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CHAPTER 12 – HEREDITARY LEADERS IN BARUE: ROTATION, COMPETITION, AND POPULAR INFLUENCE

Recall that in chapter 5 a “chiefdom” was understood, in a discussion with Carneiro, in a morphological sense as a political entity one level below the state. In today’s Mozambique this does not fit because there exist provinces and districts as intermediate levels between state and chiefdom. However, from the perspective of precolonial Barue the idea that chiefdoms could represent a political level directly below the state makes sense. We can say, for instance, that Sanhantamba used to be a chiefdom directly positioned (in the political hierarchy) under the Barue state. Since today the Barue Kingdom no longer exists, the hereditary leaders of the chiefdoms (the chiefs, Pt: *régulos*) provide the highest level of hereditary leadership in Barue District. A contemporary complication is that besides the aspect of political morphology, the aspect of *recognition* by the Mozambican state within the framework of Decree 15/2000 is added onto the morphological aspect. If, however, the criterion is considered that together all chiefdoms should exhaust the territory of Barue District, it can be established that in 2010 Barue District knew ten chiefdoms: Mpanze, Sanhantamba, Sanhatunze, Samanhanga, Seguma, Sabão, Macufa, Sahatsiro, Sanhamáué, Saluanza (discussed below in that order – see Maps 8 and 9 for the approximate geographical positioning of the chiefdoms).

In this chapter I shall review genealogical and other relevant information of about a century of Barue history concerning the chiefdoms and some lower-level polities, which will provide input for discussing “democracy” and hereditary leadership within the framework of Decree 15/2000. Specifically attention will be paid to isolating (as discussed in chapter 2) the phenomena of political *rotation* across leading lineages, *competition* between candidate leaders, and *popular influence* on such competition, against historical backgrounds. For the colonial times, a helpful source of information was Portugal ([A] 1967), although unfortunately it provides few exact years (cf. Pires 2006: Anexo 3). Most of the genealogical information of chiefdoms is best given in charts, separately for each chiefdom. Information based on archival data will mostly be presented separately from information based on interviews. Achieving consistency across different sources was not always possible. Currently the geographical size of a chiefdom in Barue may vary from 147 km² (Sanhatunze) to 2,047 km² (Samanhanga – data of Pitrosse 2009: 44).¹⁷⁶ See maps 8 and 9 for the approximate

¹⁷⁶ I have no information on the exact sizes of the three chiefdoms in the Chôa area, but as Bango,

positioning of the chiefdoms dealt with in this chapter.

Task portfolios of hereditary leaders do not form a primary focus of the investigations below, but most of them are summed up in the Regulation of Decree 15/2000;¹⁷⁷ examples of tasks given there are: make known laws and decisions of State institutions; cooperate with community courts concerning the resolution of small conflicts; mobilize the population concerning the construction of class rooms and houses of teachers; and mobilize the population to participate in activities for the prevention of contagious diseases. A task not mentioned in the Decree or its Regulation, but considered important in Barue, is the organization of rituals and feasts to pray to spirits for rain. It should be kept in mind that besides hereditary leaders, also party officials are supposed to deal with the tasks listed in the Regulation. Focusing on hereditary leaders alone would give the wrong impression that they are primarily responsible for organizing the population concerning the issues listed in the Regulation; party officials will be discussed in the next chapter.

Mpanze

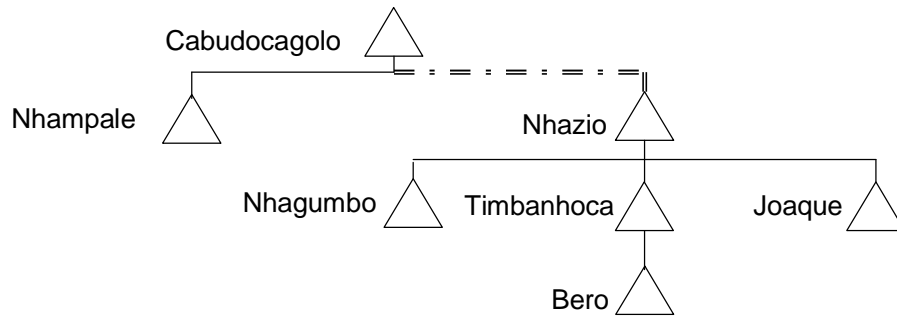
Today in Barue *Régulo* Melo Mpanze Nhadziuo is generally recognized to be a descendant of Makombe Kabudu Kagoro. Melo MN mentioned Nyadziwo (~ Nhadziuo, Nhazio) as son of Makombe Kabudu Kagoro and as chief of “the entire region of Makosa” (for genealogy: Portugal 1967: 2; Figures 3 and 4 below).¹⁷⁸ He later also stated that Nyadziwo demarcated a border with Makosa, thus separating what is now Mpanze Chiefdom from Makosa (but associating this more with cultivation than with administrative structure). Portugal (1967: 16-17) suggests such separation happened during the reign of Nhagumbo/Mpanze. Portugal (1967: 2) also mentions that the areas of Nhauata and Nhaungo, in present-day Macossa District, were a partition of Macossa’s area after the 1917-1918 revolt. This suggests at least the pre-1917 origin of the larger chiefdom, with the partitions after the revolt. The persistent reference to Makosa allows dating of the creation of the larger chiefly area in the period a bit earlier, in the period 1890-1902. Intersecting the information of the colonial administration and the *régulo*, it is probable that Nhagumbo was the first colonial chief in the area after the

now split into three, was 1009 km², each of them is probably still larger than Sanhatunze (see Pitrosse 2009: 44, with spelling « Bonga »).

¹⁷⁷ Ministerial Directive 107-A/2000; Carrilho ([ed.] 2009: 554-558).

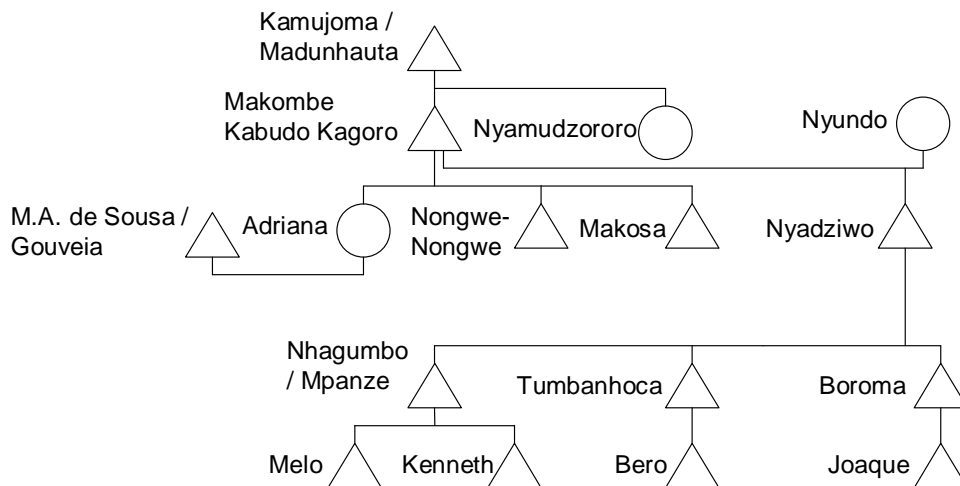
¹⁷⁸ Portugal (1967: 141) gives Nhagumbo as “cousin” (*primo*) of Nhampale (~ Nyaupare = Hanga) but this contradicts (*ibid.*: 2) and oral tradition; possibly “cousin” and “nephew” have been mixed up in the colonial data.

1917-1918 revolt.



Order of succession according to source: Cabuducagolo, Nhampale, Nhagumbo, Joaque, Bero
 = - = - = : source provides no clear relationship
 Source: Portugal (1967: 2, 141)

Figure 3: Chiefdom Mpanze, according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession according to source (MMN): Nyadziwo, Nhagumbo, Joaque, Bero, Melo
 Sources: Interviews Régulo Melo Mpanze N 11/12/2009 & 15/08/2010; Boroma youngest son of Nhadziwo, Régulo Melo Mpanze N; Adriana & Gouveia: Countinho (1904: 18), consistent with Régulo Melo Mpanze N; Kenneth, FJB

Figure 4: Chiefdom Mpanze, up to 2010

For Nhagumbo and Nyadziwo's grandsons Joaque, Bero and Melo we see a fine pattern of adelphic succession, with the chieftaincy rotating (*makombe* – lower case « m ») across three different descent lines (Figure 4). Régulo Melo Mpanze gave an explicit verbalization of the principle: within the family there is

[...] equality [so that it is] all right, enter this one rotation-wise, enter this one, leave this one, enter this one, enter this one, enter this one, every house, house, like that.

[...] enzano [kuti?] *all right*, iwa pinda pamakombepo, iwa pinda, budawo uyu, pinda uyu, pinda uyu, pinda uyu, *cada nyumba, nyumba, já.*

At least until 1967, the chiefs of Sanhantamba, Seguma and Samanhanga, with others outside what is now Barue District, were subordinated to the chief of the Mpanze area because the latter was a direct descendant of Kabudu Kagoro (Portugal 1967: 2). Paulino F. Sanhantamba [R] confirmed this for Zuze Sanhantamba, who was installed by Mpanze.¹⁷⁹ As for himself, Melo MN stated that he became *régulo* at the last phase of the war between Frelimo and the Portuguese. He said was installed without a voting process (*mavoti*) due to the fighting in the area.

Melo Mpanze himself reported not to have experienced problems when Frelimo came to power. However, during the Frelimo-Renamo war he is said to have affiliated himself with Renamo (Luís MS; Vasco BN), although he is also reported to have been in Catandica while his younger brother Kenneth was an acting *régulo* near the Txatora River at the southeast boundary of Barue District, cooperating with Renamo (Francisco JB; cf. VBN; see map in Alexander 1995). According to *Régulo* Mpanze himself he lived like a regular person, seeing just which of Frelimo and Renamo would come out of the conflict.¹⁸⁰ Kenneth died some time after the GPA (FJB). On 25 June 2002 *Régulo* Melo Mpanze was officially recognized within the Decree 15/2000 framework (Mozambique 2005a: 50).

Sanhantamba

Bhila (in Rita-Ferreira 1982: 145) mentions a subordinate leader “Sanhamutamba”, whose name can almost certainly be taken as ~ Sanhantamba,¹⁸¹ at the end of the 18th century. Though indicating the existence of the chiefdom then, the present-day *lineage* Sanhantamba seems not to be related to the concerned 18th century leaders. Neither Portugal (1967) nor the present *Régulo* Sanhantamba referred to such an early time. Portugal (1967: 141) mentions Gatze as first chief of the Sanhantamba chiefdom, acting during the “war of the Makombes”.

¹⁷⁹ *Adagadzwa naMpanze.*

¹⁸⁰ Like regular person: *Takhandokhala ndingamunhu*; would come out: ... *abudayo só.*

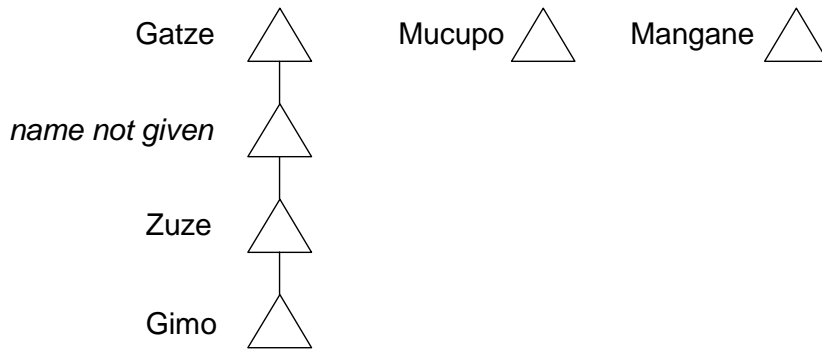
¹⁸¹ The letter combination « mut- » may correspond with « nt- » (compare Sena words as given in SIL and LIDEMO 2010: 39 and corresponding Shona). Rita-Ferreira (1982: 145) states that a chiefdom with the concerned name (with « mut- ») still exists.

Régulo Tomás Suite Campira Sanhantamba (child name « Charles ») indicated that his ancestor was assigned the chiefdom by Makombe (unspecified) at the end of the “war of Makombe”, which fits in with the period 1890-1892.¹⁸² Zuze, grandson of Gatze, entered as chief in the colonial times (Portugal 1967: 141; see Figures 5 and 6 for genealogies). Zuze was installed by Nhagumbo/Mpanze (cf. above).

Zuze was succeeded by Gimo some time in the 1940s or early 1950s (Chadrique FS). Gimo’s brother Fopenze was a *cipaio* (colonial police man) (Paulino FS), dying in 1976 of a disease (CFS). Gimo was killed by Frelimo because he cooperated with the Portuguese (CFS). This would suggest a death date during the period 1972-1974 when Frelimo was militarily active in Barue before independence.

