Epilogue: Then the rains came

Those dry seasons of the late eighties and early nineties drove us to despair. Many peasant families in the communal lands who had lost all their cattle during the drought had to depend on others when they wanted their fields ploughed. Water holes dried up, rural schools closed when pupils became too weak from starvation to attend, and the government had to distribute food regularly to keep entire communities alive. The water level in Lake Kyle (Mtirikwe) dropped to an all-time low. At one point there was only two to three per cent of its water left. The pumps had to be moved nearer the dam wall to keep Masvingo town supplied with water. Even then the water from the taps, despite filtration, was often a muddy brown. The ‘better’ rainy seasons seldom caused the lake to rise much beyond the 20 per cent mark and came too late for the numerous dried out *muchakata* and other indigenous trees to recover. On Mount Mugabe the squatters started deforesting the steepest slopes in their desperation to increase their crop yields. All they achieved was to strip away the vegetation that protected the mountain against soil erosion. One day as I drove up the pass I was dismayed to see a granite-studded slope, totally unsuitable for cultivation, stripped all the way to the summit. The bare slope just lay there, ugly and defiant, helpless in the afternoon sun. The scene was like an omen, with the seasons holding their breath waiting for something to happen. Waiting, perhaps, for the mountain to be set free.

And happen it did. In the course of 1996 I had noticed some articles in the Masvingo newspapers about the squatter problem on Mount Mugabe. But the chances of the squatters being resettled elsewhere seemed slim, so I paid no further attention and concentrated on my academic duties in South Africa and abroad. Thus, in January 1997, when I took a friend to Morgenster mission late one afternoon, I was unaware of the latest developments. The early rains had fallen, the mountain air smelt fresh and the slopes seemed greener than they had been in a long time.
But it was only when we got out of the car and climbed a granite dome to get a better view of the damage done to the mountain face that the truth dawned on me. The slopes and valleys were already hidden in the long shadows of dusk. There were no voices, no lowing of cattle, no open household fires with mothers preparing food. Just quiet and peace. The shells of abandoned huts were silent reminders of human occupation. Already a green sheen of grass, shrubs and saplings had taken over, covering the wounded slopes that had been stripped for agricultural produce. In the distance we could hear bulbuls, starlings and crows prepare for nightfall. The mountain was free. The invader squatters had gone!

We just sat there in the fading light, marvelling at the ability of nature, when left alone, to resuscitate itself. I thought of the lowveld in the south towards Beitbridge where a combination of overgrazing and drought gave the soil a desert-like appearance under shrivelled mopani trees. But in no time at all good rains would turn the lost world into a luscious garden carpeted with sweet grass, grazing for large herds of deer and cattle. I also thought of the ravaging of the Zambezi wilderness on the Zambian side near Feira, where large numbers of refugee families from Mozambique built villages along the river. They had introduced goats and dogs, and planted their banana trees all the way across the banks and into the river bed. There was no big game left in that area. But when I spoke to the villagers they appeared unperturbed by the loss of game in their own territory. They merely vented their frustration at the Zimbabweans who still had large concentrations of big game and mercilessly shot poachers who dared cross the river to hunt on their side. All that was needed to restore the wilderness along the Zambian side of the river was to move the alien villagers out of the area and allow nature to take its course. Within a few years the bush would have recovered and the elephant and buffalo, if left undisturbed, would have returned.

I was aware of the thorny issues involved: politics, land for resettlement in the face of overpopulation, the funding of such an exodus, and the resistance of the villagers. Yet if any of Africa's magnificent wilderness is to be preserved, a price has to be paid. The complexities of restricting human movement and occupation in what is left of Africa's wildlife habitat were dwarfed in my mind by the overpowering assurance that Mwari's creation could recover on its own from virtually any form of
human abuse, if only it could be liberated from intrusion and rampant exploitation. Below us the greening valleys and budding new growth from the eroded soil were evidence of this truth. Mount Mugabe had refused to die. Left to itself, it had already covered the afflicted parts of its body with a green garment.

Observing in the twilight the first signs of the mountain's recovery was balm to the earthkeeper's soul. Anguish over the invasion of this very mountain after independence had been a major motivation for forming our earthkeeping movement and planting millions of trees. It was reassuring to know that our war of the trees was not an isolated venture dependent entirely on the will and action of our own green forces. On the contrary, our limited and at times feeble attempts were anchored in and drew strength from the resilience of Mwari's earth. Through the healing of his mountain Mwari seemed to be telling me not to lose hope as we toiled in his mission. If we could meet only half our responsibility as earth stewards, the healing, growth and restoration we sought would be wrought by the revitalising life force built into creation.

It was as if the liberation of Mount Mugabe was the long-awaited sign for the release of the rains. In the months that followed the skies, heavy with dark clouds, yielded. And the rains came as had last happened in 1974/75; the rivers flooded and Lake Kyle rose to between 70 and 80 per cent. Crops flourished and so did ZIRRCON's newly planted trees.

In the grim context of global ecology our story features, or blurs, like a trivial fairy tale. It is sobering, as I write the last few paragraphs of this epistle, to read the lead article in the *Boston Sunday Globe* (25 May 1997) under the headline, 'A world pact reduced to ashes. Rhetoric of environmental resolve has not translated into action.' I quote from it:

> With much smoke but little publicity the Brazilian rain forest is disappearing at a much faster rate than before the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, as the Earth Summit held in Brazil was officially called. Each year an area of rainforest nearly the size of Massachusetts is destroyed ... By most accounts, the legacy of the Earth Summit and its 70,000 pages of daily press releases has turned out to be mainly hot air ... Governments that pledged to support environmentally sustainable development by increasing foreign aid contributions have actually decreased them, with the United States leading the slashing ... On the ground in Paragominas every
day looks like doomsday. It is impossible to tell where the smoke ends and the clouds begin ... In the charcoal camps (with row upon row of furnaces) the cremation of the rainforest is methodical. Tree trunks are stacked like toothpicks, chopped, burned, raked, and transported to power massive pig iron factories. 'It's hard work and hazardous conditions,' say Sonia Levi of the International Labor Office, a UN agency trying to end child labor. 'They (the children) work directly with fire. Their bodies are impregnated with charcoal dust. They have physical problems, problems with their lungs, they carry heavy loads of wood. They have problems. It must be hell.'

Presented to the world as a means of improving the living conditions of the poor in Brazil, the furnaces of hell are blazing away in Paragominas, destroying both the lives of young people working there and one of the earth's crucial life support systems, the Brazilian rain forest being the largest absorber of carbon dioxide gases in the world. Who benefits from this carnage? Human predators! According to the Boston Sunday Globe (25 May 1997) none of the 34 logging companies at Paragominas meet the minimum requirements of the regulatory International Tropical Timber Organisation.

Such news fills one with sadness and anger at a world slipping towards an abyss of total environmental bankruptcy. The root of this evil is human greed, of which we are all guilty. In times like these we may have to become like children once more and listen to a few fairy tales of tree planting in Africa. Perhaps they will rekindle our hope and make us strive to give meaning to the good news of justice, peace and the integrity of creation in what has yet to become a new heaven and a new earth.
Original AZSM Constitution

1  Afforestation

(a) To protect sacred places and sacred mountains, eg Gwindingwi in Bikita; Vinga in Chiwara chiefdom, Gutu; Rasa in Gutu; Murangananga in Marozva, Bikita; Hozvi in Mukangangwi chiefdom, Bikita; Boromokwa in Ndanga; Mangwandi in Zimuto; Matonjeni in the Matopo hills; Nyuni in Murinye chiefdom, Masvingo; Great Zimbabwè ruins in Masvingo; Chibvumani in Chikuku, Bikita.

