Abstract

This study looks into the functions of some Shona proverbs as preservers of aspects of Shona traditional religion and moral code. It argues that the proverb is quite crucial as an embodiment of Shona religion and as an enforcer of desirable human conduct in the Shona community. Religion is an important aspect of the Shona people’s way of life.

Introduction

Some of the Shona peoples’ profoundest philosophical concerns are enshrined in their proverbial lore (Kahari, 1990:1; Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987: xiii). Shona proverbs serve a number of functions such as the preservation, transmission and authentication of their religious beliefs and their moral code. According to Gelfand (1981: 38), “man needs the ethical teaching of a religion as a constant reminder to him to control his passions and desires in order to live a virtuous life” that promotes tolerance of others in society. The Shona have a collection of proverbs that seek to reflect the presence and permanence of spiritual forces in this mundane world, and through their intricate philosophical underpinnings, Shona proverbs try to engender the supremacy of the spiritual world over the mortal human being.
They also believe that their Supreme Being (*Mwari*) is the overseer of the goings on in this world. Shona ingenuity, therefore, crafted proverbial lore that is clearly reflected in the nature of the relationship between human beings in this physical world and the spiritual entities perceived to inhabit a world beyond this physical world.

Of philosophical interest in the Shona religion is the hierarchical rank ordering of spiritual and non-spiritual forces that are at the core of Shona religion that eventually leads to the Supreme Being. One such key force within this intricate hierarchy of forces is *Vadzimu* (ancestors). It is vital to note that the place of *Vadzimu* (Bourdillon, 1976: 200) in the Shona religious worldview was greatly distorted and misrepresented by the larger part of missionary and anthropological literature in colonial Zimbabwe. Such literature erroneously gave an impression that Shona people worship ancestral spirits. However, the truth is that the Shona do not take *Vadzimu* as their *Mwari* but simply as one among a series of necessary stages towards communicating with *Mwari*. Thus, young people are taught not only about “…the existence of social values and [to acquire] yardsticks to measure them” (Gelfand, 1979), but also about the spiritual presence and their interests in human worldly affairs. In this regard, even though “…the African has not listed the Ten Commandments [as Christians have done] there is a strong ethical code in African faith. Wrongdoing or misbehaviour in… [its] various forms is strongly condemned” (Gelfand, 1968: 12). Such teachings, therefore, have a two-pronged effect on human life in that they both remind people of the omnipresence of spiritual forces in people’s lives as well as their place in shaping human conduct.

The Shona do not worship *Midzimu* but simply venerate them because they are an important stage in the process of communicating with *Mwari*. The Shona clearly captures this actuality by way of ingenious proverbs that shows that *Midzimu* are not ends in themselves but means to some greater ends that is *Mwari*. However, Gelfand (1981: 57) wrongly believes that the habit of appealing to ancestral spirits is confined “…to the less sophisticated Shona no matter where he resides.” To the contrary, when a Shona person acquires more and more wealth, he or she feels more insecure and feels that his or her enemies may want to pull him or her down. So, it becomes even more crucial for him or her to venerate his or her ancestral or group spirits. The purpose of this paper is to discuss Shona proverbial lore that captures their religious beliefs and moral code. First, the paper presents a brief overview of Shona traditional religion. Second, it characterises the concept of proverbs among the Shona. Finally, the paper discusses some proverbs that embody Shona religious and moral worldviews.

**An Overview of Shona Traditional Religion**

The Shona people, like their African counterparts, are profoundly religious. They believe in the Supreme Being known by various names. Common names ascribed to the Shona *Mwari* include *Musikavanhu, Nyadenga* and *Deza*. *Mwari* is said to be tremendously awesome and cannot be approached arbitrarily. Contrary to what the missionaries thought, the Shona God is not totally detached from the people. He is not a remote God who is totally unconcerned with the welfare of his people. He is both immanent and transcendent.
Gelfand (1981: 38) had noted that the Shona God “…Musikavanhu (the maker of human beings)…is too far removed from Man and his individual problems to be approached for aid in everyday matters.” Even though the Shona may at times stray from the religious and moral path, they are always reminded through proverbial lore that they to conform to the demands of their religion. Therefore, Shona religion is kept at the core of Shona life because proverbial lore that is always imparted to the young ensures permanence of the need to appreciate their indigenous belief systems. However, as the creator, Mwari is responsible for both the bad as well as the good. In this regard, the demands of Mwari must be adhered to. Thus, “a Shona, even one who is sophisticated and seemingly living a Western type of life in town, would, if faced with a critical illness either in himself or his family, consult the diviner or herbalist to learn whether there was something he could do to propitiate the anger of a member of his family, or to discover if the illness were due to the influence of the witch” (Gelfand, 1981: 57). The fact that Mwari is close and concerned about the welfare of the people is seen where people make some oaths. If a Shona person wants to emphasise a point he would say: Ndinopika naMwari kudai (I swear with God) or Ndinopika manyaDenga (I swear with the owner of the sky)