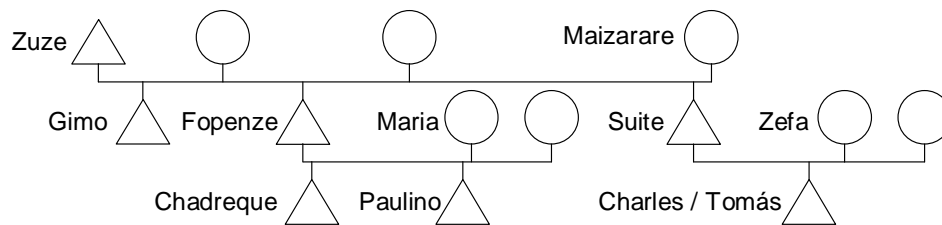
After Gimo, there seems to have been a *sine regno* in the chiefdom for a while; apparently under the colonial government no new chief was installed and later leadership was performed by Frelimo *secretários* (Tomás SCS; Paulino FS; Francisco JB). Paulino FS added that the Frelimo-Renamo war made living in the area very difficult, and he fled to a place south of Barue protected by Frelimo, around 1986. During the interview Paulino FS first indicated that Charles/Tomás became Gimo’s successor after the end of the Frelimo-Renamo war. But later he indicated that he himself had to be chief (*mambo*), because, he stated, “until now” there is a “list” in Catandica that would indicate him as the rightful leader. He also mentioned a “book” (*bhuku*) containing such a list which had been consulted by some people confirming the claim. After the Frelimo-Renamo war he had coordinated the distribution of food and agricultural implements amongst the population, with the aid of his sister who had a car, and therefore people said he had to be *mambo*. Later in the interview he did consider himself *régulo* at that time, starting some time in the period 1992-1995. Mariano TP confirmed this information on distribution of “products”, adding it was in cooperation with, and by the initiative of, the Frelimo-government.

¹⁸² Genealogical linkage with the earlier “Sanhamutamba” is therefore unlikely.



Order of succession according to source: Gatze, Mucupo, Mangane, Zuze, Gimo
 Source: Portugal (1967: 141)

Figure 5: Chiefdom Sanhantamba according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession according to sources: Zuze, Gimo, Paulino, Chadreque, Charles

Sources: Interviews former *Régulo* Chadreque Fopenze Sanhantamba 11 and 13/04/2010; former *Régulo* Paulino Fopenze Sanhantamba 22/05/2010; *Régulo* Tomás Suite Campira Sanhantamba 13/11/2009 and 12/09/2010; ZNG 04/04/2010

Figure 6: Chiefdom Sanhantamba up to 2010

However, about two years later (i.e. some time in the period 1994-1997) Paulino's elder brother Chadreque FS would become chief (CFS). The latter's higher age ostensibly played a rôle in this (CFS; PFS). The Frelimo-government in Catandica took the initiative for the change, Paulino FS explained. Such initiative was also maintained by Chadreque FS, although the latter also claimed that the population did not want Paulino but him (Chadreque). Chadreque FS's chiefly status can be estimated from the fact that when Mugabe once visited Barue to commemorate the Nhazónia massacre of 1976, the Zimbabwean delegation met with Chadreque in this context (CFS; Mariano TP). However, Nanipenzi A [U] maintained that neither Paulino nor Chadreque was entitled to the chieftaincy because their father Fopenze

allegedly had committed adultery, an explanation not mentioned by other interviewees.

The then District Administrator Costa F Charles was reportedly responsible for Chadreque's installation after the Frelimo-Renamo war (CFS; PFS). While Paulino seems to have appreciated Renamo's promotion of *régulos* (PFS, MTP), Chadreque had more affinity with Frelimo (CFS). However, Costa F Charles denied the Frelimo government picks *régulos*:

It is the family of that lineage that [said], "That is our real representative", and the population [...] agrees, "Yes, it is that one". Then they communicate to the government, the government goes there. [...] There was not any process in which the government arrives to say like, "It's that one", no.

A família daquela linhagem é que dizia: "Este é que é o verdadeiro nosso representante", e a população [...] concordar, "Sim, é este". Dai comunicam o governo, governo vai lá. [...]. [N]ão havia nenhum processo em que o governo chega para dizer assim, "É este", não.

As with Paulino FS, Chadreque FS's reign as a *régulo* also ended when still alive. Charles/Tomás Suite Campira Sanhantamba was recognized as *régulo* by the Frelimo-government on 12 August 2002 (Mozambique 2005a: 50), still under the then District Administrator Costa F Charles. Chadreque FS maintained he voluntarily handed over the portfolio to his younger cousin, because he was tired of the job. Tomás SCS himself maintained he was Gimo's rightful successor but that Paulino and Chadreque were competitors. He insisted he was chosen by the people; there had been a meeting in which the majority of the gathered population chose him as *régulo* because of his good cooperation with the people.

Mariano TP stated voting was never used in selecting a *régulo* but confirmed the existence of popular consent in the selection and deposition of leaders:

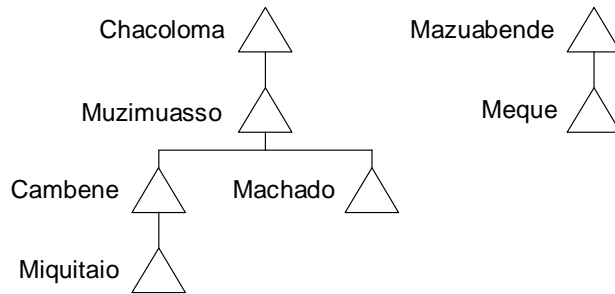
[It is the] population that gives the portfolio [to] mandate him [i.e. a *régulo*]. [...] [W]hen [the] population does not like [him], the chief is not going to work [...] When Chadreque was in charge, [...] [he] only receive[d] little respect from the population. So therefore [the] population deposed [him] and installed the known Charles.

... população que da pasta [para] o mandar. [...] [N]ão gosta população, o chefe não vai servir [...] Chadreque quando mandava, [...] só apegar mau respeito de população. Por isso população já tiraram [sic] e meteram aquele Charles.

Sanhatunze

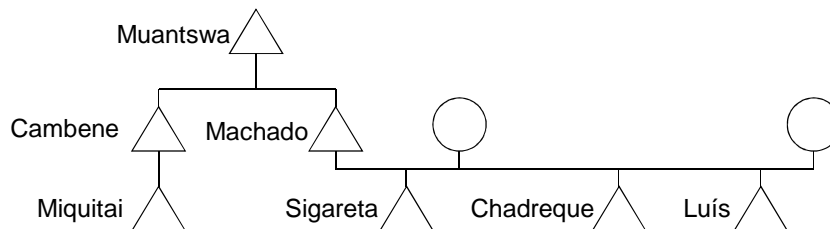
According to Portugal (1967: 143), the origins of the Sanhatunze chiefdom lie in the time of the "revolt of the Makombes", but it is not clear which episode is referred to. For

reconstructions of genealogies, see Figures 7 and 8. *Régulo* Luís Machado Sanhatunze considered Muantswa (probably ~ Muzimuasso in Figure 7) as the founder of the chiefdom.¹⁸³ Makombe gave the chiefdom to the founder of Sanhatunze because the latter's family helped in the fight against the Portuguese. The origin of the family was in the Saunyama area in present-day Zimbabwe.¹⁸⁴



Order of succession according to source: Chacoloma, Muzimuasso, Meque, Cambene, Machado, Miquitaio
 Source: Portugal (1967: p. 143)

Figure 7: Chiefdom Sanhatunze according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession from Cambene according to *Régulo* Sanhatunze:
 Cambene, Machado, Miquitai, Sigareta, Chadreque, Luis
 Source: Interview *Régulo* Sanhatunze 17/07/2012

Figure 8: Chiefdom Sanhatunze up to 2012

Muantswa, Cambene, Machado and Miquitaio (~ Miquitai) were *régulos* in that order (Portugal 1967: 143). Sigareta was elected in 1978, according to Luís MS. During the

¹⁸³ According to Luís MS, the Mazuabende-Meque lineage mentioned in Figure 7 has no connection with the Sanhatunze chiefdom.

¹⁸⁴ This follows from information given by Luís MS, Portugal (1967: 2, 143) and Isaacman (1976: 51-52).

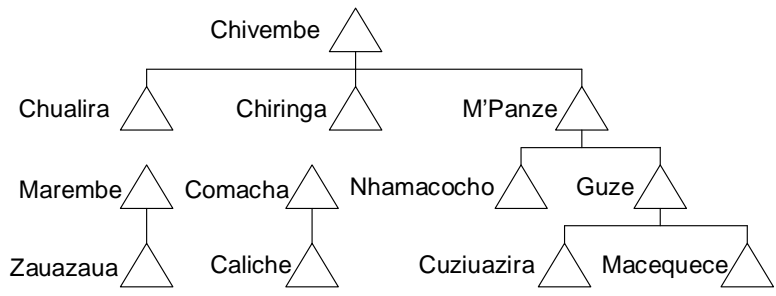
Frelimo-Renamo war Renamo occupied part of his area and he stayed in Catandica because he had no good relationship with Renamo. Chadreque Machado was *régulo* from 1985 until his death in 2008 (Luís MS). Alexander (1994: 50) quotes him mentioning that after independence the rain rituals continued. The present *Régulo* Sanhatunze was inaugurated in 2009 (no exact date available), being selected within the family and then presented to the population. He reported no competition for the post and I have not encountered information to the contrary.

Samanhanga

Rather than struggles between Chibudu and Chipapata or between Nongwe-Nongwe and Makosa, an early rivalry that was remembered in Barue was the one between “Makombe” (usually identified as Kabudu Kagoro) and the first Samanyanga, Civembe. If such rivalry was historical, it would have to be placed in the 19th century. There is a possibility that the remembered rivalry is a starkly condensed form of the disagreements between Hanga and Chipitura, and in any case the establishment of the chiefdom under the current Samanhanga family is more likely to have been after De Sousa’s arrest in 1890 than before; for more elaboration see Appendix B, § 3, and Appendix E.

Ranger (1963: 79) tells about a “chief Samanyanga” who cooperated with Makosa during the 1917-1918 revolt near the Caerezi River. *Régulo* Gribete T Samanhanga and Ediasse SS stated Tsimbo had been “the first” chief, which probably refers to the first in colonial times. Relating this information to the colonial genealogical data in Figure 9 has so far been impossible.¹⁸⁵ During my follow-up visit in 2012 *Régulo* Samanhanga proposed to ask the spirit of Ioanes CN, Nyamukucu, to provide the information about the genealogy of the Samanyanga family. A *mhondoro* spirit is almost by definition supposed to know the local chiefly genealogy (Bourdillon 1974: 34). A description of the trance session can be found in Appendix F; the information obtained then constitutes the larger part of Figure 10.

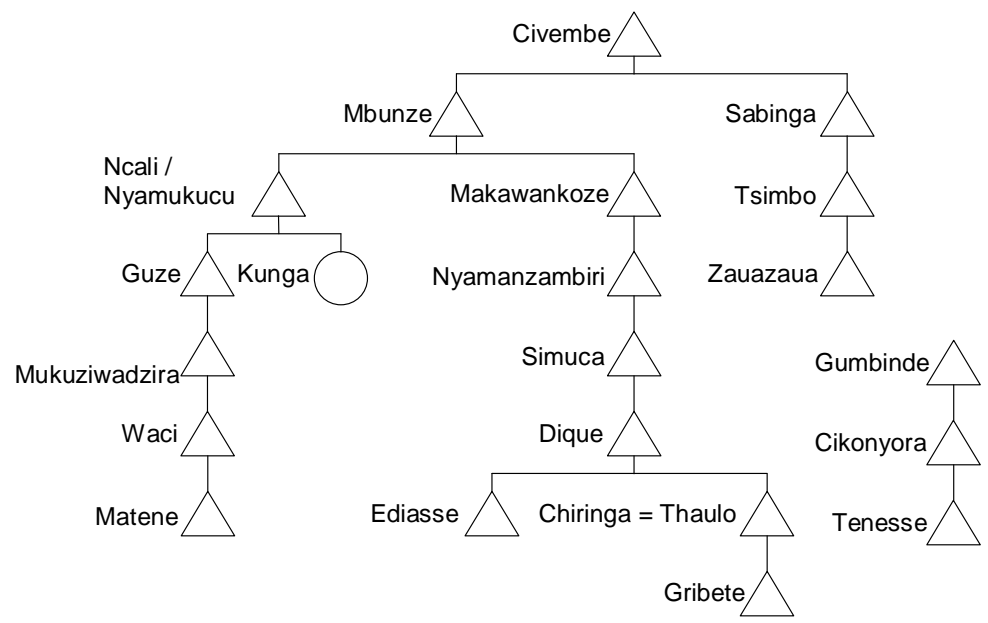
¹⁸⁵ Note also that the colonial data in Figure 9 mention one “M’Panze” who is possibly to be identified with Mbunze in Figure 10.



Order of succession according to sources: Chivembe, Chualira, Chiringa, M'Panze, Nhamacocho, Guze, Cuziuazira, Macequece, Zauazaua, Caliche

Sources: Portugal (1967: 146-147); spelling « Zauazaua » as given in Conselho do Barué (1967).

Figure 9: Chiefdom Samanhanga according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession according to sources Gribete T and Ediasse S Samanhanga: Tsimbo, Zauazaua, Waci, Tenesse, Gribete

Sources: Interviews Ioanes CN/Nyamukucu; Gribete T and Ediasse S Samanhanga; Caibossi SG; no information on Gumbine's father; Mukuziwadzira's father reconstructed from Portugal (1967)

Figure 10: Chiefdom Samanhanga up to 2010

Zauazaua is reported to have abdicated in 1955, after which Caliche took up the post (Concelho do Barué 1967). Portugal (1967: 147) and Ioanes CN mention Waci (~ Uache) as a

chefe de grupo (chief of a group of settlements), or *mpfummu*. His son Matene ruled when there were no *régulos* (ICN; cf. Concelho do Barué 1967). After Matene it appears there was a *sine regno* in the chiefdom until the end of the Frelimo-Renamo war.

The chiefdom as it is today results from the merger, in several steps, of smaller parts during colonial times resulting in the relatively large area it is today. To the area of Samanhanga were annexed the former chiefdoms of Nhamagoze (~ Nhamugodzo), Chingaia, Uache and Comacha, which came to be of the category *grupo de povoações* (group of settlements). At least the merger with Comacha in 1948 was ordered in a top-down way (unspecified) from within the colonial governmental hierarchy (Concelho do Barué 1967; Portugal 1967: 17, 147).

