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Inguane, Celso Azarias

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Negotiating Social Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique: the Case of Heritage Sites in Mandhlakazi District

Celso Azarias Inguane

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology

Johannesburg, 2007

Abstract

This research deals with the construction, contestation and negotiation of social memory involving the postcolonial state of Mozambique, elites and subaltern social groups with a focus on heritage sites in Mandhalakazi District, Mozambique. Construction of social memory is current in Mozambique, mainly dominated by state attempts at reproducing national memory by establishing a national historical narrative, and in continuity with colonial practices. This is strategically used by Mozambican and South African elites, and contested by subaltern groups in Mandhalakazi. Subaltern contestations outline critiques of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial state power and mainstream historiography. Elites' use suggests future contests relating to precolonial politics and future dynamics of national and transnational memory and potential heritage tourism involving South Africa and Mozambique. Research was conducted using multi-sited ethnography, participant and non-participant observation, semi-structured individual and group interviewing, and archival research in Maputo City, Mandhlakazi and Xai-Xai, for ten weeks, between June and September 2007.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work, and ideas borrowed from other sources have been appropriately cited. It is submitted for the degree of Master in Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Celso Azarias Inguane

_____ day of _____, 2007.

To the memory of my father – Azarias Inguane

Thank you for the inspiration

And to my son Simphiwe

Please be inspired by this.

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Kanimambo, nikensile!

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Negotiating Social Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique: the Case of Heritage Sites in Mandhlakazi District

Celso Inguane

1.

Introduction

1.1. Background

On 20 June 2007, in what would have been the 87th birthday of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane – celebrated as the 'architect of national unity' in Mozambique – a major state organized commemoration took place at Nwadjahane (Mondlane's place of birth), in Gaza Province, Mozambique. This commemoration, and the events and processes associated with it show the currency of the production of national memory in Mozambique and challenges predictions concerning the end of an era of national memory (proposed by John Gillis 1992). This revival of the production of national memory in postcolonial Mozambique is a continuation of earlier attempts in the country, one of the most important being 'the making of national heroes'.

Earlier on 3 February 1979, the late president of Mozambique, Samora Moisés Machel, cabinet ministers, representatives of Frelimo[1], relatives of the deceased, and the general public received the remains of Eduardo Mondlane, Josina Machel, Filipe Samuel Magaia, Paulo Samuel Kakhomba and Francisco Manyanga, at the Mavalane International Airport, in the outskirts of in Maputo City, Mozambique. Mondlane and the others had all died during the struggle for independence of Mozambique (1964-1974) – Mondlane had been killed by a book containing a bomb, in on 3 February 1969, in Dar-Es-Salaam, the capital city of Tanzania; while the others had either been shot or died of illness. Thus, the celebration of this ceremony on 3 February 1979 apparently aimed at making a point: to celebrate

[1] I will be using FRELIMO to refer to the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* [Mozambique Liberation Front], the movement that was founded in Tanzania on 25 June 1962. This movement was later transformed into *Partido Frelimo* [Frelimo Party], a political party, on the third congress of FRELIMO, held in Mozambique in 1977. While members of the party do not often differentiate between the two acronyms, some members of the opposition parties as well as some circles of the media which are not associated withthe party insist on the distinction. A contest over this distinction emerged again this year at the commemorations associated with the 45th anniversary of the foundation of FRELIMO, widely celebrated by members of Frelimo who claimed this was the oldest party in Mozambique and it had been founded by Eduardo Mondlane. Some voices raised reservations about this, claiming that Frelimo was illegitimately monopolizing Mondlane, who had actually never been a member of that party (cf. Savana June 2007).

Mondlane as the most important national hero. This is because the date coincided with the tenth anniversary of the assassination of Mondlane; and 3 February is the official 'national heroes' day' in Mozambique.

According to the official history in postcolonial Mozambique, Mondlane was the founder of FRELIMO – he united the three movements that aimed at liberating Mozambique from Portuguese colonial rule. Mondlane led members of Unami, Udenamo and Manu as well as other Mozambicans in exile in a unity front that would (and did) liberate Mozambique as a whole. For this role he is known in Mozambique as 'the architect of national unity'. He led FRELIMO to start the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism on 25 September 1964, and was killed in 1969, six years before independence (on 25 June 1975). Mondlane is celebrated as the most important national hero in Mozambique, and for this reason the arrival of his remains to the country has been such an important event.

Samora Machel was wearing his important military regalia for the ceremony of the arrival of Eduardo Mondlane's and others' remains, and the deceased were received with military honours usually offered to heads of state. After that reception the caskets were taken to a special room at the Mavalane airport where the relatives of the deceased paid private homage. Then the caskets were put into military vehicles. Mondlane's casket was put into a combat vehicle in which Samora traveled standing the three or four kilometers from the airport to the Heroes Square. The military and the public followed the procession walking. At the Heroes Square, the caskets were deposited at special galleries, and the president, cabinet ministers, Frelimo members and relatives of the deceased paid their last respects to the deceased. Outside that space, the president laid a wrath of flowers, as Mozambican presidents usually do at official ceremonies at this square; and later on a rally was held[2].

Six years after this event, on 15 June 1985, and ten days before commemorations of the tenth anniversary of the independence of Mozambique, Samora Machel, cabinet ministers, Frelimo members and the public were again stationed at the Mavalane International Airport and received the casket containing the remains of Ngungunyane (the last Emperor of the

[2] My description of this event is based on a news-report from *Revista Tempo* (11 February 1979: 27-39), an official gazette of the former People's Republic of Mozambique.

Gaza Empire, that ruled a great portion of Mozambique from the 1820s to 1895). This ceremony has been widely publicized in the Mozambican media as a 'new page in the relations between Mozambique and Portugal[3]. Actually the event had been preceded by negotiations involving high-level members of the governments of Mozambique and Portugal, with the Portuguese finally releasing the remains of Ngungunyane (which had been held in Portugal since 1906), in an official and religious ceremony held in Portugal. Then, the remains were put into a casket sculptured by Malangatana Valente Ngoenha, a Mozambican sculpture and painter, and taken to Mozambique.

After the official reception at the Maputo City Airport, the casket was put into a military vehicle, and this time, Samora did not travel in that vehicle, and Ngungunyane was not taken to the Heroes Square. Instead, he was taken to the Noble Room of the Maputo City Hall where Samora delivered a historic speech – he welcomed Ngungunyane 'to his free and beloved fatherland which he had left as a prisoner; qualified him as a hero in the resistance of the Mozambicans against foreign rule, and went as far as saying that Ngungunyane had been a magnanimous and generous leader'[4]. Samora's views had been reproduced in the Mozambican press that welcomed Ngungunyane as a national hero, the head of the Gaza Empire, who had left his country humiliated and defeated, but was now finally returning in glory. The public was invited to pay homage to Ngungunyane, whose casket would be on display at the Maputo City Hall from 15 to 20 June.

The casket remained at the City Hall until 20 June, and from 21 June to the present it has been on public display at the Maputo City Fortress. Interestingly, Ngungunyane has not been buried at the Heroes Square, despite his official status of a hero in 'the struggle of resistance of Mozambicans' against Portuguese domination. His casket is on public display at a museum, alongside objects associated with the history of Portuguese settlement in Mozambique, colonial rule and resistance against that rule. One of the most important objects that are part of that history is the statue of Mouzinho de Albuquerque[5]. Mouzinho

[3] This description is based on reports extracted from the *Jornal Noiícias* of 14 and 15 June 1985. *Notícias* is a Maputo City based newspaper with countrywide coverage.
[4] *Jornal Noticias, 17 June 1985.*
[5] The statue of Mouzinho de Albuquerque used to be at the center of what is today the 'Independence Square', in Maputo City, and overlooking what is the Maputo City Hall in present day Mozambique. The

was the Portuguese official who led the Portuguese army that defeated Ngungunyane's army at the battle of *Coolela*, on 7 November 1895, in *Mandhlakazi* (the last capital city of Gaza Empire), and captured Ngungunyane, in Tchaimiti, on 28 December 1895. Ngungunyane was later brought to *Lourenço Marques* (what is now Maputo City), paraded in public, and then taken to Lisbon, in Portugal where he was given the same treatment. He was later jailed until his death (in 1906) in the Island of *Açores*.

By offering Ngungunyane a similar reception to that of Mondlane and qualifying both as national heroes, the postcolonial nation-state of Mozambique has put both characters in the same pantheon of 'national heroes' and provided important reference points to the definition of Mozambican political identity as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991). However, this same nation-state has established a hierarchy between both individuals; this being apparent in the details associated to the places where public homage was paid to both figures and where they have been finally buried. The place of burial of 'Mozambican heroes' establishes differences based on the participation of individuals in the struggle for independence, too. In other words, people who are connected to the struggle for independence of Mozambique (1964-1974) on their death are usually proclaimed 'national heroes' and buried at the Heroes Square in Maputo City. This is an honour not bestowed on any other Mozambican individual (including the celebrated most important 'hero' of the resistance against Portuguese colonialism).

Ironically, by awarding Mondlane and Ngungunyane the status of national heroes the postcolonial state of Mozambique not only attempts producing a national historical narrative, but also (and inadvertently) connects two people whose past, present and future, is somehow, connected. These connections become clear when considering current construction of social memory using heritage in two heritage sites in Mandhlakazi (Nwadjahane and Coolela) - a place with which Mondlane and Ngunguyane have important ties.

statue was moved from this place to the fortress in 1985, before the commemorations of the tenth anniversary of the independence of Mozambique.

I argue that the construction of social memory is current in Mozambique, especially in the form of national memory promoted by the state. This construction continues attempts made in the immediate postcolonial period in the country, through the production and celebration of national heroes, some of them enjoying consensus and others contested. The state, constructs national memory, through the production of a national narrative in which spaces are open for the production of other related and conflicting narratives - involving elites (both Mozambican and South African) and subaltern groups. The involvement of non-Mozambican elites opens avenues for transnational dynamics of social memory that transcend the boundaries of the (Mozambican) state, of common historical temporality, and traditional understanding of belongings.

1.2. Problem Statement

In 1989, Pierre Nora, writing on the experience of France, published 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire'* an article that became famous for its argument that given "the acceleration of history", memory is disappearing everywhere in the world. This phenomenon, according to the author gives rise to the race to establish places where memory is crystallized, namely archives, libraries, museums, commemorations, celebrations, or in French '*les lieux de mémoire'* (cf. Nora 1989: 12). He adds a prognosis that the current interest on memory is motivated by the fact that "there is so little of it left"; and attacks the grounds for a sociological theory of memory established by Maurice Halbwachs (1992), when he says that the "real environments of memory" are no longer present (Nora 1989: 12).

Adopting Nora's argument, in a review article on memory in the United States of America (USA), John Gillis, generalizes a problem that is/was affecting the USA, suggesting that the world is (or was at the time he was writing) living "the postnational era of memory" (Gillis 1992: 92). Contemporary examples from the use of heritage sites to further state sanctioned national memory have recently been documented in Southern Africa (Hamilton and Marlin-Curiel 2000; Rassool 2000, Werbner 1998a), and elsewhere (cf. Flath 2002). They add to my research concerning the current production of national memory in Mozambique and help raise reservations about a supposed 'post-national memory' era.

This project explores the negotiation of social memory involving the postcolonial Mozambican state, local elites and communities, with reference to heritage sites in *Mandhlakazi* District, Gaza Province, in Southern Mozambique. The following research questions guided the study:

- How is social memory associated with the 'national' monuments produced, reproduced, and transmitted by the state, local elites and communities?

- What are the differences and similarities between the state and local elites and communities' discourses and practices related to the 'national' monuments?

- What interests and goals of the social actors involved are revealed in the discourses and practices associated with the monuments?

- Are there contests over social memory among the social actors involved with the monuments? Why; and how are they expressed and dealt with?

1.3. Research Rationale and Significance

This research resulted from both empirical and theoretical considerations. Empirically it is related to the observation of the currency of the production of national memory (and the contests associated with that process, involving the postcolonial state of Mozambique and the post-apartheid state of South Africa). This observation seemed to reveal the problematic character of predictions about the end of an era of 'national memory' by authors such as John Gillis (1992). Theoretically, this research derives from current concerns in the anthropology of tourism associated with the understanding of the local and the external conditions under which local people participate in heritage tourism, expressed in the relationships established among the social actors involved - state, tourism industry, local communities - (cf. Smith & Eadington 1992; Smith & Brent 2001; Stronza 2001).

This empirical and theoretical interest connects with international interest and investment in heritage or historical tourism, an area that is developed in post-apartheid South Africa, and

in which Mozambican government institutions are showing a great – although timid – interest. Finally, the promotion of national memory in Mozambique takes place in a moment when the current administration (from February 2005) is concerned with rebuilding patriotism, especially through pride in 'our history' as Mozambicans. One contribution of this research resides in showing a) how social memory of subaltern groups in *Mandhlakazi* challenges the national historical narrative, and b) the conflicts that can be revived among local and other elites (the Mondlanes and the relatives of Ngungunyane, for example)**;** thus endangering heritage tourism in Mandhalakazi.

1.4. Research Report Structure

I develop my argument in the three main parts in which this research report is organized. In the first part I present the research problem and the analytical framework. In the introduction (chapter one) I present the research themes and problem, and the theoretical framework (chapter two), presented in the form of a synopsis of the literature and the theoretical orientation. I finalize this part with a presentation and brief discussion of the fieldwork methodology (chapter three). In the second section I provide and discuss the research findings, in three chapters. In the first chapter (of this part) I deal with the historical significance of Mandhalakazi (chapter four). This chapter prepares the discussion on the construction of national memory, with a focus in Nwadjahane (chapter five); and a broader discussion of contests over social memory, illustrated with the case of the Coolela Memorial (chapter six). I provide the conclusion of the study in the last part and chapter of the report.

The introduction starts with a presentation of the research interest in terms of an empirical observation about early attempts at the construction of national memory, using national heroes in postcolonial Mozambique. This narrative provides a background to the research problem, by explicitly challenging theoretical propositions about the irrelevance of national memory, advanced in the early 1990s. The research problem is stated more clearly in a preceding section, in which I briefly outline the position of authors who predicted the demise of social memory and specifically of national memory. I end this section by stating the specific research questions that guided this study. I close the introduction by clarifying the empirical, theoretical and practical context that simultaneously inspired this research, and to which I attempted to contribute. This context relates to theoretical interest in the

anthropology of tourism, and to theories of social memory; the revival of national memory and heritage projects and tourism in the world, and particularly in Southern Africa and Mozambique. An additional motivation is my interest in understanding the potential implications of the promotion of heritage tourism and national memory for both the anthropology of tourism and for the understanding of power relations in postcolonial Africa.

In the literature review, I do not attempt to provide an exhaustive review of the literature but instead to map some of the representative works on social memory, and heritage, with a focus in Southern Africa. In this regard, I start the review with an engagement with the main works on social memory. I finalize this section with a discussion of empirical research on the construction of social memory in Southern Africa (mainly South Africa and Zimbabwe). The lessons I draw from the literature influenced my choice for a theoretical orientation, which I clarify at the end of this chapter. This orientation highlights social memory as contested, dynamic, and with unpredictable results, especially in the present postcolonial context in Southern Africa.

In the methodology chapter I start by arguing for my choice for an ethnographic research strategy, and proceed by showing how the dynamics of fieldwork forced me to make flexible selections of courses of action. In this regard I do not present a list of research methods or techniques in a classical way. I describe the research process in Maputo City, and show how the theme of 'studying up' influenced my research in that site, and what choices I made as a result of that constraint. To a lesser degree I emphasize the advantages of doing anthropology in my hometown and using research contacts I developed over a long time. The issue of doing anthropology at home is explored in much detail in my discussion of fieldwork in Mandhlakazi, a site that helped me realize some of the nuances and the difficulties of 'studying up'. I follow this discussion with a presentation of my sampling strategy and how I employed ethical guidelines, especially in Mandhlakazi. Here the presentation is more mechanical. This discussion is followed by one related to the stages of ethnographic fieldwork, and how a multi-sited fieldwork was imposed on me by the circumstances and the research problem. I then describe the data recording and analysis process, clarifying the methodological approaches that influenced analysis and interpretation. Specifically I describe how I employed Foucault's (1972) discourse analysis, and how I

treated data presented in the form of oral history and oral tradition. This section also reveals how I have been influenced by historical ethnography, which is further expressed in the following chapters. I close this chapter with brief descriptions of the three sites where I conducted fieldwork (Maputo City, Mandhlakazi and Xai-Xai). I start by providing brief descriptions of the research sites, mainly in terms if their geographic situation, some demographic details and their significance.

The aim of chapter four is to provide a transition to the discussion about social memory; and I do this with regard to Mandhlakazi. I start by discussing the etymology of Mandhlakazi, exploring its historical significance and the interpretation of the political history of this site through narratives of subaltern classes. Methodologically, this section is an exploration into the ethnography of the (pre-colonial) Gaza state. In chapter five I discuss the dynamics of national memory in postcolonial Mozambique, challenging John Gillis (1992) proposition about the end of the era of national memory. I use the case of Nwadjahane commemorations to illustrate my argument about the currency of national memory in postcolonial Mozambique, and discuss strategies used by the social actors involved in order to promote both family and national memory. Another argument in this chapter is the difficulty of distinguishing these two types of memory, in practice. This chapter also shows the connections between current memory work (Werbner 1998a) and pre-colonial power contests. I explore that issue in the next chapter.

In chapter six (on the monument of Coolela, in which I mainly use the voice of the subaltern classes), I employ the methodological framework on oral history and tradition (described in the methodology chapter). My main argument in this chapter is that subaltern memory provides a critique of power - expressed in terms of state power and historiography. Specifically, I suggest that the significance of Coolela goes beyond conventional historiographic periodization. I proceed to show continuities between the construction of national narratives of the colonial and the postcolonial state, using the Coolela Monument. Both narratives work by promoting some social actors and excluding others, mainly Mozambicans, from the history of Mozambique. The exclusion of Mozambicans has interesting consequences - one being the strategic use of the national historical narrative of the postcolonial state of Mozambique by South African elites who claim associations with

the Gaza Empire. This raises questions related to the role of transnational dynamics of social memory, and relations between the postcolonial state of Mozambique and its citizens, with a special focus in Mandhlakazi. In the conclusion I provide a final discussion, starting by a statement of my argument. I proceed to assess the aims of the research with reference to the research outcomes, and the literature. I clarify what I regard as the main contributions of this research, for theory and practice. In the chapter that follows I review the literature and develop my theoretical framework.

2.

Literature Review and Theoretical Orientation

The issue of social memory is part of current debates in the social sciences, is related to tourism and nation building (cf. Cassia 1999; Coombes 2004; Hamilton-Curriel 2000; Mooney-Melvin 2000; Rassool 2000), and is not new to these. It draws common interest among those sciences, philosophy, and psychology. The purpose of this section is to review some of the main social science works on social memory, examining their main propositions, conclusions, and significance in current social science and public debates. Secondly, I will review recent empirical studies conducted in post-apartheid and postcolonial Southern Africa (South Africa and Zimbabwe), in the context of reconciliation policies and the emergence of heritage sites, associated with new nation building projects and heritage tourism in the region. South Africa and Zimbabwe were chosen due to their similarities with Mozambique, and to the lack of studies published on social memory and heritage tourism concerning Mozambique. Some of these similarities being the transition period from long-term political and military conflicts; interest in promoting tourism and nation building centered on historical sites; a common history of European colonialism; and location in Southern Africa[6]. I finalize this review drawing some lessons from the literature, and highlighting the distinctive dynamics of national memory in Mozambique.