(b) To protect all indigenous fruit trees in Zimbabwe eg muchakata (cork tree), mushuku (wild loquat), mukute (syzygium cordatum; marshland tree bearing sweet purple fruit), muonde (wild fig tree), mushumba (diospyros mespiliformis), muchechete (minusops zeyhari; medium to large trees with dense foliage and sweet, aromatic brown berries), mutamba (strychnos species, bearing orange-sized, hard-skinned fruit with clustered, juicy pips), nengeni (sour plum), mutobge (azanza garkeana; medium-sized tree with edible, dry fruit that requires much chewing; a favourite of the ancestors), mutunduru (garcinia huillensis; small evergreen tree with dark edible fruit), musvazva (securinega virosa; small to medium glossy leaved trees found on granite outcrops, bearing red to purple edible fruit).

(c) To protect other indigenous trees such as the acacia species (muvushe, msasa, mutondo), mubvumira (kirkia acuminata), mupembere (combretum molle), etc and arrest deforestation by mobilising people in rural areas to start afforestation projects.

(d) To encourage district authorities to form committees in their respective areas which will implement afforestation programmes, and also to elect delegates who will make representations to the government on these issues.

(e) To influence the government to pass laws which make it an offence to fell trees indiscriminately and to prosecute offenders.
(f) To map out new strategies of planting trees in the districts.

2 Water resources

(a) To protect all water resources, eg springs, marshlands and fountains; particularly pools, dams and rivers where njuzu (water spirits) are found

(b) To protect dams by preventing people from fishing without permission/licences, and rivers through the prohibition of netting fish

(c) To discourage people from cultivating river banks and catchment areas, as this will result in the siltation of rivers and dams

(d) To start special conscientisation programmes on water resources

3 Wild life conservation

(a) To protect wild animals eg shuro (rabbits), mhembwe (duiker), mhene (steenbok) and nyoka (snakes) at district level

(b) To liaise with the Department of National Parks and Wildlife

(c) To conscientise rural communities on the conservation of wildlife.

4 Promotion of traditional customs

(a) To promote traditional customs and rituals, eg to respect the elders, maintain rain ceremonies (mikwerere) and observe ancestral rest days (chisi)

(b) To encourage the Ministry of Education to incorporate the teaching of traditional customs into existing school curricula

(c) To conscientise people in rural areas to teach their children traditional customs.
Traditional game laws

1. Hunting was restricted to the winter season.
2. The killing of young animals of all species was strictly forbidden.
3. Female animals in foal or with young were not to be hunted.
4. Hunting was only allowed for personal or family consumption, not for commercial purposes.
5. Crop-raiding animals and predators which posed a threat to human life could be killed.
6. Limits were set for individual hunters. No hunter was allowed to kill indiscriminately or too frequently.
7. Hunting boundaries for each tribe or clan were clearly delineated.
8. Hunting was subject to community control and misconduct came up for litigation in the chief’s court.
9. The killing of sizeable animals had to be reported to the chief, who – as ancestral representative – was always entitled to a specified portion of the meat, for instance the bandauko (front leg).
10. Hunting with nets and with the aid of bushfires was subject to permission from chief and council. Young animals and certain species caught in the nets had to be released.
11. Depending on totemic prohibition and the threat of extinction, certain species could not be hunted at all. As eland, for example, became scarce in Gutu area and adjacent districts, it became ‘royal game’ to all hunters, not just to the Hera people who abstained from hunting this antelope for totemic reasons.
12. Meat of culled game had to be distributed fairly to the benefit of families and/or communities. Individual and commercial exploita-
tion based on the Western conception of human dominion over creation was therefore, at least in principle, proscribed.

13 Certain bird species, particularly the bateleur eagle, and smaller animals and reptiles (e.g., the tortoise, certain ants and snakes) were protected, as they acted as emissaries from the ancestral world to living descendants.

14 In some areas, the culling of wild cats, such as the serval and civet cats, and the small spotted genet, was the prerogative of tribal elders, spirit mediums, or nganga practitioners, as the skins of these animals form part of their regalia.

15 The spirit mediums are the guardians of such threatened species as ant-bears, pangolins and bush-babies.
In the course of 1990 Cosmas Gonese was appointed general secretary of AZTREC and financial administrator of ZIRRCON. In the latter capacity he was co-signatory to all cheques. The assumption in ZIRRCON at that stage, based on Gonese's career as bookkeeper of Gutu District Council, was that he could handle the job as accountant. Gonese's cavalier approach to financial control soon cast doubt on his accountability. This in turn led to conflict in the ZIRRCON executive. Clashes between ZIRRCON's director and the financial administrator were inevitable. Having invested much time and private funds in the venture, I felt that the trust I had placed in a fellow worker had been betrayed and that the entire project was being placed in jeopardy by obvious financial mismanagement. The situation was aggravated by my spells of absence due to university obligations in South Africa. The deepening conflict between us was particularly traumatic as ties of friendship had been forged during the preceding research period.

Eventually, in the interest of the whole enterprise, no option remained but to hand Gonese's accounts over to the auditors for inspection. Following the investigation, HIVOS, the European Community adviser in Masvingo and the auditors commented: 'We do agree with the statement that the shortfall for the bulk is caused by the fact that the person in charge – Mr C Gonese – did not have much financial background.' Gonese was given an option to resign or face charges in court. Upon perusal of the evidence Gonese's lawyer advised him to resign, which he eventually did on 18 July 1991. At the time Solomon Zvanaka was elected first as financial administrator and then also as assistant director of ZIRRCON. He has recently succeeded me as director. The late Haurovi Chinovuriri, first president of the erstwhile AZSM, was elected as the new general secretary of the AZTREC executive.

Subsequent to his resignation Gonese launched a campaign against ZIRRCON. The link with ZIRRCON was declared nonexistent. ZIRRCON,
it was said, had no constituency, had not planted any trees and simply had to hand over whatever funds were due to AZTREC. All these thoroughly misleading claims were made at a ZIRRCON-AZTREC meeting at Ndarama school.

In response I made it clear that ZIRRCON and AZTREC could only cooperate meaningfully on the basis of the previously agreed constitutional guidelines and the financial accountability required by ZIRRCON, in its capacity as fund-raising agency, from the outset. The future of the entire movement, I insisted, depended on these conditions.

The majority of the chiefs at the meeting agreed to this, as was evident at subsequent AZTREC meetings. But the die had been cast. The Ndarama meeting was only a first move by Gonese and his supporters. He proceeded to form a splinter group, which was to be paraded as the real AZTREC insofar as some of the founder members of the AZSM (notably spirit mediums Pfupajena, Lydia Chabata and vaZarira) were Gonese supporters.

A bitter conflict ensued. Claims and counterclaims were made between the two parties. Misinformation in the media had a confusing impact on ZIRRCON supporters. A number of nursery-keepers struggled for a while, due to divided loyalties.

Finally, in April 1992, the Gonese faction registered themselves as a new NGO under the name ‘AZTREC Trust’. It is debatable whether this move has any legal validity in view of the fact that AZTREC had already been registered the previous year as part of ZIRRCON Trust. Whatever its legal status, the formation of another NGO by the Gonese faction proved to be a blessing in disguise, as the demands of a constructive ecological programme prevented its leadership from wasting time and energy on counterproductive and futile antagonism.

What was the impact of the schismatic conflict on ZIRRCON-AZTREC and how did it respond to the ‘assault’?

First of all, the ZIRRCON executive (including the representatives of its sister organisations) decided to keep concentrating on its first priority, the war of the trees, in the belief that ultimately its future would be decided by the merits of its ecological warfare, not the details of its response to an opposing faction. Hence it pressed on with the tasks of nursery development, conscientisation and tree planting, disregarding
all obstructive and even intimidatory tactics encountered in the field. After Gonese’s dismissal, moreover, financial accountability was restored. Under the able control of Solomon Zvanaka, ZIRRCON’s expenditure was kept within budgeted parameters. Audited statements were produced and an annual report was written to the satisfaction of ZIRRCON Trust. In the face of the allegations made by the Gonese faction, a vote of full confidence in the ZIRRCON director and assistant director’s handling of funds was passed in a properly constituted ZIRRCON Trust meeting.