According to MS [U] the beginning of Tenesse's reign was in 1995 or 1996. Ioanes CN mentioned it was him who installed Tenesse after the Frelimo-Renamo war, being requested (by unspecified persons) to arrange for a new *régulo*, but he also indicated Tenesse went by himself to Catandica to announce himself as *régulo*. He is mentioned by Fry (1997: 19) as incumbent chief and was recognized by the Frelimo-government on 17 July 2002 (Mozambique 2005a: 50).

After Tenesse's death in 2009 (MS [U]), Gribete TS (photo 3) became *régulo* in August 2009 at the age of twenty (GTS). Tenesse was said to have been Gribete's uncle (GTS), but the genealogical distance is probably farther away than FB, because Gribete's FF is unequal to Tenesse's F (cf. Figure 10). Gribete's father Thaulo had died already, so he took his father's place in the lineage system. Gribete's selection and recognition process consisted of three crucial meetings (GTS). First the family held a meeting in which also the medium (*svikiro*) Ioanes CN was present. During this meeting the spirit "came out" (i.e. the medium gets into a possession trance allowing the spirit to talk to the gathered family). The spirit then indicated that Gribete should be the next chief. This is considered the spirit's decision, not the medium's. The spirit's motivation for choosing Gribete was that his father had kept certain objects (*midzi* – roots) of Samanyanga during the war (unspecified) but had never been a chief when he died; Gribete could now occupy his place (ICN; Ioanes/Nyamukucu [U]¹⁸⁶). After about one or two weeks, the general populace gathered in a second meeting to hear about the spirit's decision about the new chief. Thereafter the necessary documents for the

¹⁸⁶ Ioanes/Nyamukucu: information obtained during trance session of Ioanes CN. I use the Fry convention to indicate "Ioanes possessed by the spirit Nyamukucu" with the name of the spirit in italics after the slash (Fry 1976: viii). In a possession seance the spirit, not the host, is supposed to speak.

government were prepared and the recognition ceremony (the third meeting) was about a month after the second meeting.

The straightforward acceptance of the spirit's decision by the population is confirmed by MS [U]. The *régulo* himself indicated that he did not want the job, but had no choice than to obey the spirit. Although he was young, *Régulo* Gribete Samanhanga's authority was firmly established and people I approached were reluctant to talk to me without his explicit permission, which I had no opportunity to obtain when I approached people for interviews (MS eventually agreed to talk but only unrecorded). Indirectly the *régulo*'s status points to the wide acceptance of the status of the spirit medium across the population of the chiefdom. That such acceptance is not a given we will see below with Mr. Magodo in the Chôa area. The *mhondoro* spirit's rôle as "the mouthpiece of the *vox populi*" (Mudenge 1988: 352) does not show clearly in Gribete T Samanhanga's case with the available data. The existence of disputes about chiefly succession was reported but these were decisively and immediately terminated by the spirit's decision (MS [U]).¹⁸⁷ So popular endorsement of Gribete Samanhanga as a *régulo* can, apart from the second meeting mentioned above, only be inferred from the fact that Ioanes CN's status as a medium remains intact after the decision (see Bourdillon 1974: 35-37 and Lan 1985: 67 for discussions of status loss of mediums). To conclude this section, the Samanhanga chiefdom provided the only clear example of a politically motivated marriage in Barue during the field research: medium Ioanes CN married a woman of the Samanhanga family (Enélia S, exact genealogical position unknown to me).

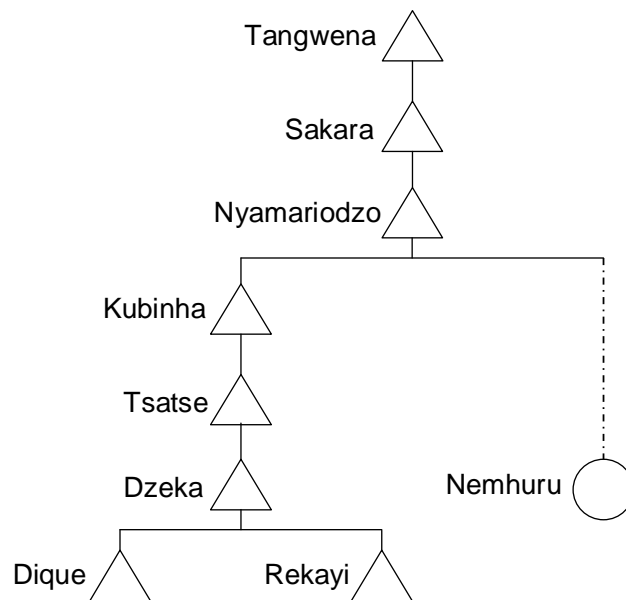
The former Tangwena chiefdom in Barue

For a good understanding of some of the chiefdoms discussed below, it is appropriate to discuss the former chiefdom of Tangwena first. This chiefdom no longer exists in Barue, although it continues in Zimbabwe. Tangwena's precolonial area probably reached somewhat onto the Barue plateau (compare maps of Arnold 1901 and Companhia de Moçambique 2010). The area was cut through by the Anglo-Portuguese border, and Chief Dzeka Tangwena moved with his people from the Mozambican to the British side of the chiefdom (Christian Action Publications 1972: 3; Warhurst 1978: 221). *Sabhuku* Matias S Njanji confirmed this. Isaacman (1976: 66) suggests Tangwena defected. Moore (2005: 314) implies that Tangwena

¹⁸⁷ I have no information that would indicate that such disputes were very severe, like the ones in the Chôa area to be discussed below. Moreover, Gribete's inauguration was in the same year as Tenesse's death, implying a rather smooth succession process.

was chased away by Makombe. If this Makombe was Hanga, the latter suggestion is not very likely: Hanga had prepared for a Portuguese attack (Isaacman 1976: 62); chasing away Tangwena would have left the kingdom's southwestern area without its recognized ruler and a coordinated defence. Therefore it is unlike Hanga chased Tangwena away, and Isaacman's interpretation of Tangwena's movement as a defection stands strong here.

Portugal (1967: 145) mentions one Dique, "son of [the] Tanguene" who "fled to South Rhodesia", as a chief between (Dzeka) Tangwena and the first Chief Seguma. This coincides with the report by Moore (2005: 132) that around 1906 many of Tangwena's people went to the Portuguese side of the Rhodesian/Mozambican border to evade taxes. The chiefly status of Dique is difficult to ascertain because Dzeka was still alive at that time, and so far I have found his name in no other documentation. A reconstruction of part of the genealogy of Tangwena family is given in Figure 11. Recall that Nemhuru was probably the spirit medium known as "Mbuya" at the time of the 1917 revolt, as argued above. Noteworthy is that Rekayi Tangwena aided Robert Mugabe to escape to Mozambique across the Caerezi River (i.e. probably into what is now Macufa territory) in April 1975 (Moore 2005: xii, 16-17, 39-40, 214-215).



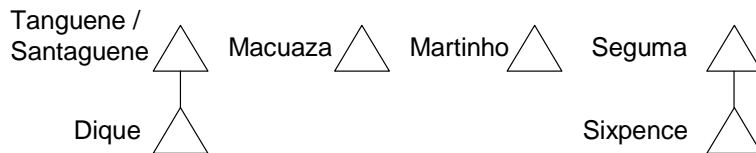
----- : unclear descent relationship

Sources: Portugal (1967: 145); Moore (2005: 15, 17, 182); Makambe (1980: 560); Christian Action Publications (1972: 44); Suzana Calhancambo

Figure 11: Tangwena family

Seguma

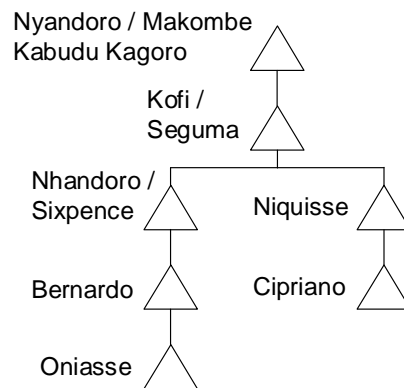
What is now the Seguma area was part of the Tangwena area before the Portuguese occupation (Portugal 1967: 16-17, 142, 145-146). The first Chief Seguma was put in place by the colonial government after the suppression of the “revolt”, probably around 1918 (Portugal 1967: 142; cf. Figure 12).



Order of succession according to source: Tanguene, Macuaza, Martinho, Dique, Seguma, Sixpence

Source: Portugal (1967: 142, 145)

Figure 12: Chiefdom Seguma according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession according to sources: Kofi, Nhandoro, Bernardo, Niquisse, Cipriano, Oniasse

Sources: interviews Régulo Oniasse Bernardo Seguma 15/07/2010; former Régulo Cipriano Niquisse Seguma 04/09/2010; MSN 20/11/2009

Figure 13: Chiefdom Seguma up to 2010

Régulo Oniasse Bernardo Seguma stated that the first Seguma, also known as Kofi, was a son of Makombe Kabudu Kagoro (who according to Oniasse BS was also named « Nyandoro »; see Figure 13). Later chiefs in the area were Nhandoro/Sixpence, Bernardo, Niquisse, Cipriano and the current chief, Oniasse BS. The practice of adelphic succession across generations can be traced here, but with just two descent lines it is less prominent than with

Mpanze.

Sixpence became *régulo* in the 1960s (Cipriano NS; cf. Portugal 1967: 142). Sixpence's reign terminated in 1974/1975 (CNS), while he died in 1978 (Marcelino SN). Nyandoro/Sixpence's son Bernardo became the next *régulo*, but he was killed by Frelimo during the Frelimo-Renamo war. This fact is not mentioned by other Barue researchers Alexander (1994, 1995, 1997), Bertelsen (2003) and Virtanen (2001; 2005), but clear from comments by Marcelino SN, Francisco JB and Vasco BN. The latter stated Bernardo helped Renamo with food supplies. According to Marcelino SN,

Bernard [...] worked for Renamo. [...] Frelimo found any means to get that man. They [Frelimo] assassinated him, because he was not allowed to work for the enemy, who's been sent by Portugal [sic] [...] to destroy Mozambique. [...] [Bernardo Seguma was a] betrayer [of] the Frelimo party. [...] He was tortured and killed [...] in front of the whole majority [i.e. multitude] in Catandica. (MSN, original English)

According to Francisco JB, Bernardo Seguma was shot dead (*fuzilado*) indeed in public at the mango trees behind the "Mbuya Lena" lodging complex in Catandica. This shows that literature existing thus far may not be exhaustively informed concerning violent acts by Frelimo during the civil war, in this case as an example of the "theatrics of violence" (Abbink 1995: 67; also Igreja 2010: 783), in a public meeting. Vasco BN estimated the event to have occurred some time in the period 1985-1987.

After Bernardo's death, there must have been a *sine regno* for a while (Soda GC). Soda GC, affiliated with Frelimo, claimed that at the end of the war he led the area for a while on behalf of Niquisse. Then Niquisse was *régulo* from 1993 until 2002 (OBS; Cipriano NS). Niquisse's son Cipriano was briefly *régulo* in 2002. *Régulo* Oniasse B Seguma was recognized in August 2002 (Mozambique 2005a: 50; OBS). His becoming *régulo* was only possible after Cipriano NS's deposition and reveals political antagonism, as I shall now discuss.

Cipriano NS claims he was chosen (Sh: *kusarudza* – to choose) by the general populace to become *régulo*; Lucas J confirmed this. "The inhabitants of the entire place here did it", because "[t]hey saw how I behaved".¹⁸⁸ In Cipriano's case there was a meeting (*sangano*) in the local school building. Cipriano confirmed that Oniasse was an alternative individual for the post at that time. Cipriano obtained a flag and emblem, which he had to fetch himself in Catandica, but no uniform (OBS; CNS). However, after some months of waiting for a

¹⁸⁸ Cipriano NS: *Ndaya nzvimbo ino yese kugara kwavaita*; and *Vanhu vakaona magariro andaita*.

recognition ceremony, the post was assigned to Oniasse BS (Cipriano NS *ibid.*: 15:47). Cipriano stated he willingly left the post to Oniasse BS:

I came to see that [we were] crowding each other out [...]. Consequently I saw that [...] it was better that I would leave [...] [W]e were creating a little clash ahead, therefore I said “you’re doing the job”, but I gave him [the job] wholeheartedly [...].

[...] ndakazoona *que* [tiri] kumanikidzana [...]. Saka ndakazoona kuti [...] zviru nani kutobva [...] tinozokuunzerana katsaona kumberi, saka ndombotaura “uchishanda”, asi ndakamupa nemwoyo wese [...].

When asked how the people reacted on the change while they had, according to the earlier information, earlier chosen him, Cipriano NS said that “some” (*outros*¹⁸⁹) were not in favour of his handing over the portfolio. This word indicates a less than unanimous support for him, though it also implies no unanimous rejection.

Oniasse BS maintained that he initially refused to become chief, because of fear, and did not want to take power “by force” (*com a força*). He continued that

I had knowledge that the population would not accept to go on with him [Cipriano] as a *régulo*. [T]herefore I [was] refusing so as not to induce blame on me. Should he want to blame, he would go blame the community, population. Because it is not me who gets to his house: “Hey, you, why do you remain as a *régulo*?”

[..] tinha conhecimento [...] que a população não vai aceitar para continuar ele como régulo. [P]or isso estou [sic] [...] a recusar para não dar-me culpa. Ele quando quer dar culpa, foi dar culpa a comunidade, população. Porque não sou eu que chego em casa dele: “É pá, você, por que você fica como régulo?”