2. 1 On Social Memory

Maurice Halbwachs sets the foundations of a sociological theory of memory, writing in the 1940s and 1950s, under the influence of Durkheim and his project of sociology independent and separate from psychology. In effect, Halbwachs starts by distancing his approach from psychology, by arguing that the only time a person is in isolation in the realm of memory is when he is dreaming, a stage when memory is fragmented, incomplete; in summary "removed from society" (Halbwach 1992: 41-42). His theory of collective memory is explicit in his suggestion that what makes memories collective are the social environments of memory, such as (verbal) language and social convention, which also work as mechanisms of social pressure (Halbwachs 1992: 45, 49-51). He specifically says: "the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society" and what is remembered reflects the thoughts and

[6] This does not mean that there aren't differences between these countries.

interests of social groups (Halbwachs 1992: 51-52). These statements show that memory is influenced by the social environment on the one hand. On the other, they demonstrate that memory is associated with social groups, thus, it can be expected to vary among those groups. How this variation is dealt with in society is a question the author does not address, but is well developed by Paul Connerton (1989) in *How Societies Remember*.

In this volume, Connerton (1989: 1) is interested in understanding "how social memory is conveyed and sustained" in social groups ranging from small ones in which members know each other to 'imagined communities' in which members will probably never meet, hear or know each other (Anderson 1991: 6). His contention is that social groups transmit and reproduce memory through ritual performances, expressed in "ceremonial celebrations and bodily practices" that aim at reproducing social order (Connerton 1989: 4). For this reason, social memory is controlled, although, or even because, different social groups will construct their social memory depending on the different pasts they can relate too; and thus, the same social events will be assigned different importance and meaning by different groups (Connerton 1989: 2-3, 20).

The author adopts a constructive approach to memory, regarding it as dynamic, created, a source of social contests, and thus, the reason why it is subject to social control, especially by political, religious and other elites that attempt at establishing continuity between the present and the past (Connerton 1989: 48-52); that past being a selected one, as he states in relation to 'modern' nationalism:

> […] in the modern period national élites have invented rituals that claim continuity with an appropriate historic past, organizing ceremonies, parades and mass gatherings, and constructing new ritual spaces (Connerton 1989: 51).

It is with these 'new ritual spaces' that Pierre Nora (1989) is concerned; arguing that their existence is a sign of the disappearance of 'living memory', which is replaced by history, regarded as an evolutionary stage, 'modern' discourse about the past, as opposed to the 'traditional' character of memory. He argues that memory has been crystallized in specific 'sites' – *lieux de memoire*– such as the 'archives', 'the tricolor', the 'libraries', the 'museums', the 'Pantheon', the 'Arc de Triomphe', the '*Dictionnaire Larousse'* Nora (1989: 12).

His evolutionist dichotomy between memory and history is highly problematic, since it rests on a perceived static character of memory. This becomes clear when he talks about "real memory – social and unviolated, exemplified in but also retained as the secret of so-called primitive or archaic societies – and history, which is how our hopelessly forgetful societies, propelled by change, organize the past" (Nora 1989: 8). This is surprising not only for his patronizing tone, but also for his parochialism, since his generalizations are based on the example of what he witnesses in France. In this regard, it is worth quoting him, again:

> The study of *lieux de mémoire*, then, lies in the intersection of two developments that in *France* today give it meaning: one a purely historiograpical movement, the reflexive turning of history upon itself, the other, a movement that is, properly speaking, historical: the end of a tradition of memory (Nora 1989: 10).

Surprisingly, again, and writing from the experience of his own country, the United States of America, and inspired by Pierre Nora, John Gillis (1992: 92-93) suggests that, beyond the post-memory era, we are now living 'the postnational era of memory', one in which national memory is "no longer an active force in contemporary politics" (Gillis 1992: 93). Contrary to these predictions, empirical research conducted recently in South Africa (Coombes 2004; Hamilton-Curriel 2000; Norval 2001; Rassool 2000), Malta (Cassia 1999) the United States of America (Mooney-Melvin 1991), and Zimbabwe (Werbner 1998b) show that 'memory is an active force in contemporary politics', and state, tourist industry, elites and local communities and other citizens are involved in contests over it. In addition, 'sites of memory' as Nora suggests, are also gaining prominence in Southern Africa. This will be clear in the following discussion.

2.2. Case Studies: 'memory work' in Southern Africa

Social memory, nation building and heritage tourism have been in the center of debates in South Africa recently, and as the works I review show, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Hamilton-Curriel 2000; Norval 2001) and Robben Island - now transformed into Robben Island Museum (RIM) - (Coombes 2004; Rassool 2000) have been the focus of the debate. RIM and the TRC are different cases. However, they are part of the same process of the South African post-apartheid society trying to deal with its recent

traumatic, violent, racialist and intolerant past. In this process, the state, political parties, religious organizations, and tourism industry become involved; and conflicts emerge.

Reflecting on Robben Island as a heritage site related to the construction of national memory and narrative Coombes (2004) provides a historical account of the transformation of Robben Island from a prison into a national heritage site, and more specifically a museum[7]. She shows that this process involved public debate about the type of institution the island should be transformed into; different proposals being advanced, which related to the identity of the social authors (political parties, religious groups, conservationists, and general public) presenting them, and their interests in the future South African history and society. To this atmosphere the author adds the economic interests of the tourism industry and the state, which encountered complaints of some former prisoners, whom where feeling neglected in the process. Hamilton-Curriel (2000) focusing on trauma and memory related to RIM shows that the South African state, concerned with nation-building, uses legislation to enforce its reconciliation ideal, based on forgiving, and even forgetting some aspects of the apartheid past; thus voting social memory of some individuals, such as former prisoners, to silence[8].

Rassool (2000), analyzing post-apartheid reconstitution of the history of South Africa demonstrates how the TRC, and other institutions promote a discourse of multiracialism, multiculturalism, in summary of diversity; which in the case of Robben Island, highlights the heroism of some leaders in the struggle against apartheid. The author shows how monuments, museums, and other constructs of the 'new heritage culture' in South Africa are used in order to promote this discourse, which is, however, contested (Rassool 2000: 97-98). Contestation of a national narrative has also been emphasized in Norval's (2001: 188-192) study of the TRC, showing that different memories and discourses were allowed to be expressed alongside the ANC's (which latter became the state's) discourse of non-racialism.

[7] In the context of Europe Cassia (1999: 248) provides an account of how Mdina, a city in Malta has been 'invented' as a national heritage site, and latter became a world heritage site.

[8] The association of the nation-state to the tourism industry in order to promote both tourism and a national narrative that excludes possible alternatives has also been well documented in Malta (cf. Cassia 1999).

The end result, however, was that in the TRC, no national narrative emerged, creating an atmosphere of what the author calls post-national narratives and identities.

A case closer to Mozambique is Zimbabwe as described by Richard Werbner (1998) in *Smoke in the barrel of a gun: postwars of the dead, memory and reinscription in Zimbabwe*. This chapter is part of a book that represents, so far, one of the most important references in the study of social memory in postcolonial Africa, thus entitled *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*. The author introduces this book (he edited) with the pessimistic note that memory is in an ethical and political crisis in postcolonial Africa, given its inability to confront power (Werbner 1998a: 1-2). This crisis is expressed by the fact that despite memorialism conducted by the postcolonial state in Africa – in continuation of post-World War I memorialism – commemorations promoted by the nation-state are fragile and disputed by citizens – through celebrations of what the postcolonial state tries to suppress (Werbner 1998a: 7-8).

The author develops his argument about a memory crisis in postcolonial Africa through a reflection on the construction of national memory in postcolonial Zimbabwe and the 'memory contests' involving the nation-state, opposition parties and citizens (Werbner 1998b: 72 and ff). The center of the author's reflection is Heroes' Acre, in the capital city of Zimbabwe – Harare – and commemorations associated with that site. He describes how that monument represents attempts at building a nation. However, Heroes Acre expresses exclusions based on race, ethnicity and hierarchy in the struggle against British colonialism and neocolonialism as well as political affiliation to the ruling party. Predictably, these exclusions produce contestations. Specifically, this Heroes Acre and its associated commemorations are contested by the kinsfolk of the dead heroes buried at the Acre; by people from Matabeleland (a province associated with the political opposition and an ethnic group not represented in the ruling party); and by the political opposition to the ruling party.

Werbner describes how Matabeleland people and the political opposition have resorted to counter sites of memory – shrines – that cover much of the landscape of the country, and attempted at memorializing and holding a public commemoration that was suppressed by the state intelligence service. In doing that people from Matabeleland were trying to

remember people killed by the government forces, in an effort to suppress the political opposition (Werbner 1998b: 91-98). This description suggests the contested nature of national memory in postcolonial Zimbabwe; the selective character of state memorialism; and the violence of state attempts at construction of national memory in postcolonial Africa. The author also presents an interesting proposition, suggesting that postcolonial state memorialism in Africa, based on identification of heroes is inherited from Western nation-state initiatives started in the post-World War I and that celebrated sacrifices endured for the nation-state (Werbner 1998b: 71-72). However, this view is challenged by my research findings and archival documents in Mozambique which show that state memorialism goes back to the colonial era in the country (cf. Mozambique 2001: 9). I will develop this point in chapter six (*Coolela: Contested Memory and the Critique of Power*).

2.3. Lessons from case studies

The examples of post-apartheid South Africa and postcolonial Zimbabwe quoted above show the intricate relationships that the postcolonial (Southern) African state (s), tourism business, political opposition and citizens establish in the construction of social memory, national identity and narratives, in a context of political and social transitions. In some instances, where the citizens do not enjoy the protection of state institutions, the state can impose its discourse, and shape or silence alternative memories and discourses, and thus, advance a national narrative that votes other sectors of society to oblivion. However, given adequate institutional support, state discourse, narrative and attempts at construction of national memory can run together with contesting counter parts; producing not a consensual national narrative and memory, but a diversity of them. This is what the TRC in post-apartheid South Africa has been able to do; and thus produced what Norval (2001: 192) calls post-national identities. This can mean not that national memory ceases to exist, but that it is openly contested, and negotiated between the nation-state and its citizens.

In the case of Mozambique historians who have reflected on the relationships between memory and historical narrative in the construction of colonial and postcolonial historiography of the country have called for the use of oral sources in order to challenge both political elite-produced national memory or popular memory manipulated by the political elite – located within and without the postcolonial state – (cf. Cruz e Silva & José

1991: 26; and to a lesser degree Oliveira 1987). Despite similarities with South Africa and Zimbabwe the dynamics of national memory in Mozambique present important differences. This raises attention to the limitations of comparisons involving Mozambique and other African postcolonial or transition contexts, and renders some conclusions in the literature on social memory in postcolonial (Southern) Africa extremely problematic. I develop this argument in the following chapters

2.4. Theoretical Orientation

The postcolonial period, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa has been represented as one characterized by the violence, exploitation and autocracy of the new states over their citizens (cf. Mbembe 1992, Werbner 1998a). This vision, not only depicts postcolonial Africa negatively, and power unilaterally (cf. Wolf 1990), it suggests that the post-colony has only one period. Reacting against this tendency, Richard Werbner (2004) conducts a study of the Kalanga elites of Botswana, in which he deliberately positions himself against what he labels the 'afro-pessimist current' in the study of post-colonial Africa; suggests that we are currently living in the second post-colonial period characterized by democratization and state opening to its citizens; with power being negotiated. This project partially adopts Werbner's (2004) proposition in that, at least in certain African countries (particularly Mozambique) power is negotiated between the state, elites and citizens, with the results of power relations being unpredictable. One of the arenas in which these power relations are more ambiguous and unpredictable is in the production of social memory.

On the other hand, I draw from theorization on social memory, particularly the ideas that social memory is a process of permanent construction and reconstruction of the past, associated with interests and identity of social groups (cf. Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992); and it can be crystallized and expressed in physical sites (Nora 1989), discourses, narratives, and commemorations (Connerton 1989). Social memory can be the object and express social conflict or different understandings and perspectives on historical and other social events (Connerton 1989).

3.

Methodology

In this section I describe the methodology I adopted in the course of this research, how I applied it and the positive and difficult aspects I encountered. I describe the difficulties and positive aspects in association with three major themes in anthropological methodology discussions. Two of these themes are associated with the postmodern trend that developed from the 1980s in the discipline: 'multi-sited ethnography' (cf. Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Marcus 1998) and 'anthropology at home' (cf. Jackson 1987; Narayan 1997; Okely 1996; Onyango-Ouma 2006). The third theme ('studying up') concerns the need to adapt anthropology to the study of contemporary and relevant themes, and emerged in response to critiques of the discipline's association with European colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Asad 1973; Llobera 1974). An eloquent response to this critique was well articulated by Laura Nader (1972) in her classical article *Up the anthropologist: perspectives gained from studying up.* My research revealed interesting aspects associated to 'studying up' and the so-called 'anthropology at home', which I develop in the following account. In addition, I show how the multi-sited dimension of this research results from demands associated with access to sources, and poses both methodological and financial difficulties; and finally, blurs the presumed, clear separation of the stages of participant observation (as suggested by Bernard 2005, for example).

This research started with the conceptualization of the research project, between February and May 2007, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in South Africa. During this stage I also visited Maputo City, in Mozambique, where I established the first contacts with possible research informants and institutions where I had planned to conduct research. These contacts helped me refine the research proposal, which I eventually presented in a seminar at the Department of social anthropology (University of the Witwatersrand), in May, and subsequently to the Graduate Studies committee and to the Ethics Committee (non medical) of the same university, in May and June respectively. This stage was followed by fieldwork, during the winter research break – June and July – in Maputo City, Mandhlakazi and Xai-Xai, in Southern Mozambique. I returned to Maputo for more archival and library research, and contacts with informants in August and September.

Research was conducted in Maputo City and Xai-Xai, and not only in Mandhlakazi, for important methodological reasons. First, archival sources associated with memorials in Mandhlakazi, state legislation, policy and officials, library sources and some informants were located in the three sites. Secondly, difficulties posed by some research participants dictated my adoption of a multi-sited research approach.

I employed ethnography as an overall research strategy. Here ethnography is understood as a research strategy that relies on a diversity of research methods and techniques that can be applied with flexibility to different research situations and demands, and relies on the researcher as the main data collection instrument. In this regard I used direct observation, with some degree of participation (for example in the commemoration of Eduardo Mondhlane's birthday – that I describe opportunely), archival and library research, combined with semi-structured and group interviews. The use of group interviews was imposed on me by the research circumstances – as I describe in the section on fieldwork in Xai-Xai. Often, aspects I did not record due to memory failures or because I did not deem important at the moment they were presented to me would come back to my memory later, and be useful in analysis and interpretation of data. This suggests strongly that the use of the researcher as the main instrument of data collection and analysis/interpretation is one of the strengths of ethnography.

3.1. Maputo City and the difficulties of 'studying up'

My research in Maputo City revealed both positive aspects of doing anthropology in the city and country I was born and grew up in, but also the difficulties of 'studying up'. My access to archives such as from *Notícias* and *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM)* was immensely facilitated given my knowledge of the rules to obtain permission to conduct archival research, advantages provided to nationals, and my fluency in the official language (Portuguese), and personal networks. However, I faced difficulties when I attempted to conduct interviews with 'busy' government officials and 'important' people, some of whom did not feel at ease sharing information with me. Difficulties in accessing the same 'important' people dissolved in Mandhlakazi, suggesting that the accessibility of people is contextual (associated, in this case with urban-rural contexts). Difficulties in accessing

information, as well as reluctance in sharing it imposed a multi-sited approach to this research, as will become apparent in my description of my second field-stay in Maputo City.

I conducted research at two public archives – *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM)* and *Arquivo do Património Cultural* (ARPAC) – and the private archives of a Maputo based newspaper, with countrywide coverage – *Journal Noticias*. I made contacts with the Ministry of State Administration, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Education and Culture, with the aim of accessing relevant sources and talk to officials associated with memorialization and heritage tourism in Mandhlakazi. And, I conducted library research at the libraries of the *Centro dos Estudos Africanos* (CEA) *and Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais* (FLECS) at the main campus of the *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* (UEM) located in Maputo City. I accessed published material and newspapers relevant to the research at the AHM and *Jornal Noticias*. However, I was frustrated to find not more that two booklets associated with the centenary of the battle of Coolela and the capture of Ngungunyane in ARPAC.

In the Ministry of State Administration I obtained general information about Mandhlakazi (a profile of the district). At the Ministry of Education and Culture I attempted an interview with the Deputy Minister, and the Deputy National Director, who could not meet with me. Instead I met with the heads of the departments of Monuments and Museums who gave me access to legislation, policy documents and interviews. Their interviews were important since they provided me with recent information about government action and plans associated with the memorials of Mandhlakazi. Despite their interest in assisting me, I was frustrated by their busy schedules and inability to provide some crucial information and documentation. This was added to their lack of coordination with institutions that deal with memorialization in Mandhlakzi, especially the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation. I had a different experience at the National Institute for the Development of Education (*Instituto Nacional para o Desenvolvimento da Educação* – INDE), where I met with the director for planning: I interviewed her on the education policy and she provided me relevant documents.

Despite my efforts and many attempts at meeting with a representative of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, this proved a daunting task. After unsuccessful enquiries at the National Directorate of Education and Culture, I was sent to the Head Office of Frelimo

and subsequently to the Joaquim Chissano Foundation where no one could give me the contact of the representative of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation. I finally obtained the contact number of the representative of this foundation from a friend very close to the foundation. However, that friend could not let me disclose where I had obtained the number in case the research informant demanded to know. In this regard, and from public television and a friend close to the government of Mozambique I had information that both the President of the country and the representative of the Eduardo Mondlane foundation would be in Mandhlakazi for the commemoration of the 87th anniversary of Eduardo Mondlane. I knew from a source close to the Mondlane family that the representative of this family would be in Mandhlakazi from 18th June – two days before the commemoration. In this regard, I decided to leave for Mandhlakazi and be there by 18th June, in order to schedule an interview with the representative of the Eduardo Mondlane foundation as well as other members of Mondlane's family.

My contacts at the Ministry of Tourism were more varied; and were frustrating in a different sense. I contacted people from departments as diverse as Conservation Areas, Tourism Marketing and Promotion and the Legal division. These people provided me as much documents as they could, including the *Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism*, *Tourist Guides*, and *Tourism Law*. Despite their interest and helpfulness in assisting me – I managed to meet everyone I needed to – the conclusion was that heritage tourism is not being put in practice in the country, and Mandhlakazi's touristic potential as far as the plans of the ministry are concerned are restricted to beach tourism – in Chidenguele. However, individually, many of them agreed with me that Mandhlakazi has a potential for heritage tourism, a potential that, in their view, is being neglected. The following table provides information on the institutions I contacted in Maputo City and the documents necessary to obtain permission to conduct the study.