Second, AZTREC simply regrouped and consolidated its ranks in the face of schismatic opposition. Regular meetings were called at ZIRRCON headquarters (at that time my residence at 8 Acacia Street, Masvingo) to keep the senior chiefs, headmen and spirit mediums in Masvingo Province – the vast majority of whom remained loyal to ZIRRCON-AZTREC – informed of ecological developments, funding and opposition tactics. Disappointed as the Duma chiefs were at the eventual defection to the splinter group of their senior medium, vaZarira Marambatemwa, they dissociated themselves from her action and promptly elected chief Mukangangwi as the new AZTREC president. At that point it was felt that all the waverers and unpredictable supporters of AZTREC had gone, leaving the traditionalist green army to continue with the real struggle unencumbered.

Third, ZIRRCON abstained as much as possible from getting embroiled in a mud-slinging contest by way of press statements.

Fourth, there can be little doubt about the adverse effect of the misinformation campaign on relations between ZIRRCON-AZTREC and the community of donor agencies in Harare. Confusion was indeed created. The seeds of doubt were sown and lines of communication between ZIRRCON, HIVOS and the European Community head office were disrupted. Discussions at the time with the European Community Micro-project coordinator in Harare revealed that for some time at least the misleading impression had existed in the Harare office that ZIRRCON Trust was facing internal conflict and that its survival was in jeopardy. This impression more than likely had caused the blocking of European Community funds over an eight-month period – funds to which ZIRRCON had all along been contractually entitled.

This brings us to the fifth point: the imposition of a lengthy period of
unnecessary uncertainty and hardship on all ZIRRCON-AZTREC and AAEC salaried workers, both executive staff members and nursery keepers. Future security appeared to be totally unrelated to performance in the field. Vehicles broke down because there were insufficient funds for proper maintenance. Sporadic communication between the administrative centre and nurseries aggravated rather than alleviated the schismatically fomented friction. Nevertheless, at no point did deprivation lead to the disintegration of field programmes or loss of staff members. If anything, ZIRRCON and its sister organisations matured into a closely knit team which blended common sense and good humour with determination and positive action.

As regards Gonese's 'AZTREC Trust', the ZIRRCON executive decided to avoid unnecessary strife, as it did not pretend to have exclusive rights to ecological repair. Neither did ZIRRCON and its sister organisations intend to be side-tracked by squabbles which could distract them from the achievement of their constitutional aims. We were fully aware that no single institute or association could accommodate fully the massive needs of Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa for afforestation. ZIRRCON wished to challenge by example, to struggle alongside other fighting forces with similar aims, and to prevent a magnificent cause from being degraded into an unworthy backlash of the bygone struggle against colonialism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAEC</td>
<td>Association of African Earthkeeping Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZSM</td>
<td>Association of Zimbabwean Spirit Mediums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZTREC</td>
<td>Association of Zimbabwean Traditional Ecologists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSAC</td>
<td>British South African Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARD</td>
<td>Coordinated Agricultural Rural Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Dutch Reformed Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENDA</td>
<td>Environment and Development Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZE</td>
<td>Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organisation (United Nations subsidiary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIVOS</td>
<td>Humanistic Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPIC</td>
<td>Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNR</td>
<td>Mozambican National Resistance Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRB</td>
<td>Natural Resources Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDD BARNA</td>
<td>Save the Children (Norwegian NGO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEE</td>
<td>Theological Education by Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN(O)</td>
<td>United Nations (Organisation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nation Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIDCO</td>
<td>Village Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WADCO</td>
<td>Ward Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRI</td>
<td>World Resources Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANLA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAPU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African People's Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>Zion Christian Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIPRA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIRRCON</td>
<td>Zimbabwean Institute of Religious Research and Ecological Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babamukuru</td>
<td>father’s elder brother; great father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bato remasvikiro</td>
<td>association of spirit mediums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bute</td>
<td>ancestral snuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapungu</td>
<td>bateleur eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chidoma</td>
<td>witch’s familiar; animal of psychic nature, conceived of as smaller than a polecat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimurenga</td>
<td>Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisi</td>
<td>ancestral rest day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare rechimurenga</td>
<td>war council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dombo</td>
<td>rock; granite shrine of oracular deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunhu</td>
<td>tribal ward; subdivision of chiefdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzivaguru</td>
<td>Great Pool; praise name of the Shona high-God, Mwari, which connotes female attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fambidzano</td>
<td>cooperation or union; popular designation of ecumenical association of Shona Independent Churches, founded in 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gono guru</td>
<td>big bull: the bull dedicated to the family’s senior ancestral (or more distant guardian) spirit for ritual purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goronga</td>
<td>eroded gully; pl makoronga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesu Krestu</td>
<td>Jesus Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubatana</td>
<td>united action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kufukidza nyika</td>
<td>to clothe the earth (by planting trees); see mafu-kidzanyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word/Phrase</td>
<td>Meaning/Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kugadzira</strong></td>
<td>to settle the spirit of a deceased person; this term connotes the induction rite through which the spirit of deceased relative is ‘brought back home’ and simultaneously elevated to the status of ancestorhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kukwidza</strong></td>
<td>to lift, uplift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kumira pamukova</strong></td>
<td>to stand at the door; description of the protective function of the home ancestors; by ‘standing at the door’ the <em>midzimu</em> prevent evil forces from entering the dwelling places of their living descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mabweadziva</strong></td>
<td>literally ‘rocks of the pool’; Mwari’s shrine in the Matopo hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>madambakurimwa</strong></td>
<td>traditional sanctuary or holy grove where plant and animal life were protected; see <em>marambatemwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>malirifiti</strong></td>
<td>small orange mushrooms, mostly found among the dead leaves of wild loquat trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mafukidzanyika</strong></td>
<td>‘clothing the land,’ that is, tree-planting ceremony; the term is mainly used to indicate AZTREC’s tradition-oriented tree-planting ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mafuranhunzi</strong></td>
<td>literally ‘the one who shoots the fly,’ that is, sharpshooter; Shona nickname for a hunter of repute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maporesanyika</strong></td>
<td>land-healing ceremony; term used by African Independent Churches of the AAEC to emphasise the healing nature of tree-planting eucharists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>marambatemwa</strong></td>
<td>literally ‘refusal to have the trees felled’; popular designation of traditional holy groves, the implication being that the ancestors buried there sanctioned the prohibition of tree felling and related customary laws on ecological conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Matangakugara</strong></td>
<td>You, who sat (existed) first – one of the names of the Shona high-God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Matonjeni</strong></td>
<td>the Matopo hills; <em>Mwari waMatonjeni</em>, 'God of the Matopo hills'; popular name of the Shona oracular deity and rain giver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mazambiringa</strong></td>
<td>grapevine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mbira</strong></td>
<td>dassie, rock rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mbonga</strong></td>
<td>woman dedicated (usually as a young girl) to the service of the Shona high-god, Mwari; sometimes referred to as the 'wife of Mwari'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mhondoro</strong></td>
<td>literally 'lion'; tribal spirit of repute considered to be involved in land issues and tribal politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>midzimu enyika</strong></td>
<td>ancestors of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>midzimu yapumusha</strong></td>
<td>home ancestors: patri- and matrilineal ancestors directly concerned with the welfare of a family group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>miti echivanhu</strong></td>
<td>literally 'trees of the people', ie indigenous trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>miti mikuru</strong></td>
<td>tall trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>msasa or musasa</strong></td>
<td>indigenous hardwood tree; <em>brachestygia spiciformis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mubvamaropa</strong></td>
<td>literally 'that from which blood flows', ie bloodwood or kiaat tree; see <em>mukurumbira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mubvumira</strong></td>
<td>literally 'to approve'; wild syringa tree; <em>kirkia aku-minata</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>muchakata</strong></td>
<td>wild cork tree; <em>parinari curatellifolia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>muchecheni</strong></td>
<td>wait-a-bit thorn tree; <em>ziziphus makoronata</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>muchengeti</strong></td>
<td>keeper; keeper of cult shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mudziavashe</strong></td>
<td>literally 'heat of the chief', fuelwood tree reserved for tribal dignitaries; <em>combretum molle</em>; also called <em>mupembere</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mudzimu</strong></td>
<td>pl <em>mi- or vadzimu</em>, ancestral spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mukamba</strong></td>
<td>red mahogany tree; <em>afzelia quanzensis</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mukombe calabash
mukonde tree which is considered to provide protection against lightning; *euphorbia ingens*
mukuru elder; senior person
mukurumbira kiaat, mukwa tree; *pterocarpus angolensis*
mukwerere rain ritual during which senior tribal spirits are propitiated at their graves and/or at a pole enclosure (*rushanga*) under a *muchakata* tree; these rituals are conducted at the commencement of each rainy season or if rains have failed; it is also called *mutoro*
munjii indigenous fruit tree, bearing yellowish brown berries
munyai messenger, go-between; a *munyai* in the Mwari cult is the person who maintains contact between the local district which he represents and the priest colony at the cult centre; he annually visits the cult centre in the Matopo hills to request rain for his district and to discuss local (often political) matters of general significance
munyamharadze tree which symbolises social discord; *lonchocarpus capassa*
uonde wild fig tree (with latex); *ficus capensis*
mupani indigenous hardwood tree; *colophospermum mupane*
mupfura indigenous fruit tree bearing edible fruit; *sclerocarya caffra*
mupembere see *mudziavashe*
mupi vemazano literally ‘giver of advice’, advisor
muPostori pl vaPostori: Apostle; popular Shona term for Johane Maranke’s African Apostolic Church followers
muridzi  pl varidzi, venyika; guardian of the land
muroyi  pl varoyi; wizard (witch or sorcerer)
murungu  white person from Europe
murwiti  black ebony tree; dalbergia melanoxyylon
mushavhi  wild fig tree; ficus burkei
mushuku  wild loquat tree; uapaca kirkiana
mutobge  indigenous fruit tree with edible fruit, which in
the holy groves are reserved for the ancestors;
snotappel; ficus sonderi
mutondo  indigenous hardwood tree; julbernardia globiflora
mutorwa  alien
muuyu  baobab tree; adansonia digitata
muvuzhe  mountain acacia; brachystegia glaucescens
muzeze  indigenous tree with yellow flowers; branches
used for purification after burial rites, peltoforum
africanum
muzhuzhu  indigenous tree which symbolises ancestral pro-
tection against wizardry attacks; maytenus senegalensis
muzukuru  ‘grandchild’; nephew, niece
Mwari  God; most common name for the Shona high-
God
Ndaza Zionist  Zionist of the holy cord (worn around the waist or
head)
nganga  diviner – herbalist
ngatifukidze nyika  Let us clothe the earth! (earthkeepers’ slogan)
ngombe youmai  motherhood cow or heifer; gift of husband to
wife’s mother in honour of the procreative pow-
ers of the matriline

