SECTION TWO

STRADDLING BOUNDARIES

These chapters discuss occupational groups whose importance in Maji Maji has been neglected, yet who played a crucial part in communication during wartime. Although they were enemies, they shared unusual mobility and easily crossed environmental, cultural and ethnic boundaries. One group were the ivory hunters discussed here by Sunseri; the other were the *askari*, the African soldiers in the German army studied by Moyd. Sunseri argues that ivory hunters were particularly harmed by the German intrusion into the ivory trade. Highly mobile, agile in crossing cultural and environmental frontiers, and expert in the medicines used in war as well as hunting, ivory hunters nursed deep grievance against colonial authority and possessed the means to mobilize resistance against it. Maji Maji studies have long doubted the idea that healers provided military leadership during the war; Sunseri shows that it was instead ivory hunters who provided vital leadership, while also facilitating communication over long distances.

The *askari* were renowned for their terrifying brutality, a point illustrated by Giblin, Nyagava and Schmidt below. Yet, they were motivated, argues Moyd, by a deep sense of professional and masculine honor. To understand their concept of honor, Moyd situates the *askari* both in the institutional setting of the German military, and in their more intimate, and highly multicultural, settings of comradeship and family. This second setting was particularly important in facilitating intercommunication during warfare. Through their marital and family relationships, the *askari* sunk roots in cultures and communities throughout the Maji Maji region. These connections surely made *askari* and their wives prime relay-points where German information and rumor intersected African circuits of communication. Unrestrained by ethnic and language boundaries, *askari* as well as ivory hunters made interregional communication a vital structural factor in the war.
In 1905, Hans Paasche, sent to secure the Rufiji River from Maji Maji rebels, encountered a band of suspected rebels armed with muskets just south of the river. According to Paasche, the leader of the band stepped forward and challenged Paasche’s contingent of marines and *askari* with the words, “Come here if you are men.”\(^1\) At that point one of the marines shot him dead, and the other rebels fled. Paasche later learned from the local *akida*, a German ally, that the fallen rebel leader was a hunter and the main instigator of rebellion in that locality. Paasche’s account is one of many that mention the role of hunters in the 1905 rebellion. According to R.M. Bell, the “moving spirit” of the rebellion around Liwale was an elephant hunter named Abdalla Mapanda, whose village of Kitandangangora lay on the periphery of the newly-created Matandu River game reserve [see also chapter by Larson in this volume].\(^2\) By mid August 1905 rebel forces under Mapanda converged on the Liwale *boma*, killed a small German contingent after laying siege, and destroyed a German rubber plantation. North of the Rufiji River the most well-known Zaramo participant in the rebellion was Kibasila, latest descendent of a lineage of reputed elephant hunters. The Germans had recently created a game reserve on the upper Rufiji River just southwest of Kibasila’s territory in his ancestral land of Ukutu. The epic poem *Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji Maji*, composed in the years after the rebellion by Abdul Karim bin Jamaliddini of Lindi, also drew attention to the presence of hunters in the war with the line, probably referring to Abdalla Mapanda, “Madman Fundi

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