Oniasse BS insisted there had been a meeting of judges at Cipriano’s house which decided the post should be given from the latter to the first (OBS [R], [U]). Soda GC, a judge in the Seguma area and now president of the recently established community court there, did not remember such a meeting.¹⁹⁰ Soda GC did confirm that Cipriano was willing to give up the post. Soda GC added that women within the family had protested that the post had been passed on within in the same house (*nyumba*), i.e. from father Niquisse to son Cipriano. Soda GC then verbalized the prohibition to do so as follows:

[I]t is our law all around. [With] *régulos*, it cannot be that the very same house should enter.

[...] ndimutemo lethu wapantse. *Marégulo*, não pode kuti ipinde nyumba ibodzi-bodziwo.

This idea is consistent with the idea of *adelphic succession* (although *Régulo* Melo Mpanze

¹⁸⁹ « *Outros* » probably influenced by Shona « *vamwe* »: “others” but also “some”.

¹⁹⁰ My assistant and I tried to locate another potential witness of the asserted meeting but were unsuccessful.

[cf. above] gave a stronger, positive version of the principle). Concerning Cipriano's fitness for being a *régulo* for the people Soda GC maintained that Cipriano had been too short a time in office to evaluate this.

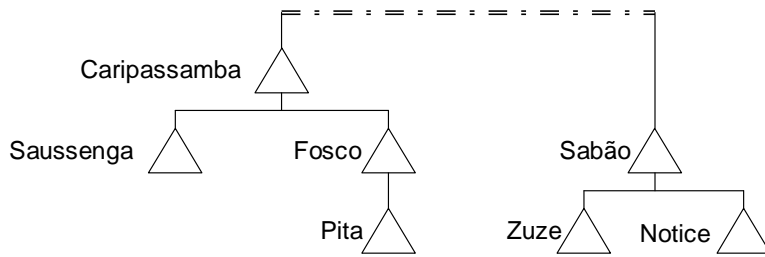
Both Niquisse and Oniasse Seguma claim popular support. Soda GC stated that difficulties with the population were not a reason for Cipriano's deposition. The case of Seguma then shows that besides popular support the principle of rotation can be invoked as an independent argument for a change of chiefs. This contrasts with those election systems, such as in Mozambique, where a change of president (i.e. change according to party affiliation) can only occur as a result of having different winners in successive elections.

Sabão

Like Sanhatunze, the Sabão area lies partly within the Catandica municipality. Catandica is named after a person, living around or somewhat before 1900.¹⁹¹ The present Sabão lineage does not seem to have a clear connection with the Makombe era as rulers. Fosco, a member of another lineage (Figure 14; compare Hatanga in Figure 15) became "the first leader of Sabão" under colonial rule (Portugal 1967: 16, 143). The area at Fosco's time seems to have been larger than it is nowadays, extending into the Chôa area, at least encompassing Chinda. Indeed the *regedoria* (colonial jargon for "chiefdom") of Sabão was originally called "Sachinda". When the chiefdom of Bango in the Chôa area was created the chief thereof was dependent on the chief of Sabão (Portugal 1967: 16, 144; more on this below in the section on Bango); *Régulo* José N Sabão still mentioned the Caerezi River as the eastern boundary of his area (also mentioned by SAC).

According to two independent sources, the first Sabão managed to get hold of the chiefdom by marrying out his daughter Suzana to a certain Portuguese (Adolfo SS; Quenesse JS), called Lucas, who was an interpreter (ASS). According to Adolfo S Saluanza the chiefdom today known as "Sabão" was expanded into what is now ASS's territory when Sabão was chief. Quenesse J Sahatsiro maintained that what is now Sabão belonged to an area he claims his own family was ruling (QJS did not mention Fosco).

¹⁹¹ Compare map in Arnold (1901); Artur (1996: 57n35), Báruè (n.y.: 11), Coutinho (1904: 259; cf. 262-263), and Mozambique (2002: 143).

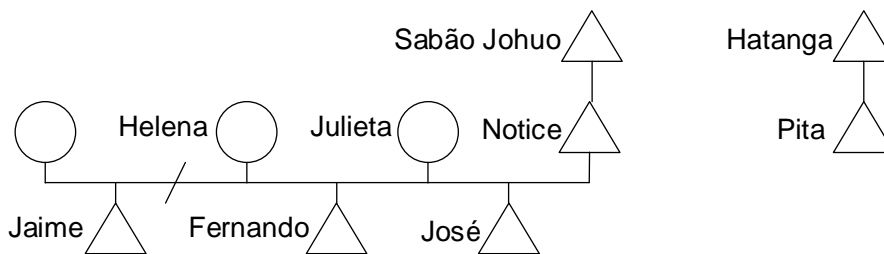


Order of succession according to source: Caripassamba, Saussenga, Fosco, Sabão, Zuze, Pita, Notice

= = = = : source provides no direct clear relationship

Sources: Portugal (1967: 143-144 – including handwritten note on Notice); Pita confirmed by interview MN 12/07/10

Figure 14: Chiefdom Sabão according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession within Sabão lineage according to JNS: Sabão Johuo, Notice, José

Sources: interviews JNS, MN; exact order of succession between the two lineages unclear

Figure 15: Chiefdom Sabão up to 2012

Sabão was succeeded by his son Zuze when he was still alive. Zuze in his turn was succeeded by Pita, Fosco's son (Portugal 1967: 143). The existence of another chiefly lineage including Pita was confirmed by Muchabande N. Pita's name is stricken out in Portugal (1967) and another comment written with pencil mentions Sabão's son Notice as *regedor* (leader). From this we know that Notice's inauguration was in 1967 or later. Tique Z stated that Notice was chosen during a meeting (*banja*) of a group of elders (*wakulu*) from amongst several sons of Sabão with a similar age (*saizi ibodzi*).

Notice seems to have been respected by Frelimo. According to Tique Z and Pita PC he was not allowed to perform administrative functions, but Alice C reported that Notice was

administratively active during the Frelimo-Renamo war but on a limited scale: “The *régulo* ruled, but Frelimo ruled more.”¹⁹² In any case the rain rituals under his responsibility appear to have continued (TZ, AC). Alice C associated Notice with Frelimo rather than Renamo but according to Tique Z he just saw who was going to win the war (which eventually was Frelimo). Notice died on 13 November 2009 (FN^s 14/11/2009).

After public approval in a meeting on 30 April 2010, Notice’s son José was inaugurated on 12 May 2010 (see description below of the approval and inauguration events). There were no competitors for the post, although José’s half-brother Jaime (son of an ex-spouse of Notice) had in the past made himself known to District Administrator Chimoio as being interested in the post. Mr. Chimoio had refused his candidacy on the ground that Jaime was an adherent of Renamo. Jaime died soon after this episode (FN^s 03/09/2010, source José NS). Another half-brother, Fernando, was first secretary of the district committee of Frelimo in Changara District in 2010 (José NS; FN^s 03/09/2010).

Neighbourhood meeting in which the new *régulo* is proposed

30 April 2010

The meeting is at an open place, partly overshadowed by a large tree and accompanied by a Frelimo flag. It is presided over by the Locality Chief, Ms. Lúcia Conforme, at a table with several chairs in the company of a few other local leaders, amongst whom *Líder Comunitário* Francisco Languitone (in uniform) and Mr. Monteiro, scribe of the Frelimo secretary of Sabão. Mr. José N Sabão also sits on one of the chairs at the table in civilian clothes. The general public sits on mats, wooden trunks or chairs. The women open the meeting at around 11:00h with song and dance. The Locality Chief then continues by cheering “Frelimo *hoje!*” and “Municipality of Catandica *hoje!*” each followed by a “*Hoye!*” of the gathered people (“*hoje!*” here means “Long live ...!”). Ms. Conforme speaks the most, at times alternated by Mr. Languitone. A few people from the population say something loudly during the meeting. Of the population there are in the order of 30 adults and a few children present at the beginning of the meeting; later a few more people come. Topics that are discussed are, amongst others: animals that wander around in the neighbourhood (and should not); cleaning of roads, houses and sanitary; an exhortation to be present at the 1 May ceremony in Catandica centre; and the visit of President Guebuza to Nhazonia the second week of May. At one spot the coming inauguration of the new *régulo* is discussed. Mr. José N Sabão stands up and announces his name. Ms. Conforme asks the gathered population whether there are objections to his fulfilling the post; nobody objects. At around 12:00h the meeting ends; people disperse virtually immediately. (FN^s 30/04/2010; 29/07/2010)

Inauguration and recognition ceremony of *Régulo* Sabão

12 May 2010

The delegation of the government of Catandica Municipality, which is to lead the inauguration ceremony, arrives at Mr. Sabão’s compound at around 15:00h. There are two tables, with

¹⁹² *Nyawkawa akhatonga, mas [...] waFrelimo ndoakhanyaotonga.*

several chairs, in the open air in the compound. Catandica Mayor Mr. Lambo goes to a chair at one of the tables in order to preside over the proceedings. Drum music starts, accompanied with some singing and (predominantly by women) dancing. Some people, including the *régulo*-to-be, get seated at one of the tables while a government official is busy arranging documents on the other table. There are about 50 adult men, 50 adult women and 50 children. The mentioned government official starts some “*Hoye!*” cheers, responded to by the grouped children. She then formally introduces the proceedings. After that the grouped children sing the Mozambican national anthem. The government official cheers for Mozambique and the Sabão neighbourhood and then summarizes the programme to come. Then Ms. Conforme takes the floor, standing, starting with cheers to Mozambique, President Guebuza, Mayor Lambo and Catandica Municipality. Mr. Sabão stands up as well, and is introduced by Ms. Conforme, using the number of Mr. Sabão’s voter card as identification. The public ululates and claps hands. Around 15:14h Mayor Lambo gives a uniform to Mr. Sabão, showing the different components to the public. Mr. Sabão gets into his house. Music by two drummers and dance (*mafuhwe*) by five women and one man are performed. One of the dancing women broadcasts meal on the compound surface. At about 15:20h the grouped children, conducted by apparently a school teacher, start to sing a song:

Going, going forward.	Kuenda, kuenda mberi.
We’re against turning backward. [repeated at will]	Taramba kudzoka shure.

This is a Frelimo song.

At about 15:24h Mr. Sabão exits from his house, clothed in uniform in the company of Messrs. Muchabande N, Bishop (PSM) and Baltazar G. They had earlier been associated with Notice Sabão. There is drum music, singing, ululating, hand clapping and dancing. Mr. Sabão walks towards the table where Mayor Lambo is, who gets in front of it. An elderly woman (unidentified) places a coin on the hat of Mr. Sabão’s uniform. The coin slides off to the ground. Mayor Lambo attaches epaulets to the uniform. Mayor Lambo and another government official attach a band with the colours of the Mozambican flag diagonally around the uniform. The public scans “*Tasekera!*” (“We’re happy!”). At about 15:28h Mr. Sabão reads out the *compromisso de honra* (pledge of honour – hardly audible from the recording, but comprising that the new *régulo* promises to the community of the neighbourhood of Sabão to duly fulfil his tasks; cf. document observed with *Líder Comunitário* SAC). Ministerial Directive 80/2004 is referred to. A minute later Mr. Sabão signs documents pertaining to his recognition as *régulo*, assisted by the Locality Chief and the first government official mentioned above. After signing, *Régulo* Sabão walks towards Mayor Lambo, gives him at least one of the documents and shakes hands with him. The public ululates and claps hands. The *régulo* thanks the public for their being present, and then sits left of Mayor Lambo behind one of the tables. Another government official reads out loud parts of the Ministerial Directive 80/2004 concerning tasks of the *régulo*; this is translated into Barwe by Raúl VR. From about 15:37h Mayor Lambo speaks for approximately twenty minutes, explaining the public more about the *régulo*’s work and his connections with government institutions in Catandica and Barue (Photo 4). Almost at the end of the speech he gives *Régulo* Sabão at least one document (in the programme summary

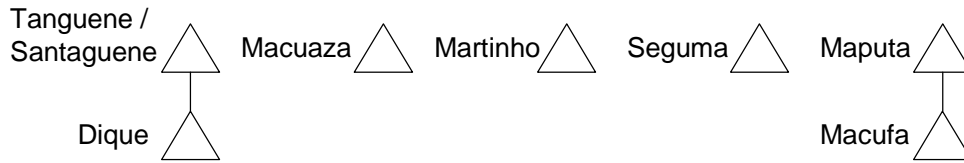
identified as the “decree and guide”) with another handshake. At about 16:05h *Régulo* Sabão raises the Mozambican flag at an already prepared pole on his area, assisted by Raúl VR and with accompaniment of the national anthem. This ends the formal part of the ceremony; it is now time for congratulations and partying and the atmosphere is unmistakably one of *happiness*. (movie registrations and FN^s 13/04; 12/05; 31/07; 09/09/2010)

From the description given here it will be readily clear that the “revitalization” aspect, as discussed above in the theory part, of the inauguration is ambiguous. Neither in precolonial nor in colonial times was there a Frelimo-government to guide (and dominate) the proceedings. On the other hand it seems likely precolonial chiefs would have known some sort of inauguration ceremonies like the Makombe kings had known (see above). I know of no literature that describes a chiefly inauguration in Barue in precolonial times, and I abstain from speculation. I only highlight the sliding coin mentioned in the description of the inauguration, which was later explained to me as a tribute to the local spirit Chato (FN^s 02/06/2010).

