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## Shona folklore: The Soko people of Zimbabwe

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HODZA, Aaron C. (Harare)

### INTRODUCTION

This is an attempt to establish the origins of the Soko people through oral traditions collected from a number of people holding high positions in the Soko society.

The ancestor of the Soko people is known today is Tingini. Nobody knows Tingini's father. Tingini and his family came from Mahumwi, (some call it Mazhumwi), to Masvingo (Fort Victoria). No living person knows the exact location of this place but some say it is near the Limpopo.

Tingini's children still known today are Zimmunya, Nyahuye and Derere who was subsequently known as Godzonga. He was named Godzonga because he was so short-tempered that he could not live with his relatives peacefully. Tingini's children are said to have been very many since he had so many wives, but no living person can clearly trace the names of all Tingini's children.

In the narration of the dispersal of the Soko, you will find the names of those whose fathers' names are no longer known, but those with such names are only known by the works they did. The deeds under discussion are those of leading a group which had separated from others.

The reason for their leaving Mahumwi for Masvingo was that they wanted new forests or virgin land where they could cultivate new plots. Mr. Gwindi, who gave me the bulk of the information on the Soko said, "The decision to leave for Masvingo lay in the fact

that Derere had fought Zimunya, his brother. Zimunya was a son from Tingini's third wife. Now Derere said, 'You, Zimunya, get out of here and take your family wherever you like.' Zimunya replied, 'Why is it that you want to expel me when we are sons of the name person?' Derere said, 'You are a child from our father's third wife and therefore go your own way.' Derere wanted to expel others so that he would become chief after expelling them (the Zimunyas). Others then said, 'Let us part our ways or we may continue to fight among ourselves. We, Tingini's children, have become so many,' That is when we emigrated to this place Mbire."

It is said that they lived in Masvingo for some time until Tingini died. After a number of years following Tingini's death, this family left Masvingo and came to Hwedza (Wedza). In those days the Hwedza country used to be called Mapfuka. It was subsequently named Hwedza after the local mountain called Hwedza where people of old mined iron ore.

This word Hwedza, as far as I know, might mean any of four things. The first is that this mountain Hwedza is in the country of Chief Svosve. Secondly, "hwédza" means "tomorrow". There is a saying which runs (Hwédza ndinhasi hondo yaVaBudya) "today is tomorrow the war of the Budya." This means that since you have not cared to help me with my troubles today, tomorrow I will not help you when you are in trouble. Thirdly, some say there is another hill or a place in this country (Zimbabwe) called by such a word but I know of no such place. Fourthly, the sun itself is called "hwedza". Just like saying "hwedza yagara miti" (the sun has gone down). To say the sun has gone down is to say the sun is now sitting on the trees (is about to set)

## GWINDI

This is what Mr. Gwindi, who I interviewed in 1966 and who was then the ruling chief of Shawasha, had to say concerning the origins and history of his people.

"All those children left by Tingini assembled and said: 'Let us choose the chief, who will be our father and leader'.

"This pleased many of the family except Derere, who became the uncontrollable dissident, as you know the behaviour of children from a polygamous family. What distressed Derere was that he knew he could never get the chieftainship since there were elder brothers who had to take the chieftainship. The rest were not so hard-beated. They agreed that one of them had to be the chief. This was because it was no longer appropriate to live without a chief or overall-guardian, since their father Tingini had been in his grave for some time.

"After they had assembled it was said, 'What has brought us here together is well-known. To whom shall the chieftainship go?' Some said, 'We have decided it should go to Nyahuye.' Derere went mad with anger. He asked, 'To whom did you say the Chinamhora

chieftainship should go?' The rest replied, 'We said it should go to Nyahuye.' Derere then said, 'If you ever give Nyahuye the Chinamhora<sup>1</sup> title, you will get it. What chieftainship could be so abused by being given to such an ugly person? What sort of person is he with a face that looks like that of a crying person? If you ever give him the Chinamhora title I will end up murdering him. The Chinamhora title must be given to me, not to such a worthless person.'

