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Published in:
Monsoon: Journal of the Indian Ocean Rim

DOI:
10.1215/2834698X-11366563

Publication date:
2024

Document Version
Peer reviewed version

Citation for published version (APA):
Kaarsholm, P. (2024). The History of the Zanzibari Amakhuwa: Uprooting, Registration, and Inventions of Home in a Community of Liberated Africans. *Monsoon: Journal of the Indian Ocean Rim*, *2*(2), 50-68. https://doi.org/10.1215/2834698X-11366563

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"This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Preben Kaarsholm; The History of the Zanzibari Amakhuwa: Uprooting, Registration, and Inventions of Home in a Community of Liberated Africans. Monsoon 1 November 2024; 2 (2): 50–68, which has been published in final form at https://doi.org/10.1215/2834698X-11366563. Copyright © 2024 The Africa Institute

The History of the Zanzibari Amakhuwa: Uprooting, Registration and Inventions of Home in a Community of Liberated Africans

Abstract

The article gives a detailed account of the history of the Durban Zanzibari Amakhuwa community, which developed around the descendants of freed slaves brought to Natal by the Royal Navy as 'liberated Africans' in the 1870s. It discusses some of the methodological challenges facing researchers studying diasporas of Makua speakers dispersed across the Indian world through the slave trade and its abolition. These include distortions in the documentary records as well as in oral traditions of memorialization configured and given voice in response to changing social and political contexts. The article offers a detailed critical analysis of the information on the freed slaves and their backgrounds contained in a "Return of Liberated Africans" from 1877. It then discusses how reminiscences of origin have since been creatively reinterpreted in several rounds among descendants of freed slaves and fellow community members between the 1870s and the present, and the ways in which dialectics of inclusion and exclusion have unfolded. The article brings this up to date in an account of the August 2023 celebrations in Durban of the 150th anniversary of the first arrivals of freed slaves. It concludes by debating the implications of different dynamics of memorialization for reparations and historical justice as well as for attempts to establish databases documenting the slave trade in the Western Indian Ocean.

Keywords liberated Africans, Zanzibaris, Amakhuwa, Durban, Mozambique

A search for origins has been central to post-colonial aspirations for recognition by descendants of people enslaved and dispersed through the slave trade and its aftermath. Strivings for identity and community beyond the experience of enslavement have been especially powerful in the Atlantic Ocean world and have gone hand-in-hand with demands for reparations.[1] They have also – with inspiration from the experiences of the Atlantic – come to the fore in the context of the Indian Ocean, as demonstrated for example in the extensive report of the Mauritius Truth and Justice Commission Report from 2011 with its strong emphasis on long-term historical justice.[2]

Whereas in the Atlantic, however, a particular pattern of enslavement, transportation, disposal and utilisation of slave labour can be established, with clear and obvious points of departure and arrival and with shipments taking place in large cargoes on ships especially designed for the slave trade, the Indian Ocean presents a different and more complicated picture. In the Indian Ocean – and more specifically the western Indian Ocean, which is the focus of this article – there certainly were large-scale shipments of slaves similar to and feeding into those of the Atlantic.[3] There were also dedicated expeditions for and importations of slaves in larger groups, though mostly on a more modest scale within the circuits of the different colonial empires seeking to control the

Indian Ocean.[4] But most commonly, the Indian Ocean slave trade took the form of smaller shipments and mixed cargoes, and transportations would frequently take place in stages and consecutive segments of dispersal. Indian Ocean slave trade diasporas were therefore highly dynamic with identities and self-understandings going through stages of transformation. This dynamism continued into abolition and post-slavery as communities of former slaves engaged with different political and cultural environments and developed strategies to cope with or make the most creative and advantageous use of them.[5]

This article seeks to elucidate and understand such dynamic processes of diaspora development and the understandings of origin, home and belonging going along with them by re-visiting the Durban "Zanzibari" community of descendants of "liberated Africans", which has already been the subject of extensive research and academic discussion.[6] Outstanding within this history of research has been the contribution of Professor Abdul Sheriff and of the Zanzibar Indian Ocean Research Institute – significant academic efforts that are now been consolidated and carried forward by the Sharjah Africa Institute and the *Monsoon* journal.

The point of departure in the article is a close reading of parts of an 1877 "Return of Liberated Africans" from British Natal that gives details of 502 so-called Zanzibaris, who arrived in Durban between 1873 and 1877. On this basis, the article discusses the history of the making of the Zanzibari diaspora and the notions of origin, which have been invoked in it since the late 19th century, and points out some of the methodological challenges involved in the study of homes, origins and identities. The article brings this up-to-date in reflections on the 150th anniversary celebrations that took place from 4 to 6 August 2013 in Durban to commemorate the arrival of the first batch of "liberated Africans from Zanzibar" on 4 August 1873.

The history of the Durban Zanzibaris was highlighted in an exemplary article contributed by Abdul Sheriff to a collection of essays commissioned by UNESCO's Slave Route Project and entitled *TADIA – The African Diaspora in Asia*. Professor Sheriff's article on "The Origin of the "Zanzibari" Diaspora in Durban" was published in 2008 and draws on British consular records and correspondence in the National Archives of Zanzibar, which had not previously been used. In 2016, the author of the present article was able to add to Professor Sheriff's analysis with reference to sources in the KwaZulu-Natal archives in Pietermaritzburg, which had not been available to Sheriff, including the 1877 "Return of liberated Africans," which means that we have unusually detailed and exact information regarding this particular instance of Indian Ocean slave trade transit.

The “Return” has not been analysed in detail before, though it was put to use in Zubeda Seedat’s pioneering anthropology master’s dissertation on the Zanzibaris in 1973, but the document file has since proved difficult to find.[7] A close reading of it will serve to pinpoint more generally what kinds of insights can be drawn or not from registers of slaves, “liberated Africans”, and indentured labourers. Such registers exist in their tens of thousands and provide an important part of the basis for the many database construction projects that are currently being undertaken, including the ESTA project at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, the “Walk With Web” base bringing together records of hundreds of thousands of “liberated Africans”, and the current endeavours to incorporate documentation on the Indian Ocean slave trade into the Slave Voyages database.[8] These database construction projects were also one of the centres for attention at the Africa Institute’s workshop in Zanzibar in June 2023 on “Legacies of Race and Slavery in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.” Here a concern was given voice by Abdul Sheriff and others that such generalisation and standardisation of format for slavery and the slave trade in the two Oceanic settings could lead to a new manifestation of the “tyranny of the Atlantic,” where specificities and essential details and complexities of the Indian Ocean would be subsumed and misrepresented within a common mould, geared to meet not least American political demands and essentialist understandings of what is meant by “home” and “origins”.[9]

As is clear from the “Return”, the Durban Zanzibaris did not originate in Zanzibar nor were they island dwellers, but predominantly came from Northern Mozambique as Makua-speaking mainlanders, though some members of the group may have come from further north on the East African mainland across from the two big Zanzibar islands of Pemba and Unguja. Their diaspora identity as Zanzibaris was an invented one, as demonstrated already by Seedat in 1973. It was an identity, however, in which – in the twentieth century – many of them came to believe and invest actively and creatively, until more recently members of the diaspora community have begun to find their “roots” as Amakhuwa and in Northern Mozambique. This development was clearly demonstrated in the elaborate three-day programme of celebrations that took placed in Durban in August 2023 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of arrival of the “liberated Africans,” which will be discussed below. In more general terms, the transformations of the Zanzibaris into Amakhuwa and from mainlanders to islanders and back again may help to demonstrate some of the openings and closures that have been involved in different strategies of diaspora and identity construction from the 1870s to the present. These strategies and the shifts between them provide

an interesting case material for comparison with other diasporic groupings of freed slave descent in the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans.

The 1877 Natal "Return of Liberated Africans"

The "Return of Liberated Africans" was prepared in 1877 by the Protector of Indian Immigrants of Natal in response to criticisms made of the Protector's office for not fulfilling its responsibilities vis-à-vis the slaves freed by Royal Navy vessels, who had been brought to Natal as indentured labourers from 1873 onwards. To secure approval from John Kirk, the British Consul in Zanzibar, who was coordinating the anti-slavery operations, the Natal colonial government had to guarantee that certain conditions were fulfilled. The conditions were modelled on those applying to the Indian indentured labourers, who had come to Natal from Calcutta and Madras since 1860, but whose importation had been suspended in 1866, following complaints on the return to India by the first contingents of workers of the ill-treatment they had received in Natal. This led to the setting up of a "Coolie Commission," whose Report in 1872 led to the establishment of the office of the Protector of Indian Immigrants (replacing that of the Natal government's "Coolie Agent"). The Protector's responsibility was to ensure that the regulations regarding labour conditions recommended by the Commission were upheld.

Following this, importation of Indian indentured labourers was allowed to resume in July 1874, but in the meantime – to meet the demands of labour-hungry settlers – "liberated Africans from Zanzibar" were introduced as indentured labourers from August 1873 under the aegis of the Protector of Indian Immigrants. For these an additional set of regulations were agreed with Kirk in Zanzibar and his assistant, James Frederic Elton – who was temporarily posted to Natal in 1873 as Deputy Protector of Indian Immigrants – which were meant to signal a clear distinction between slavery and indentured labour and went beyond those applying to Indian labourers introduced. The regulations were modelled on those, which "Guardians of Slaves" had been meant to secure for manumitted slaves and apprentices in the Cape after the abolition of slavery and to protect the "liberated Africans" coming to Natal against "cruel punishments" like flogging and to secure that they were instructed in the "great truths of Christianity," and taught the English language.[10]

The "Return of Liberated Africans" was commissioned from Captain Murdoch McLeod, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, in April 1877, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Henry Bulwer, in response to queries from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. The concern was

that the new institution of the Protector had not lived up to its obligations and had not supervised as it should the conditions under which the freed slaves were allocated, employed and accommodated. It was submitted on 1 September 1877, and was reported on in October 1877 by a sub-committee consisting of the Colonial Secretary of the Natal government and the Commandant of Natal. The sub-committee concluded that – though there was information missing concerning the education and Christian upbringing of the children of the freed slaves – the "Return" documented that "the importation of these people into Natal has been… beneficial," and that the freed slaves "generally are contented, and in a condition superior to the ordinary Kafir, being more permanently employed… and brought more into contact with civilizing influences than is, in ordinary circumstances, the native of the country". In the middle of all this Protector McLeod had to appear in court for having shot and killed in January 1877 an Indian indentured labourer – a high-profile and scandalous case, in which he was acquitted, but which also led to his removal as Protector of Indian Immigrants.[11]

The "Return" summarizes information registered on arrival in Durban of 502 "liberated Africans" between 1873 and 1877. It assigns a number to each of them, but numbers were not used administratively or otherwise for identification. It has fields for names, sex, date of arrival, name of ship, age and date of assignment as indentured labourer or apprentice, name of employer to whom assigned, rate of wages in shillings for first and subsequent years of assignment, how employed, births, deaths, desertions, and possible supplementary remarks on for example transfer to another employer, dissolution of contract or "marriage to a free Makooa."

Some of these entries are of particular interest. Going through the entries on *sex*, for instance, we learn that 213 of the 502 were men, 136 were women, 98 were boys, and 55 were girls, which again means that 311 were male and 191 female, and that 349 were adults and 153 were children under the age of 12. The entries on *age* show that among the children 51 were six years old or less down to six months, 153 were twelve years and less, 175 were 16 years or less, 22 between the ages of 12 and 15, 41 between the ages of 16 and 18, while only 52 were more than 30 years old and seven more than 40 years old.

The entries on "To whom assigned" show that most of the "liberated Africans" were given in employment to well-known Natal farmers, planters, big companies and business families, while 76 of them were assigned to the Durban Public Works Department, the Port Captain and the Hospital - 15 from the first August 1873 batch of arrivals and 61 from the second batch arriving in April 1874. The "Return" shows that children were in high demand as domestic servants – entries

include an eight-year-old boy called Mapruke assigned on 1 July 1876 to Protector McLeod himself, and one or two assigned to Banastyre Pryce Lloyd, the Protector preceding him - a seven-year-old boy called Umkosampo and a nine-year-old boy of the same name, both on 23 May 1876 (the latter possibly an instance of double book-keeping). In late 1877 and again at the end of 1878 – after his dismissal as Protector, but in 1878 said to be "now in good Govt. Appt." - Mc Leod was reprimanded for not having paid "passage money" for two "indentured Coolies" and one "liberated slave boy" assigned to him.[12]

Under "Wages", the "Return" states that – in general - "Adults, with few exceptions, are employed as Field Labourers. Children as Domestic Servants," while "Destitute children" were "assigned as Apprentices until 18 years of Age, Girls until 16 Years of Age. Wages commencing at 12 Years of Age." The entries for "Wages" indicate that – as for labour conditions – the "liberated Africans" were given preferential treatment compared to Indian indentured labourers and paid higher wages. Men would receive seven to ten shillings per month during year one to five, while women would earn four to six shillings per month from year one to year three. Boys would be given three to seven and eight shillings per month from year one to year five or six, and the wages of girls would be two to four shillings per month from year one to year three. Indenture contracts for males would thus typically be for five-year periods, while those for females would be for three years. Apprenticeship for children under the ages of twelve would not have other limitations in time. By way of comparison – according to a notice signed by Elton as Acting Protector in August 1874 – wages for Indian indentured labourers would be five shillings for month for men, rising annually by half-a-shilling, with women being paid half the wages of men.[13]

Dates of arrivals and ships

Three fields of entries are of particular interest for the discussion of the origins of the slaves, who became "liberated Africans" – those giving the "Name", the "Date of Arrival," and the "Ship" from which landed.

The dates of arrival and ships' names can be matched with information from other sources like contemporary press reports and the British consular records in the Zanzibar National Archives on the anti-slavery campaigns of the Royal Navy. This makes it possible to establish with some degree of certainty from where the "liberated Africans" were embarked and shipped, and what were the destinations they were meant to be taken to.

The ”Return” covers 14 ship arrivals between 1873 and 1877, of which eight brought a number of eight or less freed slaves with them to Durban. Only three ships were involved – one Royal Navy ship, the *HMS Briton*, and two Union Line mail steamers, the *SS Kafir* and the *SS Natal*, plying the four-weekly mail service that was run between Cape Town and Zanzibar from 1873 to 1881. This service was an important support for the anti-slavery campaigns as well as for the promotion of new British trade opportunities in East Africa via Zanzibar.[14]

The first 113 entries in the "Return" record the freed slaves brought to Durban on 4 August 1873 directly on *HMS Briton*, and whose details and background were recorded by James Frederic Elton, who was present on their arrival. When intercepted, the slaves had been on a dhow *en route* to Madagascar, they were "Makuas and Maganja" with clear cultural distinctions, some of them speaking "indifferent Portuguese", and according to Elton they had been captured "from a 75 mile coastline between Angoche and Port Makambo [Mokambo Bay]".[15]

The next 78 entries (numbers 114-191) register arrivals on 23 April 1874 on the mail steamer *SS Kafir* from Zanzibar in a group accompanied on the journey to Durban by Elton. These were slaves from a very big dhow intercepted by *HMS Daphne* again off Madagascar, whose total cargo of 225 could not be transferred as hoped to a mail steamer putting in at Mozambique Island, and therefore had to be taken to Zanzibar for adjudication. Like first arrivals in August 1873, this second big group was also described by Elton and in the Natal newspapers as Makua and some of its members as speaking "Portuguese fluently".[16]

The next 226 entries (numbers 192-417) are all from 1876 and cover arrivals on *SS Kafir* on 23 March of seven freed slaves of unknown provenance (numbers 192-198) , of 128 slaves on *SS Kafir* on 20 April (numbers 199-326), two slaves on *SS Natal* on 15 June (numbers 327-328), 31 slaves on *SS Natal* on 12 July (numbers 329-359), 44 slaves on *SS Natal* on 10 August (numbers 360-403), one slave on *SS Kafir* on 7 September (number 404 – "Died in Depot"), three slaves on *SS Natal* on 4 October (numbers 405-407), four slaves on *SS Kafir* on 3 November (numbers 408-411), one slave on *SS Natal* on 29 November (number 412), and finally five slaves on *SS Kafir* on 20 December (numbers 413-417).

The background to these arrivals and the provenance of the slaves freed are a bit more complicated to work out and to get to match with the account of five major "batches" of arrival proposed by Abdul Sheriff. The first big 1876 batch of 128 arrivals are placed by Sheriff in the "Fourth Batch, 1876", while the later bigger groups of arrival of 31 freed slaves on 12 July and of

44 slaves on 10 August belong to his "Third Batch, 1876". The reason for this is that the second two groups were in fact intercepted and freed before the first one, and that they had to undergo a longer and more complicated process of adjudication and allocation in Zanzibar before sent to Natal.

The interesting point here is that the 128 arrivals on 20 April were of slaves that been freed – not in the Mozambique Channel, but further north between Pemba Island and the coast of the Tanzanian mainland. They were not Makua speakers, but mostly Swahili speakers and "Ngindo slaves from southern Tanzania," some of whom had been "marched from Kilwa to Pangani" and been liberated by Captain Sullivan and the *HSM London* off Pemba as explained by Abdul Sheriff with reference to the National Archives of Zanzibar documentation.[17]

These 128 freed non-Makua-speaking slaves – coming from what Gwyn Campbell has called the "northern complex" of the western Indian Ocean slave trade - thus arrived in Durban before the 31 and 44 Makua-speaking slaves from the "southern complex" of trade between Northern Mozambique and Madagascar.[18] But the latter group had obviously been taken as slaves and freed before the former, which indicates that the trading in slaves was moving or at least fluctuating north at this point in time. This may have had to do with the destruction by the British campaigns of some of the *barracoon* holding camps for slaves around Kivolani and Mokambo Bay described in the notes and diaries of Frederic Elton.[19]

Such a northward fluctuation may also explain the background to the last 77 entries in the "Return of Liberated Africans" (numbers 426-502), who arrived in Durban on the *SS Natal* on 24 April 1877. Abdul Sheriff thinks that the origins of this group are not clear, and that some of them could have been under way as slaves from the Tanzanian mainland to Pemba and others intercepted during transportation from northern Mozambique to Madagascar. But Sheriff's identification of some of this "batch" as Makuas "shipped from the Umpiza River a few miles south of Mozambique Island" is based on an oversight of Zubeda Seedat's mistiming in her dissertation of an account of slaves arriving in Durban in the *Natal Mercury* as "25th April 1877." The correct date of the newspaper report, however, is "25th April 1874," and it describes the arrival of the 78 slaves brought by Elton and the *SS Kafir* on 23 April 1874 as shown above – not the arrival of the 77 on the *SS Natal* on 24 April 1877.[20]

There is therefore no doubt that the 77 "were part of a larger group of 165 freed slaves freed from a dhow that was captured off Pemba Island. Kirk's returns of freed slaves [in Zanzibar] for the year

clearly states that of the 165 freed Africans, 77 were sent to Natal, 50 given to the UMCA [the Universities Mission to Central Africa], 30 to the Roman Catholic Mission and eight were freed in Zanzibar".[21] To these must in all likelihood be added the smaller group of eight arrivals on 23 March 1877 also on the SS Natal (numbers 418-425). Abdul Sheriff thinks that some of the late-arriving slaves may even have had previous working experience as domestic servants in Zanzibar, and that in this sense the origins of some Zanzibaris may in fact have been Zanzibari.

It seems convincing, though, from the information that can be gleaned from the "Return" and the matching archival and newspaper documentation that the majority of the 502 "liberated Africans" were Makua speakers. But it also appears that this majority was not a very big one. If we assume that freed slaves arriving up to April 1976, were freed *en route* from Northern Mozambique to Madagascar (numbers 1-326), and those arriving later freed from *dhows* moving from the Tanzanian mainland towards Pemba Island (numbers 327-502), we get a balance of 326 to 274 from the "southern" and the "northern complex" respectively. This may give an indication of a majority of Makua speakers, though there were probably also Ngindo, Swahili and Yao included among the "southerners," as well as Makua and Maganja speakers among the "northerners."

The interesting question arising out of this complexity is how it came about that Makua became the dominating – though not the exclusive – language among the "liberated Africans," and how and why it became the language preserved so diligently and successfully by the Zanzibaris as they came to form a diasporic group of descendants of freed slaves in Natal and South Africa.

The Names and Homes of Slaves

Attempts have been made by slave trade historians to trace the origins of slaves through their names and the language groups to which their names seem to belong.[22] The 1877 "Return of Liberated Africans" is interesting for a discussion of this possibility, as it contains the names of all the 502 freed slaves as recorded by clerk in the Protector of Immigrant's office at the Depot on the Durban Bluff, where arrivals would be detained until health checked and allocated. But the names may well have been recorded in a hurry and inaccurately by someone not familiar with the languages and cultural backgrounds of the arrivals. Most of them throughout the years from 1873 to 1877 seem to be African Bantu language names like Bahato, Umamapo, Kazamboo, Manasama, Mamapala, or Zuzoreka. But it is difficult to situate the names more precisely within this broad continuum, and the "Return" also does not include information often recorded in similar registers

as to “tribe” or cultural markings like tattoos, facial cuts or dress to put the names in context.[23] A few of the names like Nekholane or Moolookomtako are thought by some to have a Koti or Makua background.

There are two groups of names, however, which give indications that some of the arrivals had either an Islamic background, or a Portuguese-speaking and possibly Christian one. The Muslim names like Fatemah, Halemah, Hassam, Faruze, Baraka, Juma, Hosane, Silimani, Haleman, Ebrihim or the particularly frequent Mabruke or Mapruke apply to 54 of the arrivals – 13 in 1873, four in 1874, 15 in the first major arrival in 1876 and 13 in the second, and finally nine in 1877. There is therefore not any significant difference as to the frequency among “southern” and “northern” arrivals, and it is not possible to tell when and how the slaves in question may have become – or come to aspire to be – Muslims. When asked about typical Makua names, contemporary Makua speakers in Durban appear to think first of Muslim names like these.

The Portuguese or Christian names are less frequent – names like Katerena, Mareah, Antonio, Maresa, Rosane or Rosa. They are given for 16 arrivals in all – seven in 1873, two in 1874, two in the first 1876 group, and five in the second, and none in 1877. Again this naming does not in itself reveal very much about the background and origins of the freed slaves, and may indicate earlier enslavement, contact with missionaries, domestic work for Portuguese at Mozambique Island, and says nothing – or nothing definite - about language proficiency.

All in all, much of what is seemingly exact in much of the information given in the “Return of Liberated Africans” turns out to be confusing and in need of careful qualitative analysis to untangle and interpret what it reveals about the origins of the freed enslaved human beings registered in it. The “Return” makes it convincing that a majority of the 502 were captured as slaves in a broad area covering parts of today’s Malawi, southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique. Also that that they were embarked on *dhows* departing from either a fairly narrow stretch of coast between Mozambique Island and Angoche and heading for Madagascar, or from the Tanzanian coast going to Pemba island. Finally that a majority of them were – or became – Makua or Makua speakers. But it leaves us with the question, then, of what “Makua” means, and what it meant and means to be “Makua”.

Makua – or Emakhuwa to use the spelling preferred by some linguists – is “the largest indigenous language of Mozambique and spoken by several millions of people in three countries [Mozambique, Tanzania and Malawi]”.[24] In spite of this, and because the majority of speakers

have been Muslims, it has been under-researched and until the 1980s was studied mostly by missionaries like the Comboni Brethren critical of Portuguese colonial policies that would single out Portuguese and Christianity as instruments of civilization and inclusion, and therefore not encourage African language use or study. The Comboni order's Catechetical Centre at Anchilo on the outskirts of Nampula has played an important role in making Emakhuwa a written language through the publication of printed religious texts in Makua. Since the 1980s research by scholars like Charles Kisseberth, José Maria Katupha and Jenneke van der Wal – and by Rajend Mesthrie and Sarifa Moola-Nernaes in South Africa – has revealed the nature of Emakhuwa as a complex of Bantu dialects rather than a single language. Studies have also shown its close relationship and overlap with Elomwe in particular and has identified Ekoti and Ecuwabo as mixed-language variants of Makua.[25]

While earlier literature saw Emakhuwa as comprising three main groups of dialects – Central Emakhuwa, Rovuma Emakhuwa and Coastal Emakhuwa, Kisseberth has suggested instead an umbrella of 28 mutually connected Emakhuwa and Elomwe dialects, of which "Zanzibari Emakhuwa" constitutes one. Kisseberth suggests also that "Zanzibari Emakhuwa" – as spoken by descendants of the "liberated Africans" of the 1870s – is most closely related to Enahara, the language of Mozambique Island and its coastal surroundings. Enahara has also been the focus of Jenneke van der Wal's research. According to Kisseberth it has similarities with the Imitthupi dialect spoken in southern Tanzania and is possibly also related to the Emapattani dialect of the Nacala port region, but is very distinct, by contrast, from the Enlai Emakhuwa dialect characteristic of Angoche.[26]

Such a geographical and spatial "fixation" of the belonging of languages and dialects is problematic, however, given the flux and violent upheavals that characterized this huge area historically and not least the Makuana region of the 18th and 19th centuries, when colonization, extraction and slave trade came to dominate. Invasions interacted forcefully with reactions within internal political systems, some of whom remained powerful until the early 20th century as either subaltern allies of a weak Portuguese colonial state, or as loosely connected autonomous bastions of resistance to it, as for example in the sheikdoms of Sancul and Angoche.[27]

The disruptions and displacements in the period of the illegal slave trade of the late 19th century come out graphically in the British consular reports by McLeod, Elton and O'Neill from the 1850s onwards.[28] In this complex and violent world, there were both Makua slaves and Makua slavers, and in Angoche profits from the slave trade were underwriting the acquisition of firearms and

ammunition to fight the Portuguese.[29] This complexity would affect also self-designations and the naming of others, and Makua slaves may appear in registers under the names of the Yao caravan leaders and slavers who had procured them. In reverse, registers may also be affected by Koti- and Naharra-speaking slave traders who insisted that slaves could not be called by their masters' and traders' names, but must be called Makua.[30]

It is unlikely - within this highly unstable setting - that the slaves who were captured, transported and came to be freed as "liberated Africans" in the 1870s originated in spatially fixed and settled homes of origin. They were more likely to be people, who when enslaved had already been uprooted and displaced – maybe in several turns – and who came to form their understandings of themselves and to speak a shared language in a process Megan Vaughan has termed "ethnicity in process".[31] It is a convincing assumption that the Makua language they came to speak was a *lingua franca* that evolved to match the needs of this ethnic processing – a caravan or *barracoon* language, as suggested by Edward Alpers - and this is also agreed to as the most likely possibility by socio-linguists like Raj Mesthrie and Charles Kisseberth.[32]

It is an interesting question how and why a particular and very distinct Emakhuwa dialectical variety, Enahara, came to be adopted and fulfil this role as *lingua franca* and instrument of diaspora creation. The Zanzibari Emakhuwa spoken today has so specific characteristics that some individual speakers think it can be even linked through family ties to particular villages in the Mozambique Island, Cabaçeira and Mossuril area. It is not an easy question to answer, but it is clear that this linguistic privileging was the outcome of not just determining circumstances, but also of active strategies of identity construction and maintenance that would be continued and take further shape after liberation and arrival in Natal.

Among the determining institutional frameworks the Protector of Indian Immigrants' Office and its registration and administration procedures were among the most important, as the "Return of Liberated Africans" illustrates. It is worth noting that in many respects this framework in Natal differed and was more benevolent than the equivalent settings for the reception and registration of "liberated Africans" preceding it in for example Mauritius and the Seychelles. Here photographic identification was included in the registration alongside passes and measures of control to contain vagrancy and presented a framework of policing that was much stricter than what "liberated Africans" were subjected to in Natal.[33] In Durban, at the end of their indenture contracts, the "liberated Africans" who came to be settled on the Bluff were not very rigorously controlled and were able to benefit from the history of earlier importations of migrant labour from

Mozambique. These were organized through government agents like Reuben Beningfield, who owned land in both Inhambane and on the Bluff, including the land at King's Rest that became home to the Zanzibaris. They were thus able to relate to cross-border linkages already established, and the port of Durban - where many found employment - offered additional opportunities for contacts and exchanges with Mozambique.[34]

Diaspora creation was also framed in significant ways by the influence of philanthropies – by the Catholic missionaries of St Xavier's Church and by the Islamic Juma Masjid Trust in particular. It was through the agency of these institutions that the majority of "liberated Africans" came to be settled on the Bluff from the 1890s. The Catholic Mission opened their school also to non-Catholic children on the Bluff, but at the same time encouraged "liberated Africans" who were already Christians or became Catholic converts to give up their cultural and traditional peculiarities, become Zulu-speaking Christians, and to help spread the faith among fellow Africans in different parts of greater Durban, including Inanda. By contrast, the Muslim majority of the Zanzibaris who came under the wings of Indian Sunni benefactors organized around Durban's Grey Street Juma Masjid mosque were given support to cultivate their distinctiveness and stay together.[35] This also opened up for connections between Sufi networks coming down the East African coast with the "liberated Africans" and those coming across from the Gujarati coast and building ritual centres in Durban at the shrines of Badsha Pir and Sufi Sahib.[36]

It is well-known and discussed in earlier research and publications how – during the first half of the 20th century - the Muslim "liberated Africans" on the Bluff strove to develop a special position for themselves within the frameworks of colonial segregationist policies. The notion and self-identification of them as non-African Zanzibaris came about in the context of resistance to taxation and interference from urban planning and was consolidated by ethnographic ignorance and in newspaper coverage of the community as a "lost tribe" washed up on the shores of Natal. Struggles against classification as African went through ups and downs until the early 1960s, when – with the implementation of the Group Areas Act – the Zanzibaris were forcefully removed from King's Rest at the Bluff to Chatsworth. Paradoxically, this came along with registration for the Zanzibaris in apartheid legislation as "Other Asiatics," who were consequently not re-settled in new African township of Umlazi, but in its equally new Indian twin suburb of Chatsworth. In this way, the trauma of being uprooted from Kings Rest was accompanied by access to Indian housing, education and health services.

If apartheid urban development parameters thus provided a further important set of determinants for the constitution of a diaspora identity, post-apartheid transition from 1994 upset the framework and brought new opportunities for empowerment. From a liability in terms of discrimination, African-ness became an asset for upliftment, and Zanzibaris in turn came to see and represent themselves more commonly as Amakhuwa and a Mozambican diaspora. This happened in the context of a successful effort for land restitution, which in 2003 gave ownership to most of the land at Kings Rest back to the descendants of the 1870s “liberated Africans” as represented by the Zanzibari Civic Association, subsequently the Zanzibari Development Trust.[37]

Within these changing sets of determinants and responses to them, the force driving diaspora development forward and forming it has been conscious creation and cultural and political entrepreneurship. Such creation has centered very much on Makua language preservation and on Sufi Islamic ritual and authority as the most significant and defining elements for keeping a Zanzibari Amakhuwa community together.

Creative entrepreneurship involved the establishment of a strict, but also in many ways an open and inclusive cultural hegemony through socialization, generational transmission through transition rituals, marriage and kinship alliances, language discipline and the cultivation of Sufi *tariqa* (brotherhood) networks. It was a hegemony that prevailed during the first half of the 20th century through the agency of strong community leaders with men at the fore, but with patriarchal structures incorporating strong traditions of matriliny and of women’s leadership. Sarifa Moola-Nernaes has described how women were prominent in preserving cultural traditions and upholding transition rituals for adolescents, and how grandmothers played a particularly important role in keeping households and families together. Elders were the cement of a gerontocratic community, where children and youngsters were taught discipline as the route to self-respect.[38] With Sufism allowing for reconciliation between Islam and custom, the Zanzibari community would rely on men who were cultural experts to teach young men respect and what they needed to know before circumcision and adulthood, and on strong knowledgeable women to guide girls at puberty through *nimwari* status to womanhood. Initiation schools were also important for language preservation, as culture had to be taught in learnt in Makua. At the same time, children and adolescents would have long days attending first ordinary school and then *madressah* education to be provided with religious insight and knowledge enough of Arabic for Quran recitation. For this the community would also have its own respected and knowledgeable instructors, capable of teaching and interpreting Arabic texts and developing the curricula of

madressahs. The crowning achievement of this cultural entrepreneurship and confirmation of Zanzibari-ness would then be the ceremonial coming out of the successfully trained young adults at the *mawlid* celebrations at either the Prophet's Birthday or the end of Ramadan.

The carefully created and maintenanced diaspora world of King's Rest was open enough to incorporate newcomers to the community. They ranged from the poor Muslims with an Indian background included in the first philanthropic gift of the land at Kings Rest to later arrivals of Muslims from Mozambique and Malawi or from other Durban settlements, who became Zanzibaris and were accepted and integrated as such. Moola-Nernaes describes how men or women marrying into the community would first be "adopted" by an established family to learn culture, religion and language to facilitate and secure their integration. It meant that new languages and language varieties came into the community and came to co-exist with and accept the overreaching status of Makua as the dominating language. Besides the languages and dialects constituting Makua as the *lingua franca* of the 1870s "liberated Africans", this included Swahili, Yao, Urdu, Portuguese, Chewa and Zulu. English also became increasingly important as the language for interacting with a larger Durban and South African world and providing access to job opportunities and careers. But the status of Makua as the main language was strictly upheld through the discipline exercised by elders and community leaders. It was important during the King's Rest period to insist on Makua as the language spoken at home, even if children went for education as schools outside the community like the St. Xavier's Mission school and were taught English and maybe also Zulu. Also to keep Makua as the language used alongside Arabic at the mosque, for Imam's addresses, and in *madressah* teaching.[39]

Openness to the inclusion and integration of newcomers also characterized the forms of Sufi Islam, which together with the Makua language provided the most important cultural tools, which built and kept a Zanzibari Amakhuwa diaspora together and defined its identity. Zanzibari Sufism was different from, but also had affinities with Indian Sufism in Durban. It was brought along to Natal by the 1870s "liberated Africans" and developed subsequently through 20th century network interaction with Zanzibar, the Comoros and most importantly Mozambique Island, Nampula and Angoche. It was the Sufism of the Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya *tariqas* (brotherhoods), which - as it moved south to include southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique - opened up Islam to former slaves and their descendants. It was transmitted through genealogies of male *shehes*, but also allowed for women's leadership as *khalifas*.[40] Among the Zanzibaris it made reconciliation

possible with customary forms of initiation and with rituals of possession and interaction with ancestors like *ephepha*, *erewa* and *eshano*, in whose performance women had a prominent role.[41]

The authority of community leaders and organic intellectuals among the Zanzibaris was upheld not least through their participation and recognition in Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya networks that have their ritual grounding and early sheikhdoms in Nampula, Mozambique Island and Angoche, and found strong representation through mosques in Maputo townships with many Makua-speaking immigrants like Mafalala and Minkajuine. These cross-border networks transcended the restrictions of segregation, war and apartheid, and through a Durban Zanzibari leader like Yussuf Mola and his relatives they can be traced back to the 1930s. The closeness of King's Rest to the Port of Durban and the close association of the people with the sea and the possibilities for mobility offered by it contributed to this.[42]

The removal from the Bluff to Chatsworth in 1961 led to a number of changes. The fact that Zanzibari children now had access to English-language Indian schools and new opportunities of education and job careers meant that the prestige of English rose and put Makua under pressure. The move also meant that more women in the community began to have jobs outside the home, which again meant that socialization patterns changed, and schools and teachers took over from mothers and grandmothers greater responsibilities for upbringing. From the 1980s, *madressah* curricula became standardized and had to conform with those set down by IEOSA, the Islamic Education Organisation of South Africa, and *madressah* teachers were trained accordingly. This meant that lessons now were given in English with recitations in Arabic, exams were held in English with external examiners, and consequently – according to Sarifa Moola-Nernaes – the Makua language disappeared from *madressahs*.[43]

Makua also came under pressure for use in the mosques of Bayview, as new young imams were brought in, some of them with a Malawi background, who had been given scholarships for study in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, and returned to South Africa as *wahabi* modernizers, for whom Sufism was an old-fashioned relic of the past. Though such an approach met with resistance, it meant that Makua became more rarely used in combination with Arabic for mosque services and imam's addresses and became substituted in this context also by English. In tandem with such developments a youth rebellion was brewing, which resented the use by elders of the Makua language to discipline youth, and celebrated English instead as the language of cool and openness to a wider world.[44]

Further undermining of traditional channels for cultural transmission came along with the violence and displacements during the years of apartheid's disintegration in the 1980s, when increasing numbers of new members came into the Zanzibari community from other parts of greater Durban. This meant that Zulu became more commonly used to the disadvantage of Makua and increasingly so when it became part of schools' curricula after 1994. Intermarriages also meant that matriliny came under pressure, and that maternal grandmothers were replaced by paternal ones as guardians of cultural tradition. More recently arrived immigrants from Mozambique and Malawi brought Portuguese and Chewa with them, but – when integrating – preferred switching to Zulu or English - rather than Makua - in order not to stand out and be exposed xenophobia. Thus, in total, according to Sarifa Moola-Nernaes, "the Zanzibari community is still very active in the maintenance of its culture; however, the shift from Emakhuwa to English is taking place in the community," and "intergenerational [Emakhuwa] language transmission has declined within the household and the community".[45]

From Zanzibaris to Amakhuwa – Developing Amakhuwa-ness

In the light of these tendencies of decline and challenge to Makua language use and Sufi Islam as the two most important markers of Zanzibari community belonging, it might seem like a paradox that this should coincide with a rise of more primordial articulations of Makua-ness and notions of home with clear and definite geographical boundaries in northern Mozambique. But it is not surprising that new understandings of belonging came about with the struggles for post-apartheid reparations, which resulted in the initial victory for land restitution in 2003. This manifestation of historical justice, however, led to a falling out between the Zanzibari Amakhuwas and their traditional Indian benefactors in the Juma Masjid Trust, as the Trust launched its own claim for restitution of the land at King's Rest. This division was accompanied by new assertions of African identity and resentment of Indian patronizing that linked up with recollections of discrimination from the time of forced integration into the apartheid Indian township of Chatsworth and the parallel experience of a minority of Zanzibaris classified as Coloured and not too warmly welcomed when resettled in Wentworth, a Coloured township situated at the south end of the Durban Bluff.[46]

It was also not surprising that the land restitution case would lead to divisions within the community, as it required descendants of the original first arrivals – the 1870s "liberated Africans"

– to be identified and registered as deserving beneficiaries. The Zanzibari Civic Association – now acting as the Zanzibari Development Trust (ZDT) – used criteria for this that were not always transparent and unambiguous– including earlier home ownership at King's Rest and being in possession so-called "free passes," i. e. documentation of a completed "liberated African" indenture contract. The ZDT met with increasing controversy, as its endeavours at implementation of land restitution dragged out over long years into the 2020s, and eventually had its legal recognition as a representative body suspended by the Master of the High Court in Pietermaritzburg. These developments have left the land restitution case in limbo and the Zanzibari Amakhuwa community in need of new leadership and rallying points.

Providing background to the Makua renaissance were also post-1994 visions of democracy as a multicultural "rainbow nation" that appeared to offer hopes both for a recognition of cultural group rights within South Africa and for support from abroad of diaspora aspirations. The Zanzibari Amakhuwa met with support from both Mozambique authorities and Muslim organisations in re-designing themselves as a diaspora of Mozambicans. This mirrored movements of Malayization in the Western Cape, which Sarah Jappie has described, and which sought support from Indonesia and Malaysia for alternative Coloured understandings of self.[47]

Activists and community members travelled to Northern Mozambique in new numbers, took part in religious festivals, re-built family links and established new connections, and found support for exchanges from organizations like the Angoche-based José Abudo Foundation.[48] An Amakhuwa Research Committee (ARC) was formed in Bayview to promote participant investigation, oral history and the building of an archive of local materials to document the origins of the Zanzibari Amakhuwa community. In October 2017, a delegation of the ARC attended an important conference at the Fortaleza de Maputo on "Slavery, Slave Trade and the Making of Mozambique" organized by Oficina de História Moçambique.[49] This brought them into contact with a wider network of people doing research on slavery, slave trade and abolition in the western Indian Ocean and with Mozambican researchers in the field, important among them Makua-speaking scholars like Chapane Mutiua with close links to Angoche and the José Abudo Foundation. In August 2018 - following up on the Maputo conference - UNESCO represented by the Comorian scholar Djaffar Moussa-Elkadhum sponsored a colloquium held at the Mozambique Island Museum, where members of the ARC were able to meet again with researchers from Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University and the Oficina de História Moçambique as well from universities and cultural institutions in Ilha, Nampula and Quelimane. Subsequently, Moussa-Elkadhum

arranged for Alpha Franks of the ARC to attend another colloquium held in Mayotte in November 2018 on "Les civilisations du Canal de Mozambique entre histoires croisées et construction des identités" and thus to extend its Indian Ocean network links even further.

In connection with the Mozambique meetings, the ARC organized visits for Durbanites to Makua-speaking areas where family links were remembered or were thought to have existed around Mozambique Island, Nampula and Angoche and also to localities at Mokambo Bay where slaves were brought together in stockades - *barracoons* - in the 1870s before being embarked on *dhows* bound for Madagascar.

The focus on home and origins has given new energy to the maintenance and formulation of community aspirations, and - with the Zanzibari Development Trust suspended - the Amakua Research Committee has come to the fore as an alternative organizational rallying point. A manifestation of this were the three days of festivities convened by the ARC to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the arrival in Durban of the first batch of "liberated Africans" on 4 August 1873, which were held at King's Rest, in Bayview and at Durban 1860 Heritage Centre from 4 to 6 August 2023. The program for the three days had been advertised widely in advance in South African media – community elder Yacoob Moola was interviewed on DSTV Prime Time, and the Johannesburg-based Salaamedia broadcast interviews with community leaders and with successful aspiring female representatives like Maimoona Salim.[50] Salaamedia streamed the anniversary celebrations so that they could be followed on-line, and everything was filmed and important participants interviewed for a film and television series project on the history of the Amakhuwa community. In charge of this project is Liza Aziz, the widow of Junaid Ahmed, who passed away in 2016 while preparing a film along such lines to update and revise the account given in his much-acclaimed two-part SABC television features on "The Zanzibaris" from 1996.[51]

The celebrations were open to the everybody interested and besides Durban participants brought together friends and relatives of the Zanzibari Amakhuwa from Johannesburg, Cape Town and and overseas. Mozambican government representatives from the Johannesburg embassy and the Durban consulate participated, and the guests of honour were a delegation from Angoche, led by Chapane Mutiua, and including the Nikholane cultural group of male and female singers and dancers. This was made possible through financial support from the José Abudo Foundation, and Dr Abudo had prepared a keynote address for the occasion.[52]

Each of the three days had its own focus – 4 August was a "religious day," 5 August a "conference day" followed by an evening gala dinner, and 6 August a "cultural festival."

The "religious day" on the 4th began with a commemoration and addresses by Muslim dignitaries at the King's Rest cemetery and moved from there to the Rahmania mosque in Bayview. Here the main program took place from the afternoon until late into the night, including sermons and moral addresses as well as historical reminiscences. Highlights were performances by men's and women's groups of *dhikr* and *rifaiyya* ritual from both Bayview and Angoche. This drew a large audience of men, women, adolescents and young children.

The "conference day" on 4 August was held at the 1860 Indian Heritage Centre in Durban. This was a hybrid event including both in-person and on-line presentations and discussion, which brought into dialogue self-taught local community historians with South African and international academics.[53] Discussions and controversies were lively around issues of sources, understandings of freedom and distinctions between slavery and indenture, and also regarding the characteristics of Makua slave trade diasporas in different environments. New insights were brought to the discussion in presentations on Christian Makua traditions in Mozambique's Niassa province and a long history of Makua settlement in what is now Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng in South Africa. The research day concluded in more practical debates on how best to organize and fund oral history projects, participatory research and collaboration between academic and community-based researchers.

In the evening, participants were joined by more than 200 invited dignitaries and paying guests for a gala dinner at the Havenside Function Venue in Chatsworth. The dinner was accompanied by an extensive program of speeches and cultural troupe performances by both Zanzibari Amakhuwa and Angoche delegates. This included a demonstration by a boys' group led by a guardian instructor of stick dances that used to be part of the preparation for circumcision rituals preparing adolescent boys for circumcision and entry into adulthood. Also performed were examples of rituals for veiled girl *nimwaris* guided by older women on their coming out from seclusion as grown-ups. Another highlight was a set of beautiful blues-like songs by Maryam Abdul-Rehman – a woman community elder - lamenting the forced removal from King's Rest and the loss of the world that it used to be home to.

The "cultural festival" on 6 August was held in the grounds of the Summerfield Primary School in Bayview, attracting a large audience of young and old, with many of the women dressed in blue

capulanas with ARC imprints produced and donated for the occasion. The festival allowed for longer and more elaborate performances than the night before, and included song and dance performances of Zanzibari women's and girls' groups accompanied by drumming led by Jiniki Fraser, an experienced leader over many years of women's cultural activities and *nimwari* instruction. The Nikholane cultural group from Angoche also contributed longer performances, including one by women dancers supported by a special set of tall drums of the *mawlid-ya-hum*, a favourite ritual along the Sufi East African coast performed in undulating movements while sitting down.[54] The Angoche delegation honoured their hosts with gifts of handsome *capulanas* and of pickled chillies prepared according to Makua recipes of the north Mozambican coast. At the end of the day a petition for recognition of Makua minority and linguistic rights for the Zanzibaris was introduced and agreed.

Conclusions

The heightened emphasis on Amakhuwa origins has clearly brought new energies to the Zanzibari cause, following the set-backs in the King's Rest land restitution case, the divisions within the community, and the questioning of old-standing positions of community leadership not least by younger members. This has been under-pinned by challenges brought by incoming new *imams* and young men who have graduated from "modernizing" forms of *wahabi* education and are critically disposed towards Sufism as both old-fashioned and potentially *haram* - unlawful. Coinciding with this has been a recession in the use of the Makua language use as medium for *madressah* instruction and a decline of traditional initiation schools, in which Makua language use has also been an essential component. This decline has been most dramatic as regards the initiation and circumcision rituals for adolescent boys. No initiation schools for boys have been held since 2015, while the *nimwari* rituals for young girls have been more resilient in the face of youth resistance and reformist efforts to suppress or re-interpret them as either "correctly" reformed Islamic ritual or else purely secular and cultural entertainment.[55]

Against such trends of dissolution around Makua language use and Sufi Islam as pillars of community cohesion, the Makua renaissance spearheaded by the Amakhuwa Research Committee has been able to mobilize new vitality and resources of cultural imagination and entrepreneurship. This was demonstrated to good effect by the 150th anniversary of arrival celebrations in August 2023, whose success and impact depended not least on the enthusiasm and practical effort

contributed by young members of the community and on their internet and social media savviness in making people know about and participate in the event. The celebrations also demonstrated that while old alliances for the Zanzibari Amakhuwa as those with the Indian Juma Masjid Trust may have fallen by the wayside, new linkages are being built to replace them. This includes the elaboration and consolidation of links with Mozambique and with Makua organizations in Ilha, Nampula and Angoche, but also new collaborations with movements with a mostly Christian following like the Makua National Reunion (MNR) organization in Limpopo, which tries to unite efforts of Makua aspiration across South Africa. This builds on ambitious projects of genealogy construction that try to map out Makua migrations of traders and workers from Mozambique into South Africa since the 18th century.[56] Representatives of the Makua National Reunion took part in the August 2023 Durban meeting, and its chairperson, Thuledi Makua, presented its program with an for Makua unity. In November 2023, a follow-up return visit was paid by Alpha Franks, Zaithoon Maziya and other ARC representatives to the MNR headquarters in Limpopo.

Aspirations for recognition have been given a more practical turn by being focused on the petition for minority and minority language rights under chapter 2, section 9 in the South African constitution.[57] Such a petition was the political outcome of the August 2023 celebrations and its drafting and formulation was assisted by the participation of new Indian Ocean allies like the experienced ex-UNESCO official Djaffar Moussa-Elkhadum, now based in the Comoros.

There are signs also that versions of Amakhuwa-ness are beginning to be embraced as fashionable rather than old-fashioned by young people in Bayview and within a wider South African constituency. In Bayview, one expression of this is a new movement called Amakuwa Youth, which runs a Facebook group site called Amakuwa Youthh and a TikTok web site forum called zanzibari_amakuwa_sa and in September 2023 organized a Makua Youth Festival and bazaar for the sale of cultural products, dress and food. The new organizational energies were boosted by the obvious pleasure that participants experienced in dressing up and coming together as Amakhuwa for the August 2023 celebrations. At the same time they illustrate the forces of self-creation and self-management that youngsters are capable of bringing together – even in the settings of poverty and devastating unemployment that are typical of South African townships like Bayview. The newly empowered agency of youth must also be seen against the background of the COVID-19 pandemic, which exacted a heavy toll among the Zanzibari elders of Bayview.

Who will be included and who will be excluded within the ongoing re-invention and articulation of an Amakhuwa diaspora identity? How will notions of home and belonging be activated, and what

will be the implications? Obviously, the transformation of Zanzibaris into Amakhuwa may signify a narrowing and primordialization – a shift from an open-ended self-understanding as islanders in motion to one of territorial mainlanders with fixed and solid boundaries. In this case, it would be possible to establish and police ethnic criteria for inclusion and exclusion, and the striving for restitution and reparations may represent a powerful pull in such a direction. But the vitality and persistence of the community as a clearly identifiable Amakhuwa diaspora continues to depend very much on creative invention and cultural entrepreneurship, which would favour inclusiveness and the incorporation of newcomers and youngsters as Amakhuwas by choice and self-definition. This could bring significant changes to organization and representation, might help to develop new democratic criteria for belonging and legitimate leadership, and have implications for understandings of what constitutes historical justice. Should rightfully deserving beneficiaries be seen as particular groups of individuals and lineages of descent? Or should reparations and restitution be focused rather on the provision of targeted resources of development for particular social environments? Debating these questions will require a re-thinking of what constitutes historical and reparatory justice and how best to implement it, and thus continue the reflections and experiences referred to at the outset of this article of the Mauritius Commission for Truth and Justice.

Instead of simplifying matters, then, and settling the Zanzibaris as Amakhuwa with a single and clearly identifiable home and origin – something which could be seen to extend the tyranny of Atlantic models of thinking referred to Abdul Sheriff - the transformations that are now under way might instead make things even more dynamic, alive and complicated than they already are. They may therefore also not make the work of global slave trade database creators easier and more pedagogically and politically attractive, but rather emphasize the need for them to take differentiations and qualifications into account when aiming to incorporate the manifold history of the Western Indian Ocean.

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Notes

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[1] See the web page for the Slave Voyages project, https://www.slavevoyages.org/ and for a recent example with a strong emphasis on reparatory justice, the web page for the Accra Summit conference in August 2022 on “Advancing Justice: Reparations and Racial Healing”, https://accrasummit.com/

[2] ”Main Recommendations” in Truth and Justice Commission, Report…, vol. 1, 19-42. For theoretical perspectives on historical and reparatory justice, see Teitel, *Transitional Justice*, 69-147.

[3] On Portuguese and American ships going from Mozambique Island to Brazil, Argentina, and the USA, see Harries, ”Middle Passages” and ”Mozambique Island, Cape Town;” Prestholdt, “Global Currents.”

[4] See for example on the Dutch trade between the Cape and Madagascar, Armstrong and Worden, "The Slaves," 112-114 and Hooper, *Feeding Globalization*, 131-154.

[5] Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*, 91-122; Larson, *Ocean of Letters*, 1-48.

[6] Seedat, "The 'Zanzibaris' in Durban;" Oosthuizen, *The Muslim Zanzibaris*; Sheriff, "The Origins of the 'Zanzibari' Diaspora;" Kaarsholm, "Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?" and "Indian Ocean Networks."

[7] The file has had a tumultuous archival history and been moved around a lot – first in the controversies leading to the firing of its author as Protector of Indian Immigrants, later in connection with the transfer of the Indian Immigration records to what is now the KwaZulu-Natal archives in Pietermaritzburg, where its reference is CSO 613, 1272/1877.

[8] An overview of database projects produced by Klara Boyer-Rossol for the Bonn Centre for Dependency Studies is available at https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research/slavery-digital-humanities

[9] A recording of Professor Sheriff's lecture can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQSp1d5usWI&list=PL5JOeXOFQGwRJDcZbQhXctZSVWCrsPBBD&index=3

[10] Kaarsholm, "Indian Ocean Networks," 445ff.

[11] Kaarsholm, "Indian Ocean Networks," 453-458.

[12] See archival references in Kaarsholm, "Indian Ocean Networks," 459.

[13] Kaarsholm, "Indian Ocean Networks," 448f.

[14] Twynam, "Early East African Mails," 67.

[15] Sheriff, "The Origins," 560; cf. Elton, *Travels and Researches*, 112-117.

[16] Sheriff, "The Origins," 563.

[17] Sheriff, "The Origins," 564..

[18] For the "northern" and "southern complexes," see Campbell, "The East African Slave Trade."

[19] Elton, Travels and Researches, 125-135.

[20] Sheriff, "The Origins," 564; Seedat, "The 'Zanzibaris'," 10-11 and 23.

[21] Sheriff, "The Origins," 565.

[21] African Names Database in SlaveVoyages - https://www.slavevoyages.org/resources/about#african-names-database/0/en/ ; Blench, "Tracking the Origins."

[23] Such cultural distinctions might have given broad indications of regional origin. Seedat quotes an 1873 letter from "Mrs. Colenso, wife of Bishop Colenso of Natal," to her friend, Lady Lyell in England, which says that "some of the women had their upper lip pierced for a circular lip ring of ivory [a *pelele*], which was removed on their being taken as slaves, as it was regarded as horrible disfigurement in the slave market" (Seedat, "The 'Zanzibaris'," 10). Om marks of inoculation as indicators of origin, see Vaughan, "Slavery, Smallpox, and Revolution," 427.

[24] Kisseberth, "Zanzibari Emakhuwa," 4; cf. Cahen, Wanier and Burstlein, "Pour un Atlas Social et Cultural;" Kaarsholm, "Islam, Secularist Government, and State-Civil Society Interaction."

[25] Kisseberth, ”Zanzibari Emakhuwa Lexicon;” cf. Katupha, “The Grammar of Emakhuwa;” Van der Wal, “Word Order and Information Structure;” Mesthrie, “Subordinate Immigrant Languages;” Moola-Nernaes, “Cultural and Language Maintenance.”

[26] Kisseberth, ”Zanzibari Emakhuwa” and ”Zanzibari Emakhuwa Lexicon;” Kisseberth, personal communication, 2 March 2020.

[27] Hafkin, ”Trade, Society, and Politics;” Newitt, “Angoche, the Slave Trade and the Portuguese;” Mutiua, “Ajami Literacy, ‘Class,’ and Portuguese Pre-Colonial Administration.”

[28] McLeod, *Travels in Eastern Africa*; Elton, *Travels and Researches*; Palmer and Newitt*, Northern Mozambique*.

[29] José Abudo, personal communication, 22 January 2014.

[30] Medeiros, “The Mozambiqueanisation of Slaves.”

[31] Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*, 120.

[32] Alpers, “Becoming ‘Mozambique’”, 12; Mesthrie, “Subordinate Immigrant Languages,” 7f.; Kisseberth, personal communication, 2 March 2020. *Barracoons* were enclosures in which slaves were kept prior to embarkation.

[33] This is discussed and examples of photographic registration given in Carter, Govinden and Peerthum, *The Last Slaves*.

[34] Kaarsholm, ”Indian Ocean Networks,” 449f.

[35] Vahed, ”Constructions of Community;” Kaarsholm, “Transnational Islam,” 111-114.

[36] Green, *Bombay Islam*.

[37] Kaarsholm, ”Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?” 206.

[38] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 167f.

[39] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 190f.; cf. Mesthrie, “Subordinate Immigrant Languages.”

[40] Kaarsholm, ”Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?” 201f.

[41] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 98; Arnfred, “Ancestral Spirits,” 236.

[42] Kaarsholm, ”Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?” 201-203.

[43] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 194f. and 105.

[44] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 191 and 186.

[45] Moola-Nernaes, ”Cultural and Language Maintenance,” 172, 179, 182, 189, 193 and 196.

[46] Oosthuizen, *The Muslim Zanzibaris*.

[47] Jappie, “Between Makassars;” Kaarsholm, “Diaspora or Multinational Citizens?”

[48] Dr José Ibraimo Abudo comes from Angoche, is a Shadhiliyya *shehe*, a former Minister of Justice and Mozambican ombudsman. He chairs the José Abudo Foundation philanthropy, which supports the initiatives and careers of young people from Angoche.

[49] The web site of the Oficina de História Moçambique is not accessible as of 19 December 2023, but the advertisement for the conference can be found at https://oficinadehistoriamocambique.blogspot.com/

[50] The Salaamedia interview with Maimoona Salim can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TX5zUsHMbxE

[51] Ahmed, "Zanzibaris."

[52] Abudo, "Memory and Religious Identity." As Dr Abudo was not able to attend in person, his keynote address was read out at the anniversary celebrations by Chapane Mutiua.

[53] Recordings of the research day presentations can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gbqSm-0q3qk , https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjVA9q7R3Vk&t=27s and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vzx0ei8krLI

[54] See also D'Herouville, "Maulidi Ya Homu" and Kaarsholm, "Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?"

[55] Moola-Nernaes, "Cultural and Language Maintenance," 159, 190-192.

[56] Makua and Makua, *The Descendants of Letlakana Makua*.

[57] Chapter two in South African Constitution contains its Bill of Rights and stipulates that "the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.'"