Bango / Macufa (Chôa)

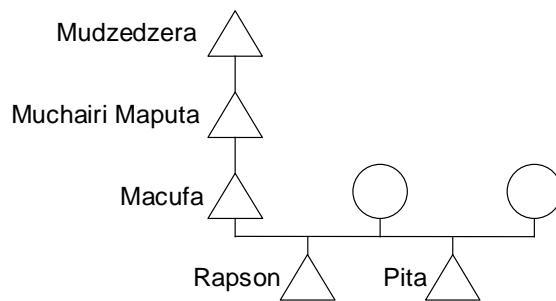
As explained above, the area of Chôa was originally at least partly under the Tangwena family. The current *Régulo* Macufa, Pita Macufa Muchairi told that his father Macufa was originally a local leader¹⁹³ who was appointed to supervise the forced labour activities in the Chôa area in colonial times, becoming *nyakwawa* (or *mambo* – chief) Bango, probably around 1957 (cf. *Registo* [A] 1942-1960). This may have been connected to the creation of the *Posto Administrativo* of Chôa, which was in that year 1957 (Rafael 2001: 19; cf. Fernando VGT). Pita MM’s great-grandfather Mudzedzera came from Zimbabwe to the Chôa area from Nyanga in present-day Zimbabwe. For genealogies, see Figures 16 and 17. Mudzedzera’s son Muchairi obtained a leadership position. Pita Macufa M stated that his father Macufa had five *sabhukus* under him; this fits in with information from Portugal (1967: 146) given here between parentheses: Sagoro (Sagoro), Njanji (Jange), Marombedza (Caereze), Mabeça (Mussipa), and Sanhamáuè (Sanhamagué). Pita MM did not mention Sahatsiro as *sabhuku* under Macufa. We will see below that the areas of Sanhamáuè and Sahatsiro alike have been split off from what was in colonial times the Bango chiefdom.

¹⁹³ Sh: *sadunhu*; somewhat confusingly, in Barue this could be an equivalent of a *sabhuku*, or somebody with a much more confined area; cf. Moore (2005: 276).



Order of succession according to source: Tanguene, Macuaza, Martinho, Dique, Seguma, Macufa
 Source: Portugal (1967: 145-146)

Figure 16: Chiefdom Bango according to colonial administration up to 1967



Order of succession according to sources: Macufa, Rapson, Pita
 Sources: mostly interview Régulo Pita Macufa Muchairi 01/09/2010, and some additional data interview former Régulo Ambrósio DC 02/09/2010

Figure 17: Chiefdom Macufa up to 2010

Macufa did not report to the colonial government that someone had died in a fight (Ambrósio DC; see also Virtanen 2005: 239). For this omission the colonial government arrested him but he managed to escape. He hid in Musvipa until he died shortly later around the time of the arrival of Frelimo (ADC). Pita MM maintained his father “worked with the Portuguese” until 1973, dying in Musvipa on 5 December of that year. According to Ambrósio DC there was no chief from that time on. Pita MM confirmed this, adding that his elder brother Rapson took up the post of their father in 2002.¹⁹⁴

Rapson was apparently never recognized by the district government, because Sérgio Sahatsiro ascended to *régulo* leadership status for the entire Chôa area during the period 2002-2003. The Macufa family defended their position by referring to colonial administration (“the book” as also encountered in other literature – Buur and Kyed 2006: 855; Kyed 2007:

¹⁹⁴ Macamo (2006: 140) and Virtanen (2005) would suggest there was at least one chief Macufa in the time PMM implied there was a *sine regno*.

144):

We asked them to open the book, just because all these chiefs [...] are registered on the book by the [...] Portuguese. [...] [These] are the very chiefs who are [i.e. should be] working at this present moment. (Pita MM, original English)

Eventually the area would be split into three. Virtanen (2005: 236) reports there has been talk at least since 1999, of splitting the Bango chiefdom. Historical references do not provide clear motivations for the threefold split, although Micheque F Sahatsiro and Quenesse J Sahatsiro used the Tangwena area as a reference for the southern border of Sahatsiro. Colonial era data as provided by Portugal (1967) also do *not* provide solutions for claimants of the entire former Bango Chiefdom (despite assertions to the contrary), because it would then have to be accepted that the *régulo* of Sabão would have deciding power, something not seriously contemplated by anyone amongst the present-day competitors for the mountainous area.

A first step towards the split was realized in 2002, although this does not show in Mozambique (2005a: 50), which mentions Chôa under the leadership of Sérgio J Sahatsiro only. Pita MM indicated 2002 was the year that there was a vote between Sahatsiro and his elder brother Rapson, from which Sahatsiro turned out to be the winner. According to PMM people in Musvipa had conspired (*vanhu vangataurirana*) to vote for “someone of the side of Musvipa” (i.e. Sahatsiro, north of Chinda, Pita MM’s residence). Later in the interview PMM added people from Barauro to the alleged plot, and stated it was under the leadership of Mabeça Musvipa, a *sabhuku* of his father. The fact that Pita MM mentions this vote, which was in his brother’s and his own disadvantage, is a strong indication for its historical trustworthiness. James IM confirmed there had been a vote, but he gave the result as being equivocal:

There at that meeting [the participants] were divided; there was a competition. Ipapo vakaparara musangano wacho; ari makwikwi.

Chefe de Posto Henriques Q [U] stated that it was the population who had brought up the solution that there should be a division (between specifically Macufa and Sahatsiro). It is not entirely clear to what debates Henriques Q referred, but because Virtanen, as indicated, reported debates already in 1999, there has probably been a series of debates over the years, in which several participants have made the suggestion. The reported equivocal vote between Sahatsiro and Macufa indicates that the numbers of adherents of the respective lineages were

not drastically different, even if not equal. Where during my fieldwork it became clear that the Macufas were unpopular in the mid-Chôa area, it becomes a possibility for people to contemplate that Sahatsiro should split off from Macufa.

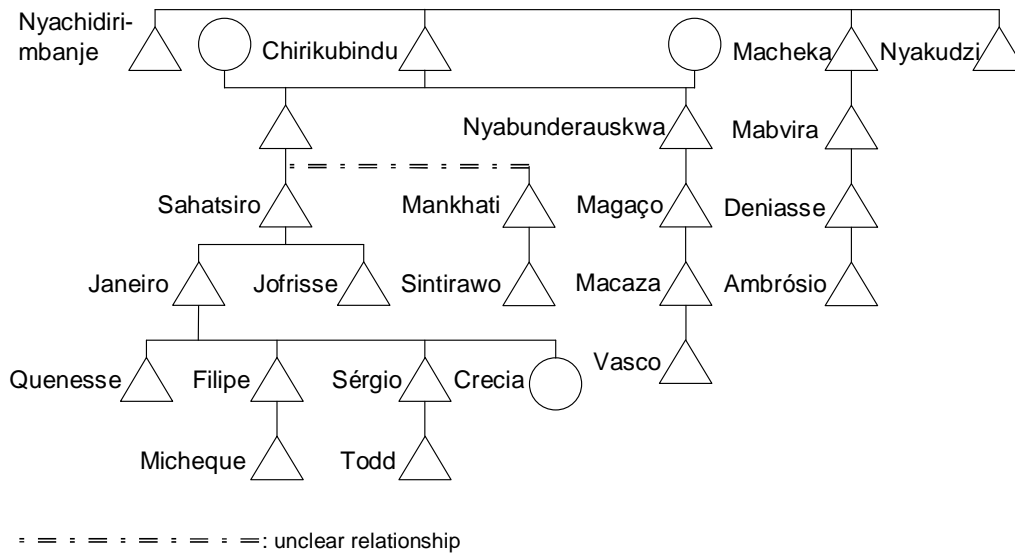
After the arrival of Mr. Luís A Chimoio as Barue's District Administrator in 2007, the Macufa family lobbied with him to revive the issue. According to Pita MM "the book(s)" at the district government office substantiated his claim that only Macufa is the unique chief in the area. Pita MM himself was inaugurated 12 December 2008 (PMM), after his elder brother had suffered a heart attack. Dudzai MS [U] confirmed in 2012 that the people in the Chôa area were divided concerning the rulership of Macufa or Sahatsiro. Dudzai MS himself was content with Macufa, who had helped him successfully because the *régulo* had organized the police to recuperate Dudzai MS's sheep, which had been stolen.

Pita Macufa is reported to have tried to assert his authority in the Nhacapanga area (mid-Chôa area) in 2009 (Filimone WN & Matias FD; Samuel M). According to Filimone WN and Matias FD he came to Nhacapanga to organize a meeting with the population and to propose to resolve disputes (against payment of goats and chickens). He was then chased away by someone referred to as the *sabhuku* of Nhacapanga, without having been successful with the population in the mid-Chôa area. Self-imposition did not work.

Sahatsiro

The name « Sahatsiro » is used for one specific 20th-century individual but also for a family complex comprising several lineages (cf. Figure 18). According to Ambrósio DC, the broader Sahatsiro family originated in Mukota (Mutoko in present-day Zimbabwe) and emigrated from there when Nyakudzi was alive (see Figure 18). They were given a place for them by the then Chief Samanyanga. According to Ambrósio DC, Samanyanga, not Makombe, gave the family a leadership position. Caibossi SG indicated "Sahatsiro Chirikubindu" as the one who founded the "chiefdom" (*nyika*). Virtanen's (2005: 234) information would suggest that Sahatsiro's father would have been a ruler already before 1917.¹⁹⁵ Comments by Quenesse JS and Micheque FS suggest that they consider Tangwena's northern border to be Sahatsiro's southern border. Vasco MM added that such a border is near Chinda. These data fit in with a comment by Coutinho (1904: 261) about Chinda being "near" Tangwena.

¹⁹⁵ Unfortunately, neither I myself nor Virtanen (2005) has information about this person's name.



Order of succession amongst Sahatsiro lineage according to sources: Sahatsiro, Janeiro, Jofrisse, Sérgio, Ambrósio. No information on Sahatsiro's father.

Sources: interviews VMM 13/08/2010, former *Régulo* Ambrósio Deniasse C 02/09/2010, QJS 07/09/10, MFS 16/09/2010, CJS 31/10/2010

Figure 18: Sahatsiro family complex

According to Quenesse JS, Sahatsiro was arrested when he encountered Boers (sg. Sh: *Bhunu*) who were killing one or more elephants, and served three months in prison. He temporarily went to Nyamaropa in present-day Zimbabwe and left the area to Mankhati, who was close family.¹⁹⁶ Few details are given, but neither Quenesse JS nor Vasco MM considered Mankhati *régulo* and thus he apparently only played a rôle as a temporary caretaker until Sahatsiro's return.¹⁹⁷

Ambrósio DC had information about a Sahatsiro, who from parallel information of Vasco MM may be identified as Janeiro Sahatsiro. When collecting tax, this Sahatsiro hit a person in the eye with his *chamboque* (whip). For this reason he was put into prison (ADC). Vasco MM confirmed Janeiro S had indeed “done something wrong” and “consequently was

¹⁹⁶ Not exactly clear, but probably brother.

¹⁹⁷ The background of this episode is not entirely clear from the interview with QJS, but since the Boers are mentioned so explicitly, it appears that Sahatsiro had some conflict with Afrikaner people which ended to his disadvantage (Rita-Ferreira 1999: 64n18, 65n31 mentions Afrikaners being present in the Chôa area at least before 1942; cf. Péliissier 1994 vol.2: 355; cf. Isaacman 1976: 57 who reports Hanga gave a land concession to Boers – unclear where and when). My hypothesis is that Quenesse JS presented the story to me in order to make clear that Sahatsiro did not voluntarily give up the post, an argument which might be used against his descendants living today.

expelled from the whole place”.¹⁹⁸ Ambrósio DC, Vasco MM and Henriques Q [U] mentioned Macufa, who was not of the Sahatsiro family, as (Janeiro) Sahatsiro’s successor as the main ruler in the Chôa area. Virtanen’s (2001: 148, cf. 2005: 234) sources (family of Janeiro) also mentioned this change and placed it in the 1940s, but explained it as resulting from “a conflict of interests” without mentioning the eye-incident.

The creation of the Bango *regulado*, with *Régulo* Sabão appointing Macufa/Bango as the new chief, probably followed Janeiro Sahatsiro’s arrest and apparent deposition as a leader by the colonial government (cf. Portugal 1967: 2, 16; Rafael 2001: 19). Portugal (1967: 144) mentions one Sancassiro (~ Sacatsiro, Sahatsiro), classified as a “*chefe de grupo*” under Sabão (cf. Ambrósio DC). According to Vasco MM, Janeiro ruled only about two years and was succeeded by his brother Jofrisse (confirmed by Crecia JS), who governed into the time of the anticolonial war, so the hypothesis that the Sancassiro of Portugal (1967) was Jofrisse S may be contemplated. Jofrisse died and was succeeded by Sérgio with the status of *régulo*, but only in the 2000s (Vasco MM, cf. Crecia JS). According to Mozambique (2005a: 50) Sérgio JS was “recognized” by the government in August 2003, although his selection was probably already in 2002 (cf. Pita MM). Sérgio JS died in 2008 (VMM), leaving a power vacuum in the centre of the Chôa area in an already complicated political situation, to be discussed below.

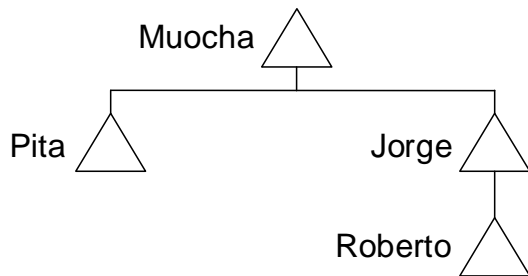
Sanhamáuè

In 1967, the area of Sanhamáuè (~ Sanhamagué, Sanyamahwe) was ruled by a *chefe de grupo* subject to the chiefdom of Bango in the Chôa area (Portugal 1967: 146). When I visited Mr. Roberto Jorge Chiputamassango in July 2012, he was in waiting to receive his uniform to take the post of chief, although he said he had already been inaugurated on 25 June. He reported no popular (s)elections for his selection; just his family chose him. I have no governmental documentary evidence available that the Sanhamáuè area has the status of chiefdom, but because of Roberto JC’s own use of the word « *mambo* »” (chief) and the frequent talk in Barue, already discussed, of the split of the Chôa are in three, it is classified as such in this thesis.

Roberto JC’s grandfather Muocha was an earlier predecessor (see Figure 19); his period of rule was unknown (RJC). Virtanen (2005: 238) reports a female ruler (not mentioned by

¹⁹⁸ VMM two quotes: [ku]kanganisa; and akazodzingwa umu muhwentse umu.

RJC) without giving genealogical details. Muocha was succeeded by Pita who was officially recognized by the government in 2007, though Roberto JC indicated that Pita was in function since his own early childhood, which was in the 1970s. This is confirmed by former combatant Mutarato LC who was in the area during the independence struggle (around mid-1973), when this part of Barue was a zone controlled by Frelimo. Mutarato LC identified Pita as a “*mambo*” and a “chief of the people”, with whom Frelimo cooperated. According to Virtanen (2005: 238-239) he was abducted by Renamo in 1986 and escaped a year later. Pita was in function until his death in 2011 (RGC).



Order of succession according to source: Muocha, Pita, Roberto

Source: Interview Roberto JC 14/07/2012

Figure 19: Chiefdom Sanhamáuè up to 2012

Roberto JC confirmed there had been a partition (*yakadividewa*, –En) of the chiefdom in the Chôa area into three parts. He was unable to say whether there had been any division already in colonial times or not.

The Chôa area leadership competition problem and involvement of the population

As indicated, considerable discussion has been going on over the years over the question who should rule the Chôa area. At the time of the field research the disputes concerned predominantly the Macufa and the Sahatsiro families, including the Macaza and Chekwa lineages. The position of Sanhamáuè, now ruling in the northern part of Chôa, seems to trigger less controversy (cf. e.g. Quenesse JS). For the exposition to follow, it is convenient to keep the following four names in mind: Micheque FS, Ambrósio DC, Vasco MM (see Figure

18), and Pita Macufa M (Figure 17).

In an interview in 2010 with Micheque F Sahatsiro (expected to become *régulo*) with the presence of his uncle Quenesse J Sahatsiro the last maintained that Macufa was only a *sabhuku* but Micheque FS then said that Macufa was a *régulo* (*mambo*) and that the border (*mugano*) of his own area was at the Tangwena area. Vasco MM added that the border with Sanhamáuè is near Chozvo. Let us study the debates about chiefly claims as they have unfolded more recently than the Tangwena era.

Vasco Macaza Magaço was known to be a candidate-*régulo*. He referred in an interview with me to other people's wishes rather than his own actions when asked whether and how he was to be a *régulo*: "I do not know what I am doing. People wish that I should be *régulo*".¹⁹⁹ He would like to be one, although he had the disadvantage of having diminished eye-sight. He mentioned the mediums Caibossi SG (Magodo) and Herbert SG amongst others as supporters of him; for Caibossi SG this is confirmed by himself. There is no family relation between Vasco MM and the family of Caibossi SG. With reference to Vasco MM's grandfather, Caibossi SG stated that Vasco MM was entitled to the chiefly position (*ushe*) because his house, or lineage, (*imba*) had not yet ruled in contrast with other houses.

Vasco MM's claim to a hereditary right to rule is that his grandfather (FF), Magaço, should have been *mambo*. Vasco MM told that in the 1940s Magaço was called from Manica to be *mambo*, but he arrived too late in Barue and by then the position had already gone to a relative, Janeiro Sahatsiro. Vasco MM added that several houses have not taken their turn yet to occupy the post of *mambo*, specifically those of Ngoviro (genealogy unknown to me), Mankhati and Magaço. Vasco MM suggested the descendents of Janeiro S just try to safeguard the *mambo* position amongst themselves. They also try, according to Vasco MM, to block the aspirations of Chekwa (Ambrósio DC's lineage). (Note the word «*mambo*» applied by Vasco MM to the 1940s; this would not square with the Fosco and Sabão lineages ruling in the area, cf. above.)

The Chekwa lineage, in the person of Ambrósio Deniasse Chekwa, succeeded in occupying the post of *régulo* for a while. Samuel M explained that the Sahatsiro family wanted to have somebody of their own put in the position of *régulo*, but who would live in Nhazonia, i.e. on the plateau and not in the mountainous area. As this location was unacceptable to the local population in the mountains, Ambrósio DC was approached, who originated from the Chôa area. His becoming *régulo* with uniform was happily anticipated,

¹⁹⁹ *Ini handizivi chi[nhu] chandiri kuitawo. Vanhu vangoda kuti [...] ndaite mambo.*

according to Samuel M. He was in office in the period February-July 2009 (ADC; cf. Samuel M). Successful in suppressing theft in the area, he was nevertheless deposed before any governmental recognition ceremony was held (Samuel M). Samuel M reported there was the idea that Ambrósio DC was not of a ruling family, a situation which was “not done” (*hazviiti* – Samuel M),²⁰⁰ but later in the interview he revealed that Ambrósio DC was seen as a representative of the Sahatsiros and acted with their consent. The Sahatsiro family however remained exercising influence and Ambrósio DC allegedly did not cooperate optimally with the Sahatsiros.

At this spot it is convenient to elaborate somewhat more about the principle of adelphic succession, rotation of the chiefly position across lineages. It is clearly visible that the principle promotes the existence of more than one candidate for being a future chief (see Figure 18). But Ambrósio DC descends from a person (Macheka) who may not be considered “chiefly” if that person’s brother (Chirikubindu) happened to be the very first to be a chief in the area, and people would insist on descendants rather than brothers of a first chief having chiefly status. Those who hold that Ambrósio DC is not from a chiefly lineage would apply the principle of adelphic succession only to descendants of Chirikubindu. This, however, would still include Vasco MM as eligible candidate. I hypothesize that it is for this reason that, in contrast with Ambrósio DC, Quenesse JS stressed his grandfather Sahatsiro’s status rather than actions of persons higher up in the family tree. In the case of Micheque, adelphic succession is still adhered to because Micheque is Sérgio’s nephew rather than son; only the genealogical apex relevant for rotation is put at a more recent point in the family tree than Vasco MM or his adherents would do. (There are no indications that Frelimo hand-picks a new chief as long as the candidate is not overtly an adherent of Renamo; cf. the case of Jaime in the Sabão chiefdom above.)

Just as Ambrósio DC was about to get the government uniform, he was taken from the post. Samuel M reported that in 2009 a meeting was held with about 200 people to discuss matters. Samuel M stated that these 200 people were mostly commoners and represented about three quarters of the population.²⁰¹ This was the meeting where it was decided Ambrósio could no longer be *régulo*. In August 2010 another meeting was held,²⁰² but this time there were only 80 people, because people felt being played with (*kutamba*) since a new

²⁰⁰ Note that Vasco MM did not reason in this way concerning Ambrósio DC. (Unlike Micheque FS and Vasco MM, Ambrósio DC is not a descendant of Chirikubindu.)

²⁰¹ It is not clear what “population” is referred to. The total number of inhabitants of 15 years or older of the Administrative Post of Chôa was estimated to be 7,870 in 2005 (Mozambique 2005a: 12).

²⁰² I confess I missed this meeting, learning about it only shortly after it had already been held.

régulo had not been inaugurated since the last meeting in 2009 (more on this below). At the 2010 meeting Micheque was presented as the new *régulo*-to-be. When asked, Micheque FS confirmed that his acceptance of the division (of the old Bango area) was subject to popular wishes because

Sahatsiro should rule in the middle so as not [to have] bickering tomorrow with the population. [...] I fear to say “the entire area [is] mine” [...]. [Better] stay away from this problem.

... Sahatsiro achitonga pakatipa *para não* [...] poka-poka mangwana *nepovo* [...] ndiri kutya ndingadzati “pentse pango” [...]. *Já* kusiya *problema* kune ino pano.

Caibossi SG/Magodo held that Ambrósio DC would not be eligible. No exact reason was given, but it is probably related to his assertion that “Sahatsiro Chirikubindu” founded the chiefdom. If this “Sahatsiro Chirikubindu” is to be identified with the Chirikubindu of Figure 18, indeed this makes (in Caibossi SG’s approach) Vasco MM eligible and Ambrósio DC ineligible if only descendants of Chirikubindu could be chiefs. From available information it becomes clear that Caibossi SG/Magodo actively campaigned against Ambrósio DC (ADC, Samuel M). This episode reveals the ambiguous status of Caibossi SG himself as a spirit medium. Caibossi SG had adherents, a situation which worked against ADC, even if Caibossi SG’s status as a *mhondoro* medium was not universally recognized. Asked about Caibossi and Herbert SG, Ambrósio DC explained:

[Both] of them are without lion spirit, which they say command the people. But [...] it is not this. This spirit [...] which commands the people must be a spirit from that region where it comes out in a person of that region. [...] Magodo is a Zimbabwean of Katerere, therefore his spirit says that [it is] from Saunyama there at Nyanga. Therefore [...] I do not accept to belong to that group, because it brings with it strange politics. It is politics that misleads the people.

Todos esses [são] sem espírito de leão, que eles dizem que são espíritos que mandam o povo. Mas [...] não é isso. Esse espírito [...] que manda o povo deve ser um espírito daquela região que sai numa pessoa daquela região. [...] [O] Magodo é Zimbabweano de Katerere, então o espírito dele disse que [é] de Saunyama lá para Nyanga. Então [...] não aceito aderir a esse grupo, porque traz uma política estranha. É uma política que desvia o povo.

Samuel M also recognized Caibossi SG’s spirit not as relevant for politics, but only for healing. Here we have one instance of the circumstance that the legitimacy of a medium’s status depends on recognition of that status amongst the populace (see Bourdillon 1974: 30, 35-37; Fry 1976: 119, 130n17; and discussion by Lan 1985: 67). Ultimately individuals decide for themselves whether a medium’s spirit is a *mhondoro* spirit or not; and Caibossi SG’s spirit was not universally recognized as a *mhondoro* spirit in the way Ioanes CN’s spirit was. Nevertheless Samuel M held CSG and his group of adherents responsible for the

deposition of ADC from the chiefly position (“[T]hey had the spirit that expelled [ADC]”²⁰³). However, CSG had a Pyrrhic victory, as ADC’s deposition strengthened the position of the Sahatsiro group, while Vasco MM was not subsequently generally accepted.

However, after Ambrósio DC was expelled, no new *régulo* was inaugurated. Samuel M complained that he could not market his agricultural produce because of the lack of transport in the (rather desolate) area. According to him a *régulo* could arrange such things with the government. He revealed that around where he lives (around Chôa *Sede*) people favoured Ambrósio DC but in Barauro people favoured Sahatsiro more than Ambrósio DC. Samuel M revealed furthermore that *Régulo* Macufa is certainly unwanted and confirmed the story of the latter’s expulsion when he tried to assert his authority in the mid-Chôa area.

Sahatsiro family elder Quenesse JS, certainly wanting the Janeiro lineage to be ruling in the Sahatsiro area, promoted Micheque (not someone else) because he maintained that Micheque is good in communicating with people (“I am not a scoundrel”,²⁰⁴ QJS commented). However the 2010 presentation of Micheque, which had concluded his selection process against other candidate-*régulos*, was not immediately followed by his installation. Surprisingly, when I visited the area in 2012 Micheque Sahatsiro still had not been inaugurated. Dudzai MS [U] stated that Macufa was actually ruling part of Sahatsiro’s area (in the south), though not the entire area. Micheque Sahatsiro would not have become *régulo* because of Macufa. However, James IM indicated that the Sahatsiro family had been asked about the absence, but had not given any clear response. Lower-level leaders were now taking care of problems that had to be resolved. My assistant reported in 2014 that Micheque FS still was not inaugurated; reasons given now were that he was still young and lived too far from the (mountainous) area. In any case from this report it would appear Micheque was still considered the *régulo*-to-be, i.e. the collective choice of the moment.

Saluanza

Adolfo Saimone Saluanza, born in 1920, had already abdicated for his son (Bartolomeu) two years before I interviewed him in 2009. He insisted his status had been that of *nyakwawa* (i.e. *régulo*, chief) but this is not mentioned as such in Mozambique (2005a: 50). One Saluanza is mentioned, like Sahatsiro, as a *chefe de grupo* under Sabão by Portugal (1967: 144).²⁰⁵ Since

²⁰³ Samuel M: [V]aine spirit *dzekudzinga*.

²⁰⁴ Pt: ... *não sou malandro*.

²⁰⁵ Genealogy unclear, probably this Saluanza was Adolfo SS’s father. Saluanza is to be taken

at the time of the fieldwork Saluanza did not appear to reside under any other *régulo*, this thesis classifies Saluanza as a chiefdom. Adolfo SS mentioned that his family got the area from Makombe (unspecified). Virtanen (2005: 235) has the information that Saluanza's ancestor had come four generations ago from as far as Chuabo (Zambézia). Adolfo SS maintained the chiefdom of what is today Sabão was in the past expanded into what is now Saluanza's territory. He also mentioned that the area of Saluanza had also been subject to a dispute with the Sahatsiro family. First Adolfo SS claimed "the people" wanted both Sahatsiro and Saluanza (implying: their territories should be apart), but later in the interview it emerged that the (definitive) division between Sahatsiro and Saluanza was a result of a decision by the District Administrator during the time of President Chissano (i.e. in or before 2004 – although evidently such a division was not formalized in 2004 as appears from Mozambique 2005a: 50); these interpretations are not necessarily inconsistent.

Other hereditary leaders

Chapanga

The Chapanga area is under Samanhanga (cf. above), but Maurício Jorge Chapanga nevertheless stated he is a leader of the first rank (*primeira escalão*). He explained that he is *Régulo* Samanhanga's *adjunto* (adjunct) and that they have a division of labour; Samanhanga working in the north and he in the south. He stressed that consensus amongst and legitimation by the population is necessary for the installation of a successor within the areas of hereditary leaders, provided the successor comes from within the respective established families. Deposition, he affirmed, is also possible in case a chief is no longer popular.

Nhamugodzo

Luís Nhamugodzo Cruzamento Macossa was inaugurated as adjunct-*régulo* on 16 March 1993 at the age of 28. His area, around Cruzamento Macossa, is under Samanhanga, as already discussed. During the interview, Luís NCM did not challenge Samanhanga's administrative superiority. Luís NCM's predecessor and elder brother Raiva was captured by Renamo and died in 1987 while under Renamo's responsibility. Luís NCM himself was

~ Saruadza as cf. Virtanen (2005: 234-235).

indicated as leader in a big meeting with the general population (but with Luís NCM's absence) under the presidency of the then *régulo* Samanhanga, out of a candidate pool of ten brothers. Luís NCM indicated that his brother Basílio proposed Luís who was then approved by the present crowd. As his governmental portfolio Luís NCM mentioned such items like performing population censuses (*recenseamento*), collecting tax, the construction of schools, and the opening of roads and space for agriculture.

Njanji

Matias Semente Njanji is a *sabhuku* in the area of Mussinze and Pandagoma, in former Tangwena territory. Matias SN became *sabhuku* in 1993, succeeding his late father; the community of the area requested him to become a leader, he explained. There was little competition with other candidates; a hypothetical option was his father's brother, but this person was deaf and so would not be able to function properly for not being able to converse with the people or hear the *mhondoro*. The decision was taken in a meeting of 30 persons. Matias SN was not happy with Renamo, and said that Renamo just used the promotion of *régulos* as a political tool against Frelimo. His tasks comprise organizing community activities such as helping to coordinate the building of new schools, where the local people themselves take the initiative and actually make the bricks for the school buildings (additional material has then to be requested from the district government).

Musosonora

Bernardo Musosonora is a *sabhuku* within the Mpanze chiefdom. Frelimo terminated his father's tenure as a *sabhuku*. During the war Renamo came asking who the *sabhuku* was. Bernardo M responded his elder brother had died, whereupon Renamo installed him as *sabhuku* to deal with disputes (*nyaya*) in an area in a forest with the following motivation: "We do not want the people to be governed by us soldiers [...]; we have killed."²⁰⁶ Renamo did not force the *sabhuku*: "I went by myself. [...] I was not compelled."²⁰⁷ Later Frelimo allowed him to continue as a *sabhuku*, but only in 2009 he got a uniform. Bernardo M complained that there been suffering since the end of the war until now and that it was better under Caetano, at least concerning health care. His area has bad water. When asked whether

²⁰⁶ "Hatidiba kuti vanhu vatongwe naisu masoja; tina kuuraya", Renamo as reported by BM.

²⁰⁷ BM: *Ndaita kuda tega kuenda. [...] Handina kumanikidzwaba.*

he gets help from the government he responded: “Haha! We have become tired” (i.e. of asking the government).

Vulamite

Elias Timba Mulinganiza was recognized as a *sabhuku* by the government in 2003, at the age of 24 or 25, being the only *sabhuku* within the Seguma chiefdom. Elias TM was chosen through voting from amongst six people, apart from himself three younger brothers and two brothers of his father. The voting occurred at his compound, with many people from the area. *Régulo* Seguma was also present; apparently he and/or some of his associates were responsible for determining the vote’s venue. Elias TM reported the voting occurred with secret papers.²⁰⁸ The exact voting result was no longer remembered. In contrast with some hereditary leaders who reported not to resolve judicial cases (anymore), including *Régulo* Seguma, *Sabhuku* Elias TM did resolve cases, such as the one in which a man had married a too young child. Helping to prevent “premature marriages” is what “community authorities” are supposed to do according to the Regulation of Decree 15/2000 (art. 5-1).

Nhachigo

The area of *sabhuku* Rapson Sadziwa around Nhachigo is within the Sahatsiro chiefdom. (With the *sabhuku* not at home during my visit, the following information is from his wife Elisabete T.) Elisabete T explained that Rapson S’s elder brother, Canisius Sadziwa, had become tired of being *sabhuku* and his successor was elected in 2010. A vote was held in the nearby school with virtually all of Nhachigo “village” (i.e. area) present; Elisabete T estimated 500 people. Three other candidates besides Rapson were reported. Rapson was chosen because “he had the habit of telling the truth” (Elisabete T [R]). The method of voting was with raising hands (Elisabete T [U]). (Note that Sadziwa was not among those considered *sabhuku* by *Régulo* Macufa. Because Sadziwa is under Sahatsiro the splitting of the old chiefdom in the Chôa area into three new chiefdoms presumably has had the effect of upgrading some lower-level polities.)

²⁰⁸ *Pamavoti wakhaita zvakuita matsamba. [...] [Y]akhali yasecreto.*

Observations on chiefs by the colonial government

Concelho do Barué (1966) catalogues how the colonial *concelho* government judged the “moral and political behaviour” of the Barue chiefs. The comments for the ones in present-day Barue District are given in Table 4. It appears that the colonial government did not have a heartfelt confidence in the *régulos* of what is now Barue District. Only Gimo Sanhantamba is fully appreciated by the colonial *concelho*; perhaps this contributed to his being killed by Frelimo (cf. above). From the viewpoint of an individual *régulo*, the colonial situation was equally ambiguous. Tique Z explained the problematic position *régulos* were in during colonial times: “He [the *régulo*] was good, but because he was governed by the colonialists [...] he was not viewed very well.”²⁰⁹

Table 4: Judgements of colonial government concerning chiefs in Barue in 1966

<i>Chiefdom</i>	<i>Chief</i>	<i>Judgement (translated)</i>	<i>Judgement (original)</i>
Mpanze	Bero	Does not have prestige and has a disgruntled attitude; regular degree of confidence	Não tem prestígio e não se tem por desafecto; regular grau de confiança
Sanhantamba	Gimo	Has prestige; deserved confidence	Tem prestígio; merecido confiança
Seguma	Sixpence	Regular prestige; doubtful confidence	Prestígio regular, confiança duvidosa
Sanhatunze	Machado	Is old and deaf; does not count as an authority	É velho e surdo; não conta como autoridade
Sabão	Pita	Does not have prestige; his moral attitude is quite bad; his removal has been proposed; does not deserve any political confidence	Não tem prestígio; seu porte moral é de pior; está proposta a sua demissão; não merece qualquer confiança política
Samanhanga	Caliche	Has little prestige and is of regular confidence	Tem pouco prestígio e é de confiança regular
Bango	[blank]	Is in charge of the chiefdom; his moral attitude is normal and of doubtful political confidence	É encarregado da regedoria; seu porte moral é normal e de confiança política duvidosa

²⁰⁹ Akhali *bom, mas como* iye akhatongiawo nacolónia [...] iye ha[a]deki (referring to either Sabão or Notice Sabão).

Women as leaders in Barue and specifically within the Sahatsiro chiefdom

Portugal (1967: 144-145) mentions some women as lower-level *chefe de ramo* (branch chief) who apparently doubled as healers (*murapi* or *muprofite*). During my field study, however, I did not come across a female hereditary leader. Several informants did not deny the theoretical possibility that women could, would or should be chiefs (Crecia JS, Lúcia C, Paulino FS). Female chiefs around Chimoio were mentioned (Melo MN); probably referring to Ngomai and Nyokaranga (Artur 1999: 23-25). Logically, the principle of adelphic succession could accommodate women leaders when they would represent fathers' patrilineages (for a mirror version of this in Rhodesia, see Kaschula 1976).

Crecia Janeiro Sahatsiro (CJS) was mentioned (by Vasco MM) as a contender for the post of chief within the Sahatsiro family. She explained that as a woman she could not be, however. Her vision was that her BS Micheque would cooperate with her. Later in the interview, however, she said I could consider her “*mambo*”. *Chefe de Localidade* Lúcia C told that some women had aspired the job of *Régulo* Sabão, but could not get the permission they would need from their husbands to move to the deceased chief's house. Lúcia C expected that there would be female *régulos* in Barue some day, however.

Rain rituals

Rain rituals (Bw: *matiriro*) are an important part of hereditary leaders' portfolios.²¹⁰ In the Sabão area a rain ritual is properly understood as an event in which a restricted group participates in certain proceedings near and on the Ntsuanda Mountain (Photos 5a, 5b). Coupled to this ritual is an event at the *régulo*'s house in which many more people participate in festivities the same day. I have not participated in either event, but *Régulo* José N Sabão was so kind as to bring me to the site of the ritual proper (see Appendix D). The group of the ritual proper includes women as well as men and preferably (but not strictly) older people (Baltazar G, Muchabande N). The ceremony begins at the *régulo*'s house with the group clapping hands to announce to the spirit the arrival of the group. Then the group processes to the Ntsuanda Mountain where another instance of clapping hands occurs. After the group returns, a larger group of people celebrate the ritual in an event I describe in Appendix D as “rain feast”. Rain feasts appear to be able to let people of different political parties participate

²¹⁰ Information about rain rituals was provided by *Régulo* José NS, Julieta J, Amélia C, Baltazar G, Érina J [U], Muchabande N, Pedzai SM, Sovria S, and Alberto.

jointly. As for the rain ritual on Ntsuanda, I could not identify people who were openly Renamo, MDM or other non-Frelimo affiliates, but several participants reported to have no party-political affiliation at all, and the ritual seems genuinely free from party-political influence.

An empirical critique of Arrow's approach to "democracy"

It is possible to say something about Arrow's approach to "democracy" from the material hailing from some chiefdoms in Barue District. As the case of mid-Chôa provides the best example I start with this. Then I will discuss Seguma, Sanhantamba and Sabão. It will be seen that in these cases Arrow's approach is not necessary to make a (non-imposed) collective choice.

Sahatsiro

The dispute in the Sahatsiro chiefdom involves more than two alternatives to choose from simultaneously; it is therefore opportune to demonstrate hypothetical cases of what the application of a choice set method might look like. Samuel M provided a clear preference ordering of three alternatives for the desired *régulo* in mid-Chôa area. For others such preference orderings have to be reconstructed; nevertheless an analysis can be made. Samuel M regretted Ambrósio DC's deposition but was definitely against Pita Macufa M's taking the post, giving Micheque FS's candidacy as a second-best choice, and the following preference ordering can then be established for Samuel M:

$$ADC > MFS > PMM.$$

However, Samuel M's input as given here is incomplete. With Samuel M rejecting PMM and having ADC as top preference, VMM and MFS (taking their comparable genealogical positioning relative to PMM and ADC as minimum indicator) may be taken as equally preferred in Samuel M's preference ordering, hypothetically representative for ADC's adherents. Thus I complete the input for Samuel M, using «/» and parentheses for indifference between two alternatives, as

(i) $ADC > (MFS / VMM) > PMM.$

Having had ADC as “interim” *régulo* (as reported by Samuel M) and with VMM at least having a direct genealogical link with Sahatsiro rather than PMM, I reconstruct that adherents of MFS had the preference ordering

(ii) $MFS > ADC > VMM > PMM.$

VMM’s adherents would equally place PMM at the bottom of their preference ordering (PMM not belonging to the Sahatsiro family at all) and of course VMM at the top (the uncertainty about ADC and MFS amongst VMM’s adherents I express by using « / » and parentheses as above.²¹¹ Then we obtain:

(iii) $VMM > (ADC / MFS) > PMM.$

For 2010, *social* preference orderings using choice sets can be reconstructed as follows. PMM is obviously the socially least preferred alternative for the studied preference orderings. Assuming equal weights for the three input orderings, we can establish a Condorcet analysis recognizing that ADC and MFS are equally strong and that MFS and VMM are equally strong in the hypothetical collective ordering. However, ADC wins from VMM two to one. The choice set in the Condorcet count thus can be established as {ADC, MFS} and the social preference ordering as

$(ADC / MFS) \geq VMM > PMM.$

We can also establish a Borda count, assigning 1.5 points to preferences that end up in the middle with « / ». PMM then ends with a total of zero, VMM with 5.5, MFS with 6 and ADC with 6.5. The choice set is now an unambiguous {ADC} and the social preference ordering an equally unambiguous

²¹¹ VMM would suggest $ADC > MFS$ because of the rotation principle (applied with a genealogical apex residing in earlier times than Sahatsiro, the father of Janeiro Sahatsiro, but Caibossi SG actively campaigned against ADC, apparently unconcerned with this. Samuel M said people in Barauro preferred MFS above ADC. This may include Caibossi SG because of the descent principle discussed above. Hence assuming VMM and his supporters were together indifferent about ADC and MFS (i.e. taking them as equally undesirable relative to VMM) is a reasonable reconstruction of the situation.

$$\text{ADC} > \text{MFS} > \text{VMM} > \text{PMM}.$$

We see that it matters which method is used to determine the choice set for the inputs (i), (ii) and (iii); with Borda there is a clear winner, ADC, but with Condorcet there is a tie between ADC and MFS.²¹² On the other hand both methods agree that VMM does not represent a strong claim and obviously PMM is considered undesirable. Ethnographically a pressing issue is why eventually MSF emerged in 2010 as the winning candidate for the *régulo* position in mid-Chôa, even if he ended second in at least one counting method against ADC. Samuel M made comments that sheds light on this question and also make clear why the gravest problem with Arrow's approach may not be with the impossible elimination of discrepancies in counting procedures that his "conditions" were to straighten out, but with the way of thinking about aggregating preferences itself.

Samuel M had no objection to MSF's taking the post, even if his first preference was ADC, because inaugurating MSF would put an end to interminable dispute (*vachikana*), and so promote peace (*runyararo*). This is no triviality; the Mozambican system for electing the president does not accommodate such considerations because of the choice set method. Arrow's approach to "democracy" requires that any preference ordering can be accommodated as an individual's input, but does not allow the possibility that people can *socially evaluate* the outcome of the process of "aggregation of preferences" and put such evaluations back into the decision making process. That this is an essentially different process from what happens in the election of the Mozambican national president is clear when one considers that in 1999 juridical deliberation focused on procedural matters, most poignantly what happened with sheets of paper, rather than on what the country should do with such a divided outcome of the polls. The most salient feature of the election result could not be addressed by the political system because its only goal concerning the election was to validate exact arithmetic figures, no matter how arbitrarily exact, rather than solve politically relevant cleavages, even if inexactly known. Yet the Arrow approach, insisting on predetermined exact mechanisms in order to determine a choice set, is being depicted as embodying the *necessary* conditions for "democratic legitimacy" (Suzumura 2002: 11). Sen

²¹² The latter situation, with a tie also existing between MFS and VMM but not between ADC and VMM, is an example of an ordering in which transitivity of indifference does not hold, as discussed by Sen (1970: 48-49). Sen (p. 49) adds that such situations would not neutralize the seriousness of "the Arrow problem". In commenting this, however, he implies the Arrow *conditions*, while this thesis argues that the idea of the *choice set* should be problematized, not that Arrow's conditions could or should be circumvented.

(1999a: 353, 355) maintained that in assessing people’s preferences “one could be seriously misled in the absence of formal scrutiny”, adding that “[v]oting-based procedures are entirely natural for [e.g.] elections, referendums, or committee decisions”. It appears the people in mid-Chôa violate “formal scrutiny” and “naturalness” in Sen’s view.²¹³ If Arrow’s conditions are necessary for “democracy”, than the way of selecting a leader in mid-Chôa is not “democratic”. If, however, the approach of selecting a leader in mid-Chôa can be considered “democratic” (e.g. on the basis of definition (8) in ch. 3) then Arrow’s conditions are not all necessary. As far as necessity is concerned, the two approaches are *irreconcilable*.²¹⁴

As for the mid-Chôa area, Samuel M provides an instance of “sacrificing one’s first choice” as I have identified as possibility (*b*) for reaching consensus in chapter 4. Such an action is not the same as “strategic voting”, because there is no hiding of one’s first preference (see discussion by Dryzek and List 2003: 5-7, 9-12). It also deviates from Rawls’s (1971: 13) conception of “justice” where parties are being “conceived as not taking an interest in one another’s interests”. Rather, it is more reminiscent of Habermas’s (1996: 314) discussions about “will-formation” in a “general public sphere” that is characteristic of deliberative politics.²¹⁵ The mid-Chôa area result also partly overlaps with the consensus theory of Lehrer and Wagner (1981) introduced in chapter 4, if we distinguish between

²¹³ To see this in more detail, we may study the following hypothetical distribution of preference orderings (PMM omitted) amongst 198 individuals of mid-Chôa submitting their preferences:

33	33	66	33	33
ADC	ADC	MFS	VMM	VMM
MFS	VMM	ADC	ADC	MFS
VMM	MFS	VMM	MFS	ADC

The Condorcet and Borda social orderings are as in the main text. Now if anyone at the rightmost column would change their ordering between MFS and ADC, ADC would be the sole Condorcet winner; or if anyone in the second to right column would change their ordering between MFS and ADC, MFS would be the sole Condorcet winner. Sensitivity to such small changes within the overall situation would be *required* by Arrow’s theory, but is completely *irrelevant* (if not undesirable) in a selection-through-debate procedure as applied in mid-Chôa. Now in this example the Borda count would be robust against the indicated small changes, but it is easy to construct examples where Borda is also subject to the strong sensitivity. For instance, set the number of individuals having ADC > MFS > VMM 66, and the number having ADC > VMM > MFS zero. Then Condorcet and Borda are equally sensitive to small changes between ADC and MFS.

²¹⁴ Dryzek and List (2003) do propose a “reconciliation” of Arrow’s approach and “deliberative democracy” (e.g. Habermas 1996). But they miss the point that as soon as “deliberative democracy” can solve collective problems “democratically”, the Arrow conditions may not all be necessary. Their article takes the Arrow approach as analytically prior and uses “deliberative democracy” to neutralize the contradiction that results from Arrow’s conditions.

²¹⁵ Blunden (2004) also invokes Habermas in a critique of Sen and Arrow. Blunden focuses more on the consequences for the inconsistency in the Arrow conditions while this thesis’s focus concerns more the choice set method in empirical situations.

weights of *nil* and *greater than nil*, which people may assign to each others' preferences. People can re-consider a first and preliminary collective preference ordering emerging from initial preference revelations, subject to said weights. Crucial here is that people may *again* assign weights *greater than nil* to people, including those with whom they do not agree, after the preliminary preference ordering (1981: 24-25, 53). This differs from Arrow's approach where the latter implies that the choice set should be society's choice as a result of a one-off procedure operating on individuals' preference orderings only. Especially adherents of ADC may have withdrawn positive weights given earlier to VMM-adherents after Magodo had campaigned against ADC, shifting weights to MFS-adherents. This would seal the choice for MFS. This way of reaching consensus is not the same as "*dirigisme*" as Rescher (1993: 3) maintains. VMM-adherents had their chances in the debates but used it in a way that backfired.

For the most part the people in the mid-Chôa area do not seem to have used choice set procedures in order to establish a social preference ordering of the four mentioned candidates, with the exception of a contest between the Sahatsiro and Macufa families where a vote was reported (and here the *exact* outcome was unclear). The reconstruction I have made was done precisely to point out that choice set procedures are in principle applicable but that the people in the mid-Chôa area *deviated* from such a method. The example shows that a collective decision can be reached using *approximations* rather than exact calculations. That there was a divergence of wishes amongst the Chôa area inhabitants was also clear without exact counting. Choice set procedures, where one vote can make a crucial difference, need numerical exactness, but consensus requires political satisfaction as broad as possible and depends much less on such exactness.

Remains to summarize Micheque FS's selection as the outcome of a non-choice set procedure by sequences of events (in addition to structurally with a theory about weights). The only use of voting was the contest between the lineages of Macufa and Sahatsiro (i.e. Janeiro's father), giving an equivocal but apparently geographically determined result; PMM appeared very unpopular in the mid-Chôa area. VMM and ADC belonged to branches of the wider Sahatsiro family complex for which it could be tried to claim the chiefly position on the basis of the rotation principle, away from the lineage of Janeiro Sahatsiro. VMM himself applied the possibility for rotation to ADC, but VMM's own adherent, Caibossi SG/Magodo, acted in contradiction with this and campaigned against ADC. Caibossi SG's contribution was negative in that it led to, or played a significant role in, the deposition of ADC, but as he was himself not generally accepted as a *mhondoro* spirit medium, CSG was not able to

enforce a positive measure in getting VMM accepted as new chief. VMM had some supporters and credentials for rotation but otherwise little clout. Assuming many reasoned as Samuel M did, ADC's supporters realized that sacrificing allegiance to ADC and stating allegiance to MFS would stabilize the general situation. MFS obtained the consensus position overwhelming all other alternatives.

Seguma

The rotation observed between Cipriano and Oniasse Seguma is a clear example of applying a diachronic argument that would be inadmissible in Arrow's theory. For all I could ascertain, both alternative *régulos* could be seen as more or less equally popular, and then the argument to balance power across time between the two existing lineages prevails over the exact determination of a social top preference.

Sanhantamba

The case of Tomás Sanhantamba may be one in which exact counting using, say, the Condorcet method might have yielded the same result as the actual situation. Chadreque was unpopular and Paulino had lost clout since his brief acting as chief shortly after the war. But Tomás Sanhantamba's voteless election was nonetheless primarily dependent on the intersection between popularity and the requirement of rotation.

Sabão

The installation of José Sabão as chief is difficult to see as a choice between different candidates and is no direct counterexample against Arrow's theory. However, there is still an element of collective choice here, as José Sabão could have been rejected. Different scenarios could then have ensued, such as the possibility to have the Sabão chiefdom annexed by another. In this way the Sabão example would circumvent Arrow's theory by implying that change of focus can be incorporated in ongoing discussions, something that cannot be expressed in the choice set approach which has a one-off methodology.

Summary and conclusions

In this chapter it has been shown that there is quite some variety in the way chiefdoms and lower-level hereditary political entities are related to their respective populations. In some such entities the population plays an active role in the selection of leaders and/or is invoked for legitimation of a leader's rule, while in others this is less so. When reference was made in interviews to the general population for chiefly legitimacy it consisted of explaining why one became chief and not someone else (Sanhantamba, Seguma), why chiefly territories should be separated (Saluanza, the Macufa/Sahatsiro split), and why a particular person within the family was promoted (Quenesse JS promoting Micheque FS because in his view the latter had good interaction with the people). The incidence of antagonistic relationship *between* (potential) leaders, thus competition, factionalism or pluralism, also varies from entity to entity. Table 5 sums up the findings for the chiefs mentioned in this chapter. From Table 5 we can observe that the majority of the studied selections of chiefs, as far as the data indicate, were subject to some dynamism like competition and/or public meetings; i.e. were not automatic *faits accomplis* (some *sabhukus/mpfumus* knew competition as well). A background of "competition, factionalism or pluralism" (« competition », for short) was not ubiquitous, however. In that case a public meeting would consist at most of an approval of a single candidate for the post, e.g. with the approval of the new *Régulo* Sabão in 2010. In any case, it was possible to argue that at least some chiefdoms show that Arrow's theory, which requires exact counting, is not necessary to make a collective choice for a new chief.

The selection of Micheque F Sahatsiro as *régulo-to-be* was the most complicated selection process studied and showed how it is possible to make a collective decision without using a choice set procedure (an ambiguous vote was reported some years earlier between Macufa and Sahatsiro candidates, but this did not exhaustively explain the subsequent events). The inauguration of Tomás SC Sanhantamba depended on popular approval, entirely independently from voting procedures, against competition from his cousins Paulino and Chadreque, where specifically the latter was considered less suitable for the job. Oniasse B Seguma was able to have Cipriano N Seguma deposed. Popular influence is difficult to assess in this case, but at least a council of judges seems to have been involved in the process, and the move made it possible for the principle of rotation to be applied. Amongst lower-level hereditary leaders, popular debate helped to confirm Luís Nhamugodzo CM as an adjunct-*régulo-to-be*, while voting procedures were applied in the cases of Elias T Mulinganiza and Rapson Sadziwa. Though not uniformly so in Barue District, there are

examples of popular influence in the selection of hereditary leaders, sometimes using voting, sometimes not.

Table 5: Political backing of incumbent régulos

<i>Régulo</i>	<i>Reference to population invoked for legitimation</i>	<i>Selection subject to public gathering(s)</i>	<i>Competition, factionalism, or pluralism</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Macufa	no	yes (with brother)	yes	Chôa-case
Mpanze	no	no	no	
Sabão	no	yes	no	
Sahatsiro	yes (by QJS)	yes	yes	Chôa-case
Saluanza	yes	unclear	yes	
Samanhanga	no	yes (second meeting)	yes	spirit selected, overruling all competition
Sanhamáuè	no	no	yes	Chôa-case
Sanhantamba	yes	yes	yes	
Sanhatunze	no	no	no	
Seguma	yes	unclear for OBS	yes	

Besides at least sometimes invoking reference to the wishes of the population to buttress claims of an individual, ruling lineages as a collectivity need to have their chiefly position legitimized by historical claims. From Table 6, which sums up the historical origins of the chiefdoms in present-day Barue District, we can draw some conclusions about these chiefdoms. First is that most of them are rather new, as far as the ruling families are concerned. No chiefly lineage has an obvious connection with history before 1890. Sanhantamba and Sanhatunze link the origin of their chiefdom explicitly with “Makombe”, and their claims seem plausible. Their precolonial origin does not make them more “traditional” in the sense of “centuries old”, however. They came into being after a period in which Gouveia appears to have wrought considerable havoc, destroying the earlier set-up of chieftainships. Second, the chiefdoms have known dynamics that continue in recent times and are certainly not just copies of colonial regulations. Although some claimants to chieftaincy invoked “the book” to back up their claims, such invocations were either not successful at all (Paulino FS) or irrelevant (Crecia JS). The situation with the Sahatsiro chiefdom may have restored Tangwena’s precolonial limitation to the north (though probably not exactly).

Table 6: Historical origins of chiefdoms in Barue District

<i>Chiefdom</i>	<i>Created under</i>	<i>Creation period</i>	<i>Background</i>
Macufa	colonial government	± 1950s, probably 1957	southern part first under Tangwena, then split-off from Seguma; under Sabão incorporating all Chôa area; later split up
Mpanze	Makombe leadership (larger area)	larger area under Makosa probably 1890-1902	partitioned from Makosa's area probably after Barue Revolt of 1917-1918 in colonial times
Sabão	colonial government	± 1918	first under Fosco; included (part of) the Chôa area, later reduced
Sahatsiro	Frelimo government	2007 (mid-Chôa)	precolonial status unclear; from colonial era headmanship
Samanhanga	Civembe	1890-1902	Civembe belonged to the Makombe family; hypothetically a residual of Chipitura's area; colonial area initially smaller than now, later expanded
Sanhamáuè	Frelimo government	2007 (north-Chôa)	precolonial status unclear; from colonial era headmanship; <i>de facto</i> chiefdom since 1972-1973
Sanhantamba	Makombe Hanga	1890-1902	chiefdom existing at the end of the 18 th century if identical with Sanhamutamba; allocated to the present-day ruling family at the end of the "war of Makombe"
Sanhatunze	Makombe Hanga	1890-1902	Shona origin; reward for anti-Portuguese war
Seguma	colonial government	± 1918	successor of Tangwena chiefdom created under unidentified Makombe; later reduced

Remark: no clear data on Saluanza