Then the rest realised that if they continued to annoy him, some blood might be spilt. This was because Tingini's sons knew the aggressive nature of Derere. The people then said to Derere, 'Do not continue to fume against your relative. Allow him to become chief since the whole country has selected him. When he becomes chief, you should keep calm since you will have your chance tomorrow.'

'When he heard this, Derere said, 'It is all right. Nyahuye can become guardian or chief. I have now decided that some of us should pack and go on, and get a new place to settle. Nyahuye can now take the Mapfuka country which we have left. Some of you will go with me because I now know some of those areas.' After they had arranged this, they separated, Zimunya and his family going to their present country which you all know as Zimunya country, (Mutare District). Nyahuye and his faithful followers stayed behind in Mapfuka (Hwedza District). That is when he was installed chief, his title being Svosve.

"Derere then packed and went to Dzimwe, in Chikwaka's country (Goromonzi District) together with his own faithful followers."

Mr. Gwindi said, "The reason for going to Dzimwe was that Derere had decided to fight with Chikwaka people so that he might take their country and settle in it with his people.

"When we arrived in Chikwaka's country, Chikwaka's people immediately realised we were a horde which had come to fight against them. Therefore Chikwaka gave us a well-built girl named Madziidzwa, a girl who had been wellfed, with an extremely beautiful face, thus making her exceedingly full of game.

"When we saw the woman, we said, 'Derere, you had better cool down. Let's pose as if we are looking for a place to stay.' Then Derere told Chief Chikwaka, 'Father, we are your visitors. You see us arriving, we are looking for a place to stay. If you have any place sufficient for us to stay you might offer us.'

"Chief Chikwaka said, 'Aa, your request is not bad. You can now sleep, Murehwa, (meaning Derere). Tomorrow morning we shall settle it when I have consulted my councillors. I will present your request to them tonight before I go to bed. I will get their decision. At the moment there is nothing substantial I can tell you until I have seen my people.'

"The elders said, 'Thank you very much Matemavi (Chikwaka). This is certainly an issue that needs consultation with your people. Even in our tradition it is not proper to hold court at night. We will

sleep. We shall wait for what comes from court when it is light.'

'There is the request, my children,' said the Chikwaka to his people. Then some said, 'It is in the ear. We have heard it, the sceptre lies with you.' Some clapped, others prepared shelter. We, the elders, were given sleeping quarters by Chikwaka, and we were all the time clapping, thanking our father-in-law Chikwaka who had given us a bride.

"The whole village prepared sadza so that some brought one dish, others two, and still others brought three dishes and we dined. After dinner we went to sleep.

"In the morning we were given water in clay pots (makate) and we washed. When Chikwaka started court, his councillors said, 'We digested your request. Some have said, It is not a bad request. It will mean the growth of the community. What you can do now is, you can explore all these areas in the direction of the west. When you have found the area which satisfies you, you tell us and then we will tell you what our rules are.

"We then said it was well. We sent our own children. The children, together with the man Chikwaka had offered us to accompany them, spent the whole day moving through the woods. When they came back in the evening they said, 'We have come back from where you had sent us. The forest we saw is quite good and is in a place known as Chikonde.'

"We said it was all right. Where is this place? The children replied, 'You can ask the very person who accompanied us. He is the person who knows the local forests.' On being asked the man replied, 'It is in the direction of Ruwa. Chief Chikwaka himself knows it.'

"We then said, let us go to the chief and tell him. When we got to the chief's residence we told him, 'The children have come back, chief. They said the place they have found is called Chikonde, at the source of the Ruwa river.'

"Chikwaka then said, 'Is it the one you have chosen?' We replied, 'Yes.' Then it was said, 'It is all right. If it is the one you want, you can prepare to go there. I will give you a person who will peg the area. As for me, I will inform my ancestral spirits (Mhondoro) so that they can know they now have newcomers.'

"Then we clapped in approval. We went to our shelters to tell our people to prepare during the night for the morning journey to Chikonde, where we had found a place to stay. At sunrise, we went to bid the chief farewell. We were then given the surveyor, and we went back to our children to pack our goods and we set out for Chikonde.

"When we got there, the settlement site was staked, and we went to sleep. In the following morning, the surveyor bid us farewell and departed. We started building huts until the settlement was complete. After all, we had Madziidzwa, the woman we had been given.

