

Ajami Literacy, ‘class’, and Portuguese pre-colonial administration in northern Mozambique

Chapane Mutiua / MTXCHA003

A dissertation submitted in *fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Masters of Arts in Historical Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2014

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Univeristy of Cape Town

Univeristy of Cape Town

Univeristy of Cape Town

Table of contents

List of abbreviations	iv
Glossary	v
Acknowledgement	viii
Abstract	x
Map 1: Map of Mozambique.	xii
Introduction	1
Aims.....	6
Analysis	7
Literature Review.....	8
Theoretical Orientation	12
Methodology	14
Chapter I: Northern Mozambique from eighteenth to nineteenth century: historical context ...	17
Introduction.....	17
The inhabitants of northern Mozambique	17
Northern Mozambique and the Western Indian Ocean Trade	20
Politics, economy and society in northern Mozambique	24
Political relations between the Portuguese and northern Mozambique rulers	27
Final remarks	31
Chapter II: Islamic education and the creation of a local intellectual and political elite	33
Introduction.....	33
Islamic Expansion in northern Mozambique	35
Islamic Education and the creation of Muslim intellectuals in northern Mozambique.....	39
Ajami literacy and the creation of a local intellectual elite.....	41
Final remarks	43
Chapter III: Northern Mozambique Ajami Manuscripts: Mozambique Historical Archives collection, Utenzis and Nasabas	45
Introduction.....	45
Size of the collection and date range	46
The 1880s and the Growth of ajami based correspondence.....	51
The Authors	53
The content.....	56
Meaning of the Letters	58

More Ajami Manuscripts in private hands: <i>utenzis</i> and <i>nasabas</i>	59
<i>Utenzi, utendi</i> or Epic Poems.....	60
<i>Utenzi wa Mauth</i>	61
Utenzi wa Tambuka.....	62
Nasab of Quissanga.....	65
Final Remarks.....	67
Chapter IV: Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi and the Making of northern Mozambique History: a view from the ajami written sources and oral history.....	69
Introduction.....	69
Map 02: Map of coastal Cabo Delgado region.	71
Sources for the history of Quissanga and the Bwana Shaki dynasty.....	73
The Founding of Quissanga.....	74
The Bwana Shaki dynasty.....	80
Bwana Shaki: a Muslim intellectual and political leader.....	91
Final Remarks.....	97
Chapter V: Sancul: Rebellion with covers of Friendship.....	99
Introduction.....	99
Map 03: Mozambique Island and Sancul.	99
The foundation of Sancul and the establishment of a “collaboration system”.....	100
Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni (the Marave) and Maulid or Molid Volay: their tortuous relations.....	105
Marave, Molid Volay, Namarraais and the Portuguese: collaboration and betrayal.....	109
Final Remarks.....	117
Conclusion	119
Appendix.....	123
Contents of the Appendix:	123
Part I: Main letters authors from Quissanga.....	123
Part II: Main authors from Sancul.....	124
Sources and Bibliography	215

List of Maps

Map 01: Mozambique.....	xii
Map 02: Coastal Cabo Delgado region.....	71
Map 03: Mozambique Island and Sancul.....	99

List of illustrations and figures

Figure 01: Number of letters by author in the district of Mozambique.....	47
Figure 02: Number of letters by author in the district of Cabo Delgado.....	49
Figure 03: Distribution of letters by decade in Cabo Delgado.....	51
Figure 04: Letters from the district of Mozambique by decade.....	52
Figure 05: Letters by area in Cabo Delgado.....	55
Figure 06: Letters from Quissanga by author.....	56
Picture 01: Site of the ancient mosque of Bassourah, Quissanga.....	77
Picture 02: Letter from Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, 3 rd March 1871.....	83
Picture 03: Letter from Abdulatifo ibn Daly and Badri ibn Yahaya.....	85
Picture 04: Letter from Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, 19 th December 1888.....	87
Picture 05: Letter from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi.....	88
Picture 06: Grave of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al- Mafazi.....	91
Picture 07: Letter from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi.....	93
Picture 08: Letter from Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, 1881.....	103
Picture 09: Letter from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni, 1887.....	107
Picture 10: Letter from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim, 1885.....	114
Picture 11: Letter from <i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid Volay, 1885.....	116

List of abbreviations

- AHM – Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (Mozambique National Archive).
- Ar. – Arabic.
- B.O. – Boletim Oficial (Official Bulletin).
- Cx. – Caixa (Box).
- D.I. – Diploma Interno (Internal Diploma).
- F.S.XIX – Fundo do Século XIX (nineteenth century collection).
- GDA – Governo do Distrito de Angoche (Government of the District of Angoche).
- GDCD – Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado (Government of the District of Cabo Delgado).
- GDM – Governo do Distrito de Moçambique (Government of the District of Mozambique).
- GGM – Governo Geral de Moçambique (General Government of Mozambique).
- Mç. – Maço (pack).
- NMAM – Northern Mozambique Ajami Manuscripts.
- Port. – Portuguese.
- Sw. – Swahili/Kiswahili.

Glossary

Author's Note: I opted to use the standardization of Mozambican Bantu language spelling suggested by Armindo Ngunga and Osvaldo Faquir¹ for the spelling of some terminology and words referring to Mozambique ethnic groupings, names and nicknames since these, are more suitable to the way these terms and words are locally pronounced.

Ajami – Ar., *'ajami* or *al-'adjamiyya*, non-Arabic, foreign, strange. In this thesis the term *ajami* describes the use of Arabic script in non-Arabic languages.

'Alim (pl., *ulama*; Swahili: *Mwalim*) – Islamic scholars; in northern Mozambique the word *mwalim* is often used to designate Qur'anic school teacher.

Amakhuwa (sing., *m'makhuwa*) – makhuwa people, an 'ethnic' and linguistic grouping.

Ametto/Amedo – *metto* or *medo* people; makhuwa lineages of the southern Cabo Delgado region.

Ayao (sing., *muyao* or *mujao* in Portuguese sources) – Ayao people; most of them live on the western margin of Lake Nyassa in the territory of Niassa province in Mozambique.

Cabo- Port., assistant of the African authority, lower than the *Capitão-mor* and *Sargento-mor*. Also used as military rank.

Campanhas de ocupação efectiva – Port., military campaigns led by the Portuguese during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth century, for the purpose of the military conquest of the territory of Mozambique.

Hajj – Ar., pilgrim or pilgrimage. In Muslim societies it is used to acknowledge someone who performed pilgrimage to Mecca.

Ijaza – Ar., permission to do something. In this thesis the term *ijaza* is used in the context of Islamic brotherhood (*tariqa*) as acknowledgement or permission to teach and lead a *tariqa*.

Mafiti or *maviti* – designation used to identify the Nguni migrant warriors in northern Mozambique.

Magwangwara – name given to some Nguni groups in northern Mozambique.

¹ Armindo Ngunga & Osvaldo Faquir, *Padronização da Ortografia de Línguas Moçambicanas: Relatório do III Seminário*. (Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos, 2011); See also Armindo Ngunga, *Introdução à Linguística Bantu*, (Maputo: UEM-Imprensa Universitária, 2004).

Mfecane (also known as *difaqane* or *mfeqane*; see Carolyn Hamilton²) – processes which originated waves of mass migration from Zululand in South Africa, covering almost the entire Southern Africa region.

Makhuwani – the land of Makhuwa people. In Mozambican historiography *Makhuwani* designates the hinterland in front of Mozambique Island.

Mouro – Moor. During the nineteenth century the Portuguese used the word to designate all Muslims: Indians, Waswahili and even Arabs.

Monhé/mwinhi/mwinyi – from Kiswahili *mwinyi*, meaning landowner, respected man, also used to identify members of the local elite. The term has recently been employed to describe the Muslim Indians in Mozambique.

Mswahili (pl. *waswahili*) – mother tongue speaker of Kiswahili language. People of the East African coast.

Mujojo/njojo (pl. *ajojo*) – From Swahili verb *njo* (to come). Used in northern Mozambique to designate people from Comoros and northern Rovuma River.

Mwene – Makhuwa word for community and/or lineage leader, ruler.

Mwekoni – one of the Makhuwa-Metto lineages of southern Cabo Delgado.

Nasaba – Ar., genealogy. In northern Mozambique also means history or local and lineage history.

Ngoni or *Nguni*– Names of ethno-linguistic groups. The Ngoni trace their origins from the Zulu people of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa and live as minorities in Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania.

Nisba– (from Arabic), family name; also means professional name.

Sargento-mor – Sargent-major; second in the military administration hierarchy after *Capitão-mor*, often attributed to the African rulers and their office-holders in northern Mozambique.

Shaykh or Sheikh (pl. *shuyukh*) – Islamic religious leader or scholar. Also means political and community leader, and respected man.

Shirazi – from Shiraz; refers to ‘ethnic’ grouping from Shiraz, in Iran; also refers to social groupings of East African coast who claim ancestral origin from Shiraz.

Ustaarabu – Sw., civilization in the sense of Arab life style – ‘Arabness’.

Utenzi – Sw., epic poem.

² Carolyn Hamilton, *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debate in Southern African History*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).

Ungwana- Sw., civility or gentility.

Waungwana – Sw., civilized or noble people. High society.

Zanj/al-Zanj or Zandj – Ar., black people.

Univeristy of Cape Town

Acknowledgement

This work would not be possible without the help and support of certain individuals and institutions, to whom I would like to address my warm thanks. My supervisor, Professor Shamil Jeppie of the Department of Historical Studies and Huma, was instrumental in ensuring that this dissertation materialised. He patiently provided me with his methodological and theoretical advice, oriented my writing and relentlessly knocked on every door to find funding for me. For all these efforts, I am forever indebted and would like to express my many thanks.

My gratitude is extended to Professor Abdulkader Tayob, NRF Chair in Islam, African Publics and Religious Values, and the Arabic Study Circle who provided funding for my scholarship. I am also grateful to Ms Saarah Jappie, Rifqah Kahn, Heather Maytham, Susana Molins Literas, Nabouwayah Kaffar and all the staff of Huma and the Department of Religious Studies at UCT, for their support, friendship and confidence. I am also grateful to Mrs Naefa Khan for her writing advice and comments.

I am especially grateful and indebted to Professor Liazzat Bonate who was fundamental in introducing me to this topic, for providing the first reading orientation and for her constant advice and teaching.

My thanks are due to Eduardo Mondlane University for the institutional support, in particular, the Centre for African Studies, and the Mozambique Historical Archives and its staff. I would like to address particular thanks to Professor Armindo Atelela Ngunga, the director of Centre for African Studies, and Professor Joel das Neves Tembe, the Director of Mozambique Historical Archives, for their advice and encouragement.

I am also grateful to Professor Teresa Cruz e Silva for her moral support, friendly advice and encouragement. My gratitude is extended to Professors João Paulo Borges Coelho and Amélia Neves de Souto for their advice and confidence and to CESAB and all the staff for the material support during my fieldwork research.

To Dr. Mauro Nobili and Mr. Samaila Sulaiman, I am indebted and deeply grateful for their friendship, methodological advice and most especially for their moral support.

My particular gratitude is also due to all the people who patiently shared their time and knowledge during the fieldwork research, particularly, to Maulana More-More (Quissanga),

Bakar Abudo (deceased *régulo* of Quissanga), Sheikh Anli Momade (Paquitequete, Pemba), Mwalimu Yussuf (Paquitequete, Pemba), Sheikh Zamani (Sancul, Mozambique Island), and Fundi Halide (Angoche).

Particular thanks are due to my wife, Idália, and my daughters Fátima, Idália and Duniya, for their patience, love and support. To my father and mother, I am eternally indebted for their love, support and life-long teaching. My gratitude is also extended to my brothers Algy, Ujaje and Zaquichela.

The list of people who made this thesis possible is long. Several names I must have omitted or even forgotten. For this, I apologise and express my respectful and special thanks to all of them.

Univeristy of Cape Town

Abstract

This thesis, based on archival and fieldwork research, provides an historical analysis of the northern Mozambique ajami manuscripts held in the Mozambique Historical Archives (AHM). The main focus is on the role played by ajami literacy in the creation of a local Muslim intellectual class that played a significant role in the establishment of a Portuguese pre-colonial administration in northern Mozambique. The history of Islam in northern Mozambique is viewed as a constant struggle against the Portuguese establishment in the region. Through an examination of ajami correspondence held in the AHM and focusing on two of the main northern Mozambique Swahili centres of the nineteenth century (Quissanga and Sancul), this thesis offers a more nuanced interpretation of the relations between the Portuguese and the Swahili Muslim rulers of the region. On the one hand, it views Quissanga-Ibo Island relations based on systematic and relatively loyal collaboration expressed in more than two hundred letters found in the collection of AHM. On the other hand, it presents Sancul-Mozambique Island relations based on ambiguous collaboration and constant betrayals, expressed in forty letters of the collection.

The AHM ajami manuscripts collection numbers a total of 665 letters which were first revealed in the context of the pilot study of northern Mozambique Arabic Manuscripts, held in the Mozambique Historical Archives, under the leadership of Professors Liazzat Bonate and Joel Tembe. The pilot study ended with the selection, translation and transliteration of sixty letters from this collection. For the present study I have read, summarized and translated the whole collection (excluding the 60 letters mentioned above). However, only 266 letters which are more relevant for the analysis and argument of my thesis, I have listed in the appendix of this dissertation; and nine of them I have closely examined and cited as the main sources for the construction of local history and as documentary witness of the historical facts I discuss.

The use of ajami literacy in northern Mozambique is analysed in the context of global and regional phenomena. In this sense, it is viewed as a result of a *longue durée* process which integrated the region into the western Indian Ocean's cultural, political and economic dynamics. It is argued that the spread of ajami literacy in the region was framed in the context of regional Islamic education and an intellectual network. Both were also part of the process of expansion of Islam in East Africa.

Quissanga (in Cabo Delgado) and Sancul (in Nampula) represent the two main regional settlements from which most of the manuscripts originated. The ruling elites of both regions represent suitable examples of the integration of northern Mozambique into the Swahili political, economic and intellectual networks. They also offer examples of two different dynamics of the process of integration of northern Mozambique rulers into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration.

Through an analysis of the spread of Islamic education and the use of Arabic script in the above-mentioned region, this thesis sought to establish the connection of coastal societies in northern Mozambique to the Swahili world (most specifically to Comoros Islands, Zanzibar and western Madagascar). It was through this connection that the Muslim intellectual class was created in northern Mozambique and played an important intermediary role in the process of the establishment of the Portuguese administration in the second half of the nineteenth century. Through their correspondence and reports, this local intellectual elite produced a body of manuscripts in Kiswahili and other local languages (in the Arabic script), which are now an important source for the history of the region.

Map 1: Map of Mozambique.³



³Source: www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/mozambique_maps.htm. Accessed on 21st January 2014.

Introduction

This thesis is an interpretation of manuscripts in the Arabic script from northern Mozambique for the reconstruction of the history of coastal northern Mozambique societies. The northern Mozambique Arabic Manuscripts (NMAM) refer to different categories of local written heritage presented in the Arabic script using African languages such as Kiswahili, Kimwani, Ekoti, Emakhuwa, etc. The NMAM present loanwords from Arabic, Portuguese and English.

The word ‘ajami’ used to limit the scope of this study comes from the Arabic ‘ajami or *a’jami* which means non-Arabic and describes the use of the Arabic alphabet for writing non-Arabic languages.⁴ This phenomenon is not recent in the history of African Muslim societies but has been popularized in sub-Saharan Africa since at least the mid-eighteenth century. As part of Islamic literature, ajami literature began to spread in the context of the expansion of Islam and Islamic education.⁵

The main material that is used in this dissertation is the Mozambique National Archives collection of ajami correspondence of the nineteenth century, mostly addressed by the local African rulers to the Portuguese Office-holders, such as Governors, Administrators, Army Officers and, in some rare cases, from the Portuguese to the Africans. Ajami literary texts collected during fieldwork research in the region from 2010 to 2013 is also used. These documents are analysed in this dissertation in the context of the sociocultural and political role of literacy. According to Lawson et al., literacy is traditionally understood as abilities to manage and use written and printed texts. In a broader sense, the same authors view literacy as an important tool for the process of communication.⁶ According to Bhola, who views literacy from a developmental perspective, it is a tool for the liberation of the mind, for access and creation of knowledge, and plays an important role in the political socialization of

⁴Moulaye Hassane, “Ajami in Africa: the use of Arabic script in the transcription of African languages”, (Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne, eds., *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC, 2008. pp. 109-122).

⁵Jan Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry: an investigation into the concepts of East African Islam as reflected in the utenzi literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

⁶H. Lawson et al., “Conceptualizations of literacy and literacy practices for children with severe learning difficulties”, *Literacy*, Vol. 46, n°. 2, 2012, p. 101.

individuals and for their integration into the public sphere.⁷ Jack Goody who holds a similar view maintains that literacy is a tool for the acquisition and control of power which allows the domination of certain cultures and societies over others through the accumulation of knowledge.⁸ This process of domination related to the ‘power of writing’ is situated in the genesis of literacy in all societies, where it started under the control of religious institutions which made it restrictive in terms of the users and its nature.⁹

In northern Mozambique, since the use of the Arabic alphabet until the spread of Qadiriyya and Shadiliyya *turuq* (Sufi brotherhoods) between the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, literacy in Arabic and ajami was limited to a small group of men from the more powerful and wealthier sections of society. It appears that this is quite a common characteristic of African Islamic societies of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ With this approach to literacy, this dissertation argues that the diffusion of Islamic literacy enabled the creation of an Islamic intellectual elite that dominated the process of political, economic and sociocultural change during the establishment of Portuguese colonialism in the region.

Besides the academic debates launched by the perceptions about elites and intellectuals, this dissertation will also adopt the concepts framed in the political debates which are based on the ‘theory of elites’ (also known as the ‘theory of power’), developed by the Italian historian Gaetano Mosca¹¹ and popularised by Vilfredo Pareto.¹² According to Mosca, the elite can be “a class of persons who distinguish themselves through their high standards of cultural value and of technological knowledge in their activities, with those of inferior standards, the non-elite”.¹³ These high standards give them access and control over their partners, societies,

⁷H. S. Bhola, “An overview of literacy in Sub-Sahara Africa – images in the making”, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 33, n° 3, Special issue for international year of literacy, 1990, pp. 5-20. See also J. Aitchison, & H. Alidou, *The state and development of adult learning and education in Subsaharan Africa: regional synthesis report*, (Hamburg: UNESCO, 2009).

⁸Jack Goody, *The power of the written tradition*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000). p. 1.

⁹Goody, *The power of written tradition*.p.12.

¹⁰Kenneth W. Harrow, “Islamic Literature in Africa”, (Levtzion N. & Pouwels, R., eds., *The history of Islam in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 2000, pp. 519-544).

¹¹ Gaetano Mosca, *The ruling class*, (London and New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939).

¹²Vilfredo Pareto, *The mind and society*, (London: J. Cape, 1935), Vol. 3.

¹³Mosca, *The ruling class*. p. 50-55

relations and material values.¹⁴ Lasswell also formulated the notion of different categories of elites such as the political elite (related to political power), economic elite (related to the control of material wealth), elite of respectability (related to charisma and respect) and the elite of knowledge (related to the intellectual advantages).¹⁵

Some of the most influential arguments in the debates about the elite are those of Gaetano Mosca¹⁶ and Vilfredo Pareto¹⁷ who identify the concept of elite with the political class, and Antonio Gramsci who uses the concept of elite in relation to the concept of intellectuals.¹⁸ Intellectual or intelligentsia in its wide sense is used to identify an elite group of writers and cultural agents who are able to strongly influence political decisions. The intellectuals enjoy distinctive cultural manifestations and high standards of scholarship which make them a minority class with facilities to manipulate or control political and economic power.

This dissertation views both the concepts of elite and intellectual as convergent¹⁹ and as a result of social as well as natural inequalities which enable the creation of “social classes”, expressed in terms of wealth, prestige and power.²⁰ In this sense, the northern Mozambique Muslim intellectuals of the nineteenth century are viewed in the light of the concept presented by Steven Feierman known as “peasant intellectuals.” According to Feierman, peasant intellectuals,

are not defined by their thoughts but by their social position, which is directive or organizational, or educative and their role as mediators of the relationship between domination and discourse, between the active creation of political language and long-term continuity, and also between local society and the wider world.²¹

¹⁴H. D. Lasswell; D. Lerner; C. E. Rothwell, *The comparative study of elites*, (Stanford: University Press, 1952). p. 6.

¹⁵Lasswell, Lerner and Rothwell, *The comparative study of elites*. p. 6.

¹⁶Mosca, *The ruling class*.

¹⁷Pareto, *The mind and society*.

¹⁸Antônio Gramsci, *Os intelectuais e a organização da cultura*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1968).

¹⁹Gramsci, *Os intelectuais*.

²⁰Norberto Bobbio, et al., *Dicionário de política*, 5 ed., (Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 1983, Vol. 1). p. 170.

²¹Steven Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, (Wisconsin: University Press, 1990). p. 5.

Feierman's approach allows the shift of these pre-colonial African intellectuals from the periphery to the centre of historical debate. They are viewed as actors and not the passive object depicted in colonial historiography. The northern Mozambique ajami correspondence discussed in chapter III of this dissertation represents the intellectual heritage of this nineteenth century African elite and it evidences their active contribution to the construction of social and historical processes.

The expression "pre-colonial" or "late pre-colonial" is used here to designate the period before the establishment of the so-called "formal colonialism", defined as the "institutionalized domination or submission of a certain state or people by a foreign state or country".²² In this sense, the "late pre-colonial" period in northern Mozambique as referred to ended only in the second decade of the twentieth century after the campaigns of effective occupation, when through military conquest the Portuguese destroyed the independence and/or autonomy of pre-colonial African states, such as the coastal sheikhdoms and sultanates of the region.

I have limited my study to the period between 1861 and 1913, firstly to solve this problem and, secondly to limit the scope of the research. The limiting dates are not accidental, since the year 1861 marks the beginning of the Portuguese attempts to conquer Angoche, which prompted the abdication of Sultan Hassan Issufu and the inauguration of Sultan Musa Quanto's rule, and 1913 marks the end of the last Swahili colonial resistance in northern Mozambique with the defeat of Wazir Mussa Ibrahim Phiri of Sangage. Both dates could be questioned for their validity since this research is focused on Quissanga and Sancul. However, the dates are adequate since this dissertation is conceived as a study of the pre-colonial coastal northern Mozambique societies and their integration into the Portuguese administration. Most of these societies were integrated into the Swahili social, political and cultural networks which does not mean that they were homogenous societies, but that they were linked in terms of social, political and economic processes.

The ajami manuscripts of northern Mozambique are divided into three categories: the collection of letters held in the Mozambique Historical Archives in Maputo and some other local correspondence; the epic poems or *utenzis*; and the local written history or *nasab* and *nisba*. An assessment of these sources through a combination of historical documentary and

²²Bobbio et al., *Dicionário de política*. p.181.

historical linguistic methodologies helps to promote the (re)connection of northern Mozambique coastal societies to the western Indian Ocean region and at the same time it calls for more reflection about literacy in these societies.²³

The history of literacy in Africa has been a controversial issue for a long time since colonial scholars refused to accept African societies (mainly of the sub-Saharan region) as historical societies, allegedly because of the lack of written sources. Since then, colonial reports, oral tradition and archaeological data have been viewed as the main sources for the reconstruction of the history of Africa. In recent times, research has been undertaken in some African countries with long traditions of Islamic education which have revealed a significant amount of Arabic manuscripts with great historical value.²⁴ However, the use of these sources is still unpopular. The inability to read ajami seems to be a major cause for their unpopularity.

In the case of Mozambique, where a great number of manuscripts were recently identified and some translated, two reasons may explain their under-utilization: the first is related to the lack of human resources for adequate translation and the second is due to the official and/or political approaches to literacy which have only viewed this script as religious in nature. In this regard, it is worth highlighting the works of Eugenius Rzewuski on Kimwani tales; Nancy Hafkin²⁵ who used the collection of correspondence in the Portuguese archives and cites one letter of the Sheikh of Anjouan to Molid Volay held in the Portugal Archives; and

²³ Nancy J. Hafkin, *Trade, society, and politics in Northern Mozambique, ca.1753-1913*, (Boston: Boston University, 1973, PhD Dissertation); Edward Alpers, "A complex relationship: Mozambique and the Comoro Islands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", (*Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, vol. 41, Cahier 161, 2001, pp. 73-95); Liazzat J. K. Bonate, "The use of Arabic script in Northern Mozambique", *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*, University of Pretoria, 2008, pp. 133 – 142. About the social role of literacy see Goody, *The power of written tradition*; Bhola, *An overview of literacy*. Harrow, *Islamic literature*; and Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*; Hassane, *Ajami in Africa*.

²⁴ Shamil Jeppie and Souleyman Bachir Diagne, *The Meaning of Timbuktu*, (Cape Town: HSRC, 2008); Eugenius Rzewuski, "Asili ya Bangwana – Origine des Bangwana. Enregistrement de la tradition orale relative a l'Histoire de la communaute musulmane de Kisangani," *African Bulletin*, n°21, Warszawa, 1974; L. Declich, "The Arabic manuscripts of Zanzibar National Archives: source for the study of popular Islam during the 19th century", B. S. Amoretti, ed., *Islam in East Africa: new sources archives, manuscripts and written historical sources. Oral History, Archaeology*, Rome: Herder. 2001. pp. 47-57; and L. Bonate, *The use of Arabic script*. pp. 133 - 142.

²⁵ Hafkin. *Trade, society, and politics*.

Liazzat Bonate²⁶ who has been insistently calling for the consideration of the historical value of these sources held in the Mozambique Historical Archives.

Aims

This dissertation will argue that the spread of Qur'anic schools in the northern Mozambique coastal region and the creation of an intellectual elite resulted from the connections of this region to the western Indian Ocean region (Swahili cultural region), most specifically to the Comoros Islands and Zanzibar. From this, it is argued that the intellectual elite, which was mainly part of the African "ruling class," played a significant role in the first attempts to establish a Portuguese pre-colonial administration, providing the intellectual and administrative resources that the Portuguese lacked. Specifically, the lack of legitimate authority originated what can be considered Portuguese "indirect rule", also designated "the collaboration system"²⁷ or "survival system"²⁸ in the pre-colonial administration in northern Mozambique.

In the nineteenth century, with the establishment of the Omani Busaid rule in Zanzibar (1832), this Island became the reference point of Islamic teaching and culture. In this period, Zanzibar became the main centre of Islam in East Africa, attracting many Islamic learners who travelled from northern Mozambique to Zanzibar and nearby regions for Islamic education. In the same period, the political connection between Zanzibar and northern Mozambique strengthened.

The period also witnessed the growth of the Indian Ocean slave trade system in which Mozambique and Comoros played a significant role. The Arab and Swahili traders based in Comoros became the main traders and those in Mozambique were the main source of the human merchandise.²⁹ This process also shifted and strengthened the cultural, political, and

²⁶ Bonate, *The use of Arabic script*; and Liazzat J. K. Bonate, *Tradition and transition: Islam and chiefship in Northern Mozambique, ca. 1850-1975*, (Cape Town: UCT, 2007, PhD Dissertation); see also Liazzat Bonate and Chapane Mutiua, "Duas cartas de Farallahi", *Estudos Moçambicanos*, Vol 22, n°. 1, Maputo: CEA-UEM, December 2011, pp. 91-106.

²⁷ Joseph Frederick Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy of Northern Mozambique: the hinterland of Mozambique Island, 1600-1900*, (Columbia University, 1980, PhD Dissertation)

²⁸ Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

²⁹ Alpers, *A complex relationship*; Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*; and Eduardo Medeiros, *As etapas da escravatura no norte de Moçambique*, (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1988, Estudos 4).

economic connections between the Comorian ruling elite and the northern Mozambique ones and enabled the interchange of Islamic scholars or Islamic learners.

These two processes contributed to the spread of Islam and Qur'anic schools in the northern Mozambique coastal region. Islamic education served as the medium for the spread of the Arabic script first to the ruling elites, and then to the ordinary people. These writing skills, adapted to the local KiSwahili language, were useful for administrative purposes as witnessed by the Arabic manuscripts held in the Mozambique Historical Archives. Based on these manuscripts, this work traces the intellectual connections between their authors and other Swahili intellectual centres and analyses the role of the local intellectual elite "class" in the pre-colonial Portuguese administration.

Analysis

This dissertation analyses the political, economic and social context of the western Indian Ocean region during the nineteenth century and its contribution to the spread of Qur'anic schools in northern Mozambique. The Qur'anic schools were the major, perhaps only, means through which literacy spread, and from which the elite acquired their reading and writing skills. This dissertation sets up the connections between the intellectual elite in the northern Mozambique coast and the Comoros Islands in the context of Islamic education and its role in the creation of a literate and intellectual class from the second half of nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The Arabic script in northern Mozambique coastal societies became the main means of written communication in this period.

It also analyses the main linguistic influences on the oral and written literature of northern Mozambique. From this, it shows that there were intellectual and cultural connections between the societies studied and the Comoros Islands and Zanzibar. In addition, it demonstrates the existence of a cultural unity, which at the same time is part of Mozambique society and shares a common identity and values with all Swahili societies.

This study enables an analysis of the role Islam played in the context of Islamic education and in the creation of the intellectual and elite "class" that played a significant role in the process of the establishment of the Portuguese colonial administration.

Finally, it analyses the Portuguese colonial views regarding the northern Mozambique Islamic intellectual class before and after the '*Campanhas das Guerras de Ocupação*

Efectiva’ (War Campaigns for the Portuguese Colonial and Effective Occupation) in the context of their role in political, economic and social affairs.

Literature Review

The Arabic script has played a significant role in pre-colonial East Africa and Mozambique. This role was recognised with the publication, in the eighteenth century, of a collection called *Documentos Arábicos para História da África Portuguesa*, by Father João de Sousa.³⁰ However, the academic relevance of these manuscripts in Mozambique was only revealed in the late colonial period with the research of Nancy Hafkin, while its systematic use is still to be achieved.³¹

After the independence of most of the East African countries, the new political powers questioned Swahili identity as the Swahili were viewed as people of foreign origin. In response to this, critical literature emerged focusing on the definitions of Swahili identity and culture. Scholars such as Neville Chittick,³² James de Vere Allen,³³ Mark Horton and John Middleton,³⁴ Carol Eastman³⁵ and Alamin Mazrui and Ibrahim N. Shariff³⁶ made important contributions. These studies include anthropological, archaeological, socio-linguistic, historic-linguistic, and historical studies.

³⁰João de Sousa, *Documentos arábicos da história portuguesa copiados dos originais da Torre do Tombo*, (Lisboa: Comissão da Academia Real das Sciencias, [1788]); See also Jeremy G. Prestholdt, “As artistry permits and custom may ordain: the social fabric of material consumption in the Swahili World, circa 1450 to 1600”, *PAS Working Papers*. N° 3, Evanston: Northwestern University, 1998.

³¹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Bonate, *The use of Arabic script*.

³² Neville Chittick, “The Shirazi colonization of East Africa”, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 6, N° 3(1965), pp. 275-295.

³³ James de Vere Allen, *Swahili origins: Swahili culture and the Shunguaya phenomenon*, (London: James Currey; Nairobi: E.A.E.P.; Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995).

³⁴ Mark Horton & John Middleton, *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). See also John Middleton, *African merchants of the Indian Ocean: the Swahili of the East African coast*, (Illinois: Wave Land Press, 2004); John Middleton, *The World of Swahili: an African mercantile civilization*, (New Heaven/London, 1992).

³⁵Carol M. Eastman, “Who are the Waswahili?”, *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 41, n°.3 (Jul., 1971), pp. 228-236.

³⁶Alamin Mazrui and Ibrahim N. Shariff, *The Swahili: idiom and identity of an African people*, (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1993).

Another group of scholars focus on the relations between East Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands. These include Randal Pouwels,³⁷ Elias Saad,³⁸ Edward Alpers,³⁹ Lynda Giles⁴⁰ and Michael Lambek,⁴¹ Anne Bang,⁴² Françoise le Guennec-Coppans⁴³ and Gerald Hartwig.⁴⁴ The studies of these scholars include South-West migrations to the East African coast such as that of the Hadhramis, intellectual connections and networks, expansion of Islam and Islamic education.

Often the literature on Islam and the Arabic script in African History has focused on other parts of the continent. Academics such as M. A. al-Hajj,⁴⁵ J. Hunwick and R. S. O'Fahey,⁴⁶ S.

³⁷ Randall Pouwels, "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: reviewing relations in historical perspective", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, n° 2-3, 2002, pp. 385-425. See also from the same author, Randall Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast, 800-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Randall Pouwels, "Sheikh Al-Amin B. Ali Mazrui and Islamic modernism in East Africa, 1875-1947" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 13, 1981, pp. 329-345; and Randall Pouwels, "Oral historiography and the Shirazi of the East African coast" *History in Africa*, Vol. 11 (1984), pp. 237-267.

³⁸ Elias Saad, "Kilwa Dynastic historiography: a critical study", (*History in Africa*, Vol. 6, 1979, pp. 177-207).

³⁹ Edward Alpers, "Indian Ocean Africa: the island factor", *Emergences*, vol. 10, n° 2, 2000, pp. 373-386. See also from the same author, Edward Alpers, "Recollecting Africa: diasporic memory in the Indian Ocean World", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 43, n° 1, 2000, pp. 83-99, Special Issue on the Diaspora.

⁴⁰ Lynda Giles, "Sociocultural change and spirit possession on the Swahili coast of East Africa". *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68, n° 2, Possession and Social Change in Eastern Africa (Apr. 1995), pp. 89-106.

⁴¹ Michael Lambek, "Certain knowledge, contestable authority: power and practice on the Islamic periphery", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 17, n° 1, Feb. 1990, pp. 23-40.

⁴² Anne K. Bang, *Sufis and scholars of the Sea: family networks in East Africa, 1860-1925*, (Oxford: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

⁴³ Françoise Le Guennec-Coppens, et al., "Hadramaut aux Comores et retour", *Journal des Africanistes*, Vol. 72, n° 2, 2002, pp. 123-137. See also Françoise Le Guennec-Coppens, (1989), "Social and cultural integration: a case study of East African Hadramis", *Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 59, n° 2, Social Stratification in Swahili Society. 1989, pp. 185-195.

⁴⁴ Gerard W. Hartwig, "Demographic considerations in East Africa during the nineteenth Century", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 12, n° 4, 1979, pp. 653-672.

⁴⁵ M. A. al-Hajj, "Some diplomatic correspondence of the Seifuwa Mais of Borno with Egypt, Turkey and Morocco", (B. Usman & N. Alkali. (Eds.), *Studies in the history of pre-colonial Borno*, Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, 1983).

⁴⁶ J. Hunwick and R. S. O'Fahey, *Arabic literature of Africa: the writings of Central Sudanic Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 1995, Vol. 2).

Blair;⁴⁷ M. Hassane;⁴⁸ Shamil Jeppie⁴⁹ and many others analysed the history and the use of the Arabic script in different African languages of West Africa and Sudan, while K. S. Khamis⁵⁰, L. Declich⁵¹ and Anne Bang⁵² provide some analytical descriptions of the Arabic manuscripts of Zanzibar National Archives.

The integration of Mozambique in this debate of the East African Swahili culture and the use of the Arabic script is also known in the country. Since the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, reports of Portuguese Colonial Army and Administration Officers such as Mouzinho de Albuquerque,⁵³ Pedro M. de Amorim,⁵⁴ José de A. Coutinho,⁵⁵ Duarte Ferreira,⁵⁶ Eduardo C. Lupi⁵⁷ and F. Silva Neves⁵⁸ and many others provide political,

⁴⁷Sheila S. Blair, "Arabic calligraphy in West Africa", (Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne, eds., *The Meaning of Timbuktu*, Cape Town: HSRC, 2008, pp. 59-75).

⁴⁸ Hassane, *Ajami in Africa*, pp. 109-122.

⁴⁹Shamil Jeppie, "Re/discovering Timbuktu", (Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne, eds., *The Meaning of Timbuktu*, Cape Town: HSRC, 2008, pp. 1-18).

⁵⁰K. S. Khamis, "The Zanzibar National Archives", (Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, ed., *Islam in East Africa: New Sources*. Rome: HERDER, 2001. pp. 17-25).

⁵¹Declich, *Arabic manuscripts of Zanzibar*.

⁵²Bang, *Sufis and scholars of the Sea*.

⁵³J. Mouzinho de Albuquerque, *A Campanha contra os Namarrais: relatórios*, (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1897).

⁵⁴Pedro Massano de Amorim, *Relatório do Governador, 1906-1907*, (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1908); See also from the same author, Pedro Massano de Amorim, *Informações relativa à região de Angoche. notícia histórica sobre o distrito de Moçambique*, (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1910); Pedro Massano de Amorim, *Relatório sobre a ocupação de Angoche: operações de campanha e mais serviço realizados, Anno 1910*, (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1911).

⁵⁵João de Azevedo Coutinho, *Memórias de um velho marinheiro e soldado de África*, (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1941); and João de Azevedo Coutinho, *As duas conquistas de Angoche*, (Lisboa: Pelo Império, 1935, No 11).

⁵⁶Duarte Ferreira, *Relatório sobre a sublevação do Xeque de Sangage*, (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1915).

⁵⁷Eduardo do Couto Lupi, *Angoche: breve memória sobre uma das Capitánias-Môres do Distrito de Moçambique*, (Lisboa: Typografia do Anuário Commercial, 1907); and Eduardo do Couto Lupi, *Escola de Mousinho. episódios de serviço, Moçambique 1895-1910*, (Lisboa: Imprensa Lucas & Ca, 1936).

economic, and social context to the region during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century and the relations between the Africans and the Portuguese.

The political, social and economic history of northern Mozambique and its relation to the Swahili coast was studied by Nancy Hafkin,⁵⁹ René Pélissier,⁶⁰ Malyn Newitt,⁶¹ Edward Alpers,⁶² E. Rzewuski,⁶³ L. Bonate,⁶⁴ and R. da Conceição⁶⁵, and R. Mattos.⁶⁶

Using this literature, the present study contributes to the debate by retracing the connections of Mozambique to Comoros Islands and Zanzibar. These connections can be seen through an examination of intellectual networks which catalysed the creation of an intellectual elite class in the northern Mozambique coastal region. This local intelligentsia succeeded in taking advantage of its Arabic writing skills and legitimate authority as instruments to access

⁵⁸F. S. Neves, *Distrito de Moçambique: informações a cerca da Capitania-Mór de Angoche*, (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1901).

⁵⁹ Nancy Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; see also Nancy J. Hafkin, “Sheikhs, slaves and sovereignty: politics in nineteenth century Northern Mozambique”, (Paper presented at the *Fortieth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association*, Denver, November 3-6, 1971).

⁶⁰René Pelissier, *História de Moçambique: formação e oposição, 1854-1918*, (Lisboa: Editoria Estampa, 1987), Vols. I and II.

⁶¹Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: the last hundred years*, (London: C. Hurst, 1981); and Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*.

⁶² Alpers, *A complex relationship*. pp. 73-95; and Edward Alpers, “Islam in the service of colonialism?: Portuguese strategy during the armed struggle in Mozambique”, *Lusotopie*, 1999, pp. 165-184; see also from the same author, Edward Alpers, “Gujarati and the trade of East Africa, c. 1500-1800”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, n°. 1(1976), pp. 22-44.

⁶³ Rzewuski, *Asili ya Banguana*, see also from the same author, Eugenius Rzewuski, “Origins of the Tungi Sultanate (Northern Mozambique) in the light of local traditions”, (Stanislaw Pilaszewicz & Eugeniusz Rzewuski (eds), *Unwritten testimonies of the African past. proceedings of the International Symposium held in Ojrzanów n. Warsaw on 07-08 November 1989*, (Orientalia Varsovensia, Vol. 2), Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1991, pp. 193-213); and Eugenius Rzewuski, “Mother tongue/Father tongue convergence: on swahilization and deswahilization in Mozambique”, (James R. Dow, Thomas Stolz, Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger, & Matthias Perl, eds., *Aketens des 7 Essener Kolloquiums über Minoritätensprachen/Sprachminoritäten*, Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1991, pp. 267-305)

⁶⁴Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

⁶⁵Rafael A. da Conceição, *Entre o Mar e a terra: situações identitárias do Norte de Moçambique*, (Maputo: Promédia, 2006, Identidades).

⁶⁶ Regiane Augusto de Mattos, *As dimensões da resistência em Angoche: da expansão do sultanato à política colonialista portuguesa no norte de Moçambique (1842-1910)*, (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 2012, PhD Dissertation).

economic privileges opened by the pre-colonial Portuguese administration. The decadence of the main Islamic Swahili centres of the region, such as Zanzibar and the Comoros Sultanates had in a certain way weakened the northern Mozambique Swahili dynasties. Collaboration with the Portuguese was a strategy for the maintenance of their political and social authority and for the apparent security of their states and/or communities in a period of constant military conflicts in the region.

This study can also be viewed in the context of Swahili identities which have been mostly centred on the Swahili coast north of the Rovuma River and the Indian Ocean islands, excluding the northern Mozambique coastal societies. Some exceptions to this, most of them recent researches⁶⁷ support the extension of Swahili identity South to Angoche and Moma in Nampula province, although none stressed the Portuguese-African relationship in the light of Muslim intellectual elites and the established Portuguese 'indirect rule' during the pre-colonial administration. This thesis focuses on this aspect, analysing the factors that have contributed to the collaboration and/or integration of the African intellectual elite class in the establishment of the pre-colonial Portuguese administration.

Theoretical Orientation

The connection of the northern Mozambique coastal region with the Indian Ocean Islands is mostly viewed in an economic context (slave trade) and through Islamic expansion.⁶⁸ However, successful contributions were made by some scholars regarding the establishment of social networks linking Comoros Islands and northern Mozambique in the context of Sufi orders.⁶⁹

To establish a connection of this kind two centuries later is certainly an arduous task but efforts made through an historical linguistic approach based on linguistic evidence from oral and written local literature can enable the establishment of the above mentioned intellectual and 'scholarship' connection in this period. This appears to be the most adequate way even

⁶⁷ See Bonate, *Tradition in transition*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; and Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*.

⁶⁸ See Alpers, *Islam in the service of colonialism*; Alpers, *A complex relationship*; Bonate, *Traditions in transition*; Medeiros, *As etapas de escravatura*; José Capela and Eduardo Medeiros, *O tráfico de escravos em Moçambique para as Ilhas do Indico, 1720-1902*, (Maputo: Eduardo Mondlane University, 1987); and Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*.

⁶⁹ See Alpers, *Islam in the service of colonialism*; Alpers, *A complex relationship*; and Bonate, *Traditions in transition*.

though, the letters (correspondence) analysed are in KiSwahili and some local languages, they highlight the influence of Zanzibar (mostly Cabo Delgado manuscripts) and Comoros (mostly Nampula, former district of Mozambique manuscripts), suggesting the linguistic and intellectual influence of these regions as the main learning and intellectual centres. In addition, the intermarriage and kinship network approach stressed by Liazzat Bonate⁷⁰ appears to be the base of the intellectual networks established between the region and the Indian Ocean islands.

