

# Islam in Northern Mozambique: A Historical Overview

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## Abstract

This article is a historical overview of two issues: first, that of the dynamics of Islamic religious transformations from pre-Portuguese era up until the 2000s among Muslims of the contemporary Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and to a certain extent, Niassa provinces. The article argues that historical and geographical proximity of these regions to East African coast, the Comoros and northern Madagascar meant that all these regions shared a common Islamic religious tradition. Accordingly, shifts with regard to religious discourses and practices went in parallel. This situation began changing in the last decade of the colonial era and has continued well into the 2000s, when the so-called *Wahhabis*, Sunni Muslims educated in the Islamic universities of the Arab world brought religious outlook that differed significantly from the historical local and regional conceptions of Islam. The second question addressed in this article is about relationships between northern Mozambican Muslims and the state. The article argues that after initial confrontations with Muslims in the sixteenth century and up until the last decade of the colonial era, the Portuguese rule pursued no concerted effort in interfering in the internal Muslim religious affairs. Besides, although they occupied and destroyed some of the Swahili settlements, in particular in southern and central Mozambique, other Swahili continued to thrive in northern Mozambique and maintained certain independence from the Portuguese up until the twentieth century. Islam there remained under the control of the ruling Shirazi clans with close political, economic, kinship and religious ties to the Swahili world. By establishing kinship and politico-economic ties with the ruling elites of the mainland in the nineteenth century, these families were also instrumental in expanding Islam into the hinterland. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Portuguese rule took full control of the region as a result of military conquests of the ‘effective occupation’, and imposed new legal and administrative colonial system, called *Indigenato*, impacting Muslims of northern Mozambique to a great extent. After the independence in 1975, and especially since 1977, the post-independence Frelimo government adopted militant atheism and socialist Marxism, which was short-lived and was abolished in 1983 owing to popular resistance and especially, because of government’s perception that its religious policies were fuelling the opposition groups to take arms and join the civil war. The 1980s and 1990s were marked by an acute rivalry and conflicts between the two emerging national umbrella Islamic organizations, the Islamic Council and the Islamic Congress, each representing largely pro-Sufi and anti-Sufi positions. In the 2000s, these organizations became overshadowed by new and more dynamic organizations, such as *Ahl Al-Sunna*.

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## Introduction

The article provides a historical overview of the Islamic religious transformations and Muslim relationships with the state in northern Mozambique from the pre-Portuguese era up until the 2000s. It focuses in particular on six historical periods – starting from the Pre-Portuguese era, it outlines the consequences for Muslims of the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and then, the article proceeds examining changes engendered by the nineteenth-century slave trade and the greater expansion of Islam into the mainland and by

the military campaigns of the Portuguese 'effective occupation' of the turn of the century. The last two small subsections deal with the impact of the colonial legal and administrative transformations on northern Mozambican Muslims and the situation of Muslims in the post-colonial period.

### *Pre-Portuguese Era*

Historical data pertaining to Islam or Muslims in Mozambique prior to the sixteenth century are very scarce. Research has not been very systematic or comprehensive, but the archeological evidence suggests that since at least, the eighth century, the coastal northern Mozambique was part of the Swahili world, and thus probably shared Islamic religious conceptions and practices with their Swahili neighbours. The data from the southern coast of Chibuene in contemporary Inhambane province revealed that not only north but also southern Mozambican littoral as well was part of the Indian Ocean trading networks operating within the sphere of the Swahili and Islamic economic and culture influences since at least the eighth century. At Chibuene, the Tana tradition pottery identical to that of Shanga, Manda and Kilwa, dated as early as ca. 800–1150, together with the fragments of Islamic glazed wares, and Sassanian and sgraffiato pottery were found.<sup>1</sup> Preliminary archeological excavations carried out in the 1960s by Fernando Amaro Monteiro<sup>2</sup> and Francois Balsan<sup>3</sup> at the extreme northern tip of the Cabo Delgado coast, a brief survey on the Island of Angoche in 1975 by a team of the then University of Rhodesia,<sup>4</sup> and 1978 excavations in the Nampula province around the town of Nampula and near Mozambique Island, and at Ibo Island in Cabo Delgado Province by a team from Eduardo Mondlane University<sup>5</sup> all pointed towards relatedness of these regions to the Swahili sites at the Kenyan and Tanzanian coasts, and possibly even in the Comoros and the northern Madagascar.