Apart from the belief in the Supreme Being who is believed to be the creator and owner of everything, the Shona also believe in the existence of spirits. The most common and influential spirits are Vadzimu. These are the spirits of the dead relatives of a nuclear family. The Shona believe that when a person dies his or her spirit wonders about until it is permitted to come back and protect the surviving members of his or her family. According to Zvarevashe (1970), one becomes an ancestral spirit after the ceremony of kurova guva (bringing back home ceremony) is performed. Only full-grown people can become ancestral spirits. Those who do not beget children during their earthly existence cannot become ancestral spirits because they have nothing to protect in this mundane world. At the kurova guva ceremony, beer is poured over the grave and the relative in charge calls out to the deceased saying, “We call you to come home and protect us especially your children. From today onwards you are no longer in the forest, but we call you to come in your home. If you need anything, tell us gently but do not visit us in anger” (Zvarevashe, 1970: 44). After this ceremony the dead relative’s spirit would manifest itself as a Mudzimu through a medium of his or her choice. Once the family members recognise Mudzimu, they would begin to relate to it accordingly.

The ancestral spirits are the intermediaries to Mwari. They are also expected to guard the interests of their immediate family members. The Shona believe that a person owes everything to his or her ancestral spirits. Any form of suffering is attributed to Vadzimu withdrawing their protection. If one is in trouble or suffers a misfortune, he or she would consult a n’anga (traditional healer) to determine whether his or her Vadzimu are annoyed. The n’anga may divine that the disease or death that has visited a person or family is “…due to the upset of one’s mudzimu…or to the evil practices of a person (muroyi)” (Gelfand, Mavi, Drummond and Ndemera, 1985: 6). Once he or she discovers the problem, he or she would prescribe means and ways of appeasing the wronged ancestral spirits. Thus, Vadzimu are, therefore, in the daily thoughts of every Shona person. Their chief role is that of keeping their families intact and well. Since the ancestors are so important, the family members are to respect and obey them at all costs.
Thus, a Shona person has “...a religion which provides him with a sense of security and hope in a hard cruel world” and his or her religious convictions are so “...intense and devoted as any good Christian, and with a faith so strong nothing will remove it from [him or her].” (Gelfand, 1968: 2). The act of forgetting them will be followed by punishment usually in the form of sickness or misfortune. Whenever a person faces a problem, he or she must communicate it to the immediate forces in the spiritual hierarchy who in turn passes it on until it gets to Mwari. Hannan (Gelfand, 1968: 6) makes an important observation that the Shona's supplications seem to be directly aimed at Mwari though such a goal is achieved via a hierarchy of lesser spirits.

The Shona also believe in a host of other spirits such as the Mashavi (wandering spirits) and Mhondoro (ethnic spirits). The wandering spirits are the spirits of the people who died away from their homes and were denied decent burial and mandatory bringing back home ceremonies. The roles of these spirits can either be positive or negative. For instance, shavi rekuba (wandering spirit of stealing) is a bad spirit because stealing is deemed as morally bad. On the contrary, shavi rekurima (wandering spirit of farming) is viewed as positive as the traditional Shona society largely depends on farming for food provision. Although Mhondoro and Mashavi are important aspects of the Shona religion, they are not as influential as Vadzimu.