306
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhumbi</td>
<td>possession(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njuzu</td>
<td><em>shavi</em> spirit, associated with water and healing activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyusa</td>
<td>Mwari cult messenger; this term is sometimes used for a deceased cult messenger (<em>munyai</em>) who is considered to continue with his former duties in the ancestral world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamberi nechimurenga!</td>
<td>Forward the liberation struggle! (guerrillas' slogan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamberi nehondo yemiti!</td>
<td>Forward the war of the trees! (earthkeepers' slogan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poshito</td>
<td>guerrilla hideout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>povo</td>
<td>the civilian masses (this term was popularised by the guerrillas during the liberation struggle for mobilisation purposes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pungwe</td>
<td>guerrilla-organised night vigil during <em>chimurenga</em> for political instruction and/or disciplinary measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roora</td>
<td>bridewealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runyaradzo</td>
<td>consolation ceremony conducted on behalf of the relatives of the recently deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rushanga</td>
<td>pole enclosure, frequently built around the trunk of a <em>muchakata</em> tree for ritual purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadunhu</td>
<td>headman of tribal ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadza</td>
<td>stiff porridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samarombo</td>
<td>tree-dwelling ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekuru</td>
<td>grandfather or mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shavi</td>
<td>alien spirit which does not belong to the lineage of the host whom it possesses; various types of <em>shavi</em> spirits bestow a variety of skills, for example healing, hunting, dancing, blacksmithing, on their hosts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
shumba  
lion; *shumba dzavadzimu*, lions of the ancestors

svikiro  
pl *masvikiro*; spirit medium

tateguru  
paternal grandfather or great grandfather

ungano yembeu  
seed conference, during which the seed to be sown by peasant families is blessed and prayed over by church leader to ensure good crops

upenyu  
life

uroyi  
wizardry; *uroyi venyika*: 'land wizardry', that is, wanton destruction of the environment

vakomana vesango  
literally 'boys of the bush', that is, bush fighters, guerrillas

*Watangakugara*  
the One who sat (existed) first, that is, God

*Wokumusoro*  
the One above, God

zvidoma  
see *chidoma*

zvirombo  
destitute, carpricious spirits
Abraham, D P 1959 'The Monomotapa dynasty', in Native Affairs Department Annual, No 36, Salisbury.


Bavinck, J H 1934 Christus en de mystiek van het Oosten, Kampen, Kok.

Bavinck, J H 1939 Christussprediking in de volkerenwereld, Kampen, Kok.

Bavinck, J H 1948 The impact of Christianity on the non-Christian world, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans.

Bavinck, J H 1949 Religieus besef en Christelijk geloof, Kampen, Kok.

Bavinck, J H 1954 Inleiding in de Zendingswetenschap, Kampen, Kok.

Bavinck, J H 1966 The church between temple and mosque, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans.


Beach, D N 1980 The Shona and Zimbabwe 900–1850, Gweru, Mambo Press.

Beach, D N 1986 War and politics in Zimbabwe 1840–1900, Gweru, Mambo Press.

Bourdillon, M F C 1982 The Shona peoples, Gweru, Mambo Press.


Daneel, M L 1974 Old and New ... 2: Church growth: causative factors and recruitment techniques. The Hague, Mouton.


Daneel, M L 1989(b) 'The encounter between Christianity and traditional African culture: accommodation or transformation?' in Theologia Evangelica, Vol. xxii, No. 3.


Daneel, M L 1995 Guerrilla snuff (see: Gumbo, Mafurbanhu) 

Dorm-Adzobu, CO (and Ampadu Agyei and Peter Veit) 1991 Religious beliefs and envi-

Dregne, H E 1983 Evaluation of the implementation of the plan of action to combat desertification, Nairobi, UNEP.


Ranger, T O 1966 ‘The role of Ndebele and Shona religious authorities in the rebellions of 1896 and 1897’, in Stokes and Brown (eds), The Zambesian Past, Manchester.


Tu Wei-ming 1994 Beyond the Enlightenment mentality’, in Tucker, M E & Grim, J A Worldviews ...

Van der Merwe, W J 1957 Shona idea of God, Masvingo, Morgenster Mission Press.