In the late 1980s, Duarte conducted a detailed fieldwork at a number of stone-built sites of the northern Mozambican coasts of the contemporary Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces and identified the time of occupation by Swahili settlements ranging from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> During 1994, Christian Isendahl carried out archaeological survey on the mainland of Angoche, which suggested the presence of the Swahili influence as early as the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup>

### *The Arrival of the Portuguese*

Portuguese records from the sixteenth century onwards attest unequivocally to the close relationships between northern Mozambique and the East African coast, the Comoros and to a certain extent, northern Madagascar. This proximity further supports the idea of possible shared Islamic religious tradition of northern Mozambique and the Swahili regions, although there has not been enough research for the period prior to the nineteenth century.

When Vasco da Gama arrived in 1498, he reported that Mozambique Island was ruled by a sheikh subject to the sultan of Kilwa.<sup>8</sup> Duarte Barbosa also mentions that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Angoche, Sofala, Cuama and Mozambique 'were all under the obedience to the King of Kilwa, who was a great king amongst them'.<sup>9</sup> In fact, since the end of the thirteenth century, Kilwa controlled the Sofala gold and ivory trade with Great Zimbabwe and later Mwenemotapa, and maintained a strong control over the southern coast till the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In 1505, however, the Portuguese occupied Kilwa, Mozambique Island, Sofala and Cuama; later on, they took over

Quelimane (Kilimani) in central Mozambique, and Inhambane and Bazaruto islands in southern Mozambique, all ruled up until then by Swahili Muslims.<sup>11</sup> The Portuguese conquest led to a gradual elimination of these kinds of Swahili enclaves in central and southern Mozambique, which however continued to thrive in the northern part of the country, especially at the coast stretching from Pebane to Palma.

After the initial confrontations with Muslims, the Portuguese pursued no concerted efforts to interfere in the internal religious affairs of the region. Islam there was linked to the ruling Swahili clans, in particular, the so-called Shirazis, who maintained control over Islam and had intimate political, economic and kinship relations with the Swahili world. Even Catholic evangelization was not as widespread and invasive as it was to be expected from a state that had close-knit ties to the Church and upheld an official slogan of cross and sword based on the ideals of the crusades and *reconquista*.<sup>12</sup> The history of the relationships between the Portuguese and African Muslim rulers is extensively documented in the archives of Portugal, Goa and Mozambique in a voluminous correspondence written in Arabic script KiSwahili (*lingua franca* of the region). The majority of the Swahili rulers of northern Mozambique claimed a Shirazi heritage as other ruling Swahili families of the East African coast and the Comoros, as well as *sharifian* Hadrami descent, especially of Ba Alawi clans of Ibn Al-Alawi and ash-Shatiri. Islam at the coastal northern Mozambique was conceived as a regional Swahili tradition, incorporating African culture and the influences of the Western Indian Ocean regions. Locally, this meant that Islam was associated with the Shirazi clans at the coast, whose religious conceptions and identities on the one hand, incorporated local African perceptions, and on the other, those of the Western Indian Ocean, such as of Hadramawt (Fig. 1).

### *Slave Trade and Islam*

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, northern Mozambique and especially coastal Swahili became involved in the international trade in ivory and slaves due to their location near ports serving as outlets for slaves to be exported, and their roles as middlemen between mainland African slave suppliers and slave buyers coming from across the



Fig. 1. 'Zanzibari' door, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 2. Group of *Maruhani* spirit possession *fundis* (masters), Angoche. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 3. *Rewa (Lewa)* spirit possession *fundi*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 4. A hand-copied book on *jinni*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.

Indian Ocean.<sup>13</sup> In this context, Islam and the political influence of certain Swahili regions, such as Angoche, expanded significantly into the mainland.<sup>14</sup> Angoche's chances had increased considerably due to rising European abolitionist movement, the 1815 Vienna Treaty between Portugal and Great Britain, the 1836 Sá Bandeira Decree, followed by the Decree of 1842 prohibiting the exportation of slaves.<sup>15</sup> As a result, the ports of Mozambique Island and Quelimane, from where slaves were exported earlier, became difficult destinations for slave traders (*negreiros* in Portuguese). By 1847, many *moradores* (Portuguese settlers) of Mozambique Island had relocated their *feitorias* (Port., 'factories' or 'commercial establishments') to Angoche.<sup>16</sup> By the 1850s, Angoche's rulers decided to seize for themselves the opportunity of capturing and selling slaves.<sup>17</sup> Musa Mohammad Sahib Quanto (d. 1879) was instrumental in bringing the mainland under the aegis of Angoche.<sup>18</sup> After several military confrontations with the Angoche's major commercial rivals of the time, the Zambezi *prazos* (Port., landed estates) of Maganja da Costa, Angoche became an important destination for slave traders from the interior, attracting caravans led by the Yao and the Marave, descending from the territories surrounding Lake Niassa.<sup>19</sup>