"After we had settled at Chikonde, some of us then went to Rukuti (Donn Brook), and others to Chishawasha, and still others along the Chizhanje area (Mabvuku).

"When we had settled at Chishawasha, that is when we became known as the Shawasha after the name of the local hill. We had not been called Shawasha in all the places we had come through. The name we had been known by was Matyoza of Tingini. When we came to Chishawasha, the people settled in Rukuti said, 'Une mhora! These people are as numerous as bees.' This is where the name Chinamhora (beeswax) originated. That is when we abandoned the name Tingini for Chinamhora.

"It is at Rukuti that Derere Godzonga was installed as Chinamhora. The local people used to say of us, 'You have beeswax.' The local people were the remnants of the Gunguwo (Rozvi) clan. They had remained behind after Gunguwo had been chased away by the Chihota people. The reason for Gunguwo's expulsion was that he had raped the woman Nyemba, who was dedicated to the Chihota people's ancestral spirits. The Gunguwo people were Rozvi. They had occupied the area that was subsequently taken by the Chihota people. Chief Chihota is of the Tembo (Zebra) totem, and he is no relation of Chinamhora.

"Some time after we had settled down and after Derere had assumed the office of the chieftainship, the Gunguwo people I have already mentioned said, 'A, this man is indolent.' They meant that Derere was a lazy person. They said, 'Take Derere's people and make them weed our fields.'

"When Derere heard this he said, 'So my people are being turned into servants! Why? I will see how this will be done!' Gunguwo's Rozvi people said, 'Beer must be brewed and then we will call them and explain to them our rules.' Beer was brewed and made ready. Then it was said, 'Send a person to the Chinamhora people so that they come, and we can tell them how to live since they want to stay in our country.'

"A messenger was sent to Derere and he said, 'You have been invited to a beer party. Even you, the chief, have been requested to come.'

"Now Gunguwo's people had assembled many Rozvi spirit mediums to the beer party so that they would give laws to Derere and his people. We, the Shawasha, were now being taken as subjects.

"Derere told the messenger, 'I have heard what you said. Go back and tell them I am coming after you.' Then Derere called his people and told them, 'We have been called to a beer party by Gunguwo's people. I will go with young people only. You, the older people, must stay behind. Take your battle axes and spears and then we go.'

"Then the young took their axes and spears, and made a single file bound for Gunguwo's people. When they got there they said, 'We have come, tell us what you called us for.' They were told,

'You have been called by the spirit mediums, not us.' The spirit mediums said, 'How is it that you built your settlements without telling anybody that you have come into the country already occupied by us?'

"Derere then said, 'Where are the spirit mediums?' They replied, 'These sitting on the sleeping mat.' Derere said, 'These, can they be the ones who called us? 'Yes,' was the reply. Derere then shouted, 'This is the end of your lives. You have disturbed the hornets' nest. Hit these people, my sons.' The young men fell upon them and beat them thoroughly, together with their spirit mediums, and the beer containers were smashed.

"Derere said, 'Whose people could be treated like that? Hit these people, my sons.' Then the Rozvi were slaughtered by the Shawasha. Some fled, some escaped between shield holes, and as for those slaughtered, the corpses littered the ground.

"Some of the things left behind by those fleeing were confiscated by the Shawasha returning to Rukuti, singing songs. Those at home said, 'E! The Shawasha have struck. Derere is returning.'

"When they got home it was said, 'There is not even a single Rozvi living. Those who survived had the backing of their ancestral spirits, and as for the rest they perished together with their spirit mediums. Any compulsion to weed their fields is over.' This is how the remnants of the Rozvi living with the Shawasha perished.

"After some time, there came a certain man named Mhlanga, who was said to be related to the Shangane. He also came with his family and settled at Dore (Chiremba area). We used to call the place where he settled, Chirimba, which means a heap of unthrashed rice, because during those days the people who lived in the place of the totem Zenda Simbirori, grew a lot of rice.

"When Mhlanga got to Dore, the country was now in the hands of the Shawasha but he told no one that he was looking for a place to stay. The moment he arrived he built his village with his people. The man found by Mhlanga at Dore was Manyanya but even he was not informed that they were looking for a place to stay. It was Manyanya who informed us that there was a man already building a home with his family.