AACJM (African Apostolic Church of Johane Maranke) 108; see Apostles
AAEC (Association of African Earthkeeping Churches), 1, 76, 77, 92, 93, 95–113, 116, 118, 206, 207, 217, 236, 248, 252, 271, 273, 274; interaction with AZTREC 276
Abraham, D P 29, 30
afforestation, 82, 91, 106, 117, 123, 124, 135, 150, 155, 235, 238
African Earthkeepers’ Union (AEU), 256
Agritex 77, 87, 95, 118, 126, 155; and holy groves, 214, 215; and water resources 229
AICs (African Independent Churches), see: ecumenism, Ethiopian-type churches, liberation theology, prophets, Spirit-type churches; development activities of 74, 75; and environment, 21, 22, 25, 28, 77, 94–97, 103, 104, 106, 110, 181, 252, 253, 273; form AAEC, 99, 100; rivalry with traditionalists, 181; role in liberation struggle, 63–71; theology of environment, 104, 108
ancestor(s), see guardian ancestors, war council; address of, in ritual context, 130–135, 138, 146, 149, 209; apical/senior/tribal, 29, 32, 34, 57, 58, 80, 82, 127, 136, 142, 148, 153, 184, 197, 200, 210, 226, 250, 255, 260; and earth-community, 256; family, 135, 181, 250, 251; and game sanctuaries, 220; at holy groves, 211, 212, 254; of home community/territory, 243, 244, 249–252; missionary, 246–248; mummified, 245; and Mwari, 47–50, 151, 153, 177, 180, 212, 263, 268; national, 23, 181; protection of, 13, 195, 197–201, 206, 249, 254, 270; role in environmental liberation struggle 78, 91, 124, 138, 144, 148–151, 155, 156, 178, 190–192, 197, 198, 207, 251, 253, 255, 263, 265, 267, 270, 274; role in liberation struggle (chimurenga), 56–58, 61, 62; snuff of, 52, 55, 62, 80, 83, 88, 129–131, 252; and symbolism, 258; veneration of, 37, 42, 48, 49, 73, 83, 148, 151, 206, 237, 251, 256; and water resources, 230
animals, as emissaries of spirit world, 61, 195, 210, 211, 220, 260; protected by traditional custodians, 220; respect for, 258; duiker, 82, 200; klipspringer, 260; rabbit, 83; rock-rabbit (dassie), 14, 17, 210, 244, 260, 261; steenbok, 82, 200; tortoise, 61, 195, 220
Apostles (vaPostori), 24, 36, 41, 108, 213; and African nationalism, 40, 41; role in liberation struggle, 62
AZSM (Association of Zimbabwean Spirit Mediums), 77, 78–92, 120, 131, 132, 143, 166, 169–172, 175–177, 183, 186, 188, 189, 194, 218; Constitution of, 293–294
AZTREC (Association of Zimbabwean Traditional Ecologists), passim; AZTREC delegations at Matonjeni’s high-god shrines, 161–186, 238, 262–267, 269, 271, 274; AZTREC TRUST, 117, 124
Barrett, D B, 72
Barth, K, 279
Bavinck, J H, 277–279, 287, 288; eclectic of, 280, 288; missiology of, 281, 288
Beach, D N, 71
Bible texts, used by earthkeepers, 101, 102, 107, 247, 248, 272, 283; for theologia religionum, 262, 268, 278–280, 283, 284; biblical mandate for earth
keeping, 107

Bikita district, 40, 53, 66, 74; earthkeeping struggle in, 81, 151, 143; earthkeeping: chiefs and mediums, 85, 86, 88; AICs, 97, 100

birds, 13, 230, 247, 258; as emissaries of spirit world, 61, 90, 195, 220; bateleur and ancestors, 61, 151, 220, 258; brown hawk, as rain messenger, 286; fish eagle, 286

Bourdillon, M F C, 36

BSAC (British South Africa Company), 31, 35

Campfire (wildlife management), 221, 225, 227

Carmody, J, 75

Chabanga, J, AIC bishop, 100

Chabata, Lydia, spirit medium, 53, 55, 85, 86, 89, 118, 124, 133, 150, 151, 166, 175, 176, 178, 180, 203, 204, 216

Chagonda, 211, 212, 215, 244

Chaminuka, national ancestor, 29, 50, 81, 104, 124, 152, 181, 186, 190, 191, 263, 283

Chamutsa, Z, AIC bishop, 100

chapungu (bateleur eagle), see birds


Chikwanda, Chief, 139, 140

Chimoio, ZANLA operational headquarters in Mozambique, 48, 50, 59, 60, 84, 123, 189, 192

chimurenga, passim; first chimurenga, 31, 53; heroes of, 73, 88; history of, and myth-making, 186–193, 252

Chinovuriri, first AZSM president, 48, 50, 59, 85, 86, 91, 93, 94, 123, 124, 129, 141, 144, 166, 171, 175, 183, 186; as myth-maker, 186–193

Chinowawa, P, spirit medium, 56–59, 62, 85

chisi (ancestral rest-day), 34, 151, 244, 251

Chitsa, Chief, 86

Chivi, Chief, 86, 88; district: environmental conditions, 18; Mwari cult influence, 48; tree planting in, 112, 113, 204, 217; and traditional religion, 127

Chiwara, Chief, 86, 141, 212, 213

Chiwire, G, AIC bishop, 100

Chokoto, Jonas (priest of Mwari cult), 47, 48, 50, 72, 166–168, 173–178, 185, 284–286; family of priests, 72, 152; tree-planting at Jonas Chokoto's grave, 284, 285

Christ/christiology, in Bavinck's theology, 277–281, 288; the Earthkeeper, 247, 248, 261, 273; fulfilment of culture/religion, 261, 281, 283; in green liberation struggle, 101, 102, 104, 262; as mhondoro of white people, 33, 181; in Mwari cult context, 179–182, 283; in political liberation struggle, 67, 69–71; the saviour, 272, 274, 275; uniqueness of, 10, 272, 275, 279, 281, 282; and AIC leadership/theology, 39, 41

Cobbing, J R D, 71

conscientisation, 3, 9, 20, 76, 88, 93, 95, 125, 127, 155, 227, 236; chiefs as conscientisers, 91, 152, 143, 144; schools as conscientisation centres, 224