There was a substantial expansion of Islam in northern Mozambique as a result of Angoche's ambitions regarding the export slave trade, the significant population movements from the mainland to the coast and the involvement of the region in the international slave trade during the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The Nguni and the new Makua migrations



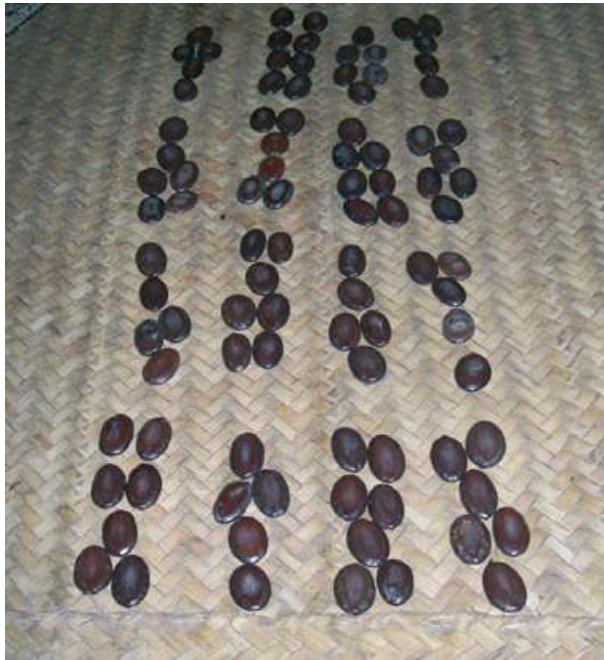


Fig. 5. Muslim divination practice, *Ramuli (Khat al-Ramli)*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.

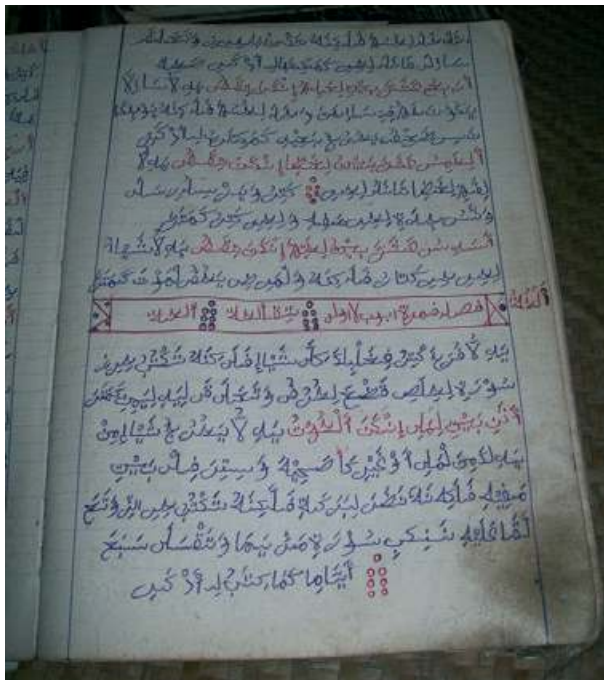


Fig. 6. A hand-written book used for *Ramuli*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.

of the nineteenth century altered the *status quo* of the region once more, but ultimately these newcomers also ended up being absorbed by the Swahili Muslim societies at the coast, mostly because of the leading roles that the coast played in the international slave trade of the time.

Islam in northern Mozambique was, as Randall L. Pouwels puts it for East African Coast, a '*walimu* style of Islam'.<sup>21</sup> The power of the new ritual experts, such as the *walimu* (Sw., but in local vernacular) rested upon their Islamic religious knowledge, in particular of the *kitabū* (Ar., Sw., and in local vernacular 'the book', i.e. the *Qur'an*), as well as local traditional African knowledge of the spirit world of ancestors and, of the land and the sea (Figs 2–9).<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 7. A banner of a Muslim healer, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 8. A Muslim healer performing divination through contact with *wa-jinni*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 9. Traditional wooden board in a *Qur'anic* school, Angoche. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.

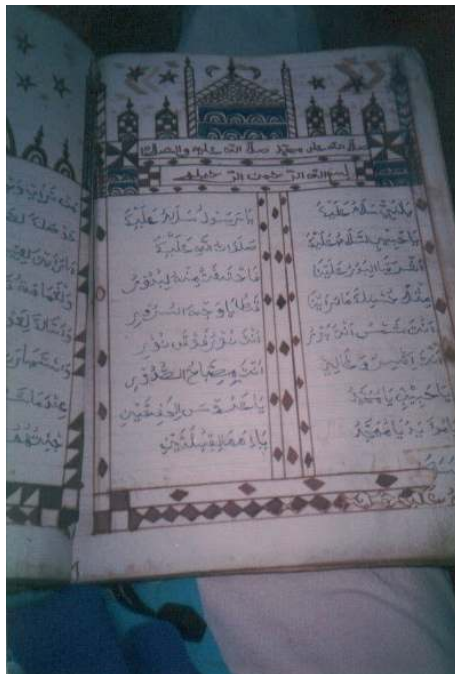


Fig. 10. Handwritten book used for *Rifa'iyya dhikr*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



All religious rituals were accompanied by collective dancing, feasting and drumming.<sup>23,24</sup> One of the ‘dance societies’ was the Rifa’iyya Sufi Order called in Mozambique *Molidi*, *Mawlid*, or *Mawlid Naqira* (from Emakhwa, ‘the dancing *mawlid*’, and *mawlid* or *mawlid un-Nabi* is from Ar., Prophet Muhammad’s birthday celebration), as well as *Mawlid Rifa’i*. In Zanzibar, according to Trimingham and Nimtz, the Rifa’iyya is called *maulidi ya hom* (Figs 10–12).<sup>25</sup>

As in the rest of the Swahili world, *mawlid* ritual has been ‘the center’ of Islam in northern Mozambique, because *mawlid* festivities and life-cycle ceremonies accompanied



Fig. 11. A Rifa’i *naqib* performing a *dhikr* using *dabushi* with a *murid*. Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.



Fig. 12. Rifa’i *dhikr*, Mozambique Island. Photograph by L. J. K. Bonate.

by *mawlid* ritual were and still are central to their lives.<sup>26</sup> However, despite links to the Swahili tradition, Islam in northern Mozambique had specific local characteristics also. In the first place, as it was stated earlier, it was linked to the ruling African elites. In the nineteenth century, the inland Africans too could embrace Islam which became an inclusive and broader faith of all Muslims identified as the *Maca*, but as it was initially circumscribed to the coastal ruling Shirazi clans alone, it was extended to other rulers, the mainland chiefs.

In the second place, Muslims of northern Mozambique were matrilineal. This unique feature can be explained by the fact that in comparison to the Swahili communities of the Tanzanian and Kenyan coasts, where the Hadrami began arriving in the fifteenth century, and the Omani, who later established the Sultanate of Zanzibar, in the eighteenth century, the numbers of Arab immigrants to Mozambique were insignificant.<sup>27</sup> In particular, the Hadrami *shurafa'*, as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and members of the learned *'ulama* class, contested Shirazi Islamic claims. This impacted, as Kelly M. Askew points out, on local conceptions of Islam which came to incorporate some principles of Islamic 'orthodoxy', including the replacement of the earlier matriliney by the Arab patrilineal ideology, weakening women's social situation and legal status.<sup>28</sup> In northern Mozambique, the absence of the Arab competition over Islamic authority had allowed to retain matrilineal descent and inheritance.<sup>29</sup> Although as Claude Meillassoux points out,



Fig. 13. Letter by Fatima binti Zacaria of Quinga, Mogincual, to the Portuguese Administrator at Mozambique Island, 1893. Mozambique Historical Archives, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa No 8–156, Maço 1.

matriliney does not mean matriarchy, it nevertheless allowed women to occupy important political and social positions in northern Mozambique as opposed to their East African Swahili counterparts.<sup>30</sup> Some women were even major chiefs, such as Nunu Fatima binti Zacaria of Quinga, Mogincual and Nagima of Namarral, near Mozambique Island, as their letters below attest (Figs 13 and 14).