Table 1: Institutions visited in Maputo City

Institution	Branch/people/site	Activity	Documents for permission
Eduardo Mondlane University	Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique [Mozambique Historical Archives]	Archival research Library research	Research proposal Credential Student card
Ministry of Education and Culture	Office of Deputy Ministry	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	National Institute for the Development of Education	Interview and archival research	Credential Proposal abstract
	National Directorate of Education and Culture	Interview and archival research	Credential Proposal abstract
	National Archives for Cultural Heritage	Archival research	Credential Proposal abstract
Ministry of Tourism			
	National Directorate of Tourism	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	National Directorate for Promotion of Tourism	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	National Directorate for Conservation Areas	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
Journal Notícias [newspaper]	Archives	Archival research	Credential

3.2. Mandhlakazi: a different perspective on 'anthropology at home' and 'studying up'

Some of the virtues of doing anthropology at home – in the sense that it is conducted in a part of my country – were again revealed in Mandhlakazi, and added to the fact that difficulties of 'studying up' expressed themselves in other ways, differently from Maputo City. In fact, I benefited from my knowledge of the local language, places and people as well as the procedures for obtaining official permission to conduct the study and gain access to informants. This is related more to the good working relations I had established in the course of my previous fieldwork than to being 'at home'. In fact, while I speak the local language and understand many local cultural practices, there are many of these practices that I ignore, and many of them were related to my research aims. I had easy access to 'important people', in terms of them having time for interviews. However, these interviews were often very short – not more than 30 minutes, and the interview topic often deviated to the

interviewee's interest rather than mine. This meant that several times, I had interviews in which only 10 or 15 percent of the time was used for my research interests, and only after skillful returns to the research topic. This seems to suggest that to the problem of access to 'important' people when 'studying up' there is a need to reflect on the effects that power relations (between research participants and researcher) exercise on the productivity of the encounters - at least for the anthropologist.

Upon my arrival in Mandhlakazi on 18th June, I found accommodation at the residence of someone I had met in the course of my first visit and research in Mandhlakzi, in May/June 2006. I immediately initiated contacts with research informants and other people in Mandhlakazi in order to obtain information about the proceedings associated with the commemoration. The following day I presented by credentials at the district administration and the municipality, and left to Nwadjahane – the place were the commemoration would take place. I attempted interviews with members of Eduardo Mondlane's family, without any success, because they were busy with the preparations for the commemoration on the following day. I spent the day observing the memorial and the landscape and people's actions. (A fuller description will be provided in my account of the preparations for the commemoration). On the same day, I walked three kilometers from Nwadjahane to Rigwane – on the main road to Mandhlakazi- and other six kilometers to the Coolela monument and the *Posto Administrativo* of Chalala. Both in Nwadjahane and Coolela I took notes of my observations in an A5 hardcover notebook. These notes were later transferred into a computer I had at my accommodation.

I spent the following two weeks collecting and recording data in different ways and from several sources. I identified, made contacts and conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants who were relevant to my research. I observed the commemorations of Eduardo Mondlane's anniversary and different memorials in the town of Mandhlakazi, in Coolela and Nwadjahane. I was fortunate to be guided by Eduardo Mondlane's nieces and a grandson on a tour in the Nwadjahane Open Museum, in an attempt to experience what tourists and other visitors experience whenever they visit this site. I also consulted the few archival data I could find in the municipality and district directorates – I could not find documentation at the district administration. Later in the day I would return to my accommodation in town and enter data from interviews and my observations in the

computer, for eventual analysis. The whole process of gaining access, permission, collecting and recording data was based on a flexible sampling strategy and rigorous ethnical guidelines.

3.3. Sampling and Ethics

Research participants, informants and institutions were selected on the basis of their knowledge associated with my research questions (What Schensul, Schensul & Le Compte 1999: 233, 235 call convenience sample and criterion-based selection). In this regard government institutions and members of the local communities and elites associated with Nwadjahane Open Museum, Coolela Monument and people who knew the history of Mandhlakazi, Nwadjahane and Coolela/Xai-Xai were sought. Often, research informants and other participants would indicate other informants or institutions that could provide relevant information. This sampling strategy is otherwise known as convenience or snowball sampling. However, some informants could not be reached for various reasons. These included physical distance and unavailability of informants. Specifically informants who claim to be relatives of Ngungunyane and a former *Chefe do Posto* of Chalala could not be contacted, because the former live in South Africa, while the latter live in distant parts in Mozambique. Some public officials and other key informants would not be available for interviews.

Before conducting interviews or observations I always sought – and obtained permission from the relevant government offices, local chiefship structures and the Eduardo Mondlane family; and informed consent from research participants. I explained my research aims and procedures to participants, accompanied by an abstract of my research proposal and letters from the academic department with which I am affiliated. I followed other basic ethical guidelines, such as explaining that their participation in the study was voluntary, and they could withdraw from the study at any time with no negative consequences to them; I guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality of identity and information for all research participants. Anonymity was ensured by my using pseudonyms or in some cases referring to people's identity in a vague way. This latter option applied to government officials and members of Eduardo Mondlane's family. I refer to them as 'a government official' or 'a member of Mondlane's family'. However, in certain cases I could not conceal the identity, especially of public officials.

The only return I promised my research informants was to provide them a copy of my research report, after examination, and seek their criticism of it. Following ethical guidelines, I also did not record either by tape or digitally the interviews, since many informants did not feel at ease with that method. However, they accepted and even encouraged my taking notes. According to some of them tape or digitally recording seems journalism-oriented and can be used against them; while writing what they say shows how important their testimonies are. In this regard, an elderly lady I interviewed on the history of Mandhlakazi said taking notes is important to preserve history – *amatimu*[9]. Another informant insisted on having two completely off-the-record interviews – meaning by no means recorded – which I of course memorized and wrote them down soon after I left the interview site. In the following table I provide a list of institutions and research informants I worked with in Mandhlakazi, and the procedures/documentation for obtaining permission or consent to conduct research

Table 2: Institutions and informants in *Mandhlakazi* District

Institution	Branch/people/site	Activity	Documents for permission
District Administration	District Administrator	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Permanent Secretary	Interview	Credential Abstract
	Archives	Archival research	Credential, abstract
	District Services of Education, Youth and Technology	Interview Archival research	Credential Proposal abstract
	District Services of Economic Activity (includes Tourism)	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Ngungunyane's tree	Observation	N.A
	Ngungunyane's Statue	Photography	N.A
Municipality	Mayor	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Representative for Education and Culture	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Representative for Tourism	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Professor Primario 1		
	Professor Primario 2		
	Director Primario		

[9] Interview with Carlota Massingue, on 21 June 2007, in *Mandhlakazi* District.

	Directora Pedagogica		
	Carlota Massingue		
	Marisa Roda		
	Major General		
	Victoria Georgina		
Xai-Xai Administrative Post	Head of Post	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Traditional leader	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
	Directors of Primary Schools	Interviews	Credential Proposal abstract
Coolela	*Coolela* Monument	Observation Photography	N.A
	Estevao Mandivate	Interviews	Credential Proposal abstract
	Paulo Pedro		
Nwadjahane		Observations Photography	Permission from Eduardo Mondlane Foundation
	Eduardo Mondlane Foundation	Interviews	Credential Proposal abstract
	Eduardo Mondlane family	Interviews	Credential Proposal abstract
	Crista Madalena		Credential Proposal abstract
	Helio Aurelio		
	Maria Mafalda		
	Nausica dos Amores		

3.4. Return to Maputo, fieldwork in Xai-Xai, and leaving the field

After two weeks of conducting research in Mandhlakazi I returned to Maputo City in order to proceed with library and archival research, and try and interview government officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture. An additional objective was to obtain a photographic camera to aid in data collection in Mandhlakazi. This second visit to Maputo City was again unsuccessful, since I would not meet with key informants nor even obtain more information. Instead, officials at the Ministry of Tourism and that of Education and Culture advised me to contact their provincial directorates, located in Xai-Xai, the capital city of Mandhlakazi.

In this regard I went to Xai-Xai, and conducted a focus group discussion with officials of the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture, who also provided me very important

archival sources. I had no intention of conducting a group discussion. However, by as I started a conversation with some officials other relevant people, such as the head of the department of cultural heritage arrived with other colleagues; I was forced to conduct a group interview. I could not obtain relevant information from the Provincial directorate of Tourism, because the director was not available at the office, and, according to her colleagues, she is the only one who could provide information on the subject of my research. Despite my insistence in trying to schedule an interview with the director, I could not succeed. This was so until the end of July, when I finally had to leave Mozambique and return to Johannesburg. The following table illustrates my research activities in Xai-Xai.

Table 3: Research Activities in Xai-Xai

Institution	**Branch/people/site**	**Activity**	**Documents for permission**
Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture	Department of Cultural Heritage	Interview And archival research	Credential Proposal abstract
	Department of Education	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract
Provincial Directorate of Tourism	Director	Interview	Credential Proposal abstract

Under these circumstances, I returned to Mandhlakazi and continued unsuccessful attempts to obtain archival data on the construction and restoration of local memorials, and on the establishment of the town. The district administration office and the District Services of Education, Youth and Technology could not provide me access to these archives, because they were not accessible. The inaccessibility of information relevant to my research is associated to an unfortunate event as an official of that department told me. According to her the former head of the department of culture died last year (2006) without informing anyone where the keys to an important file cabinet are. For this reason many documents which are stored in that file cannot be accessed. Despite these difficulties, I managed to record photographic data, conduct more interviews and observations. I also took this opportunity to inform each and every research participant of the interruption of my fieldwork, for an eventual return in September, November (for more fieldwork) or December 2007 or January 2008 for the presentation of the research report.

3.5. Data Recording and Analysis

Data collection, recording and analysis were not processes separated in time, as some methodological literature seems to suggest. That literature usually portrays the research process as being divided in different stages, namely, conceptualization (or research design), data collection, analysis/interpretation, and writing up (cf. Okely 1994). I regard the research process stages as overlapping and messy, a process in which stages are not easily separated in practice. In fact, my research design had to be slightly adapted to the circumstances and demands of the research, and data collection and analysis/interpretation were conducted simultaneously. By doing this I follow the methodological suggestion proposed by Judith Okely (1994), according to whom a) data collection and analysis/interpretation should be conducted simultaneously, and in the course of fieldwork – because that helps in refining the data collection options, and b) analysis and interpretation is a total process that makes use of the theoretical and methodological framework of the research and fieldwork experience of the researcher. I followed this suggestion with some adaptations to my research case.

I recorded observations in the form of jotted notes in an A5 notebook and photography, and I recorded interviews in A4 notebooks. Jotted notes were later developed into descriptive and analytical notes and directly entered into the computer. To these notes I added my written – sometimes verbatim – records of interviews, including observations during interviews, which I also entered daily into the computer. Observations were recorded in English language, while interviews were recorded in the language used by the informants – Portuguese (the official language in Mozambique) or Tsonga (the main local language of Mandhlakazi). I later translated all interviews into English. I started the analysis of notes in the weekend after my arrival in Mandhlakazi. By analysis I mean coding informants names and data collected, and organizing data into emergent themes. My analysis and interpretation were guided by the theoretical framework (see literature review section); Foucault's (1972) discourse analysis; and Jan Vansina (1985), Louise White (2000), and Rosalind Shaw's (1997) treatment of oral history and tradition.

In Michel Foucault's (1972) understanding, discourse analysis is deconstruction of discourse. This means that I have tried to understand what narratives the discourses I collected try and/or do produce, reproduce and transmit; when – in which historical and political

contexts – these discourses emerge and develop; which social actors (state, elites, local people) produce, reproduce and transmit these discourses, and using what means? What are the silences in these discourses – meaning what is repressed? This understanding of discourse regards the relation between the production and transmission of discourse as associated with power relations. Specifically, as Foucault argues, the production of knowledge reproduces power, as power is also about the production of knowledge.

Africanist anthropologists (Shaw 1997) and historians (Vansina 1985; White 2000) have used oral messages as reliable historical sources in the study of African societies. They have used them as i) sources of historical information; and, most importantly ii) as interpretive tools that African people use in order to understand and describe specific historical moments and events, in general, and more specifically as a special form of argument – a critique to economic and political elite power. The conceptual and methodological framework has been established by Jan Vansina (1985), and empirical examples have been provided in history by Louise White (2000) and in anthropology by Rosalind Shaw (1997). I follow their contribution and applied their methodological framework to the understanding of oral messages (oral history and oral tradition) produced and reproduced by subaltern people in cotemporary Mandhlakazi, about the Gaza Empire, the colonial and the postcolonial state in Mozambique. In this regard, I am not concerned with the factuality of these messages, but with exploring their interpretive potential as a 'critique of power.

3.6. Research sites

In this section I decribe the three sites in which research was conducted in Mozambique, in order to orient the reader both geographically, and historically. The main aim of this section is to develop an argument about the historical significance of Mandhlakazi in precolonial, colonial and recent (postcolonial) history of Mozambique. For this reason the description of Xai-Xai and Maputo City will be brief, differently from a longer description of Mandhlakazi. This site will be described in terms of its geographic location, a discussion of its etymology, and its historical significance in Mozambique. I will start by describing Maputo City and then Xai-Xai, and finalize with Mandhlakazi.

The order of my description derives from three sets of different reasons. The first is geographic progression – going from South up to the North of the country. The second is related to the administrative division of the country. Since independence the country is divided – hierarchically in Provinces[10] (they were ten at independence, and since 1999 they are eleven, Maputo City being one of them). These are followed by Districts, then *Postos Administrativos*, *localidades, povoações* and or villages, *Quarteiroes, Bairros[11], and Blocos.* The heads of these divisions are the Provincial Governor, District Administrator, *Chefe do Posto,* President of the locality and/ or village (or Community leader – often a chief or the so-called traditional leader), *Chefe do Quarteirao, Secretario do Bairro*, and *Chefe do Bloco*. From the creation of local governance structures in 1998, at the District level there are municipalities, which are not integrated in the central, provincial and district government structures I mentioned. Thirdly, it seems more logical to describe Mandhlakzi at last and to a certain length given its significance for this research and because I conducted most of my fieldwork at that site.

3.6.1. Maputo City

Maputo City is the capital city of Mozambique, since independence frrom Portuguese colonialism on 25 June 1975, and is the eleventh province of the country since 1999. During colonialism this city was named Lourenço Marques, and became a city on 10 November 1887. It became the administrative capital of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, in 1898, and still preserves many of its colonial characteristics. It is the economic, political, social, scientific and administrative center of the country; it accommodates most of governmental and non-governemntal organizations both national and international; it has the most important harbour in the country, which also works as a gateway to its neighbouring countries in the SADC region, and has the most important and biggest international airport in the country (*Aeroporto Internacional de Mavalane* – Mavalane Internacional Airport) (Mozambique 2004). This city is located in the southern-most part of the country, with an area of 316 Km2 inland, limited by the district of Marracuene in the

[10] For the politico-administrative division of Mozambique refer to Mozambique. 2005. Regulamento da Lei dos Órgãos Locais do Estado (RELOLE). Artigo 9-13. Boletim da República. I Série, Número 23, de 10 de Junho, 2º Suplemento. Maputo City: Imprensa Nacional.

[11] Bairro is an administrative division in urban areas in Mozambique. Mozambican cities and urban areas are usually organized in *Distritos Urbanos, Bairros, Quarteirões and Blocos.* the bloco usually has 1o houses; the quarteirão has various blocos, the bairro has quarteirões and the distrito urbano has bairros. The exact number of households in quarteirões, bairros and distritos urbanos is not know. However, some estimates indicate that one or two quarteirões can have 100-150 households (cf. Cubula 2008: 2).

North, Matutuine in the South, Matola and Boane in the West and the Indian Ocean in the East. It had a population of 1 162 486 inhabitants in 2004, residing in five urban districts inland, and 50 *Bairros* in Catembe and Inhaca Island.

3.6.2. Xai-Xai

Xai-Xai is the capital city of Gaza Province and a district of this province. It is located 220 kms from Maputo City, in the Indian Ocean Coast, which is its Southern boundary. To the North its boundary is the *Posto Administrativo* of Malehice (Chibuto District), and Chokwe District; to the East it borders with Bilene District; and Mandhlakazi is to the West (all these districts in Gaza Province). Its population was estimated at 206 270 inhabitants in 2005, which is spread along an area of 1,908 km2. This is a young population (44 percent below the age of 15), predominantly female (57 percent) and mostly living in rural areas (80 percent) (Mozambique 2005b: 2). *Xai-Xai* derives from the name of Ntchai-Tchai Dlamini, a Nguni chief appointed by Sochangane (the founder of the Gaza Empire) to oversee the area on behalf of the Nguni Emperor. Xai-Xai is Portuguese ortography and pronounciation, and became the capital of Gaza (a former Portuguese colonial district in Mozambique) in 1925. The Portuguese called this place João Belo, after a Portuguese official appointed to oversee the harbour located in the area. After independence of Mozambique from Portuguese colonial rule João Belo was renamed *Xai-Xai*, and retains that name up to this day. It is the economic, social and administrative center of Gaza Province, and in addition to the capital city has three *Postos Administrativos*: Chicumbane, Chonguene and Zonguene (Mozambique 2005b: 9, 13). Xitsonga is the most widely spoken language, with 42 percent of the population with a fair knowledge of Portuguese, and half of it (53 perecent) with primary education or still in primary schools (Mozambique 2005b: 10).

3.6.3. Mandhlakazi

Mandhlakazi is a district in Gaza Province located in Southern Mozambique, approximately 260 Kms to the North of Maputo City, and 24º 04' and 25º 00' South of latitude and 33º 56' and 34º 28 East. It is in the borderland with Panda District (Inhambane Province) to the North and Xai-Xai District and the Indian Ocean to the South, the districts if Inharrime and Zavala (Inhambane Province) to the East, and Chibuto District to the West. Its population was estimated at 200 042 inhabitants occupying the district's 3,797 Km². It has a young

population (45 percent under the age of 15), mostly females (58 percent) and mostly living in rural areas (86 percent) (Mozambique 2005: 2). The main language in the district is Xitsonga, but almost half of the population with five years of age and older has some knowledge of the Portuguese language – especially the male population, given its access to education and work oppostunities. Almost half of the population of the district is literate (47 percent) and 59 percent has or is still having primary education. There are 126 schools, only two of them at the secondary level (Mozambique 2005: 10, 19). This population is spread throughout seven *Postos Administrativos*, namely Mandhlakazi, Chalala, Chimbonzane, Chidenguele, Macuacua, Mazucane, and Nguzene; and 19 *localidades* (Mozambique 2005: 9, 13).

In the next chapter I discuss the history of Mandhalakazi from the perspective of subaltern groups. By doing this I intend to demonstrate that history as a discourse about the past is produced in a diversity of spaces and by different social gropus. In addition, I show how subaltern accounts of the history of Mandhlakazi and especially its etymology can be used as useful instruments to develop an ethnography of the state, and more specifically the (precolonial) Gaza Empire. Underlying this ethnography of the state through subaltern accounts of history, I argue, it is possible to envisage a critique of the historiography of Mandhlakazi.

4.

Writing History from the Perspective of the Subalterns

In this chapter I outline an ethnography of the state (Gupta 2006; Gupta & Sharma 2006), and a critique of the historiography of Mozambique and more specifically of Mandhlakazi. My application of an ethnography of the state to a precolonial polity (the Gaza Empire) is a methodological challenge given the context to which I am applying this postcolonial framework. This critique of historiography comes in the form of a reflection on the mainstream historical narrative of Mandhalakazi. This narrative emphasizes a political and military history, centered on the colonial conquest of Mozambique, regarding the contests involving the Gaza Empire and Mozambican polities which ruled Mandhalakazi as secondary. This is a perspective which reproduces the West as 'the legitimate subject of history' (Chakrabarty 2000); a view I find extremely problematic. I start by discussing the etymology of Mandhlakazi and demonstrate the critique of state power within the popular etymology. I finalize with a discussion of the historical significance of Mandhlakazi, going beyond the mainstream historiography of that site. By doing this I connect precolonial and postcolonial political dynamics in ways which have not been explored in the historiography of Mandhlakazi and Mozambique.

4.1. Etymology and the Critique of Power

What is the meaning of Mandhlakazi? This is a contentious issue at the local level – in Mandhlakazi – as well as in the historiography of postcolonial Mozambique. In what have become two of the best known introductions to the history of Mozambique, the Gaza Empire is described at some length, without any attempt at discussing the etymology of Mandhlakazi. One author simply says "The capital – Mandhlakazi […] means "great power" (Serra 2000: 91); and another: "Mandhlakazi means the power of blood" (Pelissier 1985: 239). These at least are improvements when compared to Newitt's (1995), another – otherwise good - introduction to the history of Mozambique, which does not discuss the meaning of that term at all. The divergent understandings of Mandhlakazi as associated either with power or to blood are also found among my informants in present day Mandhlakazi itself. A member of the local elite (the Mondlanes of Chalala) told me that there are two interpretations of the etymology of Mandhlakazi: one is that Mandhlakazi

means a 'powerful hand'; and another that it means 'the land where plenty of blood is shed'[12]. He argues that the first interpretation is the most accurate.

However, other informants emphasize the second understanding - related to blood-shed and violence - and add stories associated with Ngungunyane's (the last ruler of the Gaza Empire) inclination to arrogance, tyranny and violence. An elderly woman I interviewed told me that the original term is Nguni: *Mandlayagazi* in Zulu, and was translated into Tsonga (the local language) as *Mandlayangati*. She said this means "eating blood - because a lot of blood was shed at this place"[13]. This informant's translation – of *Mandlayagazi* or *Mandlayangati* - is not semantically accurate; an accurate one would be 'the power of blood'. However, her translation conveys the message of association with human blood-shed, and ultimately, with brutal physical violence. Another informant provided a richer description, in the following terms:

> [T]he term *Mandhlakazi* was given by people, [but] other people say the name was given by Ngungunyane. Mandhlakazi comes from *Mandlayangati* [*akuya dliwa a ngati a nkama hinkwawu* – blood was consumed every time there]. That is Shangane; while in Zulu it is '*mandlayagazi*. This is because there used to be lots of fights and blood-shed. So the Shanganes say Magangati or Mandhlakazi, while the Portuguese called it Manjacaze[14]. [The italics are mine].

She goes back even longer in time, and adds an account of the precolonial political history of Mandhlakazi. In this narrative apparently she argues for the legitimacy of the governance of Mozambican polities that ruled the area before Ngungunyane; and suggests the romanticized view that those polities coexisted peacefully.

> Before this place was called Mandhlakazi it was *Kamaphandani,* the place of the Matsinhes; and used to stretch from [wherever] in the east until [what is now] the administration building. From there it used to be the place of the Mondlanes. When Ngungunyane arrived he dominated the Mondlanes and the Matsinhes. The Matsinhes used to rule until *Vmague* [?] eastwards, with the Manhiques at the place of

[12] Interview with Major General (a pseudonym), a member of the local 'traditional leadership' and representative of the state, held in MandhlakaziDistrict, on 21 June 2007.
[13] Interview with Marisa Roda (a pseudonym) in Mandhlakazi, on 24 June 2007. This elderly lady is a very important informant in matters associated with the history of Mandhlakazi. She is employed as a tourist guide by the local municipality – on an ad hoc basis.
[14] Interview with Carlota Massingue (pseudonym) on 21 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi District. This is another informant I was told knows the history of Mandhlakazi very well.

> the Chopes. Mondlane ruled until Tavane in Makwakwa, and on the West the Mondlanes used to rule until… Malehice was ruled by other people. The name Mandlayagazi is Zulu, and came with Ngungunyane. It means the power of blood[15]. [The italics are mine].

This informant proceeds with this narrative, associating Ngungunyane with violence and disregard for local rules. Other informants told me similar narratives. One of them tells how Ngungunyane was welcome by a local chief, Xipenanyane Mondlane, a chief who had been his friend[16], and gave Ngungunyane a place to stay. However, Ngungunyane became arrogant and started demanding tribute given the fact that he had a huge army with him[17]. These stories about Ngungunyane's arrogant demands for tribute abound; one of the most interesting ones being the following:

> Ngungunyane used to give orders to his Indunas to go and make war and conquer other people […].Ngungunyane once sent his people […] to ask for *munyandzi* [eating oil extracted from the *mafura* tree] from the people of Bahule of Makupulane [a place she described as *ka ngozi* - the place of danger]. The guys brought the oil which Ngungunyane consumed with roasted meat, and found it very tasty. So, he sent the guys again with orders of bringing more *munyandzi* in containers carried by women with tall necks. The Bahules did not like that intrusion and asked the emissaries of Ngungunyane who that [arrogant] man thought he was. The emissaries told Ngungunyane of the reaction of the Bahules, and Ngungunyane sent a small army to teach the Bahules a lesson. When the army arrived, the Bahules were prepared; hid in a sacred bush and started shooting spears that killed Ngungunyane's warriors. When the army returned they told Ngungunyane that they had been shot - *ku tchopiwa*. From that time on, the guys on the east of Ngungunyane's capital became known as *vachopi* or *chopis*[18].

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[15] Idem.

[16] This narrative has some historical factuality in it. In fact, René Pelissier (1985) says that Ngungunyane and Xipenanyane were educated together by the former's father. According to this author Xipennayane was kept as a hostage because his father was an enemy of Ngungunyane's father (Muzila). Xipenanyane received the same education as Ngungunyane, and used to defeat Ngungunyane in games, hunting and other activities – humiliations Ngungunyane never forgot.

[17] Second interview with Major General, on 27 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi District. And interview with Estevão Mandivate, on 28 June 2007, in *Xai-Xai*, Mandhlakazi District.

[18] Interview with Maria Roda, on 24 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi). This narrative also tells me about the origins of the term Vachopi or Chopes, a linguistic group from Southern Mozambique, especially in Inhambane and Gaza Provinces. This linguistic group has become famous in anthropological literature given Hugh Tracey's study of their artistic production (Tracey 1970). The term Chope describes both a social group as well as their language. This account is not a total fiction; it is backed by other historiographic sources. In fact, René Pelissier (1985) tells the story of Ngungunyane's attempts to conquer the Chopis. In that narrative – slightly different from the one I was told by my informant – Ngununyane tried to conquer the Chopis – and specifically the Bahules (who the author locates under the chief of Makupulane. This attempt failed after Ngungunyane sent a huge army, led by the commander of his army – Maguinguane Khosa. After many unsuccessful attempts, Ngungunyane reportedly organized an ambush to the chief of Makupulane and killed him. Subsequently his body was burnt and the ashes mixed with food that was given to Ngungunyane's warriors. By eating the ashes

These commentaries on the precolonial "politics of the belly" (Bayart 1993) are often associated with satiric descriptions of vulgarity and other forms of state banalization similar to what Achille Mbembe (1992) describes in the case of African postcolonies. These representations of the state (Gupta 2006; Gupta & Sharma 2006), resorting to ridicule and reduction to ordinary and basic human action and behaviour (Mbembe 1992) are added to arguments concerning the 'alien' character of the 'despot'. People do not seem to be concerned with the factuality of their discourse – similarly to gossip, rumour and scandal – but with the aim of undermining the legitimacy of the 'despot'. This becomes clearer in the following account:

> He [Ngungunyane] used to hold meetings with his counselors [*madodas*]; and he used to speak Zulu. For that reason many people used to say that Ngungunyane is not a Shangane, he does not belong to us. Ngungunyani used to treat people well; he did not make people suffer. He used to say he was from here; but he was born elsewhere. But people used to say he was not originally from here. They used to say he belonged to the Zulus. However, no one dared tell him to his face that he was not from here; can you dare say something like that to a chief? People just used to gossip about that. People used to say he was not from here not because they hated him, but because they realized how different he was from them. His children also spoke Zulu; his wives spoke both Zulu and Shangane. Some of his wives were from here, while others he brought from wherever he had came from. […] He had lots of children: what can you expect from someone with lots of wives? Some of his children he didn't even know about.
>
> He used to take his wives by force; he did not follow the law here. My maternal grandmother was cut in the head by Ngungunyane's troops, because she had been playing at the borehole with some friends, and when Ngungunyane's troops arrived there, my grandmother's friends had fled and left her alone. His warriors used to be Zulus and locals from here. Wherever he went he got men, because he thought he would conquer from Rovuma to Maputo, [but of course] he couldn't. He couldn't do it because wherever he went there were chiefs and they were not going to accept his rule. Even Mondlane made it because he united people. When he arrived here he dominated the local chiefs [*avakhonzissa*] my husband's grandfather says that Ngungunyane used to act such as the Matsangas[19] [Renamo guerrilla]; they used to go

of the enemy the warriors were believed to consume the enemy himself, and were thus able to defeat the Chopis.

[19] The term Matsanga was first attribute to the RENAMO guerrilla who rebelled against the postcolonial government of Mozambique at about 1976. One of the tactics of this movement consisted in massacres, and mutilation of body parts of civilians. So, from the end of the 1970s through the 1990s the term Matsanga also meant cruel banditry. The term is not used in public discourse, because it is not politically correct given the reconciliation policy adopted by the Mozambican government after the signing of the Roma Peace Accords, in 1992 that ended the war. Matsanga is a derivation from the name of the first leader of RENAMO, André Matade Matsangaissa, killed in a battle with the government defense forces in 1979.

> and sack wherever they went. They stopped by rivers, stole maize and food and when they were through they left. Some people liked Ngungunyane because he was a king [hossi], but other people did not like him, because whenever he wanted to get up he used to stick a spear on each person on his side. Do you think people can like him? When someone came to him with a problem he used to say 'the guy has lots of children' meaning go and kill his children; or 'the guy has lots of cattle', meaning go and get his cattle[20].

4.2. Explorations into historical significance and connections

Mandhlakazi has become famous in the historiography of Mozambique given its association with the Nguni Empire, and with the defeat of that empire by the Portuguese. More recently, the government of Mozambique is recuperating Mandhlakazi as an important site of 'national memory' given its association with Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the celebrated founding father of Mozambican national identity. An overview of the conventional historiography of Mandhlakazi is important here. I will start by providing a brief historical narrative of Mandhlakazi and finalize by considering its connection with Eduardo Mondlane.

Mandhlakazi was the last capital of the Gaza Empire, which lasted roughly from the early 1820s to the late 1890s. The founder and first ruler of this empire was Manicusse or Soshangane, a Nguni general who fled from Shaka Zulu's raids associated with the *M'fecane* in the early 1820s in present day Kwazulu Natal, in South Africa. Soshangane occupied a vast territory in Mozambique that included the margins of the Incomati River (in present day Maputo Province, in Southern Mozambique) and went up to Mussorize, a little beyond the Save River (in present day Manica Province, in Central Mozambique). Soshangane's death in 1858 was followed by a violent war opposing two of his sons (Mawewe, legitimate heir to the throne, according to the legal rules of the Nguni, and Muzila, apparently the favourite of the people). Muzila, with assistance of the Portuguese, eventually defeated his brother and became the ruler of the empire from the early 1860s. After his death, probably around 1884 another power contest involved two of his sons (Mafemani, the legitimate heir, and Mudungazi). The latter organized the assassination of or actually assassinated the former, and became ruler of the empire, and changed his own name to Ngungunyane (Serra 2000: 89-91).

[20] Interview with Carlota Massingue, on 21 June 2007, in *Mandhlakazi*.

The accession of Ngungunyane to the throne coincides with the Berlin Summit of 1884/85 and the decision about colonial effective occupation of Africa. For reasons which are not clear, at about 1889 Ngungunyane moved his capital from Mossurize, and established himself at what was later called Mandhlakazi, at the margins of the Limpopo River, in present day Gaza Province, in Southern Mozambique (Serra 2000: 91). Soon after his establishment in Mandhlakazi, the Portuguese had started organizing the military occupation of Mozambique. They had established themselves at the court of the Gaza Empire, and paid tribute to Gaza rulers since the times of Muzila.

However, with their changed intentions, and conflicts with other Mozambican rulers in Southern Mozambique, they came into direct military confrontation with Ngungunyane. In this regard after the Portuguese confrontation with Mozambican rulers at the battle of Marracuene[21] (Newitt 1995: 375; Mozambique 2001: 31), in Maputo, two rulers, Zixaxa and Mahazule fled and asked for exile at Ngungunyane's court. Ngungunyane received them, and refused Portuguese requests to hand over the two rulers. As a result of that refusal the Portuguese sent their army to Gaza, which confronted and defeated Ngungunyane's at the battle of Magul in August 1895 (Newitt 1995: 376). This battle was followed by the battle of Coolela, on 7 November 1895, in which Ngungunyane's army was defeated. After Ngungunyane's defeat the Portuguese (led by Mouzinho de Albuquerque) marched to the capital Mandhlakazi and burnt it (Newitt 1995: 376; Liengme n.d[22].). Meanwhile Ngungunyane had fled to Tchaimiti where eventually Mouzinho captured him on 28 December 1895 (Newitt 1995: 376).

The Portuguese later established an administration at Mandhlakazi[23], by the tree Ngungunyane used to sit under and address his commanders as well as solve people's problems, and close to one of his residences. They also built memorials in Magul, and in

[21] Historical sources contradict themselves regarding the outcome of the battle. Newitt (1995: 375-376) attributes victory to the Portuguese, while postcolonial Mozambican sources argue that there was no victory for any of the contenders (Mozambique 2001: 31).
[22] Untitled journal of Dr Liengme (MD), a swiss medical doctor who worked and lived in the court of Ngungunyane in the last days of the Gaza Empire.
[23] The Portuguese changed the name of the capital of the Gaza Empire to Manjacaze – a common habit of the Portuguese in Mozambique was to change the orthography of Mozambican names to one easier to pronounce for them. After independence, the postcolonial government of Mozambique changed the name of this place to *Mandhlakazi*, again.

Coolela in 1898 (Mozambique 2001: 9). While the events I have been described do not seem contentions to historians and local people, other events associated with the defeat of Ngungunyane are contentions. It is not clear who won the battle of Magul, not even the reasons why Ngungunyane's army was defeated in Coolela and why he was later captured by the Portuguese. I will later discuss the different views associated with the battle of Coolela and Ngungunyane's imprisonment. So, Mandhlakazi has become a reference to the colonial occupation of Mozambique – the Portuguese commemorating their victory over the Mozambicans (or more accurately, over the Gaza Empire, which was Nguni, not Mozambican), and the postcolonial government of Mozambique celebrating the same place as a symbol of Mozambican resistance against foreign domination. This view from the postcolonial nation-state does not enjoy consensus at the local level, in Mandhlakazi. This is not a new sentiment, and believing Newitt (1995: 378) and Pelissier (1988: 305) the Gaza Empire did not either enjoy much popularity at the time Ngungunyane was captured by the Portuguese. Newitt describes that

> Raúl Honwana recorded in his autobiography[24] 'that when Gugunhane was finally led away by Mouzinho de Albuquerque's troops, the crowd shouted… "Away with you vulture, slaughterer of our chickens". The destruction of the power of the Nguni ruling houses was probably not unpopular and at the time was regarded with indifference by the people they had conquered and from whom they had obtained tribute (Newitt (1995: 378).

One of the members of the local ruling elite that had been "conquered" and from whom [the Nguni] "had obtained tribute" (Newitt 1995: 378) was Eduardo Mondlane. In fact, Mandhlakazi is also the place of birth of Eduardo Mondlane, born at the village of Nwadjahane, in present day *Posto Administrativo* of Chalala The village received this name after independence in the context of the 'socialization of the countryside' in the 1980s in Mozambique. Nwadjahane is the name of Eduardo Mondlane's father, a local chief, who died while Mondlane was still an infant. The name, according to an informant was given to the village "to honour the father of the architect of national unity."[25]

[24] The use of Raul Honwana as a historical source is acceptable in thee sense that it might reflect sentiments of the people Ngungunyane ruled, which was passed through oral tradition (in Vansina's 1985 sense). This is because Honwana was born ten years after the capture of Ngununyane, and cannot be used as an eyewitness or a source of oral history.

[25] Interview with Helio Aurelio, on 21 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

Mondlane grew up in Mandhlakazi where he did part of his primary education which he later finalized in Lourenço Marques and Ricatla (Maputo Province today). He finalized his secondary education (Lemana Training College) and started university studies (University of the Witwatersrand) in South Africa, and obtained his doctorate in Anthropology and Social Psychology from the Northwestern University in the United States of America (USA). At the time of his election as president of FRELIMO he was a professor of anthropology at the University of Syracuse, in New York, in the United States, after resigning from a research position in the United Nations**.** In postcolonial Mozambique, Nwadjahane is being revived (by Eduardo Mondlane's family and the Mozambican state) as a heritage site associated with the construction of the Mozambican nation. In this regard, an important state commemoration was held in Nwadjahane on 20 June of this year (2007) – the birthday of Eduardo Mondlane. I develop a discussion of the commemoration in Nwadjahane in the following chapter.

5.

The Construction of National Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique

Commemorations in *Nwadjahane* and its renewed and recent prominence in Mozambique partially provide the grounds for the argument I will develop in this chapter. Accordingly, I claim that the production of national memory is current in postcolonial Mozambique, with the active involvement of the Mozambican state, and local elites. This production is partially based on the restoration and promotion of heritage sites - or 'sites of memory' (Nora 1989) - challenging John Gillis' (1992) prediction that we are living in a post-national memory period. In this process the Mozambican postcolonial state employs, in addition to commemorations, heritage legislation education policy, and other related actions to ensure the achievement of its goals. I will start by providing an account of the legal and policy framework employed by this state in connection with the promotion of national memory. This will be followed by discussion of an empirical example of state construction of national memory. Specifically, I will focus on *Nwadjahane* commemorations and emphasize the role of family and state-sponsored memory (a discussion on elite memory).

5.1. Legal and Policy Framework: Heritage Law and Education Curriculum

Policy and legislation in postcolonial Mozambique have been used to further the promotion of national memory. This is being done directly through the use of legislation with the aim of protecting heritage, and indirectly through education policy (or more specifically, the new national education curriculum), and the government commitment to assisting the projects of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation. This (policy and legislation) framework produces effects at the local level given local (district) government and public sector efforts that enforce that framework. It is still premature to suggest the effects of government commitment with the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation on the promotion of the *Nwadjahane* Open Museum. However, in Mozambique, action on heritage sites and objects often takes precedence over legal and political framework; a procedure encouraged by discourses by Mozambican politicians and public servants. In this section I will provide a description of the legal and policy framework associated with the preservation and promotion of heritage in postcolonial Mozambique, and the actions that framework produces at the local level.

5.1.1 The Heritage Protection Law no. 10 of 22 December 1988

Monuments, memorials, and historical sites in Mozambique are protected by the Law of Cultural Protection, known in cultural heritage jargon in Mozambique as *Lei 10/88* - Law no. 10/88 (of 22 December 1988[26].) This law was designed to protect what is called cultural heritage of/in Mozambique. The guiding premise is that cultural goods (the general definition of heritage in that law) are the reservoir of popular memory. The definition of cultural heritage shows an inclination towards a construction or perceived existence of a national identity, since cultural heritage is understood as: "the set of material and immaterial goods created or integrated by the *Mozambican people* throughout its history, *with relevance to the definition of Mozambican cultural identity"*[The italics are mine] (Mozambique 1988: 14-15). This way, the law clearly excludes heritage that (as the legislator understands) is irrelevant "to the definition of Mozambican cultural identity". However, the legislator does not clarify the criteria for that definition.

In fact, this law covers a broad range of heritage artifacts and non-material production, as it incorporates productions from societies that have settled in Mozambique as early as 300 AD; Asian settlements (mainly Indians, Indonesians and Persians); Portuguese cultural productions; sites and remains associated with the armed resistance of Mozambicans against Portuguese colonial domination; and productions associated with the struggle for the independence of the country (Mozambique 1988: 15). Sites associated with the Gaza Empire, such as Coolela and Mandhlakazi, are clearly incorporated in that law. Mandhlakaz*i* is "a center of power of precolonial societies", while Coolela is a place where a battle that is part of the resistance against colonial domination took place. Nwadjahane, however does not render itself to direct classification. The mainstream political and public understanding in Mozambique is that Nwadjahane is integrated in the sites associated with the struggle for the independence of Mozambique, because it is the place of birth of Eduardo Mondlane (the first president of Frelimo).

[26] This law replaces the Resolution from the Mozambican Parliament (*Assembleia* Popular) Resolução no. 4/79 of 3 May of the Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly, and should be followed by regulation which establishes the criteria for the implementation of that law. However, for unclear reasons that regulation was never produced. According to a source at the Ministry of Education and Culture in Mozambique, the only regulation that was issued concerns archeological heritage, and implementation of the heritage protection law is regulated by ad hoc authorizations (*despachos*) produced by ministers (interview at the Directorate of Education and Culture, on 13 September, in Maputo City). This law replaces the colonial legislation *Diploma Legislativo* no. 825 of 20/02/43.

There are two main ways in which this law defines the protection of heritage in the country. Heritage can either be definitely classified or be under the process of classification. In practical terms, there is no difference between a production/object that has been classified and that which is undergoing classification. This is because while the object or production is undergoing classification it enjoys protection of the heritage law, and any action aimed at modifying or destroying that object or production is liable to criminal prosecution. Objects already classified enjoy the same protection from the law. So far, Nwadjahane Open Museum and the Coolela monument are still under classification, a process that has gained momentum this year. In fact, officials of the National Directorate of Education and Culture of Mozambique shared with me an important document – "*Proposal of Bill that Classifies Historical Sites and Memorial Monuments"* (sic) – that aims at classifying TChaimite, Coolela, Magul and Nwadjahane. This proposal should have been signed by the Prime Minister of Mozambique in June 2007. This means that Coolela and Nwadjahane are protected by that law - and marks that clarify that status can be found on the sites. These marks are in the form of inscriptions on stones (as is the case in Coolela) or boards (Nwadjahane and Coolela), and they usually provide the name of the site or object and clarify that it is protected by the Law 10/88 of 22 December. I illustrate this point in the following photographs.





Figure 1: Descriptive sign - Coolela Monument Figure 2: Descriptive sign: Nwadjahane Museum

5.1.2. The Reformed Curriculum and the Local Syllabus

The Ministry of Education and Culture[27] has recently introduced a reformed curriculum in primary and secondary education in Mozambique. According to the director of curriculum planning[28] at the *Instituto para o Desenvolvimento da Educação* (INDE) [Institute for the Development of Education], responsible for curriculum development, and attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, one of the important components of the revised curriculum is the so-called local syllabus. The new curriculum was introduced in 2004. She told me the new curriculum was introduced because society is dynamic, so, the education curriculum must also be dynamic. She proceeded to explain me the stages in the production of that curriculum, and emphasized public participation in that process.

She said that, after consultation with civil society, the Ministry of Education realized that the education curriculum was irrelevant to the needs of local communities; and people complained that it was too academic and not preparing people for everyday life challenges. In that regard the Ministry of Education decided to make the necessary reforms. One of those reforms and one of the attempts of producing a locally relevant curriculum is the local syllabus. This syllabus has been introduced in the primary level of education, which in Mozambique is divided in three cycles of seven grades and integrated into two degrees. The first degree is composed by the first cycle (1st and 2nd grades), and second cycle (3rd, 4th and 5th grade). The Second degree is composed by the 3rd cycle (6th and 7th grades).

She told me cultural or historical heritage is a cross-cutting theme of national interest which is taught in the social sciences (including history) and Portuguese language. For example a teacher might lecture on historical places of national interest and take the chance to teach about historical sites located close to the school. The local curriculum has been granted a total of 20% of the time in the new curriculum. She explained me how the themes of the local curriculum are chosen and integrated into the syllabus. She said there are four stages.

[27] During Joaquim Chissano's (the former President of Mozambique) last term (1999-2004) Education policy and issues were under the portfolio of the Ministry of Education. However, since February 2005 (commencement of the term of the current President of Mozambique (Armando Guebuza) education policy and issues have been integrated with heritage and other issues understood as cultural by the government of Mozambique. This means that the former Ministries of Education and that of Culture have been merged into the (new) Ministry of Education and Culture.

[28] Interview with Director of Curriculum Planning, INDE, Maputo City, 5 July 2007.

First the school receives proposals from the local communities about the themes that the community wishes to see taught to the children. Then teachers collect the themes, organize them into categories and integrate them into the teaching plan. Teachers usually teach the contents. However, if the teacher is not able to teach the contents he/she contacts an expert in the community. This person will come to the school and share his/her experience and knowledge with the pupils[29].

During my fieldwork in Mandhlakazi, I realized that the local syllabus is being applied in primary schools. For example, schools in the town of Mandhlakazi teach students about local historical sites such as the sacred tree of Ngungunyane, how to preserve and care for it, etc., as well as about contemporary issues such as the need to know and respect representatives of state authority (the District Administrator, the Mayor, and others). Primary schools located in Chalala and close to the Coolela monument teach children about the need to preserve the monument and about the events that made Coolela famous: the battle – i.e. the conventional historiography I mentioned earlier, that associates the historical significance of Coolela with the battle of 7 November 1895. These teaching sessions are supplemented by guided visits to the historical sites, usually at commemorative dates associated with each particular site, and on international dates such as on 18 April - the International Monuments day of the UNESCO. According to a social sciences primary school teacher of Chalala (a school between 500 and 1000 meters from the Coolela Monument) the implementation of the local syllabus is recent in Mandhlakazi. He told me that teaching about historical sites and study visits in Mandhlakazi schools started in 2006, after the office of the District Administration that deals with education and Culture (*Serviços Distritais de Educação Juventude e Tecnologia* – SDEJT – District Services of Education Youth and Technology) "sent an order telling the school to teach children about local history"[30].

5.1.3. Ensuring the implementation of the heritage protection law and local syllabus

A formalized entity exists at the local level that deals with the preservation of heritage, and is known as *Conselho de Gestão do Património Cultural* [Cultural Heritage Management Council].

[29] In the course of my fieldwork I met and interviewed three of these experts. For reasons associated with the need to guarantee anonymity I used pseudonyms for them, which are Carlota Massingue and Marisa Roda. Another expert I met and interviewed was the Mayor of Mandhlakazi.
[30] Interview with Paulo Pedro, on 29 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

According to my informants, this entity incorporates chosen members of the community, teachers at the local primary schools, and business people. The entity is responsible for the selection of topics to be taught to primary school children, as part of the local syllabus, organizes regular visits to heritage sites with the objective of cleaning the sites and, if resources are available, they make restorations or developments on the sites. A case in point of these developments is a fence that surrounds the Coolela Monument. In informal conversations with informants and other people in Mandhlakazi, I learnt that this fence was constructed with timber donated by a local businessman, who also donated timber to be used at parts of the Nwadjahane open Museum. In my visit to the cemetery of the Mondlane family, in Nwadjahane I could notice that the site is surrounded by good quality timber. Here I was also told that the timber was offered to the Mondlane family by a local businessman[31].

Recently, in 2006, the Minister of Education and Culture, representing the government of Mozambique has signed a memorandum of understanding with representatives of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (cf. FECM & Mozambique 2006). By signing this memorandum, the state aims at assisting, mainly financially (but also politically), the projects of the foundation. This is clarified in clause 'b' of article 2 that specifies that the budget (or more precisely the expenses) of the foundation will be included in the State Budget (*Orçamento Geral do Estado*) (FECM & Mozambique 2006: 2). The document also specifies that

> The present Memorandum of Understanding aims at establishing work relations in order to preserve the historical, cultural and heritage values of the Nwadjahane Village[;] given the need to transform Nwadjahane Village, where Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane grew up, into a historical and cultural heritage [site] (FECM & Mozambique 2006: 1).

[31] Because my intention is not to do publicity for this businessman I will not mention his name, although I know him.

5.2. Case study: Nwadjahane Open Museum and the construction of national memory

> Nwadjahane had been forgotten for a long time. But the current president [of Mozambique – Armando Guebuza] is committed to giving Nwadjahane its dignified historical place[32].

The statement I am quoting as an epigraph is by a member of Eduardo Mondlane's family, and suggests a renewed interest from the government of Mozambique in promoting the memory of Eduardo Mondlane, through memorialization of his place of birth – Nwadjahane. This statement raises a number of questions; some being the following: why the interest from the president now – at a moment when the history of FRELIMO and that of Mozambique is being subject to debate by certain political circles of Mozambican society – and not before? Is the president acting on behalf of the state or on behalf of his party – Frelimo?

In this section I reflect on the current construction of national memory by the postcolonial state of Mozambique and Eduardo Mondlane's family, through the promotion of Nwadjahane as an 'open museum'. I discuss both state and family strategies and how those strategies intersect, rendering Maurice Halbwach's (1992) distinction between different types of social memory problematic. In fact, Paul Connerton's (1989) suggestion that social memory is politicized or permeated by politics seems more appropriate to the case. State strategies described in this section include the use of legislation, policy and the promotion of commemorations. The family resorts to 'social responsibility' projects, not directly associable to the construction of social memory, and more explicit strategies, such as the publication of a (Eduardo Mondlane) biography and opening of a (Eduardo Mondlane) library. The role of party politics suggests the presence of politics associated with (Frelimo) party interests as well as potentials of using Eduardo Mondlane's memory to further the interests of different social groups.

When I insisted with my informant to tell me why the place had been forgotten, she, diplomatically, told me she would not answer that question. And I did not press any further,

[32] Interview with Nausica dos Amores, a member of Eduardo Mondlane's family, on 22 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

either with her or with anyone else, at least directly. The informant's reluctance to respond might be related to her lack of knowledge concerning this matter. However, the informant might know the reasons for this neglect, but given her affiliation to the party that rules the country, and should be expected to promote the preservation of Nwadjahane – and did not – she might have chosen not to disclose the real reasons. From other informants, however, I found out that

> […] the decision to transform Nwadjahane into a museum was taken by the family of Eduardo Mondlane in 1999, and there was a ceremony similar to the one that happened on 20 June this year. There was a *mhamba*, public festivities, in which people from all over the country including the former President of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Chissano was here, and he opened the primary school in Nwadjahane. After that a decision was taken to start the project that is under execution now; the constructions started in 2001[33]

These constructions are part of a major project, the first stage of which was concluded in June 2007. In fact, that June was the occasion for the completion of another project launched by the foundation: the edited letters of Eduardo Mondlane – compiled in a book entitled *O Eco da Tua Voz* [The Echo of your Voice] (Mondlane 2007). As another informant told me, the book results from a bigger project that aims at

> collecting bibliography and audio-visual material produced by Eduardo Mondlane in order to produce a database, because there is no database on the work of Mondlane as of now. This is despite his prolific production of books such as *Chitlango Filho de Chefe*[34]: with André Clerc, *Lutar por Moçambique, O Nascimento de Seeiso*, poetry and music. There is currently a research group and experts working in the collection of that material in Mozambique, the United States and Europe[35].

[33] Interview with Helio Aurelio, a member of the Eduardo Mondlane family, on 26 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

[34] This autobiography was actually authored by Eduardo Mondlane and André-Clerc. The latter was Eduardo Mondlane's mentor, and he actually influenced Mondlane to describe his childhood –which is part of the book. These details are revealed in a book of edited letter of Eduardo Mondlane which Janet Mondlane –Mondlane's widow – published in Nwadjahane, in a state ceremony, on Eduardo Mondlane's birthday on 20th June 2007. The prophecy Mondlane writes about comes in the format of a story, featuring an eagle that was caged with chickens. And according to the story, the eagle was of a different nature from the chickens, and one day it would fly. This story can be interpreted as a metaphor, in which the eagle represents Mondlane himself, or the people of Mozambique that Mondlane believed someday would be independent from Portuguese colonialism. A sculptured eagle is now present at Eduardo Mondlane's house in Nwadjahane, and was present at the podium assigned to the VIP's on at the official ceremony 0f 20th June in Nwadjahane. I was surprised no one mentioned it during the commemoration.

[35] Interview with Nausica dos Amores – member of the Eduardo Mondlane family – on 22 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

The unveiling of the new buildings and the book launch took place at a major ceremony in Nwadjahane, on 20th June 2007, in what would have been Eduardo Mondlane's 87th birthday (were he alive). The commemoration in Nwadjahane had been widely publicized in the Mozambican media. I remember waking up at six o'clock on 14 June to see the President of Mozambique on national television (TVM) talking to people in Nwadjahane. After talking about Mondlane's life and deeds, he promised people he would be back there on the 20th June, for the commemoration. Nyeleti Mondlane - Eduardo Mondlane's daughter and representative of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation - spoke after the president, and announced that the Chitlango Library would be opened to the public on the commemoration day. When I arrived in Mandhlakazi on 18th June, and went to Nwadjahane the following day, I realized that preparations were at an advanced stage.

On the road to Nwadjahane one could see something was in progress. People had been commenting that the road had been rebuilt due to Nwadjahane celebrations. In fact, an informant told me cars were driving at crazy speed now, and a week ago a speeding driver had killed a child. Trees were trimmed and their trunks were painted in white; there were Frelimo and Mozambique flags all the three kilometers to Nwadjahane. Some 100/150m from the main road (Mandhlakazi-Macuacua) there was a banner stretched high – maybe five or six meters above the ground– saying: *'Boas Vindas S. Excia Presidente da República* [Welcome Your Excellency President of the Republic]. Perhaps after two kilometers, and close to Nwadjahane there were two roads, which were not there last year (2006[36]) – the one on the left was closed by a gate; and right on top, at the same height as the first, there was another banner saying: *'Frelimo a Força da Mudança* [Frelimo the Driver of Change] – a Frelimo electoral slogan since the 2004 general elections. There were a lot of people at Mondlane's house; old and new constructions all around; tents; food; security personnel; and substantial movement. This was completely unusual for the quiet routine of Nwadjahane.

One example of new constructions was a monument, with a commemorative inscription saying: *Monumento dedicado ao Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, 1o. Presidente da Frelimo, Arquitecto da Unidade Nacional, Herói Nacional, Nasceu a 20 de Junho de 1920, Dirigiu a Luta Armada de*

[36] My first visit to Nwadjahane had been between May and June 2006 as part of another research project, unrelated to this one.

Libertação Nacional até seu assassinato pelo Colonialismo Português a 3 de Fevereiro de 1969, Protegido pela Lei 10/88. [Memorial to Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, first President of Frelimo, Architect of National Unity, National Hero, Born on 20 June 1920, Led the Armed Struggle for National Liberation until his assassination by Portuguese colonialism on 3 February 1969, Protected by Law 10/88]. This is a memorial consisting of a step, one and a half or two meter stone in dark gray granite or marble, it is surrounded by flowers as if they formed a fence. Another example was a (restored) inscription in marble that I know from my previous visit in 2006. It is the hut Mondlane used to sleep at as a child and teenager, and it was being rebuilt, and as the inscription suggests, it is a replica of the one Mondlane used as a child: '*Palhota de 1920, Local onde dormia o Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane na sua infância* [Hut of 1920, place where Dr Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane used to sleep as a child]. Another site and inscription I saw last year: *Casa de 1960, Construída sob orientação do Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane* [House of 1960, Built on Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane's orders]. I tried some interviews with people from the Mondlane family, but I did not succeed on that day because people were either busy or absent.

5.2.1. Commemoration Day

On the commemoration day 'every road led to Nwadjahane'. People came from different parts of the country and in representation of diverse entities. Among them was the president of the country, his cabinet ministers, the speaker of parliament, the president of the Supreme Court, members of the State Council[37] (with the exception of the former president of the country, and the leader of the major opposition party), provincial governors and district administrators, members of Frelimo at the country, provincial and district level. The press was also present, coming especially from Maputo City. Two evident absences were the leader of the major opposition party (RENAMO), Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, in a ceremony that was supposed to transcend party differences, and the former president of the country and Frelimo, Mr. Joaquim Chissano. The reasons for Dhlakama's absence might be associated with a concern voiced by members of his party and some sectors of the Mozambican media.

[37] The State council is an advisory board incorporated by the revised constitution of 2004. It incorporates the President of the Country, the former president, the leader of the major opposition party, a representative of the religious faiths in the country, and Graca Machel (widow of the late president of the country, and an influential person in the country). It has the prerogative of deciding on grave matters of the state, such as the declaration of a state of emergency or war.

According to them, Frelimo was monopolizing Mondlane, and using the celebration of his birthday for the promotion of the public image of the party. Chissano's absence remains a mystery; but unlike Dhlakama's did not raise public debate.

Transport from Nwadjahane was free of charge, and food was also served free of charge to everyone in the 15 kitchens that had been set up in Nwadjahane. Security was tight both on the road and in Nwadjahane, with people being assigned places according to their VIP status. There was some hierarchy amongst the VIPs themselves, since only some of them had places in the podium, namely members of Eduardo Mondlane's family, cabinet ministers, members of Frelimo Central Committee, members of the State Council, and the president and his so-called Committee of Honour (composed of himself, the widow of Eduardo Mondlane, the Provincial Governor of Gaza, and the General Secretary of Frelimo).

People dressed informally, including the president who was wearing one of his famous shirts. Everyone else was wearing some sort of uniform, namely short-sleeved t-shirts with Frelimo or Mozambique colours, and sayings related to Frelimo, Eduardo Mondlane, and the book *O Eco da tua Voz*, and caps. The ceremony was presided by two Masters of Ceremonies (MCs), one speaking Tsonga (the local language), and the other speaking Portuguese (the official language in Mozambique). The Tsonga speaking MC announced the beginning of the ceremony giving a religious dimension to it, by saying: "Inkari wa mhamba, hina vantukulu hitela kuta phahliwa a wutomi la mpela [it is time for the ceremony to the ancestors. And we, the grandchildren came here to be blessed and receive life]".

The religious dimension of the ceremony was blurred with family, Frelimo and state dimensions. Chorals and other entertainers praised Janet Mondlane[38], the President and Frelimo, in their songs, and urged them to help address current challenges to Mozambique, such as AIDS and poverty. Among the entertainers there were: Janet Mondlane choral; OMM; Nazarene church; Timbila of Zavala; Makwayela; Muthimba of Nyamussoros; choral of Instituto de Formação de Professores Eduardo Mondlane; Presbyterian Church of Mozambique; Unidade Pedagógica de Gaza; Continuadores of Nwadjahane; and the national

[38] Janet Mondlane is the widow of Eduardo Mondlane.

troubadour Zacarias Mawai. The performance of these groups and people was interrupted by the MC announcing the arrival of the president and his so-called Committee of Honour. When they took their seats in the podium, the national anthem was sung by everyone, standing in respectful attention. Then, to mine and many other people's surprise, a group sang an old-socialist and revolutionary song of Frelimo.

> somos soldados do povo marchando em frente, na luta contra a burguesia, sempre avante unidos venceremos, o socialismo triunfará. Na certeza da vitória, nossa luta continua, somos soldados do povo marchando em frente, na luta contra a burguesia, sempre avante unidos venceremos, o socialismo triunfará… [we are the people's army marching ahead, in the struggle against bourgeoisie, always ahead and united we shall prevail, socialism shall prevail. Certain that we will prevail, our struggle continues, we are the people's army marching ahead, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, always united we shall prevail, socialism will triumph].

This song surprised me – and I think many other people who were present at the ceremony – because of its socialist oriented tone, and a critique to capitalism that was a theme in early Postcolonial state slogans, speeches and songs in Mozambique. This kind of theme has become old-fashioned with the adoption of a neo-liberal political and economic orientation since the early 1990 in Mozambique. However, my surprise grew with an announcement by the MC

> the 87th anniversary of Eduardo Mondlane is part of the festivities of the 45th anniversary of the foundation of Frelimo, which the President of Frelimo launched on the 16 June here in Nwadjahan*e* under the slogan *'Unidos na luta contra a pobreza, Frelimo a força da mudança'* [united in the struggle against poverty, Frelimo the driver of change] […]

This blurring of Mondlane's anniversary with that of Frelimo and the use of the party's slogans was recurrent during the ceremony, as instanced by the chorals' songs and the various speeches (with the exception of Janet Mondlane's). A case in point is the speech by the representative of Eduardo Mondlane's family. After saluting every one present, he went on to say that:

> Guebuza had been a close collaborator of Eduardo Mondlane's […] that was the occasion of the 87th anniversary of Eduardo Mondlane and 45th of Frelimo […]

> Eduardo Mondlane was the uncontested architect of Frelimo […] today the edited letters of Eduardo Mondlane were going to be opened[39].

He also praised Janet Mondlane for her companionship of Mondlane; celebrated development in Nwadjahane "which today has water, electricity, and mobile network. And this was possible due to help from many people and [it is] a way to fight absolute poverty"[40]. He proceeded to tell the genealogy of Eduardo Mondlane, and finalized by singing *Kanimambo* Frelimo[41], praising the Mondlane ancestors, *Viva* Frelimo, *Viva* Guebuza and *Viva* national unity.

Other speeches were delivered, by provincial and district representatives of Frelimo; the general secretary of Frelimo; followed by Janet Mondlane; and finally, the president Armando Guebuza. While Janet Mondlane read a poem she dedicated to Nwadjahane, Frelimo representatives emphasized the role of Mondlane in conceptualizing national unity and the need to use his legacy to address current problems in Mozambique, such as absolute poverty. This was associated with various displays of flattery of the president[42]. The ceremony ended with the banquet and a music concert by famous Mozambican musicians, such as MC Roger. And while some people were celebrating Eduardo Mondlane's anniversary in Nwadjahane, other people in Maputo City, raised doubts about 'what exactly was being celebrated, and the motives of the organizers of that commemoration'. Among these critics members of the political opposition voiced their concerns in more vivid terms.

5.3. Mondlane's multiple belongings: family, Khambane and national memory

Some Mozambicans argue that Eduardo Mondlane is a national hero; Frelimo should not monopolize him as 'the party's property'; and Nwadjahane commemorations are an example of how Frelimo is using Mondlane's prestige to the party's own benefit. A member of the Mondlane family, incidentally, raised this question, in an interview I conducted in Nwadjahane. She started by talking about how "many people complain that her family is

[39] Speech by representative of Eduardo Mondlane family, on 20 June 2007, Nwadjahane, Mandhlakazi.
[40] Speech by representative of Eduardo Mondlane family, on 20 June 2007, Nwadjahane, Mandhlakazi
[41] *Kanimambo* Frelimo literary means 'thank you Frelimo'. This is the title of a famous song of this party, one the late president of the country (Samora Machel) loved to sing in rallies.
[42] As Mbembe (1992: 21) explained – and with the appropriate concessions, such as in the term despot, which I think does not apply to the Mozambican case - "flattery is not just produced in order to please the despot; it is manufactured in a quest for profit or favours".

making Eduardo Mondlane look as if he belonged to Frelimo". And pointed out that "he does belong to Frelimo and Nwadjahane; he belongs to Frelimo because he created it[43]." Despite the mainstream discourse in Mozambique, Mondlane's historical significance seems to go beyond his role in the foundation of Frelimo, and is related to his father's chief status. Nwadjahane is the name of Eduardo Mondlane's father, a chief who had three wives, the second of which was Mondlane's mother. This chief status might explain the fact that the place where Nwadjahane was buried is now taken as a sacred forest of the Mondlane family, so sacred that "even Frelimo when they arrived they did not touch the place; in fact they planted the eucalyptus trees that form an avenue to the graves"[44] (of Eduardo Mondlane's relatives, buried close to the sacred forest).

Interestingly, this sacred forest is not mentioned in the boards set up by the (former) Ministry of Culture, in 2003) that describe what is part of the Nwadjahane Open Museum. I asked a member of the Eduardo Mondlane family and of the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation about the reasons for this - whether this forest was not part of the museum. He told me he believed it to be part of the museum, but does not know why it is not included in the boards. The exclusion of that forest in state descriptions of Nwadjahane Open Museum might be associated with the fact that this forest is part of (Mondlane) family memory, and not relevant to (Mozambican) national memory (cf. Mozambique 1988). In fact, a member of the Mondlane family suggested that both the sacred forest and Nwadjahane itself are part to the collective memory of communities going back a long time. He said

> people of the village and other villages come and basically clean the place [in what he calls *jornadas de limpeza]* […] people of Nwadjahane have been doing this for a long time, even at the time Eduardo Mondlane was a child. Because people lived scattered they used to come from as far as four kilometers away. Now things are easier because a village has been founded. […] Normally people here organize themselves and clean every Saturdays or alternate Saturdays. However, when there are high-level visitors people from Nwadjahane invite people from other villages and they help them clean the village.

Another informant suggested that Nwadjahane's chiefship is associated with a general historical tendency of the Mondlanes to be leaders. Specifically, he says: "when Nwadjahane

[43] Interview with Nausica dos Amores, on 22 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.
[44] Interview with Helio Aurelio, on 26 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

felt he had grown up, he followed the thoughts of his ancestor (Kambane) and went and occupied the free land, which was later named after him"[45]. This informant told me this as a brief introduction of the history of the Mondlane's. He proceeded with the following narrative:

> The Mondlanes come originally from the Banhine of Chongoene, South of *Xai-Xai*. They had a Kraal there. Kambane, son of Ndzowo, had had many children, especially males. The guy had not studied but he had great vision. The Mondlanes had a small reign in Banhine. When Kambane realized that his children had grown up he gathered them and told them that if he died the guys were going to murder each other over the reign, because they were many. To avoid that they should go and conquer other parts of the earth that were vacant. So, the Mondlanes spread themselves along the landscape. They occupied Tavene, Mapungwene, Hlalala, Chicavane, Nyankutse. This was unoccupied land, with no-one. Kambane was a small empire that went up to Chibuto.

This narrative about the Khambane rulers is present in an interesting conversation between Eduardo Mondlane and his mother. This is a narrative told by Mondlane himself, in his Book *Chitlango Filho de Chefe*[46] (Khambane & Clerc 1990: 214-215), in which the author reveals that (according to his mother) he is the fulfillment of a prophecy, and his clan had been rulers in Mandhlakazi, for a long time. I will quote this richly historical narrative at some length.

> Eduardo Mondlane's Mother (Mother): 'Your father was the regent of the clan. In that regard it was his place to choose, in the region, whatever pleased him'.
>
> Eduardo Mondlane (Mondlane): 'Then, are we great lords?'
> Mother: 'Your ancestors were such great lords that unified and commanded the armies against the Zulu invader, decades and decades ago. However, they were forced into subjugation and payment of tax to the Zulus who occupied the territory. The last ruler of the country, loved and respected – even though he had been subjugated by the whites – was Chitlango-the old-man, who ruled for a long, long time. He ruled after his father Psarithio, son of Mitambuti, Son of Chipeniane, son of Khambane, son of Dzovo. These men ruled the country, do you understand me? All over this land! However, our land has been divided into small portions. Here we are in Mitambuti or at the place of Mitambuti, repeat Chitlango!

Before I continue with a presentation with the conversation between Eduardo Mondlane and his mother I will present a genealogy of the rulers of the so-called Khambane Empire. This genealogy includes, as the last ruler Nwadjahane, Eduardo Mondlane's father, who was

[45] Interview with Major General, a member of the Khambane clan (present chief in Chalala) on 21 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.
[46] The original conversation is narrated in Portuguese, and I have done an idiomatic translation into English.

regent of the Mondlane's until early 1920s, when he died, shortly after Eduardo Mondlane's birth.

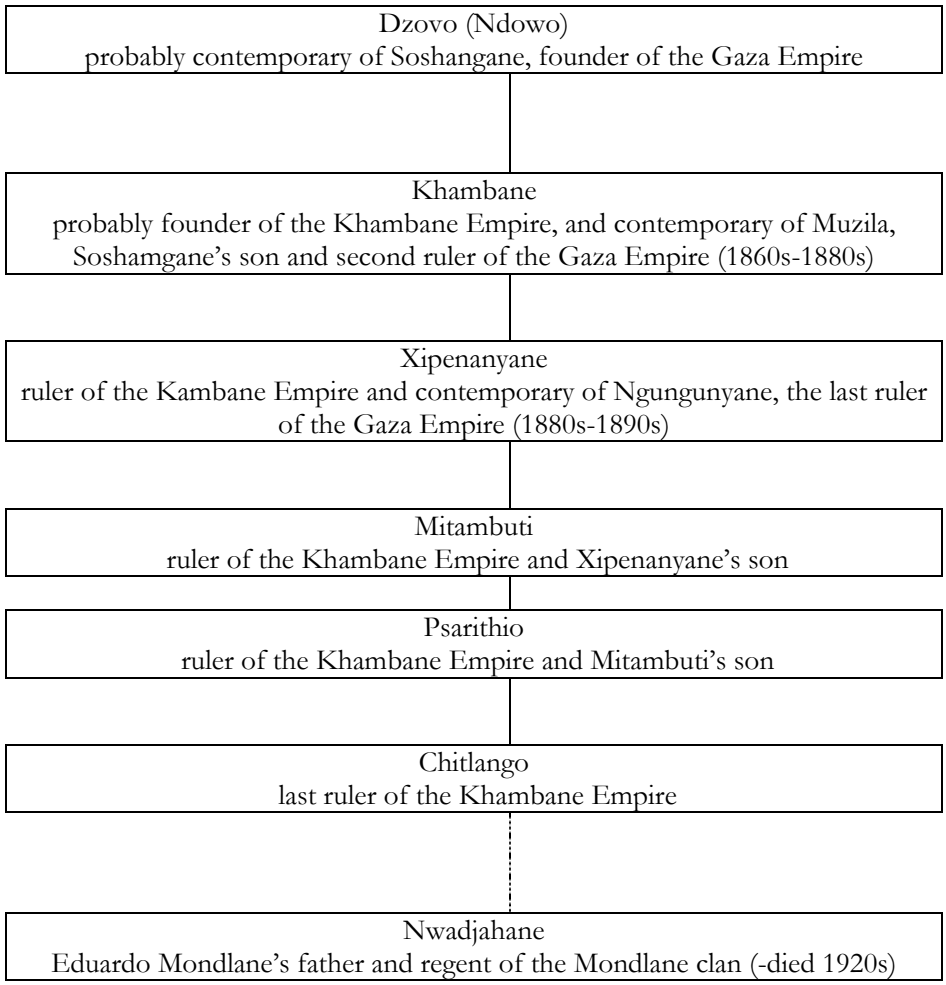


Figure 3: Genealogy of the Mondlanes

Mondlane: I live at the place of Mitambuti.

Mother: You must remember very well the names of all these great chiefs, because they live with us (Khambane & Clerc 1990: 214).

Mondlane: 'Were the gods informed of my birth (Khambane & Clerc 1990: 215)?'

Mother: 'That's exactly the point I wanted to make by talking about your father. He was working, fixing the roof of his first wife's house when he was told I had given birth to a boy. How good news! A vigorous son! Then, your father went and informed this to some men in his family, and together they went to the village of a priest-doctor of our clan. This man extracted a set of bones of snakes, goat, lions and antelope and shells from his round basket. He mixed them together for a long time,

> and then threw then on a goat's skin. By doing that he was trying to find out what exactly the gods thought about this birth. Then looking attentively at the position and orientation of each bone or shell, he understood the gods' response, and said: "the gods are glad for the coming to earth of this boy. It is their wish that he should be given the name of one of the gods. They wish that you name him Chitlango, because it is Chitlango-the-old man who re-starts his life in the body of this child". With this, your father became simultaneously very proud and unsettled. The doctors had given this name, your name, several times, to boys who died after their first breath. And… they are all dead… (Khambane & Clerc 1990: 216) if a child is given a name illegitimately the gods kill him.'
> Mondlane: 'Are they also going to kill me, mama?'
>
> Mother: 'Do not say such a thing, son!' May mother says, terrorized. 'No, I know they love you. Otherwise you would have been dead a long time ago. But, let me continue… you must know that you are not like other boys; you are our great Chitlango who ruled years and years in this country. Now everybody knows it. And if the wives of Chitlango-the-old man come and see me and bring you presents in the form of drinks and roast cashew nuts that's because they recognize their chief and husband in you…'

In both elite (Mondlanes) and subaltern memory in Mandhlakazi the most prominent name associated with the so-called 'Khambane Empire is that of Xipenanyane Mondlane[47]. He was one of the last members of this Kambane Empire. According to the same informant:

> Xipendanyane was a king of the small Khambane Empire and he had known Ngungunyane. […] Xipendanyane had been to the military academy with Ngungunyane, and used to defeat the latter in the martial arts. When Ngungunyane returned from Mossurize he came with a huge army, and was received by Xipendanyane, in his territory. However, Ngungunyane started to demand vassalage from Xipendanyane, and the latter did not like that. So, he made a deal with the Portuguese in order to expel Ngungunyane from Mandhlakazi. The Portuguese did help him, that's why the battle of *Coolela* was fought, in which Ngungunyane's soldiers were defeated. Then he [Ngungunyane] fled to Mandhlakazi, then to Tchaimite where he was jailed. However, the Portuguese did not leave the rule to Xipendanyane, they stayed. For his role in the overthrowing of Ngungunyane, Xipendanyane was regarded by Frelimo as a traitor[48].

These tense relationships between Xipenanyane Mondlane and Ngungunyane are mentioned by historian René Pelissier (1988: 234, 249), who claims that Ngungunyane felt a deep hatred

[47] This name has been pronounced and written different by different sources. For example, Mondlane's mother calls him Chipeniane (Khambane & Clerc 1990: 214), Major General calls him Xipenanyane, and other informants call him Xipendanyane. So, I use the name the way my sources pronounce or write it, because I am not sure about the correct pronunciation and orthography.
[48] Interview with Major General, on 21 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

for Xipenanyane. This rivalry is vivid in the memory of the Mondlane family, and highlighted by a member of Eduardo Mondlane's family. Her sentiments suggest that such rivalry continues in the present, and with a focus on the District Administration of Mandlakaze, and the memorialization of Ngungunyane. According to her

> The Mondlanes and Ngungunyane were enemies, and the Mondlanes once called Dingane [a king of the Zulus of South Africa] to help them assassinate and overthrow Ngungunyane. [Perhaps that is one of the reasons why] the Mondlanes are extremely offended by the statue of Ngungunyane in Mandhlakazi[49].

This statement strongly suggests that a space is open for future contests over social memory associated with the Gaza Empire, and its related sites presently promoted by the Mozambican state and people who claim to be part of the lineage of Ngungunyane (as we will see in the section on the Coolela Monument). This also shows how the past not only penetrates the present, but can also be shaped by present, and competing interests, of social groups.

5.4. Discussion

Nwadjahane Open Museum shows interesting connections between national memory promoted by the Mozambican state, and family memory of the Mondlane family. The family memory – as expounded in the narrative above -- reveals multiple belongings of Eduardo Mondlane, a figure who can at the same time be claimed for nation-building purposes as well as to contest some of the component processes that helps further national goals. In this chapter I have described how the state promotes national memory in and through Nwadjahane by resorting to various strategies. These include the promotion of a commemoration, the construction or restoration of memorials and other buildings that form the Nwadjahane Open Museum. Other actions which are not revealed in the commemoration include state-sponsored attempts at promoting the legal classification of Nwadjahane as a Museum; a status that in strict legal terms in Mozambique is not yet effective; and a legal commitment to finance the activities of the Eduardo Mondlane. In this regard, while legally the Museum does not exist; state, public and family discourse certifies Nwadjahane as a museum. This classification is an attempt to integrate this site in the

[49] Interview with Nausica dos Amores, on 22 June 2007, in Nwadjahane.

framework of the Heritage Protection Law. Another very important state action is in terms of financial support provided to the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, through the integration of its expenses in the national budget. This was possible through the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the government of Mozambique (represented by the Minister of Education and Culture) and a representative of the Eduardo Mondlane foundation.

Eduardo Mondlane's family efforts to promote family memory associated with Eduardo Mondlane are both associated with the state as with family traditions. Family actions include the establishment of research projects aiming at collecting and publishing the intellectual production of Eduardo Mondlane (academic and artistic). The opening of the Chitlango Library and the publication and launch of a book containing the edited letters of Eduardo Mondlane are part and result of this project. An apparently unrelated project is a 'social responsibility' project, which aims at developing agriculture in Nwadjahane. But the family of Eduardo Mondlane and the state are not the only entities involved in memorialization of Mondlane. Frelimo is also involved, however, in ways which are not clear, but can be read from implicit messages at the commemorations: the association of this commemoration with the 45th anniversary of the foundation of this organization, and criticism from the political opposition and some sectors of the Mozambican press. This criticism claims for Mondlane's legitimate use to the promotion of national memory, and not the interests of one political party (Frelimo). However, family memory suggests that the association of Eduardo Mondlane to a certain national narrative misses other interesting dimensions, thus, inadvertently reviving past conflicts.

The overlapping interests of the Eduardo Mondlane family and those of the Mozambican state pose challenges to Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) methodological suggestion about the distinction and separation of social memories pertaining to different social groups. Specifically, it is problematic to separate the (family) memory of the Mondlanes from the (political or national) memory promoted by the state. It is also fascinating to note, as Connerton (1989) and Cruz e Silva & José (1991: 26-27) note, that social memory is always politicized; so, there is no pure family or social memory of the subaltern or elite separated from state or other political power institutions in a given society.

In the national narrative, both Mondlane and Ngungunyane (in the capacity of ruler of the Gaza Empire) are reconciled as part of the same history. This is a way in which the postcolonial state in Mozambique memorializes Ngungunyane and Mondlane simultaneously. However, family memory (of the Mondlanes) goes back in time and reveals rivalry opposing the Mondlanes and the Gaza Empire, and challenges the state promoted national historical narrative and memory. However, the integration of the Gaza Empire into the national historical narrative of Mozambique and its contestation is not restricted to Nwadjahane; and neither its contestation is restricted to the Mondlanes. My following discussion of state memorialism in the Coolela Monument reveals state attempts at building a national narrative that is contested by local communities of Coolela (and Chalala). By doing this I reveal the currency of national memory and its contested dimension.