consumerism, 242, 245, 253, 258

contextualisation, 236, 248, 252, 261, 280
cosmology, 9, 10, 273
creation, see healing; salvation of, 248, 257, 290, 292; humans as 'crown of creation'. 262; divinity in, 278; God as 'mother of creation', 179; God's power in, 180; human dominion over. 207; sanctity of, 255, 268, 269
Creator, 10, 29, 34, 52, 149, 166, 167, 170, 181, 195, 212, 244, 249, 252, 257, 262, 264-267, 269, 279, 282, 286
customs/customary lay, 33-35, 82, 91, 125, 151, 168, 190, 196, 197, 201, 203, 206, 225, 237, 258, 251; hunting and water resources, 219, 220, 229; high-God and, 45, 177, 182
dare rechimurenga, see war council
deforestation, 15, 18-22, 75, 103, 123, 138, 142, 144, 153, 229, 237, 242, 245, 289
desertification, 18, 75
development, community, 73-75, 92, 96; income generating projects, 109, 110; land, 73, 209; sustainable, 291
Dhliwayo, Musariri, AIC bishop (former war prophet/patron of AAEC), 66-70, 72, 100, 101
dialogue, interfaith (African Traditional Religion and Christian), 10, 25, 96, 104, 272, 274, 275, 279, 280, 284; in AIC healing context, 281; ecological, 240; and Christian witness, 271-277, 279, 284
dombo (rock/shrine) of Mwari, 48, 168, 170-173, 178
Don Bosco school, 88, 91, 226
Dorm-Adzobu, C O, 208, 209
dream(s), 192, 251, 278; green, 81, 106, 231; new, 207; from ancestors, 26; of rain, 23
Dregne, H, 18
drought, 14, 17, 21-25, 28, 113, 152, 153, 184, 192, 203, 243, 268, 289; and 1896 rebellion, 31, 33
Dube, AIC bishop, 100
Duma, ancestors/people, 132, 136, 245; history, 80; holy groves, 212-214; shrines, 203; territory. 52, 53
Dumbukunya, Duma sage, 212
dunhu (ward) as home (community/territory), 243-249, 254, 257
Dzilo, shrine of Mwari cult, 33, 45, 47-50, 152, 162, 165, 167, 173, 174, 178-180, 284, 286
Dzivaguru, 33, 179, 264, 265, 287
earth, barren/wounded, 78, 104, 177, 275; community, 7, 235, 239, 242, 246, 248, 249, 253, 256-262, 266, 268, 282; clothe the earth (see mafukidzanyika), 105, 130, 132, 133, 151; healing, see healing; mother earth, 262; as prophet, 240; Summit, 291
eco-theology, see theology
ecumenism, of AICs, 25, 92, 94, 96, 102, 108-110, 274; of mainline churches, 26; of churches (AAEC) and traditionalists (AZTREC), 95, 272, 274; of traditional religion, 127
encounter, African Traditional Religion and Christianity, 8,9, 186, 274, 275, 277, 279; divine-human, 262, 280; elenctic, 284, 288
environment, see ecology, ethics, theology; environmental: crisis, 239; custodianship, 235
ethics/ethos, green/environmental, 238, 240, 252, 254–256; global environmental ethic, 240
Ethiopian-type churches, 37, 94
European Commission, 117, 226
ex-combatants/guerrillas, 62, 63, 73; and environment, 21, 22, 75, 86, 91, 138, 219, 229; at Matonjeni (high-God shrines), 168, 169
Fambidzano, AIC ecumenical movement, 25, 74, 75, 77, 81, 92, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100–103, 107, 109–112, 118
Farao, M, AIC bishop, 98, 100, 108, 110–113
forest(s), dwindling, 28; protection of, 80, 106, 132, 134, 137, 142, 160, 196, 247
Forestry Commission, 77, 87, 88, 95, 112, 116, 119, 124, 126, 155, 238; and holy groves/sanctuaries, 214, 215, 225; and indigenous trees, 216
fountains, see water resources
Gavhure, I, Bishop of First Ethiopian Church, 97, 111
general revelation, 9, 186, 277–280, 282
global, dimensions of ecological crisis, 9; fellowship of earthkeepers, 253, 255; village and earth-care, 241, 262, 269, 291
Gogo, Itombiyamazulu, Mwari priestess, 45–48, 166, 170, 173, 178–181
Gonese, C, 85, 86, 91, 97, 117, 118, 124, 138, 142, 148, 190, 206
Gono, Leonard, 93, 94, 117, 204, 259
good news, 13, 261, 272, 273, 275, 280, 282; communicated at Matonjeni, 272, 275
government, 23, 36, 39, 77; and Mwari cult, 266; institutions interact with ZIRRCON, 87, 93, 118, 142, 155, 169
green, army/fighters, 120, 159, 235, 291; ethos, 238; revolution, 113, 155, 178, 188; struggle, 120, 159, 235, 291
Grim, J A 239, 241
guardian(s), ancestors of the land, passim; Christ as guardian of the land/earth, 101, 102, 104; earthkeepers as 104; Mwari as guardian of the land/creation, 168, 169, 179, 267
Gutu, Chief, 85, 142–148; district: earthkeeping activities in, 100, 144, 146, 156, 157; holy groves in, 211–213, 219, 244; liberation struggle in, 66, 188; and Mwari cult, 43, 48, 169, 175; spirit mediums of, 51, 56, 85
Gwizhu (ZundeLC, keeper of ZIRRCON research centre, 207, 286
Hallman, D G, 239
heaven, 24, 66; new heaven and new earth, 17, 106, 267, 292
heroes’ reburial ceremonies, 22, 146, 147, 188
high-God, see Mwari
holism, 37, 83, 192, 239, 248; holistic: healing, 7, 17, 58, 75, 93; worldview, 143, 221, 237, 252
‘holy cities’, of AICs, 38–40, 73
holy/sacred groves, 14, 16, 34, 80, 91, 134, 137, 144, 150, 195, 196, 203, 208–216, 219, 237, 243, 245, 254, 256
276; as game sanctuaries (proposals), 214, 215, 218, 220, 221
holy, places, 191, 192, 247; trees, 200, 202
Holy Spirit, in earthkeeping struggle, 25, 75, 101, 138, 252; and healing, 38, 66, 74, 75; in interfaith encounter, 275, 276; role in political liberation struggle, 63, 64, 66–70
home, community/territory/sense of belonging, see dunhu
Hore, E, Bishop of Zion Sabbath Church, 97, 98, 100, 110
Huizer, G, 42, 71, 72
indigenous trees, 1, 14, 113, 145, 184, 198–202, 204, 216, 222, 224, 289; Cinie Malan’s interest in, 247
indoorism, 242, 245, 247
JPIC (Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation), 25, 106
Kaguwi, hero ancestor and spirit medium in rebellions, 32, 35, 50, 104, 263
Kamudzi, J, AIC bishop, 100, 110
Kraemer, H, 279, 287
kugadzira ritual, 22, 37, 126, 199, 250, 284
Kuudzerema, S, AIC bishop, 100
Kyle (Mtirikwi), Lake, 13, 15, 16, 227, 229, 289, 291
Lan, D, 72
land, see healing of, 28, 33, 58, 73, 245; barren/naked/denuded/wounded, 18, 76, 78, 132, 134, 139, 144, 145, 177, 265; destruction of, 85, 229, 238; Land Apportionment Act, 36; Land Husbandry Act, 36; pressure on, 15, 22, 26, 237, 245; redistribution of, 15, 21, 23, 25, 72; responsibility for, 131, 135, 143, 148, 242
liberation, see Mwari as liberator; 17, 75, 261; African liberation theology, 3, 69; AIC liberation theology, 36, 69, 70, 94–96, 104, 113; religio-cultural, 36, 37, 39; socio-economic, 74; socio-political, 38, 39, 50; of ‘lost lands’, 275; struggle (environmental), 95, 104, 105, 107, 109, 123, 127, 142, 156, 158, 188, 191, 246, 252, 291; struggle (political), 5, 21, 28, 31, 42, 47, 59, 61, 63, 64, 78, 92, 147, 165, 188, 194, 207, 213, 226, 242, 246; tradition/history, 7, 235, 263, 282; Zionist, 39, 41; liberated zones, 59, 66
Lobengula, Ndebele monarch, 31, 33
‘lost lands’, struggle for, 1, 23, 24, 27, 28, 50, 58, 61, 63, 66, 75, 76, 123, 194, 242, 246, 248, 255
Louw, A A, pioneer missionary, 14, 201, 247
Mabika, Chief, 62, 86
Mabvamaropa, ix, 259
Mabwazhe, apical Rufura ancestor of Gutu, 219, 260
Mabweadziva, ‘rocks of the pool’, 27, 152, 190, 191
Machokoto, R, AIC bishop, first president of AAEC, 98, 100, 109, 111, 206; Edwin, 112
Magora, spirit medium, 85, 119
Makamba, P, 96–99, 103, 109–112, 120
Makamuri, B B, 127
makonde, euphorbia ingens, 201
Makuku, AIC bishop, 100
Makumbe, Chief, 144, 145
Manley, M, 204
maporesanyika (‘earth-healing’) ceremonies, 274, 275
marambatemwa, see holy groves; 7, 14–16, 54, 91, 128, 154, 157, 145, 151, 166, 191, 195, 196, 207–216, 218, 231, 245, 247, 255; as game
sanctuaries, 220, 221, 224, 226, 230, 260, 276; spirit medium Zarira’s nickname, 203, 287

Maranda, Chief, 49, 86

Marima, AIC bishop, 100

Marinda, R, AIC bishop, ZIRRCOM executive member, 81, 86, 93–95, 98, 100, 108, 109, 111, 120, 206

Martin, D & Johnson, P, 31

Mashereketo, AIC war prophet, 66

Masuka, David, bishop Zion Apostolic Church, 100

Masvingo, Province, passim; district: AIC earthkeepers in, 97, 112, 144, 145; chiefs (supporters of green struggle), 86, 111; and Mwari cult, 170, 176; town, 222, 226, 229

Matonjeni, location of high-God’s shrines, 7, 26–28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 42, 45, 48–50, 133, 135, 149, 150, 152–154, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 170, 179, 181, 182, 184, 211, 238, 244, 257, 263, 266, 267, 269; cult sessions at, 267, 268; visits to, evaluated, 272, 281–284; and holy groves, 212; and njuzu spirits, 230; shrine complex, 71