According to this methodological approach I argue that: first, the growth of the Indian Ocean slave trade in the nineteenth century increased the social and political links between the Swahili and Arab traders and the ruling classes of northern Mozambique Islamic states. This process contributed to the increase of intellectual connections through the interchange of Islamic scholars (*ulama and shuyukh*) and even Islamic students and inter-marriage system,⁷¹ which contributed to the spread of Islamic schools in the region and the creation of a class of intellectuals, first among the ruling elite and then among the ordinary people. Second, the use of Arabic script was not only a class and social status matter, but also a great political and economic advantage. The local languages and literature loan words help to demonstrate that the influence of Comoros Island intellectuals was stronger in the Nampula coastal region while Cabo Delgado was closer to Zanzibar. Third, this intellectual class which dominated Arabic writing in local languages and Kiswahili served as the local administrative officers for the Portuguese “late pre-colonial” administration, and at the same time, in certain areas, such as Angoche, Sancul, Quitangonha and Sangage, they struggled for the maintenance of their political, economic and social power.

Finally, the inclusion of northern Mozambique coastal intellectual and ruling classes in the earlier attempts to establish a colonial administration was not a ‘first option policy’ for the Portuguese, but instead a “survival policy” aimed to minimize the lack of qualified human resources and legitimize authority in the region. The early Portuguese policies about Muslim societies and their religion remained unchanged as witnessed during and after the ‘Campanhas de Ocupação’⁷² when the Swahili rulers were overthrown, and Kiswahili as well as all related local language and the Arabic script were banned from the administrative

⁷⁰Bonate, *Traditions in transition*.

⁷¹Bonate, *Traditions in transition*.

⁷²Campaigns of occupation wars.

sphere.⁷³ This policy remained throughout and into the post-colonial era and still influences the official approach to literacy nowadays.

This study is focused on three processes: the first is the connection between the northern Mozambique coastal region and the Swahili coast in the context of Islamic education and expansion. The second process is the spread of Islamic schools in the northern Mozambique coastal region, the popularization of the use of Arabic script in local languages and the creation of an intellectual elite class. The third is the process of integration of this local intellectual elite into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration system.

The three processes have economics as their main factor. This dissertation argues that the social networks created all along the region by the Muslim intellectual class were oriented to the acquisition and consolidation of economic profits. These economic aims contributed to the alliance between the African rulers and the Portuguese pre-colonial administration officers who were also focused on economic advantages.

Methodology

The study of social history of northern Mozambique coastal societies requires attention to its dual character as an oral (“Bantu”) and written (Arab or Islamic heritage) society. In this way, the collection and analysis of oral history and literature and the local Swahili written literature becomes an essential task which is complemented by the archival research in Mozambique, including the review of available literature on Swahili culture and history as mentioned above.

The research started with the selection, collection and analysis of primary and secondary sources of northern Mozambique and Swahili history and literature. Of the primary sources, the focus was on the NMAM that were selected in a sample for transcription, translation and examination, including the attached colonial reports and historical notes. Every related report was used to help understand the political and social context of the correspondence. The

⁷³ David Sperling, analyzing the impact of colonial rule upon Islam provides detailed facts of the ambiguous colonial policy towards Islam and Muslim leaders and intellectuals in Uganda and Tanzania which can be compared to the Mozambican case. See David Sperling, “The coastal hinterland and interior of East Africa”. (N. Levtzion & R. Powels, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1999. pp.273-302). For the case of Mozambique Alpers appears to be more explicit. See Edward Alpers, “East and Central Africa”, (N. Levtzion & R. Powels, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1999. pp. 303-325).

improvement of Kiswahili language skills was important for the translation and transcription of the manuscripts.

The archival research was centered on the 665 ajami manuscripts of the AHM collection and culminated with the selection of 266 letters from the regions of Quissanga and Sancul, whose authors have been directly and indirectly mentioned in the thesis. The letters cover a wide range of topics which can aliment several debates and perspectives of analysis of the local and regional history. This thesis presents images and historical interpretation of a sample of nine letters out of the 266 listed in the appendix. The letters listed in the appendix, as well as those presented in the text, are used as sources for the construction of local history, and for the examination of the role ajami literacy played in the process of establishment of Portuguese pre-colonial administration. In this sense, the five letters from Quissanga help to show the stable relations the local political and Muslim elite enjoyed with the Portuguese, while the four letters from Sancul reveal the unstable relations among the local political and Muslim elite and between them and the Portuguese.

The second step was the fieldwork research undertaken in the coastal regions of Nampula and Cabo Delgado for a total period of three months. The aim of the fieldwork research was to collect interviews with Muslim intellectuals and the descendants of the northern Mozambique pre-colonial state rulers, focusing on their life history, learning history, place of learning, origin of the *Mwalimu* and links to Swahili overseas. These interviews were also focused on the Comoros and Zanzibari descendants living in Mozambique. The fieldwork research was also important for the interaction with Islamic or local intellectuals and discussions concerning the language and historical context of the ajami manuscripts analysed and translated in the first step. In the fieldwork research, I also collected some existing ajami manuscripts which are mentioned in chapter III of this dissertation and are useful for further studies and conservation. The third and final step was the evaluation of the data collected in the fieldwork research, its comparison with the primary and secondary sources and the compilation of this data in the dissertation.

The dissertation is organized into five chapters, a conclusion and one appendix. The first chapter provides an overview of the historical context of the northern Mozambique region from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. The second chapter analyses the process of expansion of Islam, Islamic education and ajami literacy in northern Mozambique. This process is viewed in this dissertation as deeply marked by the political, economic and

intellectual connections of the region with the wide western Indian Ocean. The diffusion of ajami literacy favoured the creation of local Muslim intellectuals and a political elite that was later 'integrated' into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration. The development of ajami literacy and the process of integration of the Swahili Muslim rulers of northern Mozambique into the Portuguese 'collaboration system' are shown through the ajami correspondence, *utenzis* and *nasabas* analysed in chapter three. Two examples, representing different perspectives of the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration are presented in chapters four (on Quissanga) and five (on Sancul). Both, Sancul and Quissanga were chosen for two main reasons: their strategic location in front of the two main Portuguese settlements (Ibo Island for Quissanga in the district of Cabo Delgado and Mozambique Island for Sancul in the district of Mozambique); and as the main regions from where addressers of the ajami correspondence held in the Mozambique Historical Archives wrote. The thesis ends with a conclusion which summarizes the ideas discussed and a list of letters addressed by the most important local political and community leaders of Sancul and Quissanga, who were directly and indirectly influential for the historical facts discussed in the present study. The 266 letters from Quissanga and Sancul listed in the appendix is particularly important in the construction of the main argument of this thesis. They show the significance of ajami literary tradition to these particular communities, the complex system of dynastic (or simply) political succession and the process of the integration of the Swahili Muslim rulers of the region into the late pre-colonial administrative system. Since all these letters could not be presented and deeply discussed in this dissertation, a sample of nine is presented in the text as mentioned above.

Chapter I: Northern Mozambique from eighteenth to nineteenth century: historical context

Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the political, social and economic context of the region prior to 1861, placing special emphasis on Islam and the Indian Ocean trade; political restructuring of Makhuwa Chiefdoms in the region; the impact of Nguni or *Mafit* migration in the region; and the Portuguese occupation and their attempts to establish a centralized state. The historical background of northern Mozambique during this period must be viewed in the context of East African relations and as part of overall global dynamics, which have been marked by the phenomenon of migrations. Since the first millennium AD, Bantu migrations, motivated by ecological factors and technological developments, determined the demographic configuration of sub-Saharan Africa. Mass movements into the region have continuously marked the demographic and historical processes of south-eastern Africa and northern Mozambique in particular. In this sense, it is argued that the Bantu migrations, Asian migrations in the wider Indian Ocean, the European migrations, and the Nguni migrations also known as *mfecane*, not only marked the demographic puzzle of the region but also reshaped the social, political and economic processes in northern Mozambique. This chapter analyses how Asian, European and Nguni migrations influenced the reconstruction of the historical process in the nineteenth century.

The inhabitants of northern Mozambique

The first inhabitants of northern Mozambique are thought to be the Wak-Wak, proto-Bantu or possibly the Khoi-san.⁷⁴ These people must have been replaced or intermingled with the first migrant inhabitants (Bantu-speaking people) who arrived in the region between c. 3000 BC to 1100 AD. The Bantu-speaking people were technologically more advanced than the people they met in the area.⁷⁵ The interaction of the Wak-Wak and the Bantu-speaking peoples is not comprehensively documented, though popular opinion tends to favour the view of their integration into the newcomers' societies, who were technologically more advanced. The process of this integration raises different interpretations. Hafkin, for instance, argues that

⁷⁴Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p.11.

⁷⁵Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 2.

they separated into two groups, the Makuwa and the Lomwe. Both groups occupied the region between Rovuma, Lugenda and Zambeze rivers and the Indian Ocean, covering the territories of Zambézia, Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces.⁷⁶

During the first millennium AD, and before the advent of Islam, the region was integrated into the long distance trade of the Indian Ocean,⁷⁷ attracting a new wave of migrant people which made a significant impact on the advent of Islam. These Asian migrant traders, who were first limited to the coast,⁷⁸ must have interacted both with the proto-Bantu and the Bantu-speaking peoples and resulted in the creation of an East African coastal society, the Waswahili.⁷⁹

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a new wave of migration from the central region of the continent, the Maravi, reached the region. The Maravi warriors who conquered the region through military attack were more violent than the previous settlers. After their military conquest, the Marave rulers dominated the long distance trade until the beginning of the nineteenth century when certain Makhuwa chiefs came to the power.⁸⁰ During this period, the hinterland of Mozambique (which Mbwiliza calls *Makhuwani*, and corresponds to the actual province of Nampula), was politically dominated by the chiefdom of Mauruça (or Maurusa), already established in the area since around 1585.⁸¹ Further to the North, the Cabo Delgado hinterland was dominated by the *Medo* or *Amedo* (also referred as *Ametto*) Makhuwa groups who must have arrived in the area at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The *Amedo* were organized in chiefdoms related to

⁷⁶Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 2-5.

⁷⁷Patricia Risso, *Merchants & Faith: Muslim commerce and culture in the Indian Ocean*, (Colorado: Westview, 1995). See also Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*; and Hilário Madiquida, *The iron-using communities of the Cape Delgado coast from AD 1000*, (Uppsala Universitet, 2007, Studies in Global Archaeology 8).

⁷⁸Ernesto Jardim de Vilhena, *A Companhia do Nyassa: relatórios e memórias sobre os territórios*, (Lisboa: A Editora, 1905).

⁷⁹Chittick, *The Shirazi colonization*; see also Vere Allen, *Swahili origins*; Thomas Spear, "The Shirazi in Swahili traditions, culture and history", *History in Africa*, Vol. 11(1984), pp. 291-305; Pouwels, *Eastern Africa*; and Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*.

⁸⁰Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

⁸¹Frei João dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental", (G. M. Theal, *Records of South-eastern Africa*, Cape Town: C. Struik, Vol. 7, 1964, p. 125).

each other through kinship, and controlled the trade caravan routes that linked Lake Nyassa to the coast.⁸²

In the first half of the eighteenth century, ecological, economic and political factors pulled the Ngunis into a migration process known in African historiography as the *mfecane*.⁸³ As a consequence of *mfecane*, two groups of *Nguni* warriors reached the northern border of Mozambique, in both margins of the Rovuma River. One of these groups was under the leadership of Zwangendaba who died in the territory of Tanzania in the late 1840s.⁸⁴ After the death of Zulu-Gama in 1858, one of the most important leaders after Zwangendaba, in a sequence of internal struggles, the *Ngoni-Maseko* groups came down to northern Mozambique where they engaged in several wars until their establishment on certain arable lands of Cabo Delgado.⁸⁵ The incursions of *Ngonis* or *Ngunis*, also known in nineteenth century northern Mozambique as *Maviti* or *Mafiti*⁸⁶ are considered a major factor of political and social configuration of Cabo Delgado,⁸⁷ where they have now become a well-integrated minority. They continued to raid for food until the late 1880s. As they were also raided and sold as slaves, they developed survival techniques that included predatory habits and isolation in the bush environment.⁸⁸ Although the *Mafiti* are reported to have reached as far South as Angoche,⁸⁹ there is no evidence of their presence in that region, suggesting a kind of generalization in the use of the word, which as Mbwiliza states included several Makhuwa groups.

⁸²Eduardo Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e do Niassa (c. 1836-1929)*, (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1997).

⁸³See Carolyn Hamilton, *The Mfecane aftermath*.

⁸⁴Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*. p. 260.

⁸⁵Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

⁸⁶In modern Cabo Delgado societies the term *Mafiti* or *Maviti* has been almost forgotten, instead they use the term *ngoni*. *Mafiti* or *maviti* appear in the *ajami* correspondence and in the historical literature. For further denominations of *Nguni* warriors in northern Mozambique see Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*. p.48.

⁸⁷Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

⁸⁸Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, p. 260.

⁸⁹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; and Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

Consequently, there is consensus that during the nineteenth century the main ethnic groups inhabiting the region were the Makhuwas, the Ayao, the Makonde in the Mueda plateau, the Swahili of the coastal city-states and the *Mafiti*.

Northern Mozambique and the Western Indian Ocean Trade

The commercial contacts of the people of the northern Mozambique coastal region with the Arab traders were initiated during the first millennium AD, before the advent of Islam. However, most of the Arab-Shirazi dynasties which reigned in the region were established only in the second millennium. Most of them originated from the Kilwa dynasty, which was founded between 1000 AD⁹⁰ and 1200 AD.⁹¹

Musa and Hasan, both migrants from Kilwa, established the earliest and most reported Shirazi dynasties of northern Mozambique in Angoche and Mozambique Island. According to Nancy Hafkin there were both political and commercial motivations for these migrations. Hafkin anchors her argument in the political disputes in the local Shirazi dynasty of Kilwa. In the commercial sphere, she argues that the declining Sofala gold trade necessitated getting much closer to the source of the gold (the Shona plateau) and taking advantage on the northern shona caravan routes.⁹² Joseph Mbwiliza also emphasizes the economic interest since he argues that the political motivation was not as relevant for the migration of Musa and Hasan, who were the leaders of “a group of Arab traders who decided to move South and closer to the Shona plateau”.⁹³

According to J. A. da Cunha, who published his ethnocentrically oriented study in 1885, Hasan, the founder of Angoche was born in Zanzibar where he was a member of the local ruling family. The rulers of Angoche, Sofala, Mozambique and Zanzibar were brothers who

⁹⁰Vilhena, *A Companhia de Niassa*, p. 20.

⁹¹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 2; see also Chittick, *The Shirazi colonization*.

⁹²Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 2.

⁹³Mbwiliza, *Towards the political economy*. p.164; see also Cristian Isendahl, “Angoche: an important link of the Zambezi gold trade”, 2007, www.arkeologi.uu.se/afir/projects/Book/isendah.pdf, last accessed March 14, 2014.p. 2.

shared kinship relations with the Yemeni ruling family.⁹⁴ However, they were under the political control of Kilwa rather than Yemen.⁹⁵

When da Gama arrived in Mozambique in 1498, the Sultan of the Island was Zaoeja.⁹⁶ Zaoeja may be the other name of Mussa or even his son. As mentioned previously, Zaoeja and the Sultan of Angoche were during this time subjects of Kilwa.⁹⁷ Musa or Zaoeja must have been replaced by Sheikh Sherif Muhammad b. el-Alawi, who, according to Jeremy Prestholdt interacted with da Gama and took his letter to the king of Portugal.⁹⁸ If Mussa and Zaoeja are the same person, the relevant question is what is his relation to Sherif Muhammad b. el-Alawi. Zaoeja was the Sheikh in 1498 when da Gama first arrived in Mozambique Island while el-Alawi was ruling by 1517, when da Gama made his second trip.

The Portuguese arrival in Mozambique and East Africa inaugurated the European presence in the Indian Ocean and had a significant impact on the political, economic and social organization of the societies in the region, which will be addressed hereunder. The occupation of Sofala, Sena and Mozambique Island (discussed above), favoured the concentration of the main Swahili Muslim trading settlements in coastal northern Mozambique. Hafkin suggests that after the establishment of the Portuguese in Sofala (1508), the Arabs emigrated to Angoche, and as a result of the loss of the access to the gold sources their trade diminished significantly until the ascendance of Zanzibar in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁹⁹

Angoche and Mozambique were, during this period, the main centres of Islam in the region and almost all the founders of the Islamic states in the area had emigrated from there. From these migrants, the sheikhdoms and Sultanates of Sancul, Quivolane, Quitangonha,

⁹⁴J. A da Cunha, *Provincia de Moçambique. estudo acerca dos usos e costumes dos Banianes, Bathias, Parsees, Mouros, Gentios e Indigenas*, (Moçambique: Imprensa Nacional, 1885); see also Vilhena, *A Companhia de Niassa*.

⁹⁵G. M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965), pp. 85-92.

⁹⁶See Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; and Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. p. 23.

⁹⁷Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*. p. 4.

⁹⁸ Prestholdt, *As artistry permits*.

⁹⁹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 7.

Quissanga, Memba, Pemba and Tungi, all in coastal northern Mozambique, were founded.¹⁰⁰ Migrants from Sancul, under the leadership of Hassan, bought the land of Sangage from the Sultan of Angoche and founded the sheikhdom.¹⁰¹

As addressed above, economic reasons motivated the main migrant groups who came to the region. Gold extracted from the Shona plateau had been the main attraction for the integration of Mozambique into the Indian Ocean trade networks. Although the slave trade from the so-called *Zanj* area had existed since pre-Islamic times,¹⁰² it became more significant and devastating for the northern Mozambique societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The establishment of a plantation economy in Zanzibar under Omani rule as well as in the French Indian Ocean islands¹⁰³ was the main factor for the rapid growth of the slave trade. Ivory trade since the seventeenth century became another important commercial activity in the context of the decline of the gold trade. Ivory and slave trades dominated the northern Mozambique political economy until the early twentieth century and are well reported in the ajami correspondence.

All slave traders operating in the area - French, Portuguese, Ayao and Waswahili - had their main source in Makhuwana.¹⁰⁴ During the entire nineteenth century, slaves from this area (Makhuwana) were exported to Mascarenhas, Comoros, Madagascar, Zanzibar, Persian Gulf, Brazil and Cuba,¹⁰⁵ while the ivory brought by the Ayao, Marave and Makhuwa traders to the coastal Swahili and Portuguese ports were extracted from the entire hinterland and had India as the main destination.

The northern Mozambique coastal societies and most of their Muslim ruling elite, who controlled the political and economic realm during the nineteenth century, had emerged from this interaction of Muslim migrant traders from the coast of the wider Indian Ocean and local Makhuwa, Marave and Ayao people. These coastal communities were, for centuries,

¹⁰⁰Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 9.

¹⁰¹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, *ibid*.

¹⁰²Chittick, *Shirazi colonization*.

¹⁰³Capela and Medeiros, *O tráfico de escravos*; see also José Capela, *O escravismo colonial em Moçambique*, (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993, Coleção As Armas e Varões/12).

¹⁰⁴Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*;

¹⁰⁵Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 27.

integrated into a technologically and intellectually active and advanced culture, the Swahili. Their technological and intellectual abilities facilitated their control over the “clandestine” slave trade in the western Indian Ocean and their “collaboration” and “survival” in the context of external and internal pressures imposed by imperialism.

The *Waswahili* have been defined as Muslim people of the western Indian Ocean coast who speak a Bantu language influenced by Arabic. They live in non-tribal urban communities. Most of the studies dealing with Swahili culture in East Africa have excluded the societies of the southern side of Fernão Veloso Bay to the Ligonha River. According to some scholars, Swahili, as a social category extends to the societies of Querimba Archipelago, on the South of the Rovuma River down to the Lúrio River.¹⁰⁶ In general, the Muslim societies living between the Lúrio and Moma rivers are excluded from the category of Swahili, which may be as a result of a lack of research in this area. To classify these societies or people, the Portuguese often used the word *mouro*, which included Arab-Omani people, Ismaili Khojas and all Muslim people in the region. Another word used to describe these societies is *monhé* (with its variations such as *muinhe* or *mwinyi*) which comes from the Bantu *mwene*, meaning property owner or rich man. The use of this word supposedly originated from the auto-identification of local coastal elites in their interaction with the Portuguese. The Muslim people of coastal Cabo Delgado and Mozambique, including migrants from the coast of Zanzibar and Comoros were also called *mujojos* (from the local designation *mjojo* (sing.) and *ajojo* (plural)).¹⁰⁷

The Portuguese generalizations in the use of these social categories as addressed in the previous section can be analysed in the context of socio-cultural and political relationship that linked the coastal northern Mozambique societies with Zanzibar, Comoros, Madagascar and the South-West Asia. During the nineteenth century these ties were stronger in the context of reconfigurations of religion, politics and trade networks.

Hafkin, for instance, argues that the Sultans of Angoche used to travel to Zanzibar for confirmation, after their appointments by Portuguese authorities. In addition, the ruling family of Mayote claimed their kinship relation with the Sheikhs of Mozambique. The

¹⁰⁶Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 34.

¹⁰⁷Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; see also Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*. p. 36.

northern Mozambique Swahili societies by this time were mostly of Sunni Muslims of the Shafiite School of law.¹⁰⁸

Politics, economy and society in northern Mozambique

One of the major studies of the history of nineteenth century is by Eric Hobsbawm. In his study, Hobsbawm emphasises two periods, the 'Age of Capital' and 'Age of Empires' which must be complemented by the 'Age of Revolutions', completing a period from 1789 to 1914. According to him, the Empire era corresponds to the period in which the imperial powers multiplied, while they established another kind of imperialism, the colonial one.¹⁰⁹ This period corresponds, however, to a period of transition and slow transformation of mercantile imperialism into colonial imperialism and marks the end of the "bourgeoisie imperialism" and its social relations, and the inauguration of a "new society".¹¹⁰ In Africa, these changes were significantly felt in several ways. Since the fifteenth century, European powers were demanding natural resources such as gold, copper and many others and Africa was among the main sources and therefore attracted their presence. Portugal had been the pioneer and then came England, France, Holland and Germany as the main actors.

Pouwels argues that the nineteenth century is a period of deep changes in the coastal urban culture of East Africa, when the predominance of local intellectuals influence was gradually replaced by the political, economic and social domination of foreigners.¹¹¹ Since the first travel of Vasco da Gama to India, the Portuguese played an important role in the political and trade relations in East Africa where they found well established Arab, Persian and Swahili traders along the coastal towns. Portugal was to destroy the Arab-Persian-Swahili networks starting with the occupation of Kilwa and Sofala (1505), than Sena (1507), Quelimane (1507), Mozambique, Mombasa. They finally took control of the gold trade from the Zimbabwean Plateau, where they penetrated the Zambezi River, to India and Europe.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*. p. 40-41.

¹⁰⁹Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of capital, 1848-1875*, (London: Abacus, 1995).

¹¹⁰Hobsbawm, *The age of capital*.

¹¹¹Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*. p. 1.

¹¹²Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*; Newitt, *A history of Mozambique* and Saad, *Kilwa dynastic historiography*.

Since the arrival of the Portuguese in East Africa the western Indian Ocean faced new challenges and new dynamics. However, the impact of Portuguese mercantile imperialism, which targeted the commercial hegemony in the region, was the most important challenge for the African and Asian traders who had been established in the region for centuries. The consequence of the Portuguese occupation, as mentioned above, was the destruction of the first 'Age of Swahili Prosperity' which was under the leadership of the Kilwa Royal House.

The influential power of Kilwa reached further than Chibwene, South of ancient Sofala, which is now Inhambane. Chibwene is supposed to be the port link to the Manyikeni settlement in Vilanculos, an ancient satellite trade house of Great Zimbabwe.¹¹³ Kilwa controlled the gold trade from the Zimbabwean plateau through political, economic and fundamentally religious and kinship ties held with the sheikhdoms of Sofala, Quelimane and Angoche.¹¹⁴

The occupation of the main Swahili towns such as Sofala, Mozambique and Mombasa gave birth to new Swahili states in northern Mozambique which secured Swahili trade with the hinterland of actual Mozambique.¹¹⁵ Angoche, Sancul, Quitangonha, Tungi were some of these states, all linked with each other and with other Swahili states of the western Indian Ocean. They shared the same features designed in the context of Islam, trade, seafaring and specially the renowned *Shirazi* tradition of origin.¹¹⁶

The nineteenth century is an important period in terms of global and local changes. In the history of Islam on the East African coast it is a period of intellectual changes through the rapid expansion of Islam and Islamic education, when 'court Islam' briefly replaced 'popular Islam'.¹¹⁷

¹¹³Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*.

¹¹⁴Vilhena, *A companhia do Niassa*; Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*.

¹¹⁵Malyn D. D. Newitt, "The early history of Sultanate of Angoche", *Journal of African History*, XIII, 3(1972), pp. 397-406. See also Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

¹¹⁶Hafkin, *Trade, Society and Politics*; Newitt, *The Early History*; Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy and Pelissier, História de Moçambique*.

¹¹⁷David Robinson, *Muslim societies in African history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, New Approaches to African History). For the debate on 'popular Islam' see Patrick D. Gaffney, "Popular Islam", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 524, 1992, pp. 38-51.

The intellectual “revolution” that took place in East Africa and impacted northern Mozambique coastal societies cannot be viewed as an isolated incident. It was one of the consequences of the overall global changes which started in the previous century. The reasons for the dynamics of the nineteenth century can be found in the previous centuries. The changing political, economic and social patterns that took place in the nineteenth century were indeed the result of the industrial revolution of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The revolution brought new needs and markets and labourers and inspired more conquests.

In the political arena, the nineteenth century witnessed the collapse of some empires and the beginning of new empires in Europe, Asia, Africa and in America.¹¹⁸ Some of these new empires fought for land, political influence and access to the new markets. The social, political and economic context of Europe in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century had a significant impact on world history. Examples of this impact can be seen in World War I and II. These military confrontations occurred in the first half of the twentieth century but their origin came from the context of the nineteenth century. It was the industrial development of new economic powers such as Germany, Austria-Hungary and Holland and their challenge to the old and traditional powers, such as England and France which was one of the main reasons for the eruption of the war. The new powers needed to access markets and resources which were controlled by the ancient powers.¹¹⁹ Most of these markets and resources were not in Europe. Africa was one of the most disputed market-places and source of raw material and, for this reason World War I was important to the continent. The history of the continent has been strongly influenced by the World Wars I and II, with the latter originating from the unresolved issues at the end of the World War I.

Another example of the European dynamics which influenced nineteenth century East African history was the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal which resulted in the emigration of the Portuguese Royal family to Rio de Janeiro in 1807-1809. As a consequence, Rio de Janeiro became the Metropole of the entire Portuguese ‘colonial empire’ under the ‘Reino Unido de Portugal e Algarves’. This was the time when many Brazilian traders strengthened their relations with Mozambique and opened their commercial houses on Mozambique

¹¹⁸Hobsbawn, *The age of capital*.

¹¹⁹Hobsbawn, *The age of capital*.

Island.¹²⁰ Brazil was to become one of the American destination markets of many slaves from East Africa, most specifically from the ports of Quelimane, Mozambique and Inhambane during the century. The role of Brazil, Caribe and some of the American states as destination markets for the East African slave trade was enforced by the Slave Trade Act of 1808 and Abolition Act of 1833 in the British Empire. Although all these facts can prove the mutual influence of the both European and African histories, it is worth to noting that African history must be viewed from its own dynamics.

Political relations between the Portuguese and northern Mozambique rulers

This period was characterized by a mutual recognition between the African states (Sheikhdoms and Sultanates of the coast ruled by Swahili dynasties and the Makhuwa kingdoms of the interior) and the Portuguese based in Mozambique and Ibo islands. This recognition is embodied in diplomatic relations that formed the foundation of what Hafkin calls “politics of survival” of the Portuguese, which was in fact an attempt to incorporate the powerful Swahili chiefs into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration. According to Mbwiliza the “politics of collaboration” (or “politics of survival”, the term used by Hafkin) found fertile soil in societies where “the political, economic and religious functions were concentrated in the same entity”.¹²¹

The “Politics of Survival” or “Politics of collaboration” reflected the political *status quo* of the political and economic relations termed in this dissertation as the “pre-colonial period, marked by numerous conflicts and collaboration”. The Portuguese acknowledged that the Muslim rulers held the major political power in northern Mozambique, and therefore gave to the Swahili Sultans and Sheikhs office-holding posts of *Capitão-mor*, *Sargento-mor* and *Cabo*. In addition, in some of these African states, during a specific period, the Sultans and/or Sheikhs were appointed or at least their appointment needed to be confirmed by the Portuguese. Through this mechanism, the Swahili Sheikhs and Sultans were integrated into a military administrative system, which placed them theoretically under the subordination of the Portuguese Army officers. However, they still enjoyed their political and economic independence since the Portuguese depended on the protection of their African

¹²⁰See Alpers, *complex relationship*.

¹²¹Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*. p. 33; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. xi-xii.

“subordinates”.¹²² The African rulers who were also troubled by the “ethnic” conflicts that plagued the region, involving the Marave, Ayao, Makhuwa and coastal Swahili groups, relied on the Portuguese for military aid.

The lack of capacity in terms of human and financial resources by the Portuguese favoured the African rulers in northern Mozambique who used every possible way to extend their power, to amass wealth and develop their relations with the Indian Ocean Islands.¹²³

At this stage the economy was dominated by trade in slaves and ivory and the main agents of this trade were the African rulers, Portuguese slavers, Comorians (also called *Ajojo*), French, the Malagasy slave dealers and some Arabs from Muscat. The major destinations of the slave ports of Mozambique in this period included Southeast Asia, Madagascar, Reunion Island and the Comoros Archipelago.¹²⁴

The campaigns against the slave trade carried out by the British Government from 1836 favoured the idea of close collaboration among the Swahili Sheikhs and Sultans, with special attention given to Angoche, Sangage, Sancul and Quitangonha which allowed better geographical conditions to continue trafficking away from British naval inspections. The slave trade thus allowed the African rulers to accumulate wealth, acquire firearms, facilitated their integration and affirmed their relations with the Islands of the Indian Ocean.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the British campaigns were gradually pressing the Portuguese to exert political and economic power, which was still under the control of African rulers. In addition, the Berlin Conference rules (1884-5) forced the Portuguese to embark on the “Campaigns of Effective Occupation” of the territories considered “hostiles”. This was the time of radical changes in Portuguese-African relations in northern Mozambique that compelled many African rulers to resist. In this process, some African rulers remained within the collaboration system; however, their status in the Portuguese hierarchy was not the same as before the 1890s.

It was the arrival of Mouzinho de Albuquerque with his vigorous plans for effective occupation that incited the spirit of African resistance. Mozambique and Cabo Delgado

¹²²Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. v-vi.

¹²³Bonate, *Traditions in transition*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

¹²⁴Medeiros, *As etapas da escravatura*; see also Capela and Medeiros, *O tráfico de escravos*.

Swahili rulers did not adopt the same mechanisms of resistance, although some similarities can be found. Chapters IV and V of this dissertation are aimed at analysing these similarities and differences based on two sheikhdoms, Quissanga in Cabo Delgado and Sancul in Mozambique.

As with the District of Mozambique, during the nineteenth century, the coastal region of Cabo Delgado was controlled by Swahili dynasties who practiced the slave trade in coordination with the rulers of the hinterland, including *Mafiti*, Makondes, Makhuwas and Ayao.

By the second half of the century, two Swahili groups quarrelled over their political control of coastal Cabo Delgado, while the Portuguese allied with one of these groups, and sometimes with another, looking for the best position to extend their influence into the area. One of these groups was controlled by the Muikumba family, who usually had Portuguese names and were under the leadership of João Vicente Dias, who lived in the village of Menha next to present day Mocímboa da Praia. Vicente, one of the sons of João Vicente Dias was the most prominent trader and slave dealer of the region. The Muikumbas were African in their culture, spoke Kiswahili and used the Arabic alphabet,¹²⁵ but there is no ajami correspondence addressed by them. However, Vicente Dias “Muikumba” is mentioned in some of the Quissanga correspondence associated with *Mafiti* groups and some military destabilization in the areas.¹²⁶

The other powerful *wazungu* family was led by João Calheiros, whose social, political and economic relations included *Mafiti* groups that were not associated with Muikumba, and worked in partnership with Sultan Abdurabe of Tungue, and the powerful Yao chief, Mussaca bun Mweka al-Massaniga, a Muslim who wrote and spoke Kiswahili. Beside his European name, Calheiro was African and could write Kiswahili using the Arabic alphabet.¹²⁷

In 1865 the Portuguese installed the *Capitania-mor* of Mocimboa da Praia with the aim of eradicating the slave trade between the local Swahili families and the French. The post of *Capitão-mor* was given alternatively to Muikumba and Calheiros.¹²⁸ The alternating of the

¹²⁵Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

¹²⁶AHM, GDCB, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

¹²⁷Hafkin, *Sheikhs, slaves and sovereignty*. p. 36.

¹²⁸Hafkin, *Sheikhs, slaves and sovereignty*.

two families to the post was a Portuguese strategy to ensure the best way of control since this exacerbated rivalry between the two families, inducing each of them to vocally declare the mistakes committed by the other side.

The political economy of this period depended on the relations with the hinterland, which supplied the commodities for the all commerce of the region and for the international trade of the Indian Ocean. Consequently, the Makhuwa-Medo chiefdoms of the hinterland, controlled by *mwekoni* lineages were very important. Their importance and relative prosperity was due to their control over the caravan routes which came from Lake Nyassa and from the northern margin of Zambezi River.¹²⁹ Mwaliya of Balama, Inquinjiri and Mweri of Montepuez, Mugabo of Metoro and Matiko, were the most influential. Some of these men, for example Mwaliya and Mugabo were Muslims and could read and write Kiswahili in Arabic script as shall be discussed in chapter IV.

In terms of anti-colonial resistance, it is important to highlight some actions taken by African leaders in the region Cabo Delgado, perhaps with less organizational capacity than those of the district of Mozambique. The Portuguese who had settled in Quissanga suffered several attacks in 1874 and 1876 carried out by *Maviti* supported by a Swahili nobleman from the Medo region, probably Mwaliya who held the title of Sultan. In 1878 another attack by the *Angonis* or *Magwangwara*, who attacked the *Wamwani* of the Quissanga area was reported.¹³⁰ The same group struck again in 1881 but were defeated by the Portuguese army of Ibo. Without presenting too much detail, Medeiros also notes that Sultan Said Ali ibn Sultan Abdallah, from the area of Messanja, was always hostile towards the Portuguese until his submission in 1905.¹³¹ However, his *ajami* correspondence suggests that he was integrated into the collaboration system as early as the mid-1880s.

Consequently, the Portuguese occupation of the region of Cabo Delgado was perhaps relatively easier, except the Mueda plateau, and the areas under the control of *Mafiti* or *Maviti* who offered more resistance to the Portuguese.

¹²⁹Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

¹³⁰Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

¹³¹Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

Final remarks

The sociocultural and political landscape found in northern Mozambique during the nineteenth century is as a result of various internal and external factors. Among the external factors, the most important was the impact of European imperialism. The migration processes which were unavoidable also affected this region, especially Bantu migrations, Asian and European migrations and the *Nguni* migration which shaped the sociocultural and political reconfiguration of northern Mozambique societies from the coast to the hinterland.

This chapter has demonstrated that during this period the African rulers of northern Mozambique, from the coastal area to the hinterland enjoyed relative independence and autonomy and the Portuguese who were limited to the coastal and mostly island settlements depended on the goodwill and collaboration of the Swahili rulers in various aspects of their life.

The attempts at the establishment of a *de facto* colonial administration emphasises two points. The first is the differentiation of the nature of resistance among African chiefs of the region of Cabo Delgado and of Mozambique. The region of Mozambique submitted after military defeats and remained uncertain for the Portuguese colonial regime. Most of the local Swahili and Makhuwa rulers of this region interspersed their hostilities with some acts of strategic collaboration, until the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the rulers of the region of Cabo Delgado were already integrated into the system of colonial administration by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The second aspect is the consideration of some factors that may have contributed to the stronger resistance in the district of Mozambique. Here the question of identity versus patriotism is highlighted. In this area the Swahili and Makhuwa rulers often made anti-Portuguese alliances as they shared the same cultural values (where Islam was the backbone), the same historical origin and therefore felt the need to defend their homeland and their states. On the other hand, the system of alliances among Africans, as well as the 'false collaboration' they often framed with the Portuguese can be viewed as proof of their great diplomatic skills.

Finally, the geographical conditions of the region favoured the practice of the slave trade out of the sight of abolitionists. The slave trade served as an important source of wealth and attracted many people who were interested in trafficking, which gave them allies even among

the Portuguese, as evidenced by the release of Musa Quanto from the prison of Mozambique in 1862.

Univeristy of Cape Town

Chapter II: Islamic education and the creation of a local intellectual and political elite

Introduction

In every society education is the main tool for the socialization of new members of the community into its collective values and practices. However, education does not have a universal definition.¹³² This dissertation deals with the concept of Islamic education as conceived by Halstead.¹³³ According to Halstead, education in Islam is mostly theorized from the Arabic language. Though the word education exists in the Arabic language, it does not, however, have the same meaning as that found in the West. In fact, the Arabic language has three words for education with three significant and distinct meanings such as “knowledge (*ta’lim* from the root *’alima*), growth to maturity (*tarbiya* from the root *rabā*) and development of good manners (*ta’dib* from the root *’aduba*, to be refined, disciplined, cultured)”.¹³⁴ The Islamic concept of education in this sense is viewed as the integration of these three dimensions with the aim of “producing good Muslims with an understanding of Islamic rules of behaviour and a strong knowledge and commitment to the faith”.¹³⁵ The expansion of Islamic faith is then rooted in the process of education, socialization and integration of the new Muslims into the faith, Islamic manners, and behaviour.

According to Robinson, the process of expansion of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa developed in three stages. In the first stage, Islam was confined to the Arab and Persian traders of the coastal towns of East Africa and the Sahara desert. Islam was practiced by this minority whose aim was to trade with the local population. In the second stage, Islam made closer contact with the African rulers and shifted to the African courts as the ruling elites started adopting “the court Islam”. In the third stage, Islam was spread to the ordinary people even in the rural areas, enabling what Robinson calls “the majority Islam”. This stage is associated

¹³² Kanstrupp-Jensen, Annette, 2006, *Indigenous education and knowledge – a de-legitimised concept in “the education for all” strategies*, (Aalborg: DIR & Institute for History, International and Social Studies, 2006, [Development Research Series, Working Paper n°. 3]).

¹³³ J. Mark Halstead, “An Islamic concept of education”, *Comparative Education*, Vol.40, n°. 4, 2004, pp. 517-529.

¹³⁴ Halstead, *An Islamic concept of education*, p. 519.

¹³⁵ Halstead, *An Islamic concept of education*, p. 519.

with two phenomena: Sufism and jihadism.¹³⁶ This was not a homogenous process on the African continent. Robinson highlights two main gateways which were fundamental for the spread of Islam. On the one side, the Saharan desert, which took the Berber trading caravans and Islam to West and Central Africa. On the other side, the western coast of the Indian Ocean with its oceanic trading networks bringing Islam to South and Eastern Africa.¹³⁷

J. Spencer Trimingham on his study on Islam in East Africa presented similar periodization. However, Trimingham accords each period the name of the main dynastic ruler of that period. For Trimingham, the first stage is called the *Zanj* (the Persian word for Bantu-speaking people) period as the early Muslim settlements were located under the rule of Bantu-speaking people who gradually adopted Islam.¹³⁸ The *Zanj* period was replaced by the *Shirazian* period when the Shirazi dynasties dominated coastal East Africa including the Comoros Islands. Malinde and Kilwa were the main centres of trade and Islam during the *Shirazian* period and their influence included the Quirimba Islands, Angoche, Mozambique and Sofala. The *Omani* period was established after the first period of Portuguese domination of the region, which ended in 1698-9.¹³⁹ This period is marked by the growth of Omani influence and the creation of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, which dominated the sociocultural, political and economic relations of the Swahili coast during the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰

The debate about the colonial conquest in Africa motivated Joseph Ki-Zerbo to elaborate his theory of the three Ms: Merchants, Missionaries and Militarism. When analysing the spread of Islam, in both gateways, or areas of entrance of Islam to the African continent, as mentioned by Robinson, the ‘three Ms’ theory should be acknowledged. Traders (merchants), *ulamas* (missionaries) and Jihadists (or militaries) are all involved in the expansion of Islam on the African continent. This chapter analyses how the diffusion of Islam and of Islamic education influenced the spread of ajami literacy and the creation of local Islamic

¹³⁶Robinson, *Muslim societies in African history*, p. 28.

¹³⁷Robinson, *Muslim societies in African history*, p. 32.

¹³⁸J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); see also Pouwels, *Eastern Africa*; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*.

¹³⁹Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, “Patterns of islamization and varieties of religious experience among Muslims of Africa”, N. Levtzion and R. Pouwels, *History of Islam in Africa*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), pp.1-18.

¹⁴⁰Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, p. 1.

intellectuals. The intellectuals played an important role during the nineteenth century in northern Mozambique as leaders and mediators of their communities in the *quasi* violent process of the establishment of Portuguese colonialism.

Islamic Expansion in northern Mozambique

The expansion of Islam in Mozambique cannot be approached or viewed separately from the history of Islam in East Africa. Mozambique and northern Mozambique in particular, was part of the sociocultural, political and economic dynamics of the Swahili region which was also part of a wider Indian Ocean network.¹⁴¹ These connections have been established since the earliest periods, before the advent of Islam, as discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁴²

Since the first century of its existence, Islam followed the trade networks which had been created linking East Africa to the entire western Indian Ocean. From the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf, Muslim traders came to East and southern Africa through the monsoons and *dhow*s which linked the southeastern Asia region to the western shores of the Indian Ocean with the obligatory scales on the Islands of Comoros, Madagascar and Zanzibar.¹⁴³ The other route crossed the Red Sea to the Benadir coast coming down to the Mozambique Channel through Kilwa and Zanzibar.¹⁴⁴

As discussed in the first chapter, it is generally agreed that the first Muslims who arrived in East Africa were traders,¹⁴⁵ who interacted with the coastal peoples that were later known as *Waswahili* and their language as *Kiswahili*. These Bantu speaking-people practiced agriculture and seafaring¹⁴⁶ and through their contacts with Arab and Persian Muslim traders,

¹⁴¹ Alpers, *A complex relationship*; Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

¹⁴² See also Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Newitts, *The early history* and Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*.

¹⁴³ Alpers, *A complex relationship*; for the role of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean trade networks see also Risso, *Merchants and Faith*.

¹⁴⁴ Levtzion and Pouwels, *Patterns of islamization*.

¹⁴⁵ Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, "Muslims in East Africa – their past and present", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3, n^o. 1, 1994, pp. 88-98. p. 88.

¹⁴⁶ Horton and Middleton, *The Swahili*.

gradually integrated into their language and culture some cultural and linguistic traces of their commercial partners.¹⁴⁷

The history of the expansion of Islam in Mozambique concurs with the periodization presented by Trimingham.¹⁴⁸ In this sense, the period of Zanj Islam in Mozambique must have started in the first century of the Islamic era, when the earliest Muslim settlements dating from the seventh to thirteenth/fourteenth centuries are reported further South to the northern Inhambane area in Chibuene.¹⁴⁹ Chibuene must have been a commercial post linked to Sofala and later, in the fifteenth century, to Great Zimbabwe through Manyikeni.¹⁵⁰

Although Islam and Muslim traders have been in contact with the coastal communities of Mozambique since the first century of the Islamic era, it was only after the foundation of Kilwa c. 1000/1200 AD, when most of the Shirazi dynasties fixed their city-states in the territory of Mozambique.¹⁵¹ According to Vilhena, the first Shirazian Muslim settlements in Mozambique were Matemo (in Quirimba archipelago), Mozambique Island and Angoche.¹⁵² The Shirazian period of Islam in East Africa and Mozambique in particular must have ended by the end of the seventeenth century when the Omani expelled the Portuguese from Kilwa and the main East African port-cities.