"The Shawasha said, 'That is what we cannot accept. Let us go and fight him. If he can kill us, then let him kill us to a man.' Then we, the Shawasha, collected our weapons and set off for Dore. When we got there, chanting songs, we killed both the young and the old. Mhlanga realised he was no match for us and fled. Mhlanga's people were slaughtered to a man by Derere's army. There was only one survivor called Matemazheve, to whom we then said, 'Go back where you came from and tell them we have wiped you out.' Matemazheve took the path to where they had come from to go and tell them the family had been slaughtered. After he had gone we never knew whether or not he got there. This is because we never



heard anything about him ever after.

"After the destruction of Mhlanga, we the Shawasha stayed peacefully with none to trouble us until the death of Derere.

"After Derere's death, that is when we had more feuds. The reason was that the chieftainship was intended to be given to Nehamabakakamba. Some said, 'A! Who would be obliged to respect a man with such a large navel? Our custom does not permit a person with a large navel to become chief.'

"But since in those days we used to respect the ancestral spirits Nehambakakamba gave way so that those acceptable to the ancestral spirits might become chiefs. After so deciding, the Chinamhora chieftainship was given to Chirimuuta, son of the dead Derere.

"With the death of Chirimuuta the chieftainship was assumed by his son Chaitezvi. With Chaitezvi's death the chieftainship was assumed by his son Mhembere. Mhembere himself died and the chieftainship went to his son, Chinamaringa. At the death of Chinamaringa it passed over to Chidziva, Chinamaringa's younger brother. With Chidziva's death it went to his younger brother, Nzvere. With Nzvere's death the chieftainship returned to Chinamaringa's house and was assumed by Charumbira, son of Chinamaringa. With Charumbira's death it went back to Chidziva's house and was assumed by Chingoma, Chidziva's son. With Chingoma's death the chieftainship went to B. Kahari. With the death of B. Kahari, his son David Kahari became the acting chief until the time when Gwindi was installed."

These are the names of those who took the Chinamhora chieftainship. (This is the chronological order given by Mr. Gwindi):

- |   |                   |                          |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Derere                                    | (2) Chirimuuta    | (3) Chaitezvi            |
| (4) Mhembere                                  | (5) Chinamaringa  | (6) Chidziva             |
| (7) Nzvere                                    | (8) Charumbira    | (9) Chingoma             |
| (10) Kahari                                   | (11) David Kahari | (12) Gwindi <sup>2</sup> |
| (13) Marufu<br>(acting chief<br>Gwindi's son) | (acting chief)    |                          |

The names of the Chinamhora rain makers are:

- |                 |                |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (1) Derere      | (2) Chirimuuta | (3) Chaitezvi    |
| (4) Mhembere    | (5) Chihungwa  | (6) Chinamaringa |
| (7) Chidyausiku | (8) Gutu       |                  |

"After some time the Ngoni under Zwangedaba,<sup>3</sup> wanted to settle in Domboshava where we had now settled after coming from Chishawasha from where we had been expelled by white people after their arrival.

"It was said, 'The Zulu have come. The Zulu want to settle in Domboshava. Then we said, 'This is what we cannot accept. Let us

go and fight them.' We took our weapons and went where the Zulus were. Then we slaughtered them indiscriminately, claiming large numbers. Zwangendaba then fled with part of his following across the Zambezi.

"After Zwangendaba, we then saw Lobengula's people who wanted to fight us; we defeated them and we confiscated a gun called Rupeni and gumiguru, together with the cattle they had seized from those they had killed."

#### MR. MUPINI

This is how Mr. Mupini Marisa Mutimumwe, who I also interviewed, supported Mr. Gwindi's story. 'We recaptured both the cattle and the women looted by Zwangendaba. We also managed to recapture everything that had been raided by the Ndebele of Mzilikazi from the various neighbouring Shona chiefdoms. That is how we, the Shawasha, came here from Mahumwi. Mr. Mupini Marisa Mutimumwe said, "I am from Chinamhora of the Soko Murehwa totem. I am of the house of Nzvere. You have asked me about Mahumwi - I don't know about its location. I only know of Tingini's migration. Tingini is our ancestor. His son is Derere Godzonga. His children I know are Vambe, Rusere and Chirimuuta. Chirimuuta bore Chaitezvi, our grandfather. Chaitezvi bore Mhembere and Mhembere bore Nzvere. Nzvere bore Mutimumwe. Chaitezvi also bore my father Marisa. Marisa bore me, Mupini.

'When we take the Chinamhora chieftainship we take it as Nzvere's house. The Chinamhora came to their present place from Mahumwi. But we do not know about Mahumwi. When they left Mahumwi they came with Derere Godzonga and Svosve. I have Mhembere's weapons, but most people do not know where they are, and who possesses them. I managed to get them because the second wife of my father, the mother of Mavhunga who brought you here to my homestead, was a spirit medium of the Mhembere. I also possess Chaitezvi's weapons, together with his hereditary or titular name. Chidziva, Chinamaringa and Wafanehombo belong to us. When they install a chief, they call me and ask me about our processes of installing chiefs.

Sailos Chikwenengere Mhembere, another interviewee of mine, said, "I belong to the Soko Murehwa group. We come from Mhembere Chihungwa's family.

"We came here to Mutumba from Chinamhora, fleeing from the dispute we had with the Europeans<sup>4</sup> whilst in Chishawasha.

"After we had fought with the Europeans, Mhembere Chihungwa's son called Mupinda, came to Pfungwe via Uzumba and crossed the lower Mazoe moving towards the Nyombwe area (Rushinga Mount Darwin Districts). He had children called Chimbiro and Chaitezvi<sup>5</sup> whom he had left behind. These sons said, 'We ought to follow our father.' So they set out after their father Mupinda. After so following, they got to the Zambezi and found it in flood. Then they

said, 'Whereabouts can we cross the river?' One said, 'Let us go upstream and maybe we can find whereabouts to cross the river.' Then they travelled upstream but could not find a ford. They had in fact left the region where their father had gone. When they failed to cross the Zambezi they returned, wishing to go back to Shawasha. They got to Dzangare, in the country of Chief Mutumba (Shamva District) and waited there to rest, but they ended up marrying in this area of Matumba. The one who married was Chimbiro, and he married the daughter of Chibvunzwe. Chibvunzwe had married Matumba's niece. Then he rested there.

"Chimbiro and Chaitezvi went back to Shawasha, thinking their father had returned. When they arrived they found their father was not there. Chimbiro then said, 'Since we have not found our father I am going back to my father-in-law. I will live there, and perhaps I might find the region where our father went.' Chaitezvi then said, 'It is all right, I am staying behind. If, after you have gone, you can find the area where our father went, you can inform me so that I can come and see him.'

"Chimbiro took the path back to Mutumba and lived with his grandfather, Chibvunzwe, son of Madzuramhende of the totem Shava Zuruvi, Vhuramavi (Chief Seke's people).

"That is how our ancestors came to stay here, and we were born after they had already settled here in Mutumba. Now we have become masters of ceremonies (vanechombo) for the Mutumba area. All the people of Mutumba we take as our (uncles) or mother's brothers.

"Mupinda was an elephant-hunter who hunted elephants. Now it is said that when he got to Nyombwe he was told, "Since you are an elephant hunter do not kill the elephant called Muvi.<sup>6</sup> If you find it among other elephants, do not kill it. But you can kill the rest. Do not kill the one called Muvi because it is for ancestral spirits of this area."

"Since he was a lover of meat he went and cut its tendons because he had admired its big size, but it carried him to Malawi (Nyasaland) where he started a family. Even today his descendants are still found in Malawi and still use the totem Soko.

"But Mupinda did not return here because he died. What came back was his ancestral spirit which resides in Shawasha, called Mupinda. We can identify a possessed person by hearing that he is possessed but I have not personally seen the spirit medium and the spirit itself has not yet called me to talk to it.

"Mupinda was Mhembere Chihungwa's heir. Mutimumwe's mother is Lady Manyanga. We are related to Chibvunzwe by virtue of Chimbiro having married his daughter. Here we swear by Chimbiro. Chimbiro's father was Mupinda but here we later called him Mutakurwa. This is because he was carried by the elephant of the Nyombwe and taken to Malawi.

"The father of Mhembere Chihungwa is Shambare. The father of

Shambare was Derere Godzonga. The father of Derere was Tingini. But I do not know the father of Tingini. When Mutimumwe died he left Chikwenengere, and with Chikwenengere's death came Chawasarira. Chawasarira died leaving Munangatire. Munangatire died, leaving Chiwota. Chiwota died, leaving me, Sailos Mhembere.

"The father of Chikwenengere is Chimbiro. Chimbiro's children are: Mutimumwe<sup>7</sup> and Chikwenengere and a woman called Munda.

"Chawasarira's children are: Isaac, Micho, Rakafa, Justin and others. And for Munangatire, his children are: Zebedish, Lamech, Samson, Philimon, Tafira, Martin and some girls who I cannot accurately trace.

"Chiwota's children are: Gibson, then Kanyoka, and from there we go to Sanhai and Dennis. All these now have families of their own. But all these are of Chimbiro's lineage.

Mr. Chakavanda Mudimu, another interviewee, talking about the Shawasha, said, "I am Chakavanda. This was the name given me at birth. My father was born of Mudimi. Motsi bore Mudimu. Motsi was born of Mupindurwa. We, the Shawasha, came from Mahumwi. When our fathers left Mahumwi and came to Chishawasha, they fought against the Ndebele and defeated them. Tingini is the ancestor of us, the Shawasha. Masuwani, Nyaokorefu and Derere are our great-grandfathers who came from Chaka's (Shaka's) country somewhere beyond Mahumwi. When we came to this country we found the Rozvi living here. The Rozvi used to have their own peculiar language. When they spoke you would hear them say:

'Wakaita sei mwanangu Kumbiriso?  
Hayi hama yangu,  
Bhura gango tione chinodliwa,  
Gwana gweMuZezuru gwonditonga!  
Ha-a!  
Ndirekenyi Moyondizvo,  
Ndirekenyi mwana'ngu Takwanhira.'

Which, translated is:

"What's wrong with you, Kumbiriso, my son?  
Oh my relative!  
Take down the ptsherd from the fire and we will see  
what will be eaten.  
To be ruled by the son of Zezuru,  
Ha-a!  
Leave me, Moyondizvo,  
Leave me, my son Takwanhira."

"Then some of us went back to Chiduku<sup>8</sup> where we had come from, where we saw the remnants of the Rozvi whom I actually saw with my own eyes. Then the Rozvi emigrated leaving the Zezuru only. But after that, wars were endemic among us. Each one was claiming

he was the leader. Each would claim the country was his. When Hwata's people were being killed by the Ndebele, we only heard rumour to the effect that the Ndebele were now at Bute Chitungwiza<sup>9</sup> in Chaminuka's area. The Ndebele came, killed people, amassed cattle and women and took them away while we stared at them.

"Now this Hwata, whom I have just mentioned, had fled to Gwiranenzara hill (Chiweshe T. T. L. Mazwe District) but he was followed there and some of his people were killed. At Hwata's place there was a well-known man called Gukuzenzi who was subsequently killed in Mbeve (Mazwe Dam) by the Ndebele. All this we personally witnessed.

"The people of Chigutiro are Shawasha. They separated on grounds of despising each other within their clan. Amos Bhosha Chipidza said, 'We of Chigutiro came from Mahumwi, we are Tingini's sons together with Derere Godzonga.' The feuds which caused the dispersal were due to the fact that when Derere died when we were at Rupara, the chieftainship was supposed to go to Nehambakakamba. But some Shawasha underestimated our family claiming that we were few and therefore that the chieftainship should go to families with many members. Whereupon the chieftainship was given to Chirimuuta. After the chieftainship was so taken by Chirimuuta, the Nehambakakamba family were taken by their relative, Chivero, of the totem Shava Mwendamberi. Nehambakakamba then built his home in his uncle's place.