Mavhaire, D, ex-governor Masvingo Province, member of ZIRRCOM TRUST, 116

Mazungunye, Chief, 86, 88

Mbedzi, Dziva, Shoko, Mwari’s praise-names, 26, 171, 173, 175, 176, 180

Mbire, priesthood of Mwari cult, 29, 71, 180

Mbongwa, woman dedicated to Mwari, 30, 44, 165, 170, 173

McDaniel, J B, 241, 242, 255

Messiah, messianism, 35

Mhondoro, ancestors, 201, 202, 258; Christ as white mhondoro, 33, 181, 283; cult, 29; and earth-keeping, 132, 134, 137, 145, 152, 195, 197; mediums and rebellion, 32, 56; war council, 50

Mission, Christ and missionary outreach, 283; Christian, 9, 10, 271–284; of earth-care, 7, 8, 10, 25, 236, 247, 248, 262, 291; as good news proclamation, 272, 274, 275, 277, 279, 281, 284; questions re eco-mission, 272; re-thinking, 262; strategy of AICs, 281; traditional earthkeeping, 269–271

Mount-Mugabe, 13–17, 24, 80, 248, 289, 291

Mountains, holy, or of religious significance, 80, 82, 91, 134, 211, 245, 276; Beza, 85; Gona, 211; Jerimanda, 144, 211; Nyuni, 15; Rasa, 66, 80, 211, 215, 224, 226, 244, Vinga, Vumba, Vunjere, 212, 213, 245

msasa, brachystegia spiciformis, 15, 83, 84, 113, 216

Mubako, S, chief judge, patron of ZIRRCOM, 115, 116

Mubvumira, kirkia akuminata, 198, 243, 258

muchakata, parinari curatellifolia, 16, 56, 82, 177, 200, 201, 217, 243, 261, 289; Muchakata as nickname of author, 175, 190, 205, 206, 234, 259, 260; Muchakata nursery, 222

muchecheni, ziziphus mukronata, 204

MuDende, spirit medium, 60, 85, 86, 124, 129, 166, 171, 175, 186, 189

mudziavashe/mupembe, combretum molle, 201, 202, 216, 247

mudzimu, see ancestors

Mugabe, Chief, 15, 86

Mugabe, R, President of Zimbabwe, 47, 59, 142, 147, 151, 184, 190, 263

mukamba, red mahogany, afzelia quanzensis, 83, 113, 199, 200, 215–217

Mujakanji, spirit medium, 85

Mukangangwi, Chief, 85, 86

Mukaro, Chief, 143, 144; spirit medium,
mukumbira/mabyamaropapa, pterocarpus angolensis, 83, 204, 215, 217
mukwerere, rain ritual, 7, 23, 34, 125, 126, 130, 135, 136, 152, 200, 201, 237, 238, 250, 265
MunDende, spirit medium, 84, 166
munji, berchemia discolar, 113, 207
munyai, see Mwari cult messenger
munyanharadze, lonchocarpus capassa, 198
Munyikwa, Chief, 86
munyamititi, black ebony, dalbergia melanocylon, 204, 259
mushavhi, ficus burkei, 113
mushuku, wild loquat, uapaca kirkiana, 16, 17, 82, 202, 203, 206, 210, 212, 216, 247
Muskavanhu (God), 52, 131–134, 136, 145, 149, 151; Muskavanhu war zone, 85, 123
Musukutwa, 22, 67
Mutendi, S, Bishop of the Zion Christian Church, 33, 39, 74; Mutendi’s involvement in: black nationalism, 39, 40; environmental repair, 38, 39; liberation struggle, 62; rainmaking, 181
mutongo, julbernardia globiflora, 15, 83, 84, 113, 216
muuyu, adansonia digitata, baobab tree, 203, 217, 259
muuvuzhe, brachystegia glaucescens, mountain acacia, 83, 216
muzambiringa, grapevine, 206
muzeeze, peltoforum africanum, 199, 216
muzhuzhu, maytenus senegalensis, 199
Mwari (God), 7, 18, 23, 24, 26–28, 85, 244, 260, 261, 272, 277; attributes of, 179–182, 264–266; of Bible, 52, 83, 101, 104, 105, 181, 277, 281; changing concepts of, 33, 263, 265; cult, 29–34, 36, 38, 59, 42–50, 73, 152–154, 161–186, 262, 266, 275, 277, 281, 282, 284; cult’s commercialization, 266; cult messengers, 50, 34, 38, 43, 72, 150, 153, 161, 175, 212, 264, 266; cult messengers’ role in rebellion/chimurenga, 52, 36, 48, 49, 264; and holy groves, 212, 244; and inter-religious encounter, 275, 277, 281–284; involvement in green struggle, 123, 132, 136, 145, 149, 152, 156, 161–186, 191, 231, 238, 251, 262, 263, 266, 267, 269; as liberator God, 30–33, 41, 50, 63, 66–69, 161, 165, 181, 183, 264, 265, 267, 283; mainstay of religious and cultural values, 27, 33, 266; (oracular) Voice of, 26, 30–33, 44, 48, 49, 152, 153, 168–178, 180, 184, 268; and water resources, 250
Mwenezi district, 48, 216
mythical, approval/sanction (of struggle), 33, 63, 125, 231, 237, 243, 254, 258, 269, 270; balance/link between living and dead, 22, 35, 59; intervention/retribution, 23, 152, 195, 210, 213, 220, 244, 250; powers, 230, 253; protection, 61, 136, 228; union/interaction in spirit world, 7, 28, 130, 136, 137, 144, 169, 256, 286
myth(s), author’s, 18; earthkeepers’, 25; and holy groves, 214, 226; myth-making, 186–193, 236
nationalism, African/black, 36, 39–42, 45; nationalist parties, 36, 41, 48
National Resources Board, 77, 87, 88, 95, 116, 118, 119, 126, 155, 216, 225; and holy groves, 214, 215
Ndanga, Chief, 86, 88; district, 85, 86, 152
Ndaza Zionist(s), 63–70, 93, 94, 100, 120
Negovano, Chief, 62, 86, 88, 131, 132, 143, 256; ancestor, 135, 151, 254
Neganda, national ancestor and active spirit medium during rebellion, 32, 35, 50, 181, 188, 191, 263
Neill, S.C, 283
Nel, T, 218, 219
Nemapare, AIC bishop, former president of Fambidzano, 103
Nganga, 28, 62, 166, 200
Nhema, Chief, 86, 132, 257, ancestor, 132-135, 137, 257
Njuzu, water spirits, 24, 34, 53, 82, 145, 211, 213; and protection of water resources, 230, 231
Nkomo, J, 42, 47, 263
Ngwena, district, 48, 112
Ngwena, district, 48, 112

overgrazing, 15, 18

Parks and Wildlife, 83, 95, 116, 220, 225, 228
Prupajena, Mapfumo, spirit medium, 53, 54, 78-82, 85, 86, 118, 123; tribal ancestor, 132, 212
Population, growth, 15, 21, 74, 196, 245, 255; overpopulation, 19, 216, 221, 237, 290
poshito, guerrilla hide-out, 22, 78, 79, 226
prophet(s) of AICs, engaged in green struggle, 138, 228; in interfaith encounter, 276; 'war prophets' in political liberation struggle, 63-70, 100
Pungwe, chimurenga night vigils, 9, 53, 58, 59, 61, 64, 66-69, 83, 85, 91, 100, 226