Moral Sanctions

Moral sanctions exist in the Shona society to ensure proper behaviour. The Shona are concerned with social justice, obligation and responsibility. Any form of anti-social behaviour attracts ancestral punishment while a person who lives a virtuous life receives blessings from the ancestors. For Gelfand (1968: 8), “the African’s religion is closely associated with medicine and disease, for an illness is liable to be attributed to an upset ancestral spirit which demands sacrifice as propitiation.” When possessed with the spirit of healing traditional healers divine the cause of the illness by consulting Midzimu of the patient and are commanded to do certain actions and rituals to solve the problem at hand. In light of this, therefore, the traditional healer acts the roles of both the minister of Shona religion as well as the facilitator of dialogue between the spiritual world and the mundane world (Gelfand, 1986: 8; see also Gelfand, 1973). His or her office makes him or her access some esoteric knowledge of what Midzimu want their living family members to do in order to appease them.

Religious and Moral Teachings

Proverbs and other wise sayings are part and parcel of what Dundes (1985:3) calls folklores. Proverbs have enormous religious and ethical relevance to the Shona people. From early age up to adulthood, children are “…continually instructed directly and indirectly through listening to wise sayings such as proverbs…” (Gelfand, 1979:85). Such an activity helps to educate one of the religious belief system and shaping one’s conduct as one interacts not only with one’s kith and kin but also with strangers.
Even though proverbs do not admit of a precise definition, they have a profound impact on people’s lives. Hamutyinei and Plangger (1987: xiv) note, and rightly so, that “proverbs…represent a people’s philosophy…that serve to impose some sort of regularity on the unfolding variety of life and to stress the proper form of behaviour or the type of character or action to be expected.” In this light, Shona proverbs have a practical value in people’s daily lives in so far as they direct the lives of people. Thus, the Shona moral code is part of their religion.

Shona proverbs are a verbal art (Gwaravanda and Masaka, 2008) that is meant to educate the young about the nature of the universe, the nature of knowledge and the appropriate standards of human conduct. Both the young and the old commonly employ them in daily conversation (Gelfand, 1979:121). Proverbs also give weight and colour to ordinary human conversation (Messenger, 1985:299). For Hamutyinei and Plangger (1987: xiii), the Shona, “…are exceedingly rich in proverbs” that play a number of functions in their lives. Proverbs are commonly and widely used among the Shona to inculcate truths, reprimand those who violate the Shona code of conduct, sharpening one’s thought processes and informing people of spiritual presence in human activities.

Though Shona proverbs are educative, it is extremely difficult to appreciate their meaning and significance to the Shona life situations. For this reason therefore, it requires a person with a well grilled and trained mind (Gwaravanda and Masaka, 2008) to understand the import of proverbs and their significance to his or her situation in the universe. Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987: xviii) assert that since “…proverbs have a deeper and hidden meaning than is stated literally, their interpretation will depend on the social situation in which they are used.” It takes careful thought to unravel the meaning underlying these wise sayings. Furusa (1996:83) argues that “Shona proverbs are theoretical in the sense that they are a generalisations of our experiences and the fundamental connections within these experiences.” This implies that Shona proverbs cannot be divorced from the lived experiences of the Shona people. A closer analysis of Shona proverbs would clearly show that they are laden with people’s experiences and their interactions with both fellow humans as well as the rest of nature.

Proverbs are a vital part of the Shona way of life. They are a mark of Shona wisdom and philosophical traditions. They serve a number of key functions in the Shona worldview. One such function is that of the preservation and transmission of religious beliefs and enforcement of moral code. The Shona proverb has an educational value and “many [Shona] proverbs vividly illustrate the way people do, or should not behave [by transmitting] a certain view of the world and how the individual can best fit into it” (Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987: xx). Therefore, Shona proverbs act as preservers and transmitters of Shona traditional religion and moral code. For Gelfand (1981: 45), the Shona have continued to stick to their traditional faith even after a bout of coercive Christianisation.
However, Gelfand (1981: 45) wrongly calls the religion of the Shona “…a form of ancestral (or perhaps family) worship.” It must be noted that Shona people do not worship ancestors, as a variety of dominant missionary scholarship would like to believe. They venerate ancestral spirits and veneration ought not to be confused with worshipping or praying if one is to carry out an objective scholarly study of the religion of the Shona people.

In his survey of Shona people living in Western environment in the then Rhodesia, Gelfand (1981: 49) observed that “…the Shona are still closely wedded to their traditional beliefs, preferring their own moral and spiritual culture to that of the West. They have all adopted a good deal of Western material culture but still retain their own spiritual life.” Even if they may appear lost in the midst of an onslaught from Western cultures, they are always reminded of the dangers of alienation through proverbial lore that they have a life to live that conform to the spiritual realities of an ideal African. Therefore, there is a sense in which Shona traditional religion is kept quite at the core of Shona life because proverbial lore that is always imparted to the young ensures permanence of the need to appreciate Shona traditional belief systems.

One such proverb that embodies aspects of Shona traditional religion is:

**Kureva chikwereti kumurombo kunema Mwari** (To claim a debt from a poor man is as good as scorning God)

The Shona, believe that the one who borrows something is obligated to repay the lender. However, there is general consensus among the Shona that the one who lacks the ability to repay what one owes, ought to be exonerated from doing so because pestering him or her to do so is as good as trying the impossible. Alternatively, when one lends a person money, one would have carried out a thorough analysis to establish one’s creditworthiness. Otherwise, if one gives money to someone whom he or she is quite sure that he or she has no capacity to repay, then it is illogical to trouble him or her. Otherwise it is tantamount to scorning God.

Such vulnerable members of society are seen as under the protection of the **Mwari**. Since **Mwari** is regarded as the creator of the human race he caters for all his creation including those poor and miserable members of society. This proverb, therefore, makes a plea for a poor person. It states that a poor person ought not to be hard-pressed into paying his or her debts (Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987: 46) because he or she has no capacity to do so. This proverb also attempts to instil desirable ethos in people especially as it concerns those who are found wanting in terms of meeting their obligations to fellow members of the Shona society. People ought to show sympathy to those who unintentionally fail to meet their obligations by foregoing their debts on the grounds that such a person is beyond doubt unable to pay his or her debts. And in order to strengthen this moral injunction, reference to God is made.
Since the Shona are a religious people, moral injunctions that make reference to God act as a sure reprimand to those who may be tempted to persecute the poor. The fear of the wrath of *Mwari* helps to make people behave in a commendable way. Thus, it is by design that Shona moral injunctions are laced with pronounced reference to *Mwari*.

Closely related to the above proverb is the one that says:

*Dai pasina nyimo, makunguo aizodyei?* (If there were no round nuts, what would the crows eat?)

Crows (*makunguo*) are birds of the air that depend on the generosity of nature for survival because they themselves do not grow food for their own sustenance. Thus, the availability of round nuts ensures that crows find some of the food that would ensure their sustenance. Since crows have nothing substantial that they can call their own, they have to depend on the mercy of nature.

The deeper meaning of this proverb is that life needs people who are kind-hearted so much so that they would assist the needy members of society. A society that does not have such benevolent, philanthropic and sympathetic members is not a normal society because the existence of deprivations in the universe would imply the need for a sector that addresses these problems. This proverb is normally made reference to in order to implore people to be thankful to *Mwari* that there are kind-hearted people among them who are prepared to help the needy. Hamutyinei and Plangger (1978: xx) note that “many proverbs vividly illustrate the way people do, or should not behave. They transmit a certain view of the world and how the individual can best fit himself into it. They interpret people and experience.”

A proverb that captures the importance of spiritual realities in human life is:

*Kuiteyi kwemidzimu kunayisa mvura pasina auchirira?* (How come ancestral spirits give rain when no one has asked for it?)

The Shona do not believe that one can give a person something for free. People are often suspicious of such gifts because, by and large, such people may be spurred by a desire to get some far bigger returns from such largesse or such people may be suspected of being evil doers who want to entice their victims through such ill-intentioned gifts. For Hamutyinei and Plangger (1978), the Shona are suspicious of any free gifts or gratuitous acts because they suspect that the offer is made in the expectation of some return in the future. For them, if a man offers to plough free of charge the land of the parents of a certain girl, people quote this proverb suspecting some intimacy with that girl.

Given that it is rare for a person to offer help when he or she is not asked for it, just as the Shona believe that rain cannot just fall without the necessary rain-inducing ceremonies, there is a lot of justification for people to be suspicious of a person who performs some commendable actions without being asked to do so.
**Mudzimu ishiri, kutukwa unobhururuka** (An ancestral spirit is like a bird; it abandons the one who abuses it)

Ancestral spirits are an important part of the Shona religious cosmology. When the ancestral spirits are wronged, they abandon their hosts. The proverb is quoted in order to warn those who offend their Vadzimu. Those who offend their Vadzimu face a spiritual wrath in the form of, among others, illness and death. It is strongly believed that “…these ancestral spirits are aware of what is happening to their children and are able to help or punish them through their supernatural powers” (Gelfand, 1968: 7). If the earthly family remain steadfast and committed to mandatory rituals to Vadzimu as well as avoiding offending them, Vadzimu will unleash their protective powers thereby wading off the onslaught of evildoers from tormenting the living family members.

**Kukwira gomo kupoterera** (To climb a mountain successfully, you need to meander up it)

It is accepted that if you want to successfully and easily climb a steep-sided mountain, you have to meander up it in order to achieve that fit. Otherwise, attempting to go to the mountaintop on a straight course would not yield the desired results. This proverb is used to symbolise the hierarchical aspect of Shona religion whereby the one who wants to communicate with Mwari has to observe the well laid down protocol of communication that starts with the living elderly members of one’s family, Vadzimu in that order until the next ones in the hierarchy respectively passes on the message to Mwari. Thus, there are no short cuts in Shona traditional religion whereby one talks directly to Mwari. In a similar fashion, the one who wants to successfully climb a mountain has to negotiate his or her way up expertly by meandering up the mountain.

Respecting hierarchy of authority in society is at the centre of Shona religion. A religious practitioner in a Shona society knows quite well that it is not possible to converse directly with Mwari because Mwari holds some form of transcendence that means that other higher beings best understands him. For the Shona, the elderly members of a given family must inform ancestral spirits in their rank ordering to pass on the message until it is relayed to Mwari. One key lesson from this proverb is that there are no shortcuts to events in life otherwise one risks failure. It is a proverb that extols the virtue of patience as one strives to meet earthly as well as spiritual targets and satisfactions. The one who takes his or her time towards realisation of his or her goals normally succeeds while the one who hurries his or her efforts risks becoming a monumental failure.

**Mudzimu wakupa chironda wati nhunzi dzikudye** (An ancestral spirit that has given you a wound has allowed flies to eat your flesh)

Shona cosmology notes the centrality of Vadzimu in terms of life and death, good health and poor health and other vicissitudes of human life. In the Shona worldview, Vadzimu are very much involved in the lives of their families that still exist in this earthly life.
When aggrieved, they have the capacity to cause death, serious illness and a whole host of misfortunes, and when well catered for through, among others, a cocktail of ceremonies, they can provide their protective powers in order to protect living family members from the works and deeds of evil people who may want to bring downfall to them. Thus, Vadzimu are capable of both protecting their families as well as withdrawing their protection whenever the family or a member, offend them through, among others, neglect of a ritualistic orientation. When this happens, the Shona says that Vadzimu have withdrawn their protective powers thereby opening floodgates for evildoers to harm the offending family member(s).

Such spiritual neglect is tantamount to inflicting metaphorical wounds to a person so that flies can feast on him or her. It is in light of this Shona belief in the importance of ancestral spirits in people’s lives that regardless of one social standing and material possession in a capitalist driven present day society, one always maintains the idea that ancestral spirits hold a crucial stake in Shona people’s lives. For Gelfand (1968: 7; see also Gelfand, 1973: 56), the Shona strongly believe that ancestral spirits “…guard the homes of their offsprings from the entry of witches, and by virtue of the spiritual powers acquired after death they can help them to be happy and content.” What is quite interesting among the Shona, just like other formerly colonised African societies, is that they have a dualistic religious adherence, that is, belief in indigenous religious system and belief in the imposed set of religious beliefs.

The moral lesson contained in this proverb is that even if one trouble after another befalls you (Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987), no matter how difficult and dreadful they are, you better face them with courage and equanimity. The “wound” that would have been created in one’s life requires a person who is able to turn setbacks into opportunities for success. Such a proverb implores people to be courageous and strong in the face of life-situations that might appear insurmountable and difficult to overcome. To appreciate the ubiquitous presence of Mwari in worldly affairs, the Shona often make an oath of which Mwari is made the witness (Ndinopika naMwari, literally meaning that ‘I swear with Mwari’). In addition, when a person faces a challenge (such as successive bereavements in the family) that appears insurmountable to mortal beings, he or she surrenders and attributes such a challenge to the work of Mwari as contained in the saying ‘Mwari anopa, uye ndiye anotora upenyu’ (God gives, and he also takes away life).

Mudzimu unopirwa usiku ndowemuroyi (The ancestral spirit that is venerated at night is that of a witch)

Witchcraft, among the Shona, is considered as a nocturnal and nefarious activity. It dreads daylight and extols darkness. Thus, there is a close connection between darkness and witchcraft among the Shona as there is connection between darkness and the forces of evil in the Christian dogma. Witches are believed to operate at night as they unleash their evil deeds to their victims. Most of nature’s creatures generally conceive the night as time to rest. However, witches see this time of the day as an opportune time to carry out their evil activities. Since witches generally operate at night, perhaps the only spiritual forces that can be venerated at night are those of witches who may solicit the powers of their Mashavi (alien spirits) to carry out their evil activities.

140

The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.6, no.5, October 2013
For Hamutyinei and Plangger (1987), anything done in secrecy is usually considered sinister. The public does not favour nocturnal gatherings lest they be mistaken for ‘conferences’ for witches or evil doers. As a result, the Shona are discouraged from doing anything in secrecy through proverbs such as the one above because nocturnal or secret activities are normally associated with sinister motives or any form of ill-intentioned activities. Anything done in the cover of darkness is always perceived with utmost suspicion because night-time is not normally considered the ideal time for people to do ordinary chores of human life. For instance, a person who weeds his or her field at night is sure to be accused of sinister motives because it is against the way of life of the Shona to weed one’s field at night. A person who does so would be accused of witchcraft tendencies. Therefore, this proverb implores people not to conduct their activities in a manner that lead people to suspect that they are intended to achieve evil purposes.

*Chawavana batisisa mudzimu haupi kaviri* (Hold fast to what you have because ancestral spirits do not give twice)

The human race is always entangled in the cycle of lack of satisfaction with what they have to the extent that total human happiness and satisfaction is a mirage. In this regard, human nature is never satisfied with what it has but aspires to get and achieve more. However, in the Shona worldview, one must be grateful of what he she or has achieved because it is not certain one may get a better deal in future (Hamutyinei and Plangger, 1987). Thus, we ought to appreciate that which we have even through there are chances that we may even get more and better deals. This proverb teaches people to show contentment for what they have since it is not certain that they may get a better deal in the immediate future.

**Conclusion**

This study focused on the Shona proverb as preserver of aspects of Shona religion and moral code. It was noted that Shona proverbial lore embodies their religion and moral code. The paper discussed the role of religion among the Shona people. Second, it characterised the concept proverb. It was argued that proverbs help in giving religious and moral guidance to the Shona people.
References


142

*The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.6, no.5, October 2013


Notes

1 The term “Africa” is not value-free and its meaning and origin is contested. There is evidence to show that this term has a foreign origin and speaks more to the climatic conditions of this continent than the people who occupy it (Ramose, 2010: 1). The term reflects foreigners’ experiences of this continent than what the people of this continent think of themselves. The foreign origin and meaning of the term Africa requires that the term be used under protest.

2 We use term “traditional” in this present paper with caution in the light of its often controversial understanding as a direct opposite of “modernity”. The term “traditional” has often characterised as that which is unchanging, backward and unscientific while modernity, which is identified with the Western world, has been regarded as a stage of human development characterised by, among others, scientific thinking and progress (Gyekye, 1997: 217). This is the sense in which the term has often been used to refer to African value systems. Mungwini (2011: 1) argues that the term “traditional” ought to be used with caution because as it was used in colonial Africa, it was meant to undermine African culture. In line with this thinking, its continued usage in post-colonial Africa seems to authenticate these colonial stereotypes. Despite these challenges in the continued use of this term to refer to Shona value systems as reflected in Shona proverbial lore, we argue that the supposed polarity between tradition and modernity is overstated because that which is modern now is to a greater extent shaped by the past tradition and may also turn out to be tradition for generations to come. In this regard, we treat tradition as that which is always susceptible to changes in line with prevailing existential situations. This would make that which is “traditional” even relevant to the present.