### *Muslims and 'the Effective Occupation'*

From 1895 to the early twentieth century, the Portuguese undertook military campaigns of the 'effective occupation', resulting from the European 'Scramble for Africa', the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference and the 1890 British proposal on the future borders between Portuguese and British colonies in Africa. The campaigns envisioned conquering African territories militarily, taking a full administrative and political control over them, and delineating borders between Portugal, Great Britain and Germany.<sup>31</sup> The main objective was to enforce Portugal as a colonial power in the face of the competition from other European powers.

It was into this environment of a generalized crisis that two important Sufi Orders came in northern Mozambique. First came the Shadhuliyya Yashrutiyya in 1897, with *Shaykh* Muhammad Ma'arouf bin Shaykh Ahmad ibn Abu Bakr (1853–1905) of the Comoro Islands, who was the founder of the Order in East Africa.<sup>32</sup> The Qadiriyya reportedly

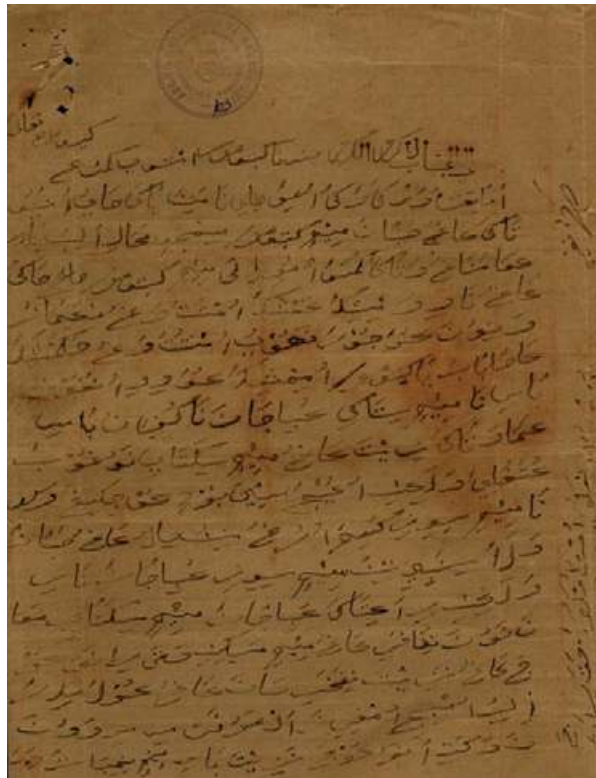


Fig. 14. Letter by the Namarral Macua Queen Nagima to the Portuguese Administrator at Mozambique Island, 18938. Mozambique Historical Archives, Fundo do Século XIX, Governo Geral de Moçambique, Caixa No 8–9, Maço 2.



Fig. 15. *Khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi Order, Sadaca Ncacha with his *silsila*. Pemba City, Cabo Delgado. Photograph by L. J. K Bonate

was brought to Mozambique Island in 1905 (or 1904) by a certain *shaykh* ‘Issa bin Ahmad, residing in Zanzibar who was also originally from Ngazidja in the Comoros, who was a disciple of *shaykh* ‘Umar Uways bin Muhammad al-Barawi (1847–1909), also the founder of the order in East Africa.<sup>33</sup>

These new Orders transformed local conceptions and practices of Islam. For example, in contrast to the authority of the old Muslim rulers, the Sufi leaders claimed an authority of religious learning (*‘ilm*) and of written authorization (*ijaza*), situated within a chain of transmission (*silsila/isnad*).<sup>34</sup> These features had nothing to do with the hereditary power and legitimacy of an African chieftainship or Shirazi families. However, local chiefly clans fought hard and managed to appropriate an Islamic authority inked to the Orders, which contributed greatly to a significant expansion of Islam in Mozambique during the first half of the twentieth century (Fig. 15).<sup>35</sup>

### *The Indigenato*

Following the ‘effective occupation’, the Portuguese rule began implementing policies of forced labor, direct taxation and arbitrary punishment towards its African territories (laws of 1899, 1904, 1928 and 1930). These policies together with the 1907 Portuguese Administrative Reform laid the basis of a system known as *Indigenato*, which was fashioned on the French *Code d’Indigénat*. The 1907 Reform in particular discerned between African and European legal rights and civil statuses. Africans became colonial *subjects*, living within the jurisdiction of local ‘traditional customs and usages’ administered by the appointed indigenous authorities, the *régulos/regedores* (Port., small-scale king, territorial chief), whose main function was to carry out the orders of an often distant Portuguese administrators. Europeans, on the other hand, became *citizens* of the metropolitan state



and subject to its laws. The *Indigenato* was endorsed by the 1930 *Acto Colonial*, the *Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português* and the 1933 *Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina* (Administrative Reform of the Overseas Territories), and in essence remained intact until 1961 when it was formally abolished.

Like France, Portugal adopted an assimilationist and civilizing stance towards its colonial subjects, who could opt for a status of *assimilado* corresponding to the French *évolué*, provided they could prove to adopt Portuguese customs, language and culture, including the European dress code. However, while the French system presupposed in principle that a Muslim could become an *évolué*, the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (1926–1974), driven by intense nationalism, upheld Catholic faith as a crucial marker of the Portuguese national and cultural identity.<sup>36</sup> From 1930 to the 1950s, the regime conceived of the Catholic Church as the most adequate tool for its assimilationist agenda, which was expected to ‘nationalize’ (*nacionalização*) and ‘Portugalize’ (*portugalização*) colonial subjects through mission schooling.<sup>37</sup> Education was declared to be based on Christian values with obligatory teaching of the precepts of Catholicism. In 1940, the *Estado Novo* deepened its commitment to Catholicism by signing a *Concordata* agreement with the Vatican, and endorsing the 1941 *Estatuto Missionário* (Missionary Statutes); however, despite the spread of mission schools, between the 1930s and 1950s, the conversion to Islam in Mozambique increased considerably, mainly due to the Sufi Orders and their African leadership. African Muslims of northern Mozambique could hardly become *assimilados* not only because of the association of the Portuguese national-cultural identity with the Catholicism, but also because the vast majority of them lived under the *indigenato* rule of the old clans feeding into the ranks of the *régulos*, whose legitimacy was built upon Islam and African tradition of chieftainship.<sup>38</sup> The attempt to undermine the *Indigenato* with 1954 Law did not bear any palpable fruits and the assimilation option was opened to Muslims only in 1961 with the Overseas Administrative Reform (*Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina*), which conceded equal legal rights to all citizens independently of race, culture or creed. However, as AbdoolKarim Vakil<sup>39</sup> argues, this Reform could not live up to the challenge facing the colonial rule with regard to Muslims, that is – to recognize Islam, in particular in Africa, as a religion and Muslims as culturally and politically citizens of Portugal, – the project which remained largely unfulfilled. Association of Muslim *régulos* with the colonial regime, which was neither ‘traditional’ nor Muslim, made the nature of their authority quite controversial, causing a great deal of internal conflict and heated debates among Muslims, which sometimes led to gradual disjunction between the *chiefly* and Islamic authorities. Some Muslim *régulos* began taking up the notion of incompatibility of the matrilineal ideology and the *chiefly* installation ceremonies with a ‘true’ Islam.<sup>40</sup> But the chiefs were often compelled to preserve the matrilineal ideology, through which their power and authority were legitimized. Their attempts to change local conceptions and practices, in particular to transform matriliney into an Islamic patriliney were met with strong opposition from local population, who linked the legitimacy of the *chiefly* lineage to the spirit world of land and ancestors, who were believed to ensure the well-being and the fertility of the land and its people (Fig. 16).

By the mid-twentieth century, a belonging to a Sufi Order and upholding Sufi ideas and practices were the most widespread Islamic identity of northern Mozambique. However in the late 1960s and especially early 1970s, the authority of Sufi *shaykhs* came under attack from the newly arrived Islamists, identified locally as the *Wahhabis*, educated in Saudi Arabian Islamic universities. Reformist tendencies were already in place in the 1930s and 1950s, when the so-called *sukuti* (from Ar., *sukut*, quiet) Africans and the Deobandi-educated Indian *shaykhs* criticized the loud *dhikr* and other Sufi practices.



Fig. 16. Régulo Abdul Kamal Megama of Chiure, Cab Delgado, ca. 1963. Photograph courtesy of his son, Aruna Abdul Kamal.

Abubacar Musa Ismael ‘Mangira’, who returned in 1964 from Saudi Arabia after completing a *Shari’a* course at the Medina University was the most vocal among the *Wahhabis*.<sup>41</sup> He challenged directly the northern Mozambican Sufi establishment and found an impressive support from the southern Deobandis and northern *sukutis*.<sup>42</sup> At this point, Portuguese government intervened in favour of the Sufis, because they perceived that the northern Mozambican Sufi leaders could be instrumentalized against the encroaching independence movements, the perception which was essentially wrong.<sup>43</sup>

### *Post-Colonial Situation*

During the first years following the independence, especially in 1977, Frelimo adopted Marxism and the so-called ‘scientific socialism’ and sought to eliminate a wide variety of social practices and beliefs, deemed ‘obscurantist,’ ‘backward’ and thus contrary to the modernist ‘revolutionary norms’, including initiation rites, traditional healing and ceremonies of ancestral supplication, all at the base of the legitimacy and authority of an African chieftainship.<sup>44</sup> Religion was identified as another ‘obscurantist element’, and the government banned religious teachings from schools, nationalized religious institutions and harassed and persecuted religious leaders. Muslims suffered immensely when the *haji*, celebration of Ramadan and other Muslim holidays, collection of the monetary donation

and rehabilitation of the mosques, and the functioning of the *Qur'anic* schools were all forbidden.<sup>45</sup>

In 1981, Frelimo decided to reconsider its positions toward Islam and create a national Muslim organization, the decision which might have been influenced by the Saudi-based international Islamic NGO, the *Muslim World League*, especially given the Frelimo's belief that northern Mozambican Muslims were channeling their discontentment to Muslim countries, who, in their turn, were aiding the resurgent opposition groups, such as Renamo.<sup>46</sup> A nation-wide Islamic organization called the *Conselho Islâmico de Moçambique* (Islamic Council of Mozambique, CISLAMO) was established in a meeting between the government and a group of Maputo *imams* in January 1981, which was convened by Abubacar Ismael 'Mangira' with the purpose of responding to the Decree 12/1976 of the new government prohibiting associations, because most Muslims were organized into associations since the colonial period. The meeting elected 'Mangira' as the co-coordinator, later first national Secretary of the Islamic Council. In December 1982, Frelimo radically changed its policy towards religion in general.

Despite that the installation meeting of the Council occurred earlier, it was officially legitimized only in March 1983, one month following the launching of another national Islamic organization called the *Congresso Islâmico de Moçambique (Sunni)* (the Islamic Sunni Congress of Mozambique), which agglomerated a quasi-autonomous group of organizations, including most of the pre-colonial associations and confraternities, such as Sufi Orders and Indian Sunni *Comunidades Moametanas*, all sharing an anti-*Wahhabi* stance. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Islamic Council and Islamic Congress continuously competed with each other for the Frelimo party and government patronage, and of the international Islamic NGOs, which reverberated in violent clashes among their ordinary followers.

In the 2000s, some of these conflicts ceased to exist, although the two organizations still represent opposing ideological sides of the local Islam. However, some new and more young, dynamic and sometimes politically active organizations, such as *Ahl al-Sunna*, as well as Sufi revival groups and the new Muslim civil society organizations have overshadowed them to certain extent.

### Short Biography

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### Notes

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- <sup>19</sup> Lupi, *Angoche*, 178–88; Amorim, *Relatório*, 4–8.
- <sup>20</sup> E. A. Alpers, 'East Central Africa', in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (eds.), *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press; Oxford: James Curry; Cape Town: David Philip, 2000), 303–27, 307–9; Heinemann.
- <sup>21</sup> Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, 95; A. C. Ahmed, *Ngoma et Mission Islamique (Da'wa) aux Comoros et en Afrique orientale: Une approche anthropologique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 111, and *passim*.
- <sup>22</sup> According to northern Mozambican Muslims, interviewed during fieldwork, Islam is primarily 'a *kitabú* (Ar., Sw., literate or book-centred)' religion.
- <sup>23</sup> Neves in *Informações*, 10.
- <sup>24</sup> Lupi in *Angoche*, 106–107.
- <sup>25</sup> J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in East Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1964), 101; A. C. Ahmed, *Islam et Politique aux Comoros* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), 118–48n.
- <sup>26</sup> C. Ahmed, *Ngoma et Mission Islamique*, 13–73, 241; C. Ahmed, *Islam et Politique*, 84–87, 169–71.
- <sup>27</sup> Hafkin, 'Trade', 50.
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- <sup>31</sup> E. Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1875–1891* (Johannesburg: Witswatersrand University Press, 1967).
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- <sup>33</sup> Collective interview with Sufi *shaykhs*, 3 November, 1999, Mozambique Island; Interview with Shaykh Abdurrahman Amuri bin Jimba, Mozambique Island, 2 November, 1999; Carvalho, 'Notas', 63.



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