The Sultanate of Oman replaced the Muslim dominion of the trade networks usurping Kilwa's role which had been declining since the fifteenth century,¹⁵³ and establishing the Omani period of Islam in East Africa.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷Robinson, *Muslim societies in African history*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁸Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*.

¹⁴⁹Shaw Badenhorst, S. et al., "Faunal remains from Chibuene, an Iron Age coastal trading station in central Mozambique", *Southern African Humanities*, n°. 23, 2011, pp. 1-15. In: <http://www.sahumanities.org.za>. Accessed in 21st January 2014.

¹⁵⁰Badenhorst et al, *Faunal remains from Chibuene*.

¹⁵¹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 2; Vilhena, *A Companhia de Niassa*, p. 20-21.

¹⁵²Vilhena, *A Companhia de Niassa*, p. 21.

¹⁵³Malyn Newitt, "The Comoro Islands in the Indian Ocean trade before the 19th Century (Les Comores et le commerce dans l'Océan Indien avant le XIXe siècle)", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, Vol. 23, Chier 89/90, 1983, pp. 139-165.p. 142.

¹⁵⁴Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*.

According to Mbwiliza most of the Muslims who settled on the coast of Mozambique and East Africa in general were Hadramis of the Sunni Shafii sect/branch of Islam and had been in contact with the region prior to the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The Hadrami migrants were to play a significant role in the expansion of Islam and Islamic education even at the zenith of the Omani dominion of East Africa which started with the relocation of the seat of the Busaid dynasty to Zanzibar in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁶

In northern Mozambique, in the two earliest periods of expansion of Islam (Zanj and Shirazian), Islam remained confined to the coastal towns.¹⁵⁷ The penetration to the hinterland is a phenomenon of the nineteenth century as a result of the ivory and the slave trade which created closer connections between the coastal Swahili rulers and the hinterland Makhuwa and A Yao Chiefs. Caravan routes linking the coast of northern Mozambique and its hinterland existed since the Maravi period.¹⁵⁸ Through these caravan routes linking the margins of Nyassa Lake and the Zambezi River crossing the Makhuwani area¹⁵⁹ and Medo¹⁶⁰ to the coastal ports of Mozambique and Cabo Delgado, Islam was spread to the mainland of northern Mozambique. This process was reinforced with matrimony-based kinship relations.¹⁶¹

For centuries, Angoche had been the main centre of Islam in the region, a status that remained until the beginning of the 1900s with the *de facto* colonial occupation. Its close relations first to Kilwa and later to Zanzibar, Comoros and western Madagascar benefitted

¹⁵⁵ Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, p. 163; about the presence and role of Hadrami migrants in East Africa see Bang, *Sufis and scholars of the Sea*; and Anne K. Bang, "Authority and Piety, writing and print: a preliminary study of the circulation of Islamic texts in late nineteenth-and early twentieth century Zanzibar", *Africa*, 81, Vol. 1, 2011, pp. 89-107.

¹⁵⁶ Khamis, *The Zanzibar National Archives*, p. 18; Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*; Bang, *Authority and piety*.

¹⁵⁷ Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, p. 165.

¹⁵⁸ See previous chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

¹⁶⁰ Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

¹⁶¹ Liazzat J. K. Bonate, "Matriliny, Islam and gender in Northern Mozambique". *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36, Vol. II, 2006, pp. 139-166. See also Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

this role.¹⁶² While in the region of Cabo Delgado, the same role was played first by Matemo (in the earliest Shirazian period) and later by Quissanga and Tungi.¹⁶³

During this time, Islam in northern Mozambique remained under the control of the local Swahili Shirazi dynasties. Their religious authority which survived and must have integrated the migrant Hadrami *ulama*,¹⁶⁴ was only challenged at the end of the nineteenth century with the formal establishment of the *turuq* (singular *tariqa*, Islamic brotherhoods) in the region.¹⁶⁵ Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya are the main *turuq* in Mozambique and were responsible for the popularization of Islam during the twentieth century. Both were brought to Mozambique by Comoros-born *shuyukh* and also associated with Hadrami *ulama*. The first was Shadhiliyya Yashuruti brought to Mozambique Island by Sheikh Muahammad Ma'arouf who is said to be a descendant of a Comorian Hadrami family and the main propagator of the *tariqa* in East Africa.¹⁶⁶ The Qadiriyya was brought by another Comorian Sheikh resident in Zanzibar, Issa bin Ahmad al-Ngazija in 1904-5 who was a disciple of Sheikh Uways bin Muhammad al-Barawi who was a Hadrami born in Brawa and the leader of the *tariqa* in East Africa.¹⁶⁷ According to *Nasab* of Quissanga, the Qadiriyya *turuq* arrived to Quissanga and Cabo Delgado through the same Sheikh Issa bin Ahmad who gave *ijaza* to Sheikh Abdul Magid bin Yassin who was the main propagator of the *tariqa* in Cabo Delgado.¹⁶⁸

As demonstrated previously, Islam in northern Mozambique is intimately linked to the religious networks of the entire East Africa. In all periods mentioned above, Islam and Islamic education, which will be discussed in the next section, was integrated into the western Indian Ocean sociocultural and political dynamics.

¹⁶²Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; Bonate, *Tradition in transition*; and Newitt, *The early history*.

¹⁶³Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

¹⁶⁴Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

¹⁶⁵Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

¹⁶⁶Bang, *Authority and Piety*, p. 104; Bonate, *Tradition in transition*, p. 79.

¹⁶⁷Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

¹⁶⁸See also Edward Alpers, "Islam in East-Central Africa", N. Levtzion and R. Pouwels, ed., *The History of Islam in Africa*. (Athens: Ohio State University Press, 2000, pp.303-325).p. 312.

Islamic Education and the creation of Muslim intellectuals in northern Mozambique

One of the most important contributions of the expansion of Islam in Africa is certainly Islamic education which was a natural need for the socialization of the new Muslims. Donald states that conversion to Islam provides an incentive to learn Arabic in order to be able “to pray properly, which is important for religious practice”.¹⁶⁹ In this context, and as addressed in the section above, the main components of an Islamic education are summarised in the production of a good Muslim, which means a combination of knowledge, maturity and good manners. The role played by Hadrami migrants in the expansion of Islam and Islamic education in East Africa and northern Mozambique in particular was addressed in the previous section. The next section analyses the process of Islamic education as a tool of Islamic expansion and how it created the Muslim intellectual elite that used the skills (acquired through this religious education) as an advantage for secular functions.

There is limited specific research on Islamic education in northern Mozambique. Besides the scholarly works of Nancy Hafkin, Joseph Mbwiliza and Liazzat Bonate, which briefly analyse Islamic education in the context of Islamic expansion, there is not much research in this area. Bonate’s work¹⁷⁰ is the most specific in the area in northern Mozambique.

According to Bonate, the development of Islamic education in northern Mozambique was as a result of the connection with the Swahili region (including the western Indian Ocean island)¹⁷¹, and was under the control of the local Swahili rulers.¹⁷² Elton, an English consul who was in Mozambique in the last quarter of the nineteenth century described the process of Islamic education in these words:

Humad bin Saleh came from Yusi River. He was Mwalimu and taught boys to read the Koran. He was paid for his teaching in slaves and he gained his living alternatively by teaching and slave trading. He had six slaves for sale on board, and

¹⁶⁹Leland Donald, “Arabic literacy among the Yalunka of Sierra Leone”, *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 44, n° 1, 1974, pp. 71-81. p. 71.

¹⁷⁰Liazzat J. K. Bonate, “Islamic education in Mozambique”, *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, n° 9, 2006-7, pp. 53-57.

¹⁷¹Bonate, *Islamic education*, p. 53; see also Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; and Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

¹⁷²Bonate, *Islamic education*, p. 53.

one boy who was bound to him under an agreement to become an accomplished Mwalimu.¹⁷³

The statement of Captain Elton provides three insights. The first lesson is the connection of Islamic education with the slave trade, which was also an important factor for Islamic expansion.¹⁷⁴ The second is that Islamic education was an elitist process since only the local rulers and members of their aristocracy or social networks who were involved in the slave trade could afford to pay for the education of their children. The third is the regional connection of this kind of scholarship.¹⁷⁵ As with Humad bin Saleh, the *ulama* came from different parts of the Swahili coast and often took their students with them (as he was doing).

The regional connection of Islamic education between northern Mozambique and the entire Swahili coast can be explained with two examples linked to Sancul and Quissanga respectively. In her PhD dissertation, Nancy Hafkin cited a letter from Sultan Said Bakr of Ngazija, addressed from Moroni to Molid Volay of Sancul on 5th January of 1878:

My agent Modohama just arrived here having left three slaves there with Ambar. I ask you to keep an eye on them. We do not know each other except through letters, but I hope that you will watch over this collection. Your brother's young nephew is in Mohilla and Allah willing when he finishes his studies I will send him home to Mozambique...My father Sultan Ahmad passed away.¹⁷⁶

The letter of Sultan Said Bakr confirms what had been advanced with the statement of Captain Elton. Slave trade, political networks and kinship¹⁷⁷ were the main tools for the establishment of Islamic scholarship in northern Mozambique. These connections were also discussed through the local oral history collected during the fieldwork research in Sancul and Infussi. According to Sheikh Zamani of Sancul and confirmed by Hassane Fumo and Juma Hajj of Infussi, Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim (the Marave - about whom more details are presented

¹⁷³Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, p. 324.

¹⁷⁴Liazzat J. K. Bonate, Liazzat, "From Ssirazi into Monhé: Angoche and the mainland in the context of the nineteenth century slave trade of northern Mozambique", Benigna Zimba; Edward Alpers; Allen Isaacman, *Slaves routes and oral tradition in Southeastern Africa*. (Maputo: Filsom Entertainment. 2006, pp. 195-218). p. 195-200.

¹⁷⁵Bonate, *Tradition in transition*, p. 53.

¹⁷⁶Letter from Sultan Said Bakr to Molid Volay, in Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 78.

¹⁷⁷See Bonate, *Tradition in transition*.

in Chapter V) was the son of a Comorian trader, who was a great Sheikh and *hajji*. According to them, Marave and some other people in Sancul learnt the Qur'an with this Sheikh whose name, although not confirmed, must be Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Moroni, as Marave writes in his letters.¹⁷⁸ The foundation of the small sheikhdom of Moginqual whose ruling elite are known by their title of *Xá* (suggesting Persian origin) and the establishment of the Qur'anic education are also related to *ulama* traders from Comoros and Madagascar.¹⁷⁹

The second example comes from the Bwana Shaki dynasty (of which more details are presented in Chapter IV). According to oral history, this dynasty was established by Shirazi migrants from Mombasa and Comoros who must have brought Islam to the area. Most of the sons of this dynasty like Bwana Makassare Daly had to travel north to Mikindani or Zanzibar for Islamic studies.¹⁸⁰

Ajami literacy and the creation of a local intellectual elite

As discussed in the previous section, Islamic education in northern Mozambique circulated among the ruling elite and the trade networks, which were linked to the western Indian Ocean, mostly to Comoros and Zanzibar.¹⁸¹ One of the most important components of Islamic education was in fact reading and writing with the Arabic alphabet, which was spread to the Swahili ruling elites since the sixteenth century.

This was not an isolated phenomenon for northern Mozambique. As Khamis states, Islamic learning in East Africa was first spread from Lamu in the earliest times of Islamic expansion. Consequently, the Swahili dialect of Lamu became the first literary language on the Swahili coast, especially in Kenya.¹⁸² The same role was played by Zanzibar when it was transformed into the seat of the Omani Sultanate in the nineteenth century. In this period, Zanzibar became the most attractive place for the Middle East *ulama*, especially the Hadramis, who

¹⁷⁸Interview with Sheikh Zamani, Sancul, 2013; Interview with Juma Hajj, Infussi, 2010.

¹⁷⁹Interview with Sheikh Said Ali, Xá Muhomad, Moginqual, 2010.

¹⁸⁰Interview with Bakar Abudo, Quissanga, 2010; Interview with Bashir Momade, Quissanga, 2010 and 2013; Interview with Maulana More-More, Namanje, Quissanga, 2013.

¹⁸¹See Bonate, *Tradition in transition and Islamic education*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; and Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, also support this idea.

¹⁸²Said A. M. Khamis, "The heterogeneity of Swahili literature", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 9, n°. 2, 2000, pp. 11-21.p.13.

were responsible for the expansion of Islamic education in East Africa and “establishing the links to southern Arabia’s scholarly tradition”.¹⁸³ The material and intellectual culture of the Hadrami and Omani Arabs in Zanzibar also attracted the local Muslim African rulers of the region. In this process, the Swahili transformed their concept of civilization “*Waungwana*” into “*ustaarabu*” (becoming “Arabized”).¹⁸⁴ One of the most important aspects of the process of *ustaarabu* was becoming Muslim and learning Arabic literacy, which was a tool for religious prestige and, at the same time, symbolised relative economic success.¹⁸⁵ Even though the process of learning Arabic literacy was religiously oriented, more advanced students could use Arabic in secular practice or services.¹⁸⁶

The process of diffusion of Arabic literacy into the Swahili elites of the coast had started in previous centuries as shall be discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation.¹⁸⁷ However, the period between the eighteenth and nineteenth century was fundamental for the development of a distinct Swahili literary tradition.

Lamu, the earliest Islamic learning centre in East Africa, was also the pioneer in the production of distinct East African ajami literature. As will be elaborated upon in the following chapter, *Utenzi wa Tambuka* the earliest Swahili ajami poem produced in Lamu was a translation of an Arab Islamic poem dedicated to the Battle of Tabuk. In addition, poetic literature was already circulating among the Swahili elite of Lamu and some East African urban centres since the previous century.¹⁸⁸

Apart from the literature, the Swahili elites developed a tradition of correspondence. The first language used in the correspondence was Arabic as witnessed by letters collected during the earliest Portuguese travels to East Africa and published by Father João de Sousa at the end of the eighteenth century, including one by the Sheikh of Mozambique Island.¹⁸⁹ The tradition

¹⁸³Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*; see also Bang, *Authority and piety*;

¹⁸⁴Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*.

¹⁸⁵Donald, *Arabic literacy*, p. 80.

¹⁸⁶Donald, *Arabic literacy*, p. 72.

¹⁸⁷ See also Prestholdt, *As artistry permits*; Sousa, *Documentos Aarábicos*.

¹⁸⁸ See also Said A. M.Khamis, “Wondering about change: The taarab lyrics and global openness”, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 11, n^o. 2, 2002, pp. 198-205.

¹⁸⁹Sousa, *Documentos arábicos*.

of correspondence followed the Islamic learning process as a diffusion of Arabic script among the ruling class in northern Mozambique.¹⁹⁰ As mentioned above, the process was reinforced in the nineteenth century when the Busaid Omanis moved their seat to Zanzibar in the 1830s and the Island was transformed into the cultural, economic and political reference point. Consequently, most of the northern Mozambique rulers who were politically and economically dependent on Zanzibar by this time adopted much of the material and intellectual values of Zanzibar high society, where Kiswahili had long since become a *lingua franca*.

The coastal Swahili rulers of northern Mozambique were already in the circuit centuries ago and had adopted the prestigious practice of writing and communicating by correspondence with their counterparts in the Comoros, Zanzibar, Madagascar and northern Mozambique, and even with the Portuguese as mentioned previously.

As Islamic education was 'elitist', the use of the Arabic alphabet also became 'elitist'. This new intellectual elite was created in the context of the expansion of Islamic education. Most of them were members of Swahili ruling elites of northern Mozambique, and some Makhuwa and A Yao rulers who were integrated into the international trade networks.¹⁹¹ In the context of expansion of Portuguese political and commercial influence, they were later integrated into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration as *linguas/lingoas* (translators), *Capitão-mor*, *sargento-mor* and used their skills from ajami literacy for official correspondence and for administrative reports, as demonstrated by the collection of ajami manuscripts of Mozambique Historical Archives described in the next chapter.

Final remarks

Islamic education in northern Mozambique, as in East Africa, was 'elitist' and a matter of prestige. This chapter demonstrated that the expansion of Islam was also 'elitist' in its early period until the emergence of *туруq*. This 'elitist' process of expansion of Islam shaped the paths of Islamic education and the process of its diffusion in East Africa and northern Mozambique in particular. The two processes, expansion of Islam and Islamic education, in

¹⁹⁰See Bonate, *Tradition in transition*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

¹⁹¹Medeiros, *As etapas de escravatura*.

such closed networks, controlled by the ruling elites of coastal societies, enabled the creation of the local Muslim intellectual ruling elite of northern Mozambique.

Trade, kinship and political networks were the main means through which Islamic scholarship circulated throughout the entire East Africa including northern Mozambique. Closer scholarship links as those stressed by Anne Bang¹⁹² or even B. G. Martin¹⁹³ and Le Guennec-Coppens¹⁹⁴ all in East African Islamic education could be connected to northern Mozambique, but require further systematic research. Through specific examples, this chapter has demonstrated how Islamic education was intimately connected to the entire East African traditional scholarship through kinship, trade and political networks.

Univeristy of Cape Town

¹⁹²Bang, *Sufis and scholars of the sea*; and Bang, *Authority and piety*.

¹⁹³B. G. Martin, "Notes on some members of learned classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the nineteenth century", *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, n° 3, 1971, pp. 525-545.

¹⁹⁴Le Guennec-Coppens, *Social and cultural integration*.

Chapter III: Northern Mozambique Ajami Manuscripts: Mozambique Historical Archives collection, Utenzis and Nasabas

Introduction

The Arabic Manuscripts collection of the Mozambique Historical Archives (AHM) is part of the nineteenth century collection (Fundo do Século XIX). It is a corpus of official ajami correspondence all dated from the second half of the nineteenth century. It contains tentative Portuguese translations (in some cases), reports related to the mentioned correspondence and Portuguese language correspondence. The above mentioned Portuguese reports attached to these manuscripts are a fundamental element for the understanding of the meaning and the historical context of the correspondence. Consequently, two intertwined collections have been built.

The origin of this kind of correspondence in the public sphere in East Africa and northern Mozambique in particular must have started in the first Islamic era in the region. However, the first Arabic correspondence from Mozambique rulers to the Portuguese must have started with the letter of Sharif Muhammad el-Alawi of Mozambique to King Dom Manuel of Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁹⁵

Although Kiswahili was a well-established language in the area by this stage, Arabic still dominated this kind of correspondence and the local literature. A sample of this earlier Arabic correspondence between the African rulers and the Portuguese was published in 1788 by Father Frei João de Sousa.¹⁹⁶ However, the use of Kiswahili in the local official correspondence during this period cannot be excluded.

The use of the Kiswahili ajami literature is an interesting discussion topic. Harrow argues that the first Swahili ajami epic was created in honour of the “legendary” *Fumo* ‘King’ Liyongo of the region of Pate. According to him, it was first created in an oral version during the ninth century and first recorded in a written version in the tenth century.¹⁹⁷ Khamis, on the other

¹⁹⁵Prestholdt, *As artistry permits*.

¹⁹⁶Sousa, *Documentos arábicos*, p. 85-86; Prestholdt, *As artistry permits*.

¹⁹⁷Harrow, *Islamic literature*.

hand, states that the first Swahili poetic literature was published at the end of the seventeenth century and was inspired by the so called *maghazi tradition*.¹⁹⁸

In northern Mozambique, and as evidenced in the National Archives collection, the second half of the nineteenth century must have been the prime period for the use of ajami correspondence in the official realm between the Portuguese ‘pre-colonial offices’ and the African rulers. This was also an important period for the expansion of Islam and Islamic education when ‘court Islam’ was replaced by ‘popular Islam’. As a consequence, in the same period, a significant proliferation of Islamic and Swahili literature can be found. The Zanzibar influence, slave trade, and the old Swahili networks are the main reasons for the important social changes which impacted the political and economic sphere. This chapter aims to provide a description of what this collection means in terms of size, date range, geographic range, its authors and its content.

Size of the collection and date range

The “Fundo do Século XIX” of the Mozambique National Archives is divided into many regional and administrative collections with a total of 665 ajami manuscripts. The collection of ajami manuscripts is divided into two regions: District of Mozambique, which is now Nampula Province and where the capital city was located during most of the period the letters are referred to, and District of Cabo Delgado, which is now Cabo Delgado Province. The former district of Mozambique has 109 letters (representing 16.3% of all the works in the collection), all located in the “Fundo do Governo Geral de Moçambique”, “Fundo do Governo do Distrito de Moçambique”, “Fundo do Governo do Distrito de Angoche”, and the Cabo Delgado collection with 556 letters (representing 83.6% of the collection) is located in the “Fundo do Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado”.

In terms of the period covered, the collection ranges from 1858 to 1898. The earliest letters come from Cabo Delgado, from Fumo Matika of Shanga (1858) and from Sultan Said Ali ibn Sultan Abdallah of Messanja in Pemba Bay (1858). The most recent letters come from Farallahi (1900), Naguema and Muhaburika (1898) in Mozambique district and Mussaka bun Mweka (1898) in Cabo Delgado.

¹⁹⁸Khamis, *Wondering about change*, p. 198.

Figure 01: Number of letters by author in the district of Mozambique

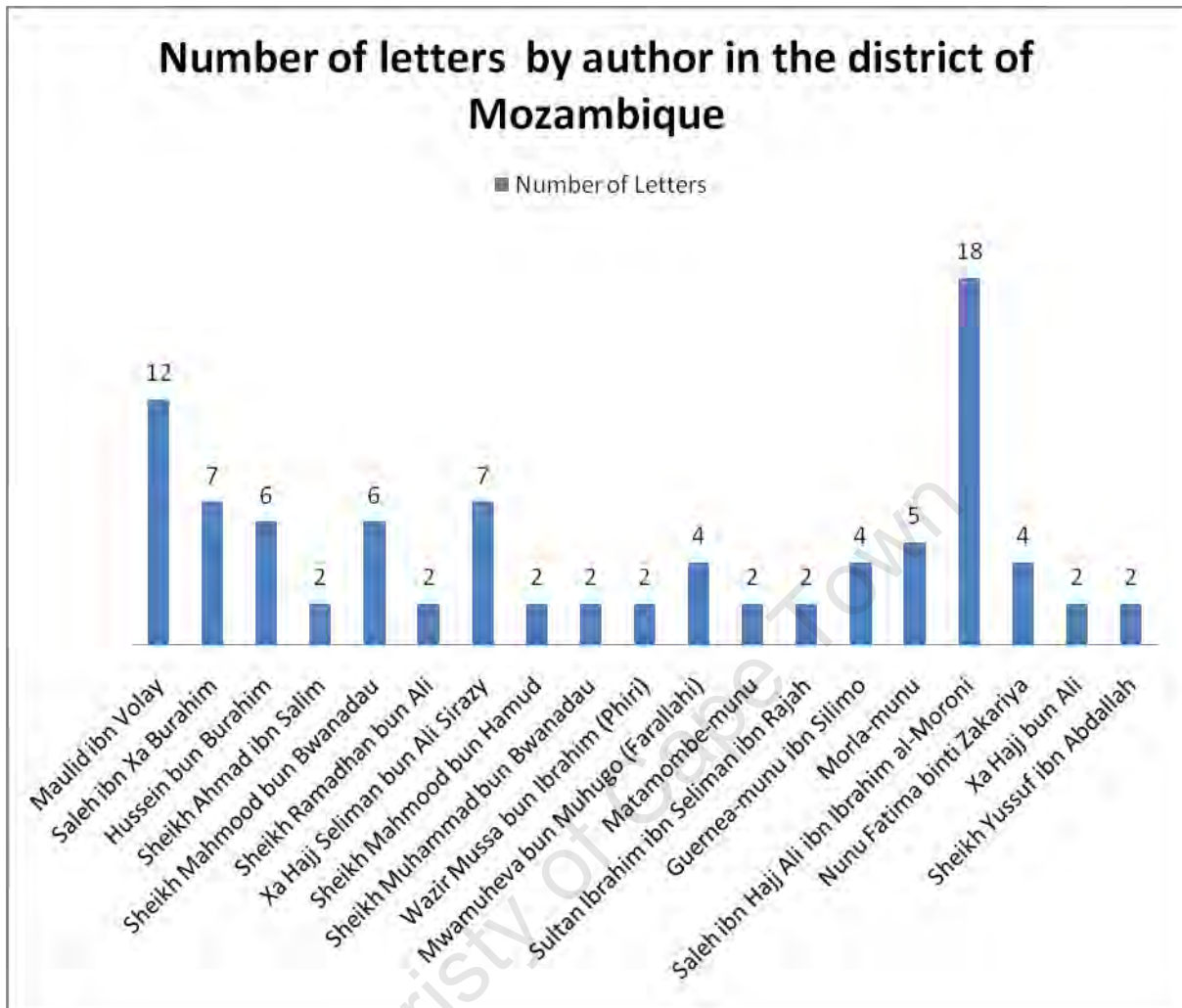


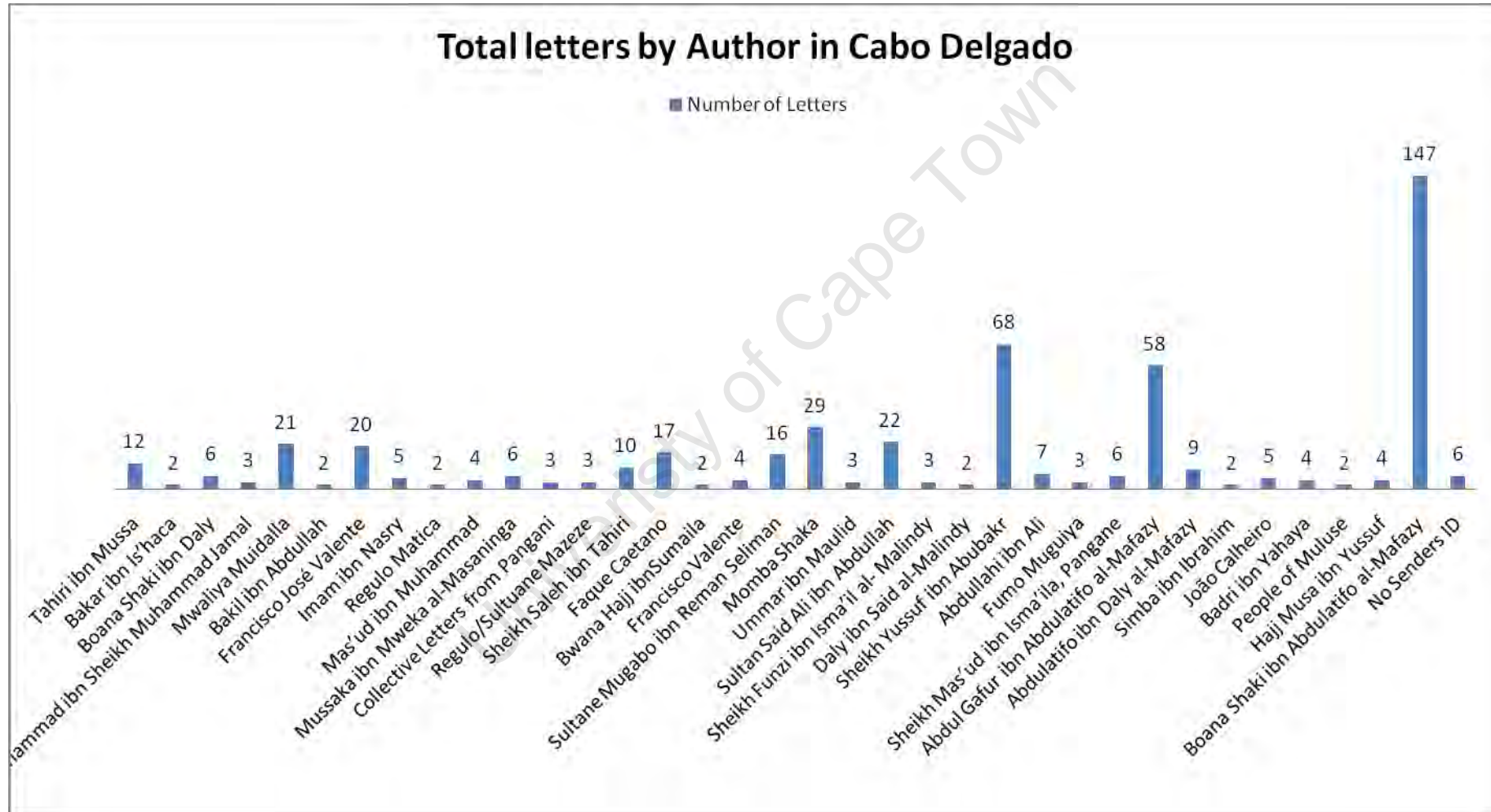
Figure 01 above represents the distribution of letters by author from the District of Mozambique with more than a letter addressed. However, the list of addressers from this region must include Sheikh Bwanamad ibn Bwanadau, Abdallah ibn Faqh, Ali ibn Harun, Sheikh Abdallah ibn Muhammad, Sheikh Ahmad ibn Nasimo, Ayuba ibn Yussuf, Nambui-muno, Muhaburika, Agostinho Teixeira de Almeida, Muhammad ibn Ali, Queen Naguema, Wazir Sharif ibn el-Alawi, Intupa-muno, Manuel Pires de Almeida, Niramdin Samshadin and the people of Musimbi, who contributed with one letter each. Authors with single letters are also found in the collection of Cabo Delgado. These are Sultuane Metarika, Said ibn Mussa, Bwana Makassar ibn Abdulatifo, Ali ibn Faque, Abubakar Nazombe, Francisco Rodriques, Sultuane Maria ibn Abdallah, Salim ibn Nasri, João Namunho, *Sargento-mor* of Memba, Francisco Dias, Ali ibn Munzi, Mussa ibn Pira, João da Costa Baptista, Nacala Namugombe,

Salim ibn Ibrahim, Bwana Mushamo ibn Abubakar, Abdallah ibn Carsamo, Duarte Humberto de Oliveira, Sheikh Sulaiman ibn Atumane, Namaria ibn Najri, Somar ibn Ali, Ummar ibn Mutubula, Mas'udi ibn Ali, Ali ibn Molano, Bakar ibn Muhammad, Nunu Sultuane Muriba al-Sahrir, Seliman ibn Atumane, *Capitão-mor* of Ubiri, Abdallah ibn Maguni, Sheikh Abubakar ibn Mussa al-Malindi, Valentim Hermenegildo de Campos, Abubakar ibn Ahmad Abubakar, Dona Maria Lopes, Aburary ibn Sultuane Abdurabi and the Noblemen of Mocimboa.

Figure 02 below, shows the distribution of the letters by authors with more than a letter in the district of Cabo Delgado.

Univeristy of Cape Town

Figure 02: Number of letters by author in the district of Cabo Delgado



The figures above which provide the dynamics of correspondence by author are not conclusive but they suggest the concentration of the letters by some authors and regions (for example Sancul and Quissanga).

Figures 03 and 04 below can help clarify the tendencies found in figures 01 and 02, with the distribution of the letters by authors and areas. In Cabo Delgado there are 235 letters, corresponding to 42.26% of the collection of the region coming from Quissanga, and from these 220 letters or 93.6% of them come from the al-Mafazi family whose most important representative is Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi with 147 letters ranging from 1872 to 1893. The letters from Quissanga correspond to 12 authors among the 77 from Cabo Delgado. This distribution illustrates the important role Quissanga and its rulers played during a specific historical period of the Cabo Delgado region through its geostrategic location in front of the most important island of Quirimba Archipelago. The first capital city of the district of Cabo Delgado was established on the Island of Ibo in the Quirimba Archipelago and was moved to Porto Amélia (Pemba) during the rule of the Nyassa Company. The geostrategic role of Quissanga as a source of power that the Bwana Shaki family wielded in this period will be discussed in later chapters.

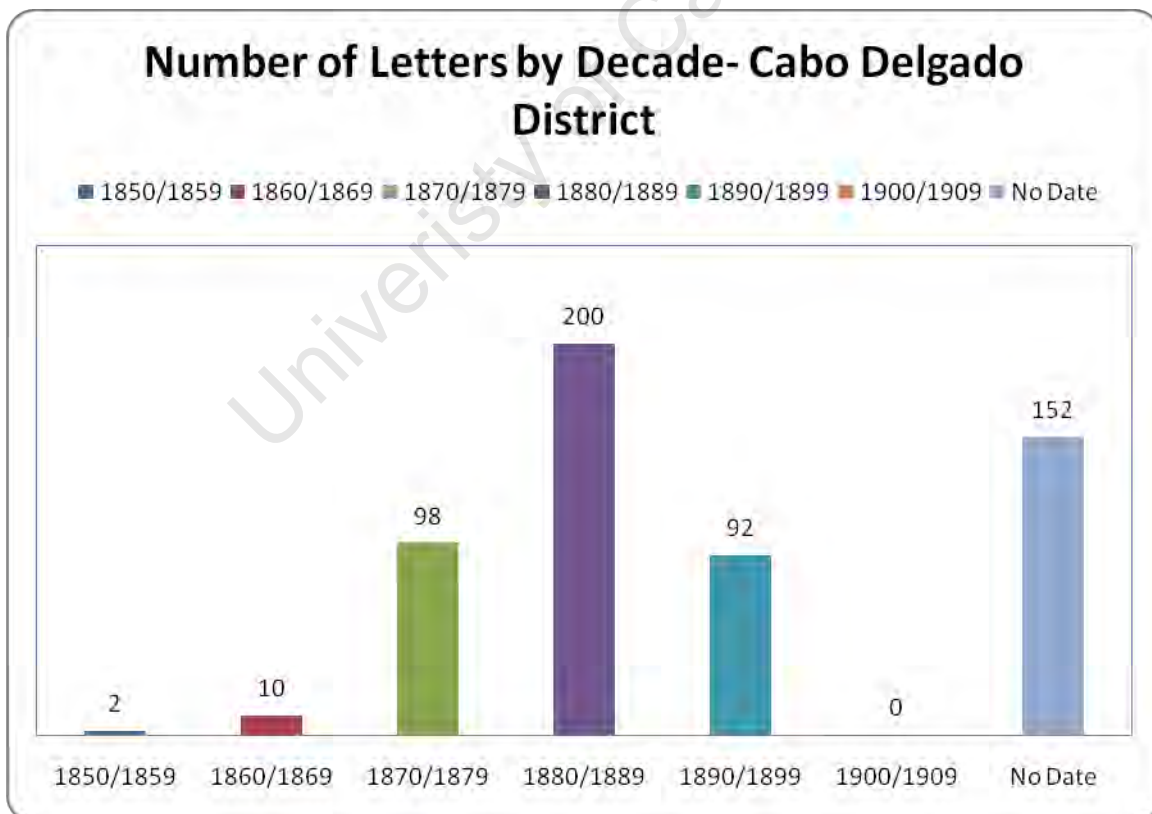
Quissanga and Sancul have some similarities which deserve more attention when studying the northern Mozambique ajami manuscripts. The sheikhdom of Sancul was located in front of Mozambique Island to the South. It was through the territories of Sancul (to the South) and the sheikhdoms of Matibane and Quitangonha that Mozambique Island accessed the mainland of Mussoril and the rest of Makhuwana to the hinterland. Sancul also gave access to Infussi and Moginqual to the South across the coast in a route which took the caravans to Angoche through Sangage; while Matibane linked Mozambique Island to the North in a coastal route going to Quitangonha, Lúrio and the southern areas of Cabo Delgado.

Of the 109 letters from the entire district, Sancul has 39 letters representing 35.7% of the total number of letters in Mozambique. The most important representatives of this collection are Saleh ibn Hajj Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni with 12 letters (1886-1896) and Maulid Volay with 18 letters (1887-1896). Maulid Volay and Marave were members of the same family but fought for the power of sheikhdom during most of the late nineteenth century. They both claimed to be the Sheikh of Sancul and were appointed one after the other as *Capitão-mor* of Sancul by the Portuguese, thus creating more rivalry between them.

Sancul was the nearest African state to Mozambique and controlled the main trade routes which linked Mozambique Island to the mainland while Quissanga played the same role in Cabo Delgado, where Ibo Island was the main centre. These strategic roles provided more political power to their rulers which were often important in the context of their relations with the Portuguese settlers, both of Ibo and Mozambique islands. This study, since it focuses on the creation of the “Pre-colonial Portuguese Administration System” will take these two examples, not only because they were close to the two capital cities but also because their collection is the largest. Moreover, Sancul and Quissanga elicit much more interest as they have an unexplored, although, “declared” connections to other Swahili coasts, which will be examined in the coming chapters.

The 1880s and the Growth of ajami based correspondence

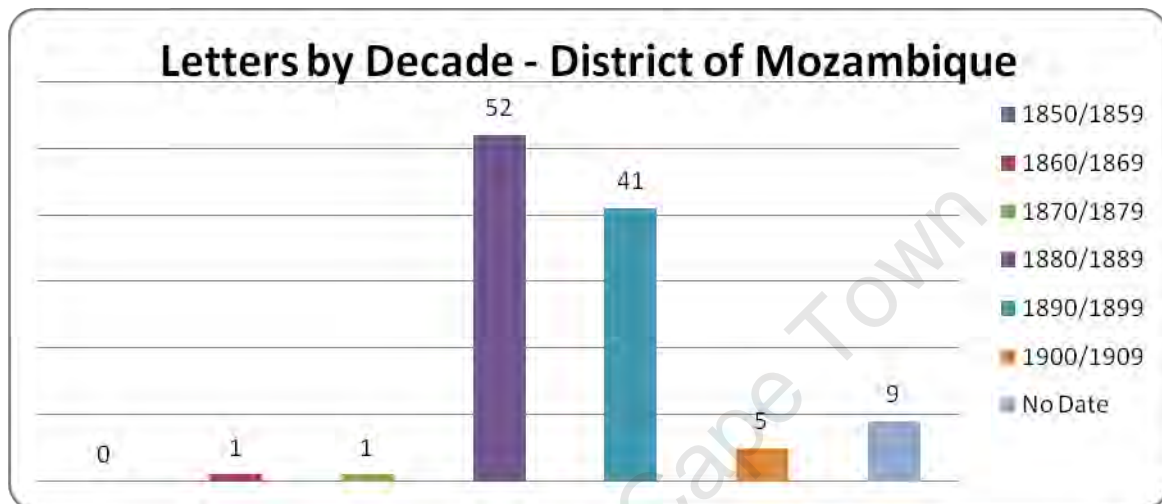
Figure 03 – Distribution of the letters by decade in the district of Cabo Delgado.



In this figure, it is clear that the decade of the 1880s is the most active in terms of correspondence in the district of Cabo Delgado and, as indicated, the same tendency exists in

Mozambique. These figures could be different since there are almost 150 letters which still need to be dated (see the column of “No Date”). It is also interesting to note that there is a sudden growth in correspondence from the 1850s reaching its zenith in the 1880s. In Cabo Delgado, no letters from the first decade of the twentieth century could be found. However, in Mozambique letters in this period were found.

Figure 04 – Letters from the Mozambique by decade.



In Mozambique district, although one letter exists from the 1860s and another from the 1870s, the graphic suggests that regular correspondence in ajami script between the Portuguese and local rulers must have started in the 1880s and continued with a decline in number until the first decade of the twentieth century.

The concentration of letters in the 1880s raises the question why in this period. A question which could be answered in so many ways. In the decennia of 1880 to 1889, the European colonial powers were engaged in the partition of Africa with the establishment of certain rules set out at the Berlin Conference (1884-1885).¹⁹⁹ The conference was preceded by explorer campaigns (in the decade of 1870s to 1880s) such as those of Serpa Pinto, Cameron, Livingstone and others.²⁰⁰ Serpa Pinto, who was in Cabo Delgado and Niassa from 1884 to 1886, is also mentioned in some letters of Bwana Shaki and Mwaliya. This event affected Portuguese-African relations before and after. Many treaties were signed during this period to “legitimise” Portugal’s colonial power over the territory. As Portugal had no military power

¹⁹⁹ Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*, p. 352.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *História da África Negra*, 3. ed., (Europa-América, 1992, 2 Vols.). Vol. I., p. 67-87.

to ensure control over the vast territory of Mozambique, the Portuguese had to rely on local African rulers. Correspondence in this period provides evidence of these dynamics.

The vassalage treaties which could grant Portugal the right to act as the colonizing power could only be signed if the African rulers wanted this to happen. How could this be possible? The African rulers of northern Mozambique had been involved in the slave trade which accorded them respect and wealth until the late nineteenth century. How and why would they change their opinion and accept Portuguese authority as demonstrated in their correspondence? The answer is complex because there are so many factors. First, in the 1880s Zanzibar had been under British influence which led to the Protectorate in 1890,²⁰¹ and the power of the Sultan who was the “guide” for many of East African rulers was slowly diminishing. Second, the British were engaged in the promotion of legitimate commerce in the region and the abolition of the slave trade, which was also the aim of the travels of Brito Capello, Serpa Pinto and Roberto Ivens who started their African campaigns in 1877.²⁰²

The Authors

Both regions (Mozambique and Cabo Delgado) had 116 authors with an average of 5.7 letters for each. From these authors, 39 come from Mozambique and 77 from Cabo Delgado. The average number of letters by author in Mozambique is 2.7 while for Cabo Delgado it is 7.2. The list of the most important authors, according to the local oral history and Mozambique historiography include: Farallahi, Hussein Ibrahim, Mussa Phiri, Saleh ibn Hajj Ali, Maulid Volay, Bwanamad ibn Banadau, Xa Hajj Ali, Nunu Fatima binti Zakariya all from Mozambique and Mwaliya Mwidala, Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo, Said Ali ibn Sultan Abdallah, Aburary ibn Sultan Abdurabi, Yussuf ibn Abubakr and Mussaka ibn Mweka from Cabo Delgado region.

The Portuguese authors in this collection include: the Governors of Cabo Delgado, Valentim Hermenegildo de Campos and Duarte (or Eduardo) Humberto de Oliveira; and the *wazungo*²⁰³ like João Carrilho, Francisco Valente and Dona Mariya Lopes (the Queen of Arimba). In Mozambique, Portuguese authors such as Manoel Pires de Almeida and

²⁰¹ Bang, *Sufis and scholars of the Sea*, p. 7.

²⁰² Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 138.

²⁰³ Plural of *mzungo*, a word used to categorize the white descendants in northern Mozambique coastal area.

Agostinho Teixeira de Almeida can be found (both held the post of *Capitão-mor das Terras da Coroa* which is the person responsible for the military administration of the Mussoril mainland).

Collective authors like the soldiers of Matibane, the people of Musimbi (Quitangonha Sheikhdom) and some noblemen or political and community leaders who wrote on behalf of their people like Ali ibn Harun and Hussein bun Ummar, Muhammad bun Ali and Ali bun Abdullah all from Sancul can also be found. Cabo Delgado leads not only in the number of letters and individual authors, but also in collective authors. Some examples are: the people of Pangane, and noblemen from Tungi and from Arimba all writing on behalf of their people.

The correspondence comprises mostly of official and administrative reports. Consequently, the collection is not a good source for building the biographies of the authors although it provides some notes which can help in understanding the family trees of some of them, and their succession in the political structure. In this sense, many questions raised during the pre-fieldwork research were solved after an examination of this correspondence. One of the questions was related to the establishment of the Bwana Shaki dynasty. The ajami correspondence suggest that it was established by Makassar Daly who was succeeded by his son Abdulatifo Daly and then by his son Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo.²⁰⁴ The mystery that still needs to be explained through these manuscripts is the position of Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo, and the source of their surname al-Mafazi. Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo, Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo and Abdulatifo ibn Daly use this surname several times and they also use the title of “Governador dos Mouros da Quissanga”, which means “Governor of moors of Quissanga”.

The name and position of Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi as well as the *nisba* used by the Bwana Shaki dynasty were almost erased from the local oral and written history. However, Bakar Abudo, deceased régulo (traditional authority) of Quissanga, who was also the great grandson of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi argues that Bwana Shaki had only one brother whose name was Abdala. This Abdala had accompanied his father on hajj to Mecca while Bwana Shaki stayed in Zanzibar for Qur’anic school. This suggests that Abdala is the same person as Abdulgafur but there is not enough data to support this statement. In

²⁰⁴ See also Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

addition, the examination of the ajami correspondence suggests that Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi and Abdulfagur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi should be the same person.

As mentioned above, the *nisba* used by the Bwana Shaki dynasty was rarely mentioned both in the oral and written local history. However, it was used by all members of this dynasty during the entire nineteenth century. Further discussion on the use of this *nisba* and its meaning as well as the relation between Abdulfagur and Bwana Shaki Abdulatifo al-Mafazi is presented in the next chapter.

Figure 05 – Letters by area in Cabo Delgado.

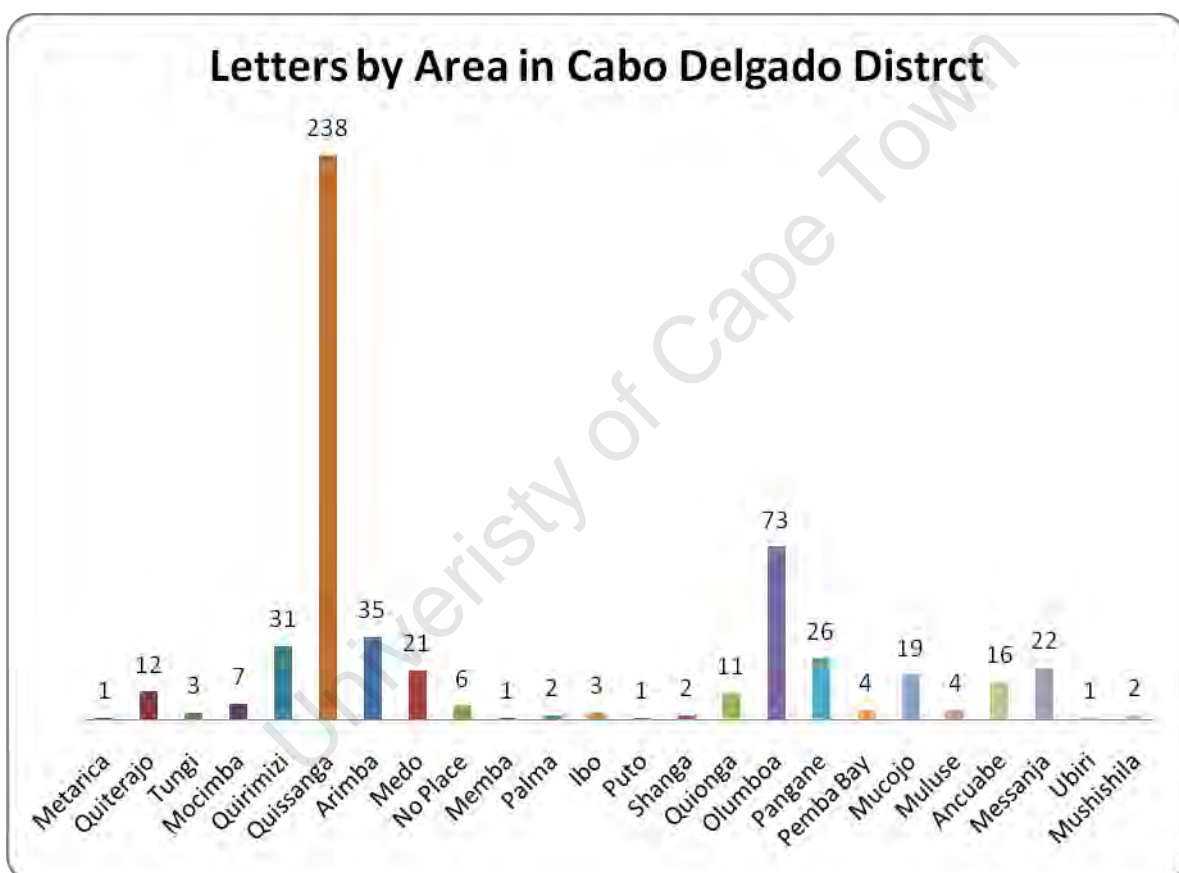
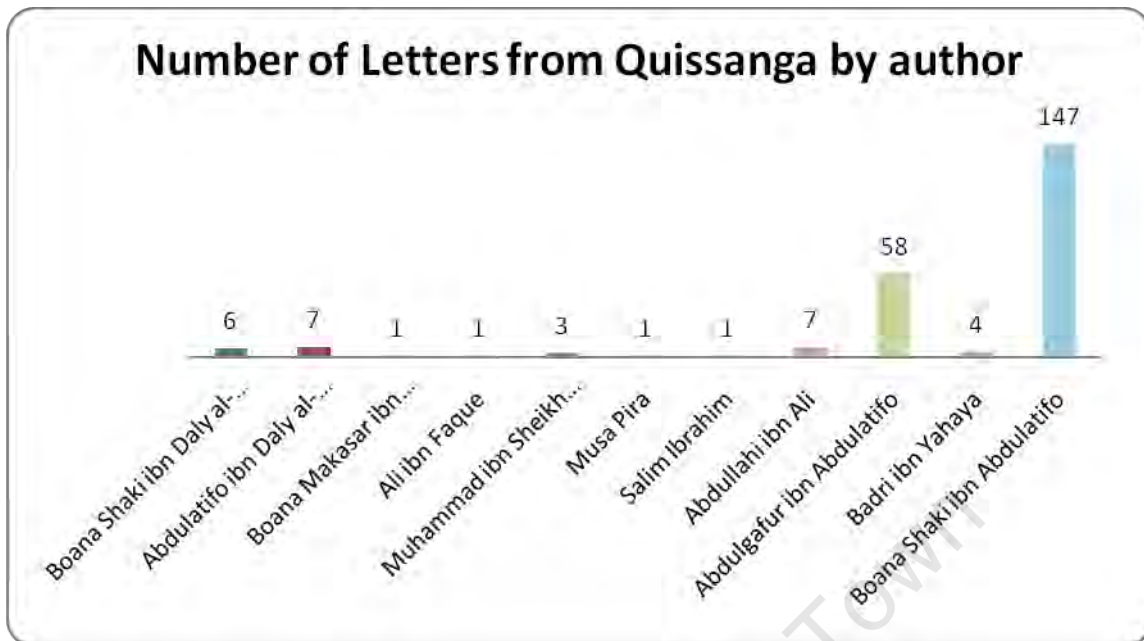


Figure 06 – Letters of Quissanga by author.



The content

The content of the letters cover various themes in the social, political and economic history of the northern Mozambique region since the main theme was the establishment of a “Portuguese Pre-Colonial Administration”. The establishment of this kind of administration meant the integration of the local political elite (Sheikhs, Sultans, Kings and *Mwenes*) into the Portuguese military administration structure as “*Capitão-mor*”, “*Sargento-mor*”, “*Cabo*”, and Administration Auxiliary. It also meant the legitimation by the Portuguese Military Authority of the Sheikhs and Sultan through their official appointment and inauguration of their seats of power. This resulted in many conflicts among the African rulers of the region who wanted to gain advantages from the new “client”.

The word “client” in this context is suitable when trying to understand the way this process developed in this period. The table above shows the date range of the letters from some of the main authors in this collection.

Figures 03 and 04 illustrate that most of the correspondence in this collection was written in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the European Colonial Powers were strengthening their presence on the continent. From 1884-5, the appearance of new authors is noted which relates to the decisions taken at the Berlin Conference.

This could explain the multiplication of manuscripts in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Most reports concern the vassalage agreement, political alliance or political subordination and diplomacy. This was a period when the Portuguese could not have power over the territory if not allied to the local rulers because they lacked staff and military power. They were also forced, according to the rules decided at the Berlin Conference, to spread their authority to the territory if they wanted to become a colonial power. On the other hand, the African rulers of northern Mozambique, who had lost their main source of wealth (the slave trade) because of the Zanzibari “Abolitionist Decree” and the subsequent sea patrols by the British in East African harbours could see some advantages with their “ambiguous” subordination to the Portuguese authority.

The slave trade had developed a social and economic network through which the East African rulers, including those of northern Mozambique, could access the commodities coming from Europe and Asia. The declining benefits of this network as the slave trade was abolished provoked a kind of “hunger” for these commodities among northern Mozambique rulers. The “alliance or integration” into the Portuguese Authority was an alternative method of gaining access to the prestigious goods by the local political elite. It was also a strategic political option to maintain their political and social authority among their people in a context of a growing Portuguese military power aiming to achieve “Ocupação Efectiva” which was reached at the beginning of last century.

The political, social and economic integration of local societies into a Portuguese pre-colonial order is the key point of the content of these manuscripts. From this, other themes can be extrapolated such as the continuation of the slave trade in many other ways, the ivory trade from the hinterland (Nyassa, Zambezia and Medo), crime, trade and the links with the Swahili coast.

The link to the Swahili coast is not an explicit issue in the manuscripts although some letters refer to the appearance or visit of “Mujojós” or “Waswahili” in the region, such as that of an employee of Sultan Said Barghash of Zanzibar. However, most references to Waswahili visitors concern the slave trade and slavery.

The relationship among the local African rulers in northern Mozambique can also be understood in these manuscripts. As mentioned earlier, the opportunity for an alliance with the Portuguese as an alternative method of accessing material wealth exacerbated competition for power and prestige among the African rulers. However, the manuscripts also provide

evidence of good and friendly relations such as that of Bwana Shaki with Mwaliya of Medo. Mwaliya was a Makhuwa King (*Mwene*) of the southern hinterland of Cabo Delgado who studied Quran in Quissanga and became a Muslim, adopting Swahili culture. This is also attested to in a letter of the newly appointed *Mwene* Mwaliya who wrote to the Portuguese Governor in Ibo to inform him about the death of his uncle, Mwaliya Mwidala, and requested cloth “not trousers, but cotton fabrics as I want to dress like Wajojo do”.²⁰⁵

Meaning of the Letters

This section examines the meaning of the letters in society focusing on the possible interpretations which can be extrapolated from them. Two main interpretations can be adopted. First is the relation of the manuscripts to Islam. The Arabic manuscripts of northern Mozambique as well as ajami manuscripts in Africa have been developed in the context of Islamic literacy, which was developed through Islamic education. Although there is no evidence in the letters of the presence of Qur’anic schools in the region, by the time the manuscripts were produced it is clear that their authors, and in some cases their scribes, had attended Qur’anic school in Mozambique or East Africa. As mentioned in previous chapters, Islamic education was propagated by trading *ulama* who came from different regions of East Africa. The two examples brought to this thesis, Quissanga and Sancul, enable a deep analysis on how this process was undertaken in nineteenth century northern Mozambique and its role for the creation of the intellectual elite that produced the letters held in this collection.

Some other collections such as those of Angoche, Imbamella, Moginqual and Sangage can also answer this question but the Quissanga and Sancul collections are more relevant for the following reasons. First, the size of the collections. The Quissanga collection is the largest in the region. Second, through oral history and literature reviews, the link between these regions and its ruling elite with the Swahili coast can be understood.²⁰⁶

The second interpretation comes from its cultural and historical meaning as a source for the study of local and regional history as well as its meaning as tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Mozambique Islamic societies. This approach illustrates that although the process which gave birth to these manuscripts is part of the dynamics of the spread of Islam in the

²⁰⁵AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 8, Mç. 3, letter from Mwaliyya, 5th June 1888.

²⁰⁶See Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

area, they cannot be classified as religious documents. This is not an easy argument to make since an examination of the letters reveal so many Islamic words and sentences. However, what needs to be understood is that their objective or use was not a religious one but a cultural and symbolic one of prestige, high society and a literate class in the Swahili region. This cultural and symbolic role provides the reason the authors of these manuscripts are defined as intellectuals in these societies which were also elitist.

The Mozambique National Archives collection of Arabic Manuscripts is therefore an important source for understanding the Mozambique social, political and economic history of the nineteenth century. These manuscripts were generated in the context of the expansion of Islam (in terms of skills for using the Arabic alphabet) but produced in the context of Portuguese colonial expansion. However, the tradition of ajami literacy in northern Mozambique goes beyond these *oficios* (official correspondence). Ajami literacy in northern Mozambique is displayed in different categories of written text of which the most well known are the epic poems (*utenzis*) and local ruling elite written history, locally known as *nasab*. Some examples of these texts were found during the fieldwork research, both in Nampula and Cabo Delgado province.

More Ajami Manuscripts in private hands: *utenzis* and *nasabas*

The societies of northern Mozambique coastal region have developed a “literary tradition” based on a dual character. As in all African Bantu-speaking communities, oral memories play a significant role in the social reproduction of these societies. Oral memories in the form of oral history, oral tradition and oral literature are important elements of the overall Swahili literary tradition. These oral memories were transformed to the written tradition during the last millennium in the context of Islamic expansion in the region. This process was accentuated in the transition between the eighteenth to the nineteenth century with the translation of several Arabic *Vittabu* (Swahili word for books, sing. *Kittabu*) to Kiswahili. This was an important period for the expansion of Swahili ajami literacy. In northern Mozambique, this process greatly influenced the social history of the nineteenth century when the expansion of Islam and Islamic education was popularised.²⁰⁷ This was evidenced by the ajami correspondence of northern Mozambique in the collection of the Mozambique Historical Archives, as discussed above. In the following section, some of the most well-

²⁰⁷Robinson, *Muslim societies*.

known ajami literary texts of northern Mozambique will be discussed as part of the intellectual and social history of these societies.

Utenzi, utendi or Epic Poems

Utenzi or *utendi* comes from the Swahili verb *tenda* or *kutenda*, from the root word *tendi* or *tenzi* meaning acts or deeds.²⁰⁸ According to Gerard, *utenzi* is the name given to narrative poems based on heroic content or actions. *Utenzis* are characterized by a prosodic unity, a verse, ending with a rhyme repeated along the entire poem.²⁰⁹

The first *utenzis* were translated from Arabic and Islamic poems to Kiswahili during the eighteenth century. The earliest well known among this category of literary texts is *Utendi wa Tambuka* also called *Chuo cha Herekali* (or Epic of the Battle of Tabuk or Tabook), attributed to the authorship of Bwana Mungo b. Athumani and dated 1728. This poem tells the tale of wars between Muslims and Christians during the first century of Islam.²¹⁰

During the nineteenth century, the *tenzi* poems spread throughout the East African coast. The most well-known are *Utendi wa Tambuka*, *Utendi wa Inkishafi* (of Saiyid Abdallah b. Nasir ca.1720-ca.1820), and *Utendi wa Kaizari* (of unknown authorship, which narrates the stories of European presence in the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century with a focus on Germany's Kaizer). The most recent, compiled (mid-twentieth century) is *Utendi wavita vya Uhud* (Epic of Battle of Uhud) by Hajj Chum.²¹¹

During this period, *utenzis* were performed in the mosque by Islamic scholars and were based on religious content. Muyaka b. Hajj al-Ghassaniy (ca. 1776-ca. 1840), a Mombasa Swahili poet who claimed Arabic origin, was the first author of poems with secular content.²¹²

²⁰⁸Albert S. Gérard, "Structure and values in three Swahili epics", *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 7, n°. 1, 1976, pp. 7-22. p. 22.

²⁰⁹Gérard, *Structure and values*, p. 22.

²¹⁰Jan Knappert, *Traditional Swahili Poetry: an investigation into the concepts of East African Islam as reflected in the utenzi literature*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967). p. 2-3. See also Gérard, *Structure and values*, p. 21.

²¹¹Gérard, *Structure and values*, p. 13.

²¹²Jan Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse: a literary history and anthology*, (London, Nairobi, Lusaka, Ibadan: Heinemann, 1979). p. 141-143.

Northern Mozambique has been integrated into the Swahili sociocultural, economic and political networks for centuries. Thus, the advent of Islamic literacy and, later, ajami literacy, in East Africa could not exclude this region. Although the exact period that the northern Mozambique coastal societies joined this literary tradition is uncertain, it is known that it spread during the nineteenth century following the steps of the expansion of Islam and Islamic education.

As in any other parts of East Africa, in northern Mozambique, a new class of popular intellectuals emerged with the advent of *utenzi* poems. These were trained at Qur'anic schools and later specialized in copying and reciting the poems for their listener. In this region, *utenzi* poems were not only copied from those existing in the other areas but some were even locally created. The latter were often written following all the basic tools mentioned above. However, most of the time, they were in oral format.

While undertaking fieldwork research in Cabo Delgado and Nampula, some of these texts were handed over by local intellectuals who kept these texts in their private collections. Some of them, such as *Utenzi wa Kubula* (Epic of Kubula) and the above mentioned *Utenzi wa Kaizari* have secular content. *Utenzi wa Kubula*, for example, is a narration of the deeds of Kobula-Muno, the leader of Mogovola Makhuwas, whose seat was at Nametil, almost 90 kilometers from Nampula city, half way to Angoche. The following section provides a short explanation about these and other religious inspired *utenzis* such as *Utenzi wa Mauth* and *Utenzi wa Najazina*.

Utenzi wa Mauth

In Pemba city, Sheikh Anli Momade, a local intellectual, shared a page of *Utenzi wa Mauth* (epic or tale of death). The text provided by Sheikh Anli is not the same as the *utenzis* described by Albert Gérard or Jan Knappert.²¹³ Although it is of religious inspiration, it does not relate the deeds of Prophet Muhammad and saints of Islam as is very common in most known Islamic *utenzis*, such as the above mentioned *Utenzi wa Tambuka*, *Utenzi wa Inkishafi* and *Utenzi wa Yahaya*.

Utenzi wa Mauth tells of the meaning of death for Muslims and is not as long as the *utenzis* used to be. Even though it is called and treated as *utenzi*. It plays an important role for the

²¹³See Gérard, *Structure and values*; and Knappert, *Four centuries*; Knappert, *Traditional Swahili*.

socialisation of the Muslim communities and must have been widely spread through the Qadiriyya and Shadiliyya *turuq*.²¹⁴ Below is the first line of the above mentioned *utenzi*.

‘Mauth faradhi yettu hapana shaka muendani’ (death is our obligation, without doubt)

‘Kurijiya huko kuwettu tuliko kuwa zamani’ (to be back to our land, where we have been before).

Utenzi wa Tambuka

Although there are indications that *Utenzi wa Hamziyya* by Aidarusi b. Athumani is the earliest Swahili written poem²¹⁵, according to Albert Gerard, *Utenzi wa Tambuka* or *Chuo cha Herekali* is the first well-known Swahili literary work in history. It was written on the Island of Pate, by Bwana Mungo bin Athumani, in 1728.²¹⁶ *Utendi/Utenzi wa Tambuka* tells the tale of the battle of Tabuk or Tabook.²¹⁷ It is also called the book of Heraklios because the battle story starts with the letter of Prophet Muhammad to Heraklios.²¹⁸ The integration of local stories in northern Mozambique into this *utenzi* can be viewed as an adaptation of this regional creation on the local social and political dynamics, since it must be the first and most well-known literary production in the Swahili literary tradition of *utenzis*.

In Sancul, for example, where no manuscripts related to local history or ajami literature could be found, *Utendi wa Tambuka* appears to be very common. This was witnessed by Mussa Abudo ‘na Tambuka’, an almost 80 year old local artist, who spent most of his life singing this *utenzi* at ceremonies and festivals. Mussa cannot read nor write with the Arabic alphabet, and does not have any Tambuka text. He learnt using a book which belonged to Armani

²¹⁴*Turuq*, sing., *tariqa*, Islamic brotherhoods. In northern Mozambique the main *turuq* are Qadiriyya and Shadiliyya. For more details see Bonate, *Tradition in transition*; Alpers, *A complex relationship*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

²¹⁵Knappert, *Traditional Swahili*, p. 3.

²¹⁶Gérard, *Structure and values*, p. 7.

²¹⁷Battle of Tabuk is the name given to the military expedition led by Prophet Muhammad to Tabuk, or Tabook, in the Syrian desert. The expedition was part of the war against Byzantium of Emperor Heraklios (Herekali in Swahili poetry) which lasted from 628 to 636. The legend of Tabuk includes the battles of Mu’ta, Yamluk and others. For more details, see Knapper, *Traditional Swahili*, p. 139-144.

²¹⁸Knappert, *Traditional Swahili*, p. 139-140; Gérard, *Structure and values*, p. 7.

Carsane. This Armani taught his brother-in-laws: Seliman, Semo and Hassan. The last taught his friend, Mussa Abudo.²¹⁹

According to Mussa, this *Tambuka* was memorised which allowed illiterate people like him to join the team. ‘The master could read and the others could follow and memorize’—this is how Mussa learnt to sing *Tambuka*. In this region, and according to Mussa, *Tambuka* is a collection of local histories which were usually written with the Arabic alphabet in Kiswahili or local Makuwa language. So, in this local *Tambuka* book, there were histories about Mouzinho (de Albuquerque), Marave (Saleh b. Ali Ibrahim), and much more.

Three other kinds of *utenzis* were collected in Angoche. From the collection of *Fundi Halide* in Angoche, *Utenzi wa Kaizari* must be among the most well-known on the Swahili coast. The first scholarly work on *Utenzi wa Kaizari* is by Carl Velten.²²⁰ Many other scholars have worked on the *Utenzi* poems but none are related to northern Mozambique.²²¹ Although it is a creation of Swahili intellectuals, *Utenzi wa Kaizari*, which literally means the epic of Kaizer is dedicated to the deeds of the last German Emperor, Kaizer Wilhelm II, who ruled from 15th June 1888 to 9th November 1918.²²² It is also worthy to mention that the poem published by Carl Velten which focuses German East Africa was created in Mombasa by bin Auwi Hamisi²²³ and is completely different in size and content from the one I collected in Angoche, as it can be seen from the citation of the first verses of both poems below.

The version published by Carl Velten:²²⁴

Nataka wapa habari
Musikilize sana
Maneno mema mazuri

The version collected in Angoche:

Bissmillahi dukari
Arrahman hiyari
Arrahimu yakahari

²¹⁹Interview with Mussa Abudo “Na Tambuka”, Tibane, Sancul, 2013.

²²⁰ Carl Velten, *Prosa und poesie der Suaheli*, (Berlin, 1907).

²²¹ As examples see C. G. Buettner, C. G., *Anthologie der Suaheli literatur*, (Berlin, 1894, 2 Vols.); Knappert, *Four centuries*. See also Gudrun Mieke and Clarissa Vierke, *Muhammadi Kijuma: texts from Dammann papers and other collections*, (Koln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 2010).

²²² See Giles MacDonough, *The last Kaiser: the life of Wilhelm II*. (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2003). P. 1-9.

²²³ Velten, *Prosa und poesie*, p. 349.

²²⁴ Velten, *Prosa und poesie*, p. 343.

Tena yana maana	Namuhitari nabiyyi
Yakusifu Kaisari,	Nakuwambiya wahabu
Ndiye wetu sultana	Kujinuwi kitabu
Hakuna jina la bwana	Nahadith kakutubu
Illa yeye Kaisari	Ka hadith za duniya

The *Utenzi wa Kubula* was also collected in Angoche and means the Epics of Kubula. This *utenzi* seems to be originally from the Nampula region, although it shares all the graphic characteristics of other Swahili epics. Kubula was the leader of Mogovola Makuwa who reigned in the hinterland of Nampula province. His resistance against Portuguese colonial occupation gave him the status of a ‘myth’. Many stories have been told about him from several oral traditions. The *Utenzi wa Kubula* is written in Kiswahili with a strong influence of the Ekoti language. The relationship between the Portuguese, the Angoche Sultanate and Kubula are the centre of this epic.

Najazina is the third *utenzi* collected in Angoche. The poem is in Kiswahili language and tells about the deeds of the Prophet Muhammad. This must be another adaptation or translation from Arabic literature in the context of the expansion of Islam.

All the guardians of these documents do not know their origin. Some of them have inherited them from their deceased parents and others have bought from friends who are *mafundi* (masters) of copying and reciting these poems and spend their time reproducing the texts for that purpose. This is the case of *fundi* Halide, of Angoche, whose work it is to copy from existing books to a new one destined for purchase.²²⁵

The language in these *utenzis* collected from Angoche is not the so-called Kiswahili Sanifo. Like the correspondences in the collection of the Mozambique Historical Archives, these texts are in the Kiswahili language and influenced by local languages. All of them reveal a strong intellectual connection between northern Mozambique and the rest of the East African coast.

²²⁵Interview with Fundi Halide, Angoche, 2013; Interview with Mussa Abudo “Na Tambuka”, Tibane, Sancul, 2013.

Nasab of Quissanga

Nasab is one of the many Arabic words which was integrated into the Swahili language. *Nasaba* (Kiswahili) or *Nasab* (Arabic) means relationship, lineage or genealogy. The habit of writing this kind of text must have been borrowed from Arabic-Islamic culture. *Nasab* must have been known in Arabic society since the earliest times and provides the historical validations of kinship and royal successions.²²⁶ In northern Mozambique coastal societies, *nasab* acquired a wide meaning which includes all collective and family memories which can be transmitted through oral tradition and oral history. In this sense, *nasab* includes both written and oral memories mostly focused on issues such as origin of ethnic groups, succession of Sultans, Sheikhs or kings, migrations, wars, etc. Most of the pre-colonial coastal societies of northern Mozambique have elaborated and developed their *nasab*, first in oral format and later transformed into written format. Some of these texts still exist but in unknown hands. Some are kept in secret as a result of recent reconfigured social relations.

In previous visits to Quissanga, in 2010, mention was made of the existence of several ajami manuscripts reporting local history, but to find the guardians of these manuscripts has been very difficult for the reasons mentioned above. Long distance travels on motorbike were necessary in order to search for the guardians of these manuscripts. In Namanje, twenty kilometres away from Quissanga village, near Mahate Administrative Post, lives the kind Maulana More-More, 93 years old (in 2013), and guardian of *nasab* manuscripts from the family of Abdallah Muhammad b. Shea. More-More is from Makhuwa origin but worked and lived several years with Abdallah Muhammad Shea, one of the last members of the Bwana Shaki dynasty. Abdallah is the son of Muhammad b. Shea, a cousin of Bwana Shaki b. Abdulatifo. This manuscript lists the names of the first Arab-Swahili families who came to the region and some accounts of the local history, such as the first mosque built in the area, and the first Qadiriya khulafa and Sheikhs. The *nasaba* of Quissanga Manuscripts comprises 10 pages written in ink pen. It is a collection of fragmented oral histories of Quissanga, presumably written at different moments. Kiswahili is the main language in this manuscript although some Kimwani sentences or words can be found in it. Below is a transcription of some lines of this document with its translation by the author:

²²⁶C. E. Bosworth et al, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1993, 12 Vols.). Vol. 7, p. 967.

‘Mwanzo wakiwa wanu wengine’	Before came other people;
‘Wanu wa mambasa, wengine wanu wangazija’	People from Mombasa and People from Angazija;
‘Kwanza mwinyi Saramadane b. Ali Mambasa’	First was Mwinyi Saramadane b. Ali, of Mombasa;
‘Muke wake Ansha b. Tahiri’	His wife was Ansha b. Tahiri;
‘Mwinyi Mfalume Alawi, muke wake Zainabo Hussein Mambasa’	Mwinyi Mfalume Alawi, his wife Zainabo Hussein from Mombasa;
‘Mwinyi Afayi b. Ibrahim muke wake Matwari binti Said’	Mwinyi Afayi b. Ibrahim, his wife Matwari binti Said;
‘Mwinyi Shande Said, muke wake Mawaji [or Hawa] binti Zakariya Angazija’	Mwinyi Shande Said, his wife Mawaji [or Hawa] binti Zakariya, from Angazija;
‘Mwinyi Juma ibn Ibrahim, Angazija, muke wake Zubaida binti Alawi’	Mwinyi Juma ibn Ibrahim, from Angazija, his wife Zubaida binti Alawi;
‘Mwinyi Gulabi ibn Yassin, muke wake Ansha binti Mbukini, Mambasa’	Mwinyi Gulabi ibn Yassin, his wife Ansha binti Mbukini, from Mombasa;
‘Awa di wanu wa Kisanga yeye awali wajire’	These are the first people to come to Quissanga;
‘Wakipongola kula munu ikiwa inti’	They born people who inhabited whole the land (?);

This is the list of the first arrivals to Quissanga, which is authentic and links the first Arab-Swahili inhabitants of the region to Mombasa and Angazija. It is helpful for the analysis of the relationships between these regions.

Final Remarks

The ajami manuscripts of northern Mozambique held by the Mozambique Historical Archives (or Mozambique National Archives – AHM) are a testimony to the role that Islamic education and literacy played in the creation of an intellectual and literary class that was fundamental in the process of the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration. In this sense, Islamic literacy was taken from the religious sphere to become an important protagonist in the secular, political and administrative realm.

The documents also show the differentiation of this process in the two main regions of nineteenth-century northern Mozambique: Mozambique (former capital city) and Ibo (former capital city of Cabo Delgado) and their respective neighbouring mainlands. This can be illustrated by the abundance of correspondence in Cabo Delgado (almost five hundred) revealing a relatively easier integration of the African rulers of the region and the centrality of Quissanga and its rulers (with almost two hundred letters in the collection) in the diplomatic and political process that drove to the establishment of the Portuguese administration. There are several factors or conditions for this relatively easy though not homogeneous integration, but it seems that four aspects are to be considered as the main reasons: i) the earlier suppression of the slave trade in Tanganyika and Zanzibar with the consequential British maritime supervision in this area; ii) the relative slowdown of the trade with East Africa and southwest Asia; iii) the Nguni (or *Mafiti/Maviti*) raids and local rulers warfare and iv) the creation of the *Companhia do Nyassa* to which was concessioned the exploration of Cabo Delgado and Nyassa.

The process was revealed as more complex and difficult in the region of Nampula, former Mozambique, through the minor collection of almost one hundred manuscripts. The African rulers of this region fought to maintain their political, social and economic status which was still strong due to the continuity of the slave trade mostly to Comoros and Madagascar. The documents also reveal that although Sancul controlled the area that gave access to the caravans going to and coming from Mozambique Island, it did not have enough political

power and social legitimacy as that of Quissanga in Cabo Delgado. The content of the letters, both from Mozambique and Cabo Delgado, express the peculiarities presented above.

The literary texts collected during the fieldwork research, on the other hand, express the everlasting sociocultural and intellectual connection of northern Mozambique to the Swahili coast and overall western Indian Ocean world. This connection allowed the spread of all social and historical processes which took place in East Africa South to the Mozambique coast. They also support the idea of many historians such as Liazzat Bonate and Nancy Hafkin who argue that the Swahili coast extends to the Moma, South of Nampula province of northern Mozambique.

Univeristy of Cape Town

Chapter IV: Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi and the Making of northern Mozambique History: a view from the ajami written sources and oral history

Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, this dissertation aims to produce an historical interpretation of the northern Mozambique ajami correspondence in the context of the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration in the region. The correspondence evidences the important role played by Muslim intellectuals in this process during the nineteenth century. The previous chapter demonstrated that these official letters or *ofícios* (as the Portuguese used to call them), were mostly addressed from Quissanga, Olumboa, Arimba and Quirimizi (in Cabo Delgado). In Nampula province (former district of Mozambique), most of the correspondence was addressed from the sheikhdom of Sancul followed by the area covered by two other sheikhdoms under its political influence, Moginqual and Infussi. A significant amount of correspondence of this region also comes from the “rebel” Sultanate of Angoche, the Imbamela kingdoms and the sheikhdom of Sangage. It was also shown in the previous chapter that from the total letters from Quissanga (236), Bwana Shaki authored 147 which is equivalent to 62.3 percent of the total number of letters. According to this data, Bwana Shaki is the main author of the ajami correspondence of the nineteenth century northern Mozambique followed by Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abubakr of Olumboa with 68 letters and another Quissangan elite family member, Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo, of the same al-Mafazi family, with 58 letters.

In the district of Mozambique, where Sancul appears to be the area from which most of the correspondence was addressed, Maulid Volay and Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni, both former *Capitão-mores* and Sheikhs of Sancul, are the main authors with 18 and 12 letters respectively. Therefore, Bwana Shaki is the most appropriate figure for an analysis of the Muslim intellectual’s role in the political and social environment of the nineteenth century. In addition, a study on Bwana Shaki as an intellectual and political leader is not possible if separated from the cultural, social and political environment of his epoch. In this respect, Quissanga as a sociogeographic unity with its specific geostrategic profile plays an important role. This chapter approaches Bwana Shaki as the most prominent intellectual in pre-colonial nineteenth century northern Mozambique, prior to the arrival of the *turuq* in the region. He is accorded this status based on the number of letters in his name, which demonstrates his political and social influence as well as his intellectual abilities in ‘secular’ activities.

Even though he was one of the most influential African rulers of the Cabo Delgado, Bwana Shaki was neglected in the historiography of Mozambique, and of Cabo Delgado in particular. Neither his name nor those of his family members have received any attention from historians. The only exception is a political anthropological study on the coastal Cabo Delgado by Rafael da Conceição.²²⁷ In this study, Conceição emphasises Bwana Shaki's role as an important religious and political leader who influenced the political integration of many African rulers into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration.

It is important to remember that, as discussed above, since the first millennium AD the northern Mozambique coast has been included in the relations of East Africa and in the travel reports of several foreign merchants, geographers, navigators and sailors who visited the region. The earliest most well-known reference which includes the East African coast down South to Cabo Delgado and Sofala in Mozambique seems to be *The Periplus of the Eyrithrean Sea* dated between first and second century AD by an unknown Greek trader in Egypt.²²⁸

With the advent of Islam, Arabic reports and travelogues have included the coastal towns of northern Mozambique, although the most well-known Arabic documents about East Africa date from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. These include works of al-Massudi, Ibn-Khaldun, al-Idriss, Ibn-Battuta and the Kilwa Chronicle or *Kitab al-Sulwa*.²²⁹

The Portuguese established a European presence in East Africa at the end of the fifteenth century and from then onwards many Portuguese reports and chronicles made mention of the Mozambique coast. The earliest and most well-known of these Portuguese reports comes from Father João dos Santos in his *Etiópia Oriental e várias histórias de cousas notáveis do Oriente*²³⁰ (Eastern Etiópia and various histories and notable things of the East), in which he provides details of the Mozambique coast with some information on the Archipelago of Quirimba and Quissanga. *Chronicles* by Duarte Barbosa, João de Barros and other Portuguese are all valuable for the study of East African society during the early stage of the

²²⁷Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

²²⁸Duarte, *Northern Mozambique in the Swahili world*.p.19; Nurse and Spear, *The Swahili*.p.19; and Madiquida, *The iron-using Communities*. p.29-31.

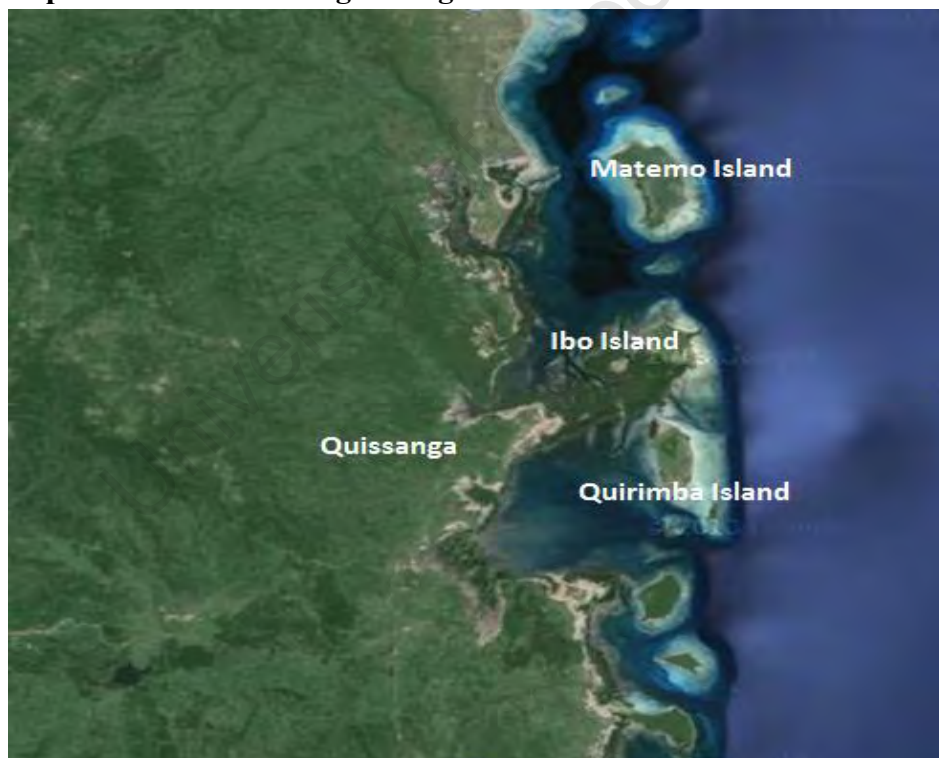
²²⁹Saad, *Kilwa dynastic historiography*.p.177; and Madiquida, *The iron-using Communities*.

²³⁰Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*.

Portuguese presence in the region. It cannot, however, be neglected that these reports were made by Portuguese to other Portuguese and are therefore infused with prejudicial Eurocentric viewpoints. Extracts of most of these reports can be accessed through the nine volumes of *Records of South-eastern Africa* by George McCall Theal.²³¹

For the nineteenth century, Cabo Delgado academic studies are scarce. As mentioned earlier, Rafael da Conceição is the first author who analyses the role of certain nineteenth century African political and religious leaders of the region, including Bwana Shaki. Some of the most important works on nineteenth century political and economic dynamics in Cabo Delgado are by Eduardo Medeiros²³² and Günther et al.²³³ Although the study of Medeiros includes the coastal region, its main emphasis is on the Medo region. Moreover, the study neglects the role of coastal actors such as the Quissangan political elite in the integration of the main Medo rulers into the international commercial networks through Ibo town.

Map 02: Map of coastal Cabo Delgado region.



²³¹See Theal, *Records from the South-Eastern*.

²³²Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

²³³Günther, C., et al., *Autoridades tradicionais no Sul de Cabo Delgado: o caso da dinastia Matiko*, (Pemba: ARPAC, 1996).

In his approach, Medeiros divides the history of Cabo Delgado and Niassa into two main periods. The first period is from the first half of the nineteenth century to the advent of modern colonisation and the second is from colonial occupation to the establishment of *Estado Novo* ('New State') in Portugal. The interest of this dissertation is on Medeiros' first period that is characterised by the regional relations linking the hinterland into the western Indian Ocean commercial networks. This was a period of great transformation in terms of international political and economic orientation, marked by the shift from the Arab-Swahili and Indian dominated networks to the European capitalism dominated networks.²³⁴ Although centred on an economic approach, Medeiros has, in this volume of *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*, perhaps the most complete essay on the history of the northern Mozambique region with a focus on the hinterland and the margins of Nyassa Lake, the coastal societies of Cabo Delgado and the western Indian Ocean influence.

The present study focuses on Bwana Shaki not only as a religious and political leader, but also as an intellectual and literate man who was part of an ajami literary tradition. This tradition was developed in the context of Islamic expansion and the western Indian Ocean networks which brought the Shirazi dynastic lineages to this region. Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi and Saleh ibn Hajj Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni (of Sancul, discussed in the next chapter) and the members of their dynasties used the skills acquired from religious education (in this case, Islamic education) to play an important political role for the process of the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration.

Bwana Shaki's rise to prominence is viewed in the context of the regional, political and cultural events that enabled the consolidation of Quissanga as a political and cultural unity. This historical context will be the starting point followed by an overall analysis of the Bwana Shaki dynasty and its relationship with the region. This includes the geographical and ethnographical factors that played important roles in the commercial and political dynamics of the nineteenth century.

The analyses of the history of Quissanga and Sancul through the ajami correspondence provides two different perspectives of the early Portuguese attempts at establishing their authority in the region which started with diplomatic relations and vassalage treaties until the 'Berlin Conference for the Partition of Africa'. The integration of northern Mozambique into

²³⁴ Medeiros, *As etapas de escravatura*.

the Swahili cultural and political sphere is viewed in this process as a challenge to the Portuguese colonial idea, which strongly opposed the cultural and political influence exercised by Zanzibar on the northern Mozambique Swahili rulers.

The relations among the members of the Bwana Shaki dynasty deserve special attention. In this respect, focus is placed on the most important personalities such as Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo, Muhammad ibn Sheikh, Abdulatifo Daly and Abdullahi ibn Ali. In terms of the number of correspondence Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo (with 57 letters) is clearly the most important figure of this dynasty after Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, however, lack of information made it impossible to write a separate chapter on him. His inclusion in this chapter provides more substance to the study of the Bwana Shaki dynasty and the literary tradition of the family.

Sources for the history of Quissanga and the Bwana Shaki dynasty

The available secondary sources on Mozambique history have neglected the role played by this elite family that ruled Quissanga and made a significant contribution to the Portuguese efforts in the process of integration of local African rulers into pre-colonial administration. Nonetheless, studies such as those of Eduardo Medeiros and Rafael da Conceição are useful reference sources.²³⁵ Medeiros wrote on the history of Nyassa and Cabo Delgado focusing on the events of the nineteenth century. Although he dedicates some pages to the coastal Cabo Delgado, his main emphasis is on the impact of the European colonisers effective occupation and, its consequential effect on the hinterland. Medeiros pays special attention to the role of Quissanga in the long distance trade connecting Lake Nyassa to Ibo. This connection had already established trade routes that were used by the Portuguese and even British explorers in the last quarter of the century in the context of the Brussels and Berlin conferences.²³⁶ The establishment of a colonial administration is another issue stressed by Medeiros but there is no mention of the name of Bwana Shaki.

Medeiros must have used Portuguese sources that place emphasis on an Ibo born *creoule*, Luiz João Gonzaga, on the trade and political networks to the hinterland. According to him, Gonzaga recommended certain political leaders of the hinterland to the Portuguese explorer

²³⁵ See Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*; and Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

²³⁶ Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*. p. 113-114.

Augusto Cardoso.²³⁷ Cardoso travelled from Ibo to Nyassa in 1885. At the same time, another exploratory mission was taking place led by Serpa Pinto (1884-1885). He received support from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi and his brother (or cousin) Muhammad ibn Sheikh who acted as members of the administrative corpus as requested by the Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado.²³⁸

Rafael da Conceição has written extensively on the Cabo Delgado coastal region. Among these works it is important to highlight some of them such as *Entre o Mar e a Terra; Les Sociétés du littoral de la province de Cabo Delgado (Mozambique): quelques donnés historiques et anthropologiques; N'saka, Matchemba, Muikumba et tous les autres: quelques elements sur l'Histoire du Nord de Cabo Delgado, de la fin du XIX siècle au de au début du XXe siècle (c.1886-c.1940), d'après les discours contemporains*. It is also important to mention that only the first work of Rafael da Conceição is still available in Maputo. Access to the other works of this important author on the region was almost impossible to obtain. However, Conceição can be considered the pioneering scholar on the study of Quissanga and Bwana Shaki's political and social role during the nineteenth century.

This scarcity of secondary sources on the study of the Bwana Shaki dynasty and its region (Quissanga) is not an isolated issue. It must be viewed as a consequence of epistemological construction of Mozambique historiography, which must be seen in the context of southern and East African historiography. An evaluation of the historiography of both regions, southern and East Africa highlights four main tendencies: imperial historiography; nationalist historiography, Marxist historiography and Africanist historiography. A discussion on these tendencies is not the purpose of this dissertation and any commentary would entail extensive discussion on the topic.

The Founding of Quissanga

Quissanga is a district of Cabo Delgado province with an area of 2040 km² and 11,527 inhabitants (in 1970). In 1890, it was part of the jurisdictional area of Arimba Captaincy. In 1898, the *Concelho de Quissanga* was created by the Nyassa Chartered Company through

²³⁷Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.p.114.

²³⁸AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi of 26th October and 11th August 1885 and letters from Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi of 15th and 29th April 1885.

Portaria 1162,²³⁹ with three military posts: Bilibiza, Muaguide and Coronge. In 1929, with the extinction of the Nyassa Chartered Company, the *Circunscrição Civil* (Civil Circumscription) of Quissanga was created with three administrative units in Bilibiza, Meluco and Muaguide. Along the northern Mozambique coast, Quissanga as a *toponome* or place name can be found in the areas of Mocimboa da Praia, Quiterajo (district of Macomia) and Meluco.²⁴⁰ It also appears in Angoche Island, Sancul and many other regions along the East African coast.

It is generally agreed that the former sheikhdom of Quissanga was founded by Swahili migrants, but the date of its establishment and the origin of the founders are still uncertain. This view is based on three types of sources: primary, secondary and oral sources. The scarcity of the secondary sources to support any discussion on this topic has been dealt with earlier. Consequently, Rafael da Conceição,²⁴¹ Eduardo Medeiros²⁴² and Hilário Madiquida²⁴³ are the main authors for the following discussion.

According to Rafael da Conceição, Quissanga was founded by *Shirazi* migrants who founded the Bwana Shaki dynasty. According to this author, Bwana Makassare ‘N’saki’ (or Bwan’tshaki), was one of the most prominent personalities at the beginning of the last century. He was the son of Ndaly (or Daly) Makassare who descended from the Shirazis who first settled in the area of Quissanga.²⁴⁴ Ndaly (or Daly) Makassare was a respected Muslim leader who had performed pilgrimage to Mecca. His most well-known son, Bwana Makassare (Bwan’tshaki) studied Qur’an in Mikindani in the South of Tanzania and became a prominent Sheikh in Quissanga.

Of significance is the fact that information provided by Conceição correlates with that found in the *ajami* manuscripts. The names of the *first comers* of the Quissanga area that Conceição presents in his book:

²³⁹Published in Boletim Oficial n°. 18/S of 1919.

²⁴⁰D. Saúl, *Glossário toponímico, histórico-administrativo, geográfico e etnográfico (de Moçambique)*, (Lisboa, 1981). pp. 602-603.

²⁴¹Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

²⁴²Medeiros, *As etapas de escravatura*. See also, Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

²⁴³Madiquida, *The iron-using Communities*.

²⁴⁴Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*. p. 81.

(Saramadani bin Anli, from Mombasa and his wife Ansha binti Tahiri; Mwinyi Mfalume Anlaue also from Mombasa and his wife Zainabu binti Ussene; Mwinyi Anfai Burahim with his wife Mariamo Said; Shande bin Said with his wife Awadje binti Safaria; Juma Buraimo from Angazija with his wife Zubeida binti Anlaue; Mwinyi Avulai bin Yassin from Mombasa with his wife Ashati binti Mbukini)²⁴⁵

are almost the same as that found in an ajami manuscript of the so-called *nasab* of Quissanga, as illustrated below:

*Mwanzo wakiwa wanu, wengine wanu wa mambasa, wengine wanu wangazija. Kwanza mwinyi Saramadane b. Ali, Mambasa, Muke wake Ansha b. Tahiri; Mwinyi Mfalume Alawi, muke wake Zainabo Hussein, Mambasa. Mwinyi Afayi b. Ibrahim muke wake Matwari binti Said. Mwinyi Shande Sa'id, muke wake Mawaji (or Hawa) binti Zakariya, Angazija. Mwinyi Juma ibn Ibrahim, Angazija, muke wake Zubaida binti Alawi. Mwinyi Gulabi ibn Yassin, muke wake Ansha binti Mbukini, Mambasa. Awa di wanu wa Kisanga, yeye awali wajire iwa kipongola kula munu ikiwa inti.*²⁴⁶

Translation: Initially, some people came from Mombasa and others from Angazija. First was Mwinyi Saramadane b. Ali of Mombasa and his wife Ansha b. Tahiri; Mwinyi Mfalume Alawi, his wife Zainabo Hussein from Mombasa; Mwiny Afayi b. Ibrahim, his wife Matwari binti Said; Mwinyi Shande Sa'id, his wife Mawaji (or Hawa) binti Zakariya, from Angazija; Mwinyi Juma ibn Ibrahim, from Angazija, his wife Zubaida binti Alawi; Mwinyi Gulabi ibn Yassin, his wife Ansha binti Mbukini, from Mombasa. These are the first people who came to Quissanga. The people who inhabited the land of Quissanga descended from them.²⁴⁷

Conceição's information is based on the same sources as this dissertation (*nasaba* of Quissanga), however, there are small differences with regard to the names and approach. These differences suggest that Conceição could not read the document and, so, relied on a translation made by his interviewees. Another interesting aspect is that Conceição's study is not focused on the nineteenth century, instead he tried to build a bridge to the twentieth

²⁴⁵Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.pp. 82-83.

²⁴⁶*Ajami* written history of Quissanga, held and shared by Maulana More-More. Maulana More More is one of the three guardians of the same version of Quissanga local history written in *ajami*. By the time of our meeting (February 2013), he was 93 years old, living in Mahate, district of Quissanga. During his childhood, More More worked and lived with Abdallah Muhammad Shea, former regulo of Quissanga and son of Muhammad ibn Sheikh of whom I will make mention in this dissertation.

²⁴⁷Free translation by the author.

century, linking history and anthropology in the analysis of identity issues. Consequently, his mention of Quissanga was a way to achieve his aims and not the target as it is for this dissertation.

The document (*nasab* of Quissanga) also mentions some other groups who came later and describes several coastal settlements which were part of the sheikhdom of Quissanga. Among these settlements, three were often mentioned by the interviewees²⁴⁸ during the fieldwork research: Mikuti (or Nkuti), Bassourah and Kiwongo all maintained that Quissanga Praia was the seat of the Sheikhdom. According to the oral and local written sources, the Shirazi migrants who founded these sites first settled at Quirimba Island in an area called Kumilamba. After a couple of years, one of them, Mfalume bun Anlaue (Alawi), moved to the mainland and founded Bassourah which remains the most important historical site of these communities as it is considered the first settlement in the mainland.

Picture 01: The site of the ancient mosque of Bassourah, kept as a sanctuary. Image: Chapane Mutiua.



Most of the information in the above-mentioned *nasab* of Quissanga was also confirmed through oral history. This data suggests that the document results from the transcription of oral history into the written history. This process was a consequence of the expansion of Arabic and ajami literacy through Islamic education, a common phenomenon in the Swahili coastal area.

According to Madiquida,²⁴⁹ there are two theories concerning the first settlements of Cabo Delgado coast and its islands. The first comes from a citation of João dos Santos,²⁵⁰ a

²⁴⁸ These settlements were mentioned several times during the fieldwork research by Maulana More-More, Bakar Abudo, Mussa Shafi'i and Amahate Ainuzari, all from Quissanga.

²⁴⁹Madiquida, *The iron-using Communities*. p. 33.

Portuguese Father who visited the region in 1592-1593. In this period, João dos Santos founded and built the Church of Quirimba Island. In his records, Santos affirms that the ‘moors’ first settled on the coast and later moved to the adjacent islands because of Muzimba attacks.²⁵¹ The second theory is obtained from Malyn Newitt’s work²⁵² who argues that the Muslim ‘moors’ first settled on the islands and later moved to the mainland when the Portuguese gradually started occupying the islands.²⁵³

Madiquida argues that the concentration of these earlier Muslim settlements on the coastal mainland was due to the right conditions for practicing agriculture and a good source for drinking water that did not exist on most of the islands. This perspective contradicts João dos Santos,²⁵⁴ since he describes the islands of Quirimba Archipelago as “producers of abundant supplies of many foodstuffs, domestic animals and cloth”. Santos²⁵⁵ is supported by Henriksen²⁵⁶ who argues that Quirimba Island was among the main commercial centres under the control of Muslim moors, and was a very important post station for the navigators and traders who used the East African networks to the South and vice-versa. Thus, the Portuguese must have attacked the island after their first conquest of Angoche in 1511 and, by this time, the ‘moors’ must have moved to the mainland.²⁵⁷

The idea of first Swahili settlements on the islands from where they later moved to the mainland is also supported by oral and local written sources such as the *nasaba* of Quissanga, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

The most challenging issue on the history and foundation of Quissanga, as with many other northern Mozambique Swahili states, remains its dating. Nonetheless, there is consensus that the main states were founded between the fourteenth to the sixteenth century when members

²⁵⁰Santos, J. (Frei) dos. 1891. *Ethiopia Oriental*.

²⁵¹Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*.p.19.

²⁵²Malyn Newitt, “The southern Swahili coast in the first century of European expansion”, *Azania*, 13, 1978, pp. 111-126.

²⁵³Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*.

²⁵⁴Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*.

²⁵⁵Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*.

²⁵⁶Thomas H. Henriksen, *Mozambique: a history*,(London: Rex Collings, 1978).

²⁵⁷Madiquida, *The iron-using communities*. p. 33.

of the Kilwa ruling elite emigrated to the South of the Rovuma River as a consequence of dynastic rivalry or maybe even for commercial purposes.²⁵⁸ According to Madiquida, who bases his view on Portuguese chronicles of the fifteenth century and on archaeological sources, Quissanga and many other settlements around Quirimba Archipelago were founded before the arrival of the Portuguese.²⁵⁹ The local written sources which have supposedly been transcribed from the oral tradition situate the founding of Quissanga Praia on 17 Muharram 936 AH, which is equivalent to 20 September 1529 CE, and the main and oldest mosque was built in Muharram of 1116, in terms of the Islamic calendar, which is equivalent to May 1704 CE.²⁶⁰

This date for the establishment of the settlement of Quissanga Praia is acceptable as it coincides with the main period of Arab-Swahili migrations from Kilwa and many other East African city-states. However, it is not helpful for the periodization of the establishment of the settlement of Bassourah. Both the local oral and written sources claim that Bassourah was the first settlement of Quissanga Swahili elite on the coastal mainland. The settlement was founded by Mfalume bun Alawi, the grandfather of Bwana Shaki's mother. It is now kept as a sanctuary with a small mosque built with stones and local material by the Arab-Swahili in that region.

The dates still raise questions such as when did these Arab-Swahili families arrive in Quirimba and when did they move from Quirimba to the mainland? How long did they stay in Quirimba and Bassourah? All these questions are still unanswered but the period is still valuable. Judging from João dos Santos's arrival in this region, which happened around 1591-1593, when he founded and built the church of Quirimba, the Swahili were already well settled in Quissanga and other continental settlements.²⁶¹

The ancient mosque of Quissanga Praia, which according to *nasaba* of Quissanga, was built in 1704 CE is still questionable. According to the local oral history, the mosque was built when Bwana Makassare Daly returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca with a group of Arab

²⁵⁸Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.; Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*; Newitt, *The early history of the Sultanate of Angoche* and 1999; and Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

²⁵⁹Madiquida, *The iron-using Communities*.

²⁶⁰According to Quissanga local *ajami* written history, locally known as *Nasaba* provided by Maulana More-More, in February, 2013.

²⁶¹Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. p.59.

bricklayers who first built the mosque of Quissanga and then went on to build the mosque of Mozambique Island.²⁶² According to the inscriptions on the Mozambique Island's ancient mosque, it was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century, two hundred years after the date suggested by the Quissanga written source.

The document also states that when the mosque was built, news came from Lourenço Marques, the ancient Portuguese name of Maputo, saying that “*Ngungunyane attawaliwa bassi*” (Ngungunyane was defeated). In reaction to this information of the defeat of Ngungunyane, Bwana Shaki travelled to Zanzibar as shall be discussed hereunder. The relative contemporaneity of the construction of the mosque and the defeat of Ngungunyane raise more doubts on the dating presented.

The *nasaba* of Quissanga is very useful for the study of local history. However, the contradictions it raises as a consequence of its dependence on oral history and traditions affects its reliability. For instance, the negotiations between Bwana Shaki and the Zanzibar Sultanate about the political situation in Quissanga could not have taken place in the period suggested by the document that is in 1897. As it was demonstrated through the ajami correspondence, the Quissanga ruling elite were already integrated into the Portuguese collaboration system in this period spanning the 1850s. Zanzibar had lost its political influence *de facto* in this area after the defeat of Tungi and Palma in 1877 by Palma Velho,²⁶³ reinforced with the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1890.²⁶⁴

The Bwana Shaki dynasty

Most of the ajami correspondences presented in chapter III were written from Quissanga. Among the 235 letters of Quissanga, 220 of them come from the al-Mafazi family. The importance of Quissanga in the political economy of pre-colonial Cabo Delgado, with special reference to the nineteenth century when the Portuguese were firmly established in Ibo Island, was discussed earlier. In the following section, emphasis is placed on the ruling class of this area focusing on the figure of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, the author of

²⁶²Interview with Bakar Abudo, régulo of Quissanga, 2010.

²⁶³Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

²⁶⁴Bang, A. K., (2011), *Authority and piety*; Khamis, *Zanzibar National Archives*.

140 ajami letters. The main interest is on the intellectual background that allowed the creation of this personality, one of the most influential of his time in Cabo Delgado.

Bwana Shaki is the name of a dynasty whose members often used the *nisba* al-Mafazi. In Arabic and Swahili traditions, a *nisba* is a naming after an ancestor, tribe, geographic location or even a profession.²⁶⁵ This kind of practice has facilitated the elaboration of genealogies and *nasabas* and the celebration of certain social groups all around the western Indian Ocean. Still now, most of the prominent Swahili families of East Africa such as Ba Alawis and Mazruis link their clanic chains through the continued use of their common *nisba*. In the case of al-Mafazi of Quissanga, although they used the *nisba* during the nineteenth century, it is neglected in oral history and it was replaced by the name Bwana Shaki. However, the use of this *nisba*, al-Mafazi, confirms the data provided by the *nasaba* of Quissanga and oral history. According to the *nasaba*, the first *Washirazi* who settled in the region of Quissanga came from Mombasa and Comoros. The Quissanga *first comers* belong to the *kabila* of Wagunya.²⁶⁶ Both, Wagunya and al-Mafazi are originally from Mombasa region, on the coast of Kenya. The Wagunya (also known as Bajun) come from the North of Lamu Archipelago while the al-Mafazi are originally from Paza and the island of Pate.²⁶⁷ The al-Mafazi are part of the nine clans, known on the Swahili coast as Mji Kenda, who lived at “Mji Wakale, on the opposite side of the island of Mombasa”.²⁶⁸ The al-Mafazi are descendants of Arab migrants who arrived on the coast of East Africa before the ‘Omani period, and some of them have settled in Zanzibar.²⁶⁹ In the oral tradition of Quissanga and Pangani, Wagunyas are reported as originally from Comoros²⁷⁰, which suggests that they have also migrated from the region of Mombasa. Although Wagunya have been reported by some interviewees and al-Mafazi is extensively used in the ajami correspondence, the dynasty that ruled Quissanga in the nineteenth century is best known in local history by the name Bwana Shaki.

²⁶⁵ Bosworth, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 967.

²⁶⁶ Interview with Mussa Shafi’i, 2013, Quissanga Praia.

²⁶⁷ Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, p. 33-34.

²⁶⁸ Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*.

²⁶⁹ Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*.

²⁷⁰ Interviews in Quissanga and Pangani, 2013.

According to Rafael da Conceição and local oral history, Bwana Shaki appeared for the first time as a nickname for Bwana Makassare the ‘*Nsaki*’ (the Judge). Bwana Makassare ‘Ntsaki’ (or Bwan’tshaki) was a respected political and religious leader who had performed his pilgrimage to Mecca. Bwana Makassare must have played the role of *qadi* in Quissanga that enabled the attribution of the title of *Nsaki*. He was the son of Ndaly or Daly Makassare who is a descendant of the first Shirazi migrants who settled in the region.²⁷¹ It is from this Bwana Nsaki or Bwan’Tshaki that the name Bwana Shaki (or Boana Chaque, in Portuguese reports) came to be the dynastic name of the Makassare family who controlled the Islamic networks during the nineteenth century in Quissanga.²⁷²

Bakar Abudo, the last Bwana Shaki representative in the local authority in Quissanga (Regulo of Quissanga), states that it was Bwana Makassare Abdulatifo who first adopted the dynastic name of Bwana Shaki or Boana Chaque. Bwana Makassare was born in Quissanga. Bakar Abudo maintains that Bwana Makassare, the first Bwana Shaki, was the son of Makassare Daly who emigrated from Mombasa. This averment is different to that of Conceição.

Both versions of Conceição and Bakar Abudo’s version seem to be incorrect when judged against the ajami correspondence analysed in this dissertation. The chronological sequence of the al-Mafazi family members who are represented in this document starts with Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi whose existing letters (6) date from the sixties (1860-1861). He seems to be the first to sign as the Governor of the moors of Quissanga, a Portuguese title used by all the ruling Bwana Shaki up to 1892. From the statement of Bakar Abudo, Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi could be the same as Bwana or Boana Makassare ibn Daly al-Mafazi, the founder of the Bwana Shaki as a dynastic name.²⁷³

Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi died in March of 1871, as reported in a letter dated 3 March 1871, signed by the *Capitão-mor* of Quissanga, Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, addressed to the Governor of Cabo Delgado. A copy of this letter is reproduced below:

²⁷¹Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*, p. 81.

²⁷²Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

²⁷³Interview with Bakar Abudo, régulo of Quissanga, 2010.

Picture 02: Letter from Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi dated 3 March 1871.²⁷⁴

Carta
 Partida que fecho e governador de Guian
 ga Buena Chaly Rume Daly, com Carta-
 mento -
 3 30 71
 Abdulatifa Rume Daly
 Capm Mor do, Meina

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

دوبو منت کین

الی سید الحب العزیز الاکرم الاحتم التامی ثقہ المؤد سید غفرلہ
 ہد اللہ علی اس کا نام علیہ حمد اللہ و صل علی الدوام اما بک
 قد جری علینا قلم المقادیر لا یجوز امینہ مبدی مقدر
 و ربی مرسل کما قال اللہ تعالیٰ کل من علیک فان و بقا
 و خہ ربک ذی الجلال و الکرام ایفا رب اللہ نبی
 عور تدور و کما نجا نبی بوال قلنا اننا نیر و اننا
 البیر اجفوت ہذا سئل اللہ و طریق الاخر مع نای
 کاو کمرض یاہ لکھلا تم قاع امل مررض کمنیب
 و اللام ک احقر فی طوف مؤر عبد التطیف ذوال المفازی
 سید نار الہلالہ التبت ۱۲ صی ۱۲ ۱۹

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO DE GOIÁS
 GOIÁS - BRASIL
 1871

²⁷⁴ AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCG, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

The letter above was addressed to the Portuguese Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado in Ibo by the then *Capitão-mor* of Quissanga, Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi on the 16 Zul-Hijja 1289²⁷⁵. One interesting aspect of this letter is that it has more Arabic than any other letter in the entire collection. As a highly learned Muslim, Abdulatifo ibn Daly, after the usual introduction in Arabic and Portuguese loanwords, presents some Islamic prayer in the Arabic language which is normally made in northern Mozambique Muslim societies in the case of somebody's death, as follows: (...) *wala nabiyyi mursalina kama kala allahu ta'ala kulla man 'alaiha (...) wajihu rabbika dili jalaali wali ikirami*. After the prayer he writes: *Wamifariki dunya gufurunaduru (governador) di kissanja (de Quissanga) Bwana Shaki bin Daly* (Bwana Shaki bn Daly, the Governor of Quissanga died). And again, he makes the prayer after: *Kulina inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'una, haza sabilu dunya wa tariq'l akhira*.²⁷⁶

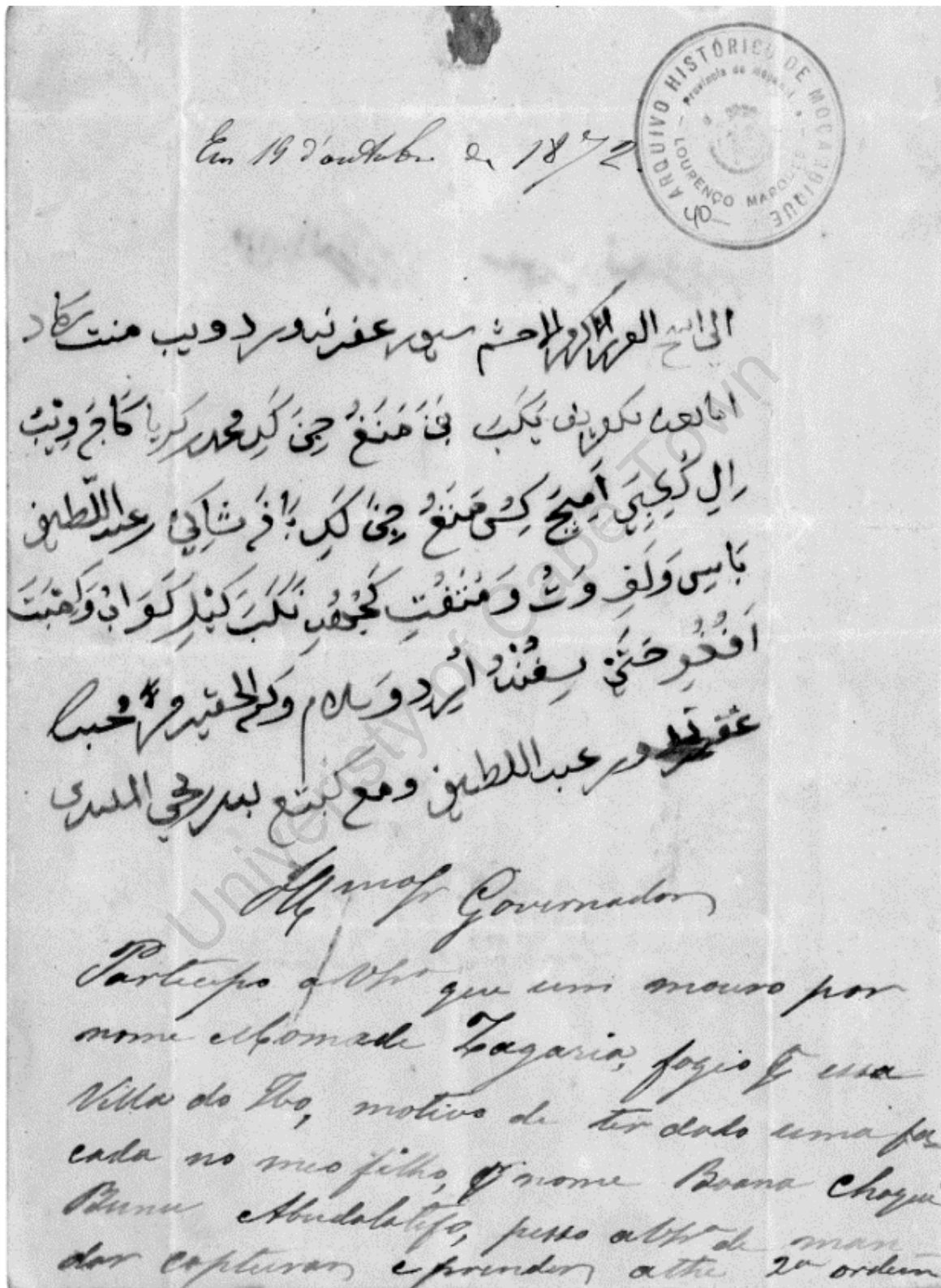
Abdulatifo ibn Daly has been omitted in the oral history collected in the fieldwork research and even by the available secondary source, and coincidentally his name is not included in the succession list provided in the above-mentioned *nasaba* of Quissanga.²⁷⁷ However, Abdulatifo (as Governor) and Badri bun Yahaya (*Capitão-mor*) together signed a letter in October 1872 reporting that a 'moor' named Muhammad Zakaria wounded Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, son of Abdulatifo ibn Daly (see the letter in Picture 02). The letter suggests that Abdulatifo ibn Daly was the successor of the deceased Bwana Shaki ibn Daly to the post of Governor of Quissanga, while Badri bun Yahaya took the post of *Capitão-mor* of Quissanga, which was previously occupied by Abdulatifo. Badri bun Yahaya also signed four undated letters as the *sargento-mor* of Quissanga. The four letters of Badri bun Yahaya suggest that before the death of Bwana Shaki Daly, the former occupied the post of *sargento-mor* and he was part of the local ruling elite in Quissanga. However, Yahaya was excluded from the local written and oral history. Abdulatifo ibn Daly is the author of nine letters from the collection of AHM. Although 5 of them are still undated, the rest range from 1860 to the early 1870s. Among the undated letters, two were addressed to the Governor João de Barros who must be João Lobo Teixeira de Barros in charge between 1861 to 1864.

²⁷⁵ Islamic lunar calendar.

²⁷⁶ AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, Letter from Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, March 3rd 1871.

²⁷⁷ Conceição (2006) does not make any mention of Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi.

Picture 03: Letter from Abdulatifo Daly and Badri bun Yahaya, Governor and Captain-major of Quissanga, respectively, 19 October 1872.²⁷⁸



²⁷⁸ AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

The letter above illustrates that Abdulatifo was in fact the successor of Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi as the Governor of Quissanga and Badri bun Yahaya filled the post of *Capitão-mor*. The same letter confirms that Abdulatifo ibn Daly was the father of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, the author of 140 letters and his successor to the post of Governor of moors of Quissanga. The range of Bwana Shaki's letters, dating from September 1872 to 1893, supports this opinion. Bwana Shaki's correspondence with the Portuguese in Ibo was more regular than any other member of the Swahili ruling elite in northern Mozambique and lasted until 1892 as attested to by the collection in the Mozambique Historical Archives.

During the ruling period of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, two other names were also found of individuals who assumed the post of Governor of moors of Quissanga. The first is Bwana Makassare ibn Abdulatifo, who signed a letter dated 5 June 1877, addressed to Governor Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira, reporting an alleged illegal *dhow* which appeared on the coast of Quissanga. The second is Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, author of 57 letters ranging from 1884 to 1892. Both appear to be sons of Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, the father of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, but according to Bakar Abudo, Bwana Shaki had only one brother. If the information of Bakar Abudo is correct, then, Bwana Makassare ibn Abdulatifo could be Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo and Abdulgafur his brother. The question that arises from this assumption is why did both brothers assume the same post at the same time? Was there a quarrel about who should succeed Abdulatifo ibn Daly?

Both questions are to remain unanswered by this dissertation. But it is noteworthy that by the 1880s, most of the translations of Abdulgafur's letters accord the authorship to Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, the *sargento-mor* of Bringano and Fumbo and resident in Quissanga, as illustrated by the letter in Picture 04 below:

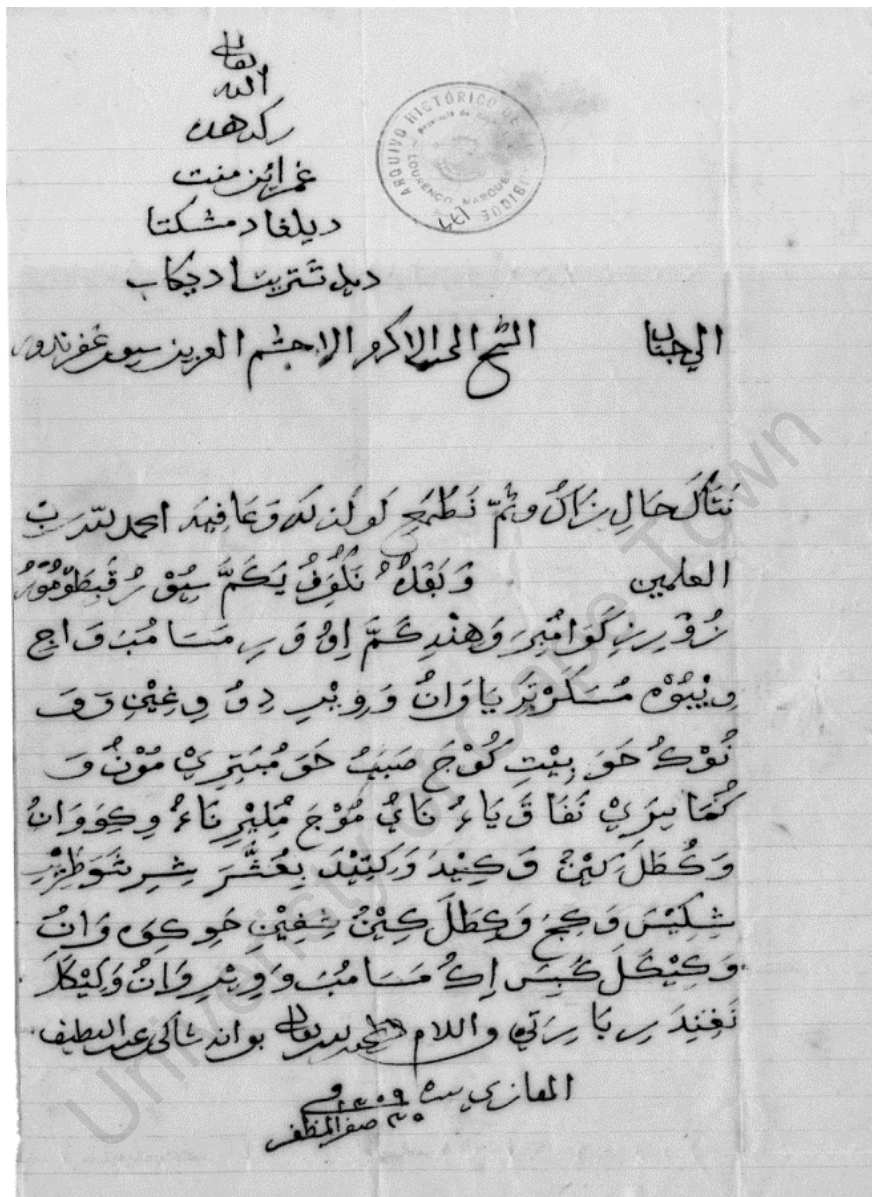
Picture 04: Letter from Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, 19 December 1888.²⁷⁹



Another aspect that can be analysed from this letter is the fact that the author signs *biyadihi* after his signature to emphasise that he wrote the letter in his own hand. The handwriting in this letter is similar to that of the letters signed by Bwana Shaki. The letters signed by Bwana Shaki also include the reference of having been written in his own hand as the image below illustrates:

²⁷⁹ AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

Picture 05: Letter from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi.²⁸⁰



In all the sources, written and oral, there is no reference to any succession quarrels among the Bwana Shakis besides those started by one Abdullahi ibn Ali (also known locally as Mweracan'wa and Mweracana in some Portuguese sources). Abdullahi ibn Ali was a contemporary of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo and is the author of 7 letters ranging from 1876 to 1891. Abdullahi ibn Ali was a cousin of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo and the legitimate

²⁸⁰In: AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

successor to the throne, perhaps after the death of Abdulatifo Daly.²⁸¹ This information suggests that there was a lineage arrangement on the issues of dynastic succession.

Succession conflicts are also reported in Sancul (as discussed in the next chapter), Angoche and almost all the sheikhdoms and sultanates of the northern Mozambique coast. Much of the history of these succession issues is yet to be explored.

According to the version presented by Bashir Momade, Bwana Shaki had to secure the throne as Abdullahi was still a child. When he grew up he had to assume power over the local communities, while Bwana Shaki would remain an intermediary with the Portuguese. As Bwana Shaki did not agree to hand over power to Abdullahi ibn Ali, a quarrel resulted with the Portuguese supporting Bwana Shaki. Abdallahi ibn Ali became a wanted-man who went into hiding. The quarrel must have started in 1877 as attested to by the letter of Abdullahi ibn Ali to the Governor of Cabo Delgado in which he reports that a group of a hundred men sent by Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo attacked his house and the house of a certain Daly.²⁸² Before this letter, 6 previous correspondences illustrate that he was not a stranger to the Portuguese. In two of his letters, dated 3 April 1877 and 6 August 1877, he diplomatically declines invitations to visit the Governor in Ibo. However, on 14 October 1876, he accepted an invitation to visit the Portuguese Governor in Ibo.²⁸³

In 1878, in a letter addressed by Bwana Shaki to Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Camara, the Governor of Cabo Delgado, he reports that Mweracano or Abdullahi ibn Ali kidnapped a slave woman who was the property of Muhammad ibn Sheikh, another cousin of Bwana Shaki of whom more will be detailed later in this chapter. Abdullahi was also accused of inviting the *Mafiti* warriors to declare war against Quissanga in 1878.²⁸⁴ In the same year, Bwana Shaki reported that Mweracano was in Quivolane, in the Sancul sheikhdom. From 1878 Abdallahi ibn Ali seems to be absent in the correspondence until 1891 when he reports that a military alliance between the Makhuwa chiefs and Maguanguara took place and

²⁸¹ Interview with Bashir Momade, 2010 and 2013, Quissanga Praia.

²⁸² AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, Letter from Abdullahi ibn Ali to the Governor of Cabo Delgado, 1877.

²⁸³ See AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, letters from Abdullahi ibn Ali, 3rd April and 6th August of 1877 and 14th October 1876.

²⁸⁴ See AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, letter of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, 15th June 1878.

that they were preparing an attack against the *Mafiti*.²⁸⁵ The end of this quarrel is not documented but it is important to highlight that Abdallah ibn Ali who used to sign his letters as the Sheikh of Quissanga is presented as the last ruler on the dynastic list of the *nasaba* of Quissanga.

Muhammad ibn Shea (or Sheikh) is another important name which deserves some attention in the history of Quissanga. Muhammad ibn Sheikh's full name was Muhammad ibn Shatir. He was also a cousin of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo and one of his best friends and allies. One of my key interviewees in Quissanga, Bashir Momade, is the son of one of the granddaughters of Muhammad ibn Shatir (or Shea).²⁸⁶ Ibn Sheikh appears to be second in the hierarchy of Quissanga political leadership at the time of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo. Muhammad ibn Sheikh is accorded the responsibility of defeating *Mafiti* warriors in a military attack they made on Quissanga.

When Serpa Pinto launched his exploration mission to Medo and Lake Nyassa, Bwana Shaki or Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi was invited to join the mission. In his response letter to the Governor of Cabo Delgado, he requested the appointment of Muhammad ibn Sheikh as the interim Governor of Quissanga.²⁸⁷ During this mission, ibn Sheikh was also responsible for communication between Ibo, Quissanga and Medo.²⁸⁸

It is not clear when Bwana Shaki Abdulatifo died or left the throne, but according to the small dynastic list presented in the *nasaba* of Quissanga, his successor was Muhammad ibn Sheikh. Muhammad ibn Sheikh's successor was Muhammad ibn Abdulgafur who was succeeded by Muhammad Musa followed by Said Musa, Yussuf Abdulkarim, Abdallah ibn Said, Abdallah Muhammad Sheikh and Abdallah ibn Ali.²⁸⁹

Picture 06: The Grave of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi in Quissanga cemetery.

Image: Chapane Mutiua.

²⁸⁵ See AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2, letter of Abdullahi ibn Ali, 21st November 1891.

²⁸⁶ Interview with Bashir Momade, 2013, Quissanga.

²⁸⁷ See AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç., 2, letter of Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, April 29th 1885.

²⁸⁸ See AHM, F.S., XIX, Cx. 10, Mç., 2, letters from Muhammad ibn Sheikh.

²⁸⁹ See *Nasaba* of Quissanga, provided by Maulana More-More, Quissanga, 2013.



The ajami correspondence of Quissanga can also help in the reconstruction of the dynastic succession starting in the 1860s up to 1893 as follows: Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi (until 1871), Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi (1871-1872?), Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi (1872?-1893?). Muhammad ibn Sheikh seems to have ruled until the first decade of the twentieth century, during the era of the Nyassa Company (1893-1929). For this period, however, there is no available archival data to support this assumption. In this sense it is likely that Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo who is supposed to be the same as Bwana Makassar ibn Abdulatifo was the last ruler of the pre-colonial period in Quissanga, assuming that a *de facto* colonial administration in Cabo Delgado was established by the Nyassa Company whose mandate started in 1893.²⁹⁰

Bwana Shaki: a Muslim intellectual and political leader

As discussed in previous chapters, this dissertation views intellectuals through their social function and position. Consequently, their role in the organization and direction of their communities is important for the affirmation of such a functional and social position. Intellectuals are then viewed as mediators and guides in the process of change and also as those who dominate the political language.²⁹¹ These indicators are suitable for the figure of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi in the context of the social, political and economic dynamics of Quissanga during the nineteenth century.

²⁹⁰Vilhena, *A Companhia de Nyassa*.

²⁹¹Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals*. p. 5.

Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi is a descendent of a family of important Muslim scholars who were also political leaders of Quissanga. All the members of the Quissanga ruling elite before him, among them his grandfather and his father, were all literate people with Islamic education, as confirmed by the ajami correspondence.²⁹² However, none of them developed a regular and systematic correspondence of administrative reports as Bwana Shaki did. According to the oral history of Quissanga, Bwana Shaki himself studied Qur'an in Mikindani in southern Tanzania.²⁹³ Although there were respected and renowned *ulama* in Quissanga, such as Bwana Mussa Pira²⁹⁴, the elite of Quissanga still sent their children to study in the most famous Madrassas of East Africa. This was a habit of all Swahili dynasties of northern Mozambique, who also imported the *ulama* to teach Islam in their courts.

This dissertation highlights the role of Bwana Shaki as an intellectual not only because he could read and write using the Arabic alphabet but mainly because he was able to use this ability to minimize the harmful impact of the Portuguese colonial regime on his community and friends. According to the oral and local written sources, Bwana Shaki was a visionary who was able to analyse the political and social situation and look for a solution. In this regard, Bwana Shaki mediated several meetings between the Portuguese and many African rulers of the region. His social and political influence reached as far as Metarica in the Nyassa region. The letter in Picture 07 below illustrates his intellectual and political abilities. The letter was addressed to the Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado Mesquita Amorim on 7 Raby`al-awal 1310 AH and was received/translated by the Portuguese officers on 5 October 1892. In the letter, Bwana Shaki reports that the men who had gone to the Messalu region in the area of Catadufala returned with some emissaries. Catadufala was the leader of one of the *Mafiti* groups that had on several occasions attacked the village of Quissanga. Catadufala had a conflictual relationship with the Lushaba group. Lushaba must have received the Portuguese flag symbolising his vassalage to the Portuguese before Catadufala. This was the motivation for the conflicts between the two *Mafiti* groups. In the letter Bwana Shaki advises the Governor to send his most trusted man to Quissanga in order to negotiate with Catadufala's emissaries. This is illustrated in Picture 07 below, wherein appears a facsimile of the tenth line of the above-mentioned letter.

²⁹²See chapter III in this dissertation.

²⁹³Interview with Bakar Abudo and Bashir Momade, 2010, Quissanga Praia.

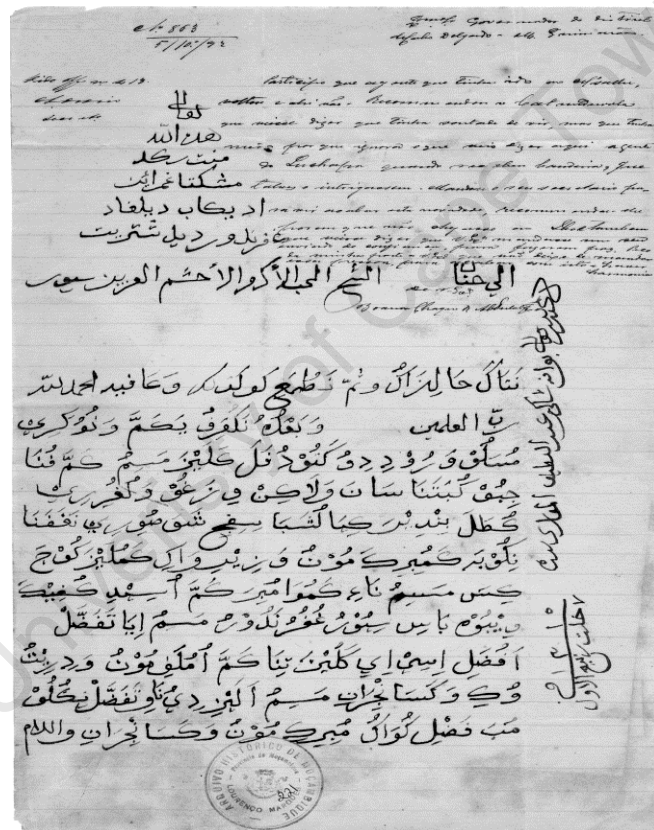
²⁹⁴Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.

“Siyoro (senhor) gufernaduro (governador) masemo eyo tafadhali afadhali usie kulaiza tena, kama umulave muno wadiredo (wa direito) uke wakasanjirane masemo...nakulomba fadhili kwako mubereke muno wakasanjirane”.²⁹⁵

Translation: Mister Governor, please, it is not worthwhile to a send message on this subject again. It is better to appoint the right person to negotiate the agreement with Catadufala... please, send someone to make the agreement²⁹⁶ [with Catadufala].

Bwana Shaki further advises that peace and harmony of the region was dependant on an agreement between the two *Mafiti* rulers.²⁹⁷

Picture 07: Letter from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, dated October 5 1892.²⁹⁸



²⁹⁵ AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2., Letter from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi dated from 7th of Rabi – al-Awal 1310/ 5th of October, 1892.

²⁹⁶ Free translation from the author. And note that the word “agreement” used in this letter is *kusanjirane* which means blood union, used to mark a blood-relationship often adopted after a peace agreement during the nineteenth century in northern Mozambique.

²⁹⁷ AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç., 2, letter of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, 5th October 1892.

²⁹⁸ AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 10, Mç. 2.

Through Islamic education and family tradition, Bwana Shaki had become an Islamic scholar. This family status is also emphasised in the oral history of Islam in Cabo Delgado. According to my interviewees in Pemba city, Quissanga and Pangane, the Quissangan ruling elite brought the first Qur'an into the area and built the first mosque of stones (as mentioned above). The name Bwana Shaki (as discussed above) was first given to Bwana Makassare Daly, the grandfather of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo as a result of his religious and social function.²⁹⁹ Bwana Makassare Daly was also a Sheikh in the sense of a religious leader, and *mfalume* (political leader), assuming the category of *Governador dos Mouros da Quissanga* (Governor of the moors of Quissanga). According to local history, both the posts of Sheikh and *mfalume* were to be transferred through kinship.³⁰⁰ The succession process that ensured Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo assumed these positions have been elaborated upon above. However, upon evaluating his 147 letters, it becomes clear that he never signed as the Sheikh of Quissanga, only as the Governor of moors of Quissanga. Such practice can be a demonstration of his tendency to assume secular and administrative functions, leaving the religious functions on the side-lines.

His administrative, diplomatic and political role, as demonstrated in his letter, is an indication of his intellectual ability and of his contribution to the political and social life of his epoch. The three dimensions of his intellect can be evaluated through his close social and political relations with the powerful Medo ruler, Mwaliya.

In the collection of Mozambique Historical Archives, there are almost 22 letters from Mwaliya, one of the most prominent chiefs or *mwene* of the region of *Ametto* or *Amedo* in the southern hinterland of Cabo Delgado.³⁰¹ Islamic education as well as Islam in northern Mozambique has been linked only to the coastal region. In this case, as in the case of Queen Naguema of the Mussoril region, Morla and Guarnea, the two main Imbamela *chiefs* of the Imbamela (hinterland surrounding Angoche and Parapato), suggested the incorporation of Islamic learning or perhaps the use of the Arabic alphabet in these chiefdoms. In the cases of

²⁹⁹See Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.p. 81.

³⁰⁰Interviews with Maulana More-More, 2013 and Mussa Shafi'I, 2013. Same argument was supported by Amahate Ainuzari, 2013, all in Quissanga.

³⁰¹AHM, F.S. XIX, Cx. 8, Mç., 3, letters from Mwaliya.

Morla, Guarnea and Queen Naguema it cannot be assumed that they were Islamised or even attended Islamic school. However, two Mwaliyas, Anankoko and Muidalla, who were contemporaries of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, the Governor of moors of Quissanga, are reported as having had some Islamic education in Quissanga, where he had friendly relations with the local ruling family.

The relationship between Bwana Shaki and Mwaliya are structured within the trading networks of the nineteenth century, which linked caravans that came from the margins of Lake Nyasa to Quissanga and other ports north of the Rovuma River.³⁰² However, the political importance of Bwana Shaki was still significant, and he played the role of mediator between the Portuguese and the African chiefs of the region who had hitherto resisted colonial occupation, as in the case of Mwaliya himself.³⁰³

The power and influence of Bwantschaki or Bwana Shaki, as mentioned above, was based on the respect and charisma he enjoyed as a member of a Swahili dynasty founded by Bwana Makassare, by being a “judge”, by his social role and as a Hajji since he had made his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.³⁰⁴

In turn, Mwaliya was the greatest leader in the area of *Ametto*, leading the confederation of chiefdoms that controlled the caravan routes of slaves and other goods that came from Lake Nyassa to the coastal ports.³⁰⁵

The power and prestige achieved exploring such caravan routes allowed Mwaliya to sustain an anti-Portuguese resistance that would only be fully suppressed in 1910. However, the Nyassa Company had already installed the first military post in the area of Montepuez in 1899. Mwaliya, who was often treated as or considered a Swahili (with the title of Sultan) by

³⁰²Medeiros, *As etapas de escravatura*.

³⁰³Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.p.185.

³⁰⁴Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*.p. 81-82.

³⁰⁵Günther et al., *Autoridades tradicionais*.p.13.

the Portuguese and himself³⁰⁶, fled to Balama where he continued to perform guerrilla resistance.³⁰⁷

Mwaliya is the name of the Macua-Medo dynasty that reigned in the region between Montepuez and Balama. However, the focus here lies on the figure of Sultan Mwaliya Mwidala or Midala, who signed nearly two dozen letters written in ajami. Bakar Abudo, *régulo* Bwana Shaki of Quissanga, states that the *Ametto* rulers became close friends or *naville* with the Quissangan ruling elite. The friendship had been established in the earliest period of the foundation of the sheikhdom, and involved kinship links through marriage.³⁰⁸ Of these Mwaliyas, the Mwidala who used the title of Sultan, became well known since he went to a Qur'anic school in Quissanga with Bwana Mussa Pira. Mussa Pira was one of the most influential *alimo* of Quissanga in the late nineteenth century.³⁰⁹

Through the diplomatic mediation of Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, Mwaliya Mwidala became vassal to the Portuguese in 1878, and the Governor granted, at that time, a monthly salary for recognizing the Portuguese authority. Mwaliya Mwidala was also rewarded for his success in defeating the *Mafiti* who often blocked the trade routes from the hinterland to Quissanga and Ibo Island.³¹⁰ It was in this context of Mwaliya's vassalage to the Portuguese and his integration into the pre-colonial administration where the ajami correspondence was developed.

Interestingly, this term of allegiance could be seen as a way to relieve pressure on his territory, as the Portuguese relied heavily on the goodwill of African chiefs. This is confirmed by the fact that later, the successors of Mwaliya Mwidalla, the Mkey for instance, have ignored these terms and continued to defend his sovereignty, demanding payment of the tax

³⁰⁶Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.p.54; see also AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx. 8, Mç., 3, letters from régulo Mwaliya.

³⁰⁷Günther et al., *Autoridades tradicionais*.p.13

³⁰⁸Interview with Bakar Abudo, 2010; also mentioned in the interview with Mussa Shafi'i, 2013, both in Quissanga Praia.

³⁰⁹See Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra*; Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*; Also confirmed in the interviews with Mussa Shafi'i, Amahate Ainuzari and Bashir Momade, all in 2013, Quissanga Praia.

³¹⁰AHM, F.S. XIX, GDCD, Cx., 1, Mç. 3, n°. 179; see also Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*. p. 69.

for the transit of the caravans through his territory, which was the main source of income for his court.³¹¹

In all of the letters, Bwana Shaki as well as Mwaliya Mwidala exhibit traits of skilful rulers with good political and diplomatic practices. They succeeded in manipulating their political position to their advantage, and thus ensured their social and political survival. They also offer a view about the notion of class-consciousness, such as those of the Sultans and Islamic intellectuals. In this light, Mwaliya stopped using the title of *Mwene* that is usual in Makhuwa chiefdoms and adopted the title of ‘Sultan’ as he became Muslim, and could read and write using the Arabic alphabet.

Bwana Shaki’s diplomatic abilities were also fundamental in the negotiations with Muguia, another powerful Medo-Makhuwa ruler. Muguia, however, refused to sign peace agreements with the Portuguese and ended up in prison. This event and the vassalage of Mwaliya are some of the most memorable deeds of Bwana Shaki in the local oral history.

Final Remarks

This chapter demonstrated the importance of the local written sources, in this case, of the ajami manuscripts for the reconstruction of the history of the coastal northern Mozambique societies. The scarcity of literature on the history of Quissanga and most particularly on the Bwana Shaki dynasty that ruled the region during the entire nineteenth century could be alleviated through the academic use of the ajami correspondence held in the collection of Mozambique Historical Archives (AHM) and supplemented by the local oral and written history.

The chapter also demonstrated the important role played by the Bwana Shaki dynasty in the spread of political influence on the pre-colonial Portuguese administration in the region. Through the intellectual tradition, which was established and maintained by their regional links, the Bwana Shakis were able to maintain their influence over political and social decisions.

The Bwana Shaki dynasty and its relation to the Portuguese administration in Ibo, represents the most apt example of the African collaboration in the establishment of the pre-colonial

³¹¹See Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa*.

administration in Mozambique. The rulers of Quissanga, like their counterparts along the Cabo Delgado coast, were only challenged in the 1960s to the 1970s in the context of the Mozambique liberation struggle when influential Muslims of the coastal northern Mozambique were suspected of being part of the liberation movement.

The chapter also demonstrated that the Swahili rulers of Cabo Delgado coastal region were gradually integrated into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration as early as the 1860s. Much of the process of political integration of coastal Swahili rulers of Cabo Delgado was non-violent, and Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi was fundamental for the vassalage of many African rulers in the region.

This earlier integration of coastal Cabo Delgado rulers into the Portuguese “collaboration system” was a political and economic survival strategy for both sides. For the African rulers, the abolition of the slave trade represented a great loss in their incomes and weakened their political and military power in a moment of constant attacks from a powerful intruder, the *Mafiti* or *Nguni* warriors. For the Portuguese who had no influence in the hinterland, both *Nguni* and *Makhuwa* were reasons for insecurity and threatened the trade with the hinterland of the region on which the economy of Ibo depended. Many letters in Cabo Delgado reveal this fundamental role of *Mafiti*, *Makhuwas*, *Makondes* and ivory trade in the relations between the coastal rulers and the Portuguese of Ibo.

Chapter V: Sancul: Rebellion with covers of Friendship

Introduction

This chapter analyses the contradictory relations between Mozambique Town, the then capital city of the territory with the closest Swahili Sheikhdome of Sancul, focusing on the two main African figures in the late nineteenth century: Saleh b. Ali Ibrahim al-Morony (Marave) and his uncle, Maulid b. Volay. Both Saleh and Volay competed for the position of sheikh in Sancul and for recognition from their Portuguese neighbours in Mozambique as the *Capitão-mor* of the same area. They were also considered rebels because of their relations with the Namaral Makhwa groups of the hinterland of Mussoril during the period of ‘effective occupation campaigns’ and for their involvement in the late slave trade from the region to Comoros and Madagascar.

The analysis of relations between the Portuguese based in Mozambique Island and the ruling elite of Sancul provides a different perspective on the pre-colonial political and economic relations in northern Mozambique. From the almost peaceful and quite close administrative, political and economic relations presented in previous chapters which characterise the Ibo-Quissanga link, this chapter presents a view of the unstable and contradictory relations of the Mozambique-Sancul connections.

Map 03: Mozambique Island and Sancul.



The foundation of Sancul and the establishment of a “collaboration system”

According to Hafkin, Sancul was founded in the sixteenth century. The founders of this sheikhdom had emigrated from Mozambique in the context of Portuguese occupation of the island. The former Swahili rulers of Mozambique intrigued with the Portuguese establishment on Mozambique Island moved to the South of Mocambo Bay onto a site known locally as ‘Sunkulu Gwedje’, right on the coast in front of Mozambique Island, from where they controlled all the coast line from Infussi River to Mocambo Bay.

According to Sheikh Zamani, before the spread of the name “Sancul”, the territory of the sheikhdom was known as *Yankubwa* in honor of its leader who was also known as Mkubwa-muno. Mkubwa-muno came from the Ajaua region together with the chief Yankontha.³¹²

According to Zamani, the most well-known and respected Sheikh of Sancul before Marave was Yussuf Abdallah, who may have been Abdallah ibn Yussuf ibn Hassan who reigned in Sancul between 1875 to 1886.³¹³ After Sheikh Yussuf Abdallah or Abdallah ibn Yussuf ibn Hassan³¹⁴ in the hierarchy of the sheikhdom was Wazir Nkalavula. The seat of the sheikhdom was called *Kweje*, which was located next to the beach in an area which is alleged to have some Arabic inscriptions on one of the big baobab trees located there. It is also located next to the ancient Arab-Swahili cemetery.

The *Terras Firmes* of Mussoril represented the main source of the commodities which were supplied for the trade controlled by Mozambique Island. It is equivalent to the area called Makhuwana, and from Mozambique Island it was only accessed through the territory of Sancul and the area controlled by the sheikhdoms of Matibane and Quitangonha. The sheikhdom of Sancul at its height extended its political influence from Lumbo up to the port of Moginqual while Quitangonha extended between the bays of Condúcia and Fernão

³¹²Interview with Sheikh Zamani, Sancul, 2013.

³¹³Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.p. 181-287. See also Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p.241-244.

³¹⁴The Portuguese sources and some of the secondary sources used in this thesis, such as Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics* and Pelissier, *História de Moçambique* or even Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, suggest that the name of Mkubwa Muno was Abdallah ibn Yussuf ib Hassan. However, Sheikh Zamani who was interviewed in 2010 and 2013 states that Mkubwa Muno was Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallahi, which must be correct since confirmed in two existing *ajami* letters signed by Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallahi. See AHM, F.S. XIX, GDM, Cx. 147, Mç., 1. Letters from Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallahi.

Veloso.³¹⁵ However, Sancul was the closest African state to Mozambique Island and dominated the immediate coastline in front of it.³¹⁶

Conflicts consumed the earlier periods after the foundation of Sancul. Consequently, some members of the ruling clans split and founded Quivolane in Mocambo Bay³¹⁷ and Sangage.³¹⁸ Later, Quivolane was re-integrated into the Sancul sheikhdom through an agreement between the local Swahili rulers which was based on the adoption of a succession system based on lineage alternations.³¹⁹

Eduardo do Couto Lupi, a Portuguese Army officer who was part of the so called *Campanhas de Ocupação Efectiva* (effective occupation campaigns), argues in his report that the rulers of Quissanga, Memba, Pemba and Tungui are all related to those of Sancul since they also emigrated from Mozambique.³²⁰

Sancul was located on the coastal mainland South of Mozambique Island. Early in its history, as a sign of recognition of Portuguese naval power, Sancul was apparently integrated into the Portuguese authority under the control of the *Governador Geral de Moçambique*. Under this system, the *Governador Geral* had the power of confirming the ruling Sheikh of Sancul, who was supposed to be loyal to the Portuguese. In fact, however, the Sheikhs of Sancul had succeeded in developing a system of ambiguous collaboration. Consequently, Sancul was considered by the Portuguese as a dependable ally compared to Quitangonha.³²¹ Although the Portuguese and, at times, the Sheikhs themselves claimed the integration of the Sancul sheikhdom into the Portuguese crown, the reality was different. Sancul as with many other Swahili settlements of the region had never been incorporated into the Portuguese

³¹⁵Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 56.

³¹⁶Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 5-10. See also Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. III, p. 463-465.

³¹⁷Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 8.

³¹⁸Vilhena, *A Companhia de Nyassa*.

³¹⁹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 8.

³²⁰Lupi, *Angoche: breve memória*, p. 9.

³²¹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 164.

administrative system. Most of them had remained politically, economically and socially autonomous.³²²

The letter of Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, in Picture 08 below, shows the nature of the political relations Sancul Sheikhdome had developed with the Portuguese authority in Mozambique. In this letter, addressed to the *Capitão-mor* of Mussoril and dated 27 August 1881, the Sheikh reports that an English diplomat was travelling through the Mutiquite River, which was in his jurisdiction, and he had been not informed by the Portuguese. Lines 4- 6 of the letter state: “*nimipata habari yakuwa kunsulo (Consuler).. amikwenda Mutipiti (Mutiquite) ona safari, sa amuri amipiwa*”- I received information about the visit of the Consular, who travelled through the Mutiquite River, and I did not receive any order about that.³²³ Consequently, he adds, he would not be responsible for any inconvenience suffered by the diplomat during his travels. This is illustrated in line 7 of the letter: “*sina kesho akipatikana madharao silaomo*” – If tomorrow there is any problem, I will not be responsible.³²⁴

Subsequently, the *Capitão-mor* wrote an *officio* to the Governor in Mozambique asking him to request that the Sheikh of Sancul ensure the security and safety of the mentioned diplomat.³²⁵ This episode reveals that the Sheikh of Sancul, although declaring himself under the service of the Portuguese authority, maintained political autonomy and sovereignty over his territory.

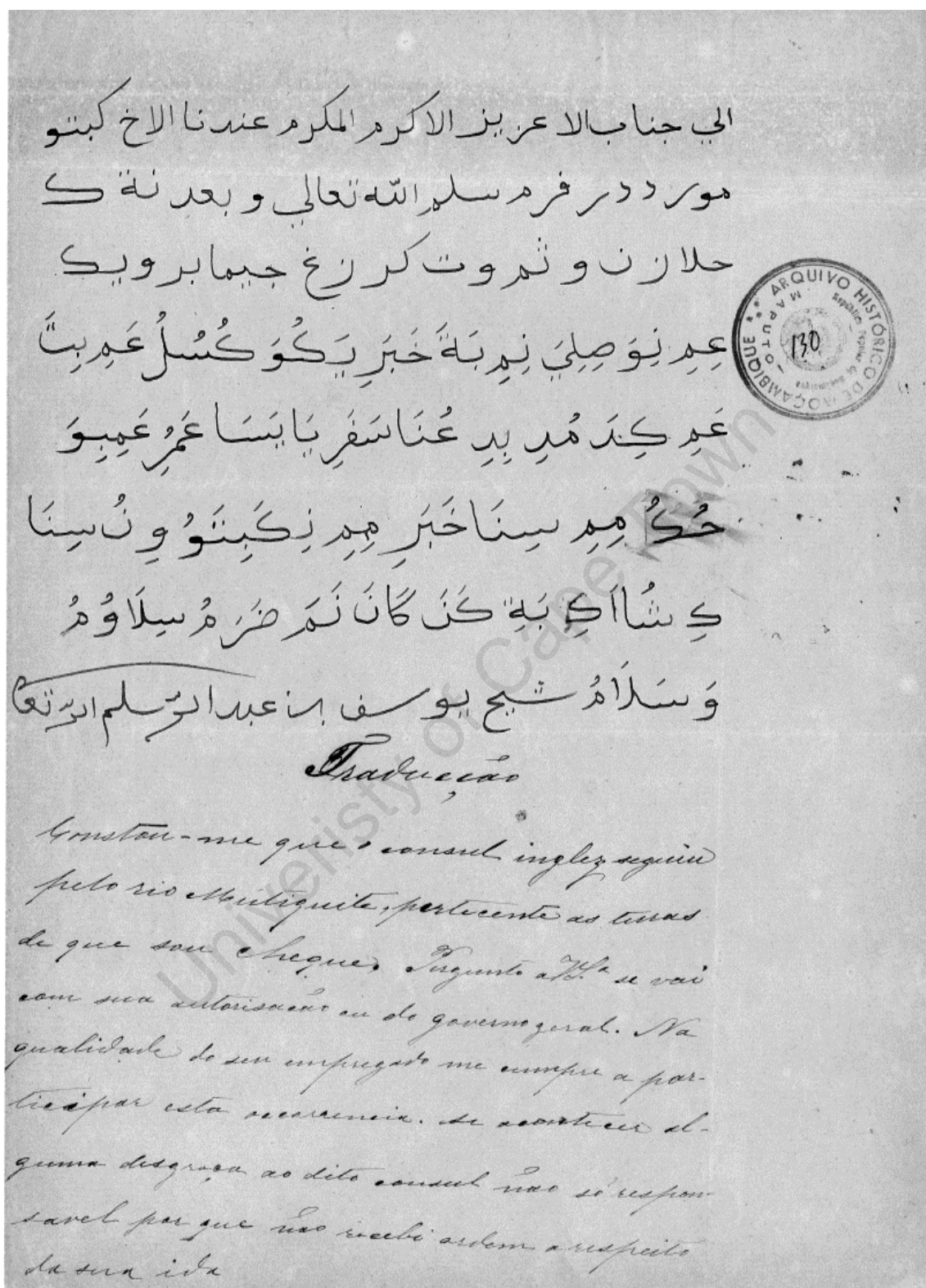
³²²Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*, p. 189-195. See also Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 190.

³²³ Free translation of the author.

³²⁴ Free translation of the author.

³²⁵See AHM, F.S. XIX, GGM, Cx. 147, Mç. 1, “Officio da Capitania Mor das Terras Firmes, n°. 1134, 30th August, 1881.

Picture 08: Letter from Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, 27 August 1881.³²⁶



³²⁶ AHM, F.S. XIX, GGM, Cx. 147, Mç. 1.

Furthermore, the Swahili Sheikhs of Sancul depended on the Portuguese for the supply of armaments while the Portuguese relied on the Sheikhs for the security of the hinterland and the coastal areas near Mozambique Island, as shown in the letter above. This apparent mutual dependence was the basis of an ambiguous “collaboration system” referred to in previous chapters.

One example of this ambiguous dependence relationship between the Portuguese and the Sheikhs of Sancul happened on an expedition in December of 1862. The expedition, first organized by the Sheikhs of Sancul and Sangage, was mounted against the forces of Musa Quanto. The Portuguese sent 21 men who were subsequently reduced to ten as a result of disease. Before the battle started, the Portuguese soldiers gave up and alleged that the Sheikhs failed to organize some military forces in advance.³²⁷ In fact, the Portuguese did not have enough human resources (at least until the open campaigns of effective occupation from 1895) to make military fronts against the African rulers. Their strategy of “divide and rule” was based on exacerbating cleavages between the African rulers. In addition, the Portuguese did not have *de facto* political power in northern Mozambique until the first decade of the twentieth century. With this strategy, the Portuguese aimed to eliminate or even to remove the political influence of those rulers who were not suitable for their interests.

Hafkin provides many examples of lack of *de facto* power by the Portuguese in northern Mozambique. One of the most interesting is what happened after the episode mentioned above, when the Portuguese gave up. Musa Quanto had unseated the Sheikh of Sangage in 1866. In this year, Yussuf ibn Abdallah ibn Hasan, the Sheikh of Sancul allied with Moginqual and helped the Sheikh of Sangage to recover his seat. Ironically, the Portuguese congratulated the Sheikhs for the “extension of Portuguese sovereignty”.³²⁸ The same Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah in 1886 allied with Sultan Hussein Ibrahim of Angoche, the nephew of the deceased Sultan Musa Quanto, along with the Portuguese in a battle against the forces of Molid Volay and Marave in Infussi.³²⁹ As addressed below, Hussein Ibrahim is also associated with the sequence of wars which brought Saleh to a more visible position in the hierarchy of the sheikhdom.

³²⁷Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 226-227; Hafkin, *Trade, Society and Politics*, p. 287.

³²⁸Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 163-165.

³²⁹Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 242.

Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni (the Marave) and Maulid or Molid Volay: their tortuous relations

Sualeh or Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim was the leader of the forces of Molid or Maulid Volay, the *Capitão-mor* of Sancul. Assane Fumo and Juma Hajj, both from Infussi stated that Saleh bin Ali (the Marave) was born in Quivolane in Mocambo Bay, part of the territory of the Sancul sheikhdom. Although the seat of Sancul was at *Kweje*³³⁰ (now Sancul Beach), Maulid Volay had moved to his homeland in Quivolane, probably for security reasons since it was further located and naturally well protected (in Mocambo Bay) from the Portuguese attacks or patrols.

Saleh was the grandson of Mkubwa-muno (Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah ibn Hassan), and the son of a *mujojo* trader and Sheikh from Angazija who was married to a local woman, the niece of the mentioned Sheikh Yussuf, with whom he had children including Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni. In the available literature, Marave is only associated with Molid Volay as his maternal uncle and chief in the hierarchy of the Sultanate during a certain period.³³¹ This information suggests that Makusi Umar, Marave, Maulid Volay and Sheikh Abdallah were all parents of the same lineage.

According to Pélissier, by the late 1870s, Maulid Volay was the *Capitão-mor* of Sancul and also a great slave dealer whose army was under the leadership of his nephew, Saleh bin Ali Ibrahim.³³² This information was confirmed during the fieldwork research in Mozambique Island.³³³

In 1889, Saleh replaced his own uncle as *Capitão-mor* of Sancul.³³⁴ The dismissal of Volay from the post of *Capitão-mor* in 1889 and the appointment of Saleh to fill the position is an

³³⁰ According to Sheikh Zamani of Sancul *Kweje* was the name of the seat of the sheikhdom and was located in Sancul beach, next to the ancient Arab-Swahili cemetery. Around the cemetery there are some baobab trees and one of them is said to have Arabic inscriptions made by the earliest Swahili settlers.

³³¹ See Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*.

³³² Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 251.

³³³ Interview with Sheikh Zamani, 2013, Sancul.

³³⁴ Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 244.

example of the controversy and ambiguity that marked the “collaboration system” which was used by the Portuguese for the extension of their political and economic influence in the region; at the same time it must have been the motivation for the cleavages which marked the Marave -Volay relationship until the death of the later in 1898 and the consequent ascension of former to the post of Sheikh of Sancul.

The Portuguese administration in their official notification stated that it was Maulid Volay’s participation in the Namarral rebellion that was the reason for the dismissal.³³⁵ Also, during this period, Marave was the head of Molid Volay’s forces since Volay was the *Capitão-mor* of Sancul, probably when the Sheikh was Makusi Umar, and remained loyal until this episode. The letter below shows a loyal Saleh bin Ali to his master Maulid Volay:

³³⁵Hafkin, *Trade, Society and Politics*, p. 14.

Picture 09: Letter from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni, 5 April 1887.³³⁶

³³⁶ AHM, F.S. XIX, GGM, Cx. 151, Mç. 2.

The letter above was addressed to the *Capitão-mor* of the mainland of Mussoril by Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni on 2 Muharram 1353 of the Islamic calendar and must have been received and translated by the Portuguese officers on the 5 May 1887. As with all the letters in this collection, it starts with an introduction combining Arabic and Portuguese loanwords such as *ila janabi sheikh al-muhibu al-'aziz al-waladi 'indana Kapitamoro di terra firme salamuhullahu ta'ala*. In this letter, Saleh informs his addressee that he received a letter from the *Capitão-mor* and he understood what was written in it. Saleh also informs him that he is the boy/child of *Capitão-mor* Maulid Volay (*mimi ni kijana wa kapitaumoro Maulid Volay*), and continues,

...if you have some words to tell me, say to him and he will tell me because he is my *mfalume* (leader)...I am his grandchild. So, if you have something to tell me, say to *mwinyi kapitaumoro* Maulid Volay.³³⁷

As discussed earlier, this letter shows the loyalty and respect that Saleh had before the episode of 1889. Many questions can be raised regarding their relationship and the Portuguese role in the political and social stability of their nearest neighbour (Sancul). Both Saleh and Volay were slave dealers and respected men in their communities. Their unity could have made them stronger in the way that would unsettle the Portuguese, and they both played a role in the Namarral rebellion which was given as the motivation for the dismissal of Volay and the appointment of Saleh as *Capitão-mor* of Sancul.³³⁸ Was it a Portuguese strategy to weaken their sheikhdom as well as both Saleh and Volay, and then explore their enmity for the benefit of the Portuguese themselves? Were there any previous misunderstandings between Saleh and Volay? Why did Saleh accept the position of *Capitão-mor* of Sancul if he was loyal to Volay who was being dismissed for a mistake which they both contributed to since Saleh was the commander of Volay's forces? Many more questions can be asked and more research undertaken, but what seems clear is that the Portuguese used the same strategy of *dividir para reinar* (divide and rule) in all the regions of Mozambique.

³³⁷AHM, F.S. XIX, GGM, Cx. 151, Mç., 2. Letter from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim, 5th April 1887.

³³⁸Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; see also Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Amorim, *Relatório do Governador*.

Both, Marave and Volay were to play important roles in the struggle opposing the Portuguese and the Namarral Makhwas of Mussoril, in the Makhwana. As with the previous leaders of Sancul, Marave and Volay had fought alongside the Namarral, as mentioned previously.³³⁹

After the death of Molid Volay in 1898, Marave became the Sheikh of Sancul. The Portuguese and Sheikh Molid Volay supported Amade Behari who was Volay's nephew. Moreover, Marave had the support of the majority of the Sancul noblemen including Behari who participated in the Marave attacks against Portuguese outposts in 1898 and 1899.³⁴⁰

Marave, Molid Volay, Namarrais and the Portuguese: collaboration and betrayal

Sualehe bin Ali Ibrahim, "the Marave", is the nephew of Molid Volay who in turn was brother and loyal assistant of Makusi Umar, the *Capitão-mor* of Sancul during the era of Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah ibn Hassan, also known as Mkubua Muntu (or Mkubwa-muno). Mkubwa-muno was almost 95 years in 1875 but still a powerful and great slave dealer.³⁴¹

Makusi Umar was the main opponent of the old Sheikh and probably the most unpredictable and fearful slave dealer in the area. He was younger than Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallahi and had already developed social and trade networks among the main Swahili slave traders and some of the Portuguese *moradores* of Mozambique. The Portuguese sought his imprisonment and had offered a reward. However, he was only arrested in 1880 in a betrayal involving Hasan Molid and Molid Volay, both from the political elite of Sancul and linked to Makusi through kinship.³⁴² Hasan Molid and Molid Volay were well-compensated for their loyalty to the Portuguese. Hasan Molid was appointed *Capitão-mor* of Sancul, the post of the betrayed Makusi Umar. Later, in 1886, with the death of the old Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, Hasan Molid was appointed as the Sheikh of Sancul and Molid Volay as *Capitão-mor*. Volay remained in the post until 1889, when he was accused of being involved in the revolt of the Namarrais in Mussoril. As mentioned above, a decree declared Marave the *Capitão-mor*, a

³³⁹Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 367-8.

³⁴⁰Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 382.

³⁴¹Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 243; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*; Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; also interview with Sheikh Zamani, 2013, Sancul.

³⁴²Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 241-242; See also Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

powerful chief and nephew of Volay who had on several occasions opposed Portuguese expansion in the area of Namarrais.³⁴³

Marave's ascension to power is related to the war against the Angochean Sultan, Hussein Ibrahim (also known as N'nyanyua), who was a nephew of the previous Sultan Musa Quanto. According to some interviewees, N'nyanyua had decided to invade the seat of Sancul sheikhdom (*Kueje*) and the Sancul ruling family were afraid of him. Marave was still a young but courageous warrior who promised to stop the invader since he would receive something as a prize.³⁴⁴ As discussed above, Marave was a grandson of Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah ibn Hassan (Mkubwa-muno), who promised to give him a chair in the ruling hierarchy of the sheikhdom.³⁴⁵

His intellectual and diplomatic abilities allowed him to organise several alliances and mobilise support from everywhere in the Makhuwana area. An example of this can be taken from the so-called campaigns against the Namarral Makhuwas in October 1896, when Mouzinho de Albuquerque led the forces for the battle of Mujenga in Mussoril. Marave had attracted support from *anyapako* of Angoche represented by Sultan Ibrahim (who he had fought in 1886) and Farallahi. He also won the allegiance of Alua from Quitangonha and some Indians and Swahili traders from Mozambique who benefitted from the slave trade.³⁴⁶ Economic interests was the primary reason for this great alliance since Farallahi, Sultan Ibrahim, Molid Volay, Alua and the Namarral leaders still raided slaves in the mainland of Makhuwana. Many of the slaves were sold to traders established in Mozambique, who exported them. This process linked the Swahili alliance to the influential *moradores* in Mozambique.³⁴⁷

After the death of Musa Quanto in 1877, Marave, Hussein Ibrahim, Farallahi and Mussa Ibrahim 'Phiri' led the most consistent Swahili military alliance against Portuguese domination. However, the series of battles in Mujenga remain amongst the most memorable battles in this period since all the relations established between the Portuguese and the

³⁴³Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 392.

³⁴⁴Interviews with Sheikh Zamani, in Sancul; and Juma Molide Fumo in Infussi, all in 2010.

³⁴⁵Interview with Juma Molide Fumo, Infussi and Sheikh Zamani, Sancul.

³⁴⁶Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 375; see more details in Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 261-262.

³⁴⁷Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*;

African rulers were marked by several betrayals. One example of this kind of betrayal is the first battle of Mujenga, 20-21 October 1896, which ended disastrously for the Portuguese who were led by a Swahili guide to an ambush. The Portuguese left their artillery and were seriously wounded. While this battle continued, part of Marave's forces attacked Portuguese positions in Infussi on 21 October 1896. Thereafter, the worst enemy for the Portuguese was not the Namarrais, but Marave. Marave supplied gunpowder to the Namarral Makhukas when they were out of ammunition, and had impressive forces with at least 3000 men. He also had an elite corps of 300 men, all armed with guns which had been obtained through collaboration with former Portuguese administrative officers, who had been involved in the slave trade. Many other guns were provided by Africans who deserted Portuguese forces.³⁴⁸

From November 1896 to March 1897, Marave and the Namarral Makhuka groups continued their raids and attacks from Lunga in the South of Mozambique Island to Matibane in the North, with unsuccessful counterattacks by the Portuguese. The tactics of the Portuguese began to focus on dividing the African alliance before their conquest in order to isolate and limit Marave and Namarral resistance.³⁴⁹

After a heavy military attack by Marave on the Portuguese positions in Muchelia in April 1897, the Portuguese engendered large-scale operations under the direction of the newly appointed district Governor of Mozambique, Eduardo Augusto Ferreira da Costa. Eduardo da Costa began his offensive against Marave in Monapo and Muchelia from 6 - 11 May 1897. When da Costa was about to capture him, Marave fled with Queen Naguema of the Namarral Makhukas, his alleged mistress.³⁵⁰ This Marave-Naguema alliance is also documented in the ajami correspondence. The unique ajami letter from this powerful Namarral queen reports the imprisonment of her daughter by the Portuguese who demanded Naguema to hand over Marave in order to secure the release of her daughter.³⁵¹

The operation of da Costa did not produce the desired effect as the Portuguese army suffered several casualties. Da Costa was unsuccessful in trying to obtain the support of Maurusa-Muno and his men. The Portuguese collaboration system proved to be weak and inconsistent

³⁴⁸Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 263-265; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 377.

³⁴⁹Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 265-267; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 378.

³⁵⁰Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 379.

³⁵¹AHM, F. S. XIX, GDM, Cx. 9, Mç. 2, letter from Naguema, 1898.

as Maurusa and his men did not appear for the battle. From 16 – 22 May 1897, many Portuguese were killed in the war against Marave and Namarral. Da Costa himself was seriously injured and received several criticisms from Lisbon and Mouzinho Albuquerque.³⁵²

Despite the controversial alliance the Portuguese achieved with Mucuto-Muno, Marave and Namarral continued to attack Portuguese positions. Marave continued to expand his power in the North of Mozambique and, as mentioned earlier, when his uncle Molid Volay died in 1898, Marave (who had been his *Capitão-mor*) became the Sheikh of Sancul.

As Sheikh of Sancul, between 1898 and 1899, Marave attacked several Portuguese stations in the mainland. After these attacks, the Portuguese began to look for a non-military way to contain the rebels. The non-military resolution was requested by the traders of Mozambique. The military conflict had put the main economic interests at stake as the transportation of people and commodities were interrupted. As with Quissanga and Medo, Sancul and Mussoril (the Namarral dominion) had the main trade and caravan routes linking the coast and the hinterland further to Lake Nyassa.³⁵³

Following the petition from Mozambique traders demanding the end of military conflicts, the government arrested the daughter of Queen Naguema as a way of forcing the Queen to break the alliance between the Namarral and Marave. However, the strategy did not work.

Farallahi, Marave and the Namarral continued to control all trade from the hinterland. As a way to put an end to this situation, the Portuguese administration succeeded in arresting a brother of Marave as a containment policy. As a consequence of the imprisonment of his brother, between 1899 and 1901 Marave ceased his military actions and tried to negotiate his release through emissaries and letters to the Governor of the District, Jayme Pereira de Sampaio Forjaz Pimental, with promises of obedience if his brother was freed. On their side, the Portuguese could not mistreat Marave's brother because they knew that if they did, Marave could mobilise tremendous opposition.³⁵⁴

Marave and Farrallahi continued with their alliance in order to resist the Portuguese government until the first decade of the twentieth century. Marave remained a free agent, refused to participate in reconciliation negotiations in 1904, and was still committed to

³⁵²Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*, p. 380.

³⁵³Mbwiliza, *Towards a political economy*.

³⁵⁴Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*; Hafkin, *Trade, society and politics*.

opposing the Portuguese occupation. When his Wazir, Sharif Amisse, cooperated with the Portuguese, he ordered his assassination. The Portuguese tried to ally with Malimu, the brother of Amisse in order to overthrow Marave but without success. Marave negotiated with Queen Naguema and Farallahi to coordinate attacks against Portuguese ports between May and September 1906.³⁵⁵

The events reported above contrast with the situation found in Quissanga, and some of them are reported in the ajami correspondence. While in Quissanga, the use of ajami correspondence seems to be a kind of loyal demonstration for administrative matters and of elitist configuration, in Sancul it was a way of avoiding ‘face to face’ contact with an enemy who was often declared a friend in the written discourse through these letters. This strategy was used widely amongst all northern Mozambique rulers, who often claimed to be sick and unable to meet the Portuguese administrative and army officers for meetings when they knew that they were in trouble. Below is a letter from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim “The Marave”. This letter summarises the status of the relations in Sancul and between Sancul, Marave (now the Sheikh of Sancul) and the Portuguese.

³⁵⁵Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*.

In the letter above, Marave confirms his status as a community leader with intellectual and diplomatic skills. The letter was written in the context of the events of 1885 when he was still the head of the forces of Molid Volay, the brother of the *Capitão-mor* of Sancul, Makusi Umar. According to Pélissier, the Portuguese Navy had sent 40 soldiers to Muchelia where Volay and Marave held slave trading activities.³⁵⁷

Although he was considered one of the most dangerous slave dealers, as were all the leaders of Sancul (mostly Makusi Umar, Molid Volay and Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah), Marave was seeking recognition from the Portuguese as a way of preparing for his future. In lines 3 and 4 of the letter to the Portuguese *Capitão-mor*, he wrote “(...) *omikuja safari ya kwanza ukanitiya vita. Hi safari yambili ma’ana sikupijana (...)*” – you came the first time to attack my position. And now you come for the second time (because I did not fight when you came the first time)³⁵⁸ - and further, in lines 5 and 6, he writes: “*mimi vita si okopi walakin nakuliza unikusudiya kupijana namimi ni’arifo kwamba hutaki kupijana na mimi ni’arifo*” - I am not afraid of fighting you but I want to ask if you really want to fight with me. Give me an answer whether you want to fight with me or not.³⁵⁹ In the same letter, he also makes it clear that he is not afraid of war and diplomatically declares himself obedient and dependent on the Portuguese when he writes in lines 7 and 8 that “*nataka kwako, wewe mfalume, mimi ni kijana yako*” – I want to be with you, because you are the *mfalume* (leader), and I am your boy (under your order/authority).³⁶⁰

In the same year (only the year is available, 1885), and to the same addressee, *Capitão-mor* Joaquim Barbosa Lopes Lobo, Maulid Volay wrote the letter in Picture 10 below, refusing to visit the Portuguese military commandant as requested.. Volay alleged that the Portuguese had sent their military forces to attack him and destroy Quivolane, but in contrast to the position adopted by Marave, who was the leader of his military forces, he says that he is afraid of the Portuguese and he cannot fight them.

³⁵⁷Pélissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 243.

³⁵⁸ Free translation from the author.

³⁵⁹ Free translation from the author.

³⁶⁰ Free translation from the author.

Picture 11: Letter from *Capitão-mor* Maulid Volay, 1885.³⁶¹

الراجيد العزيز الامير المرحوم عندنا سيور كتبنا وهو جوكع ببيت لب
 لوب سامة الله تعالى اما بعدة بوقك تشك مال باح نعني ياله
 اتلب نراغ جمع الحداثة بت العالمين ايضا لكرك وركوا
 كي امنو صليتي مشراف نيموم نيفهام الله باريك حوقيا
 انود كي ميمر بجو معات حكي قيم اماني كشار
 نيمر سويبت شار نموت جاب نيماول مال يموت
 دوع اشهو دي ميمر سويبت كضرب جاب نمركيت
 الهبت نفر سراكذ ولذ نيت لتليلي راهد سيد واغ
 ميمر سويبت ككرو وي جواب اتكاء ويو معات ميمر
 نديك بير نويبع اما نوج كعمير بير لكن ميمر صوج
 ازوع نموت ودك كمالين نخبي كفلاف ملبين ويبت
 ناك معات نخبي حي كليلي لكن ميمر نيمسك ماضي
 سويبت كوج جب نيماس ميمر ككبيبي ازوع سيللي
 نمليبي نيمان ولتتا موليد فلاي

³⁶¹ AHM, F.S. XIX, GGM, Cx. 149, Mç. 1.

This kind of speech and content was not common in Quissanga, but was a normal occurrence for Sancul and other sheikhdoms of Mozambique. Marave goes further, advising the Portuguese officer, who must have been new to the post, that if he treated him well he could have the support of the people of Sancul but if he did not, and then he was not welcome in Sancul.

Marave is well known for his courageous resistance against Portuguese colonial rule. According to local oral history, Marave was never caught by the Portuguese because he was a great *mwalimu* with magical power as he could transform himself into an animal or any inhuman being when he felt himself to be in potential danger. Pelissier supports the idea of his consistent resistance to Portuguese colonial rule which resulted in him being declared a rebel in 1890 and his continued resistance until 1913.³⁶² Marave died a free Sheikh of Sancul on an unknown date. According to local oral history he was buried in the hinterland of Sancul in a region called *Onyakoni* but his grave is said to be invisible for those who declare the desire of seeing it. According to local oral history, Marave's grave can only be seen by those who are not looking for it.

Final Remarks

The sheikhdom of Sancul, like Quissanga, illustrates the long lasting Swahili intellectual, political and economic networks which existed until the late nineteenth century in northern Mozambique.

The examples of Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim (Marave) and Maulid Volay were used to illustrate, on the one hand, the intellectual connection between northern Mozambique and Swahili overseas and, in this specific case, with the Comoros Islands. These connections were established in the context of trade and kinship, as the case of Saleh demonstrates. On the other hand, it illustrates how these Muslim intellectuals became 'organic intellectuals', in the Gramscian sense, as they integrated into the pre-colonial administration, and also "peasant intellectuals" in the approach adopted by Steven Feierman through leading their communities to resist oppressive and foreign rule.³⁶³ The ambiguous relationships they established among themselves and with the Portuguese reflected their occasional, and sometimes, collective

³⁶²Pelissier, *História de Moçambique*, p. 244.

³⁶³Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*.

interests. In this case, Marave and Volay who had close kinship links, allied and rebelled against each other according to the political and social context. Of course, it is still an open question and a task for further research if these interests which dictated their political choices were collectively or individually evaluated - even though it is agreed that they defended their sovereignty and the independence of their states.

Like the Swahili rulers of Quissanga, the ruling elite of Sancul enjoyed a respectful position and good relations with their neighbouring Makhuwa rulers of the Mussoril hinterland. Islam and the open ocean which facilitated the international trade connection and access to prestigious commodities were the base of the respect they enjoyed. The slave trade connections facilitated links between the coastal Swahili societies and the *Makhuwani* hinterland. Sancul, and most specifically Marave and Maulid Volay, had established closer relations with some Makhuwa and Namarral rulers, such as Mucuto and Naguema. These relationships were demonstrated through several military and political alliances raised in the context of anti-colonial resistance. However, such relationships were not stable and durable. Some betrayals and splits were presented to confirm this viewpoint.

Apart from the instability and endurance that marked the relations among the African rulers, the discussion raises the question of nationalism that is far from its consistent position. However, it is almost certain that the anti-Portuguese resistance in the former Mozambique district, and most specifically in Sancul and Mussoril, was motivated by the conscious need to maintain African sovereignty and trading connections, including the slave trade.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that betrayals and spontaneous alliances characterised the political relations of the later pre-colonial period in the former district of Mozambique. These constant changing dynamics of the relations in the region suggest that the local rulers who acted as local intellectuals were aware of their political and social role in the balance of power and, at the same time, they recognised the military superiority of the Portuguese army during this period.

Conclusion

Ajami literacy, class and Portuguese administration in northern Mozambique is an historical interpretation of the northern Mozambique *ajami* manuscripts of the nineteenth century in order to analyse the history of the late pre-colonial northern Mozambique coastal region. The late pre-colonial period as defined in this dissertation is situated between the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In this region, the period was marked by political and sociocultural changes which shaped the political, economic and sociocultural relations both in the colonial and post-colonial period. This was the period when the political and trade relations between the coast and the hinterland were strengthened; consequently Islam was adopted by many societies of the interior and as far as Lake Nyassa. Ivory and the slave trade were the major factors for tightening of the relations between the Swahili ruling elites of the coast and the hinterland chiefdoms of Makhuwani, Medo and Nyassa regions. The process of *mfecane* which started with the ecological, political, economic and demographic eruptions in Zululand during the second decade of the century was also important for the socio-political dynamics of northern Mozambique. The *Mafiti* or *Nguni* raids combined with the establishment of Portuguese colonial rule in this period were instrumental in shaping the political and cultural configuration which resulted in the region.

Ivory and the slave trade, the *Nguni* or *Mafiti* wars and the process of the establishment of Portuguese colonial administration were the main themes in the official “*ajami*” correspondence of the epoch between the African rulers and the Portuguese administration officers.

This dissertation focused on the above mentioned *ajami* correspondence and argued that the use of this African literary tradition played a significant role in the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration. It attempted to reconstruct an important aspect of the history of the northern Mozambique coastal societies and its connection to the wider western Indian Ocean, using these local written sources.

The connection of northern Mozambique to the Indian Ocean networks which has been viewed mostly in the context of trade in gold, ivory and slaves is analysed in this dissertation in the process of the spread of Islamic education and the use of Arabic script. It is argued that the process of the spread of Islam and Islamic education used the pre-existing trade and political networks framed in the context of kinship relations. This connection prompted the creation of a Muslim intellectual class in northern Mozambique that played an important

intermediary and/or opposing role in the process of the establishment of the Portuguese pre-colonial administration in the second half of the nineteenth century. Through their correspondence and reports, this local intellectual elite produced a body of manuscripts in Kiswahili and other local languages (in the Arabic script), which are now an important source for the history of the region.

This study presents a view of the history of northern Mozambique societies based on its dual character: oral and written. Both oral and written traditions are combined to offer the historical process that marked these societies during the last two centuries. This process raised several methodological problems. The main problem deals with the local functions and practices of memory. Written and oral memories in northern Mozambique are closely intermingled since the former (written memories) resulted from the transformation of the latter (oral memories). In addition, the oral memories in the form of oral history and oral traditions are susceptible to political and ethnocentric manipulations, since they are used to perpetuate domination of certain groups over others. The history of social and ethnic relations in northern Mozambique has strongly influenced the production and conservation of collective memories. This influence is evidenced by the removal of certain figures in the local oral and written history in Quissanga, for instance; and the overestimation of Marave and the devaluation of Maulid Volay in Sancul.

The problems of removal, overestimation and devaluation of historical actors or events in oral and written history in northern Mozambique are also a result of the crisis of relations between different generations in these societies. This crisis in oral reproduction and transmission of memory negatively influences the production of local history. In this case, the production of the history of nineteenth century northern Mozambique faces the serious challenge of relative “lack” of oral testimony and the gradual erasing of oral traditions, which have been of vital importance for the production of history in Africa.

Although oral memories (oral history and oral tradition) are not replaceable in the construction and reconstruction of nineteenth century northern Mozambique, this thesis demonstrates that local written sources, such as the *ajami* correspondence and local *utenzis* are valid and incommensurable alternatives. The list of *ajami* correspondence presented as an appendix is part of this thesis and helps to show the variety of themes and their relevance for the study of the social, political and economic history of the region.

The ajami correspondence presented in this thesis (and as discussed in Chapter III), are organized into two main areas: Cabo Delgado and Nampula (former Mozambique district). The analyses of the two regions (with examples of Quissanga and Sancul, respectively) demonstrated two main outlooks: the earlier integration of Cabo Delgado Swahili rulers into the Portuguese “collaboration system” and the contrasting long-lasting anti-Portuguese resistance of the Swahili rulers of the district of Mozambique. The Swahili rulers of Cabo Delgado coastal region were gradually integrated into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration as early as the 1860s. Much of the process of political integration of coastal Swahili rulers of Cabo Delgado was relatively pacific. Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi played a significant role in the ‘pacification’, submission and consequent integration into the Portuguese pre-colonial administration system of many African rulers in this region. However, there are cases of relatively prolonged resistance (which were not thoroughly discussed in this thesis as its relevance deserves independent future research), such as Tungi and Quionga in the northern extreme of the region. There are also cases of resistance fighters such as Said Ali ibn Sultan Abdallah of Messanja on the coast and Matiko and Muguia in the hinterland.

The earlier integration of coastal Cabo Delgado rulers into the Portuguese “collaboration system” was a political and economic survival strategy for both sides. For the African rulers, the abolition of the slave trade represented a great financial loss and weakened their political and military power in the face of constant attacks from powerful intruders, the *Mafiti* or *Nguni* warriors. For the Portuguese who had no influence in the hinterland, both *Nguni* and *Makhuwa* were a source of constant insecurity and threatened trade with the hinterland of the region on which the economy of Ibo depended. Many letters in Cabo Delgado reveal this fundamental role of *Mafiti*, *Makhuwas*, *Makondes* and ivory trade in the relationship between the coastal rulers and the Portuguese of Ibo.

The second important insight from the ajami correspondence of northern Mozambique is the prolonged anti-colonial resistance in the district of Mozambique, contrasting with that of Cabo Delgado. Although the relations between the coastal Swahili rulers of this region and the Portuguese settlers of Mozambique Island had been established since the eighteenth century, anti-colonial resistance was only eliminated after the “campanhas de ocupação efectiva”, at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century. Another difference that this region displayed from Cabo Delgado was that the slave trade continued as the main source of income for the local Swahili rulers until the early twentieth century. In addition, the

Mafiti or *Nguni* raids which threatened the Portuguese and the coastal Swahili and Makhuwa rulers of Cabo Delgado were not extended to the district of Mozambique. These conditions favoured the continuation of relative independence of the coastal Swahili rulers and their Makhuwa partners, who often launched anti-Portuguese alliances based on slave trade interests and maintenance of their sovereignty.

The collection of ajami manuscripts of Mozambique National Archives (with 665 letters) was analysed in its entirety in this thesis, as demonstrated in Chapter III. However, the focus was on the manuscripts from Quissanga (in Cabo Delgado) and Sancul (in Mozambique), see chapters IV and V. The collection remains unexplored judging from its potential as a source for religious, historical and linguistic academic debates. Transcription, cataloguing and translation of these manuscripts are necessary to complete the digitalisation process which was started in the context of the previous projects held by the Mozambique Historical Archives that aimed to provide these important sources for all interested researchers and scholars.

In this thesis, a list of 266 letters addressed by the most influential political and community leaders of Quissanga and Sancul during the period studied and used as the main source for the construction of this thesis are presented in the appendix; and, from these, nine letters were carefully [or closely] examined and presented in the text as documentary witness of the historical facts discussed in the dissertation.

Appendix

This thesis is focused on the ajami correspondence held in the Mozambique Historical Archives (AHM). The thesis made an historical interpretation of nine letters from the above-mentioned manuscripts for the construction of local and pre-colonial history of coastal northern Mozambique. However, these manuscripts are still underexplored. In this appendix a list of the main authors of the regions of Quissanga and Sancul (analysed in this thesis) is presented with a short summary of the content provided.

The list also presents the dates of the correspondence and the main addressees. Unfortunately, some of the letters were not dated properly. In these cases, some tentative dates are presented based on the dates they were received or translated by the Portuguese pre-colonial officers. Moreover, some of the letters remain undated. The list aims to facilitate interested researchers or scholars with easy access to the documents. The manuscripts are divided into two main sub-collections. The district of Cabo Delgado, where all manuscripts are organised and held under a series of files named Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado (GDGD); and the district of Mozambique with the manuscripts spread in three series of files named Governo Geral de Moçambique (GGM), Governo do Distrito de Moçambique (GDM) and Governo do Distrito de Angoche (GDA).

This appendix is conceived to complement the discussion presented in chapter III of this thesis.

Contents of the Appendix:

Part I: Main letters authors from Quissanga

- A. List of letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi, pp. 126-129.
- B. List of letters from Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, pp. 130-147.
- C. List of letters from Abdullahi ibn Ali, pp. 148-150.
- D. List of letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi, pp. 151-153.
- E. List of letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi, pp. 154-194.
- F. List of letters from Badri ibn Yahaya, pp. 195-196.
- G. List of letters from Muhammad ibn Sheikh, pp. 197-197.

Part II: Main authors from Sancul

- H. List of letters from Maulid/Molid ibn Volay, pp. 198-204.
- I. List of letters from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni (Marave), pp. 205-213.
- J. List of letters from Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah (Mkubwa-Muno), pp. 214-215.

Univeristy of Cape Town

A. List of Letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi

	Author	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1860					
1	Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João de Carvalho	Jul., 9, 1860	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	In response to the letter he received, he says that he does not have similar news but he will work in order to have this problem solved. NB: The problem is not specified in this letter.
1871					
2	Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Quissanga	Governor of Ibo	March, 3, 1871	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He reports the death of the Governor of moors of Quissanga, Bwana Shaki ibn Daly.
1872					

3	Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco de Ataíde	(1872)	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He reports about a slave of Fatima who fled from her master. Fatima is now in Ibo.
4	Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Oct., 19, 1872	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He states that a 'moor' named Muhammad Zakaria fled from Quissanga to Ibo because he wounded the son of Abdulatifo ibn Daly named Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo. He asks the Governor to arrest the above mentioned moor.
Not Dated					
5	Abdulatifo ibn Daly	Governor (de Barro)	Not available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3:</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages:</p>	Response to an invitation to visit the Governor. He writes that he is sick and unable to travel.

				Kimwani, Arabic and Portuguese.	
6	Abdulatifo ibn Daly	Mr João de Barros Governor of Cabo Delgado, Ibo	Not available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3:</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Kimwani, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He received the invitation to visit the Governor of Cabo Delgado, João de Barros, but he observed that he is unavailable because he is sick for ten days now. He is, however, available if there is work to do.
7	Abdulatifo ibn Daly	Governor of Cabo Delgado	Not available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He states that if the letter sent by Muhammad Ayuba is in his handwriting he is the author but if it is not his handwriting, it is from the <i>Banyans</i> (Indian traders).

8	Abdulatifo ibn Daly	Governor of Ibo	Not available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He states that he received the letter asking him to send someone (Bakar Rashid) to the Secretary of government in Ibo. Bakar Rashid is not in Quissanga village but he sent somebody to call him.
9	Abdulatifo ibn Daly al-Mafazi (Author mentioned in the translation because the letter is not signed).	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João Teixeira de Barros	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2.</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Kimwani, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that the bricklayers he sent to Ibo work for Maguir and Falmichande, while the others work for other moors.

B. List of letters from Abdulagafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi

Univeristy of Cape Town

	Author	Addressee	Date	Description	
1884					
1	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jun., 5, 1884	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He received the letter from the secretary informing him about the arrival of the new Governor, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara. He cannot visit the Governor because is sick with "sarna". He also says that he received the letters addressed to Medo and forwarded them to their correct destination.
2	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jun., 17, 1884	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He received a letter from the Secretary of government inviting him to visit the Governor in Ibo. He will go as soon as possible.
3	Abdulagafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jul., 6, 1884	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He states that he received the letter from the Secretary of Government, Júlio Barros Carrilho, requesting a house for an English citizen. He informs him that there is no available house to rent. The English citizen threatened to launch a military attack on Quissanga if he could not

					rent a house. He asks questions: Are we under protection of Portuguese or English? Are we under the Monarch or Republic?
4	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jul., 7, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received the letter about the English citizen who has chosen a place to build his house.
5	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Pery da Câmara	Jul., 17, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends wood to the Governor in Ibo.
6	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jul., 22, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends wood to be used in the construction of houses.

7	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jul., 25, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends and explains the availability of wood species in Quissanga.
8	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	<i>Capitão-mor</i>	Oct., 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 9, Maço 5; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received a letter from the <i>Capitão-mor</i> . In response, he sends a letter with one man. He needs a response.
9	Abdulagafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Oct., 3, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports the arrival of a soldier sent from Ibo who is continuing his travel to Medo.
10	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 3, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main languages: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Received the Governor's letter but he cannot give a good answer because people are dispersed as a consequence of the <i>Mafiti</i> attack. The government boat is still in construction.

11	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Pery da Câmara	Nov., 8, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	<i>Mafiti</i> War. This letter refers to the impact of <i>Mafiti</i> attacks on Quissanga-Ibo political relations involving other regions such as Quirimbas.
12	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Pery da Câmara	Nov., 9, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other language: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports the <i>Mafiti</i> attack in Quissanga and requests aid in weapons and ammunitions.
13	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Pery da Câmara	Nov., 10, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about the <i>Mafiti</i> attack in Quissanga area. The people from Quissanga received aid from the captain by the Governor's order.
14	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 11, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about the presence of <i>Mafiti</i> in the Quissanga neighbouring areas. He requests weapons and men.

15	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 13, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about <i>Mafiti</i> attack in Quissanga.
16	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 13, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about <i>Mafiti</i> attack in Quissanga region.
17	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 15, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about <i>Mafiti</i> attack in the Quissanga region.
18	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Nov., 19, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about a military expedition to Montepuez.

19	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Nov., 20, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about a <i>Mafiti</i> attack.
20	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Pery da Câmara	Nov., 28, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received a letter asking him to go to the secretary. He will go after finishing the collection of weapons, which remain in the hands of the “blackmen” (<i>Pretos</i>). He gives a list of some noble people.
21	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Nov., 30, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the situation of <i>Mafiti</i> attacks in Quissanga hinterland area.
22	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Dec., 19, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about a census undertaken in Quissanga. The secretary was not happy with the data sent from Quissanga.

23	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Dec., 21, 1884	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He received the Governor's letter requesting people to serve as escorts to General Serpa Pinto. Asks how much they will earn, and informs the Governor that they will not accept without a payment.
24	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Dec., 28, 1884	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports about the travel of Major Serpa Pinto: he asks how much they will pay for the people who will serve as escorts to the Major. He is ready to go with the Major if he receives commodities to offer to the <i>régulos</i> (rulers/chiefs) along the way.
1885					
25	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jan., 2, 1885	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that he has already started to make the furnace for whitewash. He asks for help to finish the job quickly.

26	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jan., 8, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the news about the arrival of <i>Mafiti</i> were false because he received further information saying it was a group of <i>Amakhuwa</i> who went to hunt elephants.
27	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Feb., 8, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that Vicente is not in Quissanga. He is with a Makuwa group that shows no empathy for him. He can only get the man who took Vicente to that area.
28	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Feb., 13, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the <i>Capitão-mor</i> Diogo Baptista who was sent by the Consular (Serpa Pinto) from Montepuez, asking boats to transport him. He sent three boats and some men to help.
29	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	April, 15, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a letter asking him to take some pieces of fabric as samples; he will do it on the following day; also reports that he was appointed as <i>Sargento-mor</i> of Bringano and Fumbo.

30	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	April, 29, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He accepts an invitation to go to Medo with Major Serpa Pinto and suggests leaving his brother Muhammad b. Shea in charge of Quissanga.
31	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	May, 22, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that he will call the man he was asked to in the previous letter.
32	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Aug., 16, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that Mwaliya's madness is at its worse. Every day they receive people from Mwaliya saying that he is mad and his men are spread and working independently.
33	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 12, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that Abdallah and Namajimingui are transporting some commodities. They could not take more because the boat is filling up with water.

34	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Dec, 5 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Political and administrative concerns: he sends a list of names the Governor had asked for in his previous letter.
1886					
35	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Mr. Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jan., 21, 1886	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that he sent his man to Tandanhague to identify the men mentioned in the Secretary's letter. He also reports that one of his men is taking a criminal to Ibo who must be sent to southern Mozambique harbours.
36	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Feb., 8, 1886	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Report: Numugada or Namugay sent his sons to request the Portuguese flag. Namugay is the elder brother of Sayyid Ali and has more people than Sayyid Ali.

37	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr. Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Apr., 26, 1886	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that since he received the secretary's letter, he sent his men and two soldiers to look for the foreigners (Galêses). He does not have any news about them.
38	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 12, 1886	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He sends a criminal to Mozambique Island, who must not return to Quissanga.
1887					
39	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Pery da Câmara	Sep., 23, 1887	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that the leader of <i>Mafiti</i> from the Messalu region with whom he made a peace agreement wants to visit Quissanga and talk to him. At the present moment he is in the region of Muguiya and the situation there is good. He will visit Ibo after the visit from the <i>Mafiti</i> leader.

40	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 22, 1887	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Sends a thief who was arrested from Makhuwa land. He can never return to Quissanga.
1888					
41	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Apr., 26, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He arrested Mazomelo, who used to traffic slaves to Pemba. He is sending the man to Ibo.
42	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Apr., 30, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	In accordance with the Governor's letter, he sent people to arrest Sugonha and will soon send him to Ibo.
43	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	May, 3, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;	He sends a black man whose name is Mazamula. This man is guilty and Lugonha is not.

				Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
44	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Mauro	Jul., 14, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he arrested a thief who stole from the shop of Ally Cassamo. He is sending the thief to Ibo.
45	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr. Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jul., 16, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Received Julius's letter asking him to call the carpenter of José Maria. The requested carpenter is not in the village but will be sent as soon as he arrives.
46	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Dec., 19, 1888	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Received the letter from the Governor prohibiting the importation, exportation and purchase of guns and ammunitions; and he informed all people living under his jurisdiction.
1889					

47	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Sep.,16, 1889	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends the passport of Yacub Sarangue. Yacub is not going to Ibo because he is very sick.
1891					
48	Abdulagafuf ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Feb., 22, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received the Governor's letter asking him to arrange people to carry some commodities. He will do every effort to arrange the men.
49	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	May, 18, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that in January they had a hurricane which destroyed several houses in the village.
50	Abdulagafuf ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the Districts of Cabo Delgado	May, 25, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	He reports that <i>Fumo</i> Muguiya arrived in Quissanga with many people and wants to know when he must go to Ibo.

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
1892					
51	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jan., 9, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that a group of men from Lushaba arrived in Quissanga with the purpose of receiving the Portuguese flag. They are almost 40 persons. He asks food for them.
52	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Feb., 13, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Advises the Governor not to give the flag to Catadufala before he signs the peace agreement with Lushaba as it was established in a previous treaty.
53	Abdulagafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jul., 7, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the director, his notary and the commander arrived in Quissanga; they did not ask aid of him and he did not provide any.

54	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafaziy	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Sept., 10, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about the arrival of Mussaka's caravan with 12 ivories. Mussonda's caravan will only come in winter and the travel to Metarica has ended.
Not dated					
55	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Not Specified		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Gives a list of names.
56	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of Cabo Delgado		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about the bad political and social crisis in Quissanga; and sends witnesses to explain what happened to the Governor.
57	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of Cabo Delgado		Loc: AHM, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Fundo do Século XIX, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani;	Reports about the aid he gave to Mr Gonçalves on his way to Montepuez.

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
58	Abdulgafur ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of Cabo Delgado, Francisco de Russo(?)		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about the military attack by the <i>Mafiti</i> and asks assistance with men, guns and gunpowder.

Univeristy of Cape Town

C. List of letters from Abdullahi ibn Ali

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1876					
1	Abdullahi ibn Ali, The Sheikh of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Oct., 14, 1876	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that he received the letter from the Governor and the appointment. He also received an invitation to visit Ibo on November 4th. He confirms that he will go to Ibo.
1877					
2	Abdullahi ibn Ali, The Sheikh of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	1877	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that a hundred men attacked his house and the house of Daly. These men were under the command of Bona Shaki ibn Abdulatifo.

3	Abdullah ibn Ali, The Sheikh of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	April, 3, 1877	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that he was intending to go to Ibo but he became ill. As soon as he gets better, he will visit the Governor in Ibo.
4	Abdullahi ibn Ali, The Sheikh of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Aug., 6, 1877	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Received news about the arrival of the new Governor in Ibo. He wants to visit him but is unable to, that is why he sent his brother to do so. He is very happy with the arrival of the new Governor.
1891					
5	Abdullah ibn Ali	Governor of Ibo	Nov., 21, 1891	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 9, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages:</p>	Reports on-going war against <i>Mafiti</i> , which is being fought by Makhuwa Chiefs and their Maguanguara allies.

				Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	
Not Dated					
6	Sheikh Abdullah ibn Ali	Mr Francisco Mário Pinto (Marcos?), Governor of Cabo Delgado	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Kimwani, Arabic and Portuguese.	He reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> warriors are planning an attack on the Portuguese authorities with (testimony or help) Makuwa chiefs. He also asks for gunpowder and ten weapons.
7	Abdullahi ibn Ali	Governor of Cabo Delgado	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Kimwani, Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports about the political relations in Quissanga area.

D. List of Letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Daly al-Mafazi

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1860					
1	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João de Carvalho	July, 9, 1860	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He received a letter with orders.
1861					
2	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António José Rodrigues Pinho	July, 24, 1861	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He received a letter from the Governor with orders for some people of Quissanga. He will send people to call them.

3	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João Lobo Teixeira de Barros	Nov., 15, 1861	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He received an official letter with an order to register the population. He met all the noble men of Quissanga who agreed with the registration but asked the Governorto send a notary because their slaves will not go to Ibo.
Not Dated					
4	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 12, Maço 2: Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that they were on their farms not with the intention of hiding from the Governor but because they had some work to do. They also spread the news about the registration of all slaves and freed slaves.
5	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of Ibo, João Teixeira de Barros	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2: Main language: Kimwani; Other languages:	He asks for an extension of the deadline for registration (<i>matrícula</i>), because all the noble men of Quissanga do not have money at this moment.

				Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	
6	Bwana Shaki ibn Daly, Governor of moors of Quissanga	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João Lobo Teixeira de Barros	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that he received the Governor's Letter but did not reply yet because he could not find a person to read and translate from the Portuguese language. As soon as he can get a person to read, he will reply.

E. List of letters from Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi

	Author	Addressee	Date	Location and Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1872					
1	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Sept., 1872	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Main languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that Muery (a Makuwa chief) will travel on the following Monday to Ibo but he (Bwana Shaki) cannot go with him because he is sick.
2	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	Sept., 1, 1872	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that the people who cut the wood ask for their payment before sending the wood.
3	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Dec., 10, 1872	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that King (<i>regulo</i>) Muery sent him a letter to ask if he can visit Ibo.
1875					

4	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	June, 25, 1875	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that a black man named Abakar kidnapped a black woman who works or belongs to Abudo and instructed her to inform the authorities that her master wanted to sell/kill her.
1876					
5	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte de Oliveira	1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Makes mention of a letter he received asking him for a list of names of the traders and the dates they arrived in Quissanga.
6	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António de Lima	Jul., 20, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the war has come; also informs him that they did not give back the guns and gunpowder because the other chiefs advised them to wait.
7	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Betencourt	Jul., 24, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;	Reports that the war has begun in Quissanga and they have problems with the cannon. He asks the Governor to send one more cannon.

				Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
8	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Betencourt	Jul., 24, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He requests cannons, guns, weapons and gunpowder.
9	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 20, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports the arrival of a Banian trader, Namuji, with the news about the death of Sa'id Mukhau; also reports the arrival of Mujinibaki and Namukalaji.
10	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro de Oliveira	Dec., 4, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received the Governor's letter, he read and understood its content. He also gives the list of the three men the Governor requested: Mwinyi Fa'id ibn Bwana Hajj, Mwinyi Zakarias ibn Shandi and Bwana Makassar (?).

11	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António F. de Lima	Dec., 18, 1876	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that Muhammad Dasbihi was in Quissanga to affirm his loyalty.
1877					
12	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Informs him that <i>régulo</i> Nazombe sent him a letter asking for the release of his men. Bwana Shaki was asked by Nazombe to mediate the situation.
13	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Informs him that he left Quissanga to go to his farmhouse because there are so many conflicts in Quissanga; Daly Said used to disrespect him and his family.
14	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	April, 1, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	Reports that when he arrived in Quissanga, he sent people to ask the slaves of Abadre Aiaia if what the Governor said was true. He also advised the people not to attack Quissanga.

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
15	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Daurte Hipólito de Oliveira	April, 16, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Received a letter from the Governor asking him to send the <i>Banyan</i> plumber. He says the plumber is on his way to Ibo.
16	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	May, 25, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports from Quionga, informing him that Gudu and the Governor's letter have arrived. About Seliman ibn Ibramugy, he will report through Gudu when he purchases all the commodities.
17	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira	Jun., 9, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: with Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends the passport of a boat from Shanga which came to Ibo for maintenance under the responsibility of <i>mwinyi</i> Danone. He also says that the boat belongs to <i>mwinyi</i> Bashir ibn Hery.

18	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jun., 20, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends wood.
19	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Oct., 3, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Responding to the letter from the Governor about the people who must pay " <i>decimas industriais</i> ". He says most people died but he will speak with those who are alive and then he will respond.
20	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Oct., 17, 1877	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Informs him that he could not call Cachimo, as recommended by the Governor, because he received information from Muguia telling him that the <i>Mafiti</i> attacked the Namutumula area and he sent his man to assess the situation.
1878					
21	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jun., 15, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	Reports that after receiving the letter from the Governor, he went to inform Mwaliya, the <i>régulo</i> of Medo who lives in Quissanga that he is invited to visit Ibo. Mwaliya says he will

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	go on Monday (another day) when his men return from the farm.
22	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornelas Pery da Câmara	Jun., 17, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports about a black man who killed his friend.
23	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	August, 8, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the 'moor' Mueracano with his men kidnaped a black slave-woman of Muhammad ibn Sheikh. When the owner of the slave went to ask the reasons for this action, one of Mueracano's men hit and wounded him on his head.
24	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Aug., 30, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a letter from the Governor. Also reports that Mwaliya Muidalla the King (régulo) of Medo sent a letter informing him that he arrived home and everything is calm and good.

25	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Oct., 2, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the order from the Governor asking him for statistics of the villages, houses and population. He will send as soon as possible.
26	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Oct., 7, 1878	AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a visit from João Delgado and the secretary of Mwaliya from Medo. He informs him that the situation in Medo is good. The mentioned João Delgado, the porter of this letter, is going to meet the Governor in Ibo.
27	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornelas Pery da Câmara	Nov., 17, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese loans.	In response to the letter addressed by the Governor, he sent his men to Namaday to see if the <i>Mafiti</i> are still there. Also informs him that he is waiting for the Governor and sent a soldier to Ibo.
28	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Nov., 12, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> have attacked the villages of Namucalange, Namadai and Namugombe. Also informs him that the <i>Mafiti</i> were induced to make this attack by Abdallah ibn Ali and Daly Said. He asks for guns and gunpowder to fight the

					<i>Mafiti.</i>
29	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornelas Pery da Câmara	Nov., 12, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> are attacking Nacalange village in the area of his jurisdiction (Quissanga) and asks the Governor to send him guns and gunpowder for this war.
30	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Nov., 19, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese loans.	Reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> warriors are out of his jurisdiction; also reports that he had a meeting with the villagers who asked the Governor to order Bwana Shaki to apprehend the leaders of the local strikers.
31	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Dec., 22, 1878	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a letter from the Governor. In the letter, the Governor asks him to take the moor Mussa Pira to the office. He informs him that Mussa is sick. He was also asked to locate Abdallah ibn Ali (Mueracano) who is at present in Quivolane, in Mozambique District.

1879					
32	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Jan., 10, 1879	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a letter from the Governor ordering the soldiers stationed in Quissanga to move to Ibo urgently; and informs him that they are now on their way to Ibo.
33	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	May, 16, 1879	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Received a letter from the Governor informing him about the soldiers who disappeared. He asks for more details for their easier identification.
34	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	June, 16, 1879	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He writes him that the distance from Quissanga to the area of King Nazombe is three days walking.
35	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Dec., 17, 1879	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	Reports that he received a letter from the Governor informing him about how the people speak of him Bwana Shaki). People of Pangani, Olumboa and Quissanga, the <i>mwinyis</i> , say they

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	are not well treated.
36	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	Dec., 17, 1879	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that two soldiers arrived in the area of Muery and another two in Medo. Mwaliya did not report the arrival of the soldiers and he sent him a man to ask why.
1880					
37	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	April, 24, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He replies to the letter of the Governor, and informs him that he is not aware of the imprisonment of Yacub by Xavier.
38	The Governor of moors, Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornelas Pery da Câmara	April, 26, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him about one 'moor' who killed one man and asks soldiers to arrest him. He also informs him about the situation of slavery and freed slaves and their relationship with local noblemen and Portuguese officers.

39	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	May, 1, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the letters and the military force sent by the Governor. He also informs him that the wanted man has fled to Arimba. Furthermore one Banyan trader sent some commodities to exchange for rubber but the Makhuwas who ask his presence (Bwana Shaki's) seized these commodities.
40	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado., Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara	May, 10, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received the Governor's letter which he did not reply to because he was out at his farm; he will send Abdulcadre for a translation but it is not fair to pay him <i>Riyale</i> , they should pay in <i>cruzados</i> . About the "wanted" Rashid he informs him that he fled to Quiterajo and the Governor must write to the Sheikh of Quiterajo.
41	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Jun., 14, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends a requisition (or application; not specified) to Governor's adviser.

42	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 29, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about a <i>Mafiti</i> military attack in Quissanga area.
43	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, José Cristiano de Almeida	Nov., 29, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	To avoid the constant attacks of the <i>Mafiti</i> in the Quissanga area, he asks the Governor to send him gunpowder to distribute to the ordinary people for their self-defence.
44	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, José Cristiano de Almeida	Dec., 28, 1880	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about a military attack of the <i>Mafiti</i> in the region of Quissanga. Gives number of people killed, kidnapped, huts burned and the area and chiefs involved.
1881					
45	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of <i>Terras firmes</i>	Jan., 24, 1881	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	Reports that the previous <i>Mafiti</i> attack was done with the assistance of <i>Mujao</i> and Kiswahili speaking people and this situation is not good.

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
46	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Jun., 6, 1881	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that his mother is sick. She lives in Lúrio region (southern Cabo Delgado), where he went for a visit; and therefore he requests two months leave to assist her. He also asks for reinforcement of the military security in Quissanga.
1885					
47	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of the Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Ibo	(January, 7) 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Administrative Matters: provides the names of people as requested in previous correspondence.
48	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of Ibo	Aug., 11, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the Consul did not go to Nyassa because he is sick and is returning to Ibo. He is still in the village of Muery and Mwaliya is quite crazy as a result of fear. Mwaliya asks the expedition to go through his village next time.

49	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo (Sargento-mor of Bringano and Fumbo and Leader of Quissanga Village)	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Oct., 26, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he has just arrived from Medo after more than 20 days walking. He was delayed because his carriers fled and he had to arrange other carriers. He received correspondence from Mr Cardozo and, will give it to the Governor by his own hand. Mr Cardozo is going to Nyassa with a <i>Mujau</i> guide.
1887					
50	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo, <i>Sargento-mor</i> of Bringano	Governor of District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco...	Sep., 10, 1887	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he arrested Jamal, a black man, who used to instigate <i>Mafiti</i> and <i>Makhuwa</i> groups to attack the coastal villages and block the road from Nyassa (for ivory exportation).
1891					
51	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr. Mesquita Guimarães	May, 6, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> group gave up their attack in Mussalo and went to the Makonde region because chief Maguanguara wanted to fight them.

52	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	May, 14, 1891	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Reports that the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of <i>Mafiti</i> is in Quissanga and is planning to visit the Governor. The Leader of this <i>Mafiti</i> group is <i>régulo</i> Lushaba, a great and honest chief. He advises the Governor to treat this chief well because he is important (for the flow of trade with the hinterland)</p>
53	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	May, 31, 1891	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Reports that his son and his friend are going to Ibo, but the Indian traders will only go the following day.</p>
54	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 1, 1891	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Reports that he received a letter from Metarica asking the Governor to do him a favour. Metarica's men were arrested by the Makonde, and he asks the Governor to help him release these men. Also mentions that Metarica was well treated by Augusto Cardoso when he went to Ibo.</p>
55	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 30, 1891	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p>	<p>As soon as he received the Governor's letter he sent some men to call Abujade at Mando, however, Abujade left the region three days ago with some</p>

				Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	commodities for trade.
56	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães;	Sept., 25, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports a social problem about a man who died and his attendant stole his commodities and fled to Ibo.
57	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Sept., 29, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language; Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Sends people to certify the commodities which were stolen by the attendant who fled to Ibo.
58	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr. Queiroz	Oct., 4, 1891	AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the Secretary of the Government, Mr. Jorge, asked the Indian traders (<i>wahindi</i>) to go to Ibo but they have no people to take care of their shops during their absence.
59	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr Mesquita	Nov., 13, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;	He reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> attacked Montepuez. He needs more aid from the Governor to help Montepuez.

		Guimarães		Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
60	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 14, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> kidnaped Nunu Manali binti Tahiri. They are camping on the beach (not specified) and some of them went to Mussanja in the Village of Said Ali. He advises the Governor to send the army immediately.
61	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr. João Carrilho	Nov., 16, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that he received a letter saying that the Chalupa was going with the military force but it did not arrive yet. He also informs him that his brother, who went to see the <i>Mafiti</i> did not come yet.
62	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the Distric of Cabo Delgado, Mr Mesquita Guimarães	Nov., 19, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the people he sent to Lushaba have returned; however, Lushaba could not come because he is very old. Even though Lushaba requests a vassalage agreement and will send his <i>Wazirito</i> obtain one. The <i>Warziri</i> did not come because he wants to find out if it was the <i>Mafiti</i> group that came to attack Quissanga; they have

					information which suggests that this group was headed by Catadufala who is close friend to Muikumba (Vicente Dias) of Mocimboa. Asks the Governor to send some gifts to Lushaba.
63	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 19, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that the <i>Mafiti</i> have gone away after being defeated. They were persecuted until nearby Bilibiza River where they found another group of warriors from Quissanga and the Namagere. They lost many of their men and killed the prisoners. Some of the commodities found with them he is sending with the porter of this letter.
64	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Nov., 21, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He is ready to go to Ibo, but is still waiting for the departure of Lushaba's men. He sends his brother Muhammad Sheikh in advance. Muhammad Sheikh is the one who defeated the <i>Mafiti</i> .
65	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr. Mesquita Guimarães	Dec., 4, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic,	He reports that he received information that the <i>Mafiti</i> are coming/going back to Quissanga. He requests gunpowder, bullets, guns, with more urgency.

				Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
66	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Dec., 20, 1891	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the Governor's letter asking him to send Simba. He asks the Governor to specify which Simba he wants. He requires the full name.
1892					
67	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Feb., 13, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the Chalupa (government boat) did not reach the place where they kept the wood. He asks for the boat of Abdulrahman that is smaller.
68	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Feb., 15, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He wants to send people to Messalu and asks some money to buy food. Also asks for cotton fabric.

69	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Feb., 15, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He confirms that he received the letter from the Governor. He informs him that the boat must get to the river as soon as possible to pick up the wood.
70	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Apr., 3, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received the Governor's letter asking him to go to Ibo. He makes mention of Catadufula, Lushaba, Mulury and Mocimboa people.
71	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	May, 4, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the death of his son, Faque Abdulatifo ibn Bwana Shaki.
72	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Jun., 8, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that the people who went to Messalu have returned. The <i>régulos</i> who were supposed to come did not come, however they sent their sons. Lushaba made some recommendations to the Governor; and he will come after

					the departure of this people.
73	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jun.,11, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that a group of <i>Mafiti</i> (sons and parents of Catadufala) are near to Quissanga. When they return home, their fathers will come. Catadufala asks for salt and the skin of a cow.
74	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Secretary of the Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Ibo	(July, 3) 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Attempt at an agreement between the chiefs of the Messalo region and the Portuguese with Bwana Shaki of Quissanga as mediator.
75	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jul., 13, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language; Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the people who went to Messalo have returned but Catadufala did not come. Meanwhile, Catadufala sent a message asking the Governor to call Muikumba from Mocimboa to Ibo.

76	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jul., 19, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He is happy to receive the Governor's letter mentioning the arrival of Muikumba in Ibo. He advises the Governor to send Muikumba to Messalu at Cataduvala, as the later requested.
77	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jul., 23, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that Sa'id Ali sent him a letter informing him that the <i>Mafiti</i> went to make a peace agreement with Mazeze. However, they met a noble man called <i>mwinyi</i> Jaffar who told them that Sa'id Ali and Bwana Shaki are preparing an ambush on their way to Ibo.
78	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Aug., 1, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the arrival of three caravans in Quissanga with ivory for purchase. The caravans do not have licenses for purchase and possession of gunpowder.
79	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Aug., 8, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic,	He reports the arrival of a caravan from the lands of Curassi with 44 ivory tusks. The second group of the same caravan went to the region of Olumboa.

				Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
80	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	August, 9, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main Language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that there was some disorder in Quissanga. He arrested the people who instigated it and will send them to Ibo the following day. He also gives a list of their names.
81	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 11, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends three people who instigated social disorder (rebellion?) in Quissanga and the witnesses. NB: Mentioned in previous letter.
82	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 16, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that two caravans from Maúa, under the leadership of Anamalafa and Athiana Camninni arrived in Quissanga. He asks if they can go to Ibo or not.

83	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 19, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He asks if he could send to Ibo the two caravan leaders who are not <i>Mujaus</i> but <i>Alomwé</i> .
84	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Aug., 20, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He received the Governor's letter asking him to arrange two houses for the Portuguese soldiers. He arranged the houses and informed him that the rental price is four <i>Reais</i> each (the translation says 3.600 <i>Reais</i> each).
85	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of Governor of Ibo, Mr. Júlio (Carrilho)	Aug., 29, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a caravan from Metarica. The owner of the ivory is a Metarica subject who lives in the Medo region.
86	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of Governor of Ibo, Mr. Julio (Carrilho)	Aug., 31, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a Lomwé caravan from <i>régulo</i> Namussabia, from the South of Maúa region.

87	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	The Secretary	Sept., 1, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that the commander is going to represent the Manjavira; also informs him that the commander must suggest the rental price for the house.
88	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of the Governor, Mr Júlio (Carrilho)	Sept., 5, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He provides a report about a war in the region of Quissanga involving Makhawas, <i>Mafiti</i> and Muikimba men (from Mocimboa). Also reports that the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Arimba was kidnapped.
89	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary Júlio (Carrilho)	Sept., 10, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a caravan from the region of <i>régulo</i> Malmu under the leadership of Anamuntegula. They bring two ivories for purchase.
90	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of Government, Julio (Carrilho?)	Sept., 10, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	Reports that <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Arimba and the Makhawas who were kidnapped have been released. NB: Mentioned in previous letter.

91	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Secretary of Government, Mr. Osório	Sept., 12, 1892	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that the people who were purchasing ivory, guns and gunpowder have finished their business and returned home. Also informs him that the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Menha was in Quissanga. The people mentioned in the previous letter were arrested in a place called Ubue and the leader is Calaga.
92	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Sept., 18, 1892	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He is aware about the move of the commander from Quissanga. About <i>régulo</i> Mdulaza, reports that his men went to other <i>régulos</i> area and kidnapped one person whom they kept captive for almost two days.
93	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Sept., 21, 1892	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports the arrival of a caravan from the Maúa chiefdom of the Mujau lands. The leader of the caravan is Anacanini. Anacanini is the son of chief Maúa. There is another caravan coming from Lomué region.
94	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Oct., 3, 1892	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani;</p>	He reports that he received a caravan from <i>régulo</i> Metarica with 40 ivories. Metarica asked the caravan to return as soon as possible; and there is another caravan from Meluco on its way

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	to Quissanga.
95	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Oct., 3, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him about the arrival of a caravan from the region of <i>régulo</i> Maúa, under the leadership of Chea Tumbadala. They have 8 ivories for purchase. The other caravan will arrive on the following day.
96	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Oct., 5, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the people from Messalu arrived and Catadufala (the Messalu Leader) did not come because he is afraid of Lushabas' men. He asks the Governor to send somebody to mediate the peace agreement and bring harmony to the land.
97	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Oct., 5, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the arrival in Quissanga of three ivory trade caravans from Metarika, Nakavala and Maúa. They bring 226 ivories. Another caravan was left in the Medo region.

98	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Oct., 5, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the political and social situation in Namau is bad. He asks that Cadadufala arrests the person responsible for this misunderstanding with the <i>Mafiti</i> of Namau, otherwise the situation will get worse and worse.
99	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Oct., 22, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a caravan from Maúa with ivories to purchase.
100	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Oct., 25, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the arrival of a caravan from Maúa under the leadership of Alalasse. They brought four ivories.
101	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdlatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Amorim	Nov., 3, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the arrival in Quissanga of a caravan from Maua with four ivories for purchase. The caravan is headed by Anakabura.

102	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Dec., 16, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival in Quissanga of a caravan from Mwaliya with two ivories. They were instructed to sell only in Ibo. They are going to Ibo.
103	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Dec., 19, 1892	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a caravan from Cavele chiefdom under the leadership of Miroly. They request trading permission.
1893					
104	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Jan., 13, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports about the arrival of a caravan from Lugenda area in Metarica. They brought ivory to sell.
105	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães	Febr., 11, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic,	He reports the arrival of Jilani representatives, who brought some ivory and are asking permission to trade. Jilani lives in Muery chiefdom, in Medo.

				Kiswahili and Portuguese.	
106	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco da Câmara Valente	Apr., 10, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of a <i>Mujau</i> caravan, from Metarica and asks authorization to purchase ivory.
107	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, de Carvalho	May, 19, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports the arrival of ivory trade caravans from Medo Region.
108	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António de Carvalho (?)	Jul., 18, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he sent his people and the soldiers to arrest Selimane in Arimba, but he fled to Cabaceira in Mozambique island.
Not dated					

109	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Ibo		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Gives report about the poor people who are homeless ... during the Month of Ramadan.
110	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of Ibo		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Famine in the region; one businessperson and his employees came to buy manioc from local people.
111	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Inform him that he made every effort but did not find the slave they are looking for.
112	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Ibo		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 9, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that he received the Governor's letter and the commodities; also informs him that there is a threat of war from the <i>Mafiti</i> and asks military aid.

113	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Ibo		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that an <i>Amakhua</i> group killed a man.
114	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Bwana Shaki (ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi)	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He asks the Governor to send one Banyan trader to his region; because people have no place to buy the commodities they need.
115	Bona Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Asks the Governor to send the treasurer to pay his salary because Nassiry has received his, but he did not.
116	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mister Antonio Lemos, The Governor		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Received an order from a General (must be a Portuguese military officer), to move, Mukoli, a prisoner, from Quissanga to Ibo.

117	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco Maria Pinto Betencourt, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Work agreement or arrangements, and wages.
118	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that one Hakimu (Judge; member of ruling elite in <i>EMakhuwa</i> societies) broke away and went to Nasubi Village. Later he returned to fight. He was arrested.
119	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Social and Political Matters
120	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports about a war involving the Makhuwa <i>mahakimu</i> (judges; members of council of advisers in <i>Makhuwa</i> states or even rulers).

121	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Reports about the on-going war by Makuwa groups and <i>Mafiti</i> ; and asks for weapons and gunpowder.
122	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Informs him that he sent pieces of coconuts to Mozambique Island.
123	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Francisco Maria Betencourt, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other language: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Replies to a letter that says Makassare stole a slave. He informs him that he does not have this kind of information and requests the name of the informant.
124	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Mr Victorino(?) Antonio Lima, Governor of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Informs him that the <i>Mafiti</i> refused to fight.

125	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Judge (Juiz de Direito)		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Criminal and judicial Report: General (Army Officer), ordered the release of one law offender who was in prison. He asks the Judge the reasons for the release of this man.
126	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He responds to a previous letter.
127	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He replies to previous letters. He affirms that did not obstruct the trade of the Banyans. He also reminds him that he did not receive his wages for some time now.
128	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara		<p>Loc: AHM, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Fundo do Século XIX, Caixa 9, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	Political relations

129	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo (by his handwrite) and Mwaliya Muidalla	Mr. Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara, The Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 8, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that while he was in Medo, the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of the <i>Terras Firmes</i> told him to write a letter to the Governor of the district asking for the reposition of the expenses of the <i>Capitão-mor's</i> stay in Medo.
130	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the letter from the Governor. He will provide everything requested in the letter to make the Governor happy.
131	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he received a letter from Mualiya informing him that he (Mualiya) is close to Namadai and on his way to Quissanga. Mualiya also reports his arrival to the Governor for the official proceedings.
132	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ormila Pery da Câmara		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He asks the Governor to write to the sheikhs of Olumboa, Pangane and Quirimizi ordering them to send their men to join Bwana Shaki and fight against <i>Mafiti</i> .

133	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Pedro Francisco de Ornela Pery da Câmara		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Informs him that the "Wanted" Mueracano, whom they went to arrest has fled to Arimba and must be on his way to Shanga. If they still want to arrest him, the Governor must write to the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Arimba and ask that he arrest him.</p>
134	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr João Carrilho		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Land and administrative concerns.</p>
135	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Informs him about commercial contradictions between Banyan traders in Quissanga. He asks for the intervention of the Governor of the District.</p>
136	Governor Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Mr Daurte Hipólito de Oliveira, Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	<p>Political and social concerns</p>

137	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mr Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 9, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that he does not have any information about Muhidine.
138	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatio al-Mafazi, The Governor (of moors)	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Duarte Hipólito de Oliveira		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that he received the captain of the <i>chalupa</i> who said that the Governor was informed that there is a boat in Quissanga which did not arrive in Ibo. In response he says there is no boat other than that known to the Governor. The only boat which was there came from Shanga, to where it returned without delay.
139	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Agostinho Queiroz		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He informs him that he received the letter from the Governor ordering him to search for a soldier. He has been searching everywhere but they did not find him yet. As soon as they find him he will be sent to the Governor.
140	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António Ferreira de Carvalho		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani;	He reports that Mwaliya, the most important chief in the Medo region is arriving in Quissanga; and as usual he asks for food for him and the more than a thousand people who will

				Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	accompany him.
141	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He reports that the leader of the ivory trade caravan, from the Metarica region, who is in Quissanga, complained about one of his men who went to Ibo with four ivories and a local woman. He asks the Governor to send this man and the woman.
142	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Mesquita Guimarães		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He asks for food stuff to the people who must go to Messalu to call the rulers of that area.
143	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, José Cristiano de Almeida		Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.	He sends two letters, one from Muguiya and the other from Mucimica. He asks the Governor to order the translation for his better understanding and fulfilment of the request in the letters.

144	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Betencourt		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports about the arrival in Quissanga area of an English citizen in a boat; the English man went to Mozambique Island.
145	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, Francisco Maria Betencourt		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that he received a letter and some cartridges from Cabo Luis, who is the commander of the Portuguese military forces.
146	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João de Barros		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that he received the letter and will inform all inhabitants of Quissanga about the content.
147	Bwana Shaki ibn Abdulatifo al-Mafazi	Interim Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, António de Freitas Lima		<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Arabic, Kiswahili and Portuguese.</p>	He reports that he received a letter from the Governor. Also informs him that he is sending information to call the people with whom he will go to Ibo.

F. List of letters from Badri ibn Yahaya

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
Not Dated					
1	Badri ibn Yahaya	Miguel Simione (or Simeão), Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Not available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Social Relations and Slavery: Reports conflicts about slaves involving a “white man” named Martins José Martins and a local nobleman named Abdallah ibn Ali.
2	Badri ibn Yahaya (<i>Sargento Mor</i> of Quissanga)	João (...), Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado,	Not available	<p>AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3;</p> <p>Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Social concerns: he informs him about his unavailability to visit Ibo for the wedding ceremonies.

3	Badri ibn Yahaya (<i>Sargento Mor</i> of Quissanga)	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that the chiefs of Mabe have arrived in Quissanga and they are only waiting for the emissaries from Ibo to solve the problem.
4	Badri ibn Yahaya (<i>Sargento Mor</i> of Quissanga)	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado, João Carvalho	Not available	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 11, Maço 3; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	Received the letter from the Governor inviting him to Ibo with Makhwas. He is not available as he is on his farm. He will go later.

G. List of letters from Muhammad ibn Sheikh

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1885					
1	Muhammad ibn Sheikh Muhammad Jamal	Secretary of the Governor of Ibo	July, 14, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	Informs him that he already arrested the black woman (slave) as requested by the Governor. He also reports that the porter of the letter is taking the above mentioned woman to Ibo. Also informs him that the men who had gone to escort Major Serpa Pinto have returned and said that they travelled for 20 days.
2	Muhammad ibn Sheikh Muhammad Jamal	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Aug., 13, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	Sends a man (Massipuca), to give a letter he had previously sent to Medo where the consular was. He asks the Governor to give food to Massipuca.
3	Muhammad ibn Sheikh Muhammad Jamal	Governor of the District of Cabo Delgado	Aug., 31, 1885	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Caixa 10, Maço 2; Main language: Kimwani; Other languages: Kiswahili, Arabic and Portuguese.	He reports that he received the letter from the Governor with the correspondence to Mr. Cardozo. Asks two riyales to pay the men who took the last correspondence to the Consular (Serpa Pinto) in Medo. The translation mentions that he wrote to his brother Bwana Shaki.

Part II: Main correspondence from Sancul

H. List of letters from Maulid/Molid ibn Volay

Univeristy of Cape Town

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1885					
1	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	April, 2, 1887	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Complains that it is the second time the Portuguese military commander attacked his lands but he is not responding because he does not want to fight. He is not afraid of war but first he wants to know if that is what the Portuguese want. Also says that if they want to be accepted by the people of Sancul they need to respect him.
1886					
2	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	Governor General	Sha'aban, 1304/1886	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that his auxiliary is arriving at the Governor's office and he has fulfilled the orders he gave him including the message to the Sheikh of Moginqual.

3	Capitao-mor Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	Governor General	Sha'aban, 1303/1886	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He received the letter from the Governor and understood its message. He requests that the Governor send Saja to Quivolane, Mutiguiti and Chilabane. He says that he will never refuse orders from the Governor.
4	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	Governor of the District	Jan., 2, 1886	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that <i>muzungo</i> Queiroz asked him to go with him to Infussi for the appointment of a new Sheikh. When they arrived, the <i>Mujojos</i> and Hussein Ibrahim had appointed the new Sheikh who was not the preference of the Portuguese officer. It was a start of a state of warfare because the <i>mujojos</i> were interested in the slave trade and burglary.
5	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	<i>Regedor</i> Damião Francisco de Souza	March, 8, 1886	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and</p>	He informs him that he cannot fight the Portuguese authority because he is part of it. Also informs him that when the <i>Regedor</i> went to Muxelia he was out in Makuwani fighting Hussein Ibrahim. When he came back he found that his men went to Infussi and he went back to avoid any trouble. Also informs him that it is not he that is causing trouble in the land, but Hussein Ibrahim and the Portuguese military officer

				Portuguese.	of Infussi can attest to this information.
6	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Maulid ibn Volay of Quivolane	Governor General	April, 1886	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that he received the "Cabo" and the auxiliary of administration with the letters and messages from the Governor requesting him to go to Mozambique.
7	Maulid ibn Volay, Sheikh of Quivolane	Military Commander of Infussi, Francisco Jose Borges	April, 1886	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 150, Maço 3; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Received the letter from the Military Commander of Infussi and in response says that: He is not the one who makes war, neither is it Sheikh Abdallah. The war happens in the Makhwa area not in his lands.
1893					

8	Maulid ibn Volay, Sheikh of Quivolane	General Secretary of the Governor	Feb., 25, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 150, Maço 1: Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that since he left Mozambique some Indian traders opened some shops in his area and Marave's brother visited the shop. Also informs him about the prison of his captain, and that some traders opened some shops at Natique without authorization. He asks whether this situation means war.
9	Maulid ibn Volay, Sheikh of Quivolane	General Secretary of the Governor	Feb., 25, 1893	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 150, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Repeats the subject of the previous letter.
1894					
10	Sheikh Maulid ibn Volay, (Quivolane and Lunga)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Dec., 1894	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 156, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages:	In response to the <i>Capitão-mor's</i> letter, he says that he has never attacked farms of Marave and he does not know that Marave has his own lands. What he knows is that he is under the authority of the King of Portugal like the <i>Capitão-mor</i> . Everything the people said is not true.

				Arabic and Portuguese.	
1896					
11	Sheikh Maulid ibn Volay, (Quivolane and Lunga)	Governor General	Jan., 10, 1896	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that it has been two years since he visited the Governor and from the time he became sick. Also he requests that the Governor appoints the second-lieutenant as military commander of Lunga. This second-lieutenant has worked in Lunga and Infussi before and his relationship with everybody was very good. He reminds the Governor that it was him who recommended the creation of a military post in Lunga that is why he has right to indicate/suggest who can work there as a representative of the Portuguese authority.
Not Dated					
12	Sheikh Maulid ibn Volay, (Quivolane and Lunga)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 16, Maço 3.</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and</p>	<p>Informes him that he could not visit the Governor for a long time because he is not able to walk (is sick and old). Also requests the Governor to send as military commander to Lunga, the <i>Alferes</i> Luís Caetano Martinho who is well remembered for the his last period he worked there and Infussi.</p>

				Portuguese.	
--	--	--	--	-------------	--

Univeristy of Cape Town

I. List of letters from Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim al-Moroni (Marave)

Univeristy of Cape Town

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1885					
1	Saleh ibn Hajj ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	April, 2, 1887	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that he cannot accept an invitation to visit the Portuguese Military Officer because he saw a vessel with Portuguese soldiers by the Quivolane sea who are searching for him.
1887					
2	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Moroni (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	April, 5, 1887	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 151, Maço 2; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	He informs him that if the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril wants to give him any kind of orientation or order he can give it to the <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Sancul, Maulid Volay, who is his father and mother, his only boss.
1888					

3	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Moroni (Marave)	Sheikh Abdullahi ibn Muhammad of Infussi	Jun., 19, 1888	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 151, Maço 1;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He expresses his dissatisfaction to Sheikh Abdullah of Infussi and advises him not to call the Portuguese military commander (maybe in case of Marave's attack).
1889					
4	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Sept., 14, 1889	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 2:</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Reports that he received two letters from <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril and from the Governor. One of the letters informed him that Maulid Volay was invited by the Governor to visit Mozambique and he could not fight him. The other invited him to visit Mozambique. He says that he will not go to Mozambique because he heard that he would be arrested there. He also informs him that he did not attack Volay on his way to Mozambique but is waiting for him to show him his strength in War.

5	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Sept., 17, 1889	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Received an invitation to visit Mozambique. In this invitation the Governor says if he (Saleh) does not trust, the Governor will send his wife and children as a pledge but Saleh does not accept that because he does not have any problem with the white men, his war is with Maulid Volay and is forever.
6	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Borges	Sept., 17, 1889	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Received from Borges a letter inviting him to go to Mozambique. He says he will not go because he already wrote a letter to the Governor telling him the reasons. He also asks <i>capitão</i> Borges to take Abdurahman when he is going to Mozambique because this Abdurahman is the only one who can clearly read his message to the Governor.
7	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Borges	Oct., 17, 1889	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 2;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages:</p>	Reports that Maulid Volay and the Portuguese soldiers went to his land of Mukoko and declared war against his men. Informs him that he is not starting the war (Marave), rather Maulid Volay is.

				Arabic and Portuguese.	
8	Saleh ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> Borges	Oct., 18, 1889	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 149, Maço 2; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that Maulid Volay went to Lunga, the land of Marave. Marave did not react but Volay attacked another land of Marave in Mukoko. He informs the Portuguese authority in Mozambique that it is was Volay who started fighting.
1894					
9	Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim (Marave)	Governor General (of Mozambique)	Nov., 22, 1894	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 156, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Asks whether Maulid Volay can legitimately appoint Akhmad Bakar as the new <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Sancul while he (Marave) is the <i>Capitão-mor</i> appointed by the Portuguese Governor.

10	Saleh ibn Ali Ibhahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Dec., 17, 1894	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 156, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that Maulid Volay attacked his properties, arrested people, invaded their houses and took everything found in it. He did nothing in response because he is waiting for the Governor's orders. Asks the Governor to visit his lands.
11	Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Dec., 21, 1894	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 156, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that he received the letter from <i>Capitão-mor</i> Joaquim Marcos Lourenço telling him about the war made by the auxiliary of Maulid Volay. He is waiting for Lourenço to solve this problem.
1895					
12	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	May, 3, 1895	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 13, Maço 4;	Informs him that being under government order, he cannot say how much he must earn but the government can pay him what he deserves.

				Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	
1896					
13	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	August, 1, 1896	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 152, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports about a dispute over a farm located in Quissuna. It has been in the same family for generations but its owners were challenged by other people.
1900					
14	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Jan., 24, 1900	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 9, Maço 2; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Responds to a letter from <i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril and says that it is not true that Munsono and Abdallah Chupanga have arrested women to use as soldiers; and he swears that the people who were arrested in Nahava were not arrested by him neither by Mucuto, they were arrested by the Namarral men.
Not Dated					

15	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	Captain-mor of Mussoril	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 13, Maço 4.</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that Maulid Volay started a war against him and made some of his men prisoners. He says that he can fight this Maulid Volay but is waiting for a response from the Portuguese authority and his men are ready for the war.
16	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 13, Maco 4;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	He informs him that he is very happy to receive the order to arrest Mustafa. He sent a letter to Sheikh Abdallah (Of Infussi?) and as soon as they bring him this man he will be sent to the Captain.
17	Saleh ibn Hajj Ali ibn Ibrahim (Marave)	<i>Capitão-mor</i> of Mussoril	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Caixa 13, Maço 4;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and</p>	Reports that he organised a meeting of his men, however, he was informed through the Portuguese authority that Mucaqueia (maybe Mucapera, the ruler of Curane?) is declaring war. Also informs him that Maulid Volay is attacking his areas. Saleh asks why the Portuguese authority

				Portuguese.	supports Volay to fight the others if he was dismissed.
18	Saleh ibn Ali Ibrahim (Marave)	Governor General	Not Available	<p>Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 156, Maço 1;</p> <p>Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.</p>	Asks why the military commander of Lunga cut wood and arrested the captain of Marave. When he asked about it, the mentioned commander gave him 11 <i>rupias</i> (coin used in that period) while Marave wants to know where the order came from.

J. List of letters from Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah (Mkubwa-Muno)

	Author (Addresser)	Addressee	Date	Location & Linguistic Info	Summary of Content
1881					
1	Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, of Sancul	<i>Capitão-morof Terras Firmes</i>	Aug., 27, 1881	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 147, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that the British consular is travelling through Mutiquite River under his jurisdiction but he did not receive any notice. He informs him that he will not be responsible for any inconvenience on this trip.
1884					
2	Sheikh Yussuf ibn Abdallah, of Sancul	General Governor	Nov., 28, 1884	Loc: AHM, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa 147, Maço 1; Main language: Kiswahili; Other languages: Arabic and Portuguese.	Reports that he received some sailors who were shipwrecked and lost the goods they were carrying which belonged to an Indian trader. He advised the owner to wait for some days to see if they could find some of the goods but he did not. The men of the Sheikh located some of the goods and called the owner who did not come but then, the military commander came and inspected the house of the

					Sheikh. He asks what he did wrong.
--	--	--	--	--	------------------------------------

Univeristy of Cape Town

Sources and Bibliography

I.1. Interviews in Pemba City

- Sheikh Momade Anli, Paquitequete, January 2013
- Cele Abudo, Paquitequet, May 23, 2012 and January 2013
- Selimane Omar, January 17, 2013

I.2. Interviews Pemba-Metuge

- Ussene Armia, May 2012
- Sheikh Yassin Bakar, May 2012

I.3. Interviews Quissanga

- Bakar Abudo, Quissanga Praia, May 2012
- Bashir Momade, Quissanga Praia, May 2012 and February 2013
- Mussa Shafi'i, Quissanga Praia, February 2013
- Shaban Mfalume, Tandanhague, February 2013
- Maulana More-More, Namanje, February 2013
- Mwalimu Amade, Quissanga, February 2013
- Amahate Ainuzari, Quissanga Praia, February 4, 2013

I.4. Interviews Ibo

- Incasha Sadaca, Ibo, February 2013
- João Baptista, Ibo, February 2013
- Mbambe Ummar, Ibo, February 2013
- Raúl Pereira, Ibo, February 2013
- Shundi Shaka, Ibo, February 2013

I.5. Interviews Angoche

- Fundi Halide, Angoche, March 2013
- Hassan Macutta, Angoche, March 2013

-Pereira Namucoio, Angoche, March 2013

I.6. Interviews Mozambique Island

-Molde Andigue, February 23, 2013

-Nunu Habiba Salimo, February 23, 2013

-Sheikh Zamani, (Sancul) January 23, 2010 and February 24, 2012

-Momade Ibrahim, February 28, 2013

-Mussa Amade “Na Tambuka”, (Tibane), February 28, 2013

I.7. Interviews of Moginqual

-Sheikh Said Ali, Xá Muhomad, January 2010

-Hassane Fumo and Juma Molide Fumo, January 2010.

II. Archives

II.1. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (Mozambique Historical Archives).

II.1.1. Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Angoche, Cx. 1

II.1.2. Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Cabo Delgado, Cxs. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 28, 44.

II.1.3. Fundo do Século XIX, Governo do Distrito de Moçambique, Cxs. 8, 9, 10, 13, 16.

II.1.4. Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Cxs. 105, 147, 149, 151, 152, 156, 178.

III. Published Primary Sources

Albuquerque, J. M. de. 1897. *A campanha contra os Namarrais. Relatórios*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Amorim, P. M. de. 1908. *Relatório do Governador, 1906-1907*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.

Amorim, P. M. de. 1910. *Informações relativas á região de Angoche. Noticia histórica sobre o distrito de Moçambique*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional;

Amorim, P. M. de. 1911. *Relatório sobre a ocupação de Angoche: operações de campanha e mais serviço realizados, Anno 1910*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.

Botelho, J. J. T. 1936. *História militar e política dos portugueses em Moçambique de 1833 aos nossos dias*. 2ª Ed. Lisboa: Centro Tip. Colonial.

Camizão, A. 1901. *Governo do Distrito de Moçambique. Indicações gerais sobre a Capitania – mór do Mossuril. Appendice ao relatório de 1 de Janeiro de 1901*. Moçambique: Imprensa Nacional.

Coutinho, J. A. 1941. *Memórias de um velho marinheiro e soldado de África*. Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand.

Coutinho, J. A. 1935. *As duas conquistas de Angoche*. Lisboa: Pelo Império. nº 11.

Cunha, J. A. da. 1885. *Provincia de Moçambique. Estudo acerca dos usos e costumes dos Baniães, Bathias, Parses, Mouros, Gentios e Indigenas*. Moçambique: Imprensa Nacional.

Elton, J. Frederic. 1879. *Travels and research among the lakes and mountains of Eastern and Central Africa*. London: H.B. Cotterill.

Enes, A. 1893. *Moçambique (A Report Presented to the Ministry of the Colonies of the Portugal)*. Lisboa: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.

Ferreira, D. 1915. *Relatório sobre a sublevação do Xequê de Sangage*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P. 1962b. *The East African Coast: selected documents from the first to earlier nineteenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Horsey, Algernon de. 1864. "On the Comoro Islands". *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*. Vol. 34. pp. 258-263.

Lupi, E. C. 1907. *Angoche: breve memória sobre uma das Capitánias-Môres do Distrito de Moçambique*. Lisboa: Typografia do Annuário Commercial.

Lupi, E. C. 1936. *Escola de Mousinho. Episodios de serviço, Moçambique 1895-1910*. Lisboa: Imprensa Lucas & Ca.

- Neves, F. S. 1901. *Distrito de Moçambique: informações a cerca da Capitania-Mór de Angoche*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.
- Neves, F. A. da S. 1901. *Informações á cerca da Capitania-Mór de Angoche*. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.
- Vilhena, E. J. 1905. *A Companhia do Nyassa: relatórios e memórias sobre os territórios*. Lisboa: A Editora.
- Rodrigues, D. 1910. *A ocupação de Moçambique (1869-1909)*. Lisboa: Editada pela Revista de Infantaria.
- Santos, J. Frei dos. 1891. *Ethiopia Oriental: descrição das terras da Africa Oriental e dos diferentes povos, animais e aves que habitam, e das conquistas e batalhas gloriosas dos portugueses*. Lisboa: Biblioteca dos Clássicos Portugueses.
- Santos, J. 1964. "Ethiopia Oriental". In: G. M. Theal. *Records of South-eastern Africa*. Cape Town: C. Struik, Vol. 7.
- Sousa, João de. [1788]. *Documentos arábicos da história portuguesa copiados dos originais da Torre do Tombo*. Lisboa: Comissão da Academia Real das Sciencias.
- Theal, G. M. 1965. *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. Cape Town: C. Struik, pp. 85-92.

IV. Bibliography

IV.1. Books

- Aitchison, J. & Alidou, H. 2009. *The state and development of adult learning and education in Subsaharan Africa: regional synthesis report*. Hamburg: UNESCO.
- Alpers, E. 1975. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa. Changing Patterns of International Trade to the later Nineteenth Century*. London: Heinmann.
- Axelsson, E. 1940. *South East Africa, 1488-1530*. London: Longman.
- Axelsson, E. 1973. *The Portuguese in South East Africa, 1488-1600*. Johannesburg: WUP.

- Bang, Anne K. 2003. *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: family networks in East Africa, 1860-1925*. Oxford: Routledge Curzon.
- Bennet, N. R. 1978. *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar*. London.
- Bhila, H. H. K. 1982. *Trade and politics in a Shona Kingdom. The Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours, 1575-1902*. London: Longman.
- Bobbio, et al. 1983. *Dicionário de política*. 5 ed. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, Vol. 1.
- Buettner, C. G. 1894. *Anthologie der Suaheli literatur*. Vols. I-II, Berlin.
- Capela J. and Medeiros, E. 1987. *O tráfico de escravos em Moçambique para as Ilhas do Indico, 1720-1902*. Maputo: Eduardo Mondlane University.
- Capela, J. 1988. *A República da Maganja da Costa 1862-1898*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento. As Armas e os Varões 11.
- Capela, J. 1993. *O escravismo colonial em Moçambique*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento. (Colecção As Armas e Varões/12).
- Centis, G. 2001. *Método Macua*. Anchilo: Centro Catequético Paulo VI.
- Conceição, A. R. 2006. *Entre o mar e a terra: situações identitárias do Norte de Moçambique*. Maputo: Promédia. (Identidades).
- Cunha, (Padre) S. S. 1939. *Antiguidades históricas da Ilha de Moçambique e do litoral fronteiro, desde os tempos da ocupação*. Lisboa: Oficinas “União Gráfica”, S.A.R.L.
- Duarte, R. T. 1993. *Northern Mozambique in the Swahili World*. Central Board of National Antiquities, Sweden. Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique & Uppsala University, Sweden.
- Bosworth, C. E. et al. (ed.). 1993. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. 7
- Feierman, S. 1990. *Peasant intellectuals: anthropology and history in Tanzania*. Wisconsin: University Press.
- Ferreira, Eduardo S. 1977. *O fim de uma era: o colonialismo português em África*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa Editora.

- Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P. 1962. *The medieval history of the Tanganyika coast*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gómez, Miguel B. 1999. *Educação Moçambicana: história de um processo, 1962-1984*. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária.
- Goody, J. 2000. *The power of the written tradition*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Gramsci, A. 1968. *Os intelectuais e a organização da cultura*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- Hamilton, C. 1995. *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debate in Southern African history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Henriksen, T. 1978. *Mozambique: a history*. London: Rex Collings.
- Hobsbawn, E. 1995. *The age of capital, 1848-1875*. London: Abacus.
- Horton, M. & Middleton, J. 2000. *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Isaacman, A. F. and B. Isaacman. 1979. *A Tradição de resistência em Moçambique: o Vale de Zambeze, 1850-1921*. Porto: Afrontamentos.
- Isaacman A. and B. 1983. *Mozambique: from colonialism to revolution, 1900-1982*.
- Isaacman A. and B. 2004. *Slavery and Beyond: The making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750-1920*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- João, B. B. 2000. *Abdul Kamal e a história de Chiúre nos séculos XIX e XX*. Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique. (Estudos 17).
- Kanstrupp-Jensen, A. 2006. *Indigenous education and knowledge – a de-legitimised concept in the education for all strategies*. Aalborg: DIR & Institute for History, International and Social Studies. (Development Research Series, Working Paper n°. 3).
- Katupha, J. M. M. 1983. *A preliminary description of sentence structure in the e-Sáaka dialect of e-Mákhúwa*. London: SOAS.
- Kathupa, J. M. M. 1991. *The grammar of Emakhuwa verbal extensions*. London: SOAS.

- Ki-Zerbo, J. 1992. *História da África Negra*. 3. Ed. Vols. I e II. Europa-América.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.). 1990. *General history of Africa I: methodology and African prehistory*. United Kingdom: James Curry/UNESCO.
- Knappert, J. 1967. *Traditional Swahili poetry: an investigation into the concepts of East African Islam as reflected in the utenzi literature*. Leiden: Brill.
- Knappert, J. 1979. *Four centuries of Swahili verse: a literary history and anthology*. London, Nairobi, Lusaka, Ibadan: Heinemann.
- Kröger, O. 2005. "Report on a survey of coastal Makhuwa dialects." SIL International.
- Lapidus, I. M. 1988. *A history of Islamic societies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lasswell, H. D.; Lerner, D.; Rothwell, C. E. 1952. *The comparative study of elites*. Stanford: University Press.
- Lobato, A. 1954. *A expansão portuguesa em Moçambique de 1498 á 1530*. Vols.1, 2. Lisboa, MCMLIV: Estudos Moçambicanos, Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Lyndon, C. & A. 2007. *Enathembo: an appraisal of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors*. SIL International.
- Madiquida, H. 2007. *The iron-using communities of the Cape Delgado Coast from AD 1000*. Uppsala Universitet. (Studies in Global Archaeology 8).
- A Manual of Portuguese East Africa*. 1920. Composed by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty, Oxford.
- Mário, M. & Nandja, D. 2005. *Alfabetização em Moçambique: desafios da educação para todos*. Background Paper Prepared for Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006. UNESCO.
- Martin, B.G. 1976. *Muslim brotherhoods in nineteenth century Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matos, P. A. V. 1974. *Dicionário Português-Macua*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar.
- Mazrui, A. M. and Shariff, I. N. 1993. *The Swahili: idiom and identity of an African people*. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.

- Mbwiliza, J. F. 1991. *A History of commodity production in Makhuwani 1600-1900. Mercantilist accumulation to imperialist domination*. Dar Es Salaam University Press.
- MacDonough, G. 2003. *The last Kaiser: the life of Wilhelm II*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Medeiros, E. 1985. *O sistema linhageiro Macua-Lomwe*. Maputo: Faculdade de Letras/Mimeo.
- Medeiros, E. 1997. *História de Cabo Delgado e do Niassa (c. 1836-1929)*. Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique.
- Medeiros, E. 1988. *As etapas da escravatura no norte de Moçambique*. Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Estudos 4.
- Mello Machado, A. J. 1970. *Entre os macuas de Angoche: historiando Moçambique*. Lisboa: Prelo.
- Medeiros, E. 1997. *História de Cabo Delgado e Niassa (c. 1836-1929)*. Maputo.
- MINED-INDE. 2007. *Plano curricular do ensino secundário geral (PCESG) – Documento orientador, objectivos, política, estrutura, plano de estudos e estratégias de implementação*. Maputo: MINED.
- Middleton, J. 1992. *The World of Swahili: an African mercantile civilization*. New Heaven/London.
- Middleton, J. 2004. *African merchants of the Indian Ocean: the Swahili of the East African coast*. Illinois: Wave Land Press.
- Miehe, G. and Vierke, C. 2010. *Muhammadi Kijuma: texts from Dammann papers and other collections*. Koln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag.
- Mondlane, E. 1977. *Lutar por Moçambique*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa.
- Monteiro, F. A. 1993. *O Islão, o poder, e a guerra: Moçambique 1964-74*. Porto: Ed. Universidade Portucalense.
- Mosca, G. 1939. *The ruling class*. London and New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Newitt, M. 1981. *Portugal in Africa: the last hundred years*. London: C. Hurst.

- Newitt, M. 1995. *A History of Mozambique*. London: Hurst and Co.
- Ngunga, A. & Faquir, O. 2011. *Padronização da ortografia de línguas Moçambicanas: relatório do III Seminário*. Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos.
- Ngunga, A. 2004. *Introdução à linguística Bantu*. Maputo: UEM-Imprensa Universitária.
- Nurse D. and Thomas, S. 1985. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pareto, V. 1935. *The mind and society*. London: J. Cape, Vol. 3.
- Pelissier, R. 1987. *História de Moçambique: formação e oposição, 1854-1918*. Vols. I-II. Lisboa: Editoria Estampa.
- Pearson, M. 2003. *The Indian Ocean*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Pearson, M. 1998. *Port Cities and Intruders: the Swahili coast, India, and Portugal in the early modern era*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Pouwels, R. 1987. *Horn and Crescent: cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast, 800-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prata, P. A. P. 1960. *Gramática da língua Macua e seus dialectos*. Cucujães: Sociedade Missionária Portuguesa.
- Prata, P. A. P. 1990. *Dicionário Macua-Português*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Tropical.
- Risso, P. 1995. *Merchants & Faith: Muslim commerce and culture in the Indian Ocean*. Colorado: Westview.
- Rocha, A. 2002. *Associativismo e nativismo em Moçambique: contribuição para o Estudo das origens do nacionalismo Moçambicano (1900-1940)*. Maputo: Promédia.
- Robinson, D. 2004. *Muslim societies in African history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saúl, D. (1981). *Glossário toponímico, histórico-administrativo, geográfico e etnográfico (de Moçambique)*. Lisboa.

Serra, C., E. Medeiros, and J. Moreira (eds). 2000. *Historia de Moçambique*. Vol. 1. Maputo: Eduardo Mondlane University, Livraria Universitária.

Shadeberg, T. C. and Mucanheia, F. U. 2000. *Ekoti: the Maka or Swahili Language of Angoche*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Teixeira, D. 1992. *Northern Mozambique in the Swahili World*. Maputo: Eduardo Mondlane University and Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Trimingham, J. S. 1971. *Islam in East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Velten, Carl. 1970. *Prosa und poesie der Suaheli*. Berlin.

Vere Allen, J. 1995. *Swahili origins: Swahili culture and the Shunguaya phenomenon*. London: James Currey; Nairobi: E.A.E.P.; Athens: Ohio University Press.

IV.2. Chapters in Edited Books

All-Hajj, M. A. 1983. "Some diplomatic correspondence of the Seifuwa Mais of Borno with Egypt, Turkey and Morocco". In: B. Usman & N. Alkali. (Eds.). *Studies in the History of Pre-colonial Borno*. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company.

Alpers, E. 1999. "East Central Africa". In: Levtzion, N. & Pouwels, R. (eds.). *The history of Islam in Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. pp.303-325.

Amidu, A. 2009. "The role of Islam in the political and social perceptions of the Waswahili of Lamu". In: Kjersti Larsen (ed.). *Knowledge, Renewal and Religion: Repositioning and changing ideological and material circumstances among the Swahili on the East African coast*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. pp. 236-260.

Ballarin, M. P. 2009. "Royal ancestors and social change in the Majunga area: Northwest Madagascar nineteenth– twentieth centuries. In: Kjersti Larsen (ed.). *Knowledge, Renewal and Religion: Repositioning and changing ideological and material circumstances among the Swahili on the East African coast*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. pp. 69-84.

- Bang, Anne K. 2001. "Intellectuals and civil servants: early twentieth century Zanzibar 'Ulama' and the colonial State". In: Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (ed.). *Islam in East Africa: New Sources*. Rome: HERDER. pp. 59-98.
- Blair, S. 2008. "Arabic calligraphy in West Africa. In: Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Eds.). *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC. pp. 59-75.
- Bonate, L. 2006. *From Ssirazi into Monhé: Angoche and the mainland in the context of the nineteenth century slave of northern Mozambique*. In: Zimba, Benigna; Alpers, Edward; Isaacman, Allen. *Slaves Routes and Oral tradition in Southeastern Africa*. Maputo: Filsom Entertainment.
- Chami, F. 2009. "Kilwa and the Swahili towns: reflections from an archaeological perspective". In: Kjersti Larsen (ed.). *Knowledge, Renewal and Religion: Repositioning and changing ideological and material circumstances among the Swahili on the East African Coast*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. pp. 38-56.
- Chaudhuri, K. N. 1985. *Trade and civilization in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge.
- Declich, L. 2001. "The Arabic manuscripts of Zanzibar National Archives: source for the study of popular Islam during the nineteenth century". In: B. S. Amoretti (ed.). *Islam in East Africa: New Sources (Archives, Manuscripts and written Historical Sources. Oral History, Archaeology)*. Rome: Herder. pp. 47-57.
- Harrow, K. W. 2000. "Islamic literature in Africa", In: Levtzion N. & Pouwels, R. (eds.), *The history of Islam in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, pp. 519-544.
- Hassane, M. 2008. "Ajami in Africa: the use of Arabic script in the transcription of African languages. In: Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Eds.). *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC, 2008. pp. 109-122.
- Jeppie, S. 2008. "Re/discovering Timbuktu". In: Shamil Jeppie & Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Eds.). *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC. pp. 1-18.
- Jeppie, S. & Diagne, S. B. 2008. *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC.
- Khamis, K. S. 2001. "The Zanzibar National Archives". In: Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (ed.). *Islam in East Africa: new sources*. Rome: HERDER. pp. 17-25.

Levtzion, N. and Pouwels, R. L. 2000. "Patterns of islamization and varieties of religious experience among Muslims of Africa. In: *History of Islam in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press. pp. 1-18.

Last, M. 2008. "The book in the Sokoto Caliphate". In; S. Jeppie and S. B. Diagne. *The Meaning of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC/CODESRIA. pp.135-163.

Rzewuski, E. 1990. "Mother tongue/father tongue convergence: ou swahilization and deswahilization in Mozambique". In: DOW, James R. & STOLZ, Thomas. *Akten des 7.Essener Kolloquiums uber 'Minoritatensprachen/Sprachminoritaten'*. Universidade de Essen, 14-17 de Junho de 1990. Editado pela Universtatsverlag, Dr. N. Brockmeyer, Bochun, 1991.

Sperling, D. 1999. "The Coastal Hinterland and Interior of East Africa". In: Levtzion, N. & Pouwels, R. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. pp .273-302.

IV.3. Articles in Journals

Alexander, J. 2001. "Islam, archeology and slavery in Africa". *World Archaeology*, vol. 33 (1), pp. 44-60.

Alpers, E. 1970. "The French slave trade in East Africa, 1721-1810". *Cahiers d'Etudes Africains*, X, pp. 80-124.

Alpers, E. A. 1983. "Muqdisho in the nineteenth century: a regional perspective". *Journal of African History*, 24, 1983. pp. 441-459.

Alpers, E. 2001. "A complex relationship: Mozambique and the comoro Islands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries". *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*. Vol. 41, Cahier 161, pp. 73-95.

Alpers, E. 2000. "Indian Ocean Africa: the Island factor". *Emergences*. Vol. 10, n° 2. pp. 373-386.

Alpers, E. 2000. "Recollecting Africa: diasporic memory in the Indian Ocean World". *African Studies Review*, Vol. 43, n° 1, Special Issue on the Diaspora (Apr., 2000), pp. 83-99.

- Alpers, E. 1984. "Ordinary household chores': ritual and power in a nineteenth century Swahili women's spirit possession cult". *The International Journal of African Historical studies*, Vol. 17, n° 4(1984), pp. 677-702.
- Anderson, J. N. D. 1959. "Waqfs in East Africa". *Journal of African Law*, 3, 1959, pp.152-164.
- Bang, A. K. 2011. "Authority and piety, writing and print: a preliminary study of the circulation of Islamic texts in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Zanzibar". *Africa*, 81, Vol. 1, pp. 89-107.
- Bonate, L. 2006-7. "Islamic education in Mozambique". *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, n° 9, pp. 53-57.
- Bonate, L. J. K. 2008. "The use of Arabic script in northern Mozambique." *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*. University of Pretoria, pp. 133 - 142.
- Bonate, L. and Mutiua, C. 2011. "Duas cartas de Farallahi", *Estudos Moçambicanos*, Vol. 22, n° 1, Maputo: CEA-UEM, pp. 91-106.
- Bhola, H. S.1990. "An overview of literacy in Sub-Sahara Africa – Images in the making". *African Studies Review*, Vol. 33, n° 3, (Special issue for international year of literacy), pp. 5-20.
- Chittick, N. 1965. "The Shirazi colonization of East Africa". *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 6, n° 3(1965), pp. 275-295.
- Donald, L. 1974. "Arabic literacy among the Yalunka of Sierra Leone". *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 44, n° 1, pp. 71-81.
- Eastman, C. M. 1971. "Who are the Waswahili?". *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 41, n° 3 (Jul., 1971), pp. 228-236.
- Gérard, A. S. 1976. "Structure and values in three Swahili epics". *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 7, n° 1, pp. 7-22.
- Giles, L. 1995. "Sociocultural change and spirit possession on the Swahili coast of East Africa". *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 68, n° 2, Possession and Social Change in Eastern Africa (Apr. 1995), pp. 89-106.

- Hartwig, G. 1979. "Demographic considerations in East Africa during the nineteenth century". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 12, n° 4, pp. 653-672.
- Khamis, S.2000. "The heterogeneity of Swahili literature". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 9, n° 2, pp. 11-21.
- Khamis, S. 2002. "Wondering about change: the taarab lyrics and global openness". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 11, n° 2, pp. 198-205.
- Lawson et al. 2012. "Conceptualizations of literacy and literacy practices for children with severe learning difficulties". *Literacy*, Vol. 46, n° 2.
- Le Guennec-Coppens, F.; Sophie M. ;Sylvain C. 2002. "Hadramaut aux Comores et retour". *Journal des Africanistes*, Vol. 72, n° 2, pp. 123-137.
- Le Guennec-Coppens, F. 1989. "Social and cultural integration: a case study of East African Hadramis". *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 59, n° 2, (Social stratification in Swahili society). pp. 185-195.
- Lodhi, Abdulaziz Y. 1994. "Muslims in Eastern Africa- their past and present". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3, n° 1, (1994), pp. 88-98.
- Martin, B.G. 1974. "Arab migrations to East Africa in medieval times". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 7, n° 3, (1974). pp.367-390.
- Martin, B. G. 1971. "Notes on some members of learned classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the nineteenth century. *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, n° 3, pp. 525-545.
- Monteiro, A. 1966. "Pesquisas arqueológicas de Kiuya, M'buezi e Quisiva". *Monumenta*, 2.
- Mukhutura, Mwenda. 2009. "Islam and the development of Kiswahili". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 2, n° 8, March 2009, pp. 36-45.
- Newitt, M. D. D. 1972. "The early history of Sultanate of Angoche". *Journal of African History*, XIII, 3(1972), pp. 397-406.
- Newitt, M. 1978. "The southern Swahili coast in the first century of European expansion". *Azania*, 13, pp. 111-126.

Newitt, M. 1983. "The Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean trade before nineteenth century (Les Comores et le commerce dans l'Océan Indien avant le XIXe siècle)". *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 23, Cahier 89/90 (1983). pp. 139-165.

Patrick, D. G. 1992. "Popular Islam". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 524. pp. 38-51.

Pouwels, R. 2002. "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: reviewing relations in historical perspective". *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, n° 2-3. pp. 385-425.

Pouwels, R. L. 1981. "Sheikh Al-Amin B. Ali Mazrui and Islamic Modernism in East Africa, 1875-1947". *IJMES*, 13, pp. 329-345.

Pouwels, Randall. 1984. "Oral historiography and the Shirazi of the East African coast". *History in Africa*, Vol. 11 (1984), pp. 237-267.

Pouwels, R. L. 1978. "The medieval foundations of East African Islam (Part I)". *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. XI, n° 2, pp. 201-226.

Prestholdt, J. G. 1998. "As artistry permits and custom may ordain: the social fabric of material consumption in the Swahili World, circa 1450 to 1600". *PAS Working Papers*. n° 3, Evanston: Northwestern University.

Rzewuski, E. 1974. "Asili ya Bangwana – Origine des Bangwana. Enregistrement de la tradition orale relative à l'histoire de la communauté Musulmane de Kisangani". *African Bulletin*, n° 21, Warszawa, 1974

Saad, E. 1979. "Kilwa dynastic historiography: a critical study". *History in Africa*. Vol. 6. pp. 177-207.

Spear, T. 1984. "The Shirazi in Swahili traditions, culture and history". *History in Africa*, Vol. 11(1984), pp. 291-305.

Spear, T. 2000. "Early Swahili history reconsidered". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. Vol. 33, n° 2 (2000), pp. 257-290.

IV.4. Dissertations

Bonate, L. 2007. *Tradition and transition: Islam and chiefship in northern Mozambique, ca. 1850-1975*. Cape Town: UCT, (PhD Dissertation).

Hafkin, N. 1973. *Trade, society, and politics in northern Mozambique, ca.1753-1913*. Boston: Boston University, (PhD Dissertation).

Mbwiliza, J. F.1980. *Towards a political economy of northern Mozambique: the hinterland of Mozambique Island, 1600-1900*. Columbia University, (PhD Dissertation).

Mattos, R. A. 2012. *As dimensões da resistência em Angoche: da expansão do sultanato à política colonialista portuguesa no norte de Moçambique (1842-1910)*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, (PhD Dissertation).

IV.5. Online Sources

Badenhorst, S. et al. 2011. "Faunal remains from Chibuene, an Iron Age coastal trading station in central Mozambique". *Southern African Humanities*, n°. 23, pp. 1-15. In: <http://www.sahumanities.org.za>. Last accessed in 21st January 2014.

Isendahl, C. 2007. "Angoche: an important link of the Zambezian gold trade". In: www.arkeologi.uu.se/afr/projects/Book/isendahl.pdf. Last accessed March 14, 2014.

IV.6. Unpublished Papers

Hafkin, N. J. 1971. "Sheikhs, slaves and sovereignty: politics in nineteenth century northern Mozambique". Paper presented at the *Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association*, Denver, November 3-6.

Günther, C., et al. 1996. *Autoridades tradicionais no Sul de Cabo Delgado: o caso da dinastia Matiko*. Pemba: ARPAC.