"After so doing, Nehambakakamba cultivated (mbambaira) sweet potatoes which came out very well. Then they said, 'A, Mukuru-ivara, wava mugutiranwa', which translated literally is: 'What is big is the spot, we have plenty to feed on, Oh, my father, Chirongo.' Then people said, 'You now belong to Chigutiro,' This is where our totem Soko Chigutiro came from.

"The MaNehambakakamba who had married at Chivero's was Kuchidzamhandu. Even today this name is being used in Chivero's. He had married at Patsanza's of Masanganise. Gumba, Marowa and Nyereyemhuka are in Chivero's. Timbe, Chipidza, Bhosha and Chaitezvi are in Marandellas. Even if all these are now called Soko Chigutiro, Mukuru-ivara (which literally means 'What is big is the spot'), Reva kwawatukwa (literally, 'Tell us where you have been cursed'), it is dispersal all right but their clan is Chinamhora. Those you hear being called Soko Magwengwevere were the children of fathers who had failed to finish paying their lobola. They were given their uncle's totem and the clan name was simply dropped on to them.

Chidavaenzi, F. said, "We, the Shawasha, are said to have come from Hwedza where we had settled after coming from Mahumwi. Then we left Hwedza for the Chishawasha hill area. When the Ndebele armies came, we left Chishawasha and went to Chinamhora near where Makumbe Mission stands today. When our great-grandfathers were still in Hwedza, they used to make hoes from

iron ore which they mined in Hwedza Mountain, but because of the feuds they had with Nyahuye's people, they left the iron ore and went to Chishawasha."

In Mutoko District I asked Chief Chimoyo Nyambira to give me an account of the origin of their clan. The chief told me: "Our parents told us that we had come from Domboshava. It is in Domboshava that our ancestor is. But we, the living, do not know what the ancestor was called. But the man who led us here was Mutandi, who died here. Today he is our spirit. Mutandi is the son of Nemauyu. Nemauyu himself is our rainmaker, but we do not know his father." (Chief Chimoyo Nyambira was the acting chief when I was there in August 1972.)

"When we were here, the first person to take the Chimoyo chieftainship was Mutandi who as I have said, is now our ancestral spirit. From Mutandi the chieftainship went to Chatiza. From Chatiza the office went to Chotekaira, called by some, Hunotekaira. From Chotekaira the chieftainship went to Chimoyo, who was installed by the Europeans on their arrival in this country. After the death of old Chimoyo, it was assumed by Tibu, who was the second Chimoyo. With Tibu's death the chieftainship came to me, Nyambira, the son of Tibu. But I am only an acting chief. When the ceremony to bring back the spirit of my father Tibu has been performed, the chieftainship will go from me to the one chosen by the ancestral spirits.

"Now I will tell you about our origins and totem for which you have asked. We are Shawashas of Chinamhora. We came from Domboshava. We revere the monkey, baboon. The totem of us of Chimoyo is Soko Murehwa. The people who were installed chiefs here are:

- |               |                          |  |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| (1) Mutandi   | (2) Chatiza              | (3) Chotekaira/Hunotekaira                           |
| (4) Chimoyo I | (5) Tibu<br>(Chimoyo II) | (6) Nyambira (acting chief,<br>1972)<br>son of Tibu. |

Our rainmakers (Mhondoro) (of Chimoyo) are:

- |             |                    |              |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (1) Mutandi | (2) Nemauyu        | (3) Nyagwizo |
| (4) Karupu  | (5) Chiwanzametehe |              |

After Chiwanzametehe there was no dead person who had a spirit. These I am talking about, who never had spirits, are Chatiza, Hunotekaira, Chimoyo I, and Tibu Chimoyo II. As for me, Nyambira, I do not know if I will be a spirit after I die.

#### N O T E S

1. Here they were only talking about their chieftainship (ushe or umambo) and not the name Chinamhora, as they were not yet

called by that name.

2. Over one hundred and twenty years old.
3. Any Zulu person from South Africa was called Zwangendaba.
4. Any person with a white skin was called Murungu.
5. Any Zulu person from South Africa was called Zwangendaba.
6. Black rhino
7. Mutimumwe II
8. Chiduku is a Rozvi chief in the Makoni Rusape District.
9. Now a white farm land, but is was under Marondera in those years.