6.

Coolela: Contested National Memory and the Critique of Power

The Coolela monument is a memorial built by the Portuguese administration in the late 1890s to celebrate their victory over the Gaza Empire as well as to honour their soldiers who died in the battle that took place on that site. This monument was destroyed in the 1970s (in the independence euphoria), rebuilt (in the 1980s) and restored in the 1990s and 2000s by the postcolonial state of Mozambique. In its present form it is a reminder of the battle and celebrates 'Mozambican warriors' who died 'for the fatherland' in that battle. Both colonial and postcolonial official historical narratives (produced through the various monuments of Coolela) associate the significance of Coolela with a political and military event, neglecting the social history of the site (highlighted in subaltern memory). Subaltern memory develops a critique of colonial and postcolonial state modernization strategies. I use the term subaltern after its coinage by the Italian theoretician and politician Antonio Gramsci, and its popularization by the *subaltern studies collective* applied to India. Specifically, by subaltern classes I understand "the much greater mass of people ruled by coercive or sometimes mainly ideological domination from above" (Guha & Spivak 1988: vi). And for the specific case of this study 'the above' are the Mozambican state, the Mondlane family, the Khambanes, and members of Ngungunyane's lineage who claim rights to Coolela and Mandhlakazi.

6.1. Overlapping historical claims and narratives

Some sources suggest that between 2001 and 2003, commemoration patterns changed at the Coolela monument, and this caused popular dissatisfaction, which is expressed in local interpretations associated with ecological crisis around the site. This dissatisfaction seems a paradox, since, judging by other sources, Mozambicans used to be coerced by the Portuguese colonial authorities to participate at commemorations in Coolela. In this section I provide a historical overview of the construction, destruction and reconstruction of (the) memorial (s) at Coolela, and the commemorations associated with the site, as a way to understand why, in popular memory, the paradox apparently dissolves.

While some informants and written sources (Mozambique 2001: 9; Mozambique 1988; Newitt 1995; Pelissier 1988) mention that Coolela gained significance due to the battle that opposed Ngungunyane's army to the Portuguese in the context of the colonial conquest of Mozambique, another source suggests that the significance of Coolela is not only associated with battles, but to local religion. She describes the site in the following terms:

> Coolela is part of Hlalele, and belongs to the Mondlanes; and they are the only ones who have authority to address the ancestors there – *kuphahla*. Coolela was a battle field, where many battles were fought. This was an important place where people used to go and make offerings to the ancestors in times of draught: killing animals, performing religious ceremonies, and rain came. […] when Frelimo came, it neglected tradition and even removed the stones that had been put by both the Portuguese and local people in Coolela. As a result, in 1977 there were big floods that went down until Nwadjahane. And, only when the stones were put back did the floods stop[50]

This account is very dense; however, it helps interrogate the view which suggests that the significance of Coolela is associated with the battle between Ngungunyane's army and the Portuguese. The account draws back to the role of the Mondlanes in that area, and the relationship between them and Ngungunyane, as well as how the Mondlanes perceive the battle and the memorial itself. Other accounts concur that Coolela is part of Chalala or Hlalala (in the local language – Tsonga), which was ruled by the Mondlanes. Another informant provided a fuller account of the place of the Mondlanes in that area, telling a brief history of the Mondlane rulers (a narrative I quoted in the section on Nwadjahane).

However, according to mainstream historiography (Mozambique 2001: 9; Newitt 1995; Pelissier 1988) and government legal discourse (Mozambique 1988; Mozambique 2007a), Coolela became famous for the battle that opposed Ngungunyane's army to the Portuguese. Oral tradition suggests that a member of the Mondlane clan had an important role in that battle, a view that is shared by other sources. I have quoted Major's narrative on Xipenanyane, in my presentation on Nwadjahane. His views are substantiated by another

[50] Interview with Marisa Roda, a tourist guide, on 24 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

local informant, who after correcting my pronunciation, from Xipendanyane to Xipenanyane[51]; preceded with the following narrative:

> Xipenanyane's father was a ruler, a chief, and Ngungunyane's friend. At a certain time Ngungunyane demanded tribute from Xipenanyane (*Akunyika andzuvu ka Ngungunyane*), which the latter refused; so they became enemies, and Xipenanyane left and stayed with his grandfather at the place of the Baules in Chidenguele. Ngungunyane asked tribute from Xipenanyane while he was in Chidenguele, the latter refused, and Ngungunyane sent Maguigwane with his troops to force Xipenanyane to pay tribute. There was a war, and when Xipenanyane realized his army was being defeated he went to Inhambane and asked help from the Portuguese. The Portuguese accepted to help him and came back with an army that defeated Ngungunyane's army in the battle of Coolela[52].

The three accounts, blended together suggest that in examining Coolela events, it is necessary to consider the role of the famous battle that opposed Ngungunyane's army to the Portuguese at that site, as well as relationships that Ngungunyane established with local rulers. This last dimension is not adequately addressed by the current historiography of Mozambique. Perhaps for that reason, its focus is on the contest over social memory associated with Coolela and involving the Portuguese and the postcolonial state. In that perspective people's concern about returning to some of the precolonial or colonial commemorative practices in Coolela seems a paradox. I will explain those calls to return to older practices later. For the moment, I turn to the discussion of the colonial memorial.

Marisa Roda mentioned that Mozambicans had put down a stone, which was removed from the memorial after independence. While there is no evidence or concurrence about the existence of such a mark, both written[53] and oral sources concur that a few years "after the battle of Coolela in 1895 they [the Portuguese] built a monument[54]"

[51] Problems in the pronunciation and orthography of this name are not only mine. For example Eduardo Mondlane writes Chipeniane; Major General (a key informant in my research) pronounces Xipendanyane. These diversity of orthographies is also found in history works such as Rene Pelissier, who three different orthographies: Esperanhana ou Chipenanyana, Xipenanyana (Pelissier 1988: 579).
[52] Interview with Estevão Mandivate, on 28 June 2007, in Chalala.
[53] I refer to the *Roteiro Histórico da Província de Gaza* (Mozambique 2001).
[54] Interview with Estevao Mandivate, on 28 June 2007, in Chalala.

> The first monument in Coolela was built by the Portuguese. It had a box-like base in concrete with something going up as if it were a chimney. Portuguese soldiers and generals were buried there[55].

Major General[56] still remembers that the Portuguese had engraved in the memorial stone the following words, celebrating their heroes: "to the memory of the Portuguese who died for the fatherland at the battle of Coolela on 7 November 1895." According to him, "the monument had an iron fence […] and local people used to be forced to participate at the ceremonies of the anniversary of the battle of Coolela[57]." The Portuguese authorities employed different strategies to 'force' local people to attend the ceremonies; the most important and visible one was to declare 7 November a district holiday. Some informants disagree that people were forced to participate at the ceremonies, while others assert that people were forced, and those who did not participate had to pay a fine – a goat, according to Carlota Massingue[58].

Informants diverge on the details concerning what participants did at colonial commemorations of the battle of Coolela. However, they agree that people used to come from all over Mandhlakazi and other districts in Gaza, and some people came from as far as Maputo City – Lourenço Marques at the time – to participate. The ceremonies used to be led by a local Catholic priest, local people engaged in a diversity of dances and singing, and then the whole entourage went to the administration in Mandhlakazi, to continue with the festivities and have a banquet[59].

Informants also concur that after independence of Mozambique (in 1975) the monument was destroyed, and the remains of the Portuguese soldiers (who allegedly had died in the battle of Coolela) were put in a box, taken to the district administration in Mandhlakazi and later to the provincial capital (Xai-Xai). For reasons which are not yet clear, the monument was rebuilt between 1977 and 1983[60], and the box with the Portuguese remains was put back

[55] Interview with Community Leader, on 28 June 2007, in Chalala.
[56] Interview on 21 June 2007, in Mandhalakazi.
[57] Idem.
[58] Interview on 21 June 2007, in Mandhalakazi.
[59] Interview with Estevao Mandivate, on 28 June 2007, in Chalala.
[60] My informants refer to 1977 while a government publication locates that event between 1982 and 1983 (cf. Mozambique 2001: 9).

in the monument. Some sources argue that the postcolonial monument was not strong enough and was destroyed by ants; while other sources however argue that:

> In 2003 or 2004 Guebuza, then general secretary of Frelimo, visited the place and seeing there were two monuments, asked the people around why there were two monuments. After that, the monuments were again destroyed and a new – the present – monument was built. The bones of the Portuguese were put away in that grave. [And] ceremonies are no longer done the way they used to be done before, and there is no rain anymore, and there are many problems now. People became worried with that and went and asked the priest to go back and lead the ceremonies again. The priest consulted the bishop, who consulted the late Pope [John Paul II], who eventually died without reaching a decision about Coolela. So, […] people are waiting for the present pope to take a decision[61].

Another source agreed that there has been a change in the pattern of the commemorations at Coolela. Without informing about the exact date of that change, he locates the reasons for change in a lobby conducted by some influential members of the community, including himself. His position is as follows:

> [A]fter independence the ceremonies continued to be conducted the way they were before independence, but people [he said us, the *madoda* - wise people or counselors] went and complained to the authorities about going to Mandhlakazi. So, after the ceremony in Coolela people went and had fun elsewhere in Coolela, and not in Mandhlakazi. […] *kuphahla* done in Coolela was not in the traditional African way of the owner of the land – in this case, the chief of Hlalala – going and evoking their ancestors. That ceremony cannot be done that way in Coolela because people of diverse origins and races died there. The ceremony of *kuphahla* used to be conducted by a Catholic priest in the colonial era, and in the postcolonial era is conducted by priests from other Christian denominations – Nazarene, Presbyterian Church of Mozambique (Swiss Mission), and Roman Catholic[62].

The reasons associated with the change in patterns of commemorations in Coolela are, thus, unclear. Another disagreement among my informants relates to the type of African religious ceremonies performed at the site, and by whom. Another informant (Paulo Pedro) insists that changes in festivities occurred around 2003 and were associated with local government decisions. And, like informants such as Carlota Massingue and Marisa Roda, he suggests that those changes affected the religious potential associated with Coolela. This informant started

[61] Interview with Community Leader, on 28 June 2007, in *Xai-Xai*.
[62] Interview with Estevao Mandivate, on 28 June 2007, in *Xai-Xai*.

by explaining me that he grew up in Mandhlakazi[63], and like other children he used to go to Coolela at the anniversary of the battle, because that date used to be a district holiday. However,

> since 2003, that date is no longer a holiday because the municipality's holiday is on 9 November ever since that year. […] since 2003 the ceremonies are not conducted the way they used to be conducted, and for that reason 'it does not rain anymore'[64].

6.2. The Dilemma of Exclusions and Inclusions: Colonial and Postcolonial Continuities

A different type of concern is related to the exclusion of the Portuguese from the memorial. This exclusion is performed symbolically, through the postcolonial engravings placed by the government of Mozambique, and practically, through the burial of the remains of the Portuguese at some distance from the actual memorial. I quote an excerpt from my field-diary (on 19 June 2007) in which I describe the present day monument.

> I did not take the exact measures of the place. It is a perfect-square site, fenced with approximately 1,5m tall wood, about 20m x 40m of timber – nice timber in front, and 20m. There are two doors, one in front and the other on the northern direction. The monument itself is in the center of the fenced area. There are two metal poles, which are used to place flags on commemorative occasions, and they are maybe 4/5m tall, and corrugated. The monument is made of stone, with a veranda, and a tall (maybe) 1mx2/3m stone, on the base there are 'fading' inscriptions on white marble, saying: '*Coolela, Homenagem aos guerreiros tombados pela patria, na luta anticolonuial a 7 de Novembro de 1895 (Batalha de Coolela)'* [Coolela, Homage to the Warriors who died for the fatherland, in the anti-colonial struggle, on 7 November 1895 (Cooela Battle]. The words in parenthesis are really losing their black colour. Another stone on the left corner of the fence, but inside, and placed on the sand says: '*Coolela, sítio protegido, Lei 10/88, 22-12'* [Coolela, protected site]. These inscriptions are in bold-black and visible.

The Portuguese are symbolically excluded from the monument. The only reference to them is implicit, in the form of colonizers, which we can deduce from the words 'anti-colonial struggle', as a struggle against the Portuguese. Actually, the Portuguese have been excluded materially in the sense that the box, allegedly containing the remains of their soldiers, was

[63] This seems to me an effort at attributing some sort of legitimacy to his statements.
[64] Interview with Paulo Pedro, social science teacher at Chalala Primary School, conducted on 29 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

placed outside the memorial at an abandoned place, some 40 meters away. This grave has no description on it, and as the photograph shows, it is far away from the monument – which fence and tall memorial stone are visible in the distance. The following photograph provides an idea of this material exclusion of the Portuguese.



Figure 4: the contentious grave in Coolela

During two off-the record interviews an informant called my attention to the remains of the Portuguese. The informant started by telling me he/she had participated at a training for cultural heritage managers organized by the Gaza Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture, in 2005. As part of that training, participants visited two heritage sites, one of them being Coolela. She told me that in Coolela the trainees saw something they did not like: "the graves of Portuguese people who died in the battle of Coolela and were buried there had been removed to an abandoned grave somewhere away from the monument". The informant told me that people who removed those graves said "it is because the Portuguese were colonialists". My informant voices disagreement with that attitude, saying that

> in spite of the Portuguese having colonized Mozambique, they are also part of that history; if they had not fought the Mozambicans [Ngungunyane's soldiers] Coolela wouldn't have been that important. [And added that] 'Had I not told you about the graves you wouldn't have noticed them, the graves are marginalized'[65]..

The marginalization of social actors who are relevant to the history of the Coolela battle seems to extend to local actors who did not side with Ngungunyane against the Portuguese.

[65] Interviews with Victoria Georgina, on 19 and 26 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

This includes people such as Xipenanyane Mondlane, whose role in the battle of Coolela is highlighted by some informants, as part of local social memory. On the other hand, the inscription at the memorial, implicitly suggests that only Ngungunyane's army and the Portuguese were present and its members died in that battle. This excludes other people, both civilians and military who participated in the battle and died there.

Finally, both the Portuguese and the postcolonial monuments force a restricted and one-sided periodization of the history of Coolela, in that they suggest that Coolela became important because of the battle of 1895. Contrary to this understanding, and as Marisa Roda clearly states (and other informants who have mentioned the religious potentials of the site suggest) the significance of Coolela goes back to the precolonial era. Apparently this was a shrine for local people, where people used to come and perform 'rainmaking' ceremonies. That might be the reason why people want to go back to the old practices some people might regard as colonial but which, in subaltern memory, are by no means colonial or outdated.

6.3. Between Transnational Dynamics of Memory and Return to Pre-colonial Contests

A recent element added to the complex contests over social memory associated with Coolela, and this introduces a transnational dimension to the issues I have been discussing in this research report. According to my informants, including people at the local government (in Mnadhlakazi), recently, an entourage composed of people who claim to be part of the lineage of Ngungunyane visited Mandhlakazi. Those visitors claim to come from the so-called Gazankulu, part of the current Limpopo Province in the Republic of South Africa. According to a source at the district administration of Mandhlakazi, South African people from Ngungunyane's lineage had been to Mandhlakazi, in 2006, and visited places of historical interest in the district, namely Coolela and the tree in front of the Administration building. He says they came at the anniversary of the Coolela battle, on 7 November, and they plan to come back again on the same date this year, to visit Coolela and Tchaimite. He said that

> the guys are in the business of recovering the history of Ngungunyane, and they even unveiled a monument to Ngungunyane in Gyane (Limpopo Province, South Africa), which includes a big bust of Ngungunyane[66].

That place, according to the source, is a big tourist attraction. Another source adds that the visitors received help from a former governor of Gaza Province, whose surname coincides with that of Ngungunyane (Nqumaio). According to that informant

> Mr Eugénio Numaio did everything in his power to preserve the memory of Ngungunyane. He was the one who pushed for the construction of the statue of Ngungunyane and for the commemorative inscription that was put under the Ngungunhane tree. As part of that movement, people from Limpopo Province, from Gazankulu came and did ceremonies at the tree, and they say Gaza province is part of Gazankulu, and that Gaza, including the district administrator of Mandhlakazi owe allegiance to the guys in Gazankulu. [He tells me this rather amused, and adds that, a woman from the audience] got angry and started yelling, telling them how Ngungunyane took away her relatives[67].

Another informant provides a different version of the story, adding details associated with the visit of the South African nationals to the Coolela monument, in the following terms:

> In 2006 relatives of Ngungunyane came to *Mandhlakazi*. It was a single man. The man said he followed Ngungunyane's journey from South Africa to Mozambique, introduced himself at the administration in town and went to the monument of Coolela. All the way from South Africa the man said he did it on foot, and guided by Ngungunyane. The guy camped at the monument and actually lit a fire there. People around the place thought it was witchcraft, because nobody does that at the monument. So, in the morning the guy goes to the *Posto Administrativo*, introduces himself, and says he could not do that the previous day because he arrived at 23h00, when the office was closed[68].

6.4. Discussion

Coolela is a current interesting case for questioning some conceptions about memorialization and periodization of the history of Mozambique, and popular critique to modernity – in the form of state and historiography -, and reflecting on transnational relationships. This discussion will elaborate on that. The first conception to be

[66] Interview with official of the District Administration of Mandhlakazi, on 29 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.
[67] Interview with Major General, on 21 June 2007, in Mandhalakazi.
[68] Interview with Paulo Pedro, on 29 June 2007, in Mandhlakazi.

problematized through findings from research on Coolela is related to Werbner's (1998) proposition that "The biopolitics of remembered identity in the nation-state have never been the same since the First World War" (Werbner 1998b: 72).

The Coolela monument, dedicated by the Portuguese to their soldiers who died at the battle and for Portugal, was built in 1898 (cf. Mozambique 2001: 9). This not only locates memorialization of unknown soldiers in the transition from the precolonial to the colonial period – before the First World War (at least in Mozambique), as it shows continuities between the colonial and postcolonial strategies of memorialization. In other words, the postcolonial government of Mozambique, not only adopted Portuguese colonial monuments, as sometimes changed dedication and other times the architecture of monuments to reflect its own views; it also excluded other social actors from the history of those memorials and associated historical events, as did the Portuguese. This has been the object of popular critique, mainly in the form of narratives of the subaltern, in Mandhlakazi. My point has been illustrated in the work of anthropologists and historians who have dealt with oral history and tradition in Africa (cf. Shaw 1997; White 2000).

In an analysis of popular discourses on vampires in Central and Eastern Africa used to explain colonial exploitation against subaltern classes, Louise White argues that stories about vampires should be taken as "accurate historical sources [because it is through them] that Africans describe colonial power" (White 2000: 4). In this regard, her concern is not with factual accuracy of the stories, but with their interpretive power and currency in social memory. She takes these stories as a general critique of colonial power and of African people associated with that system of domination and bureaucracy. A similar methodology – although less developed in terms of argument – has been employed by Rosalind Shaw (1997) who used popular discourse on witchcraft in Sierra Leone to understand how people explained the worsening conditions of the poor, associated with the affluence of local elites, on the (perceived) expenses of the country's resources. According to this discourse, local elites drained the country's resources and spent them in an imaginary 'city of witches' in which European people were included. In the imaginary of Sierra Leoneans, people who drained the country's resources were witches. Taken together these studies show how

popular memory can provide a commentary on power relations, and especially a critique of modernity as a form of exploitation.