rain, coming of, 289-292; Marumbi the rainmaker, 211, 244; Mwari and rainmaking, 34, 145, 149, 156, 161, 169, 179; rainforests, 20, 291, 292; requests for, 132, 156, 156, 165, 170, 181; rituals (see mukere), 206, 243, 253
Ranger, T.O, 21, 24, 30-32, 36, 42, 71
Rasmussen, C & V, 18, 87, 88
Rebellion of 1896, 24, 25, 31-33, 35, 72, 165, 182, 264
reconciliation, 25, 85, 150, 172, 182
relativism, religious, 10, 281
Religion, passim, see encounter; Christ as fulfilment of, 283; non-Christian, 279-282, 284; primal religion and environmental ethic, 239-241, 249, 287; revival/resurgence of, 42, 59, 70, 75, 75, 231, 270; religious: change, 245; challenge, 256; motivation for earthkeeping, 27, 31, 75, 77, 82, 83, 92, 93, 100, 123, 136, 145, 148, 150, 160, 186-193, 216, 231, 256, 239, 242, 251, 263, 265, 270, 273; motivation for political liberation struggle, 28, 42, 55; motivation for 1896 rebellion, 31-33, 36
Research, of author, 3-10, 104, 248; of ZIRRCON, 93, 94, 117, 218
resettlement, 16, 21, 154, 290
Resistance, to colonialism/oppression, 27, 28, 31, 35, 42, 46, 192, 262, 263
Rozvi, Chiefs, 40; dialect, 27, 268; dynasty/rule, 29, 30, 32, 59, 71, 212; Rozvi-Duma boundary dispute, 40, 41, 136
salvation, of creation/earth, 17, 38, 66, 75, 105, 106, 202, 247, 261, 262, 272, 275, 282; good news of, 272, 273; in political liberation, 69, 70
School(s), in green struggle, 91, 92, 156, 157, 160, 216, 226; as conscientisation centres, 224; school teachers in green struggle, 223, 224
sekuru-muzukuru relations, 36, 45, 172, 182
Shagashe Game Park, 88, 226
Shavi, dances, 156, 230; spirits, 48, 82, 111
Shembe, AIC leader of South Africa, 38-40
Skoko, A, AIC bishop, 100
Shumba, Chief, 85, 86, 112, 166
soil erosion, 15, 16, 19, 22, 58, 144, 156, 229; caused by wind, 18
soteriology, 75, 273
spirit medium(s), 13, 21-23, 26, 243; addresses of ancestors, 131-134; critical of government, 142, 149, 150, 152, 154; as custodians of the land, 236, 252; and game protection, 220, 227, 228; in green struggle, 25, 75, 78, 80-88, 91, 103, 104, 108, 118, 123, 125, 128, 130, 131, 138, 142, 143, 148-155, 188, 190, 203, 209, 210, 216, 247, 248, 251-255; and interfaith encounter, 275, 276; at Matonjeni/Dzilo shrine, 162-186, 255, 284; in rebellion, 31-35, 48-62, 67, 73; as traditional ecologists, 54, 195-197, 214
spirit possession, 54-58, 60, 61, 91, 131, 276; at Matonjeni, 163
spirit province(s), 29, 50, 53, 243
Spirit-type churches, see also Apostles/Zionists, 37, 94
stewardship, of creation/nature, 9, 14, 38, 102, 107, 251, 252, 254, 265, 270, 277, 291
Sundkler, B G M, 40
svikiro, see spirit medium, 29, 34-36
symbols/symbolism, 192, 258, 261; of: ancestral protection, 13; ecological hope, 216; good news, 14; rain, 13; trees, 202, 259; reinterpretation of, 258
syncretism, 10, 29, 280
timberlake, l, 18-20
toft, j, environmentalist in masvingo, 88, 226
tovera, praise-name of mwari, 26, 170, 171, 173, 176, 180; spirit medium, 85, 90, 91, 124, 151-154, 286
tribal politics, 27, 29, 35, 38, 39, 61, 73, 130, 151, 184
tucker, m e & grim, j a, 239
tu wei-ming, 240, 241
van der merwe, w j, 264
vembe shrine, part of the matonjeni complex, 45-47, 72, 166, 170, 178, 179, 183
vidco, village development committee, 21, 87, 127, 130
virtanen, p, 127
visser, p j, 277, 279, 287
von sicard, h, 29
vondo muko zho, mwari cult messenger, 43, 175
vunjere, 64, 66, 67, 100
wadco, ward development committee, 21, 87, 127, 130
wapendama, k, aic bishop, 97, 100, 112, 113
war council, (of the ancestors; dare rechim urenga), 47, 50, 52, 58, 59, 61, 91, 136, 147, 161, 191, 228, 238, 263

Watangakugara, 264

water resources, 3, 24, 76, 82, 92, 123, 177, 195, 196, 228–231, 251, 256; anti-siltation measures, 229; dam-building, 230; fountains/springs, 23, 211, 229, 254; gully reclamation, 229; rivers, 101, 137; river-bank cultivation, 228, 229, 254, 265; water points, 87

wildlife/game conservation, 3, 24, 28, 61, 82, 83, 106, 108, 123, 137, 144, 150, 177, 195, 197, 217, 226, 242, 254, 256, 290; game: farming, 218, 219; parks, 227, 228; sanctuaries in communal lands (proposals), 7, 220, 221, 224, 225, 231; poaching 227, 228; traditional hunting laws, 219–224, 295, 296; Zambezi valley, 227, 228, 290

Wildlife Society of Zimbabwe, 88, 226

Wirirani, Mwari cult shrine, 33, 42–45, 47, 72, 166, 168, 172, 173, 182

wizardry/witchcraft, and earthkeeping, 145, 148, 238, 255; eradication of, 37; and liberation struggle (chimurenga), 62, 64, 67, 68; protection against, 199, 228, 273

Wokumusoro, the One above, 261, 264

woodlot(s), 3, 87, 105, 107, 125, 144, 149, 155, 156, 184, 205, 207, 210, 216, 230, 231, 253, 254, 270

World Resources Institute, 208, 209

worldviews, and ecology, 239, 240, 252; holistic, 143, 221, 236; traditional, 37, 149, 192, 238, 252

youth, see schools; desk, 227, 230; participation, 224, 225

Zaka district, 115, 132

ZANLA, camps, 59, 60, 85, 188, 189; forces/fighters, 47–50, 123, 124, 189, 213

ZAPU, 41, 63, 73, and Mwari cult, 42


Zhame (God), 132, 133, 136, 149, 156, 257

Ziki, Chief, 88

Zimuto, Chief, 166; district: and earthkeeping, 112, 113; liberation struggle in, 59, 62; and Mwari cult, 48, 56, and spirit mediums, 85, 86

Zion Apostolic Church, 66, 100

Zion Christian Church, 33, 38–40, 62, 181: Zion City, 38–40, 74

Zion Patmos, 65, 66, 68, 69

Zion Sabbath Church, 97

Zionism and African nationalism, 38, 39

ZIPRA, forces/fighters, 47–50, 263

ZIRRCON, passim; ZIRRCON TRUST, 114, 116, 117

Zvanaka, Daniel, 86, 94, 166, 175: Solomon, ZIRRCON director, 93, 94, 97, 98, 120, 166, 206

Zvishavane district, 48, 124

Zvobgo, J, leader of African Reformed Church, 97, 103

Zvukuomba, T, senior research worker, 94
Well-known author Professor Inus Daneel grew up in Zimbabwe and has done extensive research on the traditional and Christian religions of the Shona people. Appalled at the environmental devastation that had taken place since the war, Daneel initiated and became the driving force behind an unusual partnership in "the war of the trees". His intimate knowledge of traditional Shona culture and religion and the friendships he established with various Shona tribesmen enabled Daneel to share the urgency of restoring the land with traditional chiefs and spirit mediums (traditionally custodians of the land). Thus the partnership between Daneel, the Christian missionary and academic, and Shona traditionalist religious leaders began in a tree-planting venture that overcame religious differences.

Daneel records the religio-ecological motivation and endeavour of the African Earthkeeping Movement and its impact on Shona peasant society. Of special interest are the newly introduced *mafukidzanyika* (clothing the land) ritual ceremonies as opposed to the traditional rain ritual ceremonies indicating the innovation and adaptation that has taken place, as well as a description of hitherto secret oracular pronouncements by the Shona high-God Mwari, at the cult caves of Matonjeni in the Matopo hills.

This volume deals mainly with the traditional religious contribution of the earthkeeping struggle; the second volume describes the Christian counterpart.

"a wonderful contribution ... fascinating to read ... This book is an important and original contribution to a neglected area of research. The author has the rare ability to shift levels of description and analysis without losing coherence. He moves from the personal to the academic levels very smoothly. Much of the book's power derives from the wealth of descriptive detail."

Prof Jacklyn Cock – Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand