries. (See following sections and Map)

However, we can speculate that as from about the beginning of the second millennium and until the fifteenth century, trade with the coast increased significantly along the Búzi Lucite Valleys and a group of rulers of the vervet monkey totem/clan (*mutupu*) — *shoko* or in Nguni *simango* — gained control of the Búzi Lucite Tanganda trade route as well as the Save Valley Trade Route. The descendants of these rulers are still the rulers in some *regulados* or chieftainships in Dombe and neighbouring districts, for example Dombe and Mpunga in Dombe, Chibabava and Marimba in Chibabava and others in Mossurize and in the Sofala Districts. In geographical terms these rulers still control much of the land along the Lucite and Búzi rivers to the coast.

Other rulers have also been in the region for a long time, for example, *regulos* of the crocodile or pool totem — *munyambo* (Nguni) or *dziva* (Shona) — linked with the

Musikavanhu Ruler were also important and are still found in the Dombe and Mossurize areas, for example Maronga, and Mafusse, Mutowe and Gogoi, who rule south of the Lucite River.

Associated with the earlier Shona are the various *zimbabwe* sites or *rusvingo* with stone walling and platforms. Probably the most important site being on Serra Zembe on the road to Chimanimani from Chimoio. There are other sites on Tsetsera, Serra Chinyadembue just north of the Messambudzi River and near to Régulo Mussimua's village, Dombo re Marodzi on the road between Muoha and Rotanda, several small ruins in the Mavita Bandire area, quite a number of ruins in the Valleys of the Mussapa Pequena and Grande and one reported in the south in the Muoco area. It is quite possible that more of these sites await rediscovery.

Many of the sites are on hill-tops that give a commanding view of the surrounding country and one of their functions could have been the control of trade routes. They normally take the form of low stone walling, which varies from very rough work to well-coursed walls to 1,5m in height. Usually there is a circular outer wall about 40 m in circumference and an inner wall taking the appearance of a platform, though in others just one straight wall remains (Tsetsera and Dombe re Marodzi).

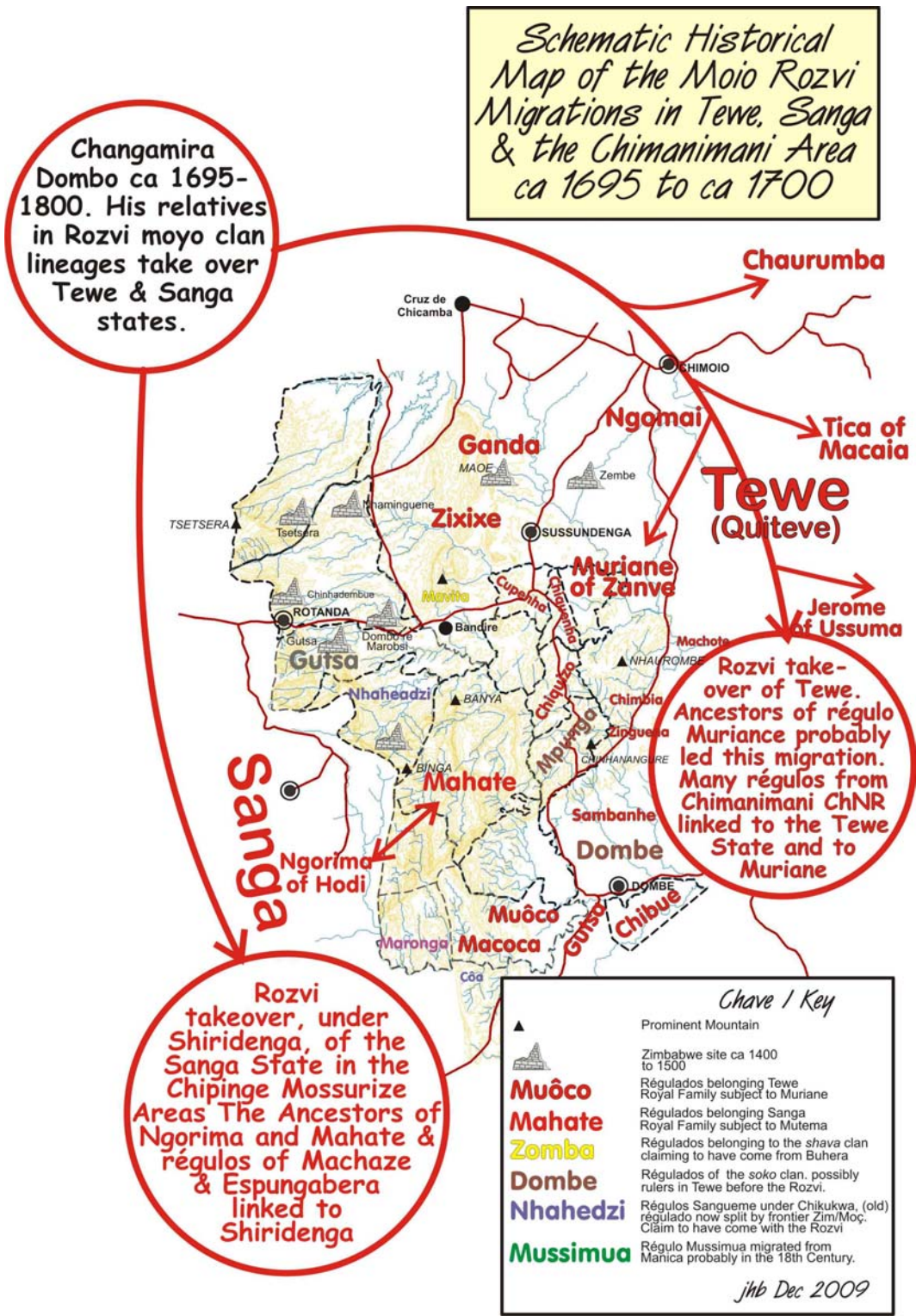
Artefacts and pottery recovered from Zembe and other sites in Manica Province during the colonial era were identified as belong to the Zimbabwe culture. Unfortunately, no archaeological work has been carried out on them for many years and the sites have not been well maintained and looked after. One site was even vandalised by road makers in the buffer zone, large amounts of stone were removed from *Rusvingo* Mudzi-we-mhamba for the construction of culverts on roads etc.

Lengthy accounts of the Tewe (Quiteve) State, its rulers and their customs were recorded by the Dominican Friar João dos Santos, many of which still exist in the Chimanimani area. From dos Santos's account it become quickly obvious that the people of the Tewe state were Shona-speaking and many of their customs resembled those of the Mutapa, which may have had more to do with an inheritance from the Zimbabwe state rather than direct borrowing from the former.

2.4 *The Portuguese mercantilism*

The Portuguese occupied in Sofala in 1506, and shortly afterwards seized the port and surrounding from the Swahili ruler Ussuf, who was killed in the process. Between 1515-18 the Portuguese sent a *degredado* – a convict sent out to the Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia — by the name of António Fernandes to visit area of central Moçambique and he travelled through the lower Púnguè Area

towards Manica. He did not mention the area that now forms the ChNR though he did mention ruler and territories of what are thought to be Tewe, Manica and Bárue.



Map 2. Rozvi Migrations

In these documents no direct mention is made to the Chimanimani Mountains; however it should be remembered that the name Chimanimani only originally referred to the narrow Mussapa gap near the present Chikukwa area. The first possible mention of the Chimanimani range is in a copy of a letter written by Vasco Fernandes Homen to Luys da Sylva dating between 1576 and 1650. Homen visited Tewe (Quiteve) making war on its ruler on his way to Manica. “[He] . . . got to a mountain with the name o Citabotonga where he found them (the Tewe army) all gathered with the intent to make him go back” [to Sofala]. This may well refer to one of the ChNR *cordilheiras*, one of which is still called Sitautonga.

Thereafter nothing is recorded about the Chimanimani area specifically until the end of the 17th century and the 18th century. Though, Portuguese traders in gold and ivory were active in many of the adjoining area of Manica, Vumba and parts Tewe.

2.5 *The Rise the Rozvi and Dynastic Change in the Chimanimani and Adjoining Area*

This section really describes the ‘big picture’ and the ‘big society’. The history of the individual rulers or *mambos* and heir communities will be described later.

The turn of the 17th and 18th centuries was a period of warfare and migration through much of the Shona lands in both Moçambique and Zimbabwe. It was also the time that the Portuguese were expelled from their trading centres — or *feiras* — in Mashonaland. It also saw the rise of the Changamire state, which ultimately was centred in what is now Matabeleland Province of Zimbabwe, but which initially controlled many areas in eastern and central Shona country.

The rise of the Rozvi Changamire rulers in Zimbabwe and their struggles with the Portuguese was mainly in what is now central Zimbabwe. However, the unrest and warfare spread to the country of the eastern Shona and Changamire defeated various Portuguese armies, or other Shona polities, that were sent against him or were guarding settlements, in Maunge (Rusape), Manica and in the Odzi Valley if the account below is be believed.

The first Changamire ruler, Dombo, led the Rozvi against the Portuguese and the Mutapa State at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which resulted from the Portuguese being expelled from various centres they had controlled in what it now Mashonaland. They were also driven out of their fort and trading centre in Manica, thought here only for a few years as the feiras was reoccupied and

operated for much of the 18th century and was only abandoned with the arrival of the Nguni in the following century.

This was part of a considerable movement of new rulers into central Moçambique belonging principally to the *moyo* (or *moio*) totem. Much of the area of the present ChNR itself was also taken over by smaller dynasties belonging to other clans about the same time or shortly after. These smaller polities found themselves wedged in between, and probably subject to one or the other, of the two large polities of Tewe and Sanga, which had been taken over by the Rozvi. The approximate border between them, or their spheres of influence, was probably the Mussapa Grande River.

The two principal migrations into the region involved two Rozvi groups, the first was led by Shiridenga, the founder the Sanga on the Southern Chimanimani, Mossurize and Chipinge highlands with its capital at Ngaone not far from the sources of the Tanganda and Lucite river in Zimbabwe. Also linked with Shiridenga were the numerous founders of *moyo* lineages in Chipinge, Chimanimani, Mossurize and Machaze, (or Danda) areas.

The second, and probably related migration, was into the Tewe state where the Rozvi *moio* clans, related to Changamire, gained control over it. This is confirmed by Portuguese chroniclers as well as by primary accounts at the time which recall struggles for the throne of “Quiteve.”

Oral traditions collected from the beginning of the 20th century also hint at the Rozvi taker over of Tewe, even if there are a little confusing and contradictory at times.

According to an account collected by a Sr. Leitão, in the colonial administration in Chimoio, the Rozvi arrived led by a ruler called Mutórmussongue and it is worth quoting his comments (translated into English jhb)

“There was a powerful king in Odzi, who had two sons, Mutórmussongue and Changamire. Mutórmussongue should have been ruler but Changamire was cruel, cynical, ambitious, and made plans to usurp the throne. A struggle developed and the women and children were sent to Chimanimani and after a battle Mutórmussongue was defeated and fled and joined the women and children in Chimanimani. He was pursued by Changamire and the was another battle to the east of the Odzi in the valleys of the Vumba Mountains but Mutórmussongue finally managed to get away and link up with the

women and children crossing the present frontier near the source of the Rotanda River, in Zanve, in the Mavita area. Mutórmussongue found a granite mountain [*Dombo re Marodz?*], with all the attributes of a good site for a fortress between the rivers Rotanda and Mussapa. Quickly entered into peaceful negotiations with Gohondo [the local ruler] and it was agreed that Gohondo would retire to his territories in Chimoio on the other side of the Revue and that Mutórmussongue would remain in Zanve [between the Munhinga and Lucite.] In this way were borne the *régulados* in this area.”

There are another two versions of this foundations myth, one recorded by the *Chefe de Posto* de Mavita, in Rotanda, in the 1950s, which recalls Changamire himself arrived and installed himself on the top Serra Mucute and a third from the files of the provincial colonial administration in Chimoio and published in their annual report for 1971;

Firstly, the, then, *Chefe de Posto* Mavita wrote:

“... long ago there was a ruler called Murambezi who was absolute ruler of these places (Zamvi) and the VaZamvi were his subjects. Originating from of the Rozvi (Urodze) tribe in Bire (Lusaka)[*sic* but should be Mbire probably here referring to an area in central Mashonaland in Zimbabwe jhb] there arrived Changamire then with his people. He conquered Murambezi and he installed himself in the mountain Mocuta [Macute], to east of this village [Rotanda]. Later there ruled a descendant of Changamire, by the name of Chiguanda, his brother, it seems that under the influence of Muzila [telescoping events here?], who wanted this area under the control of someone who would give him access to the gold that was there, he fought with him for control of the chieftainship. He conquered and killed him [Murambezi?]. It was in this way that he became absolute ruler of a large part of Manica and Sofala, which area he divided among his descendent. In this way, there came about the *régulados* of Chimoio (Chimoio), Chibata (Bandula), it Tica (Vila Machado [Nhamatanda]), Bahala and Divinhe (Sofala), M’punga (*Chefe do Grupo* in Dombe) [I think that this in fact refers to the Mpunga who is *régulo* in the Vanduzi area as he is related the other Rozvi rulers, whereas the *régulo* Mpunga in Moribane is of the *simango* clan and probably around before the arrival of the Rozvi. jhb]”

Secondly, the report by the Administration in Chimoio, which appears to be

traditions, collected more in the Chimoio area than near Chimanimani

“At this time there ruled in the land of the Marodzi the great ruler Txangamire [Changamira]. Knowing about the riches of Uteuwè he sent his descendants (relatives), Mukwambwachi, Gorimbo and Chimunda to occupy it.

Gorimbo [who was the founder of the Muriane lineage] was the oldest, but Mukwambwachi was the more determined. When they arrived at Serra Kumanhè (Dombe Administrative Area) to the territorial limits of each other.

- (a) — Gorimbo remained *mambo* of the lands as far as the Zônuè; the right bank of the Revuè to the Russite (Lucite), the western was the river Nhandede;
- (b) — Mukwambwachi remained with the land between the Revuè and the Púnguè;
- (c) — Chimunda established himself in Bandula, Chimedza, Serra Patsoro, Mudzidzi, Serra Chiamacungo, the Rivers Namassissa, Mussenga, Púnguè, Dicuti, Marondo, Serra Mutchina, the Rivers Nhacusso, Vunduzi and Revuè.

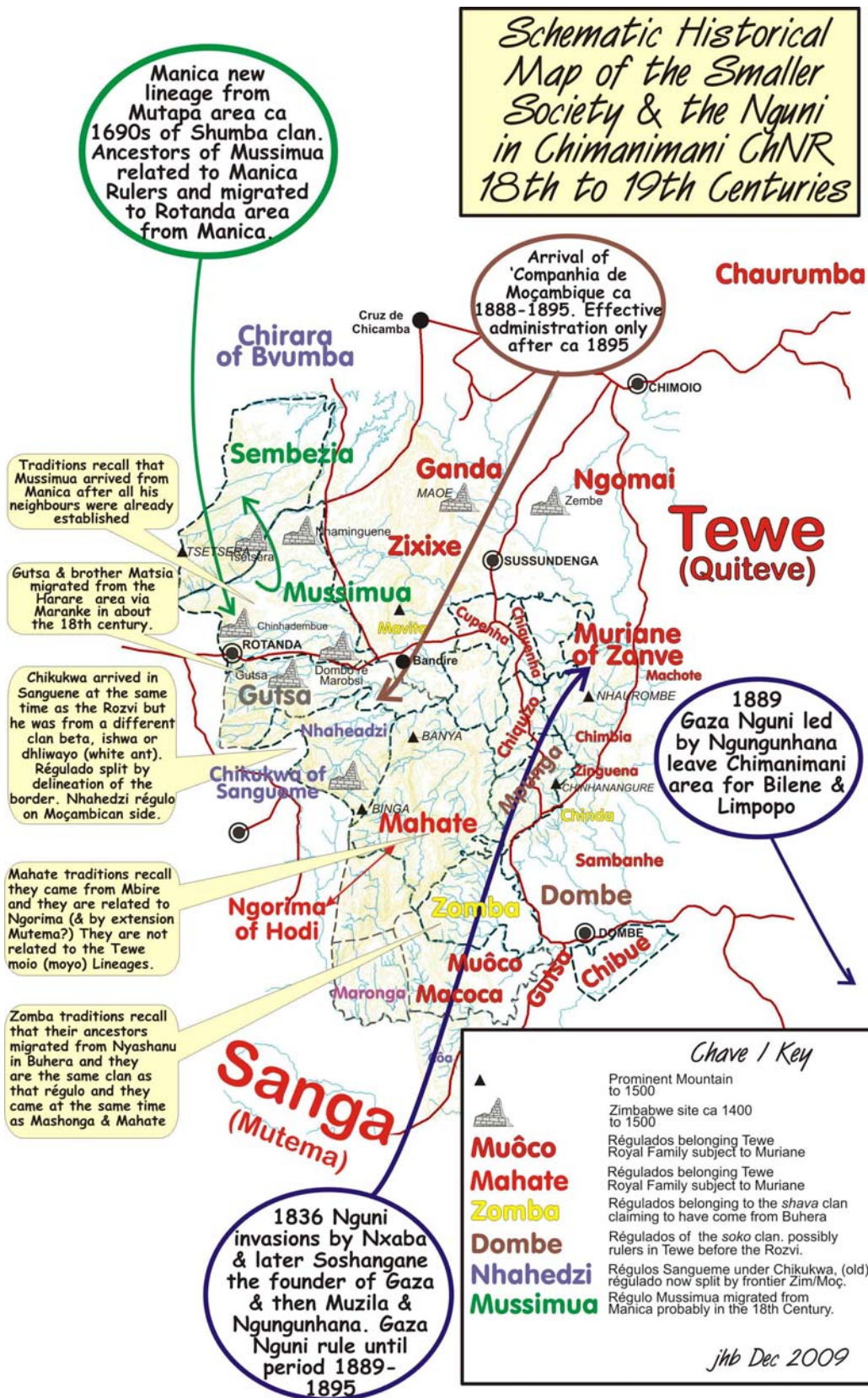
Later Mukwambwachi further divided his territories;

- (a) — Between the Nhaussisso and Nhamurira to his son Chajunja;
- (b) — Between the Vunduzi & Nhariro with boundaries described above to his brother Chimunda;
- (c) — To his relative Chau the territory of Mavita;
- (d) — To his relative Gorimbo (Maconzo) the previously described lands;
- (e) — To Bwekera Macaia (The territory of Tica). . . ”

Portuguese contemporary documents refer to events in 1699 in Tewe where João Fonseca Coutinho had killed the reigning Tewe King and placed one Inhaunda on the Tewe throne. As the result of this a civil war broke out in Tewe in which the Portuguese sided with their protégée Inhaunda against an ally of Changamire and claimant to the throne, Sacacato who according to traditions collected at the end in the 18th century was the founder of the Rozvi lineage that ruled Tewe. As the result of this the Portuguese were excluded from Tewe for much, though not all the 18th century.

For much of the 18th century the Tewe was split by secession struggles some of which involved rulers from Zamvi and specifically the area around Mavita and Bandire.

At this time the Muriane rulers appeared to have lived in between Bandire and Mavita, later moving to Nhaurombe and eventually to an area near the Revue Barrage



Map 3. Chimanimani 18th & 19th Centuries

2.6 *The 18th and early 19th Centuries*

The end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th centuries was a period of great unrest, famine and severe droughts. From the late 18th century Tsonga Hlengwe and Tswa groups crossed the Save river and war parties of them reached various parts of Tewe. The Tsonga/Hlengwe *regulados* of southern Machaze and Mossurize date from this period. This came about quite a time before the actual Nguni invasions, these not reaching Chimanimani until the 1830s. João Julião da Silva observed in 1830, that over the last thirty years, since he had first visited the area, the Ndau (Matao) and even some Tewe had become much more militarised and the warriors now hardly wore any clothes, much the same as the Hlengwe/Tsonga from south of the Save.

At much the same time, for reasons not entirely clear, groups of Ndau 'Hiya' raiders belonging mainly to the *dziva/moiambo* or pool totem / clan burst out of the Chipinge Mossurize highlands where various rulers of this clan were at the time and rampaged though much of Zimbabwe and probably parts of Moçambique as well. (In Chimanimani Maronga is linked to these areas in Mossurize).

Another series of migrations originated from Sangueme in Chimanimani Area (Chikukwa, Nhahedzi), which was then much larger than it now is, the migrations went to southern Chivi in the Masvingo Province of Zimbabwe, south of the Lucite where they established the Cõa (Khowa) *regulado* and two smaller migration northward to Vumba and Tewe by the Mutore people. It is not clear for the reason for these migrations but they may have been peaceful and the result of drought and famine, in addition much of Sangueme is not all that fertile. ORAM found that one of the principal historical memories of the people was famine.

João Julião da Silva, mentioned that Xirojo was the highest mountain in the area. He often mentions the Mussapa and Munhinga rivers as well as many of the still extant rulers such as Muriane, Negomai, and Cupenha amongst others. The area between the Munhinga and Lucite River was called Zanvi and was a province of Tewe (Quiteve).

2.7 *The Nguni invasions and the Gaza State*

The Nguni migrations reached central Moçambique in about 1830. The first group led by Nxaba Masane established a short-lived state on the Chipinge Espungabera plateau after defeating the Sanga ruler Mutema. In 1836 Nxaba led a raid into Tewe country with some of the Ndau (*Matao*) whom he had incorporated into his regiments. He appears to have entered the area through the Chimanimani gap or

possibly the Mussapa Pequena and crossed over into the Mavita area. He crossed the Mussapa and raided into Tewe in 1831. An attack was made on the Portuguese *feira* – which, fortunately, had a stockade – at Bandire. The attack was carried out by a mixed group of Nxaba’s Nguni, as well as some Tewe and Ndau. It was beaten off by João Julião da Silva, who commanded a mixed group of Tewe and Sofala Portuguese. However, da Silva thought it wise to retreat to Sofala, especially after Muriane, who had been with him when the stockade was attacked, had deserted him and da Silva suspected had linked up with Nxaba. If this were so it did not help Muriane as subsequently many of his people were massacred by Nxaba save the young marriageable girls and youths who were future potential warriors for incorporation into Nxaba’s regiments.

Nxaba later attacked Sofala and killed many people in the village but could not take the fort into which most of the Portuguese and the population had fled.

Nxaba’s kingdom did not last, he was subsequently attacked by another Nguni leader by the name of Soshangane defeated and fled north. Soshangane was the founder of the Gaza State, which directly, or indirectly, controlled or extracted tribute over all of southern Moçambique as well as much of the provinces of Manica and Sofala. The centre of the state was initially in the Chipinge Mossurize area, but Soshangane soon decided to return to Bilene of the lower Limpopo and remained there until his death; leaving Gaza subordinates to rule in the north. Tewe and Ndau *régulos*, often called *Nhamassangos* – literally “Lords of the Forest”, were left to control their subjects as long as they provided the Gaza with manpower for the regiments. The Gaza recognized the importance of some of the major Tewe Rulers belonging to the royal lineages; Muriane was one of these and became a major Gaza *satrap* in the Sussundenga, Chibabava, and Gondola Districts.

Soshangane was succeeded by his son Muzila (after a civil war), who returned from Southern Moçambique and established his various capitals in the Chipinge, Mossurize and Chibabava areas, the site was changed every few years. When Muzila died he was succeeded by Ngungunhane, who ruled the Gaza state until his defeat by the Portuguese on the lower Limpopo in November 1895. However, by 1889 the Gaza had left the Mossurize area and moved the capital to Bilene near the mouth of the Limpopo in Southern Moçambique (the present Gaza Province).

The Gaza period is deeply imbedded in the collective memory of the people of the Chimanimani area, much of this is “telescoping” of events is attributed to Ngungunhane, or his leading warrior Maguiguana. In reality, many of them may well refer to events that occurred in the reigns of one of the two previous Gaza Kings, Muzila (also known as Nhamande), and the founder of the Gaza State

Soshangane, the other Nguni warlord Nxaba Massane who attacked the Tewe and the Portuguese in the Chimanimani area in 1836. They may even be linked to events further back in Tewe and Rozvi History.

When Ngungunhana moved to Bilene he forced many thousands of the Ndaus and other subject peoples to go with him. Many of them returned to the north after his defeat in 1895 but many remained in southern Mozambique where many of their descendants can still be found with Ndaus names and totems.

2.8 *Portuguese Company and Colonial rule*

The migration and subsequent defeat of Ngungunhana by the Portuguese corresponded closely in time with the occupation of what became Southern Rhodesia by the BSA Company (British South Africa Company) in 1890. The delineation of the border between the British and Portuguese spheres occurred shortly after. North of the Rusitu/Lucite River, the border followed the watershed between rivers flowing westwards and eastwards off the western Range Chimanimani massif. (Apart from the Mussapa Grande which originates west of the watershed and breaks through it). The border was formalised during the late 1890s, cutting through the Ndaus communities, for example separating some of the subordinate *régulos* or *mambos* from their *chefes de grupos* or sub chiefs / group village headmen and *chefes da povoações* or *sagutas*). A good example was the separation of Nhahedzi in Mozambique from his more senior chief, Chikukwa, located in Southern Rhodesia. This aspect will be discussed below in the section dealing with the relevant communities below.

Shortly after this occupation the BSA Company promoted the occupation of several treks led by Afrikaner or Boer farmers from South Africa to the Chimanimani and Chipinge Highlands.

The most important of these treks was led by one Thomas Moodie, who had originally worked for the Mozambique Company but reneged on them and went over to the BSA Company. Moodie was not a particularly pleasant character; he and his fellow trekkers' method of pegging farms on the Chimanimani side of the border was to find the areas that had the highest population, as these were likely to be the most fertile, and then peg them as farms. The Portuguese official of the Companhia de Moçambique recalled that the Ndaus in the Chimanimani area referred to him as referred to Moodie as "*Dambula Zizue*" (sic) meaning that he divided and stole land belong to the Ndaus. Not only did Moodie and these trekkers steal land from local people but also started to peg farms on the Mozambique side of the border. It was for this and other reasons that the *Companhia de Moçambique* established *the Commando*

de Chimanemane at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The *Circunscrição* (district) *de Moribane*¹ was initially established at Chaia (Mavita) on the 20th March 1894, the following year, 1895, it was abolished as the Company was not getting any revenue from it and the area was still very much under the influence of the Gaza Nguni and *régulo* Muriane. With the defeat of Ngungunhane it was re-established by an order dated the 3rd of August 1896 but on this occasion linked to Manica as communication with the latter was much easier. In reality, at first there was not much effort to establish effective administration in the Chimanimani region. Later that year a military expedition, commanded by Lieutenant Bettencourt was dispatched to Chimanimani by the Moçambique Company to receive the submissions of Muriane the senior Tewe Ruler in the area and to inform him of the defeat of Ngungunhana was the Portuguese in Southern Moçambique.

In 1898 Moribane's status was changed by an order of the 14th January 1898 and it became a *sub-circunscrição* of Manica, with its *sede* (HQ) in Chaia or Xaia – Mavita. In 1899 the Moçambique Company started work on the road between Macequece to Chimanimani and onward to Melsetter (Chimanimani) in Southern Rhodesia. Work was reported as being slow as it was difficult to procure dynamite. All though the main rationale behind the road was to establish Portuguese control over the area the road would also benefit the Afrikaner farmers in Melsetter as it was much quicker for the to get to Mutare via Macequece than it was over the mountains in to the Save Valley until the roads to Cashel and Skyline were built.

From the first decade of the 20th the Moçambique Company encouraged the planting of rubber vines, *Landolphia spp.* To this end the Moribane Company was founded and established a plantation along the banks of the Mussapa and Mutucutu Rivers in Zomba. In addition, a Frenchman by the name of Paul Bindé established another plantation at Maronga on the Lucite. In addition to rubber, small quantities of bananas, papaya and citrus were planted. The company also held land in Tandara but it is not certain if they ever did anything with it at this stage. They were also involved in a plantation in the Inhambane Province, and the sources hint that they were more interested in this than in the Chimanimani area. According to a report written by the administration in December 1907 the population of the Moribane district consisted of 7 216 people, which was 521 more than the year before the break down was given as

- 7208 *indígenas* (Consisting of 2 194 men, 2:700 women, 1 366 boys

¹ Moribane is actually a corruption of Muriane or Murivane the senior Tewe Ruler in Sussundenga and a member of the Tewe Royal Family.

and 856 girls)

- 3 Portuguese Europeans
- 1 Portuguese Indian
- 2 Portuguese *Mestiços*
- 2 French Nationals

Forced labour with very low wages (*Mão d'obra indígena* or *chibaro*) in lieu of taxes was imposed from an early date. A report in 1905 reported that the number of “*indígenas*” employed in various ways by the Moçambique Company in the *sub-circunscrição* 284, of whom 99 were involved in the harvesting of *Landolphia*, 40 in raising of plants *Landolphia* and the remaining number in Manica in various concessions of the Moçambique Company.

One of the early administrators of the Moçambique in Chimanimani, (most probably the first at Chimanimani but not the first in Moribane as that distinction went to a Sr. Campos Santos, who established Chaia or Xaia The *Circunscrição* (district) *de Moribane* is was initially established at Chaia (Mavita) on the 20th March 1894, the following year, 1895 — most lightly at Mavita) was José Luis Ferreira. He was in charge of the Moribane District that had it's headquarters at the *Commando de Chimanemane*. He is remembered to this day in local traditions as he was carried around the whole of the Dombe and Mavita area in a *machira*. *Machiras* were hammocks slung between two poles in which officials in the early colonial period in east and central Africa travelled around in, it took four porters to carry a *machira*, with passenger. The building of the road from Macequece (now Manica) to Chimanimani is also attributed to Ferreira, though this may have started before his arrival. He probably was the fist to live at Chimanimani and was still there in 1916 when he wrote a report about Chimanimani.

Interestingly, he recorded a list of 31 *régulos* recognised in the Moribane *sub-circunscrição* as follows, of which at last 16 are in the ChNR those not on the ChNR are in italics ; *Moribane* [Muriane], *Zichiche* [Zixixe], Inhaézo [Nhahedzi], Mapanber [Mampombere], Gudza da Fronteira, Mecimua [Mussimua], Metova [Mutove in Mpunga?], *Ganda*, *Chicochenbe* [Chicuenhe], Zinguera [Zinguen], Chinda, Inhamabava [Nhabawa?], *Dombe*, Zixau [Zichau], Zomba, Muôco, Inhameciçua [Nhamussissua], Maronga, Macuío [?], *Côa*, *Mutanda*, *Gudza de Lucite*, *Chibuné* [Chibue], *Sambanbe*, *M'vumo* [Chibabava], *Gobondsa* [Goonda - Chibabava], *M'Chamba* [Maxamba], M'Ppunga [Mpunga], Mabate [Mahate], *Meáíua* [?], Tiva [?]. This list will be discussed more fully below in the section dealing with traditional authorities.]

In Rhodesia on the western Chimanimani plateau there was massive alienation of land from the Ndau people to white-owned commercial farms, (from the 1890s), and conservation areas, (from the 1950s), squeezing the Ndau people into small “native reserves”, mainly on steeply sloping land of limited suitability for agriculture

and rendering the Ndau highly sensitised to land tenure politics. The land of Sangueme, which was ruled by Chikukwa, was particularly badly effected losing all their land in Rhodesia and the frontier tearing their territory asunder. The chief continued to live on a portion of Martin Forest next to the Moçambican border, a small portion of this eventually became their 'communal land'. In the south of the Chimanimani Mountains Chief Ngorima's people also lost much of their land to commercial forests and the National Park. This included the key spiritual site and old homes of the chief at "*Jibo*" (literally red soil) now in a commercial forestry plantation in the upper Haroni Valley. Ngorima's people are related to those of Mahate and border them along the frontier. In Moçambique there was much less land alienation and even where there was people were not normally evicted.

However, administration, infrastructure and social services, (health, education, agricultural extension etc.), became more developed in the British side of the border than on the Portuguese sphere of the Chimanimani. Although suffering from acute land shortage, the Ndau communities in Southern Rhodesia had access to better services and economic opportunities than their Moçambican counterparts, who were mainly regarded as a source of forced or cheap labour by the Portuguese. On both sides, migrant labour, particularly to South Africa, was a major economic opportunity.

In the valleys of the Mussapa Pequena, Rotanda, Messambudzi, and Bonde many small holders were encouraged to grow wheat. There appears to have been a long tradition of irrigation of fields in these valleys and the use of their wetlands – *baixas or mutoro* – which probably date back to the pre colonial era. The Portuguese managed to entice more small holders from Zimbabwe, who had possibly been thrown off white farms, to come to Moçambique and farm in these areas. A report by the Manica District administration in 1953 recorded that there were 14 registered wheat growers in the Mavita area and there was a lot of interest among local people. The Portuguese documents of the time stress that these small holders farmed '*a conta próprio*' - i.e. on their own account and therefore were not liable to forced labour etc. The *Instituto de Cereais* established an office and store at Rotanda. Agricultural extension workers, called *monitors*, worked in the area under an agriculturalist - *O Prático Agrícola* - João Duarte Lourenço who was based in Manica.

A cotton research station was also established at Messambudzi and was involved in encouraging cotton production in the Dombe and Mavita areas, though most of this was outside the area now in the CHR. There were campaigns to 'encourage' people, mainly women, to grow cotton in various parts of the Dombe area, which probably involved coercion.

In the latter decades of Portuguese rule, principally in the 1950s and 1960s, commercial several farms and plantations were established in the area of the ChNR.

A Portuguese entrepreneur by the name of Carvalho established a dairy farm on the Tsetsera Plateau, when this proved to be unsuccessful he switched to the production of seed potatoes and some forestry. Roads up to the plateau were constructed by Carvalho both from the Moçambican and Zimbabwean sides. Carvalho also owned land on the Tandara plateau to the south of Rotanda. Large areas of commercial forestry were established in the Rotanda and Messambudzi area by foreign owned companies. Principally pine and to a lesser degree *Eucalyptus spp* were planted. Most of the plantations were up in the hills, though local people say that some of the plantations were near to the rivers and adversely effected the flow of these, which have their sources in the mountains and often within the plantations. In addition, these plantations included sites sacred to *régulo* Mussimua as well as pools in some of the rivers that are the home to important *njuzu* water spirits.

The logging industry of Moçambique dates back to the colonial period. In much of the ChNR indigenous forests were of the principal economically valuable natural resources. There are in the ChNR and adjoining areas large area of Montane, medium and low altitude indigenous forests with their abundant valuable timbers. This led to the logging of indigenous forests and woodlands by Portuguese or foreign owned companies operating under licenses or concessions and in areas settled by local communities. This process was very important to Chimanimani for two reasons;

Firstly, it was logging companies that originally opened up road access to much of the Chimanimani area between the 1950s and 1970s. Many of these roads were well aligned and engineered in often mountainous terrain using bulldozers and incorporating drifts and pole bridges. These roads fell into disuse after independence in 1975. Bell wrote that “Examination of the 1972/73 aerial photography shows a relatively extensive road network in areas until recently again inaccessible by vehicle, including the areas of *Régulos* Mahate, Zomba, Mpunga, Muoco and Maronga. A few of these old roads have been re-opened by the TFCA project. It appears that the alignment of at least some of the original roads was placed in the hands of logging company employees from local communities.

Richard Bell related that present *munwiyu*, (see below for an explanation of this title), of Chief Mahate, Sr. Silas Chitiyo, was involved in sighting many of the original roads in Mahate’s area in the 1960s, the same man was involved re-opening and re-aligning the old roads as an employee of the TFCA project. It is interesting to note that some of the old roads passed through areas of sacred forest and were re-aligned for this reason. An example is the original access road to Mahate, which skirts the foot of the sacred Banya Mountain; it was ruled “by the spirits” that this section of road must be realigned to avoid

the area near Monte Banya. This appeared to involve a diversion of at least 15 km. (Presumably the *muniya* was not involved, or was overruled by the company, in sitting this particular section of the original road). As well as providing access for logging, these roads provided access for social services. During the period of road access, it is reported that a primary school existed at Chief Mahate. It is significant to realise that, during the pre-independence period, the communities of Chimanimani were much less inaccessible than has generally been assumed, (recognising, of course, that these roads would have been impassable during the rains, as would most other roads in the district at that period)".

Secondly, the pre-independence logging period is important in that it has strongly coloured perceptions among both government workers and communities concerning the logging industry. The logging industry was, (and remains), essentially exploitative, in that the primary beneficiaries were principally foreign dominated companies; local communities gained nothing from the industry other than some low-paid employment and the industry was of doubtful ecological sustainability. The exclusion of local communities from equitable benefits from timber harvesting appears now to be perceived as an inseparable feature of the logging industry. This perception presents an obstacle to be overcome in realising the significance of logging as a major potential component of CBNRM in Chimanimani.

In addition, in 1950, three small Forest Reserves were gazetted by the Portuguese colonial government to cover parts of the lowland forest on the southern foothills of the Chimanimani massif, at Moribane, Zomba and Maronga. The law under which these forest reserves were created did not allow settlement within them, but this does not appear to have been enforced to a significant extent, and 1972/73 aerial photography shows a considerable amount of settlement within their boundaries.

2.9 *Independence, Rhodesia and Civil War*

The liberation wars of Mozambique and Zimbabwe respectively, ended in 1975 and 1980. The Mozambican liberation war had relatively little military impact on Chimanimani. After independence there were two major changes in land use, policies and administration, with the virtual disappearance of the Portuguese commercial farmers, administrators and rural store keepers – the *cantinheiros* – with the assumption of power by Frelimo. It was probably the disappearance of the *cantinheiros* that effected local small holders. While generally collective memory or

colonial rule is exceedingly negative the services provided by the *cantinheiros* in the form of agricultural inputs, general merchandise and even credit are an exception to this and many people still have fond memories of the advantages the system, at least as it operated in the last decade of Portuguese Colonial Rule.

In Chimanimani, in the late 1970s, the Zimbabwe struggle had the greater the area in and adjoining the ChNR with mining of the some areas along, or near, the border and the military operations and incursions by the Rhodesian forces, which included the destruction of all the bridges and some other infrastructure on the main road from Dombe through the Sitautonga Mountains to Mossurize. This substantially increased the isolation and marginalised the people in the ChNR early years of the Frelimo era. There has been no access to by road to the Zomba, Muoco and Maronga areas since that time. The situation will be shortly ameliorated with the opening of new high level bridges across the Mussapa and Lucite Rivers.

Zimbabwe independence on the other hand left the white owned commercial estates in Chimanimani remained largely intact and maintained a basic continuity in policies and administration until the land redistribution commenced in the from 2000 onwards and resulted in the virtually destruction the farming industry. Importantly, in the case of Chimanimani, the forestry estates, both state and privately owned, have been left, in the main, intact.

Mozambican independence was followed shortly by the Frelimo/Renamo civil war from about 1977 to 1992, which really intensified after 1890. Chimanimani area was adversely affected by the war, located as it is on the boundary of Renamo's original sponsors, Smith's Rhodesia, and close to that of its later sponsor, the apartheid regime in South Africa. Many of the Renamo leaders also came from the Sussundenga, Mossurize and Chibabava Districts. The southern parts of Chimanimani, particularly the Dombe and neighbouring parts of Mossurize were important Renamo centres throughout the war and retain some Renamo leanings to the present. The war led to widespread destruction of infrastructure, breakdown of Frelimo administration and collapse of the rural economy. Many residents of the Moçambique Chimanimani either moved to Zimbabwe or relied heavily on it during the civil war.

Following Mozambican independence in 1975, the Frelimo government instituted a series of socialist policies which made a profound impact on the rural populations of the country, including those of the Chimanimani area. Principal among these were the policies of nationalising land, concentrating rural communities in *aldeias comunais*, (communal villages), and sidelining the traditional leadership. Nationalisation of land and formation of communal villages were intended to enforce egalitarian access to resources and to facilitate the supply of social services. The policy on traditional leadership was based on the idea that the traditional

leadership had not been selected by any democratic process and had lost any claim to legitimacy as a result of manipulation and distortion under the Portuguese colonial regime, who had used the traditional leadership primarily as intermediaries in the collection of taxes and conscription of forced labour. To replace the traditional leadership, the Frelimo government initiated a programme of establishing Dynamising Groups, (*Grupos Dinamizadores*) at the level of the localities — *localidades*. From 1978, these were extended as a hierarchy from the level of the District, through the Administrative Post and the Locality to the circle, cell and group often households. The Frelimo party and the Government administration were completely integrated. These, were intended to be democratically elected but in general, candidates were nominated by the party and approved by the relevant constituency; candidates tended to be nominated according to certain guidelines, traditional leaders and employers of labour, for example, being excluded. Later, in the 1980s, as the voluntary committees ceased to function effectively, salaried party officials were appointed as Presidents of the Locality level committees.

All of these policies were deeply resented by sections of the population, particularly in the more traditional rural areas, quickly producing a groundswell of discontent. As Moçambique gave sanctuary to the armed liberation movement engaged in a liberation struggle against Smith regime in Rhodesia. The Rhodesian security forces organised an armed opposition in the form of Renamo, and in so doing, ignited the civil war. Following the demise of the Smith support of Renamo was taken over by South Africa and intensified.

The southern part of the Chimanimani area became a key Renamo area. While the national headquarters of Renamo was located in Maringue to the north of Gorongosa District. Sitautonga (Gogoio) became the Provincial headquarters for Manica, and there were also large Renamo military camps in the Dombe area, including at least one in the Mpunga forest. Most of the areas of *régulos* Muoco, Zomba, Mpunga and Mahate fell within the Renamo sphere of influence, while Frelimo retained control over at least the main administrative centres and their surrounding areas in Sussundenga, Mavita and Rotanda. This resulted in the Chimanimani area becoming the front line between Frelimo and Renamo. The Moribane forest, straddling as it does the main road from Sussundenga to Dombe, was a particular focus of conflict, the road being blocked and heavily mined. Similarly, the Chidzanyanga ridge and Mucutuco basin in the Chimanimani foothills in *régulo* Mahate's area — across the Mussapa valley to the west of Moribane forest — were the scenes of a number of skirmishes. Bell recorded that the father of the present Chief Mahate was reportedly executed by Frelimo in the 1970s as a suspected Renamo sympathiser; the present Chief Mahate himself was held in captivity in Sussundenga by Frelimo from 1986 to 1993 on the same grounds, (Anstey and de Sousa).

The Government held the central area around Dombe and areas in the Darue localidade and aldeias were established in this area. However in the final phases of the war Dombe and the surrounding areas fell to Renamo. Dombe itself was briefly retaken by the Government but soon fell again to Renamo. This was the period that saw some of the worst fighting in the area.

The disturbances caused by the civil war motivated many people to leave the Chimanimani area, either to more secure areas around Dombe and the Lucite valley, to Sussundenga, Chimoio and the Beira corridor, or to Zimbabwe, in addition to seeking employment further a field in South Africa, Botswana or Malawi. One of the side effects of these movements is that the population of Chimanimani, while superficially appearing isolated and traditionalist, is surprisingly well travelled and familiar with the broader social and economic horizons of the southern African region.

The end of the Mozambican civil war in 1992 has been followed by resurgence in Mozambican society, infrastructure and economy, much of it driven by donor support, however, it has not been without social and political tensions. There was a certain amount of post conflict violence carried out by a group of bandits from 1994-7 called *Chimenjes*, they were mainly composed of *desmobilizados* and some criminal elements. They operated in the Dombe, Mahate and principally in the Zomba area. These problems were eventually sorted out by the intervention of the Rapid Intervention Unit of the Mozambican Republican Police.

3 Description and History of the Individual Régulados

One of the major problems encountered in the survey of the *régulados* and their various *chefes* at various levels had been that everyone who has carried out this work in the past has come up with different names and this causes a considerable amount of confusion. This probably occurred as personal names, in whole or in part, have been used to describe various *chefes*. To give an example Zomba is the name of the *régulado* and the ruler is officially called *Régulo* Zomba but he also has his personal name, in this case Machua Macusa Samissome. All *régulos* and senior *chefes* have these official titles and if these are used when gathering information there will probably be less confusion.

Allied to this is situation that the hierarchy recognised, and paid, by the Government, as often not the same as the hierarchy that is found within the various *régulados*. In many cases a where a *régulo* is only recognised has a *chefe do grupo* and placed under another *régulo*, *chefe dos grupos* become *chefes do povoações*, but in reality this hierarchy is not always recognised by the community.

There are local names for the *chefes dos grupos* and *chefe das povoações* and this is touched upon in section 4 below.

Table 2 below gives a simplified list of the *Régulos* and their *chefes* using only their traditional names as described to us by them. It differs considerably from the data found in tables 3 to 5 at the end of this document. For reasons given elsewhere in this section and report no 'hierarchy' is given to these *chefes*.

3.1 *Mussimua (Rotanda)*

This is a large *régulado* in the north of the ChNR and it includes several communities that have been dealt with separately below. A Large part of it is outside the ChNR as is about half (estimated) of its population. Technically included in it are;

- I. Sembezia a closely related *Chefe de Grupo* but having a large area in the far north bordering Manica and the Zonue River;
- II. Gutsa and independent *régulado*, but placed under Mussimua in the official hierarchy but treated separately here.
- III. Nhahedzi (in part – the other part probably falling under Mahate) an independent *régulado*, but placed partly under Mussimua in the official hierarchy but again treated separately here.

Table 2 Simplified List of Régulos and their Chefes

Régulo	Chefes	Comments
Sembezia	1. Muveu — near the Mupandeia 2. Cheschesi — near the Zonue.	Recognised as Chefe de Grupo under Mussimua by Administration to whom he is related.
Mussimua	1. Chinhacata 2. Matsuai 3. Mutowa	Recognised as regulo by the administration.
Gutsa	1. Matsia — near Mussapa 2. Gotokoto near — Portão 3. Sawana — east of Tula Mt. 4. Metova — east bank of Mussapa	In administrative terms under Mussimua but should be independent regulo.
Nhahedzi	1. Nhahuni — in Zimbabwe & Ferreira 2. Chirau — Mussapa Pequena 3. Mapombere — Mucura Valley 4. Bofana —	Should be separate regulo but now only Chefe de Grupo
Mahate	1. Chicuee — east along the Mussapa 2. 3. Mashonga — In the SW with Zomba 4. Munhaiwa — South R. Muvumodzi	Recognised as regulo by the administration
Mpunga	1. Mapinde — Motowa 2. Magarabwa — East 3. Mukwawaya — South West 4.	Recognised as Chefe de Grupo under Dombe
Zomba	1. Zichau — SE Mussapa & Muvumodzi 2. Nguruve — South east of Mutucutu 3. Murango — Mutucutu Opposite Nguruve 4. Manhandure — West of the Mussapa 5. Chitio — in the north central area 6. Mapira — Rios Chikambane/Muvumodzi 7. Guvura — in the north west	Recognised as regulo by the administration
Muoco	1. Javela — Near Main Road 2. Mugaru — near the Mussapa Bridge 3. Chirucu — Muvumodzi 4. Mcoca — West Mudewue & Sitautonga. 5. Machiri — Near Lucite bridge 6. Mangwena — West of the main road 7. Nhamussissua — Main Road & Lucite	Recognised as regulo by the administration
Maronga	Not Known	Recognised as Chefe de Grupo under Muoco

Table 2. Simplified list of Régulos 1

The ruling lineages in both Mussimua and Sembezia migrated from Manica to their present area. They recall that when they arrived they found all the surrounding *régulos* were already living where they now are. They came blowing a *bama* — a type of horn made from a large buck — when they past Chirara of Vumba, just south of the old Manica Kingdom the blew the horn, and he answered with another horn so they knew someone was already living there they went on, when they arrived at Zixixe, Mutambara and Gutsa they blew the horn and were again answered by these respective *régulos*, so they knew that there were already people living in these areas.

They backtracked and arrived at the present locations. When they blew the horn nobody answered so, as there were no people there, they settled in there.

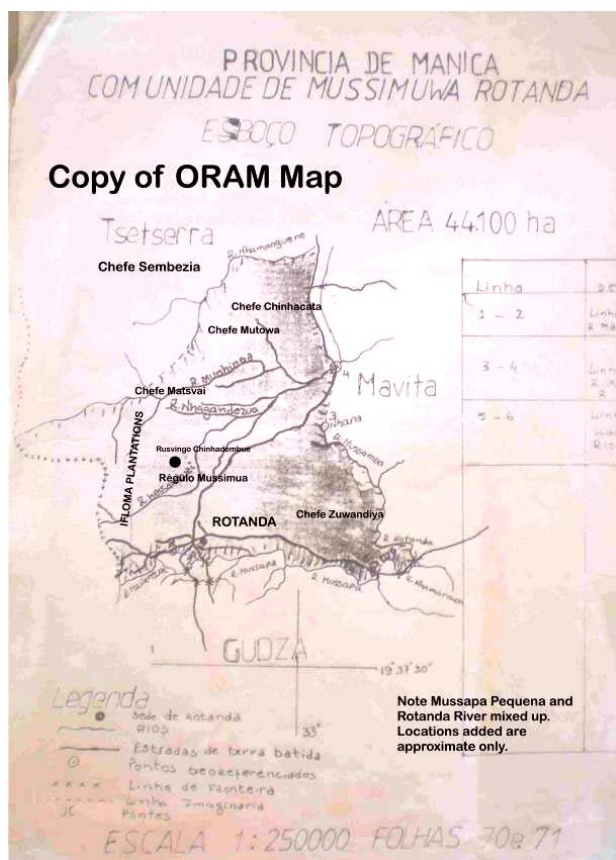
Mussimua also has certain links with Mutambara, across the border in Zimbabwe, however these are not fully understood at this stage.

In spite of this Mussimua acknowledges that there were people living in the area of old and that the Rozvi build the *zimbabwe* on Chindahembue Hill overlooking his village in the Messambudzi River Valley.

Mussimua has four important *chefes de grupos* under him Chinhacata (Fernando Simbe Chinhacata) in the east near Munhinga River and mostly outside the ChNR,

Mutowa (Mafione C. Mutowa) in the north bordering Sembezia, and Matsuai (Heroine Matsuai) in the north-west. The area is not the most important part of the ChNR in terms of tourism and biodiversity (with the caveat that it is the one and only point of entry into the ChNR from Zimbabwe). A household count carried out using Goggle Earth came up with approximately 720 inside the ChNR, mostly around Rotanda, Messambudzi and Munhinga. With others in the far northwest in the Munhinga Valley.

The important centres of Rotanda and Messambudzi lie with this *régulado*. All of it lies within the buffer zone though the majority of the people have little to do with the ChNR. As pointed out above the area is not the most



Map 4. Mussimua

of tourism bio diversity. Most of the mountainous area along the border is under commercial forestry and the forests indigenous forests have disappeared, except in the far northwest.

As noted in Section two the area has a long history of wheat production irrigation dating back to the early colonial area and probably before. In the drier areas, though outside the ChNR tobacco and cotton is also grown as cash crops by small holders

3.2 *Mussimua (Sembezia)*

The history of this *régulado* is very similar to that of Mussimua. The *régulo* is in fact only a *chefe de grupo* under Mussimua but due to the distance from the centre of the *régulado* he has most of the attributes of a proper *mambo*. Following recent research by Corrado Tornimbeni, he would like to break away from the control of Mussimua.

He has two *chefe de povoações* with in the ChNR, namely Cheschesi near the Zonue River in the north, Muveia near the Mupandeia River. A household count in Google Earth suggests that there are about 429 households in the Sembezia area. (Population day X 5 = say \pm 2 145).

Tsetsera Plateau, although alienated in Colonial times it lies within the *régulado*. The protection of the Tsetsera Plateau and the evergreen montane podocarpus forests was behind the rationale of extending the ChNR northward from the main Chimanimani Mountains. (Perhaps in retrospect it would have been better to have had a separate protected area for Tsetsera as its inclusion in the ChNR has made management difficult due to distances and the large area involved. In addition, much of the plateau not planted to potatoes was put under pine plantations (mainly the invasive Mexican *Pinus patula*, which are presently in the process of being removed. Because of this past land use there is little of the original vegetation left on the plateau. It its presently held under a concession by a commercial operator who expresses interest in re-establishing seed potatoes and, hopefully, encouraging tourism. A recent report on tourism in the Manica district was perhaps a little over optimistic! Regarding a tourist city on Tsetsera

Local people do not appear to have lived on the plateau prior to it's alienation, mainly due to the cold climate as much of it is in the region of 2 000 m above sea level and very cold in the winter and by night. However they did use it for hunting and gathering wild produce.

Gold is being mined at the old "Yellow Jacket" mine on the road up to Tsetsera near the *Garganta de Nhaminguene* the local Mining Association. The mine is getting very deep and dangerous to work and the association wish to find a partner to help them carry on working the mine the mine. Thy carry the ore down by truck to their camp on the Bonde River where the ore is washed into ponds and the gold

extracted. Although, they are near to the Bonde River there is no pollution from their workings and the river remains one of the cleanest in the ChNR. The camp itself is reminiscent of a 19th century gold rush camp in Australia or America, with lots of cheap spirits on sale and visited by a number of women selling goods and probably other services.

Some medium sized farms were also alienated in the colonial period but these are all now occupied by small holders from the family sector. Interestingly, Mupandeia *sede* is still called Dourado by the local people after a farmer and businessman who operated in the area. He only died a couple of years ago and remained in Moçambique running a bakery in Manica.

Small holders grow considerable amounts of tobacco, burley barns could be clearly seen when the household count was being carried out in Google Earth.

3.3 *Gutsa*

Most of the population live in the upper Mussapa Pequena Valley south of Rotanda and to a lesser degree, at the base of the Northern Chimanimani mountains in the North-East. The eastern part of the *regulado* is in contrast very sparsely populated, (The Portão — or entrance to the ChNR — is in the *regulado* as well as the area along the road to Mahate.). Although this might be because of infertile soils it does not really explain the lack of population along river lines and areas where there are dambos (*dimba*).

The area has been strongly influenced by Zimbabwe, and some people cannot speak Portuguese though they are literate in English and Shona, having been to school or worked in Zimbabwe.

The boundaries. The boundaries of the *regulado* are as follows (see Map)

In the West with the international border;

- In the north, with Régulos Mussimua and Mavita from Mte. Chinhamhena down the Masarakwe stream to its junction with the Mussapa Pequena and thence East South East to the junction of the Mussapa Pequena and the Mussapa Grande;
- Then, with regulo Mahate in a generally westerly direction to the junction of the Mussapa Grande and Mucura rivers;
- With Chikukwa /Nhaedzi up the Macura river in a generally north-westerly direction to an "imaginary point" on that river then across country to "another imaginary point" on the Nhomba River [This needs ground checking in between the two "imaginary points" is a place called Ndongonda jhb];
- Still with Chikukwa Nhaedzi up the Nhahomba river in a west

south westerly to its source in the northern ranges of the Chimanimani Mountains, and the down the Ruwaka Stream, in a westerly direction to its junction with the Mussapa Pequena; (*The later part of this boundary should be ground truthed it is very vague – an imaginary line . . .*)

- Still with Chikukwa / Nhaedzi, up the Mussapa Pequena River in a generally west south westerly direction to the international border with Zimbabwe.

Sub Chiefs *sadunhuu*. Matsia, whose area is west of the Mussapa Pequena and alleges his line is senior to that of Gutsa; Metova on the east bank of the Mussapa Pequena, Chefe Sawana to the east of the Tula? Harare Range, which is the northern end of the Chimanimani Mountains, and Chefe Gotokoto in the far east, not all that far from the Portão.

A *Comite de Gestão* ? Was formed and they have a bank account. Elias Matova is the president. There are very worried by grassfires, especially as there is a lot of grassland in the Mussapa Valley. Last year three villages were burnt down and livestock was destroyed. Very fortunately no one was killed. They are organising the community to take action against grass fires and work with IFLOMA on this.

There is also an association and this had been working with Magariro from Chimoio. A grinding mill had been constructed not far from the Herdade de Lorena, on the main road to Sussundenga as well as a school at Peza (I think at the top of the Mussapa Valley.) Unfortunately, they had not seen much of Magariro recently. A ceremony had been held with them to initiate some work but since then they had not returned.

Their perception of boundaries ChNR and relationships. The *régulo* complained bitterly about people not being able to hunt in the ChNR and the fact that many of the fiscais were not local people. Palapala meat was necessary for certain traditional ceremonies and the celebration of independence. People appeared to know where the boundaries were but not the difference between the core and buffer zone.

Relationships with IFLOMA are good, one point here is that the community would like to have their own sawmills but IFLOMA is apparently against this.

Hyena were said to be the main, and only serious, problem animal.

There are a large number of irrigation plots along the banks of the Mussapa Pequena and its tributaries; mainly winter wheat is grown, as well as some barley for *Cervejas de Moçambique* but also other crops and vegetables for household consumption. They baixas (*dimba* areas) are fairly fertile Alluvial soils, but much of the soil in the hillsides is of low fertility.

The road from the main Rotanda road through Gutsa to the upper valley of the

Mussapa Pequena is being rehabilitated. In some sections the contractors appear to be causing more problem than they are solving as the road is covered in small water-borne boulders which makes it very difficult to drive on, even with four-wheel drive vehicles.

Officially Gutsa is only recognised as a *Chefe do Grupo* under Mussimua but the community recognise him as a proper *mambo*.

The ancestors of *régulo* Gutsa came from the area of Harare, via Bocha (the Marange area in Zimbabwe). According to the Matsia version Matsia and Gutsa were brothers, Matsia was the elder brother and came to the area first and Gutsa followed shortly after this. Matsia people thus feel that they should be the *régulos*. Gutsa denies this and states that he was the elder and arrived first and therefore was the rightfully chief! Interestingly, Gotokoto in the far east near the Portão also thinks his line should hold the chieftainship.

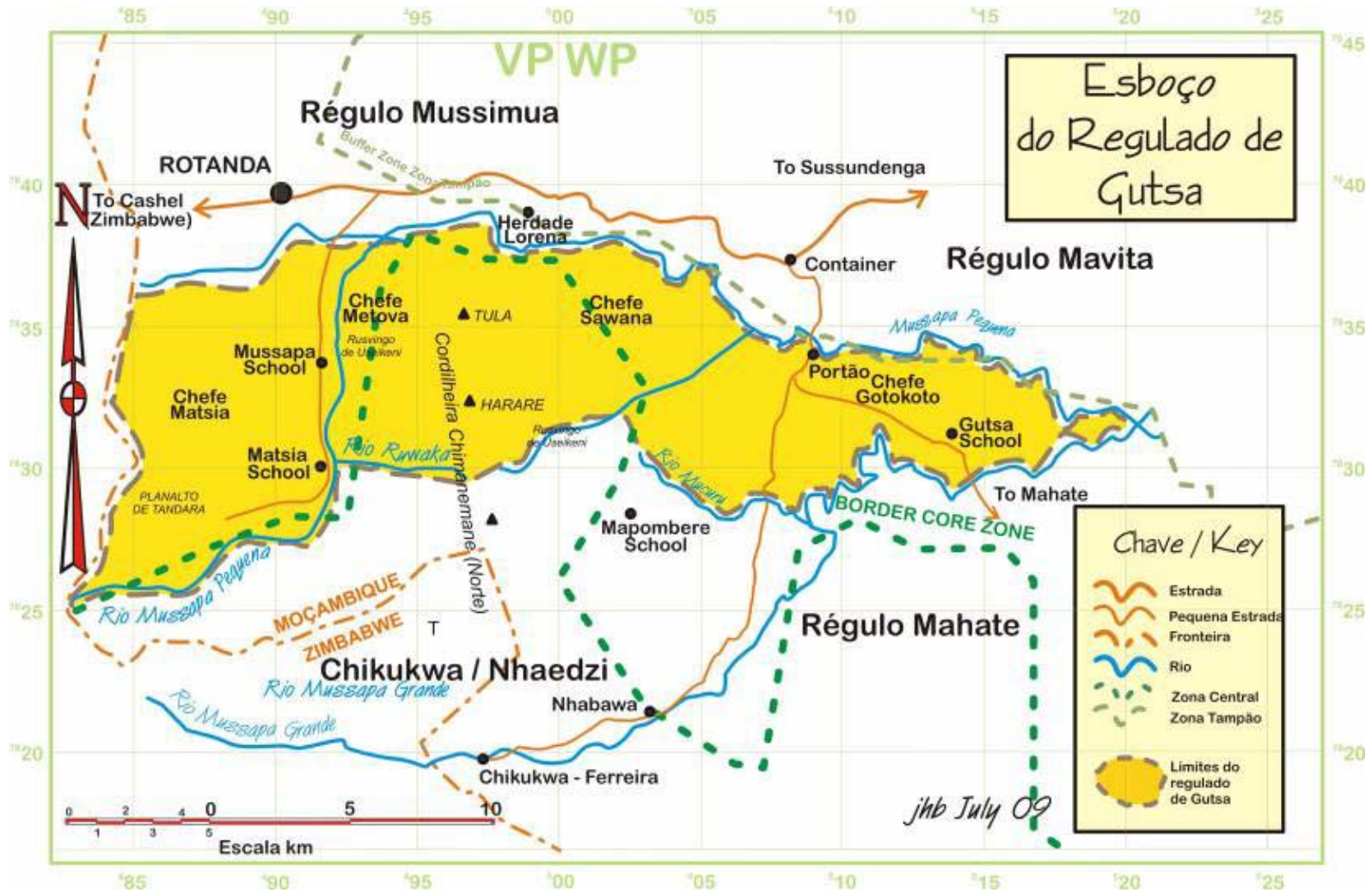
Interestingly, Gutsa is mentioned in the colonial delineation report for the Chipindirewe *saguta* in for the Marange area of Mutare District, which states that two brothers Chikumba and Gutsa travelled to the Marange area many years ago and settled under Chief Marange. Later the two brothers quarrelled, probably over a dispute about the chieftainship. As the result of this Gutsa, moved across the Moçambique border. All concerned belonged to the *nzou/maringa* (elephant) clan.

When they first arrived they found people living in the area called Masoto. (The Matsoto appear to have been a Shona people who ruled much of the Dombe, and Chimanimani areas before the establishment of the present ruling dynasties. This people were not killed but disappeared! Their *pfukwa* spirits still exist and ceremonies have to be made to appease them. (A *pfukwa* spirit is normally the spirit of a dead person who was killed or wronged and comes back to haunt people.)

There are *njuzu* spirits in all of the rivers and their law must be respected. Chefe Matsia reported that there was a small *zimbabwe/rusvingo* site a small hill just to the east of the Mussapa School and the Mussapa Pequena.

The present chief Gutsa actually lives in the area and Matsia on the road back to Rotanda between Mussapa School and the turnoff the main road near Rotanda.

Map 5. Gutsa



3.4 *Nhahedzi (Chikukwa)*

The Nhahedzi *régulado* is the one that has been most severely effected by the colonial border. Before the Nguni invasions in the 1830s there existed a large land by the name of Sangueme, which was ruled by Chikukwa. At this time its boundaries, including those on the Zimbabwe were all of the north east part of the Chimanimani Highlands in that district. It also included that of the present Nhahedzi *régulado* in Moçambique including Mt Binga.

The boundaries are given as (source ORAM Delineation 2003) approximately: (Important to note needs checking, Nhabawa thought that his area included more of the area around Binga and the upper Muvumodzi?)

- In the south west from Nhamabombe mountain through to Monte Binga;
- Then following the Zimbabwe border northwards through the Mussapa Gap and around the border of the northern portion of the Zimbabwe National Park (The Corner);
- Then westwards along the international to the source of the Mussapa Pequena;
- Then in an east north easterly direction down the Mussapa Pequena to the junction of the Mussapa Pequena and the Ruwaka River;
- The up the Ruwaka river to its source (on Chinnhamweya Mountain?);
- Thence from the source of the Rio Nhahomba (?) [It appears that the Mucuru Stream is involved here and another ‘imaginary line’] down to the Mussapa Pequena;
- Then along the Mussapa Pequena to its junction with the Messangadzi
- Thence up the Messangadzi to the starting point.

The Community know that they are situated the ChNR but did not really know the difference between the core and buffer zone. (Mostly they are actually inside the core zone). They generally have good relations with the ChNR with the exception of the *fiscals* from Mahate who have misbehaved themselves mainly by sleeping with local girls according to *Régulo* Nhabawa.

According to the *régulo* there are 26 families in the Nhabawa area with more up at Chikukwa. (This is more or less confirmed by doing a house count on Google earth which came up with 28 at Nhabawa, with another 30 Chikukwa, 20 at Mapombere and 26 on the right bank of the upper Mussapa Pequena above Gutsa (Chirau?).

This would give a total of about 104 families and working on an average of five persons a house hold a population of about 520 people.

There are population four clusters;

- The first being at Ferreira, which falls under a Chefe called Nyahuni, who himself moved to Zimbabwe several years ago from the right bank of the Mussapa Grande and in the Nyamazi Valley below Monte Binga. The only people remain under him are at Ferreira, about 30 households;
- The second is at Nhabawa further down the valley of the Mussapa Grande and this is where the *régulo* lives. There are about 28 families here. It is from this area that the path goes up to the Chimanimani Highlands and Monte Binga. MICAIA are in the process of establishing a tourist camp by the Mussapa River.
- The third centre is at Mapombere which lies further nr east and to the east of the northern part of the Chimanimani Mountains. Strangely, much of this area was placed in the conservation zone but the proposal that will be made in conjunction with the management plan will adjust this so that they are outside and in the *zona tampão* – buffer zone. There are 20 household in this area giving an approximate population of 500 people.
- The fourth centre is in the upper valley of the Mussapa Pequena to the south of the Ruwaka stream and to the east and south of the Mussapa Pequena. There are about 26 households in his area

This is an important area as the main access route into the Chimanimani Mountains pass through it and the road from the Portão to Nhabawa. The boundary on this road between Nhahedzi and Gutsa is the Mucura River.

The *régulo* complains about the behaviour of some *fiscais* (rangers), particularly those of some neighbouring communities (Mahate is mentioned) who have the tendency sleeping with ladies of Nhabawa. Local rangers, belonging to the community are preferred. Similar complains were heard in Gutsa.

In relation to the illegal gold mining, *Régulo* Nhabawa was of the opinion that it will not be possible to get rid of them. A better strategy would be to work with them; e.g. by giving some of them licences, the task of the rangers would then be to control those who are working in the reserve and check if they have a licences. The reserve would gain from this approach, as it would be an extra source of revenue.

Some miners working on the Macohe range and in “the corner” in the Zimbabwean Chimanimani National Park have been chased out by rangers of the National Park.

Not all the *garimpeiros* were Moçambique many were from Zimbabwe and as far a field as Botswana and Malawi, though most probably came from Zimbabwe.

Land Mines (old ant tank mines) have been found in the area around Ferreira on the road to Zimbabwe; all the roads should be checked

With the help of Reserve staff the community constructed a small dam for a fish pond; they stopped this as no tools were available. There are a few more fish ponds and many people would like more if the resources could be found for tools. Some time ago (first phase of the project), there was a project on bee-keeping; they used to sell the honey to Dona Tecla in Sussundenga, but some local people still have many beehives and honey but no one is now coming to buy it.

This community has a committee a *Comite de Gestão* — Development Committee, which has been recently been revitalized by the administration of the ChNR, new members have been elected, including a President. However it is not registered and it doesn't have a bank account. The committee has organised a strategy for controlling wild fires.

Normal crops grown e.g. maize sorghum, beans etc. One of the main problems facing farmers in the area is lack of inputs.

The area is very isolated mainly because of the state of the roads. It takes at least three and a half hours to get to the main road to catch a *chappa* “mini bus” and in addition people have to go to Sussundenga rather than Rotanda, as they say an influx of Zimbabweans into Rotanda has meant a big hike in food prices. People feel that the reserve should organise transport to Sussundenga.

No health faculties There is no proper school - what serves as a school in Nhabawa is merely a thatched roof; there isn't any grinding mill either though there was one at Mapombere but it is not presently operating due to a breakdown.

The traditions of the area indicate say that there were no people living in the area when they first arrived here several centuries ago, however an account of a tradition collected by one of the early administrators Melsetter indicates otherwise in The first ‘Native Commissioner’ in Melsetter recalled the history of Chikukwa in 1906;

“ [The] PARAMOUNT Chikukwa [of the] TRIBE Wangwemi. Sangwemi was the first chief of this tribe and came in with Shiryedenga. When he first arrived in his district he found it occupied by a strange people under a chief named “Makuwa”. He made war on Makuwa and defeated his people and killed off most of them; the remainder died out.

Sangwemi received the title of “Bzombzi” for having wiped out the people of Makuwa. The successors of Sangwemi's chieftainship were as follows:- Murungirwa; Muwani; Ndima; Kuruwoni; Tengami; Tsakura; Mufuwa; Tawanacho; and the present chief Chikukwa. The Shangaan [i.e. the Gaza Nguni] raiding began in the time of Mufuwa who was killed by them. His successor Tawanacho remained some

time in the country until the army of Umzila began its second raiding, he and his tribe then fled to Tandi in Makoni's district [Rusape area] and later returned as far as Mutasa's district. The peasant chief was sent to treat with the Shangaans [the Gaza Nguni] and to take charge of the district. He was successful in his arrangements with the Shangaans and returned to fetch the people back. Meanwhile the chief Tawanacho died at Mutasa's and Chikukwa became regent for his elder brother who remained at Mutasa's.

The elder brother died before returning to his district and so Chikukwa became chief.”

Local traditions recall that Sangueme (the Sangwemi of above) allocated land to some of his sons Nhahedzi, Mbofana, Chirau and other and from these emerged the Nhahedzi régulado on the Moçambique side of the border.

Chikukwa lost all his land in Zimbabwe to Afrikaans or Boer Farmers, many of whom later sold their land to forestry companies, in the early 1970s. Chikukwa was allowed to settle on a small portion of what was then Martin Forest, where he now lives. On the Portuguese side land was not taken away but people were expected to do forced labour in lieu of taxes.

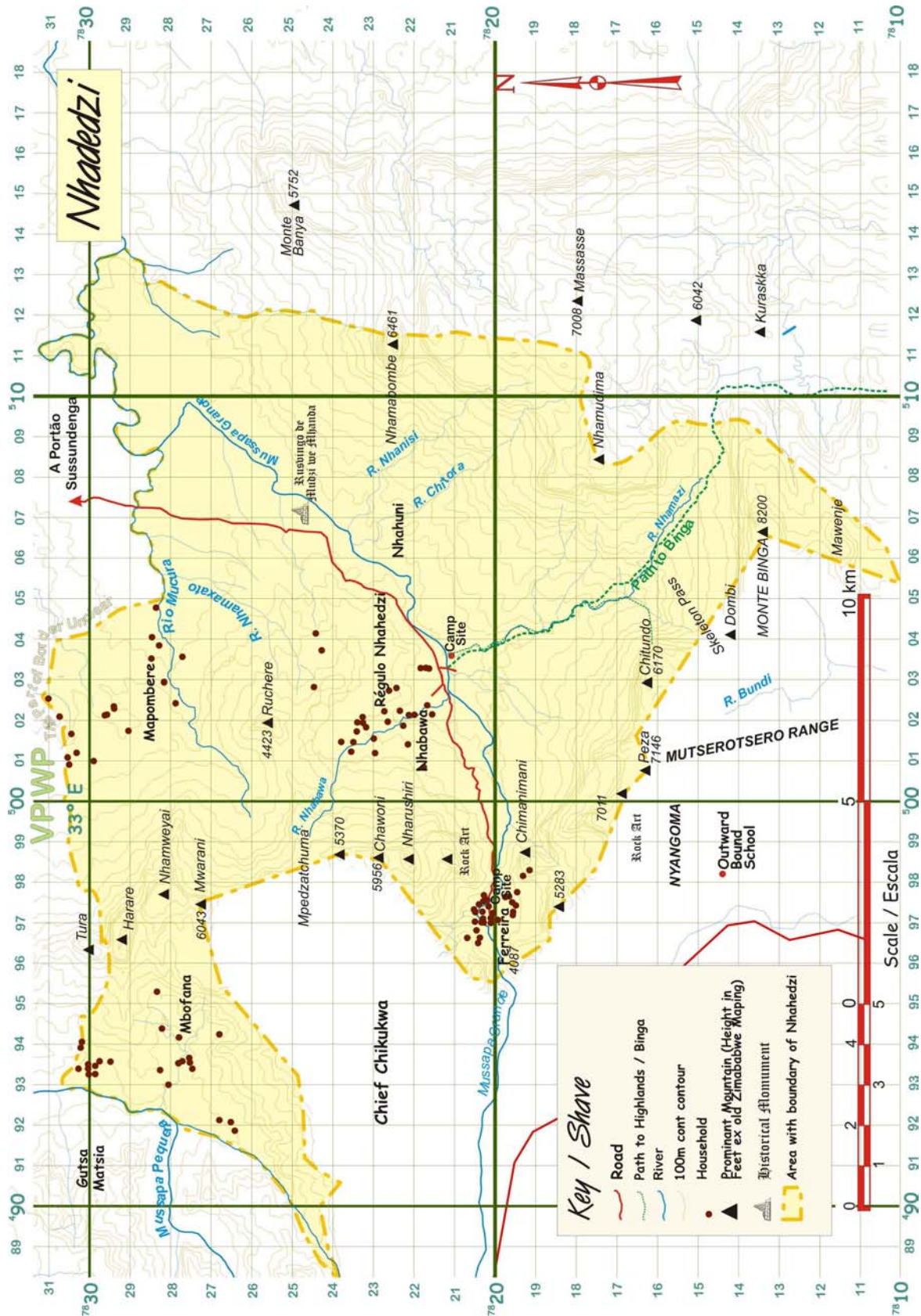
The first Portuguese that is remembered in the area is Ferreira and the area around Chikukwa camp is thus called. He was an administrator of the Companhia de Moçambique who opened a post at Chikukwa and was responsible for the original construction of the road to Chikukwa which originally went to the Zimbabwean border and linked with the Chimanimani Village in Zimbabwe. Ferreira was carried about the district by four men in a *machira*.

Rock art there are sites at thee following though there could be quite a few more;

- New Camp at Ferreira
- Along road up to Ferreira just north of gorge
- Munaiwa (in Mahate)
- Muvumodzi (in Mahate)
- Mucowe

There are quite a few stone ruins in the area which consist of stone circles enclosing a circular house (Maybe platform). According to Regulo Nhabawa there are no terraces (Terraces were found and excavated just across the Zimbabwe border from the source of the Mussapas jhb).

Map 6. Nhahedzi



3.5 Mahate

The boundaries of the *régulado*; (See also Map compiled by SPGC and ORAM in 2002, attached).

- To the north with Chikukwa from Monte Binga [also claimed by Nahhedzi] along the watershed to Nhamudima and Nhamubombe;
- Thence down the Messangadzi Stream to its junction with the Mussapa Grande;
- Thence following the Mussapa Grande with Gutsa and Mavita in the north;
- With Chicuiso and Mpunga in to east to the junction of the Mussapa Grande and the Mussambadaca Stream;
- Thence westwards, with Zomba, to Mashonga Hill, thence across hills in a West South westerly direction to Mzunuzu Area then to a point/mountain, on or near, the Muvumodzi River called Bue Zingo [Not yet identified where this is but people in Mahate know its location]; Thence across country, with Muoco or Mboco, to a point, known by the community, on the Muerera River to another point on the Zimbabwe Border;
- Thence northwards along the Zimbabwe Border with Ngorima and Chikukwa [these areas now in ChNP in Zimbabwe] to the starting point on Mt. Binga.

Sub Chiefs *sadunhu*; (only about 190 households in all)

- Munhaiwa — In the south near the Muvumodzi river ? he belongs to the *beta* or white ant clan;
- Madzunzu — in the south-west with Mahate and Muoco he belongs to the *shava* or eland clan;
- Mashonga — In the south-east with Zomba he belongs to the *moio* or heart of an ox clan, the same as *régulo* Mahate;
- Chicuee — in the east along the Mussapa river with Chicuiso and Mpunga, he also belongs to the *moio* (*moyo*) or heart of an ox clan, the same as *régulo* Mahate;

People had a vague idea that they were in the ChNR but could not distinguish between the core zone and the buffer zone (*zona tampão*). They presently have no major problems with the ChNR as long as they are allowed to carry on farming “as they are now doing”.

A Natural Resources Committee was established last year and the Chairman is Daniel Mukunora. They have no money in the bank. With the help of ORAM a grinding mill was built near to the camp. It subsequently broke down and there are

insufficient funds to repair it

Problems animals in the Mahate include baboons, wild pig, leopards and elephant (but not recently). Extant wild life includes wild pig, waterbuck (*piva*), *palapala*, *dongonda* (simango monkey), eland, rarely elephant, crocodiles (not a problem!), and maybe some buffalo on the far side of the Munhaiwa area.

Quite a large number of Mahate people are going into the mountains to mine gold as they put it, it was their only source of cash income. They said that perhaps if there was more employment locally there would be less *garimpeiros*. Local people also received a considerable amount of income from selling food produce to *garimpeiros*.

There are now no loggers in the area but the area was logged extensively in colonial times by a *serração* — sawmill concession — which operated near Mavita and it was they that opened the road from the Chikukwa road across the Mussapa to the present camp above the Mudzira Gorge. The road to the camp generally passes through *miombo* woodland dominated by *Brachystegia boehmii* — *mufuti* — which is not of much commercial value so it is not clear where the logging took place at this stage. (But see Richard Bell's comments quoted in section 4 below).

The ancestors of Mahate originally migrated to the present area from Mbire (Central Zimbabwe) together with Ngorima at about the same time as the Rozvi migration of Shiridenga at the end of the 17th century: The *régulado* has links with the Ngorima chieftainships on the Zimbabwe side as they are both of the same clan and they may have been a single polity prior the division created by the colonial border. This would mean that Mahate is related to the Mutema migration to Sanga rather than with Muriane and the Tewe *régulos*, though they all belong to the same *moio* clan and the migrations took place at the same time the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. In colonial times Mahate told the administration he was not related to the other *moio* rulers in Sussundenga (and by extension Muriane) as Branquinho noted in his report and the *régulos* of Mavita and Dombe.²).

An important regional rain-making cult is based on the chieftainship, which spreads its influence over much of the centre of the Manica province. In times of great drought and famine apparently also has links with other important rain cults in Gorongosa (Samutenge) and Chipinge in Zimbabwe (Musikavanhu). The latter is, or was, supposed to be the most senior of all the rain cults in eastern Zimbabwe and Central Moçambique.

Régulo Mahate presides over the *makota* rain-making ceremony before the rains and people come all from all over Sussundenga. The *régulo* and the *swikiro* of the *régulado*

² Branquinho, José Alberto Gomes de Melo (1967), '*Prospecção das Forças Tradicionais – Distrito de Manica e Sofala*', Governo Geral de Moçambique, Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações, "Secreto", Lourenço Marques, Fev 1967, Copy in AHM, Maputo.

arrange the *makota* rain-making ceremony, which is held, on or near, the sacred mountain Banya.

According to the ORAM/SPGC delineation report *Régulo* Fernando Mahate was assassinated by Frelimo [during the armed struggle against Renamo?] He was succeeded by Edison who died some time after and was then succeeded by the present *régulo* Elias Mahate. The latter was imprisoned by the authorities in Sussundenga during the Renamo war as he was suspected of cooperating with Renamo.

The following are considered to be sacred areas and some traditional rites must be observed. (1) Banya Mountain as mentioned above, nobody is allowed to climb the mountain or remove any timber in the vicinity. (2) People are not allowed to wash with soap in the Musambakombe one of the rivers just before Mahate Camp. (3) Nhamuringwane Forest in the south (exact location uncertain). (4) Abvodze Forest and (5) Dowe in Mashonga

A few points of interest are;

- Mahate is a very isolated area and even the access to the camp is difficult, one and a half hours plus from the Portão;
- The Gorge on the river Mudzira below the camp is stunning and very picturesque and the camp site has some fine views over the gorge;
- The river obviously has hydro electrical potential.
- There is a large area of swamp wet land clearly visible in Google Earth in the south of the *régulado*.

Map 7 extracted from ORAM / SPGC delimitation of the Mahate Community in 2002.



3.6 Zomba

The boundaries of the régulado are (See also attached sketch Map)

- In the east along the Rio Mussapa with régulo Dombe until its junction with the Muvumodzi;
- In the south, with régulo Muoco, along to Muvumodzi - eastwards - to that river's junction with the Rio Chikambane, then along, or near the Magorogolo hills to the southern end of the Tsinhangani Range;
- In the west along, or near, the crest of the Tsinhangani Range with *régulo* Mahate;
- In the north west, with Mahate, a border following hills and features, in the Chisika, Chitakanua, Kwenga and Dzodza area to the source of the Musambanhaka stream near *Chefe do grupo* Mashonga's village;
- In the north east, with Mashonga under Mahate, from the source of the Musambanhaka stream down to it's junction on the Rio Mussapa, the starting point. (See also ORAM Document on Zomba); *Régulo* Zomba thought that all of his area was in the Chimanimani Reserve. Did not really know where the Reserve and *Zona Tampão* were. Though he said that all the area of the high mountains, including that to the west along the Zimbabwe border, fell under *Régulo* Mahate.

According to the *régulo* there are eight *chefes dos grupos* in his area (This does not tally with the list we have from Sussundenga, which in the case of the Dombe Administrative area is confusing and will contain only recognised as village headmen or *chefes of povoações* by the administration). (See sketch Map)

- Zichau — in a heavily populated area in the south east in the angle between the Mussapa and Muvumodzi Rivers;
- Nguruve — in a heavily populated area on the eastern bank of the Mutucutu near its confluence with the Muvumodzi. (See comments on his *chefe* at the end of the section);
- Murango — in a heavily populated area on the other side of the Mutucutu river to Nguruve;
- Mapira — in a heavily populated area by the junction of the Chikambane and the Muvumodzi Rivers;
- Manhandure — in a generally lightly populated area except along the central part of the Mussapa;
- The *régulos* own area or *zimbabwe* — moderately populated along the central Mutucutu river;
- Chitio - in the north central area — moderately populated;
- Guvura - in the north west — moderately populated

There is no *comité de gestão* or development committee in the Zomba area.

There are seven primary schools in the area, though none of them are permanent structures being constructed of poles and thatch. They are; -

- I. Zibuya School
- II. Mapira School
- III. Muranga School
- IV. Muriro School
- V. Nguruve School
- VI. Murudzvi School
- VII. Musambve School

There are no proper clinics in the area people have to cross the Mussapa river and either go to Dombe or to other health posts or Dombe Mission.

The most important need in the area, both in terms of the ChNR and in general development of the area are bridges across the Mussapa and Mutucutu rivers. The whole access to the ChNR from the south and east is very difficult at the moment and the fairly numerous population have little access to essential services such as health and the sale of agricultural produce in the area. The only present access to the area is in light bark canoes. The Mussapa and Mutucutu rivers also have crocodiles in them and people have been killed or severely injured by them. In the case of the Mutucutu river there were two incidents where people were attacked and injured in the last month. The rehabilitation of road within the boundaries of the Zomba *régulado* should not be that difficult as much of the areas they cover is fairly flat plains.

There is also an old road — constructed by loggers — going towards Mashonga in the mountains. (See also section on Mahate above)

There are very few cattle in the area, they were all killed or died during the war. There are some tsetse fly in the area but not heavy infestations, in addition, people used to have cattle. Right now there are only about three or four people who have cattle and they are in the Zichau area. One of the main advantages of cattle would be for draft both ploughing and for ox carts. The average land holding is about 1 ha.

Nearly everyone in the area has access to wetland *baixas* or *dimba* gardens, which are especially useful in dry years. The farming system is very diverse, the principle crops are; maize that can be grown throughout the year in the *baixas*, *mapira*, millet, groundnuts, jingo beans, *nyemba* beans, sweet potatoes, yams, *muiro* various types, *tsunga*, *mutikiti*, pumpkin leaves - (all greens), *gergelim* (sesame), a type of cassava - locally called *munyandande* grown mainly for the leaves — (I had not noticed this before, it is much more robust than normal cassava and the palmate leaves are much more rounded than in normal cassava, also it is not the normal tree cassava jhb).

The principle cash crops are *gergelim* and maize.

There is also quite a sale of foodstuffs to the *garimpeiros* who are working the gold deposits on the high mountains. People, mainly women, can be seen carrying large bags of maize and other produce on their heads to sell at considerable profit to the *garimpeiros*.

We also saw a type of Indian hemp — *mbanje* — being grown. Its leaves were considerably thinner than the normal hemp normally grown as a drug. Local people assured us that it was grown for its fibre and had been introduced in colonial times?

Food security does not appear to be a major factor, except of course with vulnerable groups of people — widows, single neither, orphans and the elderly. *Régulo Zomba* states that last year was a fairly dry one and that the crops were not as good as normal, however, there was no major hunger.

Beekeeping is carried out but for local consumption only. No one has ever come to Zomba to buy honey in recent years.

The *régulo* complains that a lot of people no longer follow traditional practices such as rainmaking ceremonies. He blames poor rainy seasons on this.

460 people have moved into Zomba area from Maronga's area. Zomba says they have moved as they were not being 'ruled' properly by Maronga and his *sadunbus* (*Chefes dos grupos*). [Though this may also be due to the fact that Maronga is more or less the most isolated area in the *Dombe Posto Administrativo*.] A count of households in Google Earth came up with about 1 156 households which would give a population of about 5 888 people. After Muoco this was the most heavily populated area in the ChNR.

A Brief history of the Zomba ruling lineage — The foundation myth recalls a migration from Mbire which, in this case *Régulo Zomba* identified with Buhera in Zimbabwe — he specifically mentioned Chief Nyashanu's area — which is interesting as he belongs to the same *mutupu* — totem or clan — as Nyashanu, that is the *shava* or eland clan. Traditions recall that they migrated to the area together with Mashonga (*moyo sithole*), Madzunzu (*shava*) and Mahate (*moyo sithole*). If this is so the migration can be clearly attributed to the last decade of the 17th century. (The ORAM delimitation is different saying that they came into Moçambique after problems with the Boers but this is unlikely as the first records of Zomba from the Portuguese are in the 1890s and he was already a *régulo* in his present area. In any case, at that time there had been little displacement of people in the (then) Melsetter district that came later. See comments also about Moodie in the previous section. Perhaps this refers to some other past conflict that they had on their way from Buhera?)

Mashonga is the centre of the rain cult Mahate's area. The relationship between this

rain cult and that of Mahate's deserves further investigation. Zomba is also linked to the cult. Zomba and Mahate remain separate *régulados* but they co-operate in spiritual matters. The main ceremony is carried out in October or November and is called *doro re maswikiro*. This ceremony is not the normal rain ceremony carried out locally throughout the Dombe area — that is called *makoto* — and these ceremonies and their officials are all junior to the cult in Mashonga and Mahate.

Following ORAM delimitation, *Chefe de Grupo* Nguruwé, who lives in the south, is responsible for the installation of a new *régulo* Zomba and also chooses all the new *sabukus* and *santhundus* (*sadunbu?*). The relationship between him and Zomba would be worth investigation, perhaps he was the original owner of the land before Zomba arrived from Buhera?

Régulo Zomba — unusually — did not know much about the days of the Gaza Nguni and Ngungunhane, all he remembered was that some of his ancestors, Chimunorwa, and Majubu, went to Bilene on the lower Limpopo with Ngungunhane [in 1889].

Again the *régulo* said he did not really know much about the early days of the colonial rule, or did not want to talk about it, for example the (*Companhia de Moribane*, which collected rubber and grew crops in Zomba). He had been told that when the Portuguese arrived they went around getting the names of all the chiefs and headmen, who he says they, more or less, correctly identified. *Chibaro* or forced labour was imposed on the population in lieu of tax and people were sent to work on the mines in Manica and the plantations in Chimoio. There was also a lot of (clandestine) labour emigration to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and to the Mines in South Africa.

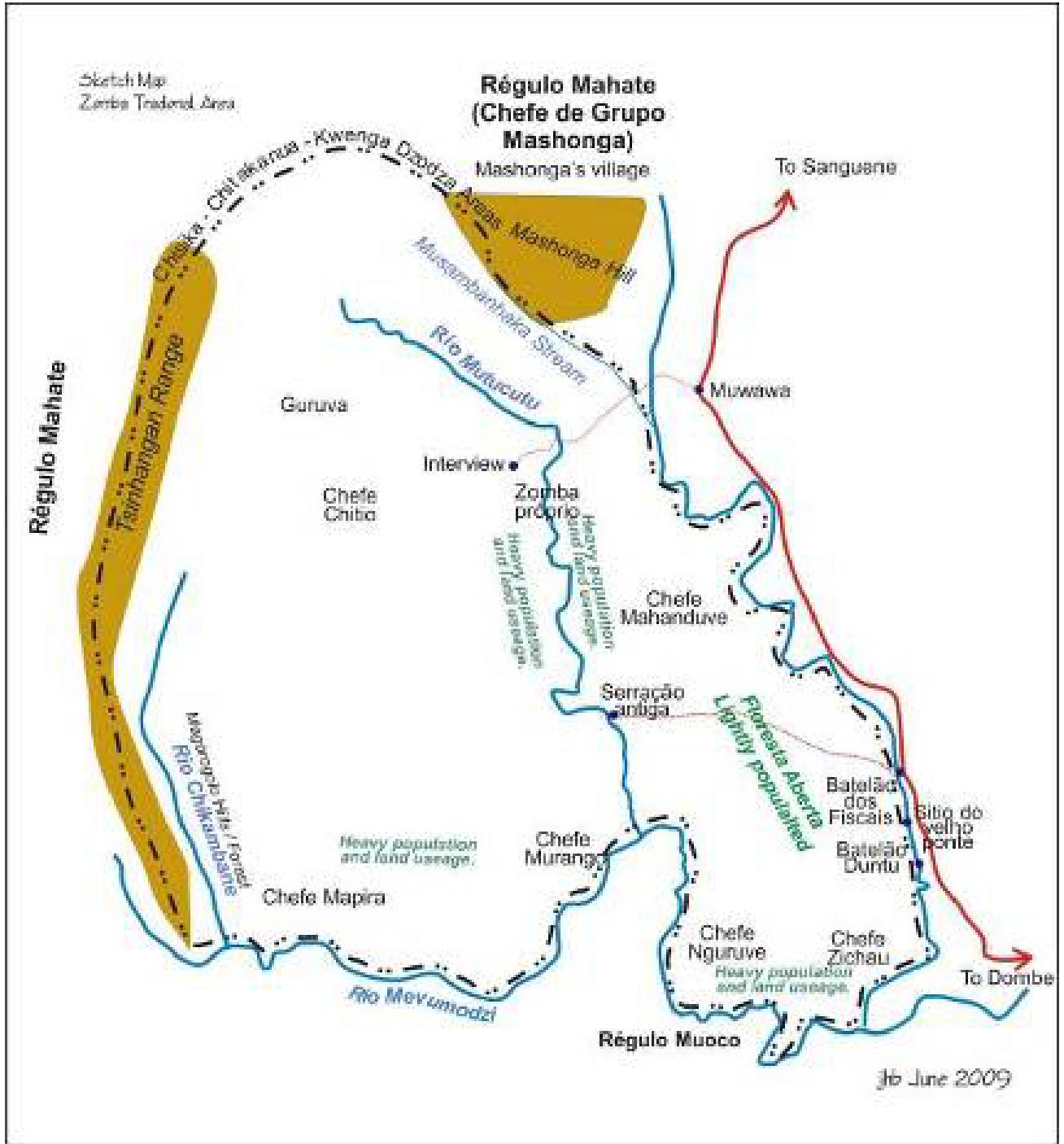
In later colonial times there were several Portuguese colonists in the area, he specifically remembers Adriano and Silva and his family who were farmers nearby and grew cotton and also ran the *serração* on the Mutucutu.

He recalls that at independence things went well at the beginning but then divisions occurred between the "*camarados*" and Renamo and the war started. Most of the people remained in the Zomba area (including the *régulo* himself [this contradicts previous information]) and moved towards the Tsinhangani Range in the west near the high Chimanimanis. These were very hard times and when the period when bridges across the Mussapa and Mutucutu were destroyed.

Map 8. ORAM Delimitation Map of Zomba Régulado 1



Map 9. Sketch Map from Interview with *Régulo Zomba*



3.7 *Mpunga*

The boundaries of the *régulado* are as follows

- Starting at the main road at, or near, the source of the Maori River generally eastwards to its junction with the Furodzi;
- Down the Furodzi in a SSE direction to its junction with the Mbunga River;
- Thence up the Mbunga River in a generally WSW direction and along the eastern ridge of the Chinhangure Range in a SW direction to the source of the Nhamacaia Stream;
- Thence down the Nhamacaia stream in a generally south to SSE direction to the burial grounds of the Mpunga *Régulos* — Manuruca Forest;
- Thence WSW along the road from Moribane *Serração* to Chimkono but excluding Chimkono Centre;
- Thence in a SSE to SE direction to the Rupungu River and down that river to the Mussapa;
- Thence generally northward along the Mussapa River to its junction with the Nharonde River;
- Thence up the Nharonde River to its junction with the Chimo stream;
- Thence up the Chimo stream meandering North Eastwards to North Westwards and finally North North Eastwards to the starting point on the main road being the watershed between the Chimo Stream and the source of the Maori River.

On the other hand, many local people are unclear about the boundaries of the ChNR and Moribane Forest itself.

Mpunga community has four *sagutas*, namely;

- Mpunga (*Próprio*) — i.e. the *régulos* central area
- Mapinde — In the Mutowe area in the north
- Mucuawaia — in the south west
- Magaraba — in the south east

The community is in the process of a delimitation process, they still have to do a land zoning, as required by the current Land Law. They hope to designate part of their area as a community forest reserve and also go into the possibility discussed obtaining finance through carbon credits. At this stage they are more interested in tourism as they see a quicker financial reward from it. The planned opening of the Nzou Lodge with MACAIA has raised the expectations that tourism, especially eco-tourism, will provide opportunities to local people.

A committee for the management of natural resources was formed during the first phase of the ACTF project and is effectively functioning. It has yet to be registered and it does not have a bank account. It has organised a strategy for controlling wild fires. They have worked out a strategy for controlling wildfires in the dry season; in the various *sagutas* areas. A number of people are responsible for the prevention of uncontrolled bush fires. If fires do occur they are responsible for mobilizing community members to fight and extinguish the fires.

Their relationship with the reserve is good though some points need to be clarified. It is unclear to them what resources they are permitted to use and where and for this reason it is important that zoning exercise currently underway, with the help of Micaia is completed and agreed to.

They mentioned that in former times, when wild animals were more abundant, a common hunting technique was to drive the game with dogs towards hunters; this is not done any more the only prevailing technique is the use of snares.

There are conflicts with elephants that come and raid their fields. Local people, however, do appreciate that the elephants are a great asset for attracting tourists and therefore also value them. They have high expectation of the foreseen land zoning which will be done in the course of the delimitation process to be able to control the elephants. From various interviews, not only in Mpunga, but also in Mahate, Zomba and Chinda *regulados*, it appears that elephants are not as abundant as they were a few years ago.

Currently there is no logging and this has not occurred for many years but the evidence is that long ago there must have been fairly extensive logging in most of Moribane Forest Reserve as much of the forest is no longer primary forest. Fire and former cultivation may be responsible for much of this though cannot explain the absence in some areas or certain species.

In collaboration with MICAIA and the ChNR the community are also working on clearing forest tracks and paths so that tourists can visit the forest, special mention might be made here of the old track that goes towards the Mussapa Grande and through some delightful forest patches and to the beautiful Tava *Dambo*.

MICAIA also plan to work with the community in the establishment of a nursery to raise forest plants and fruit trees. Research is underway to ascertain those plants and trees in the forest that have medicinal or other herbal attributes with the possible cultivation and sustainable collection of these from the forest.

Fish culture and bee keeping projects were started in the first phase of the project but were not successful. There are plans with the help of the ChNR to revitalise them.

There is considerable banana production in Mpunga, much of which is highly suitable for the production of them. However this has been at the expense of the forest and often the best forest was cleared, in the valleys to plant bananas. Quite a wide variety of crops are grown including; maize, *mapira* /sorghum, millet, various types of beans, tomatoes, cassava, finger millet, sweet potatoes, sesame, and of course bananas.

Quite a number of fruit trees are grown and again the area is suitable for various tropical fruits, among them, or oranges, tangerines, grapefruit.

Surprisingly, not all that many people have access to *baixas* or *dimba* gardens (wetlands) unlike the rest of Dombe. (Only about 20 families in Mpunga). This reason for this should be followed up.

There are no properly constructed schools in Mpunga on a very rudimentary shed which functions as a school. There is a better school building in Chimokono in Sanguene area, which many children from Mpunga attend.

There is no health centre in Mpunga, only first aid centre at Chimokono (5 km), for more serious cases people have to go to Dombe (33 km), or to the hospital at the Catholic mission in Dombe but that requires payment.

Mpunga traditions.

Interestingly, though perhaps not too much should be read into it, the following is of interest; Mpunga is one of a large number of *régulos* in the Dombe, Chibabava, Mossurize Búzi and Sofala areas who belong to the *simango* or *soko* clan. Amongst the others are; Dombe, Chibabava, Mucuni, Magundi, Garagua and Marombe: The geographical positions of these *régulos* are interesting they live along the valleys of Búzi, Lucite and Gorongosa Rivers (the latter not to be confused with the district of that name), i.e. the old trade routes to the coast. In addition traditions among various Ndau people recall that prior to the arrival of the Rozvi *moio* clans the *simango* and *dziva* / *moiambo* ruled much of the area.

João Julião da Silva who visited much of Tewe and the surrounding area from the late 18th to early 19th century just before the Nguni invasions mentions a certain Mucuassano Cumpunga as one of the 'grandes' of Tewe in the Zamve area. This may, or may not, refer to one of the former Mpunga rulers at that time. Chimbia a neighbour of Mpunga across the Furodzi River is also mentioned as is Muriane on many occasions by the same author.

Local people have a vague memory of connections with the Mahate area, when they arrived in the present area there were four leaders, Mapinde, Dombe, Mpunga and Mutowe? Mapinde might have been the most important in the early stages.

Mpunga was originally the senior chief in the Dombe area; *régulo* Dombe only appears to have gained ascendancy when the Portuguese established a post there in

1942 shortly after the Portuguese Government took over from the Moçambique Company.

The first Colonial administrator that people remember is again Ferreira, he is remembered as he opened the road through to Dombe and was carried around by local people in a *machira*. They also remember the opening up of the Serração de Moribane. Mpunga forest was originally part of their concession. (Hence the name.)

In the 1950s the Portuguese established a Forest Reserve in Mpunga. The following account by Richard Bell and Jessica Schaffer covers the independence period and the civil war in Mpunga.

“ . . . Portuguese interventions were limited to the appointment of forest guards to ensure that local populations did not set fires in the forest or cut down certain species. According to oral testimony, hunting was not forbidden, and was widely practised by local people, using bows and arrows, domestic dogs, traps, fires, and sometimes firearms. 33

The Portuguese government sent special hunters to cull the elephants that lived in or passed through the area, as local people had strict taboos on the hunting of elephants. Local people portrayed the cull as beneficial because it kept the elephant population from becoming too large and thus menacing agricultural production. But doubtless the export of ivory from elephant tusks was also a prime motivation for Portuguese hunters. It appears that habitation *per se* was not prohibited in the Forest Reserves, as confirmed by the presence of scattered settlements visible in aerial photographs from 1973. According to a former employee of the colonial forestry services, the size of agricultural clearances was limited within the forest reserve. 34 Local people contested this allegation, insisting that there were no restrictions on their agricultural fields apart from not cutting down certain tree species. After Mozambique gained independence in 1975, the forest reserve was no longer patrolled and nor were the rules enforced.

When the new Frelimo government nationalised land, the majority of Portuguese settlers left the Dombe area. In 1979, the government took people from the reserve area and other parts of Mpunga chieftaincy to form a communal village in an area just outside the boundaries of the chieftaincy. The current Chief Mpunga, whose brother was ruling at the time, was made into an overseer of Frelimo's communal field. This lasted only a brief time, until the first Renamo attacks on the Dombe administrative post in 1980 made

people scatter from communal villages and resettle in dispersed habitation, as they had previously lived, or flee across the border to Zimbabwe.

Frelimo set up a military base within the forest reserve early in the war, which it located on a site *Régulo* Mpunga considered sacred, an ancestral burial ground. Accounts differ as to exactly what happened, but Frelimo suffered a military disaster there, and abandoned the base by approximately 1983. People in Mpunga attributed this defeat to the revenge of the spirits, indicating the extent to which Frelimo had alienated the local population by this point.

After Frelimo's failure to establish a secure base, the area of the forest reserve and most of the surrounding areas of Dombe administrative post became a Renamo stronghold. Many people fled the area for safer government-held centres, although the dominant preference was to take refuge in Zimbabwe.

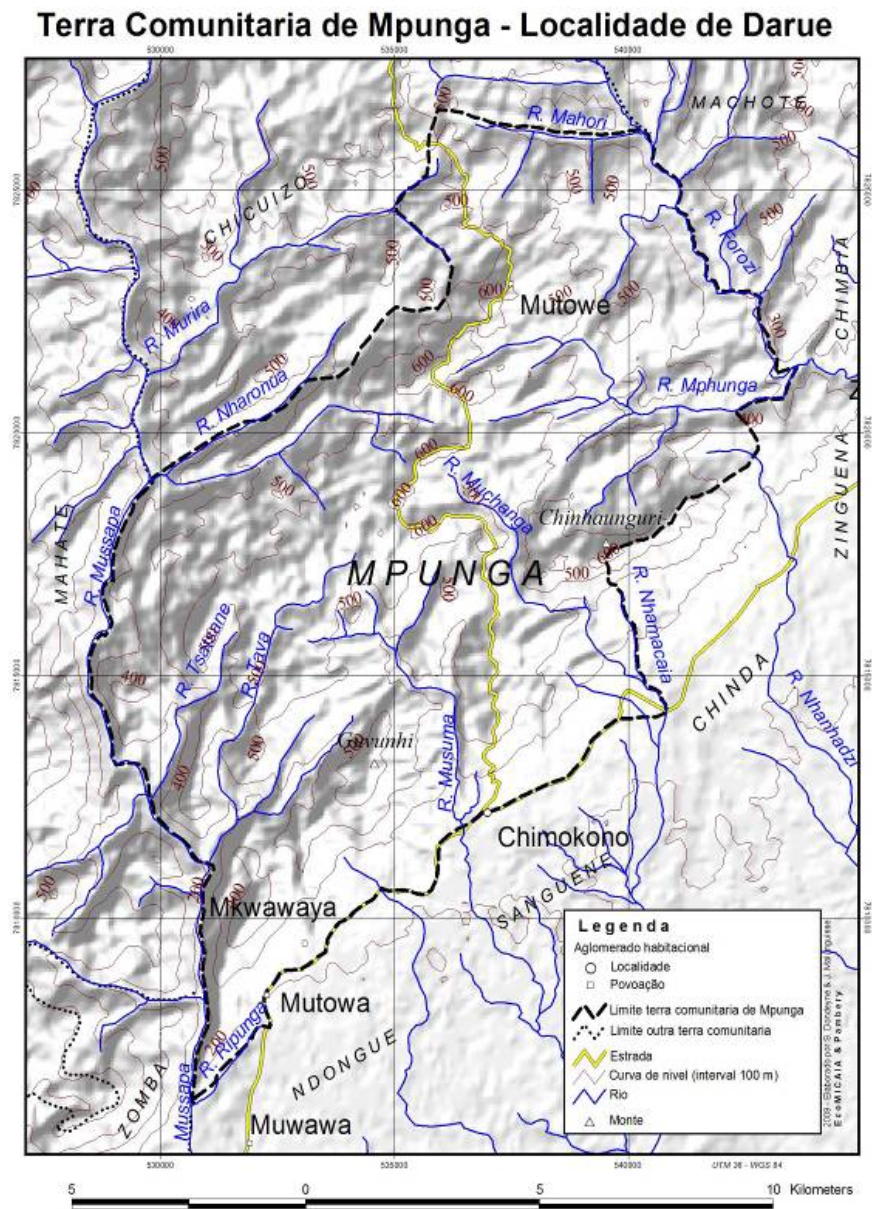
Many who ended up in government centres were taken there against their will by government troops, or were forcibly repatriated from Zimbabwe with the collusion of the Zimbabwean government. Nonetheless, a significant number of people chose to remain in Mpunga. This choice was made either because they agreed with Renamo's political programme, or because they felt that the safest of all options was to stay put. Others could not flee the area even if they had desired to do so as they found themselves trapped within areas of Renamo control.

When the Moribane forest reserve and the rest of the Mpunga chieftaincy fell under Renamo control, one of the first things Renamo did was reintroduce the rule of the traditional hierarchy, as was their policy across the country. However, reinstalling 'traditional' leadership was not a simple undertaking after the disturbances of the intervening years of Frelimo rule, and colonial interference before independence.

In Mpunga, as in many other places, the person generally considered to be the rightful successor to the chieftaincy fled the area early in the war for government-controlled area in the Beira corridor. The elders were asked for a substitute, and they put forward Nyangambire Mpunga, younger brother to the rightful successor.

He then appointed his own people to the subordinate post of *saguta*, rather than follow the [Ndaou customary] rule of father-to-son succession.³”

Richard Bell and Jessica Schaefer go on to describe the post-war conflicts political, institutional and community conflicts in, or involving Mpunga.



Map 10. Mpunga

³ Jessica Schafer & Richard Bell, ‘The State and Community-based Natural Resource Management: the Case of the Moribane Forest Reserve, Mozambique’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 28, Number 2, June 2002

3.8 *Muoco and Maronga*

Régulo Muoco lives about 4 km north of the school along a footpath – it was once a road — to just south of the Muvumodzi. The site old bridge across the Muvumodzi is bear by. There was a road on the other side that went to the Zomba Serração via another bridge across the Mutucutu. See Sketch Map.

The boundaries of the Muoco regulados are as follows;

- With Mahate from a point on the Zimbabwe border through the high southern part of the Chimanimani mountains to a point on the Muvumodzi river — known to local people;
- With Zomba along the Muvumodzi river to its junction with the Mussapa Grande;
- With Dombe along the Mussapa Grande to its confluence with the Lucite;
- The upstream along the Lucite in a generally south west and westerly direction to the Haroni River on the Zimbabwe Border;
- Then north along the international border to the starting point.

Note that these are the borders of the *régulado*, as a whole, not those between the *régulo* with Macoca and Maronga, now *chefes de grupos* under him, but who, in the past, were *régulos* in their own right.

The following *chefes dos grupos* fall under the *régulos* and covers a large area. It also has the highest population of all the *régulados* in the ChNR. The *chefes dos grupo* are (They are probably not all recognized by the district government);

- Muoco (*Próprio*) — south of the big bend in the Muvumodzi
- Nhamussissua between the Main Espungabera Road and the Lucite;
- Javela also near the road;
- Mugaru — near the Mussapa Bridge,
- Chirucu — Along the south of the lower Muvumodzi
- Mangwena — To the west of the main road
- Machiri — in the south near the Lucite bridge
- Mcooca — Between the Mudewue and Sitautonga ranges in the west.
- Maronga — Between the Sitautonga and the Zimbabwe Border.

The household count in Google Earth came up with a total of 1897 households — say about 9 500 people. Of these 1 403 were in Muoco and 494 in Maronga.

There are six schools in the area, namely; Muoco, Mkoka, Maronga, Machiri, Nhamussissua and Javela. Only Nhamussissua has one old classroom dating from the colonial period the remainder are all grass structures or, at the best, wattle and daub.

Details re Muoco School, including three annexes, there are seven teachers and 540

pupils — of which 275 are at the main school. The impression gained was that in spite of the lack of proper buildings that the school was being run fairly efficiently. Apart from the children there was an adult education programme. Meeting at school, many of the teachers were off to Machiri where there was to be a meeting with the First Lady — Maria de Luz Guebuza — subsequently she did not arrive there due to bad weather. The *madodos* were reluctant to give any information about the area as the *régulo* had also at the meeting in Machiri.

When we arrived at the school the children all started dancing around the truck and singing. It was the first time that they had ever seen a vehicle and a white! Although this school is in fact only about 17 km from Dombe as the crow flies and of old there was a road that went from the main road just south of the Mussapa Bridge to the CB power lines and then on to Muoco School. However, a crossing on the first portion of this is now destroyed and it is necessary to go down to a point just short of Machiri and then drive up to the power lines to just short of the Muvumodzi and then turn sharp right. Then proceed along a rough track for about 10 km to the school.

People had no idea of the boundaries of the ChNR or that they were in the Buffer Zone.

People say that there are no *garimpeiros* in the area, and think that most of the population in the Lucite is coming from the Haroni River and Vimba in Zimbabwe where ‘machines’ are being used in the river. They thought there might be some mining activity in the Maronga area. Later, on a visit to the Mutowe area of Mossurize, mining activity by *garimpeiros* was observed on the north bank of the Lucite in Maronga area just the west of the Sitautonga Range. It was not this site, however, that was causing the pollution.

Most of the access to Maronga and quite a large amount to Macoca are by canoe or other boats from the south bank in Mossurize District. Likewise people in Maronga probably crossed the Lucite and use stores and social facilities in Mossurize District, while others were thought to go to Zimbabwe. People have great expectations that the upcoming opening of the Lucite and Mussapa high-level bridges will result in the improvement of facilities in the area. In the late colonial period there used to be several roads in the area, to Maronga along the Lucite Valley, to Muoco and across the Muvumodzi to the Zomba Area.

Most people live along the valleys of the Lucite, Muvumodzi, Muerera, Mussapa (Maronga) and other rivers coming from the mountains. By far the largest concentration of settlement is along the Lucite river south-west of Dombe. One again the community hope that with the opening of the two bridges across the Lucite and Mussapa Grande will open up the area and there will be some development as the result of this, especially in terms of secondary roads, Schools

and heath facilities.

Concerning logging activities by a Sr. Oliveira and the simple license people at Muoco knew nothing of it at this stage. They thought that maybe there was something happening in the Machiri area. (The road that links the power line and the cleared area the other side of the power line may have been cleared by a logger see map)

We later met the *regulo* at Machiri where all the *regulos* and community leaders from the south of Dombe were gathered, namely;

- António Cherene Bonhangua — *Chefe de Localidade*
- Robert Daniel Muoco – *Régulo Muoco*
- Peter Meque Mkoka – *Chefe de Grupo Mcoça*
- Farai Mugara – *Chefe de Povoação Mugara*
- Luiz Machiri *Chefe de Grupo Machiri*
- Filimone Nhamussissua – *Chefe de Grupo Nhamussissua*
- Lazaro Maronga – Representing *Chefe de Grupo Maronga*

The *Chefe de Localidade* dominated the interview and did not give the others a much of a chance to speak. *Régulo Côa* was also there but he is outside the ChNR. He confirmed that he is related to Chikukwa and originally came from the Sangueme Area.

Population and Area

The population of the Muoco area is according the *Chefe de Localidade* some 19 000 people compared to the estimation from the household count which was 1897 households — say x 5 about 9500. However the *localidade* includes all the Muoco and Zomba areas do the figures for the *localidade* should not be more or less correct.

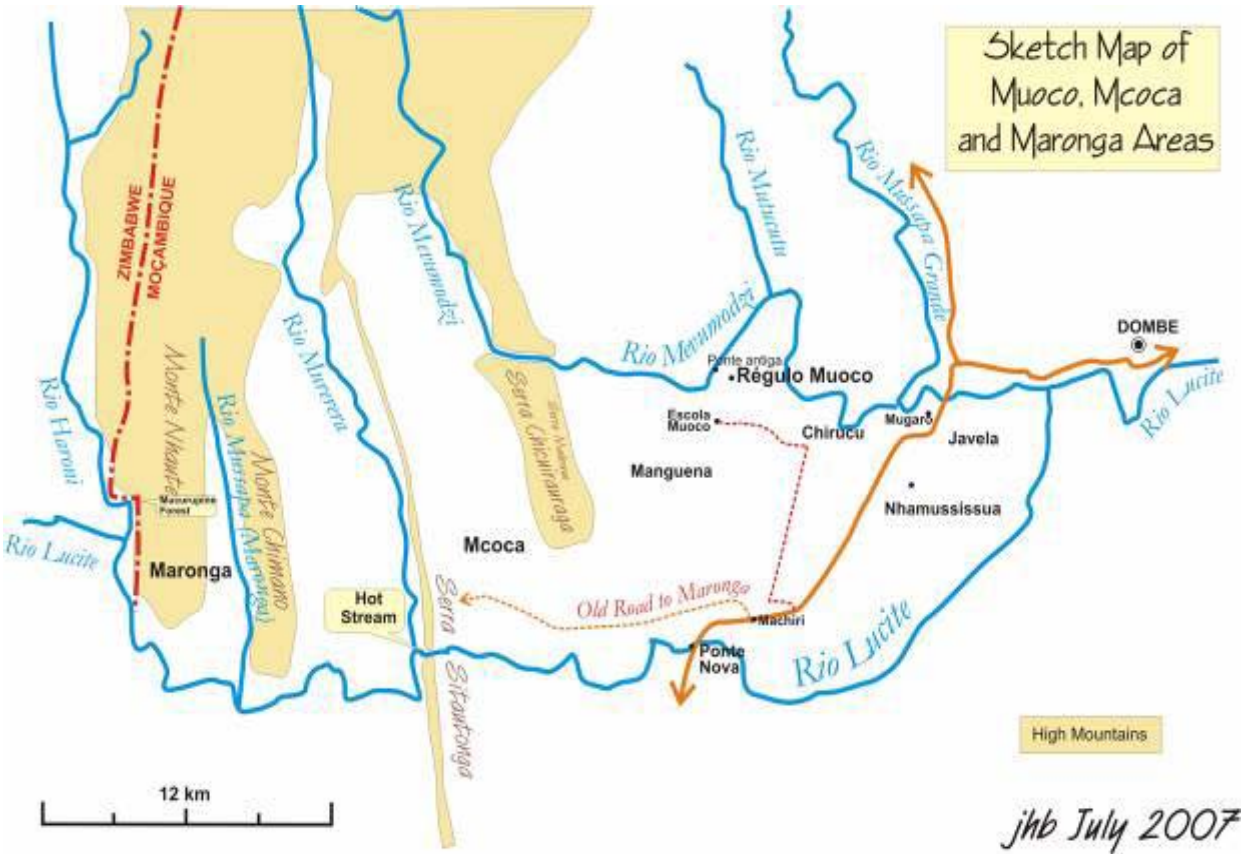
The old road from Maronga goes westward from Machiri to Munamasse, then to the Rio Chidza, then onwards to the Sitautonga Range, then across the Rio Muerera Pequena and then the Muerera Grande, then into the Maronga area, then across the Rio Mussapa to Murongozdze and to the Zimbabwe Border at the Haroni. Most of the bridges on this road were destroyed by war or floods over the last 20 years or so.

Not much is known about the area save that the Muoco *regulado* was founded by Muriane who sent the first Muoco there to govern the area on his behalf. Muoco and Macoca are related and both belong to the Tewe ruling clan *moio/ngonhama*.

As to *regulo* Maronga he is related to the Mafusse, Gogoi and Mutove *regulados* in Mossurize of the *dziva* or pool totem.

Some sacred areas Mundende Mountain in Magaru, other areas in Muoco and Maronga but no one was very clear on this. More enquires should be made here. Some ruins are thought to exist near the Sitautonga Mountains in Maronga.

Régulo Côa was also at the meeting (he lives outside the ChNR) but it is of interest that his ancestors migrated to their present, just to the east of the Sitautonga Range south of the Lucite, from the Chikukwa area many generations ago. He belongs to the same clan as Chikukwa and Nhahedzi



Map 11. Muoco Maronga

3.9 *Periphery Régulos with influence or small areas within the Zona Tampão*

In the south east there are two areas under *sagutas* of neighbouring *régulo* Namely Chinda and Zinguena.

Even though he comes under Sambanhe, Chinda is actually related to Zomba and I still retains some links with that *régulo* though they share no common boundary. A small portion of Mpunga Forest falls under him and a larger, though still small area of the buffer zone.

Zinguena is *Chefe do grupo* under Sambanhe and lives at the Serração Moribane next to the Furodzi River on the road to the Mavuzi central and Macate to Chimoio.

On the far side of the Furodzi there is another saguta of Machote — Chimbria — who is technically in the ChNR but his inclusion has more to do with ‘imaginary lines’ drawn across maps than any other.

North of Mpunga lies the small Chiquizo regulado and this *régulo* also has a small portion of the Mpunga forest and the buffer zone within his area.

Finally Regulo Muriane should be mentioned. He lives quite a long way from the ChNR near to the Mavuzi Barrage on the old road back to Chimoio via the Barrage and Macate.

He remains regarded as the senior *régulo* in the Sussundenga and neighbouring districts; he is a member of the Tewe Royal Family and quite a number of the *régulos* in the ChNR, though probably not all, still recognise him as paramount in the area. His influence is probably more cultural than political but in certain cases traditional legal cases are still referred to him.

3.10 *Communities SWOT Analysis*

Tsetsera — Sembezia

Strengths

- Relatively easy access from Manica, Chicamba Dam and to a lesser degree Chimoio;
- Good Tourist potential for Tsetsera Plateau and Forests and escarpment;
- Magnificent view over Chicamba Dam, Sussundenga and beyond;
- Podocarpus / Mist belt forests with high biodiversity;
- Existing road up to the plateau;
- Access from Zimbabwean side (Present state of this road?);
- Potential partner Community broker — Monty Hunter;

- Community has experience in cash crop production.

Weaknesses

- No existing tourist facilities;
- Few Local employment opportunities;
- Cost of upkeep of access road;
- Distance from other parts of ChNR and its administration;
- Original vegetation of plateau large destroyed by pine plantations which have been felled but regeneration is a problem;

Opportunities

- Old Carvalho Residence could be renovated to tourist facility;
- Plateau suitable for seed potatoes production as over 200m, further secondary duplication of seed potatoes could be carried out by local community;
- Community in Sembezia have experience in cash crop production;
- Comite de Gestão functioning in Mupandeia area;
- Small scale hydroelectric potential;
- Beekeeping.

Threats

- Deforestation caused by family sector farmers linked to tobacco production and curing;
- Poaching; Bush Fires;
- Potential mining threat

Mussimua

Strengths

- Reasonable infrastructure at Rotanda and Messambudzi;
- Access to cultural sites at Chinyadembue and Dombo ra Marodzi;
- Community has experience in cash crop production and irrigation;
- Road access good.

Weaknesses

- No great Tourist potential as compared to other parts o the ChNR;
- Much of area now under commercial pine eucalypt plantations;

Opportunities.

- Possibilities of cooperation with IFLOMA with tourism;
- Some local employment with IFLOMA and other livelihood opportunities;
- Cultural Tourism to Zimbabwe;
- Ruin sites but limited interest amongst majority of tourists;
- Irrigation potential could be enhanced;

- Small scale hydro electrical schemes.

Threats

- Conflict between IFLOMA and local population;
- Wild fires;
- Soil Erosion

Gutsa

Strengths

- Fair accessibility (after Rotanda, the road poor but being worked on)
- Good scenery in upper Mussapa Pequena Valley and access to Mucohwe Range;
- Nascent Comité de Gestão exists;
- Irrigation extant and potential;
- Previous work in area by ORAM and Magariro? (Some of which was not finished);

Weaknesses

- Apart from irrigated valley floor, poor agricultural potential and soils;
- The east of area generally infertile deciduous miombo woodland with relatively low rainfall;
- Population concentrated in upper Mussapa Valley;
- Few local employment opportunities;
- Development also only in upper Mussapa Valley.

Opportunities

- Tourist potential for Tandara Plateau — (Long Term)?
- Small scale hydro electrical potential;
- Track for walkers from Upper Mussapa to Ferreira (in Nhahedzi Area)

Threats

- Grass fires (Destroyed a village last year);
- Poaching in area and into ChNR;
- Magnificent view in valley of Mussapa Grande and Chimanimani Gorge on road to Ferreira;

Nhahedzi

Strengths

- Best and well-known approach to Chimanimani Mountains;

- Main route for those who wish to climb Monte Binga;
- Rock Paintings and Zimbabwe ruin sites;
- MICAIA in process of establishing camp at Nhabawa on route to Monte Binga and Chimanimani highlands.

Weaknesses

- Generally not all that fertile;
- Long history of droughts famines and migration from area;
- No local employment opportunities (though some people seek employment in Zimbabwe on the forestry estates;
- Complete lack of development and infrastructure in the form of schools, clinics etc.;
- Poor access as far as Nhabawa and very poor 4 X 4 access to Ferriera;
- Community very far from shops and markets, access to these requires long walks as there is no public transport;
- Area cut off by Mussapa Pequena at times during rainy season.

Opportunities

- Tourism after facilities completed at Nhabawa;
- Possible irrigation along valleys of Mussapa Pequena, Macura and Mussapa Grande;
- Hydro electric potential;
- Entry point from Zimbabwe to ChNR when situation in Zimbabwe improves;
- Generally good relations with Ministry of Tourism staff at Portão;
- Beekeeping

Threats

- Population feel insecure over their rights of occupation and tenure;
- They fear eviction as in happened on Zimbabwe side of the border in the National Park. In fact there are no current plans to evict people from the ChNR but the fear remains among certain communities that this will take place;
- Fires and woodland degradation. Fires also damaging the margins of small patches of evergreen forests;
- Poaching especially of large antelope.

Mahate

Strengths

- Existing tourist facility at Mahate near Munzira Gorge;
- Magnificent scenery;
- Wetland – largely unvisited in upper Mutucutu Valley;
- Strong cultural traditions and important rainmaking cult centred on this regulado;

Weaknesses

- Much of the area south of the Munzira Valley is not accessible except on foot;
- Crossing points on Munzira difficult need to be investigated;
- No marketing facilities for crops;
- No employment opportunities, thus many members of the community take up work at gold panners;
- No social infrastructure and long distances to markets and other centres;
- Crossing of Mussapa Grande by four wheel drive vehicles only and impassable though much of the rains say December – March.

Opportunities

- Tourism, the elephants from Mpunga are thought to cross into the wetlands on the middle Mutucutu valley, they used to get as far as the Mahate plateau but apparently no longer;
- Previous work by ORAM and existing grinding mill. Presently not functioning;
- Beautifully placed tourist facility;
- Access to highlands via path on or near Munzira Gorge known by local people;
- Previous work by ORAM;
- Miombo woodland suitable for bees and collection of wild mushrooms for drying;
- Long term possibility of establishing north south road within ChNR if crossing of Munzira can be resolved;
- Old roadwork to the south is said to still exist but overgrown.

Threats

- Gold panning and subsequent pollution of rivers;

- Deforestation evergreen forests and wetlands;

Mpunga

Strengths

- Large areas of moist lowland and medium altitude evergreen forest;
- Good road access from both north and south 2 hours from both Chimoio and from Goonda on EN 1 (Maputo Road) via Dombe;
- Resident herd of elephants;
- Floral biodiversity;
- MICAIA in process of constructing tourist Lodge at Nzou Camp:

Weaknesses

- Past social tensions among community;
- Marketing of agricultural produce;
- Little local employment opportunity;
- No really suitable for livestock low tsetse fly presence;
- Lack of social infrastructure.

Opportunities

- MICAIA constructing new tourist Lodge at Nzou Camp;
- Interest in collection of traditional herbs and remedies for sale;
- Beekeeping (Market opportunities in South Africa);
- Tropical fruit production in selected areas;
- Start of main eastern route into the Chimanimani Highland via Zomba and Mashonga;

Threats

- Past community conflicts, traditional and over elephants;
- Human elephant conflict and crop destruction;
- Destruction of evergreen forest, mainly for banana cultivation;

Zomba

Strengths

- With Mashonga the 'Eastern Gateway' to Chimanimani Mountains;
- Large areas of fertile soils many with existing of potential irrigation;
- Magnificent landscape and views to the western mountains;

Weaknesses

- No bridges across the Mussapa Grande, Muvumodzi or Mutucutu rivers;
- No local employment opportunities;
- Complete lack of infrastructure in the form of school clinics, stores etc.;
- No facilities for marketing crops, area of high agricultural potential;
- Much of the original vegetation and forest has been modified long ago by intensive agriculture except in the south central area where a large block of *miombo ethyrophloelum* forest woodland remains.

Opportunities

- Irrigation potential;
- Cash Crops;
- Beekeeping, mushrooms wild fruits;
- Tourist route to Chimanimani Highlands;
- Sustainable community based forest use in south centre woodland, carpentry;
- Porterage of food etc. to gold miners on Chimanimani highlands;
- Some internal road survives as paths and could be resurrected if the problems of bridges are resolved.

Threats

- Floods;
- Soil Erosion;
- Commercial logging;
- Crocodiles;
- Pollution of Rivers due to mining activities.

Muoco

Strengths

- Large areas of fertile soils many with existing of potential irrigation, along Lucite and Muvumodzi;
- Tourist potential in the North and east;
- Access will be improved with the opening shortly if the high level bridges across the Mussapa and Lucite rivers;
- Thus improved access to both Dombe and Espungabera.

Weaknesses

- No present infrastructure — school buildings and clinics;
- Access to the west of the area by secondary road practically impossible;
- No local employment opportunities;
- Tourist potential very limited.

Opportunities

- Agriculture in large areas of fertile alluvial soils;
- Beekeeping;
- New bridges will bring new opportunities, and hopefully more development;
- Community involvement in commercial logging;
- Some internal road survives as paths and could be resurrected if the problem of bridges is resolved.

Threats

- Commercial logging;
- Floods;
- Alluvial mining and river pollution. Lucite already seriously polluted with red silt due, mainly to mining activities on the Zimbabwe side of the border.

Maronga

Strengths

- Lowland evergreen forests in the Mukurupini area and the upper valleys of the Muerera and Mussapa (Maronga);
- Area of high biodiversity both in terms of miombo woodland and evergreen forest with several endemic species;
- Easy access from Zimbabwe in normal times;
- Scenic river gorges along the valleys the Makurupini, Maronga Mussapa and Muerera;

Weaknesses

- Extremely isolated from the rest of Dombe area, access from via western Muoco area about two days on foot. Probably better access by canoe from the Mutowe and Mafusse areas of Mossurize District to the south of the Lucite;
- No social infrastructure in terms of schools health facilities;
- Difficult to get accurate information on the area.

Opportunities

- In the long term the area has high potential in terms of tourism if access can be improved and the situation in Zimbabwe resolves itself;
- No local employment opportunities except possibly in Zimbabwe;
- Hydro electric potential

Threats

- Large scale alluvial gold (and diamond?) mining mainly on the Zimbabwe side of the border in the Lucite and Haroni Rivers causing serious pollution. The Lucite River looks like red soup at the moment. A few years ago it was crystal clear;
- Some mining also on the Moçambican side near the Sitautonga Mountains.

4 Traditional Leadership Hierarchies

4.1 Introduction

Traditional structures are not static social organs, over time they have had to modify themselves due to changes their relationships with governments, land use, their neighbours. Some tradition may even have been of quite recent province. The traditional leaders belong to lineages or dynasties and their positions are hereditary. There are two systems of secession to these posts; generally in the southern Ndauspeaking area of the ChNR the eldest son of the senior wife succeeds his father on the death of the latter, while in the northern areas a system of collateral succession is followed passing between several “houses”. On the death of a *régulo* the succession passes initially to his oldest surviving brother, and then to the next brother and until that generation all have died and then it will go to one of the sons of the *régulos* of the previous generation. The system can be very confusing and has often led to serious disputes over the leadership in some *régulos* and in the pre-colonial era often led to wars between the various factions, much the same as dynastic wars in other parts of the world.

The hierarchical structure of traditional leadership, using the Portuguese terms – *régulo* (chief) – *chefe do grupo* (group village headman or sub chief) – *chefe do povoação* (village headman), was used by the authorities in colonial times as intermediaries in the collection of taxes and organisation of forced labour. Some accounts even suggest that this hierarchy was even invented by the colonial authorities, who themselves choose and appointed people to the various posts. However they did actually exist in pre-colonial times

This is not really the case and the structures date back to the pre colonial era and have always been used by rulers to collect taxes (then along the old trade routes) and to provide labour in the fields of a ruler (cultivating the *régulos* *zunde machamba*).

4.2 The structure of the traditional leadership hierarchy

There are usually recognised several levels in the traditional leadership hierarchy; in addition there are a number of traditional leadership “offices” or roles that are specialised to specific functions that to some extent operate in parallel to the principal leadership roles.

Several languages dialects are involved in describing, or have influenced the description of the various offices in the hierarchy. These include Shona (Ndauspeaking, Manica and Tewe), Portuguese, English (as the ChNR is on the Zimbabwean

border), and Nguni.

The status of particular positions has been subject to manipulation, distortion and dispute. Both the Portuguese and British colonial administrations moulded the traditional leadership hierarchies into forms designed to suit their political and administrative objectives. Similar distortions were imposed by both Frelimo and Renamo. The situation is further complicated where the former jurisdiction of a traditional leader has been cut by the international boundary, as in the case of Chief Chikukwa.

Currently some traditional leaders assess their status within the hierarchy differently from others, differently. To take one example from many, *Régulos* Mahate and Mussimua each state that Gudza is a *chefe do grupo* of Mahate and Mussimua respectively, while Gudza himself states that he is a *régulo* in his own right and is recognized by his people as such. Depending on how one sees the status of Gudza, the status of his sub-ordinate headmen changes as well. This clearly shows that there is no uniformly agreed traditional hierarchy in the Chimanimani area and whether there ever has been seems doubtful, except as artificial constructs within the files of the colonial administrators.

This confusion appears to have surfaced in the early colonial period. Initially, the Portuguese, as we saw above recognised a large number of *régulos*, but as time went on they reduced the number and ‘demoted’ many of the from the level or *régulo* to that of *chefe do grupo* and placed them under other *régulos* to whom they had previously had no relationship. This was probably done as the *régulos* concerned did not have enough tax payers to warrant their position. Very late in the colonial period the Portuguese realised that this had been an error and had planned to rectify the problem but had not got around to doing anything until before independence.

The terms in common use in the Chimanimani area with their approximate correspondences are discussed below. It should be noted also that the Portuguese administration recognised more than one level of *régulo*. *Régulos* Muriane (Murivane or Moribane) was recognised as senior *régulo* in the district. Table Ap 3.2 sets out the traditional leadership hierarchy of Sussundenga District in the form supplied to the consultants by the District Administrator; this format appears to have been derived from Portuguese documents.

There is considerable confusion over the term “*subukhu*” which is a Shona term for a village headman derived from the English word “book”, it was used by the Rhodesian Administration to maintain the registers of households for taxation purposes. The use of his title spread across the border and the term is sometimes used by people in the ChNR near to the border. Richard Bell thought that

“*subukhu*” referred the TAs at the *Chefe de Grupo* as this was what his informants in Mahate told him and it maybe that the term is used in this sense in Mahate and maybe Zomba, but in other areas it refers to a village headman. Also it is only a term used close to the Zimbabwean border. In future it will be necessary for people to find out in each community what the traditional names for the various offices are. For example the ORAM report for Zomba indicated that there were three types of traditional authorities there, “*sabukus, mambos, and santhundus*” but without giving their hierarchy. In other parts of the ChNR the *matende?* has been used for *Chefe de Povoação*.

So there is no universally agreed terminology for the various levels and offices associated with the traditional leadership hierarchy, nor are there clearly defined “terms of reference” for each “office”. What follows below should only be considered as a guide and the nomenclature or the some of the traditional names for those that fall under the level of *régulo / mambo* should be checked in each *régulado / community*.

4.2.1 Mambo

This is the term that comes closest to the English term “Chief”, or even “King”, and the Portuguese term “*Régulo*”. In the past the term *Nhamassango* (more-or-less Lord of the Forest) was also used for *régulos* in the Ndau and Tewe-speaking areas. The term *mambo* implies secular authority over land and resources, as well as such issues as marital questions, inheritance, crime and other disputes. These powers have been more or less modified under formal law during and since the colonial era. Under the Portuguese regime, *madzimambo* (plural of *mambo*) were also responsible for tax collection and recruitment of labour, and in some areas, some of these powers have recently been re-assumed.

The *mambo* also wields more or less spiritual authority, acting as an intermediary between the spirits and the people, for example in rain making, although the *mambo* is not himself a spirit medium.

In the Chimanimani area, the *madzimambo* control areas of between about 50 and 200 square kilometres and from a few hundred to a few thousand people. Some, notably Mahate, wield spiritual influence over much wider areas.

In and around Chimanimani, the leaders usually referred to by the title *mambo* are; Mussimua, Sembezia (sometimes), Gudza (sometimes), Chikwizu, Mahate, Mpunga, Zomba, Muoco, Dombe, Chikukwa (in Zimbabwe) and his subordinate in Moçambique Nhabawa or Nhahedzi, and Ngorima (in Zimbabwe).

The position of *mambo* is inherited through the patriline but the selection is supposedly made from among qualified candidates by the elders of the family. (But

see remarks above concerning primogeniture and collateral succession) However, questions of legitimacy frequently arise, through succession disputes between contenders within a patriline, through the “real” *mambo* being absent, through someone who is not the “real” *mambo* being appointed by the colonial government or a political/military party, or simply through dissatisfaction with the rule of the *mambo*.

4.2.2 *Sadunhu* (*Chefe de Grupo*)

The *régulo* invariably delegates authority, both secular and spiritual, over most of his people, area and resources to subordinate *régulos*.

The powers of the *sadunhu* appear to be essentially the same as those of the *mambo*, but exercised over a limited segment of the area and people of the *mambo*. Only in the event that the *sadunhu* cannot resolve an issue, for example when it involves a dispute concerning another *sabukhu* or his subjects, is the case brought to the *mambo*.

It maybe that the term *sabukhu* is used in Mahate and Zomba for *Chefe de Grupo*.

Specifically, authority over land and resources is delegated by the *mambo* to the *sadunhu*. The original appointment of a *sadunhu* appears to be the prerogative of the *mambo*. It does not always appear to be based on family connection. On occasions the *sadunhu* belong to members of previous lineages that ruled before the arrival of that of the present ruler. *Sadunhu* often play an important part in the succession and the rituals involved in the installation of a new *régulo*.

Once appointed, the position of *sadunhu* appears to be inherited in the same way as the position of *mambo*, that is through the selection of male candidates from the patriline of the previous *sadunhu* by the elders of the *sadunhu*'s family. According to Richard Bell disputes over the legitimacy of *sadunhu* (he wrote *sabukhu* see below) successions were noted, for example the recognition of the *sadunhu* status of Changadeya under *mambo* Mpunga, (whose legitimacy itself is in dispute). The *munyiya*, (see below), stated that Changadeya is not the “real” *sadunhu*, but that Mapita is. The basis of this dispute was not clarified; perhaps it has to do with intervention of *mambo* Mpunga in the succession to the subordinate chieftainship in support of his own claim to legitimacy.

In all cases, the *mambo* retains direct control of one segment of his area and the people who live in it, where he lives carries out the functions that a *sadunhu* would. In this area he acts in parallel with the other *sadunhu* of the *régulo* to whom control of the rest of the area/resources/people has been delegated.

4.2.4 *Saguta*, (*sabukhu*).

In the previous management report there was some confusion concerning the term *sabukhu* and as pointed out above this is a Zimbabwean Shona import referring to village headmen. The appointment of *masabukhu* (pl.) is made by the *régulo* in consultation with the *sadunhu* and elders. The position is not necessarily hereditary. New *Saguta* (*sabukhu*) can be appointed if the *régulo* is interested in attracting additional people into his *nyika* (or land). These terms appeared to be more or less synonymous, with the former being more familiar, at least in the northern part of Chimanimani, (i.e. Mussimua, Gudza and Mahate).

The impression I gained was that this term was used to refer to a level of authority below that of *sabukhu*, (or that of the *mambo* when acting directly in parallel with the *masabukhu*). The usual translation of the term was that the *saguta* is the “eye of the chief; he is someone that the chief trusts”. This implies a monitoring and reporting role rather than one of control over land, resources and/or people.

4.2.5 *Sadziso*

Richard Bell wrote that *Sadziso* appears to a term used for “the eye of the chief”. (i.e. the equivalent of the *saguta*), at a still lower level, (i.e. at the level of a household or group of households). It is probably another term for village headman. The term *Matende* has also previously been used in the ChNR area.

4.2.5 *Muviya*

This title refers to a position of some importance, the officer playing a largely spiritual and ceremonial role in relation to the chief at the levels of *mambo* or *sadunhu*. Each *mambo* and each *sadunhu* has a *muviya*. Richard Bell reported that he not have the opportunity to clarify in detail the role of the *muviyu*. However, he was informed that it was a position of great importance, at least in the Mahate and Mpunga areas he wrote

“The *muviya* has ‘very great responsibilities’ he is a close relative of the chief through the sisters of the chief he has the duty to check on everything and report to the chief he is the first person to meet people taking issues to the chief; if the matters are not too deep, he solves them himself, when something goes wrong with the spirit, he must organise the ceremonies to satisfy the spirit when a newcomer wants land for farming, he approaches the *muviya* who takes him to the chief then makes a ceremony when the chief goes to Chimoio to be given the cloth and other things for the ceremonies, the *muviya* should accompany him to make sure that everything is in order”.

In addition, the *muviya* keeps the black and white cloth and other requirements used in the ceremonies. The *muviya* is not himself a spirit medium.

The term *muviya* is usually translated literally as “*régulos* nephew”, but this relationship is not clear cut. For example the *muviya* of *mambo* Mahate is Sr. Silas Chitiyo who is the son of a female relative of the *mambo* for whom bride price was not paid so that her children remain in the household of her family, in this case, the *mambo*, (see also Hughes 1999 for a discussion of this procedure as a means through which Ndaou chief’s expand their dependents).

The *muviyu* of *régulo* Mpunga is Seven Amakunda, who is considerably older than the *mambo* and has served two previous *mambos*. Sr. Amakunda stated that his sister was mother to the present *mambo*.”

4.2.7 *Swikiro / Cikara*

This term is applied to the spirit medium. The role played by these figures is probably very important but very difficult to investigate. This is an important topic for further anthropological research. I was not able to meet any of the spirit mediums of the area, since they either lived in very remote locations or were absent. A ceremony that was required in relation to the alignment of the road to Mahate was postponed several times because of the absence of the *chikara*.

4.2.8 *Nyadombe: Mambo*

Mahate has a female counterpart under this title, her role appears to be mainly secular, that is in settling disputes. Bell had no other information on her role, nor on whether a similar female counterpart is associated with other *régulos*.

4.2.9 *Other positions:*

There are a number of other traditional leadership positions. It appears that each *mambo* and *sabukhu* appoints his own officers to these positions:

- *Musuria* — This position is translated as “the police of the chief” His role is to monitor and enforce decisions made by the chief. Penalties appear to be mainly metaphysical.
- *Matondo, Magota* — These are the judges” of the chief, appointed from the elders to advise the chief in the hearing of cases and disputes.
- *Madzibaba* (Elders) — The role of these officers is to monitor and regulate the chief himself. They are appointed from among the elders. I was given the following examples: “The *madzibaba* are called when the chief does

something really wrong they take up issues such as take my wife, steal my goat burn my house, many problems over farmers disputing boundaries; these disputes are very dangerous, some may die”

4.2.10 *Summary*

A summary list of the *madzimambo* and their *sabukhus* directly related to the proposed Chimanimani TFCA is attached as “Table Ap 3.3. It must be emphasised that the details of the hierarchy are by no means as clear cut as this table implies. For example:

- The unclear status of Gudza has already been mentioned.
- It appears that, prior to the imposition of the international border, *mambo* Chikukwa, now living in Zimbabwe just to the west of Chikukwa Camp, at Ferreira, covered the area of the Mussapa Grande valley, including the *sabukhus* Nhahedzi and Mampombere, (upstream of the road crossing on the Mussapa Pequena), and Msau village that was below Monte Binga. In fact, *mambo* Chikukwa regards himself as the “owner” of such key locations as Monte Binga, Chimanimani camp, (referred to by the chief as “Ferreira”), and the Chimanimani gorge).
- On the Mozambique side, the areas mentioned above are regarded as falling under *mambo* Mahate “since *mambo* Chikukwa is not here any more”.
- There seems to be no uniform view of the hierarchy. The individual or group being interviewed tends to place his own status higher in the hierarchy than others associated with him. Zichau, for example, may refer to himself as *mambo* and his subordinate *régulos* as *masabukhu*. Zomba, on the other hand, may refer to himself as *mambo*, to Zichau as a *sadunhu* and *régulos* subordinate to Zichau as *masaguta*.

4.3 *Traditional tenure of land and resources*

The boundaries of all the *régulos* interviewed, at the levels of *mambo* and *sadunhu*, had a clear picture of the geographical boundaries of their areas.

It was interesting, however, that, on several occasions, when describing his boundaries, the *régulo* would call upon his immediate family to help him supply details such as names of rivers and hills. Often it was women of the family who supplied these details. Perhaps this was due to the fact that many of the *régulos* had spent significant periods away, for example in Zimbabwe, and had not kept up their detailed memories of the geography of their areas.

Nonetheless, the clarity with which the group as a whole described the boundaries, and the high level of agreement between adjacent *régulos* as to mutual boundaries, was impressive with the one caveat that they had problems, on occasions of describing some boundaries, especially in the Chimanimani Mountains to third parties, that is official and consultants.

Occasionally, in the case of a distant boundary, a chief may say: “You will have to get the details of the boundary from the *sabukbu* of that area; they know the boundaries”. An example was given by chief Mahate in his description of his distant south-western boundary with Maronga. (It is still difficult to map this unoccupied area though most of it should fall under Mahate.) The important point here is that, even when the chief is not sure of the details, no-one doubts that a clear-cut boundary exists and is known to those affected by it.

Where disputes over boundaries exist, they relate, not so much to the boundaries themselves, but to the hierarchic status of the chief concerned. For example, who “owns” the Mussapa Grande valley and Monte Binga? The issue is not the location of the boundaries of the *régulo* in the area, i.e. Nhahedzi, (which are not in dispute), but to which *mambo* does Nhahedzi owe allegiance.

According to these descriptions, there are no areas of land that do not belong to any chief. For example, the high mountains, even when uninhabited, fall within the boundaries of one or other chief. Similarly, alienated land such as the Rotanda pine plantations and the estates at Tsetsera and Tandara are described as falling in the areas of *régulos* Mussimua and Gudza, even though it is recognised that land rights over these areas have been alienated. Most of the main mountain block from Monte Binga southwards to the Zomba/Maronga foothills, is recognised as falling under chief Mahate, although, as noted above, there is some question between Mahate and Chikukwa as to the ownership of the escarpment on the southern margin of the Mussapa Grande valley including Monte Binga.

As noted earlier, each *mambo* delegates authority over parcels of land with their resources and people, to a series of subordinates, while retaining direct control over part of his area. If you ask a *régulo*; “who owns this land?” he usually replies along the following lines: “I do. But over there, I have given the land to x, (naming a subordinate), so although it is mine, it is now his. Only if there is a case he cannot solve does he bring it to me.” The same applies to rivers, mountains and forests, and, usually to wildlife including elephants. Professor Murphree has pointed out to Richard Bell in the previous management plan used of the term “I own it” which he thought probably was the result of an interpretation problem. He discussed the matter with Professor Murphree at the University of Zimbabwe who advised, the response of a *mambo* would probably have been: “we own it” implying the *mambo* with and for his people. If pursued more deeply still, the response would probably

be: “the ancestral spirits own it and allow us to use it”. This interpretation was supported by Jessica Schafer, (personal communication to Richard Bell); she said that, on being asked how the revenues derived from the sale of timber trees in unallocated land in his area would be distributed, *régulo* Sembezia replied: “First I would give part of the money to the spirits; then I would give enough to my *mambo* to keep him happy; the rest I would keep”. The wording: “enough to keep them happy,” is significant here. Bell, (1999), has argued that the way to escape from socially constructed stalemates, (see Murphree in ULG 1999), in CBNRM, is for such interested party to obtain sufficient benefits from the system to cause each party to withdraw its veto against the agenda of other parties. In a word, each party should get enough to keep it happy.

The role of the spirits and their intermediaries in relation to tenure of land and resources is an important subject for further anthropological research. The resulting “spiritual geography” is likely to have important implications in the negotiation of constitutions relating to land and resource uses.

4.4 *Family Land Ownership*

If a newcomer wants to enter an area to live and farm, he is directed to the *mambo* or one of his subordinates to request land. He is then invited to select a piece of land, but is informed which areas he may not use because they are sacred or otherwise committed.

Régulos and *muwiyas* stated that they would always welcome any newcomer willing to comply with traditional rules, since “people bring development”. However, most stated that they expected a report of good conduct from the chief of the area where the newcomer had previously been living. This willingness to welcome newcomers is an issue of some importance to the question of sustainable resource use and biodiversity conservation and would repay further investigation. A recent example has been in the Zomba area where *Régulo* advised that he was pleased that over 500 new comers had arrived in his area from Maronga.

The newcomer selects a piece of land, usually taking into account the following criteria:

Farming potential, based on rock type, soil type, grasses and trees present. Areas with dark rocks, (*garabue* – dolerite or basalt), are preferred, (“these rocks make the soil cool and moist”) ; areas with white rocks, (*msarurara* – quartzite), are avoided, (“these rocks make the soil hot and the plants dry out”). The preferred soil type is a red clay loam called, *jibo*, or a red sandy clay loam called, *jika* or *jecha*, , black clays and clay-loams, (*dongo*, *machakata*, *madaka*), found in flood plains and near rivers are also favoured. Pale sandy soils, (*jeshu*), are avoided. Areas with tall grass, (*matiodio*)

are preferred, as well as areas with trees which indicate fertile soils and which shed their leaves heavily and so fertilise the soil, (these include *Piliostigma thonningii* — *massekessa* and *Baobab* spp. — *chinganda*).

Availability of water: the plot must be near water, preferably including or abutting a stream or pool.

Proximity to a road and services: this is increasingly becoming an important criterion and increasingly over-rides other considerations. A common pattern at present seems to be for a family to have two or more farms, of which at least one is sited primarily because of proximity to roads and services. The family is then divided so that the members on the more isolated but more productive farm can support with food those on the more accessible farm, who concentrate on cash crops and on obtaining schooling for the younger generation.

Location in relation to other settlements: the people of Chimanimani tend to live in small single-family settlements widely spaced apart. (There are some exceptions, for example in the irrigated farming area around Rotanda). In general, families actively avoid settling close to each other: “only brothers can live close together”. Several reasons were given for this settlement pattern: “Living far apart prevents the spread of disease each family knows how it feeds itself, knows how it conducts itself each family follows the place where their ancestors settled long ago people cannot live close together; it brings many problems, quarrels”. The general impression is that there is a considerable level of mutual suspicion and mistrust between families who are not closely related. Witchcraft is often cited by government and NGO workers as the reason for the widely spaced settlement pattern, but Richard Bell was not informed of this by the rural residents themselves. Whatever the reason, this settlement pattern has important implications for resource use, and the provision of services. On both counts, the dispersed settlement pattern seems unwelcome to the government and NGO Community. The dispersed settlements are perceived as unfavourable to the persistence of “natural” ecosystems and the aesthetic requirements of tourism, and inefficient in relation to the supply of services, (roads, communications, health, education, grinding mills, water supplies, stores etc.). Some original thinking is required to resolve the opposing interests relating to this settlement pattern, to avoid the conventional “organised resettlement” patterns enforced under the Land Husbandry Act in Rhodesia, by *Ujamaa* in Tanzania and by Frelimo in Mozambique, all of which turned out to be disasters in terms of governance, public relations, and the ecology and economics of rural life. In this context, the term “land use planning” must be used with caution since it, along with “committees” and “co-operatives” have strongly negative connotations inherited from the era of planned, (consolidated), resettlement and reorganisation.

The newcomer selects a place to settle. In the Chimanimani area, the areas selected

are often surprisingly large; some that were pointed out to Richard Bell appeared to cover up to and over 50 hectares. The *régulos* and *muwiyas* stated that a family was not allowed to select an area larger than his family could farm, but the general consensus appeared to be that the area could be large enough to accommodate at least one generation of sons on achieving adulthood.

Having selected a place, the newcomer is taken to the *Muwiyá* to perform a ceremony introducing him to the spirits of the area. In so far he has been dealing with a *sabukhu*, he is at this stage taken through the *Muwiyá* of the *mambo* to the *mambo* and the gift of land is approved through another ceremony. In each case a small payment is made to the *sabukhu* and the *mambo*, known as a “chicken”, whose money value is not greatly in excess of that of a real chicken.

The newcomer then clears his farm. Usually, this involves clearing a small part of the land now recognised as his, the rest being reserved for the future. The newcomer then plants and harvests his first crop. At this stage he notifies the *muwiyá* and a major ceremony takes place involving the *sabukhu* and sometimes the *mambo*, plus many of the elders and others.

The newcomer now “owns” the land and the resources on the land (i.e. trees, other useful plants, wildlife etc). It seems that others may only visit the land and make use of its resources with his approval; this point needs to be clarified. The land can now be inherited through the male line of the newcomer’s family and other members of the family or sons may use the land with no further approval from the *sabukhu* or *mambo*.

If a family owning land in this way decides to vacate the land and move to another place, the household head must apply for the new place in the same way as described above. Once it has moved, the family retains no residual rights to the vacated land, even when planted trees such as mangoes, bananas or papayas are left behind. (If the family that has left the area remains in the general vicinity, a new family that wants to move into the vacated area must ask the outgoing family to confirm that they have relinquished their rights to the area; at the same time, the outgoing family will inform the incoming family of “the rules of the area”, for example rules concerning sacred sites and family graves etc.). In Chimanimani, many abandoned settlements can be seen with growing fruit trees; when one asks who owns them, the reply is usually “no-one; the one who lived here moved to so and so”. In fact, chief Mahate now lives in a location to which he moved about two years ago, and which had previously been occupied by someone else who had planted fruit trees there which the chief now uses. In a few cases, abandoned settlements are treated as sacred. An example is its place called Nyamakaza in Moribane forest, (chief Mpunga), where there are banana trees growing by themselves: “The banana trees were planted by the spirits. If you are passing

through, you may eat any bananas that you want but you must not carry any away”.

4.4.1 Levels of “ownership” and common property

The issues of the traditional leadership hierarchy and land tenure have been described in some detail since they are likely to have an important impact on any form of community based natural resources management, (CBNRM), in Chimanimani, as they do elsewhere. In Chimanimani, (leaving aside the pine plantations and estates around Rotanda), there appears to be three levels of use and usufruct (i.e. the use and the right to use) of land and resources; by a family or household, by the *sadunhu* and finally at the level of the *régulo* (note: the details of the very preliminary picture of tenure set out here need to be checked and investigated further)

4.4.2 Use and Usufruct by a family of household.

This involves areas of up to ten hectares), and confers rights to clear and use for farming and the use forest products, (trees, food and medicinal plants, and animals including mammals, birds, bees and other insects), without seeking approval from, or without paying any “tax” or present to, any higher authority other than the traditional one and the local to the spirits.

There are, however, many rules limiting the use of resources by farm families on this type of land, For example, there may be detailed prescriptions relating to activities such as use of latrines, washing, drinking water etc., in relation to the spiritual geography of the area. In addition, there are rules prohibiting the cutting down of wild fruit trees, planting close to rivers, etc., and, in irrigated areas, rules related to water management. Some of these rules may have been introduced by government, for example through the revised land law, but if so, some have been assimilated by the rural communities.

With respect to taxes, both the British and Portuguese administrations used the traditional leadership as intermediaries in collecting tax and labour; in these cases, of course, the *régulos* retained at most a commission for themselves. This system is again in use.

Equally it appears that people not belonging to the family may not use the land or its resources without approval from the farm owner. But some resources are still communally owned nonetheless, there is a sense in which the land and resources are still “communally owned” by the *saguta* and in turn by the *mambo*.

Land cannot be sold, when a small holder abandons it, it reverts to the traditional authority. In some areas, for example around Rotanda and Tsetsera, (that is areas with higher population pressure on good quality farm land), land owned by a farm

family can be given to a newcomer for permanent tenure or loaned on a short term basis until required by the original owner.

Use and usufruct involving a *sadunbu*. There are two aspects to this level of use and usufruct; firstly, the residual ownership that the *sadunbu* retains over land and resources allocated to individual farmers, discussed above and secondly, is the ownership exercised by the *sabukhu* over land and resources within his zone that have not been allocated to individual farmers. In answer to the question, who owns these, traditional leaders interviewed tend to say: “I do. I allow my people to use these areas for collecting food, poles, firewood, hunting etc. They must ask my permission first and they must follow certain rules, like respecting sacred places and giving specified parts of the things collected or hunted to me”. This category of use and usufruct clearly merges into the concept of common property. Note: Murphree’s comment on the use of the term “I own it” in the context of the *mambo* applies equally here. Deeper investigation would probably reveal the concept that the land is owned by the spirits and that the *traditional authority* is entrusted with it on behalf of his people. This is an important point to clarify in relation to the distribution of decision-making and benefits from resources in unallocated land under traditional authorities.

On the use of land for livestock grazing, the stock owner looks for land with good grassland. If it is on his own land, he may herd his stock without seeking higher authority, but if it is on unallocated land he must seek permission from the *saguta*. Grazing areas accessed in this way are not exclusive; stock belonging to different people may graze together. Livestock should always be guarded to prevent them from damaging other people’s crops.

Again, there is a sense in which the *mambo* still retains some degree of control in these areas. The details need to be established.

Use by the *mambo*. This comprises equivalent categories to those described above : firstly, residual rights over land and resources allocated by a *saguta* to an individual family; secondly, residual rights over land and resources allocated by the *mambo* to a subordinate traditional authority but not allocated to an individual family; and thirdly, direct rights over land and resources held by the *mambo* and allocated to neither a *sabukhu* nor an individual family.

Richard Bell suggested the term “nested ownership” useful in thinking about these interlocking categories of use and usufruct (he used the word ownership which is probably not really appropriate), because each category of use is nested within the category above it. A clear understanding of the details of the system, (many of which are not clarified or may be incorrectly represented in the above account), will be important in the development of formal CBNRM processes.

Hunting and use of hardwoods. People in Chimanimani classify the hunting of large animals and the logging of large hardwood trees for sale as similar usages in terms of the use by a persons or persons of resources which *are* both economically and spiritually important. For this reason, it is felt that all the benefits should not accrue to the individual but that a proportion should be given to the traditional authority and that permission should be sought from him in advance. In the case of hunting, the payment to the appropriate traditional authority, usually the *régulo* or *sadunhu* should be one hind leg and part of the chest. In the case of timber, the payment would be in money. Elephants are a special case; this species is considered so important that the *mambo* is the relevant authority, both in terms of seeking permission and in terms of payment, one tusk, the tusk that falls to the ground when the animals is killed, and part of the meat being payable to the *mambo*.

4.4.3 *Definition of a community*

The key step in setting up a formal CRNRM system is to develop an effective linkage between the traditional systems of leadership and land and resource tenure, (*mitemo ya midzimu* the laws of the spirits), with formal legal structures, (*mitemo ya gurumende* – the laws of the government).

One of the difficulties is that formal legal structures tend to operate in terms of clearly defined and discrete individuals or bodies that have a legal persona, for example an individual, a company or some form of organised group, such as a trust, association, society or NGO. The problem is that these entities do not usually correspond well to the type of nested ownership or authority structures posited above for the traditional systems of Chimanimani. The position is complicated further when we take into account special interest subdivisions within each level of authority and ownership, the example gender and age divisions as well as divisions between resource user groups, (i.e. hunters, gatherers of forest products, fishing groups etc.).

Another group could consist of recent immigrants into the area whose interests and perceptions of traditional tenure and even their mores and moral could be different from those of the community. This actually occurred in the Mpunga area in the late 1990s.

A frequently posed question is: what is a community? Perhaps this question should be re-stated as follows: which of the various subdivisions of people in an area, (for example the proposed Chimanimani TFCA), must conveniently corresponds to any of the formal administrative and/or legal structures in place through which the other stakeholders, (government, NGOs, private sector), can interact with them?

This question implies that the concept of community is a tool used by external stakeholders to facilitate interactions with target groups of people on the basis of their own agendas.

Terminology is not important. It does not matter how we define a community. What is important is that institutional linkages are established between the formal systems of governance and the traditional systems. These linkages will have to take into account the nested hierarchies of authority and ownership existing within the traditional systems. This process will take a lot of time and patience on all sides.

Table 3 Appendix 1 Traditional Leadership Hierarchy as understood By Richard Bell and amended by Management Team 2009. (Note Portuguese terms used to avoid confusion.)

Régulo (Mambo)	Chefe do Grupo	Chefe de Povoação	Area of interest
Mussimua	Sembezia Mutowa Mussimua Próprio Chechesai Muveo Machakatle Chinyakata Mapulanga/Matswai Muzoti		Tsetsera and environs Tsetsera
Gudza	Gudza	Vunga Siapambana Sawana	Between Mussapa Pequena / Grande
Chikukwa (Nhahedzi)	Various TAs in Zimbabwe Nhahedzi Mapombere	Chirau Machenga Mbofana Masau	
Mahate/Mabata	Mahate Prorio Chikweye Manomo Muzinzu Mashona Munaiwa		
Mpunga	Mpunga Próprio Sucha Mukwaweya Changodeya? Mapiti		
Zomba	Zomba Próprio Muranga Mapira Muriro Zichau Rois Chitakani		
Muoco/Mboko	Muoco Próprio Maronga Mococa Nhamusissua Machiri		

Table 3. List of *Régulos* - Richard Bell 1

Table 4 Appendix 1 the Traditional Leadership of Sussundenga District as supplied by the District Administration from Portuguese Records.

Régulo	Chefe do Grupo	Chefe?	Localidade
Dombe	Mpunga	Sanguene Mapinde Nharione	Darue (Maquina)
	Ndarue – Maquina	Madgido Mabaia	Mabaia
Muxamba	Chissasee	Mucuruacha Njate	Mutarara
	Mafute	Tussene Madebunhama	Mutarara
Muoco / Mboko	Maronga	Magoro Machire Muchaioio	Muoco
	Nhamessiswa	Mugaro Chiruca	Muoco
Gudza Dombe	Muchambanha	Magueba Muxai Machacuare	Muoco
Côa	Mutanda	Macuia Chitoca Bunga	Javela
Zomba	Murango	Chitachanhe Muxai Machacuare	Darue (Mquina)
	Zichau	Guruve	Mabaia
Chibue Mussimua	Pambanissa	Nhamundeia	Mabaia
	Chinhacata	Zunde Mapsimai Mutowa	Tsetsera
	Gutsa	Mutowa Passi	Mussapa
Mahate /Mabate	Machonga	Madzunzu Chicue Nhahezi [Nhahedzi?] Mapombere	Mahate /Mabate
Muirane / Murivane	Mavita	Manguira Machamba	Mavita [only]
Zixixe / Chao	Zixixe	Muguro Macowe Machombe	
	Mabizuene	Tsominha Charara Bupue	

Table 4. Colonial Régulos 1

Table 5 List of Régulos in Held at Administration in Sussundenga

(Note often does not tally that of Richard Bell or information provided by *régulos* or what was found in the current survey. Dombe PA not included as the table for that area appeared confused.

POSTO ADMINISTRATIVO- SEDE									
Nome(1º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome(2º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome (3º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Grafia do nome actual	Grafia do nome proposto
Manuel Muribane	Régulo	Muribane	Matsiquite	Chefe de Grupo	Nhabarira	Fernando Dique	Chefe de Povoação	Chimbia	Chimbia
						António Mário Mabute	Chefe de Povoação	Chassimba	Chassimba
						Armando Manuel	Chefe de Povoação	Mucuruacha	Mucuruacha
			Chimoio Alberto Tomoeco	Chefe de Grupo	Machote	Agostinho Toronga	Chefe de Povoação	Marumore	Marumore
						Almeida João	Chefe de Povoação	Machote 1	Machote 1
						Mussuaw-acho E. Fungarai	Chefe de Povoação	Manguira	Manguira
						Matenda Madsire-russa	Chefe de Povoação	Bangaradze	Bangaradze

						Jone Zuca	Chefe de Povoação	Machote 2	Machote 2
Sampson e Garafão	Régulo	Chicuzo	Bartoromeu G. Cupenha	Chefe de Grupo	Cupenha	Albino Chimoio Thaunde	Chefe de Povoação	Munhinga	Munhinga
						Viagem Macorocoto	Chefe de Povoação	Cupenha	Cupenha
						Filimone Supeia	Chefe de Povoação	Chicuizo	Chicuizo
						Luis Quichini	Chefe de Povoação	Machamba	Machamba
						Florindo Cupenha	Chefe de Povoação	Sede Sussunden-ga	Sede Sussunden-ga
						Tafura	Chefe de Povoação	?	
Pedro Farias Zixixi	Régulo	Zixixi	Andre Daimone Tauro	Chefe de Grupo	Buapua	Agostinho Cozinheiro Juga	Chefe de Povoação	Chitsamudzua	Chitsamudzua
						Chimoio Mussarowana	Chefe de Povoação	Chinaca	Chinaca
						Tendai Tomás Prego	Chefe de Povoação	Mahomedzi	Mahomedzi
						Simão Buapua	Chefe de Povoação	Buapua	Buapua

POSTO ADMINISTRATIVO- SEDE									
Nome(1º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome(2º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome (3º Escalão)	ou Designação Função	Grafia do nome actual	Grafia do nome proposto
Pedro Farias Zixixi	Régulo	Zixixe	Eusébio Lucal Ganda	Chefe de Grupo	Ganda	João Tesoura Chimbaca	Chefe da Povoação	Chinhquera	Chinhquera
						Emilia Armando Ganda	Chefe da Povoação	Madare	Madare
						Luis Raposo	Chefe da Povoação	Nhamatiquite	Nhamatiquite
Post Administrativo de Rotanda									
			Fernando Simbe Chinhacata	Chefe de Grupo	Chinhacata	Muadene Quenasse Chipaumire	Chefe da Povoação	Chipaumire	Chipaumire
						Jossefa Samuson Chipai	Chefe da Povoação	Guetenbone	Guetenbone
						Jone Dofai Mahunde	Chefe da Povoação	Chitombue	Chitombue
						Jone Dofai	Chefe da Povoação	Chitombue	Chitombue
						Zodayi David	Chefe da Povoação	Nhangadzo	Nhangadzo

Feniasse Miquicene Mucimua	Régulo	Mucimua				??			
			Mafione C. Mutowa	Chefe de Grupo	?	Noa Zacharias	Chefe da Povoação	Uringue	Uringue
			Heroine Matsuai	Chefe de Grupo	Matsuai	Filimone Chidza	Chefe da Povoação	Nhatsanga	Nhatsanga
						Fernando Joaquim Mutombo	Chefe da Povoação	Munhinga 2	Munhinga 2
						Sairosse Thomo	Chefe da Povoação	Munhinha 1	Munhinha 1
						Lazaro Nenguai	Chefe da Povoação	Bue re Marodzi	Bue re Marodzi
			Guedisse Samissone Guerra	Chefe de Grupo	Zuandie	Boniface José	Chefe da Povoação	Manoma	Manoma
						Gero Manditeredza	Chefe da Povoação	Murima	Murima
						Pita Muazuacutinh i	Chefe da Povoação	Chirodzo	Chirodzo
			Robson Chimoio Gudza	Chefe de Grupo	Gudza	Queface T. Sauana	Chefe da Povoação	Phedza	Phedza
						Chingore Matova	Chefe da Povoação	Mussapa	Mussapa

Nome(1º Escalão)	Designação ou Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome(2º Escalão)	Designação ou Função	Área de jurisdição	Nome (3º Escalão)	Designação ou Função	Grafia do nome actual	Grafia do nome proposto			
Elias Faife Mahate	Régulo	Mahate	Panguene Eduardo	Chefe de Grupo	Matsiane	Wilson D. Manhama	Chefe da Povoação	Chinhamuta-ndirano	Chinhamuta-ndirano			
						Querebo Dhia	Chefe da Povoação	Nembue	Nhembue			
			Mandau Wilson Nhaedzi	Chefe de Grupo	Nhaedzi	Julai Chicussia	Chefe da Povoação	Chicuiua	Chicuiua			
						Machengue Jone	Chefe da Povoação	Chirauri	Chirauri			
			Robate Mapomber e Mbofana	Chefe de Grupo	Mapomber e	Nelson Nhaune	Chefe da Povoação	Chimanimani	Chimanimani			
						Ndaraunda	Chefe da Povoação	Guta	Guta			
			Fulanze Machonga	Chefe de Grupo	Machonga	Manguene Madzudzu	Chefe da Povoação	Madzudzu	Madzudzu			
						Feniasse Manaiua	Chefe da Povoação	Manaiua	Manaiua			
			Posto Administrativo de Muôha									
			Feniasse Miquicene Mucimua	Régulo	Mucimua	Alberto Sembezeia	Chefe de Grupo	Sembezeia	Carlos Meque	Chefe da Povoação	Nhamacamba	Nhamacamba
Clebo Francisco	Chefe da Povoação	Chitanacue							Chitanacue			

						Filipe A. Machachidze	Chefe da Povoação	Machachire	Machachire
						Armando Candiado Curima	Chefe da Povoação	Curima	Curima
						Pita Gimo Muveu	Chefe da Povoação	Muveu	Muveu
						Paulo Diquissone	Chefe da Povoação	Mucute	P.A. Muôa
Pedro Farais Zixixe	Régulo	Zixixi	Lova Lazaro Mavita	Chefe de Grupo	Mavita	Noé Z. Mutore	Chefe da Povoação	Mutore	P.A. Muôa
						Nesibet Chechessai	Chefe da Povoação	Rupisse	P.A. Muôa
						Lucas Andre Machacaire	Chefe da Povoação	Machacaire	P.A. Muôa

Table 5. Administration List of Régulos 1