This critique of modernity or power seems to be present in subaltern memory associated with the Coolela monument and the events that colonial and postcolonial historiography has taken as the most significant in that site. Specifically, historiography has regarded the battle of Coolela, involving Portuguese and Nguni troops as the most significant event. This perspective is questioned by subaltern narratives that represent Coolela as a site with rain making power; this power being located in the pre-colonial period in Mozambique. By doing this, it seems to me, subaltern memory is questioning the significance given to political and military events as defining historiography. This critique has been conducted by scholars associated with the Annales School of Economic and Social History, in France, and has later inspired an orientation known as social history. This calling for the importance of rain making powers highlights both a social and a religious relevance of Coolela. In other words, these popular narratives call for attention for the possibility of a diversity of layers of meaning in the understanding of the significance of Coolela, depending on the positioning of social actors involved with this site. But this critique goes beyond the field of historiography, to address postcolonial state politics. Specifically, the narratives of the subaltern seem to provide a critique of postcolonial modernization programs implemented by the postcolonial Mozambican government.

In effect, with independence, the government of Mozambique adopted a Marxist approach to social development and organization. Under this approach popular practices that related to local religious beliefs – not secular in orientation – were regarded as superstitious and 'traditional'. Tradition was regarded as a negative and backward aspect of popular culture, and a hindrance to development. In this regard many religious practices as well as local power structures – such as chiefships – were abolished. This caused people's dissatisfaction, and – according to some social scientists, has been crucial in influencing popular support to the RENAMO guerrilla (cf. Geffray 1990). When an informant explains the floods that occurred in 1977 in Mozambique as being caused by Frelimo's disrespect for tradition, she is expressing this type of popular dissatisfaction and popular critique of postcolonial state power in Mozambique.

The postcolonial government is also criticized for its use of the monument to provide a partial account of the history of the battle of Coolela, especially by physically excluding the Portuguese from that monument. The removal of the grave of the Portuguese from the monument in the 1970s and their later (2003) burial far from the monument, without providing any description of the contents of that grave seems to be an act that some people regard as illegitimate on the part of the postcolonial state. However, this exclusion of the Portuguese from that monument is extended in subtle ways to other social actors who participated in the battle. For example, in honoring the warriors who died for the fatherland, it is not clear whether Mozambicans who died on the side of the Portuguese, and trying to expel Ngungunyane are also being honoured. This selective honouring votes to oblivion Mozambicans who might actually have attempted to use the Portuguese to overthrow Ngungunyane, because, probably they regarded him as an invader. Mondlane's mother's expression "the zulu invader" and other informants who provided accounts of the political history of Mandhlakazi before colonial domination clarify that actually the Mondlanes were enemies of Ngungunyane. Thus, a critique of selective memorialization in Coolela opens avenues to the understanding of precolonial political power contests involving the Nguni Empire and Mozambican polities that ruled the area before that empire.

Interestingly my informants contradict each other on whether the Portuguese actually forced people to go to Coolela and Mandhlakazi in commemorations associated with the battle of Coolela. The contradiction lies in the meaning of 'compulsory attendance to ceremonies'. However, these informants agree that the colonial state had established bureaucratic mechanisms with the aim of enforcing public participation. These strategies, as I have described, consisted in establishing a public holiday on 7 November (the anniversary of the battle of Coolela), and payment of fines – in the form of money or livestock – by people who did not attend the commemoration. If we take songs that tell about these compulsory attendances and narratives about fines for those who did not participate as valid sources (as White 2000 suggests) – or as arguments (as Vansina 1985: 92 does) - we are in the presence of popular critique of colonial power. On the contrary, if we try and speculate on the reasons why some people did not regard those compulsory measures as compulsory at all; we might be facing the case that, actually people who might have not been happy with Ngungunyane's rule, including the Mondlanes, the Manhiques and the Matsinhes, actually went to Coolela

and Mandhlakazi to celebrate Ngungunyane's defeat. Thus, by changing the pattern of commemoration in Coolela, the postcolonial government disrupted celebrations by Mozambicans, which it (the state) misunderstood for colonial commemorations. And by building a national narrative in which the battle of Coolela features the Gaza Empire as an epitome of the resistance of Mozambicans against colonial domination the state fuels a misunderstanding that subaltern classes in Coolela cannot easily accept.

However, the same national narrative is taken seriously and used by those who claim to be heirs of the Gaza Empire. An interesting page seems to be opening in association with the monument of Coolela and other sites associated with the Gaza Empire in Mandhlakazi, then. This page is opened by current interest by people who claim to be part of Ngungunyane's lineage in preserving the heritage of that ruler. This begs the question of 'who will have precedence over ceremonies in Coolela, for example?' Since, in social memory of the Mondlanes, as well as of local people, Ngungunyane is regarded as alien, violent, arrogant and usurper of political power; what type of relationships will be developed between the representatives of Ngungunyane's lineage and the descendants of the former rulers of Mandhlakazi? How will that influence, in a transnational perspective, relationships between Mozambique and South Africa, two Southern African countries working on reconciliation within their countries and between themselves? These questions gain special significance in Mozambique, given current interest of the postcolonial government of the country in promoting the memory of Eduardo Mondlane – as I have described and argued in the section on Nwadjahane Open Museum.

7.
Conclusion

This project developed out of two main aims. One consisted in understanding the production, reproduction and transmission of social memory involving the state, elites and subaltern groups, as it relates to 'national monuments' in Mandhlakazi District, Mozambique. The second was associated with an assessment of the consequences of the relationships involving the above mentioned social actors resulting from this production process, to heritage tourism, both in Mozambique and in Southern Africa. The first aim is related to concerns in the social sciences with social memory, and my interest was in assessing the validity of predictions concerning the relevance of social memory in contemporary public politics. The second aim is related to current interest in the anthropology of tourism, and a worldwide interest and optimism associated with alternative forms of tourism (cf. Stronza 2001). Anthropologists are interested, among other issues, in the conditions under which subaltern groups (usually called local communities, in development circles and literature) can and do participate in alternative forms of tourism.

This research did not provide me enough elements to reach a conclusion concerning relationships involving various social actors in heritage tourism in Mozambique. This is because I found very insignificant and unreliable data concerning the practice of heritage tourism in Mandhlakazi. In the few instances in which this type of tourism is practiced it is in the form of (compulsory) school visits, with sporadic cases of tourism for voluntary reasons. This is associated with public disregard for heritage tourism in Mandhlakazi and in the country. However, there is growing interest in this type of tourism, mainly from government officials associated with the District Directorate of Youth, Education and Technology of Mandhlakazi, and other officials attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This process is still in debate. In spite of the reduced number of tourists in heritage sites of Mandhlakazi, Nwadjahane has the greatest share of them. The importance of this site is highlighted by state and family interest and investment in this site – known in public discourse in Mozambique as Nwadjahane Open Museum.

The Mozambican state has been showing growing interest in promoting this site, and has been doing this through the organization and/or promotion of commemorations, construction and/or restoration of memorials and other physical objects, financial assistance to the foundation in charge of this site, and acceleration of legal procedures for the protection of the site. In these actions the state is associated with the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, in representation of the family of Eduardo Mondlane. This family has been promoting the memory of Eduardo Mondlane through research projects aimed at collecting the intellectual production of Mondlane for latter publication and display at the Museum, social responsibility projects, and promotion of the national dimension of Eduardo Mondlane, in Mozambique. This association between the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation and the state is understood by certain political circles in Mozambique as being related to (Frelimo) party politics, regarded as undermining the national and consensual dimension of the memory of Mondlane. In this regard the memorialization process of Eduardo Mondlane is contested – although the significance of Mondlane in the postcolonial history of Mozambique enjoys consensus. This warrants the conclusion that the separation between the memory of the family and that of bigger social groups (such as a political party and a nation), proposed by Maurice Halbwachs (1992) has validity only as a methodological and didactic tool, at least when applied to the empirical stance of Nwadjahane.

The dynamics of social memory in Nwadjahane are not only related to the dynamics of the postcolonial state. An examination of the memory of the family opens avenues to the understanding of the pre-colonial political history of Mandhlakazi. This reveals contests involving local polities and the Gaza Empire – regarded as illegitimate and an invader in subaltern and in elite social memory (for example the memory of the Mondlane family and the Khambane clan). The issue becomes more complex given the role of the national historical narrative promoted by the postcolonial state of Mozambique, which integrates the Gaza Empire in the history of Mozambique as a representative of the struggle of the people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonial domination. This narrative is contested not only by the Mondlane family (not openly), but by other elites (the Mondlanes of Chalala) and subalterns. I have explored this memory contest and the voices of the subaltern in the case of the Coolela Monument.

Subaltern memory comes mainly in the form of oral tradition, but also in present discourse associated with the ecological (rain or flood making) potential of Coolela. Oral messages reveal popular distancing with the Gaza Empire regarded as violent and ultimately alien, especially in the person of its last ruler – Ngungunyane. These messages additionally problematise the significance of Coolela as being associated with the battle opposing the Portuguese and the Gaza Empire (according to mainstream historiography). Subaltern memory, and in to a lesser extent, historiography itself, shows that a missing piece is the role of leaders of Mozambican local polities who might have participated in that battle, siding with the Portuguese, in an attempt to undermine the power of the Gaza Empire, and ultimately overtake power. This begs the question as to 'who does the current monument - celebrating the deeds of the warriors who fought against the Portuguese - really represent?'. 'How is that monument regarded by local people?' In this regard, in the first instance the oral messages quoted in this research represent a challenge to current historiography and to postcolonial state memorialization in Coolela.

A much subtler point is made in narratives that emphasize the rain making powers of Coolela, or its ability to maintain ecological balance. Although these views might appear contradictory, they represent a powerful interpretive tool, and especially, an argument. This becomes apparent given the main target of criticism: the postcolonial state. By accounting this state for the disruption of the ecological balance of Coolela the subaltern classes are outlining a critique of modernization, in the form of state power, and particularly of its historical narrative and imposition of a social development approach which disregarded local views. This issue has a potential to fuel social conflict in the future, given the fact that by including the Gaza Empire as legitimate social actor in the history of Mozambique the postcolonial state opens space for new claims. One of these claims is presented by people who allege to be members of the lineage of Ngungunyane. They claim rule over Coolela and other sites in Mandhlakazi and Southern Mozambique, and ultimately over-rule in the context of a Great Gaza (Gazankulu). These people have been showing serious interest in promoting the memory of Ngungunyane, and heritage of the Gaza Empire in Mozambique. What relationships will be developed in the future, between these people, local people and elites in Mandhlakazi, and between the later and the Mozambican state, given the fact that, in terms of the current world dispensation dominated by states, the alleged representatives of

Gazankulu, are South African citizens? in any case, their claims related to a Gaza Empire show the transnational element of this dynamic of memory, an element not considered in the literature on social memory, especially in postcolonial Africa. I would conclude by engaging with that literature on three main points.

Firstly, state memorialism in Mozambique goes back to the period of colonial conquest by the Portuguese, a period which is located between the pre-colonial and colonial period. This renders problematic the suggestion in the literature that modern state memorialism goes back to the post First World War period (cf. Werbner 1998b: 71-72). Secondly, my discussion of the construction of national memory in Mozambique has been conducted in a broader time-scale than the one used in studies in South Africa (cf. Coombes 2004; Hamilton-Curriel 2000; Norval 2001; Nuttall & Coetzee 1998; Rassool 2000) and Zimbabwe (cf. Werbner 1998b). In these two countries the discussion is restricted to the post-apartheid and postcolonial period and with reference to the apartheid and colonial eras. Contrary to this perspective, my field data shows that the dynamics of national memory in Mozambique are more complex and stretch from the precolonial period, include the colonial and postcolonial period, and have potential to unfold into the future. This is related to my third point, since in this time-scale a diversity of polities, institutions and geographic scales become pertinent. This includes precolonial polities (such as the Gaza and the Khambane Empires), the Portuguese colonial state, the Mozambican postcolonial state, the South African post-apartheid state, and the State of Vatican (or Catholic Church). The involvement of the South Africa state is indirect, and happens through interests of South African citizens who claim connections with the Gaza Empire and with Mozambique. This aspect creates the potential for transnational dynamics of social memory, which go beyond the local context of Mandhlakazi and the national boundaries of Mozambique.

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Appendices

A: Work Plan

Activities	Sun.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.
Ethical clearance from Wits	**Jun.**					1	2
Preparation: Obtain equipment & Stationery, Tickets, Medicine	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Maputo *Fieldwork* Contact research participants	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Mandhlakazi	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Authorization to conduct study	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Contact research participants *Fieldwork*	**Jul**. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Return to Maputo	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Return to JHB	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31				
1st Draft	**Aug.**						
2nd field visit	**Sept.**						1
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	30						
2nd Draft	**Oct**.						
Final Research Report	**Nov.**						
Report Results to Participants	**Dec. 2007/Jan. 2008**						

B: Interview Guidelines

Local Communities and Tourists

1. History of *Mandhlakazi*

- What is the meaning of Mandlakaze? Who used the term first?
- Who are the origins of *Mandhlakazi*? Who arrived here first? Who does it belong to?
- What happened in *Mandhlakazi* during the time of Ngunhunhane, before him, during colonialism, during and after independence?

2. History of historical sites

- When was each of these sites erected and/or rebuilt or restored? (Mention each site).
- Who erected, built or restored it? Why?
- How did it look like the first time it was built? Have there been differences over time? Which ones? Why?

3. Meaning of historical sites

- What is the meaning of these sites, each site, for you? And for the people of Mandlakaze and Mozambique?
- Does it have any meaning for other people?
- Are these sites important for you? And for other people? Why?
- Since when they became important? Were there times when they were not important?

4. Social Practices or Performance around the sites

- Who regularly, frequently goes to the sites?
- What do they do there?
- When do they usually go?
- Do you go to those sites? When? How often? Why?
- Who cannot go to those sites, specific sites or site? Why?
- What ceremonies, events and other things are performed at the sites?

- When are they performed? By whom? Who leads the events and/or ceremonies?

Government Officials

MINEC, MITUR, Provincial Directorate of Tourism and Education and Culture

- What is the government doing about the sites of *Mandhlakazi*?
- Since when?
- Who are the government's partners in taking care of the sites?
- How is the community involved with those sites?
- Are those sites important? Why?
- What is the legal status of those sites?
- What are the government's future plans about those sites?

Mandlakaze (local government and municipality)

- What is the government doing about the sites of *Mandhlakazi*?
- Since when?
- Who are the government's partners in taking care of the sites?
- How is the community involved with those sites?
- Are those sites important? Why?
- What is the legal status of those sites?
- What are the government's future plans about those sites?
- What are the government and other entities doing for *Mandhlakazi* sites at the district level?
- Who are the actors involved, what are the goals and history of those initiatives?
- What are the most important events and ceremonies at those sites? Their history.
- Who is involved in those events? What are the roles of the participants?
- What is the meaning of those sites and of each specific site?

Eduardo Mondlane's Family

- What is being done about Eduardo Mondlane's house in *Mandhlakazi*?
- Who are the social actors involved?

- What are their roles?
- When did the site start to be preserved?
- What are the rules and procedures that must be followed at the site?
- What ceremonies and events take place at the site? Who is involved in them?

C: Informed Consent Form

Research Project Title:	**National' Monuments and historical tourism: negotiating social memory in Mandlakaze District, Mozambique**
Researcher's affiliation:	Department of Social Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
Researcher's name:	Celso Azarias Inguane
Researcher's contact	e-mail: Celso.Inguane@students.wits.ac.za cell (Mozambique): +258-84-2279600 (South Africa): +27-72-9864706

1. Greetings:

2. Introduction & General Information about the study

I am Celso Inguane, a Mozambican student, enrolled as a candidate to the degree of Master in social anthropology, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. I am here to conduct research that is part of my degree, and I am interested in learning what are the government's plans and actions related to historical sites in *Mandhlakazi*. I am specifically interested in the tree and statue of Ngungunyani in *Mandhlakazi*; *Nwadjahane*; and *Coolela*. I am also interested in learning what people who live close to those three sites do at those sites, how they take care of them, what are the important days related to those sites, and I would like to learn the history of those sites. In that regard, during the course of my study I will talk to people working for the government in Maputo, *Xai-Xai* and *Mandhlakazi*. In *Mandhlakazi*, I will also talk to people who take care of the historical places I mentioned above, with people who usually go to those places, and those who know the history of each place. I will spend some days in Maputo and *Xai-Xai*, in August, and approximately two weeks in *Mandhlakazi*, in September, and again in November this year (2007).

3. Procedure

In order to learn more about what I am interested in I will interview people, I will also go to the historical sites and ask explanations about when they were built, restored, etc; and the stories that are told about the places. I will go with people to the historical sites when they go and perform ceremonies or do other activities; and whenever possible I will take photographs. During the interviews and when I am at the sites I will take notes of our

conversations and the things I see. I will do this in order to record what you say - for the future generations - and also so that I do not forget. Before I take notes, I will ask your permission, and if you do not agree I won't take notes.

4. Anonymity and Confidentiality

All the information I collect (notes and photographs) will go into the report I will write so that I obtain my degree. However, I will not use the real names of people who give me information. In this way, you are free to tell me whatever you feel you want to, and no one will come after you because of what you will tell me. I also do not write your names in my notes: I have a code for each of you. I will not reveal your names and other details of your identity to anyone, not even if forced by government laws.

5. Benefits

This is a study for degree purposes, so I cannot offer you anything to thank you for the information you are offering me. The only thing I can offer is: I will write the history of this place the way you tell me, I will write the things you do, and I will send you a copy of my report once my university approves it. But I think your participation in this project is also important for you because the history of this place will be recorded and your children and grandchildren can learn about it in the years to come.

6. Risks

Your participation in this project might involve some risks. Maybe people in government or the local authorities might ask you what I have been asking you about, might pressure you not to talk to me. On the other hand, you can remember things which are unpleasant or secrets. In relation to pressure from government or the local authorities I can only guarantee you that I won't reveal anything you tell me, nor who has been talking to me. On the other hand, if you feel you are not ready to talk about something then you can leave it for a latter stage, or simply don't talk about it.

7. Freedom to participate and withdraw

You are free to participate or not participate in this study. This means that you can choose to help me with information and if you feel you do not want to participate anymore you can tell

me and withdraw from the study. I will understand that; and you can tell me why you are no longer participating, or you can just not tell me.

8. Asking for explanations

If you do not understand anything I ask you or anything I do you can ask me anytime. I will be happy to explain you. And you can speak with me in English, Portuguese, Tsonga, Ronga and Chope, which are languages I speak. If you need someone to help you with the translation you can call that person to sit with you while I interview you.

I will need you to write you name and the date of the interview so that my university knows that I asked your permission before I interviewed you. But, again, they won't know what you have told me. If you are unable to read and write you can ask someone you trust to read this document for you and sign on your behalf.

If you have any questions about my project or about me, you can call or write to my supervisor or the department where I am studying. The contact details are provided in the letter (credential) my supervisor has given me.

Researcher: Celso Inguane	Interviewee:
Signature:	Signature:
Place & Date:	Place & Date: